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**Cohabitation in Australia: Characteristics, Transitions and
Outcomes**

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Abstract

Despite a substantial increase in both the number of couples cohabiting at any one time, and the proportion of couples who cohabit prior to marriage, relatively little is known about how the rise in rates of cohabitation influence the pathways and outcomes of union formation. The rapid pace of change, different theoretical approaches, methodologies and disciplinary perspectives, in addition to variations across cultural contexts and time periods, have led to diverse and frequently contradictory research findings. This thesis argues that these inconsistent findings may be partly driven by diversity amongst cohabiters. Not only are cohabiters a diverse group, but their diversity is also likely to vary by cultural context and time period. This research aims to enhance current understanding of cohabitation by proposing a cohabitation typology, which will enable greater understanding of outcomes for cohabiters, and specifically for relationship pathways and well-being.

Using waves 1-8 of the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) panel survey, which commenced in 2001, this thesis contributes to existing knowledge on cohabitation in three key ways. First, I devise and employ a cohabitation typology which groups cohabiters by intention to marry and previous marital history. Second, I investigate differences across cohabiting groups and in comparison to other relationship types. Third, I examine the outcomes of cohabiting relationships in terms of transitions out of cohabitation and emotional well-being, specifically, happiness.

Previous research has indicated that intention to marry one's current cohabiting partner has a substantial impact on the outcomes and quality of cohabiting relationships. Similarly, prior marital history, in particular whether a cohabiter is separated, divorced or widowed, has been found to be associated with the characteristics of cohabiters and have important implications for the outcomes of cohabitation. Despite both of these aspects being important, many studies that assess outcomes associated with cohabitation do not take intention to marry and marital history into account. Recognising the importance of these factors, and the diversity of the cohabiting group, this research proposes a cohabitation typology based on intention to marry and previous marital history and divides cohabiters into four groups. This typology is then employed in the three empirical studies conducted in thesis.

The first empirical study investigates the demographic, socio-economic and attitudinal characteristics of cohabiters in Australia. The analyses examine how the characteristics of cohabiters vary from other marital status groups, and by cohabitation typology group. The second empirical study examines transitions out of cohabitation and the factors that influence these transitions with the aim of investigating under which circumstances cohabitation leads to marriage and under which it leads to relationship dissolution. The analyses conducted in the third empirical chapter recognise that at the heart of all relationship status choices, transitions and patterns are romantic relationships and examine the association between relationship status, transitions in relationship status and happiness.

The research yields four key findings. First, cohabiters are not a homogenous group, and intention to marry and previous marital history play an integral role in shaping the pathways and outcomes of cohabiting relationships. Second, the type of cohabiter and individual characteristics interact to lead to different pathways for cohabiting relationships. Third, variations in happiness are better explained by individual characteristics that influence relationship status, such as relationship satisfaction, or a cohabiter's intention to marry and previous marital history, than relationship status per se. Fourth, relationship satisfaction is strongly associated with many of the outcomes of cohabiting relationships.

This research suggests that the cohabitation typology is a particularly effective way of taking the heterogeneity of cohabiters into account, but it may also allow studies from different countries and using data from different points in time to be more comparable. Overall, this study has indicated that it is not necessarily relationship status per se that is important for outcomes, but rather individual characteristics, such as relationship satisfaction, relationship intentions and prior marital history, have a great influence relationship choices, pathways and outcomes.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my research higher degree candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

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The data used for this research come from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia survey, which is funded by the Australian Commonwealth Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) and conducted by the Melbourne Institute for Economic and Social Research at the University of Melbourne, Australia. The research findings are the product of the researchers, and the views expressed should not be attributed to FaHCSIA or the Melbourne Institute. This research was supported by funding from an ARC Linkage Grant LP0775004.

Publications during candidature

Journal Articles

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List of Abbreviations Used in this Thesis

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs
HILDA	Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development
SCQ	Self Complete Questionnaire

Chapter 1

Introduction

Australia, along with most other western nations, has witnessed a marked increase in the number of couples who choose to cohabit rather than marry. In a 24 year period from 1982 to 2006, the percentage of all couples cohabiting in Australia rose from 4.7 to 15.0 percent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010c; Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004:170). While this is a significant change, these figures only represent the number of couples cohabiting at any one time. The increase in cohabitation becomes even more apparent when the percentage of couples who have cohabited at some stage prior to marriage is considered. This figure has increased from around 5 percent in the 1960s to 79 percent in 2008 (ABS 2012b; Headey & Warren, 2006). This represents a substantial shift in patterns of family formation. Not only are there more people living in cohabiting relationships, it is becoming the norm to live in such a relationship before committing to marriage. We have entered an age where it is unusual to “tie the knot” in marriage without first cohabiting (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004:158).

These changes have important, yet largely unclear, implications for family outcomes. Despite a relatively large body of research on cohabitation, different theoretical approaches, methodologies and disciplinary perspectives (Sassler, 2010), in addition to the utilisation of data from different cultural contexts and time periods, have led to diverse and occasionally contradictory research findings on the outcomes of cohabitation. This has been exacerbated by the rapid pace of change in the prevalence of cohabiting relationships. Furthermore, there is relatively little Australian research on cohabiting relationships. The aim of this thesis is to start to fill the gap in Australian research by investigating the characteristics, pathways and outcomes of couples in cohabiting relationships and in doing so, capturing the diversity of the cohabiting group. This thesis also aims to enhance the international literature by proposing a framework, in the form of a cohabitation typology, to investigate cohabiting relationships while taking the diversity of the cohabiting group into account. This chapter will begin with a discussion of the broad demographic trends in union formation and family life in Australia, before going on to consider the social changes associated with cohabitation. This will include an examination

of the increasing rates of cohabitation and the ways in which cohabitation has been incorporated into Australia's legal, social and political framework. This will be followed by a discussion of the significance of cohabitation and the outcomes of cohabitation for patterns of union formation, family life and well-being. The final section of the chapter will focus on the contribution and structure of this thesis.

Broad Demographic Trends

The rise in unmarried cohabitation, hereafter referred to as cohabitation, has accompanied broader demographic shifts in family life in Australia. As women enter the labour force in greater numbers and young people of both genders spend longer periods of time in education, the normative events of the life-course such as searching for a spouse, entering marriage and having children are being delayed (de Vaus, 2004). It has become increasingly socially acceptable to leave the family home for reasons other than marriage (Coontz, 2004), leading to alternative forms of living arrangements such as cohabitation and living alone becoming more prominent (de Vaus, 2004). At the same time, young people are living with their parents for longer periods of time. In 1986 19 percent of people between the ages of 20 and 34 years were living at home, and by 2006 this figure had increased to 23 percent (ABS 2009b:Cat.No.4102.0). These demographic changes are reflected in the median age at first marriage, which has increased from approximately 24 years for men and 21 years for women in 1975, to 29.6 years and 27.9 years respectively in 2010 (ABS 2008, 2012a). Similarly, the crude marriage rate in 2010 was 5.4 marriages per 1,000 population, which has steadily decreased from a high of approximately 9.0 in 1970 (ABS 2010c:Cat.No.1301.0; 2012a). The preference for marriage ceremonies of different types has also changed, with the percentage of marriages conducted by civil celebrants increasing from 42 percent of marriages in 1990 to 69 percent in 2010 (ABS 2012a). This represents a substantial drop in the number of religious ceremonies (from 58 percent to 31 percent).

Other demographic patterns which may be related to changing patterns of relationship formation include a decline in fertility levels and changing divorce rates. The total fertility rate has declined from a peak of 3.55 babies per woman in 1961, to a historic low of 1.73 in 2001 (ABS 2008), followed by a slight increase to 1.90 in 2009 (ABS 2010a:Cat.No.4102.0). While the total fertility rate did not change substantially in the twenty years to 2010, the age at which women have their first baby has increased from

27.5 years in 1990 to 28.9 years in 2010 (ABS 2012a). Furthermore, the fertility rate for women aged 30-34 is the highest of all age groups, and has increased from 102 to 123 babies per 1,000 in the same time period; since 2005 the fertility rate for women aged 35-39 has exceeded that of women aged 20-24 years (ABS 2012a).

At the other end of the marriage cycle, while the divorce rate increased considerably with the introduction of the Family Law Act in 1975, it has remained steady at between 2.2 and 2.9 divorces per 1,000 population since 1976 (ABS 2010c:Cat.No.1301.0). The median length of marriage before separation and divorce has increased from 7.5 years and 10.2 years respectively in 1990 to 8.8 years and 12.3 years respectively in 2010 (ABS 2012a). This indicates that not only has the time to divorce increased, but the time between separation and divorce has also increased. As expected, as the age at marriage and the average length of marriage to divorce has increased, the average age at divorce has similarly increased from 35.3 to 40.8 years for women and 38.2 to 44.4 years for men (between 1990 and 2010) (ABS 2012a). In this same time period the proportion of divorces involving children has decreased from 56 percent to 49 percent (ABS 2012a). These comprise widespread changes in patterns of family formation and dissolution, with potentially important consequences for individuals, families, and society more generally.

Cohabitation in Australia

Amongst these broad demographic trends, is the rise of cohabitation, which is also referred to as “common-law marriage”, “de facto relationship” or “domestic relationship”. In official statistics cohabiting couples are referred to as ‘married de facto’, and according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) a de facto marriage exists when the relationship between two people of the opposite sex or same sex, who live together in the same household, is reported as: de facto, partner, common law husband/wife/spouse, lover, boyfriend, girlfriend (ABS 1996). As discussed earlier, the rise in rates of cohabitation has been recent and dramatic. The increased prevalence of cohabitation is believed to be due not only to increasing numbers of cohabiting couples, but also more people who are willing to identify themselves as living in de facto marriages (ABS 2008 Cat.No.1301.0).

Descriptive statistics of cohabiters indicate that in 2006, the median age for men in cohabiting relationships was 35.3, while it was 33.3 for women (ABS 2008 Cat.No.1301.0). Seventy percent of people in a cohabiting relationship in 2006 had never been in a registered marriage and 27 percent were either separated or divorced (Australian Institute

of Family Studies, 2008). Older people in cohabiting relationships are more likely to be separated or divorced, while younger people are more likely to be never married. While the majority of cohabiting couples intend to marry, it is becoming less likely that couples marry within 5 years of living together, and more likely that they will separate (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2008). Rates of cohabitation have been shown to have a strong association with a wide range of socio-economic, demographic and attitudinal characteristics. For example, of the Australian population, people born in Australia and New Zealand have among the highest rates of cohabitation, along with those born in North America, while those of Southern European, Middle Eastern and North African descent have the lowest rates of cohabitation (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004). Indigenous Australians are three times more likely than non-indigenous Australians to cohabit (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004).

As cohabitation has become an increasingly normative phase of the life-course in Australia, the institutional framework, in particular the legal system, has changed to reflect this. Until 2009, the legal rights to property and financial settlements when a cohabiting relationship broke down were regulated by state property laws which were not uniform, resulting in a considerable amount of variation between the different states (Harrison, 1991). In 2009, the Commonwealth introduced a new de facto property regime which brought the division of property and the payment of spouse maintenance of separating de facto couples into the Federal family law regime (Australian Government, 2011a). This change allows cohabiting couples to obtain property settlements under the same conditions as married couples uniformly across Australia. The conditions under which a couple is considered to be de facto comprise: when they have lived together on a genuine domestic basis for at least two years, have a child together, if one of the partners made a substantial financial or non-financial contribution, or if a de facto relationship has been registered at the state level. These laws cover both opposite and same sex relationships (Australian Government, 2011a).

Similarly, in 1990 the definitions of 'de facto spouse' and 'married person' were replaced in the Social Security Act with a reference to a 'marriage-like relationship' (Harrison, 1991), with guidelines that determine if such a relationship exists. The five factors that are considered when establishing whether a de facto relationship is 'marriage-like' or on a 'genuine domestic basis' are the financial aspects of the relationship, the nature of the

household, social aspects of the relationship, the presence or absence of a sexual relationship, and the nature of the commitment (Australian Government, 2010). Furthermore, since 1984/85 for taxation purposes, specifically the dependent spouse rebate and requirements concerning the payment of the Medicare levy (Harrison, 1991), cohabiting relationships are treated equally to marital relationships, provided the cohabiting couple lived together on a genuine domestic basis (Australian Government, 2011b). Moreover, the regulations governing whether foreign nationals, who are in a relationship with an Australian citizen or permanent resident, are able to obtain permanent residency were changed in 1981 to recognise de facto relationships (Australian Government, 2012c; Harrison, 1991). Overall, the incorporation of the status of cohabitation into the Australian legal framework highlights the importance and increasing acceptability of this relationship status, with the progression of changes over time suggesting that it is becoming increasingly institutionalised.

Patterns similar to the ones discussed above are found in North America (Bumpass & Lu, 2000; Cherlin, 2010; Le Bourdais & Lapierre-Adamcyk, 2004; Smock, 2000) and Europe (Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004; Kiernan, 2001, 2002, 2004b; Nazio, 2008; Soons & Kalmijn, 2009; Thornton & Philipov, 2009). In comparison to other Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development (OECD) countries, Australia ranks toward the top of the distribution in rates of cohabitation in the population (OECD, 2010). With 8.9 percent of the population cohabiting, Australia is comparable with Canada (8.9%), the United Kingdom (8.7%), New Zealand (9.3%) and the Netherlands (9.3%), all of which are above the OECD average of 6.8 percent. Countries such as Italy (2.0%), the United States (5.5%), Germany (5.3%), and Spain (3.3%) are toward the bottom of the distribution, while France (14.4%), Denmark (11.5%), Finland (11.8%) and Norway (10.7%) are at the top of the distribution. In the majority of these countries the degree to which cohabitation is incorporated into the institutional framework and legal system reflects the proportion of couples who cohabit (Kiernan, 2002, 2004a; Soons & Kalmijn, 2009).

In summary, patterns of family and relationship formation have transformed substantially in recent times, with cohabitation being a relatively recent development within these broader changes. Despite the institutional framework and legal system changing to reflect these evolving patterns and a large body of knowledge on trends and characteristics associated with the rise of cohabitation, relatively little is known about the consequences of

cohabitation for outcomes such as union and family formation and well-being in Australia. The following section provides a brief description of the significance of cohabitation from a theoretical perspective, and its role in family formation and partner selection. This will be followed by an outline of the aims and contribution of this thesis.

The Significance of Cohabitation

To understand the rise in rates of cohabitation and its significance in the life course in terms of outcomes, it is also important to consider changes in other kinds of relationships, and particularly marriage. Until quite recently, marriage has been the traditional and socially accepted method of consensual partnering in most western societies (Coontz, 2005). Marriage is traditionally defined as a legally recognised relationship between a man and woman, which carries certain rights and obligations (ABS 2005). It is considered a fundamental social institution which historically organised adult life, regulating sexuality, reproduction and defining care-giving and bread-winning roles. Due to a range of broader social processes, including industrialisation, urbanisation, the declining influence of religion and greater rights for women, the role of marriage, including views about marriage have changed substantially (Paetsch, Bala, Bertrand, & Gelennon, 2004). These changes, which have been described by some as a contemporary revolution, are sometimes explained as an *overdetermined* phenomenon, as the processes that have led to this 'revolution' are so diverse that no one element is solely responsible (Coontz, 2004). While marriage was once an essential constituent of being an adult, and a social and economic necessity, this is no longer the case. Individuals today have full access to the rights and privileges of adulthood with marital status playing a comparatively limited role (Coontz, 2004).

Despite these substantial transformations, and the continued institutionalisation of cohabiting relationships, cohabitation is not completely equivalent to marriage in a social or legal sense. Cherlin (2004) for example, argues that while the practical importance of marriage has declined, its symbolic importance has remained high, having developed from a marker of conformity to a marker of prestige. People today are believed to marry for the personal achievement marriage represents, rather than the social benefits it provides (Cherlin, 2004). Furthermore, the institution of marriage remains deeply embedded in many forms of social life, from structural systems such as the law, social security and welfare systems, or taxation regulations, to cultural norms and expectations (Beck-

Gernsheim, 2002). This suggests that while the social weight that marriage holds in society has changed, and alternative statuses are becoming increasingly socially acceptable, marriage has not disappeared and cohabitation is not equivalent to marriage. This highlights the importance of understanding the role of cohabitation for union and family formation, while also acknowledging that it is a social institution separate from marriage.

Cohabitation Outcomes

While cohabitation has become more common and is increasingly institutionalised, the influence that this has on patterns of union and family formation is not completely clear. It has been suggested that cohabitation is an alternative to marriage, a trial marriage, another stage in the process of partner selection or a stage along a continuum of commitment (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005; Rindfuss & Vanden Heuvel, 1990; Ross, 1995). Most research, however, finds that the meaning and practice of cohabitation varies according to the cultural context in which it occurs (Kiernan, 2002; Le Bourdais & Lapierre-Adamcyk, 2004). For example, cohabitation may be more likely to be seen and practiced as a trial marriage in countries or social contexts in which marriage is normative and alternatives are less accepted. Conversely, where the legal status of a union is less important cohabitation may be practiced as an alternative to marriage. Moreover, cohabiting relationships and marriages that are preceded by cohabitation, in comparison to (direct) marriages, have in past research often been found to have poorer outcomes on a range of factors such as relationship satisfaction, the likelihood of relationship breakdown, health, supportive behaviour, problem solving skills and partner attachment (Cohan & Kleinbaum, 2002; Kamp Dush, Cohan, & Amato, 2003; Smock, 2000). However, recent research, which frequently uses newer sources of data (Hewitt & De Vaus, 2009), or originates from countries in which cohabitation is particularly common and institutionalised (Hansen, Moum, & Shapiro, 2007), often find either weaker associations, or no effect at all. This suggests that the implications of cohabitation do not only vary by cultural or institutional context, but that they also change over time.

As the prevalence of cohabitation rises across the Western world increasing academic attention has been directed toward the influence that this is likely to have on processes of partner selection. There are a number of different dimensions on which this may occur. Cohabitation may change the context in which decisions about marriage are made.

McGinnis (2003), for example, argues that the potential costs and benefits of moving into a marital relationship are different for cohabiters and daters, and that this influences the process within which decisions to marry are made. Stanley, Rhoades and Markman (2006) contend that cohabiters may 'slide' into marriage, whereby constraints due to cohabitation lead couples who ordinarily would not have married to enter into a marriage. They refer to this as 'relationship inertia', and argue that this does not exist for couples who marry directly, which accounts for some of the poorer outcomes amongst married people who cohabited compared to those who did not.

There is also a great deal of debate on the influence that cohabitation is likely to have on homogamy, or specifically, assortative mating. There are two broad theoretical approaches to the differences in assortative mating between married and cohabiting couples. The utilitarian perspective suggests that as cohabitation lacks permanence, is less associated with having and rearing children and does not embed couples into kinship networks, cohabiting couples are more likely to value short-term and achieved characteristics such as education, and will place less emphasis on ascribed characteristics such as age, religion or race (Schoen & Weinick, 1993). Furthermore, as cohabiters tend to embrace equality and individualism and therefore may be attempting to avoid or have less to gain from gender role specialisation and the division of labour, they are predicted to have a higher level of homogamy when compared to married couples (Brines & Joyner, 1999). Alternatively, the double selection perspective (Blackwell & Lichter, 2000) posits that marriages are doubly selected, selected first into cohabitation and then into marriage, and this winnowing process leads to cohabiters being more heterogamous compared to married couples with respect to both achieved and ascribed characteristics. Overall, this suggests that increasing cohabitation is likely to have implications for family formation, as well as partner selection, highlighting the importance of having a thorough understanding of this new union type.

Well-being

The increase in cohabitation also has important implications for well-being. While it is a common and uncontested finding that married people report higher levels of physical, mental and socio-economic well-being compared to people of other relationship statuses, the reasons underlying this finding and the associations between cohabitation, marriage and well-being are contested (Musick & Bumpass, 2012). Explanations may be divided

into five broad hypotheses which focus on selection, causation, levels of commitment, the life course and institutionalisation. These hypotheses will be explained and discussed in depth in Chapter 3.

Overall, the research findings in this area provide an inconsistent account of the association between relationship status, specifically cohabitation, and well-being (Musick & Bumpass, 2012). These inconsistent findings are to some degree driven by the fact that the characteristics of cohabiters are likely to vary substantially according to the cultural context and time period in which they are being studied, and because there is a high level of diversity within the group of couples who are cohabiting. These characteristics, in turn, are likely to be associated with the outcomes of cohabiting relationships. This is supported by research which finds that the association between cohabitation and outcomes such as well-being or the likelihood of subsequent marital dissolution varies by the characteristics of cohabiters (Brown & Booth, 1996; Hansen, et al., 2007), the cultural context (Diener, Gohm, Suh, & Oishi, 2000; Ryan, Hugites, & Hawdon, 1998; Soons & Kalmijn, 2009) and time period (de Vaus, Qu, & Weston, 2005; Hewitt & De Vaus, 2009; Musick & Bumpass, 2012). This thesis argues that cohabiters are not a homogenous group, and proposes a cohabitation typology which allows different types of cohabiters to be differentiated.

Aims of this Thesis

The aims of this thesis are fourfold. First it aims to fill a gap in knowledge about cohabitation in Australia. While there is some cross-sectional research on the characteristics of cohabiting couples (Carmichael & Mason, 1998, 1999; de Vaus, 2004; Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004; Khoo, 1987; Sarantakos, 1984, 1991), qualitative studies (Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007a, 2007b; Lindsay, 1999, 2000) and some longitudinal research (Hewitt & De Vaus, 2009; Qu, Weston, & de Vaus, 2009), there is much scope for a more comprehensive and thorough examination of cohabitation in Australia. In particular, increasing availability of high quality, large scale, longitudinal household panel data provides an excellent opportunity to produce high-quality research which not only enhances knowledge in Australia, but which also contributes to the international literature on cohabitation.

The second aim of this thesis is to propose a cohabitation typology which acknowledges key differences amongst cohabiters. This is particularly important in terms of investigating outcomes as we might expect different kinds of outcomes for different kinds of cohabiters. This will in particular contribute to international research by proposing a classification which may make research conducted in different cultural contexts and using data from different time points more comparable.

The third aim is to investigate how individual characteristics influence pathways out of cohabitation. Cohabiting relationships tend to be short lived, and are often converted into marriages or dissolved rather than continuing long-term (de Vaus, 2004), as such, it is important to understand which factors are associated with these divergent pathways. While research has found that factors such as economic resources, intentions to marry, previous relationships, relationship satisfaction and achieved and desired fertility influence these pathways (Guzzo, 2009; Qu, et al., 2009; Smock & Manning, 1997; F. Steele, Kallis, & Joshi, 2006), no systematic examination of the impact of numerous characteristics on cohabitation pathways has been carried out.

Despite a plethora of research which investigates the association between relationship status, transitions and well-being, the emotional nature of romantic relationships is generally overlooked. Intimate attachments which result in feelings of love have been shown to be instrumental in defining a person's level of personal happiness and in turn their overall well-being (Frijda, 1999; Myers, 1999). Additionally, research indicates that happiness is a distinct form of subjective well-being, and is not equivalent to other forms of subjective well-being, such as life satisfaction (Diener, Kahneman, Tov, & Arora, 2010:3; Keyes, Shmotkin, & Ryff, 2002). Overall, this indicates that romantic relationships are especially important for emotional well-being and happiness, and incorporating this into an investigation of the outcome of cohabitation is of particular relevance. As such, the fourth aim of this thesis is to make a contribution to current knowledge by incorporating this dimension into the investigation of cohabiting relationships.

Cohabitation Typology

The typology will be based on intention to marry and previous marital history. Intention to marry one's current cohabiting partner has been found to have important implications for

the outcomes and quality of cohabiting relationships (Brown, 2004; Brown & Booth, 1996). Similarly, prior marital history, specifically, whether a cohabiter is separated, divorced or widowed, has also been found to have a substantial impact on characteristics and outcomes of cohabitation (Hansen, et al., 2007). Despite both of these aspects being important, many studies that assess outcomes associated with cohabitation do not take intention to marry and marital history into account, and if they do it is usually in the form of covariates or control variables in a regression analysis. This thesis proposes classifying cohabiters by intention to marry and their previous marital histories which will lead to a cohabitation typology comprising four separate groups. There is no existing research that uses both of these person characteristics to differentiate types of cohabiters. The cohabitation typology will be defined by the intentions and life course phase of cohabiters and this will allow the characteristics, pathways and outcomes of cohabiting relationships to be understood in a more thorough and detailed way. Furthermore, the cohabitation typology is expected to make international research more comparable. While the cohabitation typology does not eliminate the heterogeneity of the cohabiting group, it allows the classification of different types of cohabiters, which are likely to be more comparable cross-nationally and across time than the cohabiting group as a whole. The cohabitation typology will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3, and its operationalisation will be outlined in Chapter 4. It is employed in all analyses conducted in this thesis.

Data

The relatively recent availability of data from a large scale, high-quality and longitudinal household panel survey in Australia presents a new opportunity to investigate outcomes for cohabiting couples. The establishment of the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) panel survey in 2001 has provided a rich data source with which trends and outcomes of cohabiting relationships are able to be investigated in a way that has not been possible previously. HILDA examines economic, social and demographic issues and contains all the variables required to conduct high-quality, longitudinal research on cohabiting relationships. Household data, which closely represents the wider population of Australia, was collected at one-year intervals from 2001 onward. Wave one included a total of 7682 households, which comprised 13,969 individuals, this represented a response rate of 66 percent (HILDA Survey Annual Report, 2002). HILDA is of an international standard and is comparable to existing panel studies such as the German Socio-Economic Panel, the British Household Panel Study and the

(United States) Panel Study of Income Dynamics (Goode & Watson, 2007). Due to the expected low number of same-sex couples in the HILDA survey (Weston, Qu, & de Vaus, 2005) and the difficulty of identifying sexuality, this thesis focuses only on heterosexual couples.

Empirical Inquiry

To fulfil the aims of this thesis, the empirical inquiry will be divided into three research areas. Each of these will focus on a key question. These are:

1. What are the specific demographic, socio-economic and attitudinal characteristics of cohabiters in Australia?
2. Does the likelihood of transitioning from a cohabiting relationship into either a married or single state vary between different relationship statuses and typology groups? What effects do individual and household characteristics have on the likelihood of specific kinds of relationship transitions?
3. What is the association between cohabitation typology group, transitions in relationship status and happiness?

The aim of the first research question is to provide a comprehensive, yet purely descriptive, portrayal of cohabiters in Australia. The second research question aims to determine which factors are associated with transitions out of cohabiting relationships. This will provide insight into the life course pathways that cohabiters follow and factors that influence partnership formation. The third research question aims to emphasise the importance of romantic relationships for emotional health by investigating the outcomes of relationship status for happiness.

Addressing these research questions using longitudinal methods will produce results that have a high level of explanatory power. While research using cross-sectional data is able to make important contributions, it is only able to explore associations at a static level. Longitudinal research, conversely, is able to investigate associations dynamically as it

follows the same individuals over time, which allows time-invariant, unobserved differences between individuals, such as personality traits and dispositions, to be taken into account. While the first research question will be addressed using cross-sectional data (wave 1 of HILDA) to determine the characteristics of cohabiters, the remainder of the analyses conducted in this thesis employ longitudinal methods. Using longitudinal data and methods is particularly important for research on relationship status as it allows transitions from one type of relationship to another and the associations with change in other characteristics and outcomes to be investigated over time.

While the inquiry conducted in this thesis is based in sociology, literature from numerous fields such as economics, psychology, and demography is explored to take advantage of current knowledge on the characteristics, pathways and outcomes associated with marital status. In particular, the third research area, which considers the impact of cohabitation on emotional well-being draws heavily on research from psychology and economics. Furthermore, the standpoint of this thesis draws on life course perspectives, which encompass the distinctive sequence of roles and experiences through which a person passes throughout their life. They take into consideration how people's lives are influenced by broad economic, political, social and cultural developments and how the collective effect of individuals' reactions to these trends can impact on change at the macro-level (Kertzer, 1991). This is a particularly useful perspective for longitudinal research as it enables micro- and macro-level changes and transitions to be viewed as part of a whole and not as isolated events.

Structure of this Thesis

Chapter 2 focuses on changes in marriage and family life and presents a number of macro-level theories that attempt to explain current trends. Chapter 3 summarises the current state of research on the outcomes of cohabitation, in particular the implications of relationship status for well-being and factors that influence relationship transitions, before proceeding to provide a more detailed justification for the cohabitation typology and research agenda undertaken in this thesis. Chapter 4 outlines the research design and methods, and provides detailed information on the data, analytic sample, variables, descriptive statistics and analytic approach. The following three chapters comprise the empirical investigations carried out in this thesis, each concentrating on one of the research areas discussed above. Chapter 5 explores the demographic, socio-economic

and attitudinal characteristics of cohabiters in Australia. Chapter 6 examines pathways out of cohabitation, specifically, characteristics associated with transitions into a marital relationship and those associated with relationship dissolution. Chapter 7 emphasises the importance of intimate relationships for emotional health, and investigates the longitudinal association between marital status and happiness. The concluding chapter restates the major tenets of the arguments made in this thesis and provides an overview of the main findings, before explaining how this thesis has contributed to existing knowledge.

Chapter 2

The Transformation of Union Formation

Marriage was once the only legitimate form of intimate partnering in the West. Over the last 50 years, however, there has been a significant shift in the norms, practices and values associated with union and family formation. While marriage traditionally regulated many aspects of adult life, its practice and function have changed substantially, with alternative ways of living increasingly gaining acceptance. Relationship formation transformed in the second half of the 20th Century, with marriage losing its dominant position as the only socially acceptable way of organising adult life. Alternative forms of organising romantic relationships and family life are increasingly gaining in prominence, in terms of both the proportion of the population who engage in them, and their social acceptability. Numerous reasons have been put forward by theorists to explain these changes. These are generally macro-level theories which emphasise normative changes and comprise changes to the formal and informal rules that govern a society, including policies, laws and social norms.

While there is a great deal of diversity in the new patterns of union formation and family life, cohabitation, in particular, has become a prominent way for adults to engage in romantic relationships and start families. A vast majority of unions today start with cohabitation rather than with marriage. In Australia in the 1960s, for example, only 5 percent of couples cohabited with their partner prior to marriage. This increased to just under 80 percent by 2008 (ABS 2010c:Cat.No.1301.0; Headey & Warren, 2006). This suggests that cohabitation has become socially normative in a relatively short period of time, indicating that it is important to examine cohabitation in the context of changes to intimate partnering and union formation. This chapter will explore the transformation of marriage and family life and the theories which attempt to explain this transformation, before going on to discuss cohabitation as a new, diverse and prominent form of romantic union and its place in union formation.

The Transformation of Marriage

Cohabitation cannot be understood or examined without first being considered in the context of marriage. In particular, it is important to consider the history of the family and the way in which the institution of marriage has functioned. Marriage or matrimony in western societies dates back many thousands of years, and is a social institution which has traditionally regulated many aspects of adult life; it organises care giving and breadwinning roles, residential arrangements, sexual interactions and interpersonal redistribution of resources (Coontz, 2004). Of particular note is the fact that marriage was a necessity for individuals to hold a legitimate place in society, both socially and economically in the majority of Western nations. Prior to the middle of the 20th Century, a socially recognized marriage between a man and a woman was the only socially acceptable way in which to organise the reproduction of families and households. Romantic love and personal satisfaction were not deemed important for marriage prior to the turn of the 20th Century, as marriage was effectively a contract between families, the primary purpose being to regulate the ownership and distribution of property between generations (Turner, 2004:302). For the propertied classes, marriage was the primary way of consolidating wealth, occupational status, and laying claim to political power (Coontz, 2004:977). Traditionally, the family was the primary economic unit of the preindustrial society (Paetsch, et al., 2004:307) and while the members and form of the family depended on the social context of the time, the core of the family was generally a man and a woman in a socially legitimised marital relationship.

In the majority of societies the wife was considered to be owned by her husband, much in the same way that he could own property, and she was expected to be subservient to him (Paetsch, et al., 2004:307). Within this patriarchal model in industrial societies, the husband was the 'head of the household' and responsible for providing an income, while the wife's role was to support him by maintaining the home, raising children and attending to her husband's needs. Women could not hold property, and if a wife was employed outside the home, the husband was entitled to her wages (Paetsch, et al., 2004:307). Religion played a substantial role in maintaining the norms and values associated with marriage and family (for an extensive review see Turner, 2004). If love was spoken of, it was companionate love, and was linked to the mutual responsibility of husbands and wives running a household or farm. Passionate love was not considered appropriate nor desirable within marriage (Giddens, 1992:43).

At the turn of the 20th Century views in most Western nations regarding the nature of marriage and family changed along with processes of industrialisation, urbanisation, a decline in the influence of religion and increasing demands for greater rights for women (Paetsch, et al., 2004:307). During the early part of the century an increased emphasis was placed on the importance of emotional satisfaction and romantic love within marriage. Unlike previous generations, where marriage was seen primarily as a political and economic transaction, a marker of adulthood and respectability, husbands and wives were now supposed to be one another's companions, friends and lovers (Cherlin, 2004; Coontz, 2004). It has been argued, for example by Giddens (1992:26), that this spread of the ideals of romantic love within marriage led to the marital bond becoming disentangled from wider kinship ties, giving it a special significance. It is believed that over time this bond became increasingly important, and people began to enter marriage not out of a sense of religious duty or economic necessity, but rather because of feelings of romantic love with the aim of achieving companionship and personal fulfilment (Paetsch, et al., 2004:307).

Giddens (1992:40) argues that as religion became less influential, romantic love attachments inserted themselves into ideals of individualisation, freedom and self-realisation, which were increasingly gaining prominence. Furthermore, while the modern view of romantic love is secular, it has been argued that the roots of the ideal of 'love' can be drawn back to religious tradition (Turner, 2004). In this sense, the 'modern romantic love complex' is seen as the contemporary successor of religious enthusiasm (Turner, 2004:303). Turner (2004:297) argues, that these new secular ideals of love were promoted, elevated and popularised through mass market and advertising, placing a greater focus on expressivity, romantic attachments and eroticism. These new ideals of love between marital partners, however, did not have an immediate or radical influence on the unequal positions of men and women within marriage, and a strict division of the domestic sphere and wage labour remained. The 1950s nuclear family, with the breadwinner-homemaker married couple epitomised this ideal (Cherlin, 2004).

Gendered views on the nature of marriage began to change with the increasing influence of the feminist movement, greater numbers of women joining the labour force, the invention of labour saving devices which reduced domestic chores and improvements in birth control (Paetsch, et al., 2004:307). Marriage slowly began to be viewed as a

partnership of equals. In particular, the rising acceptability and availability of contraception is believed to have had radical implications, as sex and sexuality become separated from pregnancy and childbirth (Giddens, 1992:27). This led to women having greater control over their reproduction, and further de-coupled the traditional aspects of marriage. For example, Giddens (1992) argues that by delaying the first birth and allowing family size to be limited, greater intimacy between husband and wife was facilitated, further emphasising the romantic love bond and personal satisfaction.

These changes, however, also led to marriage becoming viewed as less of a life-long commitment. As Coontz (2004:978) explains, “the very values that we have come to think of as traditional, the very values that invested marriage with such emotional weight in people’s lives, had an inherent tendency to undermine the stability of marriage as an institution even as they increased the satisfactions of marriage as a relationship”. In essence, the considerable focus of the importance of self-fulfilment, personal satisfaction and love within marriage led to the notion that if these ideals are not fulfilled, the marital bond needs to be reconsidered or ended (Giddens, 1992; Paetsch, et al., 2004).

Furthermore, it has also been argued that the marital bond and the roles of men and women within marriage are increasingly uncertain and disputed due to women’s increased expectation of equality in professional and family life, coupled with old conditions, in regard to labour market and welfare structures and the division of paid and unpaid labour (Beck, 1992). This amplifies the fragility of the marital bond. Both of these factors have contributed to the dissolution of marriage becoming increasingly common and gaining greater social acceptance in essentially every western nation over the latter half of the twentieth century.

Theoretical Explanations

Numerous theorists have attempted to explain and account for these changes. Cherlin (2004) suggests that marriage has been “deinstitutionalized” over the last few decades, arguing that the social norms that define people’s behaviour in social institutions such as marriage have weakened. He argues that the meaning of marriage has changed and evolved over the 20th century due to changes in long-term cultural and material trends. In the second half of the century the ideal of expressive individualism gained prominence, and led to what Cherlin (2004:852) calls the *individualized marriage*. Expressive individualism has been described by Bellah, Marsden, Sullivan, Swidler and Tipton (1985

in Cherlin, 2004:851) as the belief that “each person has a unique core of feeling and intuition that should unfold or be expressed if individuality is to be realized”. In this type of marriage the roles of husband and wife were more flexible and open to negotiation, and self-fulfilment and self-development became as important as, if not more important, than playing the role of spouse and parent. Cherlin argues that this transition started in the late 1960s and accelerated in the 1970s, as indicated by the increasing numbers of young people delaying marriage to complete education and establish a career, the increase in cohabitation and acceptability of non-marital childbearing, heightened divorce rates, and the increase in the number of dual earner families (Cherlin, 2004). These significant transitions, in addition to changed material trends such as the decline of agricultural labour, rising standards of living and an influx of women into the workforce in the second half of the century, saw the meaning of marriage change substantially in a relatively short period of time (Cherlin, 2004:851).

Giddens (1992:58) documents the emergence and rise of the ‘pure relationship’ which “refers to a situation where a social relation is entered into for its own sake, for what can be derived by each person from a sustained association with another and which is continued only in so far as it is thought by both parties to deliver enough satisfactions for each individual to stay within it”. Giddens argues that the pure relationship is part of a wider restructuring of intimacy within society, and that marriage has veered increasingly toward this form of relationship. The rise in cohabitation coincides with the rise of the ‘pure relationship’ and it is arguably the quintessential form of this type of relationship. While the ‘pure relationship’ has increasingly become the ideal for marriage, a marriage certificate is not a necessary component. A couple can live together without the obligation of marriage, as this ideal type of relationship does not call for long-term commitment (for critique see Hunt, 2005:127).

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995:5) argue that the result of heightened ideals of individualisation is that individuals are increasingly becoming the legislators of their own way of life, and that without the restrictions of traditional institutions such as marriage and religion, ‘love’ is becoming the centre around which life revolves. Individualisation releases men and women from the gender roles ascribed by industrial society and the nuclear family, and allows them to follow more flexible biographies. People not only marry, but also divorce for the sake of love – the law of true love demands that relationships are

lived as if they are interchangeable (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995:11). Beck and Beck-Gernsheim view the establishment of an unofficial and non-traditional living pattern such as cohabitation as revealing the extent to which times have changed. As men and women are becoming more equal in terms of autonomy, the foundations of the traditional family are being shaken up, and women are no longer dependent on a husband and marriage for economic, protective and child rearing purposes.

Beck (1992) links the transformation that has occurred to patterns of family formation to industrial society and the changing and unequal positions of men and women. Beck argues that while modernisation led to the division of the domestic sphere and wage labour, dominated by women and men respectively, today the strict division of male and female roles has blurred, leading to a struggle for new forms of reunification. He cites new consciousness, in terms of women's expectation of equality in professional and family life, and old conditions, in terms of labour market and welfare structures and the unequal division of unpaid labour, as being the driving factors behind conflict between men and women. As men and women's roles become uncertain and disputed, the family becomes the setting of the conflict between men and women, which, in turn, has driven and is driving the detraditionalization of the family. Beck argues that family is the setting and not the cause of these historical changes to the roles and increasing equality of men and women. In particular, he cites the influence of increasing life expectancy, the restructuring of housework, modern contraceptive and family planning measures, the fragility of marital and family support and the equalization of educational opportunity as the drivers of these changes.

Hunt (2005:126) argues that the family is a key social institution which has undergone a considerable amount of transformation and that a structural and cultural revolution is underway. He points out that social conventions such as marriage, which were once central to the life course, are increasingly superfluous in the late- or postmodern age (Hunt, 2005:8). Marriage is less commonly seen as a sacred, spiritual union, but rather as a personal and practical commitment which, if it fails, can be abandoned as a matter of choice; marriage is a choice and a lifestyle preference, and no longer a social necessity. This, and an increased acceptance of sex outside of heterosexual, monogamous, life-long marriage has led to cohabitation having a greater legitimacy as an alternative way of living.

A 'World Historical Transformation'

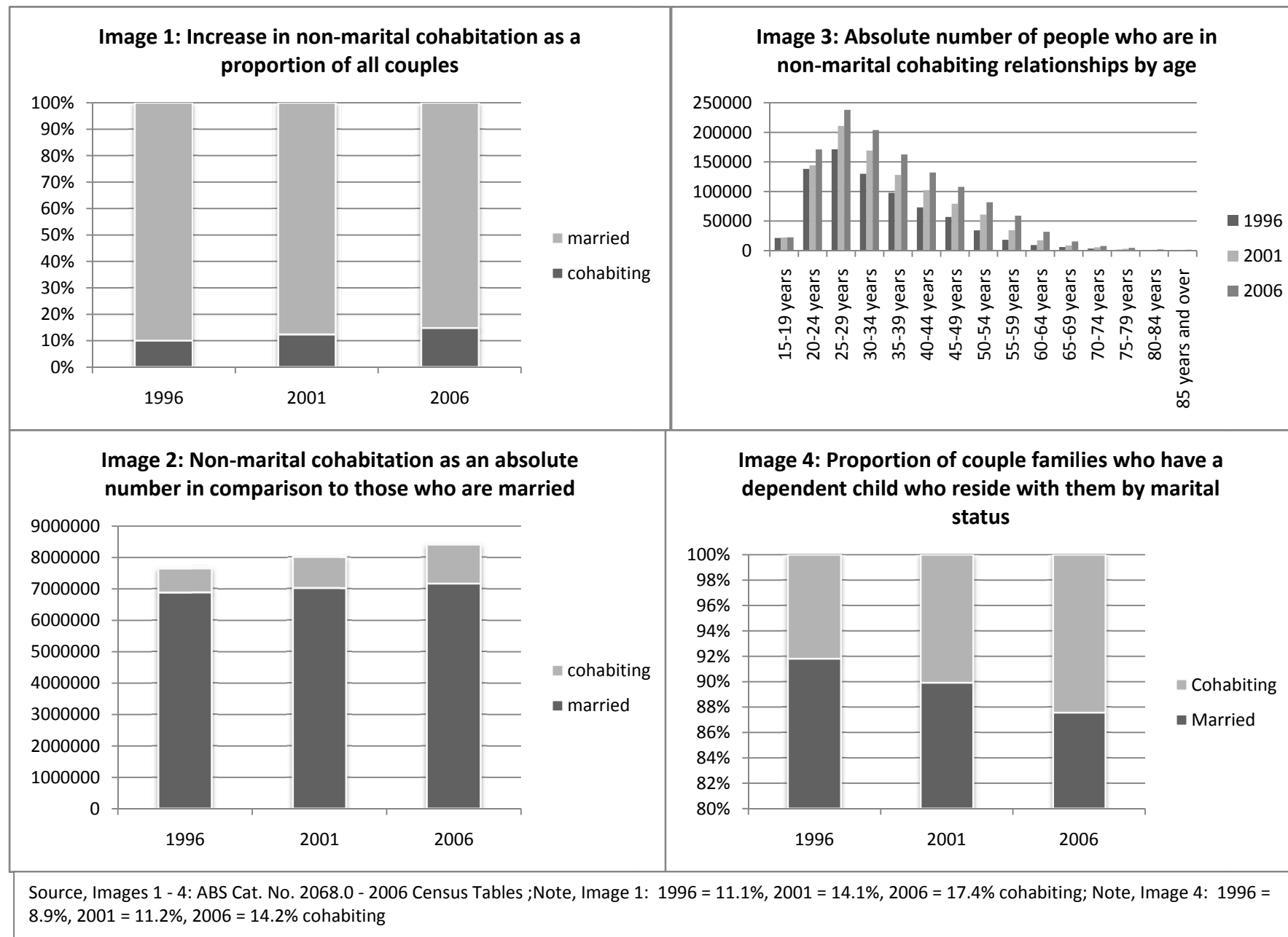
These changes represent a fundamental shift in the way in which adult lives are socially organised with the current state of family and marriage being completely different from anything to be found in the past (Coontz, 2004). While no one form of organising family or matrimony is unheard of in historical records, it is the co-existence and relative legitimacy accorded to so many different statuses that is completely novel. Society today is the first one in history where unmarried people, either single uncoupled or unmarried couples, have the same rights as married adults (Coontz, 2004:975). Non-marital cohabitation – along with living alone (one-person households), living apart together couples, childless couples, same-sex couples, single-parent families and blended/step families – is only one of a host of new socially sanctioned and supported ways of organising adult and family life. This decreased importance of marriage in organising an individual's life cycle changes the social weight that marriage exerts in society and influences the experience of all people who enter into the institution, representing a 'world historical transformation of marriage'(Coontz, 2004).

These contemporary forms of organising adult life coupled with the rapid pace of change have led to a substantial amount of confusion about what constitutes the roles of individuals within family structures. Beck-Gernsheim (2002:7) argues that old certainties, which are rooted in religion, tradition and biology have lost much of their force, without actually disappearing. This has opened up new options of personal choice, not in a free space outside society, but in one that involves new social regulations, pressures and controls. Beck-Gernsheim contends that this leads to a situation where while individuals could once fall back upon well-adapted rules and rituals, they are now required to negotiate virtually all aspects of everyday life. When these negotiations are unsuccessful, family ties become unstable and may breakdown (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). As such, the traditional family is not vanishing, but it is losing its monopoly.

Despite these changes, and the 'traditional' family no longer being the only socially acceptable form of family, the importance and ideal of the marital relationship remains powerful in many Western societies. This is particularly evident in the United States, where despite the 'traditional' or nuclear family being far less common today than it was during the 1950s and 1960s, marriage has attained a powerful symbolic significance. Cherlin (2004:855) argues that while the practical importance of the marriage certificate

has declined, the symbolic importance has remained high, evolving from a marker of conformity to a marker of prestige. Marriage was once the foundation of adult life, today it is something of a capstone, “people marry now less for the social benefits that marriage provides than for the personal achievements it represents” (Cherlin, 2004:857). Gibson-Davis, Edin and McLanahan (2005) document that as the bar for marriage is rising, in terms of what couples and individuals feel they must attain prior to entering marriage, this deep respect for the institution of marriage is leading to it becoming increasingly difficult to meet the standards associated with marriage. This in turn leads to a decrease in the rates of marriage, in particular for the poor or working class. Furthermore, Cherlin (2010) argues that the high value placed on marriage, and the apparent instability of the marital tie in contemporary United States, can be drawn back to two competing and contradictory cultural models. One is the ideal of marriage which involves a public, formal, lifelong commitment between spouses, which in most cases includes childbearing. The second is the model of individualism which emphasises the self-reliant actor as well as personal growth and ‘being true to one’s self’. Cherlin argues that both of these models are transmitted and reinforced by religion and law. Additionally, Turner (2004:290) suggests that while secularization has undermined and destabilized the formal authority of the Christian churches in the control of family life, there is strong evidence of the continuity of underlying religious values and assumptions, especially for the institution of marriage and the family. This indicates that while marriage is no longer a requisite for adult life, its importance and value remain in cultural ideals.

Figure 1: Increased Cohabitation in Australia



The Place of Cohabitation

Having considered the declining necessity but continued value of marriage, questions arise regarding the place of cohabitation in family life. As has been detailed above, marriage has essentially evolved from a social and economic necessity to an option that individuals actively and freely choose. This has occurred in conjunction with numerous alternative adult statuses, such as living alone without a partner or in a 'living apart together' relationship, choosing not to have children and remaining childless, same-sex relationships, single-parent families and blended/step families, gaining legitimacy and acceptance within society. While non-marital cohabitation is only one of these, understanding the patterns and outcomes of cohabitation is particularly important as historically high and increasing rates of cohabitation have implications for the future of family life. Images 1 to 3 in Figure 1 show increases in cohabitation in Australia between 1996 and 2006. Census data (Image 1) shows that in a 10 year period, of all co-resident couples the proportion of cohabiters, in comparison to married persons, has increased from 11.1 percent in 1996 to 17.4 percent in 2006. Assuming that the proportion of cohabiting couples continued to rise at a similar rate after 2006, it is reasonable to assume that at the turn of the decade roughly 1 in 5 partnered persons was in a cohabiting as opposed to marital relationship. Image 2 shows that, in absolute numbers, the increase in all co-resident partnerships consists largely of an increase in cohabiting relationships. Furthermore, Image 3 indicates that this increase in cohabiting relationships is consistent among essentially all age groups for this period. This increase, however, is not restricted to individuals without children. Image 4 shows that of all couple families who have dependent children residing with them, the proportion who are cohabiting as opposed to married has increased from 8.9 percent in 1996 to 14.2 percent in 2006. This indicates that it is becoming increasingly common to raise children within a cohabiting as opposed to a marital relationship. Overall, these figures indicate that the likelihood that an individual will cohabit across their life course has increased substantially. These trends highlight that through the transformation of the institutionalisation of marriage and family life, cohabitation is becoming increasingly prominent in intimate partnering and union formation.

Is cohabitation replacing marriage?

Various arguments exist about whether cohabitation is replacing marriage. While it is generally accepted by theorists that much of the western world is experiencing a transition

in the way in which people choose an intimate partner, the extent of this transition varies substantially according to the country in question. Kiernan (2001, 2002) suggests that the emergence of cohabitation as an acceptable institution in western societies can be broken down into a number of theoretical ideal-type stages. In the first stage cohabitation emerges as a deviant or avant-garde phenomenon which is practiced only by a small proportion of the population, leaving the vast majority to marry directly. In the second stage cohabitation is a trial marriage, where a couple can test the waters before fully committing to marriage. This is a childless phase, and is generally relatively short lived, with the couple going on to marry, or breaking up. The third stage involves cohabitation becoming socially acceptable as an alternative to marriage, and an arena in which to raise children. In the fourth stage cohabitation is indistinguishable from marriage, with children being reared in both (Kiernan, 2002:5). Kiernan does not argue that all societies will follow these stages, or that they are empirically distinct in practice. Rather she proposes them as a way of describing how cohabitation may become integrated and socially acceptable over time.

The Meaning of Cohabitation

Despite the substantial increase in the incidence of cohabiting relationships, relatively little is known about the beliefs, motivations and meanings underlying cohabitation (Huang, Smock, Manning, & Bergstrom-Lynch, 2011). The reasons for cohabiting are diverse, as are levels of commitment and intentions to formalise the union. Despite distinct patterns in how cohabitation is experienced in Australia, much is still unknown. Lindsay (2000) conducted a qualitative study in 1993 on the experience of Australian couples moving in together. She found that unlike marriage, moving into a cohabiting relationship was generally downplayed, did not involve any sort of public confirmation or show and was not usually celebrated as an anniversary. For the majority of the couples, moving in together was seen as “convenient”, and was presented as being the most logical, sensible and practical arrangement (Lindsay, 2000:126). This downplayed the significance of the relationship and the transition, and highlighted the importance of convenience rather than commitment. Lindsay found that in the majority of cases reasons for moving in together were very different from the reasons couples chose to marry. While it is socially acceptable for a boyfriend and girlfriend to move in together for convenience, this is not the case with marriage. Due to the discourse of romance and love surrounding marriage, getting married for convenience has relatively negative connotations (Lindsay, 2000:127).

However, Glezer (1991) using data from 1500 respondents collected nationally in 1990-1991 found that couples choose to cohabit for highly emotional as well as pragmatic reasons. Eighty percent of couples in cohabiting relationships reported love, companionship, mutual involvement, friendship and long-term commitment as reasons for cohabitation (Glezer, 1991:27).

Research from the US by Huang et al (2011), where cohabitation is more common among those who are socially and economically advantaged, found that the primary motives for cohabiting included spending time together, sharing expenses and evaluating compatibility. While both men and women reported 'love' as a reason to move in together, financial advantages associated with cohabitation were also a particularly strong motivator. Huang et al. (2011:897) argue that the steep rise of cohabitation in the US may be driven in part by the economic strain experienced by young adults as they attempt to transition into adulthood. While women and men perceived cohabitation as a temporary state in which compatibility could be gauged, the role of cohabitation in union formation and its relationship to marriage, varied substantially by gender. Women tended to view both the advantages and disadvantages of cohabitation in relation to marriage, while men tended to view them more in relation to singlehood. The authors conclude that while cohabitation has been heralded as a more gender-egalitarian arrangement than marriage, it displays traditional gendered norms and assumptions on the roles of men and women that remain strong in the social consciousness (Huang, et al., 2011:899).

Cohabitation and Gender Equity

Despite substantial steps forward in gender equality in many areas of society, the family remains one of the places where equality between men and women lags far behind developments elsewhere (Le Bourdais & Lapierre-Adamcyk, 2004:940). Despite research finding that cohabiting relationships are more egalitarian than marital relationships (Baxter, 2005; Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Brines & Joyner, 1999; Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994), a substantial amount of research has also found that cohabiting relationships follow gender patterns similar to marital relationships (Baxter, Haynes, & Hewitt, 2010; Baxter, Hewitt, & Haynes, 2008; Gupta, 1999). Much of this research focuses on the division of household labour, with some research examining paid work, income and gender attitudes.

Shelton and John (1993) find that married women do significantly more housework than cohabiting women, and that this difference remains despite taking the socio-demographic differences of married and cohabiting women into account. They conclude that it is not the presence of a man that leads to women doing greater levels of unpaid household labour, but the presence of a husband. Research by Baxter (2005) using Australian data from 1996-1997 supports this, finding that while women in both marital and cohabiting relationships spend more time on housework compared to men, the division of unpaid labour is more egalitarian among cohabiting couples. Furthermore, she finds that women who cohabited prior to marriage do proportionately less indoor and more outdoor work compared to women who did not cohabit prior to marriage. She concludes that the institution of marriage influences men and women to behave in particular ways above and beyond the influence of factors that differ systematically between married and cohabiting women, such as having young children in the household, the amount of time spent on paid labour, and the proportion of household income that women contribute (Baxter, 2005:319).

While these studies focus on the division of unpaid household work to consider equality between men and women within cohabiting relationships, research on paid work and income provide comparable conclusions. Brines and Joyner (1999), for example, find that cohabiting relationships are less likely to break up if they adopt a more equitable division of earnings and employment compared to married couples. Undertaking research with data from 28 nations, Davis et al. (2007) find that the relative resources of each spouse and their time availability have the same influence on the division of household labour in marital and cohabiting relationships. The influence of gender ideology, however, is more influential in cohabiting unions compared to marriages. They conclude that 'egalitarian ideologies are more likely to translate into egalitarian divisions of household labour when present in cohabiting relationships than in marriages, and this association is supported with data from 28 nations' (Davis, et al., 2007:1267). They suggest that the context of a relationship may facilitate the activation of beliefs, and that when compared to cohabitation the legal status of marriage may create a different context for men and women to 'do gender' (West & Zimmerman, 1987). However, they highlight that it is not clear if the greater level of egalitarianism in cohabiting relationships results from the selection of more egalitarian individuals into cohabitation or the experience of cohabitation itself (in terms of a casual mechanism).

While these studies indicate that cohabiting relationships are more equitable when compared to marriages, the studies are cross-sectional and do not assess change over time. Furthermore, cross-sectional studies cannot account for unmeasured factors, such as preferences, expectations and gender role socialisation. Longitudinal studies, which do not have these limitations, tend to have more mixed results. Conducting a longitudinal study using American data from 1987/88 and 1992/93 Gupta (1999) finds that entry into a cohabiting union leads to the same change in housework hours as an entry into marriage for never-married men and women (men's hours go down and women's go up to the same extent regardless of union). He concludes that the fact of entry into a co-residential union is of greater consequence for housework hours than the type of union, suggesting that cohabitation is no less gender typical than marriage in this regard (Gupta, 1999:710). Baxter et al. (Baxter, et al., 2008) come to similar conclusions using Australian data from 1996/97 and 2000, finding no significant difference in the time that married and cohabiting men devote to housework and no significant change in housework hours when men and women transition from cohabiting to married. They, however, find that women who remain married between waves perform considerably more housework compared to women who remain cohabiting between waves, confirming cross-sectional findings. Expanding on this research, Baxter et al. (2010) use longitudinal Australian data from 2001 to 2003 to investigate the influence of cohabitation on the division of domestic labour in marriage. They find little evidence that time spent in cohabitation leads to a more egalitarian division of housework within marriage, arguing that the gender division of both the expectations and performance of household labour develop long before union formation takes place (Baxter, et al., 2010:1524).

Investigating the influence of the relative contribution to household income by men and women on the risk of separation for married and cohabiting unions using data from the Netherlands spanning from 1989 to 2000, Kalmijn, Loeve and Manting (2007) find that income equality within cohabiting unions is protective. Unlike marriages, where divorce is less likely as the husband earns proportionately more, as cohabiting men earn proportionately more the risk of relationship dissolution increases. They argue that this lends support to a cultural approach where male dominance has a destabilizing effect for cohabiting unions as this conflicts with preferences for gender equality, while being stabilizing for marriages as it concurs with traditional gender values (Kalmijn, et al.,

2007:176). Overall, the research suggests that the gender dynamics of cohabiting unions are likely to be different to those present in marital unions. The way in which these dynamics function, and the likely outcomes, however, are not clear cut and results from the research are mixed.

Conclusion

Overall, the transformation of marriage and family life in the West has led to an increasing diversity of adult statuses which are not only practiced within society, but are also socially accepted. Adults are now able to make choices in a way that was not possible in the past. Individuals may choose to live alone, or in a 'living apart together' relationship, or they may choose raise their children alone or not have children at all, they may have same-sex relationships or choose not to partake in romantic relationships, with relatively few social sanctions. Prominent among these diverse new adult statuses is cohabitation, which has increased substantially in most Western nations. While previous research has provided a relatively good understanding of the factors associated with the increase in cohabitation, the meaning of cohabitation and the influence that it has on patterns of family formation are not well understood. As has been shown, cohabitation has been increasing at such an astonishing rate that it is challenging for research to keep up with the fast pace of change. While the demographic shifts that are associated with increased cohabitation have been similar in virtually all western nations (eg. increasing access to contraception, women entering the labour force, higher divorce rates, lower fertility rates, decline of marriage, marriage at later ages), the way in which these changes are experienced vary substantially by cultural context.

The following chapter will investigate the implications of these changes by focusing on the outcomes of the rise of cohabitation, in particular in regard to well-being and relationship status transitions and pathways. One reason why research findings in this area are frequently inconsistent and contradictory is because of the failure to adequately theorise different kinds of cohabiters. In order to advance our understanding, cohabiters need to be categorised in a way that captures the heterogeneity of the group. Placing a particular emphasis on this diversity within cohabiting relationships in terms of the characteristics, intentions and experiences of individuals in cohabiting relationships, the chapter goes on to propose a cohabitation typology and discuss the research agenda.

Chapter 3

Cohabitation Outcomes

The previous chapter discussed the changing importance of marriage and the increasing social acceptance of previously unacceptable adult living arrangements and the place of cohabitation within this framework. It argued that cohabitation holds a prominent place in a new range of diverse living arrangements for adults which are being increasingly practiced and accepted in the majority of Western nations (for example living alone without a partner, 'living apart together' relationships, choosing not to have children and remaining childless, same-sex relationships, single-parent families and blended/step families). Despite a relatively good understanding of the factors associated with the increase in cohabitation, the meaning of cohabitation and the influence that it has on patterns of family formation are not well understood. This chapter will examine research on the outcomes of cohabitation, particularly in terms of transitions and pathways into and out of cohabitation and the association between relationship status and well-being. It becomes clear in reviewing the literature that results on the outcomes of cohabitation are frequently inconsistent or contradictory. This high level of disparate research findings is unlikely to be solely due to variations in data, research designs or analyses. Rather, these inconsistent results occur because the outcomes of cohabitation are not only likely to vary substantially across cultures and time, but also because cohabiters are not a homogenous group with regards to their intentions and reasons for cohabiting rather than marrying. This thesis argues that to understand cohabiting relationships, and their outcomes, heterogeneity of cohabiters needs to be considered and analysed appropriately. Individuals may cohabit for very different reasons and bring with them very different experiences, and varying expectations of what they wish to obtain from the relationship. While it is reasonable to assume that marriage is generally entered into with clear intentions and expectations, the same cannot be said of cohabitation, where it may be expected that the reasons for cohabiting are far more diverse. This thesis argues that this diversity needs to be taken into account when investigating cohabiting relationships and their outcomes, and proposes a cohabitation typology. This chapter will first discuss the association between relationship status and well-being, before discussing the importance of characteristics and life course events for cohabitation pathways. Drawing on this literature, the chapter will go on to emphasize the importance of recognising the

heterogeneity of cohabiting individuals and will outline a cohabitation typology. The chapter will close with an overview of the research agenda for the thesis.

Cohabitation and Well-being

One of the most prominent findings on the association between relationship status and well-being is that married people report higher overall levels of physical, mental and socio-economic well-being when compared to all other marital statuses, including cohabiters (for an overview see: Nock, 1995; S. Stack & J. R. Eshleman, 1998; Waite, 1995). Studies conducted within sociology, psychology, demography, epidemiology, and a range of other fields, all indicate that married people report significantly more favourable outcomes on measures of well-being. This is not contested. What is disputed are the reasons and underlying mechanisms that lead to these outcomes. A plethora of research, starting in the mid-1970s, aims to explain this association. Increasingly complex and intricate theories, data, analytical designs and explanations have seen this field evolve substantially from one of the first studies raising the association in 1969 (Bradburn), to specific and focused examinations using national samples (Glenn, 1975), to studies undertaken recently involving panel data and complex longitudinal methods (Baxter & Hewitt, 2011; Musick & Bumpass, 2012; G. K. Rhoades, Stanley, & Markman, 2012). The relatively new relationship status of cohabitation was first incorporated into research designs in the mid-1990s (for some of the first studies see: Ross, 1995; S. Stack & R. J. Eshleman, 1998). The results of the effects of cohabitation on well-being, however, are not clear with studies often providing inconsistent and contradictory research findings. The following section will focus on recent research examining the association between relationship status and well-being, in particular that which has examined cohabitation. First, however, is a brief introduction to research on well-being and arguments linked to the measurement and operationalisation of the concept of well-being.

Well-being is a broad concept, and as a subject area is studied in a wide range of disciplines. Investigations of the association between an individual's relationship status and well-being are typically conducted in psychology, sociology and economics. Keyes, Shmotkin and Ryff (2002), for example, argue that there are two overarching streams of inquiry in well-being research, subjective well-being and psychological well-being, which are conceptually related, but empirically distinct. Studies of psychological well-being typically deal with measures of human potential, and examine individual's responses to life

challenges, while subjective measures of well-being involve more global evaluations of affect and life quality (Keyes, et al., 2002:1007). Examinations in sociology typically focus on measures of subjective well-being, such as the level of satisfaction that an individual has with, for example, their life, their financial situation, their health, or reports of happiness or contentment. It has been argued that the way in which well-being is operationalised and measured has a substantial influence on the factors that are found to be associated with it. While measures of happiness and life satisfaction fall into the subjective well-being stream, the former has been argued to be an affective indicator of hedonic well-being, while the latter is a cognitive assessment (Keyes, et al., 2002). Inglehart (2010:357), for example, argues that life satisfaction and happiness tap different aspects of subjective well-being, while the former taps a cognitive evaluation of one's circumstances, the latter taps a more affective response. Comparing changes in subjective well-being of numerous countries over time, he finds that life satisfaction is more strongly influenced by economic conditions than happiness, which is more sensitive to religion and democratization. It therefore follows that independent variables which explain one dimension of well-being may have little to do with explaining another dimension (White, 1992). While different measures of well-being are generally modestly correlated, it has been argued that an individual could simultaneously report varying levels of well-being for several measures, for example high levels of psychological well-being but low levels of social wellbeing (Shapiro & Keyes, 2008:342). This indicates that it is also important to consider the specific measure that is used to operationalise the concept of well-being when investigating the association between marital status and well-being.

Relationship Status, Romantic Unions and Well-being

The explanations for why married people have a higher level of overall well-being compared to individuals in other relationship statuses can be broken down into five broad hypotheses. The first two focus on the difference between married and unmarried individuals, comprising the selection and causation hypotheses. While some of the arguments within these two hypotheses apply to both marital and cohabiting relationships as they emphasise the importance of co-residential romantic relationships, many of the arguments are specific to the importance of the institution of marriage, and either exclude or do not consider cohabitation. All arguments will be briefly discussed to provide an appropriate overview of the selection and causation explanations of the association between relationship status and well-being. The following three hypotheses focus on

explaining the difference between married and cohabiting individuals, and comprise hypotheses focusing on levels of commitment, life course hypotheses which include set-point theories and institutionalisation based hypothesis.

The selection hypothesis argues that people who possess a higher level of well-being are more likely to marry, while the causation hypothesis contends that the status of being married itself leads to a higher level of well-being. Commitment hypotheses emphasise the increasing levels of commitment represented by dating, cohabiting and marital relationships, and argue that it is not relationship status per se, but increasing levels of commitment that contribute to well-being. Life course and set-point theories highlight that different relationship statuses have different meanings and implications at different stages of the life course, and relate this back to well-being. Finally, institutionalisation hypotheses emphasise that the extent to which different relationship statuses are normative and institutionalised in society, for example in the welfare system or law, contributes to well-being. Each of these hypotheses will be explained in greater detail below. Overall, the research in this area can generally be classified into two broad areas. The first examines whether the characteristics of individuals differ across relationship statuses, usually using cross-sectional data. The second takes a more dynamic approach by examining change within an individual over time as they move through relationship types. While both of these areas provide valuable insights, generally, to derive a thorough understanding of complexities of the association it is imperative to also investigate the associations dynamically, in particular by examining how transitions in relationship status influence well-being.

Selection Hypothesis

The selection hypothesis contends that there is a differential selection of individuals with a high level of well-being into marriage, and individuals with a low level of well-being either out of or away from marriage (Shapiro & Keyes, 2008:332). While this may also to some degree apply to selection into romantic relationships, it is often emphasised under this hypothesis that there is likely to be a selection of well-functioning cohabiting couples out of cohabitation and into marriage (Soons & Liefbroer, 2008:609). Specifically, in regard to levels of well-being within the cohabitating group, unlike marriage where attrition out of the group of individuals who are married consists mainly of dissatisfied couples selecting out, there is a differential selection out of cohabitation. As such, in addition to the most

dissatisfied cohabiting couples separating, the most satisfied couples move out of cohabitation and into marriage (Hansen, et al., 2007:916; Mastekaasa, 1995). This argument predicts that selection effects will lead to a lower level of well-being amongst cohabiters compared to married individuals.

Selection factors have also been found in relation to subjective measures, such as attitudes, happiness and life satisfaction. One of the earliest studies looking at selection factors in relation to marriage and cohabitation was conducted by Axinn and Thornton (1992) who investigated the association between transitions in relationship status and attitudinal outcomes. Using American data from 1980 and 1985 they found that cohabiting unions were selective of those who were least committed to marriage and most accepting of divorce. Furthermore, they found that maternal attitudes toward the value of marriage influenced children's union formation above and beyond the children's own attitudes, highlighting the importance of attitudinal factors in union formation patterns. Using 17 waves of the German Socio-economic Panel study Stutzer and Frey (2006) found that individuals who married over the course of the panel had a higher level of life satisfaction prior to marriage compared to individuals who did not marry, despite taking a number of important observable socio-demographic characteristics into account. They found a strong age pattern, with the selection of happier¹ people into marriage being more pronounced for people who marry when they are young and then again becoming an important factor later in life. Furthermore, their retrospective evaluation shows that those who marry and eventually divorce were already less happy as singles and newlyweds (Stutzer & Frey, 2006:327). These findings are corroborated using the same data by Lucas et al. (2005), who find that people who marry and stay married were already more satisfied on average before marriage.

Using the European Social Survey, a repeated cross-sectional study of 30 countries carried out between 2002 and 2006, Soons and Kalmijn (2009) found that individual selection variables, primarily religiosity and education, but also income, parental status, and prior marital history, explained about one third of the gap in well-being² between cohabiting and married individuals. These findings are supported by a Norwegian study

¹ Please note that while Stutzer and Frey (2006) frequently use the term 'happiness' they actually use a measure of life satisfaction to operationalise well-being in their research.

² In their research, Soons and Kalmijn (2009) used two well-being measures, one of reported general life satisfaction and one of reported happiness.

which found that marriage was selective of cohabiters who had higher incomes, were religious and were not formerly married (Texmon 1999 in Hansen, et al., 2007:916). In addition to these factors, research has shown that people who have a higher level of education, income and general socio-economic status are more likely to marry (Oppenheimer, 2003; Smock, Manning, & Porter, 2005). While it has been contested that selection is the primary explanatory mechanism for the differences in well-being by marital status (Johnson & Wu, 2002; Soons, Liefbroer, & Kalmijn, 2009:1266), it is clear that a substantial body of research indicates that selection into marriage does contribute to well-being. Overall, these results indicate that part of the disparity in well-being by marital status can be explained by selection factors, in particular, attitudes, happiness, life-satisfaction, religiosity and socio-economic characteristics.

Causation Hypotheses

There are a number of perspectives which represent causal hypotheses when explaining the link between relationship status and well-being. Causal hypotheses include perspectives that argue that the benefits or disadvantages of being in a particular relationship status is what leads to differences in well-being. These perspectives tend to emphasise resources, particularly in terms of economic factors and social support and integration, or the importance of roles for determining a sense of identity, self-worth, and self-esteem. Role specialisation has also been identified as an important mechanism. While some of these mechanisms can also be applied to cohabiting relationships, not all are applicable. Resource perspectives argue that being partnered, and in particular being married, provides specific resources that could potentially lead to higher levels of well-being (Shapiro & Keyes, 2008). In regard to economic factors, not only do married people share economic resources such as income and wealth, and enjoy economies of scale, but the institution of marriage assumes a long-term contract, which allows partners to make choices which may carry immediate costs but provide long-term benefits, particularly in regard to financial investments (Soons & Liefbroer, 2008; Waite, 1995). Furthermore, it has been argued that this sharing enables spouses to act as insurance pools for each other in times of need (Waite, 1995:498). While these arguments to some degree also apply to cohabiting relationships, such as economics of scale, much research has found that cohabiters are less likely than married couples to share or pool financial resources, to hold joint bank accounts, or to purchase property together (Hamplova & Le Bourdais, 2009; Heimdal & Houseknecht, 2003; Treas & Widmer, 2000; Vogler, 2005). This

indicates that while some of the benefits for well-being emphasised by the resource perspective apply to all partnered couples who are co-resident, and therefore also cohabiting couples, some are more likely to apply to married couples.

In regard to social support and integration, it is argued that marital relationships connect people to other individuals and to other social groups such as in-laws and wider friendship circles (Waite, 1995), protects members from loneliness, provides intimacy, love, gratitude and recognition, (Stutzer & Frey, 2006), and lasting emotional support, especially in times of stress or crisis (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005). In light of these factors, marital relationships may be particularly protective through two mechanisms: they may lead to a different likelihood of exposure to life stresses, and also leave members less vulnerable (Kim & McKenry, 2002:888). While these arguments may also to some degree apply to cohabiting relationships, it is not clear to what extent, as there is relatively little research which specifically examines social support and integration within cohabiting relationships. However, as marital status plays an important role in social structures which determine family resources, relationships and processes (Acock & Demo, 1994), cohabitation may not provide the same benefits as marriage.

A further perspective that proposes a higher level of well-being among partnered people, but in particular married people, highlights the importance of roles. Roles that involve a high level of commitment are believed to make particularly substantial contributions to people's sense of self (referred to as the structural symbolic interactionism perspective) (Stryker & Burke, 2000). This view suggests that people in committed role relationships such as marriage experience a stronger sense of identity and self-worth compared to individuals in less committed role relationships such as those who are dating or cohabiting (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005). For example, successfully filling the role of spouse may increase coping effectiveness and well-being because it enhances an individual's self-esteem and sense of mastery (Diener, et al., 2000; Glove, Style, & Hughes, 1990). Indeed, research has shown that positive social support relationships serve to increase self-esteem, which has been identified as an important psychological characteristic that enhances psychological well-being (Kim & McKenry, 2002:889). Furthermore, in addition to providing someone who monitors health and well-being, being in a marriage is likely to encourage self regulation as the role of spouse may provide individuals with a sense of meaning and obligation, which inhibits risky behaviours and encourages healthy ones

(Waite, 1995:488). The extent to which these arguments apply to cohabiting relationships is also not completely clear, as there is limited research on the association between the role of a cohabiting partner and well-being. However, as marriage is a socially valued institution that confers status, in addition to legal and social rights, on spouses (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005), it may be expected that a marital relationship contributes a higher level of well-being than cohabitation. For example, Bernard (1982), has suggested that as marriage is defined as a precondition for happiness in many cultures, responses to questions about well-being, satisfaction or happiness may be heavily influenced by social expectations and norms. As such, the status of cohabitation compared to the status of marriage may play an important role in mediating this relationship. Shapiro and Keys (2008:341), for example, find that while single people's evaluations of their social networks and social selves differ little from that of married persons, they find consistent evidence that cohabitation is associated with reports of lower social well-being. This suggests that the role of cohabiting partner is not necessarily equivalent to the role of marital partner.

In addition to these perspectives, the specialisation hypothesis first posited by Becker (1991:3) argues that husband and wife gain from a division of labour between market and household activities, with each specialising in one area. This specialisation leads to increasing returns to investments in sector-specific human capital that raises productivity. In particular, the gain from marriage is positively related to couple's relative difference in wage rates (Becker 1974 in Stutzer & Frey, 2006:338). While this perspective has been heavily criticised for overlooking power relations, the role of gender, and the subordination of individual autonomy, in particular women's autonomy, at an empirical level this hypothesis has gained some support. Stutzer and Frey (2006:343) find evidence that married couples with a large relative wage difference, and thus a potential gain from specialization, benefit more from marriage in terms of life satisfaction compared to couples with a small relative wage differences. They do not investigate whether this also applies to cohabiting couples. However, as cohabiting couples are less likely to share or pool finances, it is unlikely that these arguments also apply to cohabiting couples (Hamplova & Le Bourdais, 2009). This is further discussed in the life course perspective below.

A vast range of studies provide both support and opposition to the causation hypothesis, with many of these studies explicitly looking at the difference between cohabiting and marital relationships. The findings that relate to the well-being differences between

cohabiting and marital relationships, however, are not consistent. Kamp Dush and Amato (2005) investigated the link between different relationship statuses and subjective well-being in early adulthood, and found that despite controlling for relationship happiness (and a range of co-variates) married individuals had the highest level of well-being compared to individuals who were cohabiting and dating. They suggest that their results support the social support, integration and role perspectives as relationship satisfaction alone does not explain the association (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005:623). Kim and McKenry (2002) found that cohabiters had poorer psychological well-being when compared to married individuals, arguing that the protection effects of marriage were not as applicable to cohabitation. Using Australian data, Evans and Kelly (2004) find that married people are significantly more satisfied with their lives compared to people in other marital statuses, including cohabiters. Their results are, however, somewhat questionable as they fail to control for numerous factors that have been found to be associated with marital status and well-being, such as health, individual income, household income, presence of children and education.

Many studies argue that marriage does not provide a higher level of wellbeing than cohabitation. Ross (1995) examined the relationship between marital status and psychological distress and found that marriage is a crude indicator of certain underlying concepts, such as social attachment, integration, support and financial well-being, which explain the higher level of well-being amongst married individuals. She argued that it is these underlying benefits of marriage that lead to higher well-being, not the institution of marriage itself. Similarly, while Zimmerman and Easterlin (2006) find the formation of unions has a significant positive effect on life satisfaction, and the dissolution of unions has a negative effect, they find no significant difference between individuals who are cohabiting and those who are married. They argue that it is the formation of successful unions that is important for long term life satisfaction, and not the formalization of a union via marriage (Zimmermann & Easterlin, 2006:518). Investigating the association between marital status and well-being in Norway, Hanson, Moum and Shaprio(2007) found that marriage is not strongly related to well-being and that having an intimate and proximate relationship is more important than formalizing the union through marriage. Despite not having assessed cohabiting relationships, Bierman, Fazio and Milkie (2006) found that married individuals were not uniformly better off in terms of psychological well-being compared to unmarried and remarried individuals. Focusing on the recourse perspective to explain the difference

in well-being by marital status, Soons and Lieferbroer (2008) find that differential access to resources explains 25-32 percent of the variance in well-being by relationship status. Furthermore, they find that roughly one-fifth of the difference between cohabitating and married individuals is explained by material resources, arguing that this is due to the lower likelihood of cohabiting couples pooling resources and benefiting from specialisation (Soons & Lieferbroer, 2008). A recent study by Musick and Bumpass (2012) using US data from between 1987 and 1994, found that entering into any union improved psychological well-being and reduced social contact with family and friends, regardless of whether it was a cohabitation or marriage.

Overall, research provides support for both the selection and causation hypothesis. This indicates that both selection and causation contribute to the association between relationship status and well-being. However, many of the explanations within these two hypotheses are as applicable to cohabiters as they are to married persons. Both statuses constitute living together with an intimate partner, sharing space and resources and providing emotional, physical and possibly financial support. However, research findings are inconsistent, and it is not completely clear whether cohabitation provides the same benefits as marriage when all differences in characteristics between cohabiting and married people are taken into account. Nonetheless, at an overall level, there remains a difference in well-being between married and cohabiting couples in most Western nations (Soons & Kalmijn, 2009). The following hypotheses, comprising commitment hypotheses, life course and set point hypotheses, and institutionalisation hypotheses, focus on explaining this difference.

Commitment Hypotheses

The commitment hypothesis was first proposed by Ross (1995) and developed further by Kamp Dush and Amato (2005). Ross first reconceptualised relationship status as a continuum of social attachment to examine the influence of relationship status on well-being. She defines social attachments as a sequence of increasing commitments in adult relationships, from dating, to cohabiting, to marital relationships (Ross, 1995:131). While she finds that the higher the level of attachment the lower the level of depression (cohabiting and married groups are not significantly different), when attachment, support and integration (having a partner, emotional support, living with other adults and living with children) are accounted for, the difference between having a partner outside or inside the

household becomes non-significant. She concludes that the presence or absence of a partner affects distress, not relationship status overall. Kamp Dush and Amato (2005) take this concept further and propose a continuum of commitment which they use to investigate the association between relationship status and subjective well-being in early adulthood. They further classify relationship status into categories including single, single and having dated recently but without a steady partner, and single with a steady partner outside the household, cohabiting and married. They argue that irrespective of relationship happiness, these different relationship statuses imply increasingly high levels of commitment, and highlight the importance of this for personal identity (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005:610). Their results support this conclusion, indicating that, despite controls, the association between the amount of commitment implied within a relationship status and subjective well-being increases monotonically (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005:623). Other studies have found similar hierarchies in well-being by relationship status (Soons & Liefbroer, 2008; Soons, et al., 2009).

Also focusing on the role of commitment, Rhoades, Stanley and Markman (2009; 2012) argue that it is important to examine cohabiting couples' reasons for cohabitation, in particular to differentiate internal from external reasons. In particular, relationships that continue because of an intrinsic desire to maintain one's relationship may lead to different outcomes compared to relationships that are continued because of constraining forces that increase the cost of leaving. While the generalizability of their findings is limited due to a small, non-representative sample, they find that the strongest reason for cohabitation is a desire to spend time together, followed by convenience-based reasons and then by a desire to 'test' the relationship (Galena K Rhoades, et al., 2009:251). They find an association between the degree to which 'testing' the relationship was an important reason for cohabiting and both individual well-being, including depressive and anxiety symptoms and attachment concerns, and relationship quality.

Furthermore, intention to marry may also be an indicator of commitment within a cohabiting relationship. While this is more likely to be important in countries in which cohabitation is less institutionalised (discussed in detail below), it has been identified as an important factor when investigating the differences in well-being between married and cohabiting individuals. Arguing that role ambiguity is reduced when both individuals plan to marry, Brown and Booth (1996) find that cohabiters' marriage plans largely explain the

difference in relationship quality between married and cohabiting couples. Their research suggests that if a cohabiting couple intends to marry, their union outcomes, such as levels of disagreement, perceptions of fairness, happiness, conflict management and levels of interaction, do not differ substantially from those of married couples (Brown & Booth, 1996). In a more recent study Brown (2004:16) finds comparable results, and concludes that a reported commitment to marriage is roughly equivalent to marriage in terms of relationship quality. A longitudinal study using Australian data by Baxter and Hewitt (2011) similarly finds that cohabiters' marriage plans largely explain the difference in relationship quality between cohabiting and married individuals.

Life Course and Set-point Hypotheses

The life course perspective assumes that marriage and cohabitation have different meanings and implications at different stages of the life course (Hansen, et al., 2007). Research has shown that cohabiting and marital unions are often formed concurrently with other life course events such as enrolment in education, completing a qualification, a birth, pregnancy, residential moves and employment, indicating that union formation is deeply embedded in the life course (Guzzo, 2006). As such, the association between relationship status and well-being is likely to change over the life course as particular events become more likely and individuals' life situations change. For example, Stutzer and Frey (2006) find that potential, as well as actual, division of labour contributes to spouses' well-being, with a particularly strong association for women when there are children in the household. Specifically, specialization in which the woman is the homemaker and the man participates in paid work, leads to a significantly higher level of well-being in the first few years after marriage compared to couples where there is no specialisation and children in the household. Stutzer and Frey (2006:339) suggest that this result may be due to the fact that women still do most of the housework, regardless of whether or not they participate in the labour market, and that the resulting stress may reduce the subjective well-being of women, in particular those who have primary responsibility for child care.

Taking on a life course perspective, a number of studies highlight the importance of taking relationship history into account, thereby differentiating previously married cohabiters and remarried persons from never married cohabiters and people in a first marriage. For example, Hanson, Moum and Shapiro (2007:926) using Norwegian data find that formerly married cohabiters report the same level of well-being as married persons, while never-

married cohabiters evaluated their lives as somewhat poorer on measures of relationship quality and life satisfaction compared to married persons or formally married cohabiters. They suggest that for never-married persons marriage may signal increased commitment, stability, security and joint investments, and so add value to a relationship and increase satisfaction. For previously married persons, however, marriage may no longer be important and cohabitation may provide a substitute for marriage without signalling a lack of commitment (Hansen, et al., 2007:927). They argue that their results suggest that the meaning of cohabitation may differ according to prior marital status, and highlight the importance of differentiating cohabiters by prior marital history.

The influence of age and time also has an important role to play in this debate. Almost all satisfaction measures, with the notable exception of health, increase with age (Easterlin 2003 in R. Lucas & Clark, 2006:408; White, 1992). Yang (2008) shows that life course patterns, time trends and birth cohort differences each have a distinct association with happiness and are independent of one another, arguing that it is important to differentiate all three time-related dimensions when studying changes in subjective well-being over time. It has been argued that not taking age into account has led to erroneous results in existing studies (Zimmermann & Easterlin, 2006), this will be further discussed in the context of the set-point perspective below.

Another perspective within the debate is the set-point or adaption hypothesis (also referred to as the hedonic treadmill within psychology), which argues that a person's subjective well-being centres around a set-point determined by genetics and personality, and major life events merely deflect a person from this level temporarily (Brickman & Campbell, 1971; Zimmermann & Easterlin, 2006). While a number of studies have found support for this hypothesis by showing that life satisfaction returns to baseline a few years post marriage (R. Lucas & Clark, 2006; Richard E. Lucas, Clark, Georgellis, & Diener, 2003), other studies put this finding down to a failure to control for age and pre-marital cohabitation (Soons, et al., 2009; Zimmermann & Easterlin, 2006). Zimmermann and Easterlin (2006), for example, find that although entering into a union leads to a long-term increase in happiness when compared to happiness at baseline, there is, however, no significant difference between marriage and cohabitation. Soons et al. (2009:1266), however, find that steady dating, cohabitation and marriage all have a separate effect on well-being, and while people become less happy over the course of their marriage, they still remain

happier than they would have been had they remained outside of a union. Indeed, they find that young adults who have never been in a co-residential union become slightly unhappier over time. Taken together, this indicates that it is imperative to take life course events and time trends into account when investigating the relationship between relationship status and well-being.

Institutionalisation Hypotheses

Institutionalisation hypotheses focus on social and institutional structure and culture to explain the association between relationship status and well-being. These often draw on the extent to which cohabitation is institutionalised, that is reflected in formal and informal norms relating to the welfare state, the status of women and options outside of marriage, and the extent to which social norms and social stigma influence union formation patterns. For example, while there is evidence of a 'cohabitation gap' in well-being in most Western nations (S. Stack & R. J. Eshleman, 1998), Soons and Kalmijn (2009:1153) find that countries in which cohabitation is highly institutionalised and firmly embedded in norms and behaviours, differences in well-being between married and cohabiting individuals are almost non-existent, and in some cases even reversed. They conclude that the consequences of a couple's decision to live together without a marriage certificate is determined by the degree to which this living arrangement is accepted and institutionalised. This finding has been corroborated by Diener et al. (2000:432) who find that the difference between cohabiting and married individuals is greater in collectivist compared to individualist nations, arguing that this is due to differences in normative expectations, social support and the nature of romantic relationships. Therefore, cohabitation is more likely to lead to negative outcomes when the status lacks formalized norms and its members are subject to social stigma (Nock, 1995; Skinner, Bahr, Crane, & Call, 2002; Waite & Gallagher, 2000).

Furthermore, institutionalisation perspectives focus on the welfare state and the extent to which it provides institutional supports for individuals outside of marriage. Ryan, Hugites and Hawdon (1998) find that the greater the support of the welfare state, the less life satisfaction is dependent on being married. They find similar results for the status of women, arguing that a comprehensive welfare state not only weakens the association between relationship status and well-being by providing social support outside of marriage, but it also indirectly influences the association by reducing the dependency of women on

their husbands (Ryan, et al., 1998:232). Furthermore, it has also been argued that the difference in well-being between married and cohabiting couples in the US may be influenced by the increased probability of medical coverage, as there is no universal health care program (White, 1992). For example, being married may increase the likelihood of being covered by a partner's employee medical benefits, and as such may not only increase actual well-being, but also subjective measures of well-being by providing a greater sense of security (White, 1992).

Overall, it becomes clear that the association between relationship status and well-being is not straight forward, and is contested. Many high-quality studies find conflicting evidence about what leads to the greater level of well-being amongst married persons. Moreover, the evidence on whether cohabitation has the same outcomes as marriage is also not consistent. One possible way to further understanding on these issues and to investigate possible reasons for variation in findings is to delve further into the different types of cohabitation. The remainder of the chapter will discuss a proposed cohabitation typology and the research agenda of this thesis.

Cohabitation Pathways

To some degree, implicit within the arguments that emphasise the association between relationship status and well-being, is the significance of pathways into and out of cohabitation, and how these may affect and be affected by different characteristics, life events and different forms of well-being. Cohabiting relationships tend to be short lived, often being converted into marriages or breaking up, rather than continuing long-term (de Vaus, 2004). While we know a little about the characteristics of people who are more likely to cohabit in Australia (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004), relatively little is known about the factors influencing transitions into cohabiting relationships, how common it is for cohabitations to end in marriage, separation or remain unchanged, and what factors are associated with these divergent pathways (de Vaus, 2004).

Guzzo (2006) investigates the relationship between forming unions and life course events in the US, finding that one quarter of all transitions into cohabiting relationships occur at the same time as another event (for example, education, employment, fertility or residential events). She argues that union formation decisions are not made in a vacuum,

but rather are influenced by and influence other realms of life, and this needs to be taken into account when investigating union formation. Factors that have been found to influence transitions out of cohabiting relationships include the male partners' economic resources (Smock & Manning, 1997), intentions to marry (Guzzo, 2009), previous cohabiting and marital relationships (F. Steele, et al., 2006), relationship satisfaction and fertility aspirations (Qu, et al., 2009). Cohabiting prior to marriage has also been found to influence the outcomes of marital relationships. While premarital cohabitation has been found to be associated with a higher likelihood of dissolution and higher levels of marital dysfunction (Hall & Zhao, 1995; Kamp Dush, et al., 2003), recent evidence has shown that this association is weakening over time (Hewitt & De Vaus, 2009; Jose, O'Leary, & Moyer, 2010; W. D. Manning & Cohen, 2012; Musick & Bumpass, 2012). This suggests that transitions into and out of cohabitation are influenced by numerous factors, and that living in a cohabiting relationship may also influence later life course outcomes.

Two particularly influential factors on transitions into and out of cohabiting relationships are fertility events and fertility intentions. There is a significant amount of evidence which shows that the odds of a cohabiting couple marrying increases during pregnancy (Steele, Joshi, Kallis, & Goldstein, 2006). And a prominent reason to transition from cohabitation to marriage is the decision to have children (Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007b). Despite these trends, childbearing has increased within cohabiting unions substantially across all Western nations (Kiernan, 2001, 2002, 2004a). In Australia, the percent of couples having children while cohabiting has increased from 2 percent in 1970 to about 16 percent in 2001 (de Vaus & Gray, 2004), indicating that the association between cohabitation, moving into a marital relationship and childbearing may be weakening. This is further endorsed by Steele et al. (2006) who argue that cohabitation in Britain is increasingly viewed as a viable alternative to marriage and an arena in which to have and raise children. They suggest that the increased likelihood of childbearing within a cohabiting union in Britain is related to a reduction in both the likelihood of the parents splitting up after the birth of a child and a reduction in the likelihood of them getting married. This suggests that while fertility intentions or pregnancy may prompt cohabiting couples to marry, cohabitation is increasingly becoming a socially acceptable arena in which to have and raise children.

Overall, this indicates that the associations between cohabitation pathways and different characteristics, life events and different forms of well-being are complex and influenced by

many factors. Musick and Bumpass (2012:14) argue that the association between cohabitation, relationship transitions, and well-being is evolving, and they highlight the need for further research to better understand the association. Furthermore, they contend that the demographic categories of married and cohabiting assume distinct boundaries, and rely on legal and residential criteria that may only weakly reflect the nature of the relationship (Musick & Bumpass, 2012:13). The argument that cohabitation is a heterogeneous phenomenon has been made in other research (Huang, et al., 2011; Smock, 2000). Furthermore, as has been shown, despite a considerable amount of research on the association between cohabitation, relationship status transitions, life course events and well-being, the results are inconsistent. Overall, this suggests that to advance our understanding of these associations, there is a need for a way of categorising cohabiters to better capture the heterogeneity arising from intentions to marry and prior relationship status history.

Cohabitation Typology

This thesis argues that what the existing literature points to is that cohabiters are not a homogenous group, and that the outcomes of cohabitation are also influenced by the reasons that a couple chooses to cohabit in the first place. Individuals may cohabit for very different reasons and carry with them very different expectations of what they wish to obtain from the relationship. As such, it is evident that the outcomes of cohabitation will also vary substantially. If people are married it is fair to assume that the majority of these are relationships where both partners intended from the outset to “love and to hold” and “until death do us part”, or at the very least put effort into maintaining the relationship. Furthermore, legal marriage is usually deemed permanent at the time and is legally binding, with the process of separation being difficult, requiring the input of lawyers and the court system and is generally costly. This is not the case for cohabitation, and as discussed, people may cohabit for different reasons. It is reasonable to assume that a cohabiting relationship that was formed for convenience, and where both individuals within the relationship do not see it as a permanent situation, will have a very different outcome to a cohabitation that was formed with a high level of commitment and permanence expected by both individuals. As such, not only are cohabiters a heterogeneous group, but it is also likely that they are more heterogeneous compared to married people with regards to the expected permanency of the relationship.

Casper and Sayer (2000) argue that very few studies have directly assessed the heterogeneity of attitudes among cohabiters and create and validate a four category typology based on cohabiter's intention to marry and their perceived likelihood of separation. They differentiate individuals for whom cohabitation is a substitute for marriage, a precursor to marriage, a trial period for marriage, or a serious boyfriend-girlfriend type of relationship. Overall, they find that cohabitation type is associated with attitudes toward marriage and union transitions. They conclude that cohabiters are heterogeneous, and argue that cohabiters have different purposes and goals in their relationships and that these differences will lead to different relationship transitions.

This suggests it is important to capture the heterogeneity of cohabiters with regards to their marital intentions and previous relationship experiences. This thesis proposes a cohabitation typology based on measures of intention to marry and previous marital history. As highlighted above, the intention to marry by a cohabiting partner may reflect commitment to the relationship, whereas a lack of intention to marry may reflect a lack of commitment. It could, however, also reflect a rejection of the institution of marriage, or possibly legal, social or financial constraints. Previous marital history, on the other hand, may reflect different experiences and expectations that an individual brings to a relationship, in addition to representing the life course stage in which an individual is situated. While previous research has divided cohabiting people into typologies by intention to marry, or previous marital history, no study that we know of has created a typology using both. Given the heterogeneity of the cohabiting group, it can be expected that the combination of these two factors may lead to systematic differences in the outcomes of cohabitation. A lack of intention to marry for a never married person may signal an insecure or dysfunctional relationship, however, this may not be the case for a previously married person. Alternatively, a previously married person who intends to marry their cohabiting partner may be different from a previously married person who does not wish to marry their partner, and the reasons for these intentions may be very distinct. For example, a divorced person may not wish to marry their cohabiting partner because they no longer see the value in marriage, but this does not mean that they are any less committed to the relationship. A never married person, on the other hand, may not wish to marry because they do not see their cohabiting partner as someone that they would like to spend the rest of their life with. Alternatively, a person who is cohabiting and never married may simply reject the institution of marriage and may never have considered

marriage. Overall, intention to marry and previous marital history may reflect a range of factors, from cohabiters who reject the institution of marriage, to those who are unable to marry for practical reasons but are no less committed, to those who 'have been there and done that' and do not wish to re-marry, to those who are simply unhappy in their relationships. While constructing the cohabitation typology as proposed here does not allow all of these factors to be identified, it enables a better understanding of the experiences that an individual brings into cohabitation (previous marital history), and the intentions that they currently have for that cohabiting relationship (intention to marry).

The cohabitation typology, as proposed in this thesis, suggests that cohabiters be grouped by both intention to marry and previous marital history. Cohabiters will be classified by intention to marry: those who intend to marry their current cohabiting partner and those who do not. Additionally, cohabiters will be classified by previous marital history: those who have been married at least once before, and those who are never married.

Operationalising the typology in this manner leads to four distinct groups of cohabiters. These comprise: (1) premarital cohabiters (those who are not previously married and intending to marry), (2) non-marital cohabiters (those who are not previously married and not intending to marry), (3) post-marital cohabiters (those who are previously married and not intending to marry) and (4) remarriage cohabiters (those who are previously married and intending to marry). These groups are not static and individuals can move from one group to another if their intention to marry changes. While it is theoretically possible to move between being never married to previously married, this is not likely for the sample analysed in this thesis, as it would require a marriage, separation and commencement of another cohabiting relationship.

The value of using this typology is that it will enable cohabiters to be studied while accounting for the diverse nature of the cohabiting group. It will not only enable different types of cohabiters to be compared to one another, but creating distinct groups may enable cross-cultural or cross-national research to be more comparable in the future. Utilising this typology will enable this thesis to add to current knowledge of cohabitation in a thorough and distinct way.

Research Agenda

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the characteristics, pathways and outcomes of cohabiters whilst taking the diversity of cohabiters into account. This will be done by operationalising the cohabitation typology, and employing it to explore: 1) the characteristics of cohabiters, 2) factors that influence transitions out of cohabitation, and 3) well-being as an outcome of cohabitation, in particular subjective happiness. As such, the empirical section of this thesis will be divided into three empirical chapters, preceded by a chapter that provides a detailed discussion of the research methods and design.

The research question addressed in the first empirical chapter (Chapter 5) is:

What are the demographic, socio-economic and attitudinal characteristics of cohabiters in Australia?

The objective of this research question is to provide a comprehensive, yet primarily descriptive, account of cohabiting couples in Australia. In particular, this chapter will allow the specific characteristics of the different typology groups to be examined not only in comparison to other relationship statuses, but also in comparison to one another. No known existing research has conducted such a comparison. Furthermore, answering this research question employing the cohabitation typology will show whether or not the differences between the typology groups are large enough to merit the use of the typology for further research.

The research questions addressed in the second empirical chapter (Chapter 6) is:

Does the likelihood of transitioning from cohabitation into either a married or single state vary between different relationship statuses and typology groups?

What effect do individual and household characteristics have on the likelihood of specific kinds of transitions?

The aim of these research questions is to gain a clearer picture of the factors that influence transitions out of cohabiting relationships. In particular, the influence of intention to marry and previous marital history, as operationalised in the cohabitation typology, on transitions out of cohabitation and the factors associated with these transitions. Having investigated the characteristics of cohabiters in the previous empirical chapter, this research will provide insights into the pathways that cohabiting relationships are likely to take, and the factors that influence these pathways.

The research question addressed in the third empirical chapter (Chapter 7) is:

What is the association between the cohabiting types, transitions in relationship status and happiness?

The aim of this research question is to explore the outcome of well-being for cohabiting couples by taking the emotional nature of romantic relationships into consideration. While the association between cohabiting relationships and well-being has been the focus of a considerable amount of research attention, as shown in this chapter, one aspect that is generally not taken into account is the importance of romantic relationships for emotional well-being. Existing research indicates that intimate attachments which result in feelings of love are instrumental in defining a person's level of personal happiness and in turn their overall well-being (Frijda, 1999; Myers, 1999). Furthermore, research also indicates that happiness is a distinct form of subjective well-being, and not comparable to global judgements such as evaluations of life satisfaction (Diener, et al., 2010:3; Keyes, et al., 2002). As romantic relationships are especially important for emotional well-being and happiness, incorporating this into an investigation of the outcome of cohabitation is of particular relevance. In particular, employing the cohabitation typology will enable the influence of intention to marry and previous marital history to be considered when exploring the outcome of cohabitation on variations in levels of happiness. Such an investigation has not been previously conducted, and as such will contribute to the current knowledge on the consequences of cohabitation.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a review of the literature on the association between relationship status and well-being with particular reference to cohabitation, and the factors that influence cohabitation pathways. Overall, the evidence suggests that there are complex processes at play that lead to inconsistent research findings. Consequently, this thesis proposes the development of a cohabitation typology, which will be operationalised and incorporated into the empirical analyses, to explore the characteristics of cohabiters, the factors that influence transitions out of cohabitation the outcome of cohabitation for happiness. The following chapter outlines the research design and methods employed in this thesis, while Chapter 5 provides a first empirical assessment of the typology outlined above.

Chapter 4

Research Methods and Design

This chapter describes the overall research design, data and methods used in this thesis. The specific methodological and analytical issues pertaining to analyses for each of the research questions will be presented in the results chapters. The focus here is on the design elements that underlie the whole study. This chapter describes the data, analytic sample, dependent, explanatory and control variables, as well as descriptive statistics.

The thesis is based on quantitative cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses of the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey. These data are appropriate as this thesis is interested in investigating large-scale social and demographic trends and processes. As stated in the preceding chapter, the empirical analyses for the thesis are presented in three empirical chapters. The first examines the characteristics of cohabiters in Australia, the second investigates transitions out of cohabitation, and the third examines the relationship between relationship status and happiness. These questions will be examined using the cohabitation typology developed in the previous chapters.

Data

The data used in this research are from Waves 1- 8 of the HILDA survey (Goode & Watson, 2007). This is Australia's national longitudinal study of households and individuals that examines economic, social and demographic issues. The HILDA survey was initiated and funded by the Australian Federal Government through the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) and is managed by The Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research at the University of Melbourne. HILDA has been chosen as the data source for this research as it is Australia's only household panel survey, contains all of the variables required for this research, has large sample sizes, a longitudinal focus and high quality data, in addition to being easily accessible. The first wave of data was collected in late 2001, and each subsequent wave was collected at 1 year intervals. The HILDA sample closely represents the wider population of Australia, with data collected on both the household and each

individual over 15 years of age within the household (HILDA Survey Annual Report, 2002:10-12). The survey is comprised of four instruments: the Household Form, the Household Questionnaire, the Person Questionnaire and the Self-Complete Questionnaire. The final number of households to complete Wave 1 was 7682, representing a total of 13,969 individuals and a response rate of 66 percent (HILDA Survey Annual Report, 2002). Wave 1 is largely representative³ of Australian households, but not necessarily representative of individuals (Goode & Watson, 2007). The attrition rates for Waves 2 – 8 range from 5.1 percent to 13.2 percent (wave 2 – 13.2 percent; wave 3 – 9.6 percent; wave 4 – 8.4 percent; wave 5 – 5.6 percent; wave 6 – 5.1 percent; and wave 7 – 5.3 percent). For further information on HILDA see <http://melbourneinstitute.com/hilda> or the Hilda User Manual (Goode & Watson, 2007).

Analytic Sample

This thesis uses a common analytic sample for all analyses. This has been constrained in a number of ways. People under the age of 18 in any given wave have been excluded from the analysis as this group is unable to marry without the consent of a parent or guardian (Marriage Act 1961, Cwlth). Furthermore, the association between marital status, transitions and life outcomes of respondents under 18 years of age is not expected to reflect that of older cohorts (a total of 141 observations of persons under the age of 18 who reported de facto as marital status have been omitted from analysis⁴). Same sex couples have not been omitted from the analytic sample. While omitting same sex couples makes sense in cross-sectional studies, doing so in longitudinal studies is problematic for a number of reasons. HILDA does not ask respondents to nominate their sexual orientation and consequently, same sex couples can only be identified by linking the sex of the respondent to the sex of their romantic partner. As people move in and out of same sex co-residential relationships, it is not clear under which circumstances individuals should be omitted. Furthermore, only omitting same sex couples in cohabiting relationships would cause a selection bias as single and dating homosexual people cannot be omitted. There are 22 same sex couples in co-residential relationships in Wave 1 (Weston, Qu, & de Vaus, 2005), suggesting that overall inclusion or exclusion of same sex

³ Some characteristics of the HILDA sample are not exactly representative of the Australian population. Women and married people are over-represented, while people who live in Sydney and people from non-English-speaking backgrounds are under-represented. These discrepancies, however, not considered to be large enough to discredit the data (Nicole Watson & Wooden, 2002).

⁴ This comprises: 12, 12, 16, 12, 18, 19, 28 and 24 omitted observations from Wave 1 to Wave 8 respectively.

couples is unlikely to influence the substantive results. People who did not report their marital status were also excluded from the analysis (this totalled 14 observations across all 8 waves).

Dependent Variables

There are two primary dependent variables used in this thesis. The first is the cohabitation typology, which is employed as the dependent variable in Chapters 5 and 6. The second is a measure of happiness, which comprises the dependent variable in Chapter 7.

Cohabitation Typology

As discussed in the previous chapter, the key argument in this thesis is that cohabiters are not a homogenous group. Marital intentions and previous marital history are used to construct a cohabitation typology which comprises four different groups: (1) premarital cohabiters (not previously married and intending to marry), (2) non-marital cohabiters (not previously married and not intending to marry), (3) post-marital cohabiters (previously married and not intending to marry) and (4) remarriage cohabiters (previously married and intending to marry). While these groups are not static, as cohabiters can move from one group to another if their intention to marry changes, this thesis argues that these groups signify fundamentally different types of relationships.

The typology is operationalised using variables that measure intention to marry and marital history. Intention to marry is measured by a variable that asks “How likely are you to marry your current partner?” with five response categories ranging from ‘very likely’ to ‘very unlikely’. Those who responded with ‘very likely’ or ‘likely’ are considered to be intending to marry. Those who reported ‘unsure’ are coded as not intending to marry⁵. The marital history variable asks “How many times have you been legally married?” This variable is used to create a dichotomous variable which measures ‘not previously married’ (0) and ‘previously married’ (1). These two variables are used to operationalise the typology of cohabiting people, which results in the categories noted above. Married people are also divided into two categories, those in their first marriage and those in a second or

⁵ People who were unsure were coded as not intending to marry because the aim of the typology is to differentiate between those who give a positive response to marital intentions and those who do not. A similar approach was used by Mitchell and Gray (2007:26) when investigating fertility intentions.

higher order marriage. For some analyses separated, divorced and widowed people are part of the 'single' category and in others they are a separate category. This is discussed further in the empirical chapters.

Figure 2: Visual Representation of the Cohabitation Typology and Other Marital Status Groups in Wave 1

Figure 5 provides a visual representation of the cohabitation typology and other marital status groups in wave 1, indicating the total number of respondents in each group. The biggest cohabiting group are premarital cohabiters, which make up 40 percent of all cohabiters in Wave 1, followed by non-marital cohabiters (27%), post-marital cohabiters (19%) and remarriage cohabiters (14%). Of the married group, 86 percent are in a first marriage and 14 percent are in a higher order marriage. Table 1 provides the same information broken into 8 waves, showing the number of respondents in each group per wave. Importantly these results indicate that there are sufficient respondents in each group for meaningful statistical analyses.

Table 1: Number of Respondents in each Relationship Status, by Wave, N (%)

Wave	Married	Higher Order Marriage	Single	Separated, divorced, widowed	Premarital cohabiters	Non-marital cohabiters	Post-marital cohabiters	Remarriage cohabiters	Total
1	6489 (49.2)	1038 (7.9)	2459 (19.0)	1857 (14.1)	539 (4.1)	360 (2.7)	253 (1.9)	185 (1.4)	13180
2	5890 (47.7)	974 (7.9)	2274 (19.0)	1864 (15.2)	568 (5.6)	356 (2.9)	250 (2.0)	139 (1.1)	12295
3	5593 (46.5)	923 (7.7)	2294 (19.0)	1829 (15.2)	626 (5.2)	339 (2.8)	236 (2.0)	177 (1.5)	12017
4	5318 (45.5)	914 (7.8)	2216 (19.0)	1827 (15.6)	635 (5.4)	374 (3.2)	235 (2.0)	172 (1.5)	11691
5	5336 (44.5)	954 (8.0)	2341 (19.0)	1857 (15.5)	701 (5.8)	362 (3.0)	278 (2.3)	169 (1.4)	11998
6	5316 (43.9)	966 (8.0)	2360 (19.0)	1843 (15.2)	759 (6.3)	401 (3.3)	277 (2.0)	182 (1.5)	12014
7	5160 (43.0)	981 (8.2)	2331 (19.0)	1800 (15.0)	817 (6.8)	435 (3.6)	304 (2.6)	178 (1.5)	12006
8	5315 (42.8)	1004 (8.4)	2340 (19.0)	1818 (15.2)	821 (6.9)	379 (3.2)	285 (2.4)	203 (1.7)	11985
Total	44217	7754	18615	14695	5466	3006	2118	1405	97276

Happiness

The second dependent variable, happiness is measured by a variable that asks: “These questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you during the past 4 weeks. For each question, please give the one answer that comes closest to the way you have been feeling. How much of the time during the past 4 weeks: Have you been a happy person?”. Responses are measured on a Likert scale ranging from (1) ‘All of the time to’, (6) ‘None of the time’. The categories have been reverse coded so that a higher number indicates a higher level of happiness. This item is included in a list of questions asking about well-being and emotions, such as feeling full of life, nervous, down in the dumps, calm and peaceful, energetic and worn out and tired. Further information on the rationalization and operationalisation of this measure, in addition to descriptive statistics are presented in Chapter 7.

Independent Variables

All analyses use a core set of independent variables. Specific justifications for these variables are contained in the empirical chapters. These variables may be grouped into three categories: demographic characteristics, socio-economic characteristics and attitudinal characteristics. The measurement of these remains constant in this thesis.

Unless otherwise stated, these items are collected in the Person Questionnaire and have limited missing data.

Demographic Characteristics

Age and Gender

Age at survey is a continuous variable measured in years. Gender is measured using a dummy variable for female (female = 1; male = 0).

Region of Birth

A broad measure of region of birth has been used throughout this thesis, with three categories: 1. Born in Australia; 2, born in a main English speaking country (the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Canada, USA, Ireland and South Africa); or 3, born in 'other' (a non-English speaking country). Born in Australia is treated as the reference category. More detailed measures of region of birth are not possible in HILDA due to small cell sizes. Furthermore, these categories are appropriate as prior descriptive research suggests that English speaking countries have cultures and practices which tend to be more tolerant of divorce and cohabitation (de Vaus, 2004:118).

Indigenous Status

Indigenous status is measured by a dichotomous dummy variable, treating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples as Indigenous, and all others as non-Indigenous. As with region of birth, cell sizes were too small to separate those with Aboriginal versus Torres Strait Islander origin.

Parental Status

Parental status is measured by a dichotomous dummy variable, 'ever had a child', for which 'never had child' is the reference category. This measure derives from an item that measures the total number of children that a respondent has ever had.

Parental Divorce

Parental divorce is measured by a dichotomous dummy variable, with people whose parents have divorced coded 1 and everyone else⁶ coded 0. This measure is derived from a number of items in the Person Questionnaire or New Person Questionnaire in HILDA.

Health

Health is measured by a dichotomous dummy variable measuring poor health. This measure is based on an item that asks: “How true or false is each of the following statements for you? My health is excellent”, with the response categories: definitely true, mostly true, don’t know, mostly false and definitely false. All respondents who report ‘mostly false’ and ‘definitely false’ are considered to be in poor health, and all others are treated as the reference category. This variable has been dichotomised as it is a control measure, and its purpose in this thesis is to identify people who are of poor health, not to investigate how varying gradients of health affect relationship formation or dissolution. Furthermore, this item has been chosen over a measure of satisfaction with ‘your health’ (see the financial and life satisfaction section below) as it is arguably a more objective measure. As this measure is included in the Self Complete Questionnaire, flag variables have been employed to control for missing data (see section below).

Union Length

Union length is a continuous variable representing years and months since the commencement of the cohabiting or marital relationship. The variable used in this research employs a derived variable in HILDA measuring “Current marriage/defacto duration – years”, which is calculated from the month and year of the current marriage, or when a cohabiting respondent started living with their current partner, to the date of interview (Wooden & Watson, 2007). The months have been converted to portions of a year.

Socio-economic Characteristics

⁶Respondent’s whose parents never married or lived together are *not* coded as having divorced parents.

Education

Education is measured by two variables. One of these is a continuous measure of years of schooling, while the other is a dichotomous variable measuring whether the respondent holds a tertiary degree. Previous research has found a difference between the continuous effect of time in formal education, which is incremental, and a qualitative difference between people who do and do not hold a degree, which is a step increase (Card, 1999; Smith, 1995). Both of these control variables derive from an item which measures the highest level of education achieved, with categories ranging from post-graduate (Masters or Doctorate), to Year 11 and below (this item has 10 categories overall and is based on the Australian Standard Classification of Education (ASCED) (ABS 2001)). The variable measuring number of years in education reflects the number of years of formal schooling that is required to achieve a certain qualification. The variable that measures whether a respondent holds a degree is a dichotomous dummy variable, with 'does not hold a degree' as the reference category. People who reported having a highest education level of Bachelor degree or higher were coded as 'holds a degree', all others were coded 'does not hold a degree'.

Income

Household income is used throughout the thesis to measure financial resources. HILDA provides an imputed item for 'Household current weekly gross wages & salary - all jobs'. Household income is used rather than individual income as it is expected to better reflect financial resources available to couples when making decisions that influence relationship status transitions and outcomes. If, however, the primary purpose was to investigate transitions out of relationships, individual income may be a better predictor as it indicates the available resources with which a person may exit a relationship.

Homeownership

Homeownership is measured by a dichotomous dummy variable considering all respondents who own or are currently paying off a mortgage, who live rent free, have life tenure⁷, or are in a rent-buy scheme as owning their own home; all others are included in the reference category (this includes people who rent or pay board). The available

⁷ In HILDA, life tenure is defined as: households or individuals who have a life tenure contract to live in the dwelling but usually do not have any equity in the dwelling (see HILDA Household Questionnaire).

response categories for the variable used to derive this measure changed after wave 1. In wave 1 rent-buy schemes were not differentiated from renting or paying board, while in subsequent waves a separate response category was included for respondents involved in a rent-buy scheme. Due to this change this group is considered to *not* own their own home in wave 1, but considered to own their own home in waves thereafter. The maximum number of respondents who report being involved in a rent-buy scheme is 0.15 percent of households in wave 2 (11 of 7245 households). Due to the very small number of such households the effects on overall results of this coding is expected to be negligible.

Hours of Paid Employment

Hours of paid employment is based on an item that measures 'hours per week usually worked in all jobs.' This question is only asked of employed people. For the purposes of the regression analysis, people who are not employed are coded as working zero (0) hours. To adjust for this an additional dummy variable, labelled 'does not work for pay' was created in which respondents who are not employed are coded 1, with employed people as the reference. This operationalisation reflects the fact that the distribution of hours worked is a mixture of two population distributions, people who are not employed and work zero hours, and people who are employed and work varying numbers of hours. The dummy variable distinguishes the first from the second group, while the continuous variable captures variations in hours worked among employed people.

Attitudinal Characteristics

Religiosity

Information on religiosity is collected in a set of items in the Person Questionnaire in wave 1 and as a stand-alone question in the Self Complete Questionnaire in waves 4 and 7, by a question that asks 'How important is religion in your life?'. Responses are collected on a 11 point Likert scale ranging from 0 'One of the least important things in my life' to 10 'The most important thing in my life'. As religiosity is not collected in each wave, the responses from wave 1 are carried over for wave 2 and 3, and likewise, the responses from wave 4 become the responses for waves 5 and 6, and so forth. For the purposes of the analyses this is considered an appropriate way to construct the variable as religiosity is not expected to change substantially in the intervening years between data collection points.

As the response rate is lower for the Self Complete Questionnaire than for the Person Questionnaire, there is more missing data in waves 4 and 7 than in wave 1. Flag variables have been employed to counter this (for further explanation see the missing data section below). Religiosity is treated as a continuous variable.

Fertility Intentions

Expected fertility intentions are measured by a question asking: “And how likely are you to have [a child/more children] in the future?”. Responses are recorded on an 11-point scale, which ranges from 0 – 10, with a higher number indicating a greater likelihood. The question is only asked of people between the ages of 18 and 55 years of age. For the purposes of this research, people who are not asked due to being older than 55 (under 18 year olds are not included in the sample) have been coded 0, having no fertility intentions.

Financial Satisfaction and Life Satisfaction

Financial satisfaction is measured in a set of items that ask: “I am now going to ask you some questions about how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with some of the things happening in your life... The more satisfied you are, the higher the number you should pick. The less satisfied you are, the lower the number: Your financial situation”. Other items included here are, for example, ‘the home in which you live’, ‘your employment opportunities’, ‘how safe you feel’ and ‘health’. The question on life satisfaction immediately follows these items and is asked in the following way: “All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life”. The responses for all of these questions are recorded on an 11-point scale ranging from 0 – 10, with a higher number representing a higher level of satisfaction.

Relationship Satisfaction

Relationship satisfaction is measured by a question asked in a set of items in the Self Complete Questionnaire: “Now some questions about family life”... “How satisfied are you with your relationship with your partner?”. This is the first question, followed by a number of items such as the respondents’ relationship with children, parents or former spouses. As with the previous scale, responses are recorded on an 11-point scale with a higher number indicating a higher level of relationship satisfaction (also ranging from 0-10). This

question is asked of all respondents in a romantic relationship, not only married and cohabiting respondents. Therefore, people who are in a relationship but do not live with their partner (living apart together couples) also have a measure of relationship satisfaction. While more detailed measures of relationship quality are collected (Hendrick, 1988), including items such as 'How good is your relationship compared to most', 'How much do you love your spouse/partner?' and 'How many problems are there in your relationship', this information is only collected in wave 3, making it unsuitable for longitudinal analysis (Nicole Watson, 2010:145). While a single item relationship satisfaction measure is not ideal, Bradbury, Fincham and Beach (2000:974) highlight the importance of using longitudinal measures of relationship satisfaction, suggesting that the use of a single item measure assessed at numerous time points is preferable to a multiple item measure assessed at one time point. Furthermore, the measure for relationship satisfaction used in this research is asked in a set of items assessing satisfaction with relationships in general, suggesting that it is asked in an appropriate context to lead to accurate reflections of partner satisfaction. This variable is part of the Self Complete Questionnaire and has missing data (see discussion on missing data below).

Gender Role Attitudes

Gender role attitudes are measured by a variable that asks: 'It is better for everyone involved if the man earns the money and the woman takes care of the home and children'. Responses were recorded on a 7 point likert scale ranging from 1 "strongly agree " to 7 "strongly disagree ", and a higher response indicates a more liberal gender attitude⁸. Gender role attitudes are only collected in waves 1, 5, and 8 of HILDA, and as for religiosity, the responses have been carried over from previous waves until collected again (i.e. the responses from wave 1 are carried over for waves 2, 3 and 4; the responses from wave 5 also become the responses for waves 6 and 7). As this variable is used primarily as a control measure, and not to measure change over time, this coding is the most appropriate approach given that gender role attitudes are not collected annually. This single item to measure gender role attitudes has been chosen above an index which includes additional items, as despite extensive attempts, an index including additional

⁸ Note that this has been reversed coded from the original HILDA items, where 1 was 'strongly disagree' and 7 was 'strongly agree'.

items in not viable⁹. This has been done in other studies using the gender attitude items from HILDA (Baxter, et al., 2008).

Missing data

Due to the design of the HILDA survey, which collects information using face-to-face interviews for the Person Questionnaire, there is very little missing data for key variables. Some of the items used in this thesis, however, were collected in the Self Complete Questionnaire, a self-complete inventory left with the respondents to be completed individually and later collected or mailed back. In Wave 1, 6.5 percent of the total sample did not complete or return the Self Complete Questionnaire form. This increased incrementally to 12.4 percent by Wave 8¹⁰ and missing data within the form averaged 2.5 to 2.8 percent (Nicole Watson, 2010). This results in a substantial amount of missing data for some variables. These variables included health, gender role attitudes, relationship satisfaction, and to a lesser extent, religiosity (for details see section on religiosity above). To minimise the effect of missing data in the analyses all missing data was coded 0 on relevant variables and flag variables for missing data were included in the regression models, where all missing respondents are coded 1 and all others 0. This strategy adjusts the coefficients for missing data on the variables. Descriptive statistics for the missing data are described below.

Household Clustering

HILDA is a household panel survey with all of the data collected on both an individual and a household level. As a result, observations within a household are not typically independent of one another, which leads to a number of problems for statistical analyses. Most statistical models assume that all observations are independent of one another. To account for household clustering in this way, the statistical models used in this thesis employ a robust estimator of variance, which adjusts for household clustering.

⁹ Up to 11 additional gender attitude items are available in HILDA. Principal component analysis was carried out, and no theoretically meaningful factors/components became apparent; possible combinations of items that were theoretically meaningful had cronbach's alphas that were too low for index construction (below 0.60).

¹⁰ The non-return of the Self complete Questionnaire comprised: wave 2 = 7.0 percent, wave 3 = 7.7 percent, wave 4 = 8.2 percent, wave 5 = 10.1 percent, wave 6 = 9.2 percent, wave 7 = 11.0 percent, wave 8 = 12.4 percent.

Descriptive Statistics: How do Cohabitors Differ?

Tables 2 and 3 provide descriptive statistics on each of the relationship status groups at Wave 1. While Table 2 examines differences between cohabiters and all groups, including those not in a relationship, Table 3 focuses on comparisons between respondents who are in a live-in relationship with a partner including married people and those in each group of the cohabiting typology. Splitting the descriptive statistics in such a way allows cohabiting people to be compared to other marital statuses as an entire group, while also examining differences between the cohabitation typology groups and investigating characteristics that are unique to partnered people. Appendix 1 provides a detailed description of Tables 2 and 3 and only key results will be discussed here.

Table 2: Summary Descriptive Statistics for All Respondents

	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, divorced or widowed	Single	Total
Region of Birth (percent)					
Australia	70.65	77.90	73.68	81.10	73.75
Main English Speaking	12.22	14.08	12.16	7.05	11.44
Other	17.13	8.01	14.16	11.85	14.80
Other Demographic Data (percent)					
Female	51.36	52.06	68.32	45.31	52.70
Indigenous	0.89	3.60	2.11	2.91	1.71
Own home	86.23	54.89	65.84	55.02	74.38
Holds a degree	19.62	20.30	12.16	19.11	18.54
Does not work for pay	37.38	25.32	59.95	29.52	37.87
Ever had child	90.08	53.48	89.62	13.20	72.01
Expect child in future	14.37	47.49	5.95	61.95	25.39
Parental Divorce	14.44	30.19	17.35	25.79	18.56
Continuous Variables (mean)					
Age	48.52	35.10	57.67	29.74	44.96
Years of Schooling	12.23	12.37	11.66	12.35	12.18
Household income (\$ per week)	978.73	1101.64	375.51	960.61	902.84
Hours worked	39.37	40.30	37.68	35.17	38.56
Religiosity	5.07	2.97	5.4	4.06	4.72
Life satisfaction	8.17	7.86	7.57	7.57	7.94
Gender /gender role attitudes	4.04	3.16	4.51	3.28	3.88
Financial satisfaction	6.48	5.79	5.71	5.52	6.13
Poor health	19.92	17.72	28.04	18.00	20.45
Percent of overall Sample					
N	7,502	1,335	1,850	2,439	13,126

The results for the descriptive statistics for the relationship status categories married, cohabiting, separated, divorced or widowed and single, are presented in Table 2. It is clear that married is by far the most common relationship status (57.2%), followed by

single (18.6%) and separated, divorced or widowed (14.1%), while cohabiting is the least common relationship type comprising 10.2 percent of the overall sample. The gender distribution within categories indicates that there are substantial differences between the proportion of men and women who are separated, divorced or widowed and single. These proportions are, however, roughly in line with the ABS 2001 Census of Population and Housing, indicating that Wave 1 of HILDA is comparable to the broader population of Australia (ABS 2001). In 2001 an estimated 23 percent of Australia's resident population was born overseas (ABS 2003:91), but the HLDA sample has a slightly higher proportion of people born overseas (26.24%), indicating slight divergence from a representative sample. However, the results for region of birth and Indigenous people are in line with existing research (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004).

While cohabiting people are substantially more likely to have had a child than single people, their fertility rate is substantially lower than that of people who have been married. Cohabiting people are much more likely to expect to have a child in the future compared to the married or previously married, they are also the most likely to have divorced parents and the least likely to report poor health. The cohabiting group reports the highest weekly average household income, they are, however, the least likely to own their own home. Cohabiting people have a substantially lower average level of religiosity compared to all other groups, and report the most liberal gender role attitudes.

The descriptive statistics for partnered respondents in a live-in relationship comprising the groups first marriage, higher order marriage and the cohabitation typology groups are presented in Table 3. Respondents in a first marriage comprise 73.2 percent of all partnered people and are by far the largest group; people in a higher order marriage comprise 11.7 percent of the partnered sample, while premarital cohabiters comprise 6.1 percent, non-marital cohabiters comprise 4.1 percent, post-marital cohabiters comprise 2.9 percent and remarriage cohabiters comprise 2.1 percent. While the percentage of each cohabiting group is relatively low, the number of observations in each category is large enough for meaningful analyses of relationship and wellbeing outcomes for these groups. Of the cohabiting groups, the largest is premarital cohabiters who are never married and intending to marry, this group comprises 40.3 percent of all cohabiters (total number of cohabiters is 1335). If we include cohabiters who have been married (and intend to marry), the total increases to 54.2 percent, indicating that roughly half of cohabiters intend

to marry, with just under half not intending to marry. The two cohabiting groups that have been previously married, post-marital and remarriage cohabiters, are on average older (48 and 43 years, respectively) than the two that have not been married, premarital and non-marital cohabiters (28 and 33 years, respectively). Within each group, the average age of those who intend to marry is roughly 5 years younger than the group that does not intend to marry. The average age of the first marriage group, at 48 years is the same as post-marital cohabiters, while those in a higher order marriage, at 52 years are older than all other groups. These findings highlight the strong association between age and marriage over the life course.

Table 3: Summary Descriptive Statistics for Partnered Respondents in a Live-in Relationship

	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital cohabiters	Non-marital cohabiters	Post-marital cohabiters	Remarriage cohabiters	Total
Region of Birth (percent)							
Australia	71.27	66.70	83.27	78.33	68.25	74.59	71.73
Main English Speaking	11.40	17.37	9.85	14.44	20.63	16.76	12.51
Other	17.33	15.93	6.88	7.22	11.11	8.65	15.76
Other Demographic Data (percent)							
Female	51.49	50.58	51.30	50.56	61.51	44.32	51.47
Indigenous	0.90	0.87	3.35	6.11	1.59	2.16	1.3
Own home	86.71	83.20	42.19	54.44	72.22	69.73	81.50
Holds a degree	19.99	17.28	20.45	23.06	19.44	15.68	19.72
Does not work for pay	36.75	41.31	21.56	28.61	27.38	27.03	35.56
Ever had child	89.73	92.73	33.46	45.83	85.32	83.24	84.56
Expect child in future	15.26	8.88	79.93	37.78	8.73	24.86	19.83
Parental divorce	13.62	19.50	34.20	37.50	18.65	20.00	16.81
Continuous Variables (mean)							
Age (years)	47.98	51.93	27.76	32.92	48.00	43.12	46.49
Years of Schooling	12.25	12.08	12.48	12.40	12.22	12.17	12.25
Household income (\$ per week)	990.34	905.06	1136.86	973.01	1207.35	1105.52	997.52
Hours worked	39.35	39.54	40.96	38.19	40.41	42.09	39.53
Religiosity	5.16	4.52	3.20	2.36	3.19	3.22	4.75
Life satisfaction	8.17	8.18	8.03	7.53	7.75	8.13	8.12
Gender role attitudes	4.05	4.05	3.04	3.01	3.61	3.22	3.92
Financial satisfaction	6.53	6.21	5.90	5.45	6.02	5.83	6.38
Poor health	19.29	23.85	15.46	15.89	23.18	20.45	19.59
Partnership Variables							
Partner Satisfaction (mean)	8.77	8.78	8.80	7.77	8.06	8.81	8.71
Union length (years)	24.35	13.58	4.23	7.33	8.06	4.81	20.29
Percent of Overall Sample							
All	73.16	11.73	6.09	4.08	2.85	2.09	100.00
Married persons (N: 7499)	86.18	13.82					100.00
Cohabiters (N:1335)			40.30	26.97	18.88	13.86	100.00
N	6,463	1,036	538	360	252	185	8,834

Premarital cohabiters are the least likely to have a child and by far the most likely to expect to have a child in the future. Non-marital and premarital cohabiters have the highest rates of parental divorce. While post-marital cohabiters are the most likely to report poor health, they have the highest average household income and are most likely to own their own home. Non-marital cohabiters are the most likely to hold a degree, and have the lowest level of religiosity. Post-marital cohabiters have the most traditional gender attitudes. The cohabiting groups that intend to marry report a higher level of relationship satisfaction. The average union length varies substantially between the cohabiting groups, with 8 years for post-marital cohabiters, 7 years for non-marital cohabiters, and 4 years for both remarriage and premarital cohabiters. Overall, the descriptive statistics indicate that there are clear differences between all of the groups. However, it is expected that many of these differences are the product of the groups being in fundamentally different stages of the life course, or comprised of systematically dissimilar people, leading to inflated variation between the groups. This will be further investigated in Chapter 5.

Missing Data Descriptive Statistics

As noted above, there are missing data for a number of the variables based on questions in the Self Complete Questionnaire, including relationship satisfaction, poor health, gender role attitudes and religiosity. Flag variables are included in the analyses to manage this (as discussed above). Table 4 presents data on the amount of missing data on these variables. Separated, divorced or widowed respondents have the highest level of missing data (roughly 12 percent), closely followed by single (roughly 11 percent) and non-marital (roughly 11 percent). The level of missing data for the other categories remains roughly around 7-8 percent. This indicates that while there appears to be an association between marital status and missing data, it is not substantial enough to interfere with the analyses carried out in this thesis.

Table 4: Missing Data Descriptive Statistics

	Total	Missing on:					
		Gender role Attitudes		Poor Health		Relationship satisfaction	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Married	7502	566	7.54	583	7.77	512	6.82
<i>First Marriage</i>	6463	492	7.61	506	7.83	444	6.87
<i>Higher Order Marriage</i>	1036	73	7.05	76	7.34	67	6.47
Cohabiting	1335	112	8.39	107	8.01	101	7.57
<i>Premarital cohabiters</i>	538	40	7.43	40	7.43	39	7.25
<i>Non-marital cohabiters</i>	360	39	10.83	39	10.83	38	10.56
<i>Post-marital cohabiters</i>	252	20	7.94	19	7.54	16	6.35
<i>Remarriage cohabiters</i>	185	13	7.03	9	4.86	8	4.32
Separated, Divorced, Widowed	1850	226	12.22	220	11.89	1535	82.97
Single	2439	286	11.73	256	10.50	1807	74.09
Total All Respondents	13126	1190	9.07	1166	8.88	3955	30.13
Total Partnered	8834	677	7.66	689	7.8	612	6.93

Note: All of the descriptive statistics are based on the sample in the final multinomial models presented in Chapter 5. For this reason three observations get dropped from the 'married' category between the *marital status* and *typology* samples; this is due to single item non-response on the union length variable for three respondents in their first marriage.

Analytic approach

As discussed previously, the empirical analyses are divided into three chapters. The objective of the first empirical chapter is to present a comprehensive, yet purely descriptive, picture of cohabiting couples in Australia. The descriptive results above look at baseline differences between the marital status and cohabiting typology groups without taking into consideration demographic differences between marital status groups. To counter this, the analyses in Chapter 5 will compare relationship status groups on specific characteristic while holding all other characteristics constant. This will be done by employing multinomial logistic regression, which allows the associations between different categories of a dependent variable with a number of independent variables to be tested via a comparison of a series of dichotomous outcomes (Scott & Marshall, 2005). Overall, the first empirical chapter descriptively unpacks the characteristics that will be looked at in the following two empirical chapters.

The aim of the second empirical chapter is to investigate how certain characteristics in one wave are likely to affect changes in relationship status in the next wave. A combination of lagged¹¹ variables and logistic regression are used to carry out what may be termed a 'transition analysis'. The analysis is broken into two models, the first model estimates the likelihood of a cohabiting or *married* person transitioning to single in any two consecutive waves. The second model estimates the likelihood of a cohabiting or *single* person transitioning to married in any two consecutive waves. To investigate the influence of characteristics on the likelihood of a relationship status transition to married or single, a number of predictor characteristics are integrated into the analysis by means of interaction terms.

The purpose of the third empirical chapter is to investigate how happiness varies for different marital states, including those in different cohabiting relationship types. Happiness is of particular interest for this thesis as at the heart of marital status choices, transitions and patterns are romantic relationships, which have been shown to be strong sources of positive emotion, i.e. happiness (Argyle, 2001:77). Happiness has been chosen above other well-being measures as the effect of relationships on an individual may be shown more readily by emotional happiness rather than broad ranging measures, such as life satisfaction. To investigate the relationship between happiness and marital status this thesis employs a random effects model with each time-varying variable deconstructed into two new variables representing within-person means and deviation from the means. The aim of this is to allow the between-person and within-person effects to be examined separately. Overall, the third empirical chapter seeks to investigate the outcomes of relationship status on emotional happiness.

Conclusion

This thesis seeks to investigate the trends and outcomes of cohabitation in Australia using Waves 1-8 of the HILDA survey. The foundation of this thesis is the recognition that cohabiters are not a homogenous group and that it is necessary to examine different kinds of cohabiters in a way that incorporates this diversity. This is done with a cohabitation typology, as described in Chapter 3. HILDA is an ideal dataset for this purpose due to its longitudinal nature, high data quality and large sample size, which incorporates sufficient

¹¹ A lagged variable records the value of a variable in the previous wave.

numbers of cohabiters over time to enable complex analyses that accounts for the diversity of cohabiting people. The initial descriptive statistics show interesting differences between the relationship status groups, and indicate that the cohabitation typology does provide additional insight into differences between cohabiting persons. The analyses in the remaining chapters investigate the implications of these differences and in doing so, shed further light on the validity and importance of the typology. The next chapter explores the characteristics of cohabiting people compared not only to people of other marital statuses but also to one another via the cohabitation typology. Chapter 6 investigates the factors that are associated with transitions out of cohabitation, while Chapter 7 considers the relationship between happiness, relationship status and the cohabitation typology.

Chapter 5

The Demographic, Socio-Economic and Attitudinal Characteristics of Cohabitors in Australia

This chapter addresses the first research question: What are the social and demographic characteristics of cohabiters in Australia? The objective is to present a comprehensive descriptive picture of cohabiting couples in Australia in 2001 based on data from Wave 1 of HILDA. Previous research, and the descriptive statistics presented in Chapter 4, indicate that cohabiters differ from people in other union types and from single people in a range of ways. These include differences in socio-economic, attitudinal and demographic characteristics. These differences may arise because different kinds of people select into cohabitation, because cohabitation leads to different outcomes for individuals (e.g. changes the way people behave or their attitudes) or because cohabitation typically occurs at particular stages of the life course, for example, in early adulthood and prior to marriage. Thus, for example, cohabiters may be typically younger than married people and older than single or never married people.

Furthermore, we know from the cohabitation typology discussed in Chapter 3 that cohabiters themselves are diverse, therefore, it is expected that different types of cohabiters will also vary on these characteristics. The analyses conducted in this chapter will examine these differences by investigating each specific characteristic separately while holding all other characteristics constant. This will be done in two stages. First, the chapter examines how cohabiters differ from people in all other relationship states, including those in other live-in relationship types and those who are not in live-in relationships. This will enable a comparison of cohabiters and people of all other relationship states as defined in this thesis. Second, the typology developed in Chapter 3 and operationalised in Chapter 4, will be used to examine differences between different types of cohabiters in addition to comparing each cohabiting group to married people. This will enable comparison of a number of factors specific to partnered people, such as relationship satisfaction and union duration.

The chapter commences with a discussion drawing on previous research of why cohabiters might differ from people of other relationship statuses, before going on to outline the method and statistical analyses. The following section reports results from a multinomial model, which enables different relationship statuses to be compared on specific characteristics while holding important demographic differences such as age, health, religiosity and income constant. Note that the descriptive statistics for the analyses presented in this chapter were discussed in Chapter 4 “Descriptive Statistics: How do Cohabiters Differ” and are presented in Tables 2 and 3 (Summary Descriptive Statistics for All Respondents and Partnered Respondents in a Live-in Relationship).

Previous Studies

Demographic Characteristics

Demographic characteristics play a substantial role in influencing relationship status. The strongest and most evident association is between a person’s age and relationship status, both of which are intricately connected with the life course (de Vaus, 2004:9). Younger people are more likely than older people to be cohabiting, and younger cohabiters are more likely to be never married, while older cohabiters are more likely to be widowed, separated or divorced (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004:162). Previous research shows that there are gender differences in patterns of cohabitation, and these patterns vary by prior relationship status, age and gender. In Australia, amongst never married persons up to the age of 45, women are more likely than men to cohabit, while for people over the age of 60, men are slightly more likely to cohabit than women (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004:164). This aligns with evidence that women tend to partner, and therefore cohabit, with older men, while men tend to partner with younger women (Buunk, Dijkstra, Kenrick, & Warntjes, 2001). The trends are different for separated, divorced or widowed people, with men more likely than women to cohabit throughout the life course. This is likely due to separated, divorced or widowed men partnering with never married women, while separated, divorced or widowed women are less likely to re-partner (Guzzo, 2006).

Ethnicity and place of birth also play a substantial role in influencing relationship status (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004). Indigenous Australians have rates of cohabitation three times higher than non-indigenous Australians; this is seen to be partially due to a long

tradition of social acceptance of consensual partnering and partially due to the impoverished economic circumstances of many Aborigines which leads to lower rates of marriage (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004:169). The age-related decline associated with cohabitation, however, is also seen amongst Indigenous Australians, suggesting that there are not only cultural factors at play, but that age also plays a role in determining Indigenous rates of cohabitation (de Vaus, 2004:119). Amongst non-indigenous Australians, rates of cohabitation vary substantially by region of birth and ethnic background. New Zealand immigrants have particularly high rates of cohabitation (23 percent) compared to Australians (14 percent); this is due partially to the large proportion of New Zealand immigrants who are Maoris (who have high rates of cohabitation for similar reasons to Indigenous Australians) and partially due to the large contingent of young New Zealanders in Australia for a 'working holiday', a condition that is particularly conducive to cohabitation rather than marriage (Carmichael & Mason, 1999). People born in Australia have the second highest rate of cohabitation, followed by people born in the UK, Ireland and North America. Those born in Southern Europe, the Middle East, North Africa and Asia report the lowest rates of cohabitation (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004:170). This highlights the importance of social context for the meaning of cohabitation, and that cultural background plays a substantial role in influencing the occurrence of cohabitation (Seltzer, 2000:1248).

Parenthood is strongly associated with relationship status, as marriage has historically been an institution that regulated the reproduction and socialisation of children. For example, in 2006-07 77 percent of married couples aged 25-44 had children, compared to 37 percent of people of the same age in cohabiting relationships (ABS 2009a). The strong association between marriage and parenthood, however, is changing and the family arrangements that children are born into have changed substantially in Australia since the middle of the previous century, with children increasingly likely to be born to cohabiting parents and lone mothers (de Vaus & Gray, 2004). For example, in 2000 roughly 16 percent of children were born to cohabiting parents (de Vaus & Gray, 2004). Despite this widespread occurrence of childbearing within cohabiting unions, a prominent reason to transition from cohabitation to marriage for Australian couples continues to be the decision to have children (Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007b). This highlights that fertility intentions are also highly associated with relationship status. For example, in 2006-07, while coupled people between the ages of 18 and 25 who did not already have children were

very likely to intend to have children regardless of relationship status (86% of married and 88% of cohabiting people), this varies by age. Among childless couples aged 25-34 years married couples were more likely to be intending to have children compared to cohabiters, while in the 35-44 year age group those who were cohabiting were more likely to intend to have children. This suggests that there is a complex relationship between relationship status, parental status, fertility intentions and age. While the traditional role of marriage and its strong link to fertility is changing, these changes are slow and are likely to occur at different rates for different sections of society, leading to different outcomes for different groups of people.

A substantial amount of research attention has been directed toward the association between relationship status and health (Brown, 2004; White, 1992; Wu, Penning, Pollard, & Hart, 2003). While most research finds that married people report higher levels of well-being compared to people of all other relationship statuses, the difference between the partnered groups (married and cohabiting) often becomes insignificant when a variety of demographic and socio-economic factors are controlled (Brown & Booth, 1996; Wu, et al., 2003). This suggests that the relationship between health and relationship status may be mediated by other factors, such as age and income, indicating that health is a particularly important characteristic for further investigation.

Research has shown that there is an association between parental divorce and relationship status, with children of divorced parents more likely to experience divorce themselves (P. Amato, 1996; Diekmann & Englehardt, 1995; Hewitt, Baxter, & Western, 2005; Teachman, 2002; Wolfinger, 2001, 2003). It follows that other romantic relationships, such as cohabitation, are also likely to be affected by parental divorce. While Wolfinger (2001) found that parental divorce increases the likelihood that a cohabiting relationship will break up, the effect was much smaller than the impact of parental divorce on marital stability. Cunningham and Thornton (2007) investigated the influence of parental divorce on adult children's attitudes toward cohabitation, and found that parent's own attitudes toward cohabitation, religious involvement and children's sexual behaviours during adolescence played an integral role. The associations, however, weakened as the children aged. This further highlights that the relationship between a particular characteristic and relationship status is likely to be affected by other factors and

that it is imperative to look beyond baseline differences when comparing relationship statuses, and investigating the characteristics of cohabiters.

Union length is another characteristic that is important to consider when investigating partnerships. Cohabiting relationships have three main outcomes: marriage, separation or remaining in the cohabiting relationship. These are often considered separately when examining the average duration of a cohabiting relationship. For cohabitations that started between 1990 and 1994, the average duration to marriage was essentially the same as the duration to break-up (2.7 years and 2.6 years respectively) (de Vaus, 2004:121).

Socio-economic Characteristics

Previous research has found a strong association between socio-economic factors and relationship status. In regard to occupational status, de Vaus (2004:119) found that partnered men who hold a manual occupation or a lower level clerical and sales job have higher rates of cohabitation (18.2% and 15.6%, respectively) compared to those in higher level white collar professions (eg. managers and admin 8.6%, professionals 12.1%). While this indicates that there is an association between occupational status and cohabitation for men, the associations for partnered women are less clear. This suggests that processes that lead to higher rates of cohabitation for men of lower status occupations may not hold for women. Previous literature has found that a man's socio-economic position, rather than a woman's, drives transitions into marriage (Smock & Manning, 1997), which may to some degree be giving rise to this association. In regard to employment status, de Vaus (2004:120) found that partnered men and women who were unemployed had very high rates of cohabitation, while partnered women who were in part time employment or who were not in the labour force had low rates of cohabitation. This is likely to reflect cohabiting women being less likely to have child rearing responsibilities and hence stronger attachment to the labour force. Furthermore, de Vaus (2004:127) found that cohabiters were substantially more likely to rent compared to those who were married and that these differences remained when taking age into consideration. A number of reasons for this difference were suggested, including the instability of cohabitation leading to a preference for renting, or renting as the only option due to accrued economic disadvantage resulting from relationship insecurities or breakdown. While these factors are likely to play a part, Gibson-Davis, Edin and McLanahan (2005) found that unmarried parents in the US placed a high level of importance on attaining financial stability prior to

marriage. While there are differences between Australia and the US, it is also possible that cohabiting couples in Australia delay marriage until they have attained an appropriate level of financial security, such as purchasing a house. Indeed, Gibson-Davis et. al. (2005), found that in addition to wanting to attain a high level of relationship quality before marriage, wishing to first attain financial goals, such as a steady job, savings and purchasing a house, were substantial barriers to marriage in the US. It is possible that these dynamics are also relevant in Australia. The direction of causality is likely to run both ways: relationship status influences socio-economic characteristics, and socio-economic characteristics influence relationship status.

Attitudinal Characteristics

Given the association between relationship status and demographic and socio-economic characteristics, it follows that attitudinal characteristics will also be associated with relationship status. Indeed, there is a strong association between religiosity and rates of cohabitation. An extensive body of international and Australian research indicates that religiosity is often associated with both attitudes and norms that are likely to discourage cohabitation. Lehrer (2000) investigates the interrelationship between religion and entry into cohabitation and marriage in the US and argues that education, attitudes regarding premarital sex, fertility, the intra-family division of labour and perceived costs of divorce are mechanisms that interact with religion to affect partnering. She finds that fundamentalist Protestants and Mormons tended to enter into marriage at young ages, and have low rates of cohabitation, while the opposite is true of Jews. Mainline Protestants and Catholics reside in the middle of the distribution. Thornton, Axinn and Hill (1992) also used US data to investigate the relationship between religion and union formation. However they found that participation in and the importance of religion were more influential in determining rates of marriage and cohabitation than religious affiliation.

In Australia, people with a strong religious affiliation are substantially less likely to cohabit than people who do not have a religious affiliation (Carmichael & Mason, 1999; de Vaus, 2004; Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004). De Vaus (2004:119) reports that of people in co-residential relationships in 2001, 22 percent of men and 24 percent of women reported 'no religion' and of those who nominated a religious affiliation, cohabitation rates ranged between 2 and 12 percent. The highest rates of cohabitation were found amongst the mainstream religious groups (Anglican and Catholics), while the lowest rates were among

Muslims, fundamentalist, sectarian and Greek Orthodox groups. As participation in religious activities and adherence to religious doctrine is expected to have a greater impact on union formation compared to nominal allegiance (Carmichael & Mason, 1999), religiosity rather than religious affiliation is investigated in this thesis.

There is limited research on the relationship between relationship status and gender role attitudes. Using Australian data from 1996 to 1997, Baxter (2005) found that cohabiters had more egalitarian gender role attitudes than married persons. Furthermore, Cunningham, Beutel, Barber and Thornton (2005), found a correlation between gender role attitudes and religiosity, suggesting that conservative gender role attitudes are likely to be correlated with higher likelihood of marriage compared to cohabitation or being separated, divorced or widowed.

Other attitudinal characteristics that are expected to be associated with relationship status are life satisfaction and financial satisfaction. There has been a substantial amount of research conducted on how life satisfaction varies with relationship status. The majority of studies find that married people have the highest level of life satisfaction, followed by cohabiting and single people. However, when intention to marry amongst cohabiting people is taken into account, the differences between married people and cohabiters diminish (Bergman & Daukantaite, 2006; Diener, et al., 2000; Evans & Kelley, 2004; Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005; Louis & Zhao, 2002; Ryan, et al., 1998; White, 1992). Relationship satisfaction is also an important characteristic to consider when investigating partnerships. Many of the studies that investigate the relationship between life satisfaction and relationship status also look at the associations for relationship satisfaction, finding similar results to those indicated above for life satisfaction. In light of the literature on socio-economic differences, it is expected that financial satisfaction will also vary with relationship status. As financial satisfaction is a more subjective measure than for example, income, it is feasible that the association between relationship status and financial satisfaction will be distinct from other socio-economic characteristics.

Despite frequently clear differences between relationship status groups and between cohabiters themselves, many differences disappear when other characteristics such as age, ethnicity or intention to marry are taken into account. This highlights the importance

of looking beyond baseline differences when investigating variations across relationship statuses. When this is not taken into consideration differences between relationship status groups are likely to be a product of groups being in different stages in the life course, or comprised of systematically dissimilar people. The following section will discuss the analysis conducted in this chapter, before going on to discuss the results.

Multinomial Model Analyses

Multinomial logistic regression is employed for this analysis as it enables the characteristics of one group to be compared to the characteristics of a number of other groups. Multinomial logistic regression allows the associations between different categories of a dependent variable with a number of independent variables to be tested via a comparison of a series of dichotomous outcomes (Scott & Marshall, 2005). This is achieved by considering two different models, one in which the relationship status categories are the dependent variables and in which position in the cohabitation typology is the dependent variable. The aforementioned demographic, socio-economic and attitudinal characteristics are the independent variables. To enable the effects of baseline variables to be separated out from the effects of other characteristics, two models are estimated. Age, gender, religiosity, region of birth and indigenous status are considered baseline variables as they are key demographics, and are modelled in the base model, while the full model adds all of the other characteristics that are time variant: parental status, fertility intentions, parental divorce, health, household income, home ownership, years of schooling, possession of a university degree, employment status, hours of work, financial satisfaction, religiosity, gender role attitudes and life satisfaction. The cohabitation typology model also includes relationship satisfaction and union length in the full model. A robust estimator of variance is used to adjust for household clustering. For ease of comparison, the analysis for each model is run separately with each category of the dependent variable as the reference category in turn. This allows the effects of each independent variable on the outcome of one category to be compared with all other categories.

Multinomial Results

The results from the multinomial regression models for the two grouping outcomes, relationship status and position in the cohabitation typology are presented in Table 5 and 6. The tables present the results with people who are married and in a first marriage as the base category, respectively. A positive coefficient suggests that the dependent category group (i.e. the relationship status or typology group) is more likely than the reference category group (people who are married or in a first marriage) to have a high value on the independent variable; a negative coefficient indicates the reverse. To allow all significant differences between the categories in each model to be investigated, Tables 2 – 4 in Appendix 2 and Tables 2 – 6 in Appendix 3 show results for the models with each of the other dependent category groups as the base category. The discussion of the results below starts with the relationship status categories before moving on to the cohabitation typology. The discussion utilises all tables, including those in the appendix, and discusses each characteristic separately¹².

Results for Relationship Status Categories

The results from the models predicting relationship status with people who are married as the reference category are presented in Table 5. There are 13,126 observations and the standard error has been adjusted for 7,641 household clusters. The Pseudo R-squared for the base model is 0.1846 (Wald chi2: 1934.37, df=18, p-value <0.001). This increases to 0.3381 when the full model is estimated, indicating that the inclusion of both the base model and the full model (Wald chi2: 4449.52, df=63, p-value <0.0001) explains a greater amount of the variation in the data. For ease of presentation, separated, divorced or widowed people will be referred to as separated for the remainder of the results section.

¹² The results are based on multinomial logit regressions for relationship status. The regression coefficients indicate how each explanatory variable is associated with the log odds of being in one relationship status rather than a baseline or reference category. I will interpret the coefficients in terms of the log odds, recognising that, in the case of multinomial logit models, an increase or decrease in the log odds does not necessarily mean an increase or decrease in the relevant probabilities.

Table 5: Multinomial Model for Relationship Status Categories - Married Base Category

Variables	Base Model				Full Model			
	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single
Age	0.00	-0.07***	0.04***	-0.12***	0.00	-0.04***	0.05***	-0.07***
Female	0.00	0.00	0.80***	-0.42***	0.00	0.11*	0.95***	-0.27***
Religiosity	0.00	-0.13***	-0.02**	-0.02*	0.00	-0.12***	-0.02*	-0.02
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):								
Main English Speaking	0.00	0.34***	-0.13	-0.19	0.00	0.21	-0.22*	-0.36**
Non-English Speaking	0.00	-0.47***	-0.15	-0.32***	0.00	-0.66***	-0.42***	-0.87***
Indigenous	0.00	1.18***	1.06***	0.87***	0.00	1.09***	0.55*	1.15***
Years of Education					0.00	-0.05	0.04	-0.10**
Holds Degree					0.00	-0.02	-0.19	0.17
Household Income					0.00	-0.00*	-0.00***	-0.00***
Hours Worked					0.00	0.00	0.01***	-0.02***
Not in Labour Force					0.00	0.08	-0.24*	-0.12
Owns Own Home					0.00	-1.05***	-1.36***	-0.76***
Financial Satisfaction					0.00	-0.04*	-0.07***	-0.05**
Has had Child					0.00	-1.59***	-0.60***	-4.04***
Fertility Intentions					0.00	0.23*	-0.27*	-0.33**
Gender Role Attitudes					0.00	0.04	0.02	-0.00
Missing					0.00	0.47*	0.15	0.90***
Life Satisfaction					0.00	-0.04	-0.21***	-0.20***
Poor Health					0.00	0.04	-0.16*	0.01
Missing					0.00	-0.08	0.12	-0.31
Parental Divorce					0.00	0.33***	0.32***	0.10
Constant	0.00	1.60***	-3.80***	3.77***	0.00	3.04***	-0.92*	8.85***
Pseudo R-squared		0.1846				0.3381		
Wald chi2		1934.37 (df=18)				4449.52 (df=63)		
Prob > Chi 2		0.001				0.001		
Observations		13126				13126		

Standard error adjusted for 7,641 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Demographic Characteristics

The estimated model coefficients show that the relative likelihood of living in a relationship or being separated compared to being single is significantly greater for older people. This indicates that as age increases, the log odds that people are married or have been in a marital relationship rather than being single, increase. This is expected as people are more likely to find and live with a stable partner as they get older. The relative likelihood of living in a cohabiting relationship compared to being married decreases with age, and the odds of being separated relative to being married or cohabiting are greater with increasing age. Compared to being married, a cohabiting relationship is more likely at a younger age while a dissolution is more likely with increasing age. Despite controlling for other demographic variables in the model, the association between age and the likelihood of being in a specific relationship status remains significant. This indicates that relationship status and the life course are highly related.

Overall, in comparison to men, women are relatively less likely to be single, followed by married and cohabiting, and women are most likely to be separated. There are significant differences between all groups, with the exception of the base model, where there is no significant difference between married and cohabiting. This association, however, becomes significant in the full model. If a life course perspective assumes that living as a single adult is followed by cohabitation and marriage, and then by separation, divorce or widowhood, the findings indicate that women are likely to be underrepresented in the early life course stage of single, and over represented in the late life course stage of separated. Women are slightly, but significantly, more likely than men to be cohabiting (but only when all covariates are controlled). These findings are likely to reflect men's propensity to marry younger, never married women (Buunk, et al., 2001), and marry faster and more frequently than women (Guzzo, 2006). Furthermore, it indicates that separated women are less likely than separated men to re-partner, a finding that is in line with the literature (Guzzo, 2006).

The association between relationship status and region of birth varies between the base model and the full model. In the base model, where only baseline characteristics are controlled, people from main-English speaking regions are more likely than Australian born people to be cohabiting compared to all other relationship statuses. The difference between cohabiting and married people becomes non-significant in the full model. People born in other regions are more likely to be married or separated than cohabiting in the

base model. The association changes in the full model, with people born in other regions more likely to be married compared to cohabiting. This suggests that immigrants from main-English speaking countries are more likely to be partnered compared to Australians, while people from a non-English speaking background are more likely to be married than in any other category, compared to Australians. Overall, this suggests that immigrants are more likely to be partnered compared to Australians, and immigrants from non-English speaking countries are more likely to be married compared to cohabiting. This is expected as the majority of non-English speaking immigrants are from countries which have relatively conservative traditions toward marriage and cohabitation: Italy, China, Viet Nam, India and the former Yugoslav Republics (ABS 2003:91-93). People from main-English speaking countries are most likely to be from the United Kingdom or New Zealand (ABS 2003:91-93), both of which are relatively liberal in regard to cohabitation, leading to no significant difference between married and cohabiting in comparison to Australians for this group. Furthermore, despite controlling for age, people born in main-English speaking countries have higher odds of being in a partnered relationship (cohabiting or married) compared to Australians. Indigenous people are significantly less likely to be married than to be in any other relationship status, in both the base and full model. This is expected as Indigenous people have a long history of consensual partnering (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004:169).

There are significant differences between all of the relationship status groups for parental status. People who have children are more likely to be married, followed by those who are separated and cohabiting, and they are the least likely to be single. This indicates that there is a strong association between parental status and relationship status. The findings for fertility intentions show somewhat different patterns, with people who believe they are likely to have a child in the future being significantly more likely to be cohabiting than in any other relationship status. Furthermore, people who are likely to have a child are significantly more likely to be married than single or separated. There is, however, no significant difference between the relative likelihood of being single and separated. Overall, this suggests that there is a strong association between childbearing and relationship status. People whose parents are divorced are more likely to be cohabiting or separated than to be married or single. It is particularly interesting that the association between relationship status and parental divorce remains after controlling for all other covariates, in particular age. This supports literature which suggests that there is an

association between parental divorce and subsequent relationship formation patterns, in particular that experiencing parental divorce affects an individual's ability to form and maintain intimate relationships and increases the likelihood of divorce (P. Amato, 1996; Hewitt, et al., 2005; Teachman, 2002; Wolfinger, 2001, 2003).

People who report poor health are more likely to be separated rather than married. There are no other significant associations. While it may be suggested that this indicates that marriage may have some protective benefits in regard to health, it is also possible that people with poor health are more likely to separate from their partner.

Socio-economic Characteristics

The findings for household income indicate that there are significant differences between all of the relationship status groups. People who have a high household income are most likely to be married, followed by those who are cohabiting and single. Those with high household income are the least likely to be separated. The results for home ownership also indicate that there are significant differences between all of the relationship status groups. Home owners are most likely to be married, followed by single, cohabiting and separated. The finding that homeowners are more likely to be single than cohabiting is likely to reflect trends in Australia where it is becoming increasingly common for young people to live at home with their parents for extended periods of time (ABS 2009b:Cat.No.4102.0).

The findings for education are somewhat unexpected, and are likely to be due to a high correlation between years of education and degree. In light of this, the full model has been rerun twice, once with degree omitted, and once with years of education omitted. See Appendix 4, Tables 1 and 2 for coefficients and significant associations. This allows each characteristic to be investigated individually. Table 1 shows that the associations change indicating that the covariance of the variables was affecting the results. People who have more years of schooling are more likely to be married or separated, and both of these groups are significantly different from both cohabiting or single. These relationship statuses are more likely for people of lower years of schooling. The results for degree are presented in Table 2, and indicate that people with a degree are more likely to be married compared to cohabiting. Overall, these findings indicate that married and previously

married groups (separated, divorced or widowed) have a higher level of education. It is interesting that this association remains despite controlling for all of the covariates – in particular age. This suggests that marriage is more common amongst those with higher levels of education.

People not in paid work are more likely to be cohabiting or married compared to separated. People who work longer hours are more likely to be separated, and less likely to be single than in any other relationship status. There is no significant difference between cohabiting and married people. These findings reflect the socio-economic position of people who are separated, divorced or widowed; holding all other covariates constant, they are the least likely to be employed and are the most likely to work long hours. Unlike the other groups they are unlikely to have a partner or parents to rely on for financial support. People who have a high level of financial satisfaction are the most likely to be married, compared to all of the other relationship status groups. There are no significant differences between cohabiting, separated and single.

Attitudinal Characteristics

Religious people are less likely to be cohabiting compared to all other relationship statuses. This reflects literature which finds that cohabiters are on average less religious compared to people of other relationship statuses (Thornton, et al., 1992). While religious people are more likely to be married than in any other relationship status in the base model, the difference between married and single becomes non-significant in the full model. This indicates that when all other covariates are controlled religious people are no more likely to be married than single. Overall, this suggests that there is a strong association between relationship status and religiosity, and that cohabiting people are the least religious.

There are no significant results for gender role attitudes. As research has found a correlation between gender role attitudes and religiosity (Mick Cunningham, et al., 2005), it is likely that gender role attitudes are not significant in the full model due to covariance with religiosity. In light of this, the full model has been rerun twice, once with religiosity omitted, and once with gender role attitudes omitted. See Appendix 4, Tables 3 and 4 for coefficients and significant associations. While the associations do not change for

religiosity, they do for gender role attitudes, indicating that there was indeed a substantial amount of covariance. People who report a high level of religiosity continue to be more likely to be married compared to being cohabiting or separated, and less likely to be cohabiting compared to separated or single. People who hold liberal gender role attitudes are significantly more likely to be cohabiting compared to being either single or married. This finding supports literature which finds that cohabiting couples hold more gender egalitarian attitudes (Baxter, 2005; Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Brines & Joyner, 1999; Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994). People who have a high level of life satisfaction are equally likely to be married or cohabiting, however, they are less likely to be separated or single (with no significant difference between these two groups). This is interesting, and suggests that cohabiting people are just as satisfied with their life, a finding which contradicts much literature, especially that originating in the US (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005; Kim & McKenry, 2002). Overall, these results indicate that there are a number of significant differences between the relationship status groups on a wide range of characteristics.

Results for the Cohabitation Typology

The results from the multinomial model for position in the cohabitation typology are presented in Table 6. As with the previous model, the table is shown in Appendix 2 with each of the other typology groups as the base category. There are 8,834 observations and the standard error has been adjusted for 4,697 household clusters. The Pseudo R-squared for the base model is 0.1461 (Wald chi2: 1083.07, df=30, p-value <0.0001). This increases to 0.4193 in the full model (Wald chi2: 2784.38, df=120, p-value <0.0001), indicating that the additional variables explain a greater amount of the variation in the data compared to the base model.

Table 6: Multinomial model for Cohabitation Typology - First Marriage Base Category

Variables	Base Model						Full Model					
	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabiters	Non-marital Cohabiters	Post-marital Cohabiters	Remarriage Cohabiters	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabiters	Non-marital Cohabiters	Post-marital Cohabiters	Remarriage Cohabiters
Age	0.00	0.02***	-0.23***	-0.12***	0.01	-0.02***	0.00	0.27***	-0.08***	-0.02	0.29***	0.25***
Female	0.00	0.10	-0.38***	-0.14	0.62***	-0.22	0.00	0.98***	-0.11	-0.15	1.73***	0.76***
Religiosity	0.00	-0.07***	-0.11***	-0.21***	-0.18***	-0.13***	0.00	-0.03	-0.10***	-0.17***	-0.14***	-0.10***
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):												
Main English Speaking	0.00	0.41***	0.30	0.56**	0.61***	0.40	0.00	0.26*	0.01	0.23	0.38	0.25
Non-English Speaking	0.00	0.07	-0.43*	-0.23	-0.10	-0.42	0.00	-0.17	-0.73**	-0.63*	-0.40	-0.63
Indigenous	0.00	0.19	0.90*	1.82***	0.52	0.93	0.00	-0.98	0.85*	1.80***	-0.49	-0.34
Years of Education							0.00	-0.08*	-0.08	-0.11*	-0.08	-0.05
Holds Degree							0.00	-0.34	-0.03	0.41	-0.58	-0.77*
Household Income							0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00**	0.00	0.00
Hours Worked							0.00	0.01**	0.01	-0.01	0.02***	0.02*
Not in Labour Force							0.00	0.22	0.30	0.05	0.22	0.40
Owns Own Home							0.00	-0.42**	-1.05***	-0.75***	-1.04***	-0.76***
Financial Satisfaction							0.00	-0.01	-0.03	-0.02	0.03	-0.03
Has had Child							0.00	1.48***	-1.28***	-1.91***	0.97***	1.11***
Fertility Intentions							0.00	-0.30	0.52**	-0.96***	-0.73**	-0.18
Gender Role Attitudes							0.00	0.02	-0.00	0.03	0.02	0.10*
Missing							0.00	-0.13	-0.18	0.36	0.43	1.14*
Life Satisfaction							0.00	0.01	0.04	-0.06	-0.08	0.03
Poor Health							0.00	0.29*	0.10	-0.20	0.32	0.25
Missing							0.00	-0.08	0.43	0.07	0.01	-0.47
Relationship Satisfaction							0.00	0.04	-0.06	-0.25***	-0.13**	0.03
Missing							0.00	0.56	-0.74	-1.80**	-1.40*	-0.32
Parental Divorce							0.00	0.47***	0.37**	0.56***	0.10	0.05
Union Length							0.00	-0.28***	-0.10***	-0.09***	-0.36***	-0.45***
Constant	0.00	-2.71***	6.21***	2.49***	-3.34***	-1.86***	0.00	-10.74***	4.34***	6.24***	-9.90***	-10.05***
Pseudo R-squared			0.1461						0.4193			
Wald chi2			1083.07 (df=30)						2784.38 (df=120)			
Prob > Chi 2			0.0001						0.0001			
Observations			8830						8830			

Standard error adjusted for 4693 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Demographic Characteristics

The results for age show some interesting associations. In the base model all of the groups except first marriage and post-marital are significantly different from each other in terms of age. This is interesting, as it suggests that holding all other covariates constant, there is no difference in age between people in their first marriage and cohabiters who have been married, but do not intend to remarry. The estimated model coefficients show that older people are the least likely to be premarital cohabiters, followed by non-marital, remarriage, post-marital cohabiters, and are the most likely to be in a higher order and first marriage. In the full model, all of the groups are significantly different with the exception of the first marriage and non-marital cohabiter groups, and higher order marriage and remarriage cohabiter groups. The full model indicates that older people are the least likely to be in a premarital group followed by non-marital and first marriage, remarriage and higher order marriage, while older people are the most likely to be in the post-marital group. These findings indicate that the association between age and the likelihood of being in a specific relationship status changes when additional covariates are added to the model. It suggests that when additional characteristics are controlled the relative likelihood of being a non-marital cohabiter or in a first marriage, and a remarriage cohabiter or in higher order marriage does not vary with age.

As with age, the associations between gender and relationship status change between the base model and the full model, indicating that the additional covariates influence the associations. One exception is the association between post-marital cohabiters and gender. Women are significantly more likely than men to be post-marital cohabiters compared to all other relationship status groups. This association does not change in the full model. This suggests that when previously married cohabiting men and women are compared, women are more likely to be in the group that does not intend to remarry. This association does not change when covariates are added to the model. This finding reflects literature that finds that men are more inclined than women to find a partner and remarry following divorce (Guzzo, 2006). All the other associations change between the base model and the full model. In the base model, women are significantly less likely than men to be in a premarital relationship compared to all other groups, with the exception of being a remarriage cohabiter. In the full model, women are less likely to be non-marital or premarital cohabiters, or in a first marriage, compared to all other groups.

There are also some interesting associations for those in a higher order marriage compared to other groups. In the full model women are more likely than men to be in a higher order marriage compared to being in a first marriage, premarital, or non-marital cohabiters (women remain more likely to be post-marital). Overall, these findings suggest that women tend to be less inclined toward marriage compared to men – they are less likely to be intending to marry, and more likely to be previously married, but not intending to re-marry their cohabiting partner. They are, however, more likely to be in a higher order marriage, compared to the somewhat ‘younger’ groups. This could possibly suggest that despite women not intending to remarry, they do.

While a number of the associations for region of birth change, the majority remain the same in the base and full model. In the base model, compared to being in a first marriage, people who are born in a main English-speaking country are more likely to be in a higher order marriage, non-marital or post-marital cohabiters. In the full model, however, only higher order marriage remains significant. This suggests that when only baseline covariates are controlled, people born in main English-speaking countries, which tend to be New Zealanders and people from the United Kingdom (ABS 2010b:Cat.No.3412.0), are relatively likely to be either in a cohabiting group that does not intend to marry, or be re-married. The fact that the associations for the cohabiting groups become non-significant in the full model suggests that the additional covariates control what is driving the association in the base model. The only significant association in the full model is between first marriage and higher order marriage, indicating that people from main English-speaking countries are more likely to be in a higher order marriage compared to a first marriage. The findings for people born in other regions indicate that they are less likely to be premarital cohabiters compared to being in a first or higher order marriage and this finding holds in both the base and full model. Furthermore, this category is significantly less likely to be a non-marital cohabiter compared to being a first marriage. This, however, is only significant in the full model. These findings suggest that people born in other regions, which are most likely to be from Italy, China, Vietnam, India and the former Yugoslav Republics (ABS 2003:91-93), are all countries which have relatively conservative traditions toward marriage and cohabitation (Soons & Kalmijn, 2009), and are less likely than Australians to cohabit prior to marriage. This indicates that there are cultural factors that influence a person’s decision to cohabit.

In the full model, Indigenous people are more likely than non-Indigenous people to be non-marital cohabiters compared to all other cohabiting groups. While this is expected, as Indigenous people are more likely to cohabit (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004:169), it is interesting that it comes across so clearly in the findings. Indigenous people are more likely to be never married and not intending to marry, despite controlling for all covariates. This further highlights the importance of cultural factors in a person's practice of cohabitation and marriage. The associations for post-marital, remarriage cohabiters and those in a higher order marriage are not discussed as the number of Indigenous respondents in these groups is very low (N=4 for both cohabiting groups and N=9 for higher order marriage). The other groups have sufficient Indigenous respondents for meaningful interpretation (first marriage N=58, premarital N=18, post-marital N=22).

The remainder of the independent variables, with the exception of religiosity, are included in the full model. The estimated model coefficients show that compared to all other relationship status groups, people who have a child are the least likely to be non-marital cohabiters, followed by premarital cohabiters and those in a first marriage. They are the most likely to be in a higher order marriage, or to be remarriage or post-marital cohabiters (with significant associations between all of the relationship status groups, with the exception of remarriage and post-marital cohabiters). While there is a significant difference between higher order marriage and post-marital cohabiters, overall, the coefficients indicate that people who have a child/children are the most likely to be in one of the previously married groups. This reflects societal ideals that childbearing take place within marriage. People with a high level of fertility intention have a significantly greater relative likelihood of being premarital cohabiters, compared to all other groups. In comparison to being in a first marriage, people who have a high fertility intention are less likely to be non-marital or post-marital cohabiters – the two typology groups that are not intending to marry. While there is no significant difference between post-marital and either non-marital or remarriage cohabiters, people who have a high fertility intention are significantly more likely to be in the remarriage group compared to the non-marital groups. In other words, while premarital cohabiters are the most likely to intend to have children, non-marital cohabiters are the least likely of all the groups to intend to have children (all significant associations with the exception of the non-marital and post-marital groups). This highlights the importance of taking intention to marry into account, and indicates that

premarital and non-marital cohabiters have very different expectations from their relationships.

Overall, these findings suggest that there is a strong association between intention to marry, previous marital history, fertility intentions and current relationship status. People who intend to have a child are the least likely to be in the two cohabiting groups who do not intend to marry, and are the most likely to be cohabiting with intentions to marry; they are also more likely to be never married than previously married.

There are a number of interesting results for parental divorce. Compared to being in a first marriage, people who have divorced parents are more likely to be in a higher order marriage, or to be premarital or non-marital cohabiters. Furthermore, compared to being remarriage cohabiters, people who have divorced parents are more likely to be non-marital cohabiters or in a higher order marriage. This indicates that despite controlling for all covariates, a significant association remains between parental divorce and the cohabitation typology. Overall taking only coefficients into account, people who have divorced parents are less likely to be found in a first marriage, remarriage or post-marital cohabiting groups, and are more likely to be premarital cohabiters, in a higher order marriage or a non-marital cohabiting group.

Understanding why people who have divorced parents are unlikely to be remarriage cohabiters requires further investigation. This, at first glance, supports literature which suggests that there is an association between parental divorce and an individual's ability to form and maintain a relationship (P. R. Amato, 2010). However, there are likely to be numerous dynamics at play here, and these findings need to be further investigated. In regard to health, compared to being in a higher order marriage, people who have poor health are less likely to be in a first marriage or non-marital cohabiters. There are no significant differences between any of the cohabiting groups.

Socio-economic Characteristics

The results for the socio-economic characteristics show a number of associations. People who have a high level of household income are the least likely to be in the non-marital

cohabiting group, compared to all other groups, with the exception of premarital cohabiters (the coefficient is lower, however, the difference is not significant). Furthermore, people who have a high household income are more likely to be post-marital cohabiters compared to non-marital and premarital cohabiters. Overall, despite not all the associations reaching statistical significance, the coefficients suggest that non-marital cohabiters are toward the bottom of the household income distribution, while post-marital cohabiters are toward the top. This is particularly interesting as both groups are cohabiters who do not intend to marry, with the group at the top of the distribution those who are previously married, and those at the bottom individuals who are never married. This suggests that the way in which household finances influence these two groups may be different. For example, previously married cohabiters who are in a comfortable financial situation may be choosing not to marry for economic reasons. People who own a home are significantly more likely to be in a first marriage, compared to any other group. Furthermore, they are more likely to be in a higher order marriage compared to being premarital or post-marital cohabiters. There are no significant differences between the cohabiting groups on home ownership.

As was discussed for the results for the model for the relationship status categories, years of schooling and degree are strongly correlated. For this reason the full model has been estimated twice, once with degree and once with years of education omitted. The coefficients and significant associations for these variables are presented in Appendix 5, Tables 1 and 2. The associations change, indicating that there is indeed a high level of covariance between years of schooling and degree. People who have more years of schooling are more likely to be married than in any other category, with the exception of non-marital cohabiters. Those with more years of schooling are also more likely to be in the non-marital groups compared to the post-marital group. People who hold a degree are more likely to be married compared to being in a higher order marriage, post-marital or remarriage cohabiting group. They are more likely to be non-marital cohabiters compared to being in a higher order marriage. Of the cohabiting groups, people who hold a degree are significantly more likely to be never married than previously married (all associations are statistically significant).

Overall, taking only the coefficients into account, people who have higher levels of education and hold a degree are more likely to be in a first marriage, non-marital or premarital cohabiting group, and are less likely to be in a higher order marriage, post-

marital or remarriage cohabiting group. There are more statistically significant associations for degree than for years of education, indicating that there is a closer association between relationship status and holding a degree, than relationship status and years of education. These findings indicate that the groups who have been married previously are more likely to have a lower level of education. This further highlights the relationship between marriage and education. Compared to the non-marital group, people who work longer hours are more likely to be in any other group, with the exception of first marriage. Furthermore, compared to being married, they are more likely to be in a higher order marriage, post-marital or remarriage cohabiting group. In comparison to premarital cohabiters, people who work longer hours are more likely to be post-marital cohabiters. There are no significant results for hours of paid work or financial satisfaction.

Attitudinal Characteristics

As it may be expected that gender role attitudes and religiosity may be correlated (Mick Cunningham, et al., 2005), in addition to the main analysis, the full model has been estimated twice, once with religiosity and once with gender role attitudes omitted. The coefficients and significant associations for these variables are presented in Appendix 5, Tables 3 and 4. This allows each characteristic to be investigated separately without interference from correlation with the other. The main analysis will be discussed first, followed by the supplementary analysis. In the base model, religious people are more likely to be in a first marriage, compared to all other relationship status groups. However, in the full model, the difference between first marriage and higher order marriage becomes non-significant. This suggests that adding the covariates results in religious people being equally likely to be in a first or higher order marriage. In the base model, people who are religious are significantly more likely to be premarital cohabiters compared to non-marital and post-marital cohabiters, however the difference between premarital and non-marital cohabiters becomes non-significant in the full model. Furthermore, people who are religious are more likely to be remarriage cohabiters compared to non-marital cohabiters, in both the base model and full model. This indicates that religious people who are cohabiting are more likely to be intending to marry.

There is only one significant result for gender role attitudes: compared to the remarriage group, conservative people are more likely to be in a first marriage. While religiosity remains largely unchanged in the supplementary analyses, number of additional

associations become apparent for gender role attitudes. People who are religious are significantly more likely to be married (either in a first or higher order marriage) compared to any other cohabiting group, and they are significantly more likely to be premarital compared to non-marital cohabiters. People who have more conservative attitudes are less likely to be remarriage cohabiters compared to both married groups, and they are less likely to be non-marital cohabiters compared to being in a first marriage.

All of the estimated model coefficients for union length are significantly different from one another, with the exception of the coefficients for premarital and non-marital cohabiters. This indicates that people who have a longer union length are most likely to be in a first marriage, followed by the premarital and non-marital groups, higher order marriage and post-marital groups, and are least likely to be in the remarriage group. It is interesting that premarital and non-marital cohabiters, the groups that have not been married previously, have a relatively long union length compared to the other groups.

There are a number of interesting results for relationship satisfaction. People who have a low level of relationship satisfaction are more likely to be non-marital cohabiters compared to all other groups. They are more likely to be post-marital cohabiters compared to being in a first marriage, and they are more likely to be premarital, non-marital or post-marital cohabiters compared to being in a higher order marriage. Furthermore, people with a low level of relationship satisfaction are more likely to be post-marital cohabiters compared to remarriage cohabiters. Overall, taking only the coefficients into account, people who have a high level of relationship satisfaction are the most likely to be in a higher order marriage, followed by remarriage cohabiters, first marriage, premarital and post-marital cohabiters, they are the least likely to be non-marital cohabiters. These findings suggest that the cohabiting groups that do not intend to marry have the lowest rates of relationship satisfaction.

Discussion and Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the demographic, socio-economic and attitudinal characteristics of cohabiting people compared to people of other relationship statuses and, using the cohabitation typology, to compare each of the cohabiting groups to each other group. It is a descriptive chapter with the objective of informing the remainder of the

analyses in this thesis. Not only has this chapter shown the relevance of the cohabitation typology, but it has also provided information on the characteristics of the individuals that comprise the different typology groups. It has given the typology groups meaning beyond simply their intention to marry and previous marital history.

Premarital cohabiters are, on average, the youngest of the partnered groups, they are more religious and have a higher level of relationship satisfaction compared to cohabiters who do not intend to marry. They are relatively unlikely to have a child, but aspire to become parents. Non-marital cohabiters are likely to be the same age as people in their first marriage, and have a greater relative likelihood of holding a degree, and a relatively low level of household income. They are the least likely to have or want children and they have the lowest level of relationship satisfaction. They are the least religious of all groups, hold relatively liberal gender role attitudes and have the longest union length of the cohabiting groups.

Post-marital cohabiters are the oldest of all the cohabiting groups and they are the most likely to be women. They have a relatively high level of household income, work the longest hours, and are likely to have children. Compared to other previously married groups, they have a lower level of relationship satisfaction. Re-marriage cohabiters are also on average the same age as people in a higher order marriage and are more likely to be men. They have the shortest union length, and are relatively unlikely to have divorced parents and high level of relationship satisfaction.

Overall, the key finding is that there are substantial differences between all the relationship status categories and cohabiters are not a homogenous group. Differences in intention to marry are often reflected in attitudinal and well-being measures. For instance, people who have a low level of relationship satisfaction and who are not religious are most likely to be cohabiting without plans to marry. While this is in line with the hypothesis that intention to marry is likely to reflect different relationship expectations, it also suggests that there are other processes at work. Intention to marry may also reflect different life focuses, for example, premarital cohabiters are the most likely of all groups to intend to have children in the future, while non-marital cohabiters are the least likely. While neither of these groups have been married before, and they are both cohabiting, they clearly have very

different expectations in regard to fertility. It is feasible that non-marital cohabiters' lack of intention to marry is linked to a rejection of traditional ideals such as marriage and parenthood. On the other hand, previous relationship status also differentiates cohabiters in systematic ways. Previously married cohabiters are more likely to have a lower level of education, and they are more likely to have children. Interestingly, despite both groups not intending to marry, the cohabiters who are previously married have a higher level of household income compared to those who are never married. This is likely to reflect a greater relative likelihood of children being present in the household, and indicates that socio-economic characteristics are closely related with previous relationship status. Furthermore, women who are cohabiting and previously married are less likely than men to intend to remarry, highlighting a gender dimension in plans to marry. In sum, this suggests that marital intentions are closely linked to attitudinal characteristics and expectations, while previous relationship status is closely linked to life experiences and situations.

Another dimension that comes across clearly in the findings is the strong association between age and relationship status, indicating that relationship status is highly connected with the trajectory and stages of the life course. This association is evident in every part of the analysis and coalesces in complex ways with essentially every other aspect of a person's life: parental status, fertility intentions, socio-economic status, and health, just to name a prominent few. There is also a strong gender dimension, for example, women are underrepresented in the single category, while they are overrepresented in the separated, divorced or widowed category. This suggests that men and women have different relationship trajectories over the life course. Indeed, Dempsey and de Vaus (2004:164) find that male divorcees are more likely than female divorcees to cohabit throughout the life course. A number of reasons for this are given, including that it is socially acceptable for men to choose a young partner, while women may be more concerned about the implications of cohabiting for their social standing.

Furthermore, the results highlight differences between the selection and causation hypotheses (Shapiro & Keyes, 2008). For instance, parental divorce is associated with a greater relative likelihood of being either a cohabiter or being separated, divorced or widowed, while people who have poor health are more likely to be separated than married. Married and previously married people also have a higher socio-economic status. It is not

clear whether people who have not experienced parental divorce, poor health or low socio-economic status are simply more likely to marry, or if marriage offers protection or an elevation in well-being. It is important to note that the analyses conducted in this chapter are not able to determine causality. Both of these dynamics are likely to be at work. For example, marriage may offer protection in terms of health, but it may also be that people who have poor health are more likely to suffer relationship breakdown. The finding for parental divorce can also be viewed in a similar vein, and the association may point to difficulty maintaining permanent relationships (or a lack of skill in doing so), or it may signal a liberal upbringing in terms of views toward the permanency and supremacy of marital relationships. Furthermore, while people who have a high socio-economic status make attractive marriage partners, thus increasing the relative likelihood of marriage, marriage may also lead to a higher socio-economic status through the amalgamation of financial assets and capacity.

The recent rise in cohabiting relationships, and diversity amongst these groups, is a reflection of the fundamental changes in patterns of family formation and the changing status of marriage in the life course. The next empirical chapter aims to investigate how the likelihood of transitioning into either a married or single state varies for different types of cohabiters and the impact that characteristics such as fertility expectations, relationship satisfaction and financial satisfaction have on these likelihoods.

Chapter 6

Cohabitation Transitions

The aim of this chapter is to explore the influence of cohabitation on life course pathways and partnership formation and dissolution. Specifically, this chapter examines transitions out of cohabitation and the factors that influence these transitions, with the aim of investigating under which circumstances cohabitation leads to marriage and under which it leads to relationship dissolution. The research questions addressed are: 1) Does the likelihood of transitioning into either a married or single state vary according to relationship status and in particular the cohabiting groups? 2) What effect do individual and household characteristics have on the likelihood of specific kinds of transitions? As shown in Chapter 5, the characteristics of the cohabiting groups vary substantially and it is therefore expected that the factors that influence transition outcomes will also vary by cohabitation group. Gaining an understanding of the factors that influence outcomes for the different cohabiting groups will present a clearer picture of how intention to marry and previous marital history interact with other factors to shape decisions guiding transitions out of cohabitation.

Specifically, this chapter examines the likelihood of different groups transitioning into either a married or single state, and how these patterns change in association with other characteristics (henceforth referred to as predictor characteristics). The predictor characteristics have been chosen based on previous research and comprise factors that are expected to affect relationship transitions. These may be grouped into three areas: demographic, socio-economic and attitudinal characteristics. The analyses will model an individual's probability of transitioning from one relationship status to either single or married across waves. This will be undertaken in two stages reflecting the processes of either partnership dissolution or transitions into marriage. The first model estimates the likelihood of those in one of the cohabitation groups or the married groups transitioning to single in any two consecutive waves, while the second model estimates the likelihood of those in a specific cohabitation group or the single group transitioning to married in any two consecutive waves. These analyses allow conclusions to be drawn about the pathways that people of different groups are likely to follow, and the influence of

demographic, socio-economic and attitudinal factors on these pathways. This chapter will first consider the existing literature on relationship status transitions and the relevant predictor characteristics before presenting the methods, results and discussion of the findings.

Relationship Status Transitions

There is a vast international literature examining relationship status transitions. As cohabitation has become increasingly common in virtually all Western nations since the 1980s, research exploring the transition from cohabitation to marriage has similarly risen. Much of this research, which is both qualitative and quantitative, highlights the importance of both prior fertility outcomes and fertility intentions (Sassler & Cunningham, 2008; Sassler, Miller, & Favinger, 2009; 2006:12; Fiona Steele, Kallis, Goldstein, & Joshi, 2005; Wu, 1995), relationship satisfaction and expectations (Brown, 2000, 2004; Guzzo, 2009; McGinnis, 2003) and socio-economic status (Lichter, Qian, & Mellott, 2006; Wendy D. Manning & Smock, 1995; Smock & Manning, 1997; Xie, Raymo, Goyette, & Thornton, 2003) on relationship transitions. Moreover, research also explores the role of religiosity (Thornton, et al., 1992), attitudes to marriage and cohabitation (Mick Cunningham & Thornton, 2005; Sanchez, Manning, & Smock, 1998), and life course events (Guzzo, 2006). Others have devised typologies to examine the influence of groupings of factors on cohabitation pathways (Casper & Sayer, 2000; Qu, et al., 2009; Weston, et al., 2005).

Prior Fertility Outcomes and Fertility Intentions

Over the past few decades, in conjunction with increased cohabitation, marriage has lost its dominance as being the only socially sanctioned arena for childbearing (Kiernan, 2001). Children are increasingly being born to unmarried mothers, many of whom are in cohabiting relationships. In Australia between 1997 and 2007 the percentage of births outside marriage increased from 28 percent to 33 percent (ABS 2010c:Cat.No.1301.0). In 1970 2 percent of all births were to cohabiting parents, by 1995 this has increased to 16 percent, after which the figure stabilised (de Vaus & Gray, 2004). Despite this trend, fertility intentions remain a prominent reason for couples to transition from cohabitation to marriage in Australia (Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007b), the UK (Fiona Steele, et al., 2006) and the US (Sassler & Cunningham, 2008; Sassler, et al., 2009). This reflects broader international trends, with a significant amount of evidence from many countries around the

world indicating that marriage is the preferred context for bearing and raising children (Kiernan, 2001, 2004b; Raley, 2001; Fiona Steele, et al., 2006). This suggests that while marriage is losing its dominance as the only suitable institution regulating the reproduction and socialisation of children, it is still seen as the ideal institution for many.

Indeed, Kiernan (2002) has suggested that the emergence of cohabitation as an acceptable institution in western societies can be broken down into a number of stages. She argues that by the last stage cohabitation is indistinguishable from marriage, with children being reared in both types of unions (Kiernan, 2002:5). This suggests that the acceptability of childrearing in cohabiting relationships is closely related to whether or not cohabitation is viewed as a legitimate partnership between two adults. Taking this into consideration, the association between fertility intentions and relationship status transitions is likely to be greatly influenced by whether or not an individual believes it is appropriate to raise children within cohabitation. Sassler and Cunningham (2008:12) conducted a study in the US on how cohabiters view childbearing, and found that views about whether marriage should precede childrearing varied widely. A majority of the respondents viewed cohabitation as an alternative to marriage, but only until children came along. Many couples indicated that they would only marry when they had decided to have children, suggesting that intention to marry is closely tied to the parenting role (Sassler & Cunningham, 2008:18). A smaller group indicated that marriage did not have to precede having children, with the majority of these respondents growing up in alternative family arrangements; these respondents tended to convey a greater ambivalence toward marriage.

The authors suggest that cohabitation may serve as an alternative to marriage for middle-class Americans that reject parenting, as cohabiters who do not desire children often expressed rather negative views regarding marriage, while cohabiters who wanted children generally intended to marry first (Sassler & Cunningham, 2008:21). While cohabitation is becoming increasingly socially accepted in the US, the authors argue that there are still sharp educational disparities among those who become parents without marrying and those who do not. Overall, their research suggests that in the US the majority of cohabiters intend to marry before having children, but that marriage is mediated by class, education and experience of different family arrangements. Furthermore, Steele, Kallis, Goldstein and Joshi (2005:670) found that cohabiter's attitudes toward fertility and

fertility rates within cohabitation changed across cohorts in the UK, suggesting that patterns of partnership and childbearing also change across time, and countries.

In the current research, it is expected that the relationship between fertility intentions and relationship status transitions will vary by cohabitation typology group. This may reflect differing views between these groups on both the legitimacy of raising children within a cohabiting relationship and varying fertility intentions. Nevertheless, when investigating the childbearing expectations and experiences of working-class cohabiters in the US, Sassler, Miller and Favinger (2009:227) found that many couples did not consider a child an adequate reason for marriage, rather, the quality of the couple's relationship is the paramount reason for marriage. These findings are echoed in much research originating from the US (Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Gibson-Davis, et al., 2005). This leads into the second factor that has been found to be integral when investigating pathways from cohabitation: relationship satisfaction and expectations.

Relationship Satisfaction and Expectations

Not surprisingly, relationship satisfaction and expectations are fundamental to pathways out of cohabitation. Using couple-level data, Brown (2000) examined the influence of cohabiters' own relationship assessments and expectations on the likelihood of marriage or dissolution using US data from 1987 to 1994. She found that intentions have an independent and significant effect on union outcomes, despite controlling for a number of factors such as male and female economic characteristics, pregnancy, presence of children, prior union experience, race and union length. While positive assessments reduced the likelihood of separation, they generally did not increase the likelihood of marriage (Brown, 2000:844). Unhappiness with the relationship, infrequent partner interaction, disagreement and conflictual resolution strategies all increased the odds of separation. When both partners were in accordance, expectations were good predictors of outcomes, however, when partners disagreed, outcomes were contingent on gender. Dissatisfaction among women tended to prompt separation, while dissatisfaction among men reduced the likelihood of marriage, reflecting the unique roles that men and women play in monitoring and maintaining intimate relationships (Brown, 2000:845).

Using substantially more recent data from 2002, Guzzo (2009) investigates how marital intentions at the commencement of cohabitation affected subsequent transitions. She found that many control variables are significantly and independently related to relationship transitions out of cohabitation, despite controlling for marital intentions at the outset of cohabitation. These included gender, maternal education, socio-economic status, presence of children and race, and many of these characteristics led to different trajectories for men and women. She concluded that while marital intentions are strong predictors of outcomes for cohabiting relationships, socio-economic characteristics and union and fertility behaviours nonetheless have a substantial impact.

Taking a different perspective, and treating cohabitation as a stage of courtship, McGinnis (2003) compares the perceived costs and benefits of marriage amongst cohabiters to those of couples in romantic non-residential relationships. As cohabiters are further along the road to marriage, both their cost and benefit perceptions of marriage are significantly lower than those of dating couples, and they are significantly more likely to intend to, or expect to, marry their partner. Furthermore, the perceived costs of marriage significantly influence the likelihood of marriage. She argues that cohabitation may affect courtship processes in important ways that we currently have little knowledge about (McGinnis, 2003:114). Overall, these findings indicate that relationship satisfaction, marital intentions and the outcomes of cohabiting relationships are intertwined, and understanding the relationship between these factors is imperative when investigating the position of cohabitation in the life course, and its impact on relationship formation.

Socio-economic Status

In addition to fertility intentions and relationship satisfaction, socio-economic status has been found to have a considerable effect on the pathways of cohabiting relationships. Xie, Raymo, Goyette and Thornton (2003) find that while earnings potential strongly and positively influences the likelihood of marriage for men (but not for women), there is no discernible effect on the likelihood of entry into cohabitation. They argue that the causal mechanisms that lead to marriage are different to those that lead to cohabitation, and that economic resources affect transitions to marriage but not cohabitation. Other research has found similar trends for both income and education (Wendy D. Manning & Smock, 1995; Smock & Manning, 1997).

Weston, Qu and de Vaus (2005) investigated numerous factors associated with cohabiting couples either marrying, separating or remaining cohabiting in Australia. They examined the influence of financial circumstances, socio-demographic characteristics, relationship quality, duration of cohabitation, partners' ages, experience of previous relationships and family type on the likelihood that a certain transition would occur. Using Waves 1-3 of HILDA they found that marriage was more likely if the male partner had a degree and if there was a high level of relationship satisfaction for both partners (Weston, et al., 2005:18). Furthermore, there was a greater likelihood of marriage if the female partner had a high level of relationship satisfaction and wanted a child. The relationship was more likely to end if there was some discomfort in the couple's financial situation, if only one partner wanted to have children or at least one partner was not satisfied with the quality of the relationship (Weston, et al., 2005:19). They found that about one third of couples married despite neither partner expressing a high level of relationship satisfaction. Generally, these couples had lived together for quite some time before marrying. On the dimensions of relationship quality and wanting a child, the female partner's views were found to be the key in the decision to marry. Furthermore, marriage or ongoing cohabitation was less likely under economic hardship, or if there were concerns about the financial situation (Weston, et al., 2005:19). The authors suggest that the transition from cohabitation to marriage reflects both traditional gender patterns and a minimisation of risk. Overall, this suggests that the pathways that cohabiting relationships follow are affected by many demographic and socio-economic factors.

In addition to the characteristics discussed above, religiosity, union length, gender attitudes and parental divorce have also been found to have an influence on pathways into and out of cohabitation. Thornton, Axinn and Hill (1992) found that people from religious families and who showed religious commitment and participation were not only less likely to cohabit, they were also less likely to substitute cohabitation for marriage. They found a reciprocal relationship between cohabitation, marriage and religiosity, and suggest that cohabitation decreases religious participation, while marriage increases it. Furthermore, the importance of religion and participation were more important than religious affiliation (Thornton, et al., 1992:648). In regard to union length, Brown (2000:840) found that union duration amongst cohabiters was negatively associated with both the likelihood of marriage and separation. Many cohabiters' union transitions occurred quickly and the longer the duration of cohabitation, the less likely a transition to either marriage or

separation would take place. Casper and Sayer (2000) define a cohabitation typology and investigate differences in attitudes between the typology groups and relationship outcomes. They find that attitudes about marriage and cohabitation differ between the groups, with cohabiters in substitute relationships being the least traditional, and cohabiters in trial or precursor relationships having the most traditional views; cohabiters in dating relationship are in-between these groups. Furthermore, they find that substitute cohabiters are the most likely to remain cohabiting, precursor cohabiters are the most likely to marry, while trial and co-residential dating cohabiters are the most likely to separate, despite employing a number of controls (Casper & Sayer, 2000:27).

Sanchez, Manning and Smock (1998) create a couple ideology measure that assigns couples into egalitarian, neutral and traditional categories and investigate the influence of this (amongst other dimensions) on transitions out of cohabitation. They find that couples in which the female is traditional and the male is egalitarian are more likely to marry and less likely to separate compared to couples where both partners are either egalitarian or traditional (Sanchez, et al., 1998:298). They conclude that the most stable couples may be those where the couples have reacted to new gender norms by adopting more gender-egalitarian views of men's family responsibilities, while retaining a traditional conception of feminine roles. While this research does not use couple-level data, and as such is not able to conduct such an analysis, it is nevertheless of interest how gender attitudes influences relationship status transitions.

While a substantial amount of research has been conducted on the influence of parental divorce on marriage and subsequent divorce (P. Amato, 1996; Hewitt, et al., 2005; Teachman, 2002; Wolfinger, 2001, 2003), relatively little has investigated the influence on transitions out of cohabitation. Wolfinger (2001) investigates the impact of family structure on the outcome of cohabiting unions using data collected in the US in 1987/88 and 1992-1994. He finds that parental divorce and abandonment increases the likelihood that a cohabiting relationship will break up and decreases the chances that it will end in marriage.

Despite not representing factors that have been previously found to affect relationships transitions, financial satisfaction and health will also be included as predictor

characteristics for the purposes of this analysis. Financial satisfaction will be included as it is not necessarily a person's objective financial resources that will impact upon their partnering decisions and relationship transitions, but rather how they feel about their resources. Individuals who feel happy with their financial resources may be more likely to formalise their union, regardless of their actual income. Health is also expected to influence relationship transitions, in particular for the relationship status groups that are previously married, as they tend to be older (as discussed in Chapter 4), which is associated with decreased health. LaPierre (2004), for example, finds that after controlling for various demographic factors, poor physical health significantly reduced the odds of persons between the ages of 51 and 61 transitioning into cohabitation or marriage over an 8 year period. No known studies, however, look at the impact of health on transitions from cohabitation into either marriage or relationship dissolution.

Predictor Characteristics

In light of the literature discussed above the factors that will be operationalised in this chapter as predictor characteristics comprise: 1) demographic characteristics: health, parental divorce, fertility intentions, union length, 2) socio-economic characteristics: household income, homeownership, years of schooling, and 3) attitudinal characteristics: religiosity, gender role attitudes, financial satisfaction, happiness, relationship satisfaction. These have been chosen as predictor variables as they are expected to influence transitions out of cohabitation. In addition to these predictor variables, a number of control variables are included in the analyses to account for different baseline characteristics between the relationship status groups. These comprise gender, age, region of birth, indigenous status, parity, and whether or not the respondent holds a tertiary degree.

Analytical Strategy

As discussed, the aim of this chapter is to: 1) investigate the probability that a given relationship status category will transition to either married or single in any two consecutive waves, and 2) how the predictor variables influence these possibilities. This will be done by using eight waves of HILDA data to estimate two separate models. The first model estimates the likelihood of a cohabiting or married person transitioning to single in any two consecutive waves i.e. dissolution of a union, while the second model estimates the likelihood of a cohabiting or single person transitioning to married in any two consecutive

waves. Cohabiting people will be classified into the cohabitation groups, while married people will be classified as either in a first or higher order marriage. The single group comprises anyone who is not in a living-together relationship, and includes never married, separated, divorced or widowed people. Note that some of those classified as single may be in a living-apart-together relationship. However, these individuals cannot be identified as HILDA does not collect annual information on whether single respondents are in a romantic relationship with someone outside of the household. As eight waves of HILDA will be used and these analyses investigate transitions between any two consecutive waves, data is available for any individual on up to seven occasions. As such, this analysis investigates how relationship status and predictor characteristics in one wave predict relationship status in the following wave. To combat the issue of observations not being independent of one another, the analyses employ a robust estimator of variance to adjust for repeated observations from the same individual.

Measures

In addition to the standard variables, corresponding lagged variables are derived to enable the identification of transitions and also to assess the association of an individual's circumstances in a previous wave with a transition. By definition, a lagged variable records the value of a given characteristic in the previous wave. The relationship status variable has seven categories comprising: first marriage, higher order marriage, single (which includes separated, divorced or widowed) and the four cohabitation groups. A lagged variable, which measures relationship status in the previous wave, has been constructed resulting in two measures of relationship status: relationships status and lagged relationship status. Dummy category variables are constructed for both of these variables. As the aim of the analysis is to predict relationship status in the following wave, all independent variables in the models are lagged by one wave (with the exception of time invariant characteristics such as gender, place of birth and indigenous status). A lag of one wave was chosen for dual reasons. One wave is sufficient time to investigate the influence of the predictor characteristics on relationship transitions, while still being reasonable to assume that transitions to marriage are with the same partner observed at time 1. While the model predicting marriage does not explicitly test whether the partner at time 1 is the married partner time 2, it is reasonable to assume that this is the case, as it is unlikely for respondents to separate from their time 1 partner, re-partner and marry within

a year. As such, a lag of one year is preferable, as more than one year may violate this assumption.

Outcome Variable

Two separate binary logistic models are estimated, each with a different outcome variable. The outcome variable for the model predicting the likelihood of transitioning to single is 1 = single, 0 = in a co-residential romantic relationship. Conversely, the outcome variable for the model predicting the likelihood of transitioning to married is 1 = married, 0 = not in a marital relationship. This enables the likelihood of transitioning to this relationship status to be computed.

Independent Variables

There are four groups of independent variables: lagged relationship status, control variables, predictor variables and interactions with predictor variables. To enable prediction of relationship status from one wave to another, the dummy category variables of relationship status are all lagged by one year and included as independent variables.

The control variables comprise gender, region of birth, indigenous status, parity (measured by whether or not the respondent has ever had a child), age and degree (measured by whether or not the respondent holds a degree). Parity, age and degree are lagged.

The predictor variables comprise the lags of: relationship satisfaction, fertility expectations, financial satisfaction, poor health, religiosity, parental divorce, gender role attitudes, happiness, homeownership, income and years of education, and in addition, union length is included only in the model predicting a transition to single. Each predictor variable is interacted with the lagged relationship status dummy categories to enable estimation of the influence of predictor variables on the likelihood that a given relationship status will transition to either single or married from one wave to the next.

Analysis

Binary logistic regression is used to estimate two separate models: 1) the likelihood of transitioning to single, and 2) the likelihood of transitioning to married. The relationship status categories included in each model are restricted to allow for meaningful transitions. For the model predicting the likelihood of transitioning to single, the lagged dummy categories for first marriage, higher order marriage and the cohabitation typology groups are included as independent variables. The lagged dummy category for single is excluded from the analysis, as only those who are married or in a cohabiting union at time 1 are included in the model. Conversely, for the model predicting the likelihood of transitioning to married (comprising both transitions to first and higher order marriages), the lagged dummy categories for single and the cohabitation typology groups are included as independent variables. The lagged dummy category for first marriage and higher order marriage are excluded from the analysis (i.e. only those who are single or cohabiting at time 1 are included). The independent variables are added to both of these models in blocks. These blocks comprise: the base model, the control model, the predictor model, the interaction models and the full model. The base model includes only the lagged relationship status categories. The control model includes all control variables in addition to the base model. The predictor model builds on the control model by introducing the predictor variables. The interaction models includes the aforementioned variables, adding only one predictor variable interacted with relationship status at a time. The full model includes all variables. As in Chapter 5, for ease of comparison, all analyses are estimated repeatedly alternating the reference categories for relationship status in turn. This allows all significant associations to be investigated and fully interpreted. As stated previously, a robust estimator of variance is employed in each regression analysis to adjust for repeated observations from the same individual.

As discussed in Chapter 4, there are higher levels of missing data for relationship satisfaction, poor health, sex role attitudes, religiosity and happiness. Furthermore, to enable relationship satisfaction to be included in the model predicting marriage, single people have been allowed to report a level of relationship satisfaction for the wave prior to a transition. Forty-five percent of single people who transition to married report a response for relationship satisfaction in the previous wave (see Table 8). This represents a high level of missing data and needs to be taken into account when comparing the relationship satisfaction of single and cohabiting people in the analysis. Flag variables are included in

the analysis to deal with all forms of missing data (see Chapter 4 for a detailed explanation of the function of flag variables). To account for systematic differences in missing data amongst the relationship status groups, predictor variable flags have also been interacted with the relationship status categories and included in the analyses as appropriate.

While this research provides important information on the nature of cohabiting relationships, it has a number of shortcomings. Most notably, it does not use couple level data. Brown (2000:837) argues that couple-level measures are required to avoid potential biases associated with using individual-level measures to predict the results of a joint decision and to examine the role of gender. Indeed, her research found that couple-level measures revealed that men's and women's assessments of their relationships have unique effects on union transitions (Brown, 2000:845). This is supported by research which indicates that outcomes of cohabiting relationships vary by gender (Guzzo, 2006). Despite this, comparing male and female partner characteristics and conducting couple-level analyses is beyond the scope of the current project. Nonetheless, it would be important to examine couple level data in future work, which will allow an investigation of the influence of gender differences. In particular, the next step would be to investigate how the influence of the predictor characteristics varies between men and women, and how disparities in intentions and satisfaction levels within couples affect how these factors influence the likelihood of marrying or separating.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for the sample across all 8 waves are shown in Table 7. The bottom of the first column for each relationship status group displays the total observations for that group, while the following columns display the number of transitions to single and the number of transitions to married for that particular group. The column beneath these totals then displays the means and percentages of each control and predictor variable for that group or transition. While the number of observations for non-marital and post-marital cohabiters transitioning to married is low at 37 and 44 respectively, these are adequate observations for meaningful analysis to detect a medium to large effect size for association with predictor variables. The relatively low number of observations, however, needs to be taken into account when interpreting the results, as small to medium effect sizes may not be detected due to low power in the statistical tests of association.

Table 7: Summary Descriptive Statistics for Transitions to Single or Married

	First marriage		Higher order marriage		Single	
	All	Transition to Single	All	Transition to Single	All	Transition to Married
Control Variables (%)						
Female	51.74	58.99	49.68	57.65	56.82	49.06
Born Australia	74.22	79.88	70.33	64.12	81.18	73.05
Born MES	10.98	11.43	16.13	14.71	8.56	7.28
Born Other	14.80	8.69	13.54	21.18	10.26	19.68
Indigenous	0.83	0.46	1.21	0.59	2.73	1.89
Parity (child)	90.54	87.96	91.75	95.88	49.51	50.40
Holds a degree	23.89	17.68	18.96	16.47	18.15	30.46
Age (years)	48.78	48.47	52.97	52.41	43.69	36.58
Predictor Variables (mean)						
Relationship satisfaction	8.50	6.75	8.49	6.86	6.76	7.42
Fertility intentions	1.39	1.23	0.68	0.59	2.90	4.30
Religiosity	4.55	4.28	4.21	4.02	4.17	5.34
Parental divorce	8.32	11.59	11.77	17.65	15.23	15.09
Gender role attitudes	3.83	3.96	3.81	3.95	3.70	3.70
Health	20.07	23.15	23.94	27.45	24.09	22.88
Happiness	4.50	4.20	4.46	4.02	4.35	4.31
Home ownership	87.46	83.08	85.11	69.41	61.55	61.46
Income	1130.62	931.14	1066.16	799.92	761.14	973.31
Years of education	12.50	12.18	12.25	11.98	12.14	12.82
Financial satisfaction	6.77	6.24	6.53	5.50	5.90	5.64
Union length (years)	24.17	24.15	13.35	11.17	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	35,851	656	6,204	170	25,450	371

	Premarital cohabiters			Non-marital cohabiters			Post-marital cohabiters			Remarriage Cohabiters		
	All	Transition to Single	Transition to Married	All	Transition to Single	Transition to Married	All	Transition to Single	Transition to Married	All	Transition to Single	Transition to Married
Control Variables (%)												
Female	50.61	50.38	51.97	51.97	50.00	43.24	59.01	58.78	56.82	42.19	35.85	44.93
Born Australia	87.15	86.92	85.75	81.24	82.84	0.00	71.33	70.27	79.55	78.44	73.58	80.18
Born MES	7.74	7.69	9.17	11.49	11.19	13.51	20.41	10.14	13.64	13.85	15.09	13.22
Born Other	5.11	5.38	5.08	7.27	5.97	86.49	8.26	19.59	6.82	7.71	11.32	6.61
Indigenous	3.27	5.77	1.27	4.40	6.72	0.00	1.68	2.70	0.00	1.77	3.77	2.20
Parity (child)	37.70	38.08	29.86	45.33	38.06	70.27	86.30	91.22	90.91	87.27	86.79	86.34
Holds a degree	25.00	12.31	37.18	28.05	18.66	21.62	20.53	16.22	27.27	15.33	22.64	19.38
Age (years)	27.98	26.08	27.98	35.12	30.41	35.12	49.55	47.62	49.55	43.49	42.66	43.49
Predictor Variables (mean)												
Relationship satisfaction	8.65	8.12	9.05	7.66	6.36	7.94	7.93	6.56	7.83	8.71	8.19	9.04
Fertility intentions	6.87	6.93	7.79	3.41	4.41	2.41	0.59	0.77	1.39	2.21	1.79	2.27
Religiosity	2.49	2.46	2.67	2.09	2.21	1.48	2.76	3.96	2.85	2.76	2.84	2.79
Parental divorce	24.44	32.69	18.45	25.27	29.48	29.73	13.70	14.19	18.18	16.73	26.42	14.54
Gender role attitudes	2.87	3.08	2.83	2.74	2.75	2.92	3.41	3.83	3.42	3.22	3.09	3.21
Health	16.02	21.97	13.00	18.00	20.94	25.81	25.34	31.30	14.63	21.66	28.00	14.22
Happiness	4.48	4.32	4.61	4.33	4.04	4.31	4.38	3.89	4.59	4.38	4.06	4.55
Home ownership	44.23	35.38	56.48	54.98	38.43	72.97	72.59	59.46	75.00	65.24	49.06	68.72
Income	1357.2	1148.9	1612.3	1277.9	1169.2	1335.4	1219.3	986.0	1332.9	1272.0	1208.4	1463.9
Years of education	12.71	12.15	13.26	12.79	12.39	12.73	12.44	12.25	12.80	12.41	12.42	12.62
Financial satisfaction	6.08	5.72	6.50	5.89	5.40	5.84	6.17	5.41	6.32	5.99	5.53	6.52
Union length (years)*	3.19	2.55	2.78	7.00	3.54	8.17	7.84	4.20	6.25	3.98	2.20	3.07
Total (N)	4,072	260	710	2,228	268	37	1,671	148	44	1,076	53	227

N is slightly lower in these descriptive due to missing data. * Union length is not included in the model predicting transitions to married, descriptive have been included here for interest.

Overall, the majority of predictor characteristics behave in expected ways in regard to transitions. For example, relationship satisfaction tends to be higher in the previous wave for respondents who transition to married, and lower for those who transition to single. There are, however, a number of interesting associations observed in Table 7 that were not expected. Fertility intention does not vary considerably for the married groups, and for the cohabiting groups transitions to married are generally accompanied by higher fertility intentions in the previous wave. The trend is the reverse for non-marital cohabiters, for which fertility intentions are highest for the group that transition to single. In other words, intention to have a child is associated with a greater likelihood of transitioning to single for those who are in cohabiting relationships and not planning to marry.

Furthermore, the religiosity of post-marital cohabiters who transition to single is particularly high. This is unexpected. Additionally, there appears to be a stronger association between parental divorce and transitions to single for cohabiters who intend to marry compared to other groups. Premarital cohabiters who marry tend to have more years of education and a higher household income compared to other groups. Many of these associations, however, may be due to differences in the characteristics of these groups. For instance, premarital cohabiters are by far the youngest of the groups. The regression models allow significant associations among transition outcomes and predictor variables of interest to be investigated while controlling for important socio-demographic variables identified in the literature.

Missing Data Descriptive Statistics

The summary statistics for missing data are shown in Table 8. Rather than showing the mean of each characteristic, as above, the total number and percentage of missing observations for each characteristic is displayed. The majority of missing data for relationship satisfaction, gender role attitudes, health and happiness is due to respondents not returning the self complete questionnaire. The percentage of missing data for these variables varies from 6.0 percent to 27.6 percent (for married people and premarital cohabiters who transition to married, respectively). There is a low level of missing data for union length, which is due to item non-response. The missing data for religiosity is explained in detail in Chapter 4.

Table 8: Missing Data Descriptive Statistics for Transitions to Single or Married

	First marriage		Higher order marriage		Single	
	All	Transition to Single	All	Transition to Single	All	Transition to Married
Missing N(%)						
Relationship satisfaction	2,244 (6.26)	69 (10.52)	365 (5.88)	25 (14.71)	20,092 (78.95)	167 [^] (45.01)
Religiosity	2,167 (6.04)	33 (5.03)	364 (5.87)	16 (9.41)	2,642 (10.38)	51 (13.75)
Gender role attitudes	2,911 (8.12)	53 (8.08)	549 (8.85)	14 (8.24)	3,661 (14.39)	47 (12.67)
Health	2,496 (6.96)	60 (9.15)	410 (6.61)	17 (10.00)	2,998 (11.78)	52 (14.02)
Happiness	2,208 (6.16)	53 (8.08)	358 (5.77)	16 (9.41)	2,768 (10.88)	54 (14.56)
Union length	113 (0.32)	5 (0.76)	64 (1.03)	3 (1.76)	-	-
Total (N)	35,851	656	6,204	170	25,450	371

	Premarital cohabiters			Non-marital cohabiters			Post-marital cohabiters			Remarriage Cohabiters		
	All	Transition to Single	Transition to Married	All	Transition to Single	Transition to Married	All	Transition to Single	Transition to Married	All	Transition to Single	Transition to Married
Missing N(%)												
Relationship satisfaction	461 (11.32)	41 (15.77)	61 (8.59)	229 (10.28)	41 (15.30)	5 (13.51)	121 (7.24)	21 (14.19)	4 (9.09)	76 (7.06)	5 (9.43)	21 (9.25)
Religiosity	878 (21.56)	56 (21.54)	154 (21.69)	317 (14.23)	29 (10.82)	10 (27.03)	172 (10.29)	22 (14.86)	3 (6.82)	141 (13.10)	3 (5.66)	31 (13.66)
Gender role attitudes	1,104 (27.11)	53 (20.38)	196 (27.61)	458 (20.56)	55 (20.52)	12 (32.43)	237 (14.18)	21 (14.19)	8 (18.18)	233 (21.65)	6 (11.32)	48 (21.15)
Health	458 (11.25)	37 (14.23)	64 (9.01)	217 (9.74)	34 (12.69)	6 (16.22)	124 (7.42)	17 (11.49)	3 (6.82)	79 (7.34)	3 (5.66)	23 (10.13)
Happiness	452 (11.10)	39 (15.00)	62 (8.73)	206 (9.25)	30 (11.19)	5 (13.51)	110 (6.58)	17 (11.49)	3 (6.82)	76 (7.06)	3 (5.66)	22 (9.69)
Union length *	185 (4.54)	13 (5.00)	-	156 (7.00)	28 (10.45)	-	119 (7.12)	21 (14.19)	-	41 (3.81)	5 (9.43)	-
Total (N)	4,072	260	710	2,228	268	37	1,671	148	44	1,076	53	227

* Union length is not included in the model predicting transitions to married.^ 4=missing; 114=not applicable; 50=no SCQ

Results

The results for the logistic regression models predicting the likelihood of transitioning to single and the likelihood of transitioning to married are presented in Tables 9 and 10. Note that first marriage and single are the reference categories, respectively. A positive coefficient suggests that respondents in a given category of the independent variable are more likely to transition to the outcome compared to the reference category; a negative coefficient indicates the reverse. The asterisks indicate a significant difference between these two categories. To allow all significant differences between the relationship statuses to be investigated, Tables 2-6 in Appendix 6 and Tables 2-5 in Appendix 7 redisplay the models alternating the reference categories for relationship status in turn. The discussion of the results below starts with the likelihood of transitioning to single before moving on to the likelihood of transitioning to married. The discussion utilises all tables including those in the appendices.

The Likelihood of Transitioning to Single

The results from the likelihood of transitioning to single model with first marriage as the reference category are presented in Table 9. Appendix 6 redisplay the coefficients of the model with each of the other relationship categories as the reference category. There are 51,102 observations and the standard error has been adjusted for 10,673 household clusters. The Pseudo R-squared for the base model is 0.06 (Wald Chi-squared: 819.98, $df= 5$, $p\text{-value} < 0.001$). It increases to 0.16 in the full model (Wald Chi-squared: 2150.01, $df= 121$, $p\text{-value} < 0.0001$), indicating that the full model explains a greater amount of the variation in the data. For ease of presentation, those who are separated, divorced or widowed will all be referred to as separated for the remainder of the results section.

Table 9: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Single – First Marriage Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models												Full Model
Relationship Status Categories (ref: First Marriage):																
Higher Order Marriage	0.41***	0.44***	0.30**	0.18	-0.15	0.30*	0.49*	0.28*	0.24	0.31**	0.53*	0.78***	0.56***	0.26	0.69	0.75
Premarital Cohab.	1.30***	1.06***	0.69***	0.27	-0.52	1.02***	0.52*	0.69***	0.62***	0.65***	0.80**	0.84***	0.74***	0.22	1.75**	0.44
Non-marital Cohab.	1.99***	1.85***	1.21***	0.78***	0.70**	1.64***	0.91***	1.20***	1.13***	1.24***	0.92**	1.45***	1.08***	0.84*	0.89 ⁺	0.63
Post-marital Cohab.	1.65***	1.64***	1.06***	0.86***	0.34	1.36***	0.84**	1.01***	0.52**	1.11***	1.54***	1.20***	1.27***	0.93*	0.67	0.27
Remarriage Cohab.	1.02***	0.94***	0.57***	0.46*	-0.64	1.10***	0.41	0.58**	0.54*	0.51**	0.43	0.86***	0.49 [#]	0.55	-0.41	-0.73
Female		0.12*	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.):																
Non-English Speaking		-0.03	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.08	-0.09	-0.09	-0.06	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.10
Main English Speaking		-0.03	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
Indigenous		0.26	0.20	0.20	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.23
Has child		-0.00	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08
Age		-0.01***	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**
Holds Degree		-0.48***	-0.20 ⁺	-0.18	-0.21 [#]	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 [#]	-0.20 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.21 [#]	-0.20 [#]	-0.19 ⁺	-0.18
Fertility Intentions			-0.03***	-0.10***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.08***
Relationship Satisfaction			-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.33***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.33***
Missing			-0.90***	-0.89***	-1.34***	-0.92***	-0.89***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.89***	-0.91***	-1.32***
Union Length			-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.09***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***
Union Length Squared			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	
Missing			0.01	0.01	0.01	0.38	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.39
Financial Satisfaction			-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.05*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.04 [#]
Poor Health			-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.13	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.09	-0.16
Missing			-0.36	-0.37	-0.37	-0.35	-0.36	-0.42	-0.33	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.36	-0.25
Religiosity			-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.02	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01
Missing			-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.29**	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.60**	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.62**
Parental Divorce			0.13 ⁺	0.14 [#]	0.14 [#]	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.15	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.19
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Missing			-0.51***	-0.54***	-0.53***	-0.56***	-0.51***	-0.52***	-0.52***	-0.51***	-0.41*	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.31 ⁺
Owns Home			-0.30***	-0.29***	-0.30***	-0.28***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.31***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.15
Household Income			-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	
Happiness			-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 [#]	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05	-0.06 ⁺	-0.09*	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05
Missing			-0.66 [#]	-0.63 ⁺	-0.64 [#]	-0.63 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.63 ⁺	-0.68 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.67 [#]	-0.65 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.85*	-0.65 [#]	-0.57
Years of Education			-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01
Interaction Terms (ref: First Marriage):																

Relationship Satisfaction *			
Higher Order Marriage	0.06 ⁺		0.05
Premarital Cohab.	0.16 ^{***}		0.14 ^{**}
Non-marital Cohab.	0.07 [*]		0.04
Post-marital Cohab.	0.10 [*]		0.11 [*]
Remarriage Cohab.	0.16 [*]		0.16 [#]
<i>Missing *</i>			
Higher Order Marriage	0.98 ^{**}		1.19 [*]
Premarital Cohab.	1.14 ^{**}		0.98
Non-marital Cohab.	0.70 [*]		0.62
Post-marital Cohab.	0.95 [*]		0.36
Remarriage Cohab.	0.96		2.02 ⁺
Fertility Intentions *			
Higher Order Marriage	0.01		0.01
Premarital Cohab.	0.10 ^{***}		0.08 ^{**}
Non-marital Cohab.	0.13 ^{***}		0.10 ^{***}
Post-marital Cohab.	0.08 ⁺		0.08 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.	0.02		-0.03
Union Length *			
Higher Order Marriage	0.00		0.01
Premarital Cohab.	-0.06 [*]		-0.03
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.07 ^{***}		-0.04 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.05 [#]		-0.04
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.17 [*]		-0.17 [*]
<i>Missing *</i>			
Higher Order Marriage	-0.54		-0.66
Premarital Cohab.	-0.85		-0.80
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.64		-0.53
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.33		-0.45
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.06		-0.18
Financial Satisfaction *			
Higher Order Marriage	-0.03		-0.01
Premarital Cohab.	0.03		0.02
Non-marital Cohab.	0.05		0.04
Post-marital Cohab.	0.04		0.03
Remarriage Cohab.	0.03		0.02
Poor Health *			
Higher Order Marriage		-0.00	-0.15
Premarital Cohab.		0.19	0.35
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.05	0.07
Post-marital Cohab.		0.07	0.08
Remarriage Cohab.		0.25	0.32

<i>Missing *</i>			
Higher Order Marriage	0.29		-0.11
Premarital Cohab.	-0.16		-1.68*
Non-marital Cohab.	0.14		1.09
Post-marital Cohab.	0.29		-0.26
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.73		-1.32
Religiosity *			
Higher Order Marriage	0.00		-0.01
Premarital Cohab.	0.00		0.00
Non-marital Cohab.	0.03		0.04
Post-marital Cohab.	0.14***		0.13***
Remarriage Cohab.	0.03		0.02
<i>Missing*</i>			
Higher Order Marriage	0.87*		0.82*
Premarital Cohab.	0.42		0.53 [#]
Non-marital Cohab.	0.11		-0.11
Post-marital Cohab.	1.31***		1.27***
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.38		-0.22
Parental Divorce *			
Higher Order Marriage		-0.06	-0.03
Premarital Cohab.		0.12	0.08
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.13	-0.21
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.33	-0.45
Remarriage Cohab.		0.27	0.39
Gender Role Attitudes *			
Higher Order Marriage		-0.05	-0.03
Premarital Cohab.		-0.02	-0.02
Non-marital Cohab.		0.05	0.03
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.11 [#]	-0.08
Remarriage Cohab.		0.05	0.05
<i>Missing*</i>			
Higher Order Marriage		-0.05	-0.27
Premarital Cohab.		-0.25	-0.49
Non-marital Cohab.		0.25	-0.03
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.36	-0.70 [#]
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.54	-0.68
Owns Home *			
Higher Order Marriage		-0.65**	-0.54*
Premarital Cohab.		-0.14	-0.02
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.39*	-0.25
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.19	-0.10
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.46	-0.37

Household Income *																		
Higher Order Marriage																	-0.00*	-0.00 ⁺
Premarital Cohab.																	-0.00	-0.00
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.00	0.00
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.00	-0.00
Remarriage Cohab.																	0.00	0.00
Happiness *																		
Higher Order Marriage																	0.00	-0.04
Premarital Cohab.																	0.12	0.04
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.09	0.02
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.02	-0.12
Remarriage Cohab.																	0.02	-0.13
<i>Missing*</i>																		
Higher Order Marriage																	0.33	-0.87
Premarital Cohab.																	0.41	1.75*
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.45	-1.13
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.49	0.22
Remarriage Cohab.																	-0.65	-0.49
Years of Education *																		
Higher Order Marriage																	-0.03	0.01
Premarital Cohab.																	-0.09 [#]	-0.10*
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.03	-0.02
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.03	0.05
Remarriage Cohab.																	0.08	0.07
Constant	-3.98***	-3.40***	1.04**	1.22***	1.40***	0.88*	1.11**	1.05**	1.13**	1.05**	1.04**	0.85*	1.07**	1.17**	0.97*	1.24**		
Pseudo R-Squared	0.0591	0.0652	0.1428	0.1456	0.1451	0.1456	0.1432	0.1434	0.1452	0.1431	0.1428	0.1437	0.1438	0.1434	0.1434	0.1558		
Observations	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102		

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Baseline Relationship Status Transitions

The first 6 rows of each table present how likely each group is to transition to single compared to the reference category. Overall, with controls excluded from the model, all of the relationship status groups have significantly different likelihoods of transitioning to single compared to one another. People in a first marriage are the least likely to transition to single, followed by those in a higher order marriage, remarriage cohabiters, premarital cohabiters and post-marital cohabiters; non-marital cohabiters are the most likely to transition to single. This is in line with expectations; people who are married are the least likely to separate, and cohabiters are less likely to separate if they intend to marry. Cohabiters who do not intend to marry are the most likely to separate. In each instance the cohabiters who have been previously married are less likely to separate than those who are never married. Overall, this suggests that amongst cohabiters intention to marry reduces the likelihood of separation, as does being previously married.

A number of associations change in the control and predictor models: remarriage cohabiters are no longer significantly different from either premarital cohabiters or people in a higher order marriage. There is also no significant difference between non-marital and post-marital cohabiters. This indicates that previous marital history is no longer associated with different outcomes for the cohabiting groups when the control and predictor variables are held constant. This suggests that these variables account for the difference in likelihood of transitioning to single, but may also be closely related to previous relationship status. For instance, the control and predictor variables may be correlated with marital history, and hence take up the partial variation initially explained by previous relationship status. Furthermore, there is also no significant difference between remarriage cohabiters and the higher order marriage group, indicating that the control and predictor variables also account for the different likelihoods of these groups separating. There are no significant differences between any groups in the full model, indicating that the control, predictor and interaction variables completely account for different likelihoods of the groups separating. One explanation for this is that these variables strongly characterise relationship status as found in the typology.

Control and Predictor Variables

The control and predictor models include two additional blocks of variables. The control model indicates that women and people who do not hold a degree are more likely to transition to single and as people age they are less likely to transition to single. The only control variable that remains significant in the predictor and full model is age. The predictor model indicates that the likelihood of transitioning to single is lower when people: expect to have a child in the future, have a high level of relationship satisfaction, own their own home, and as union length, income, financial satisfaction and happiness increase (happiness is borderline significant $p=0.091$)¹³. The squared term for union length is significant, indicating that the relationship between union length and the likelihood of separation is curved rather than linear. The likelihood of a transition to single initially decreases as union length increases, is at its lowest at 26 years and then increases thereafter (26 years is calculated based on the predictor model)¹⁴. The likelihood of transitioning to single increases if there is a history of parental divorce (borderline significant $p=0.079$). There are no significant results for poor health, religiosity, having a child or gender role attitudes.

Interaction Models

Unless specified, the significant associations discussed below refer to the interaction models, and not the full model. The interaction models, rather than the full model, have been chosen for the primary analysis as this allows the associations between each predictor characteristic and marital group to be examined without the effects being influenced by other interactions. A positive coefficient suggests that given a greater response on the predictor variable, a particular group is more likely to transition to single, compared to the reference category; a negative coefficient suggests the reverse.

Demographic Characteristics

The interaction terms for fertility intentions showed a number of significant associations between the likelihood of transitioning to single, fertility intentions and marital group. The

¹³The coefficients and significance levels for the predictor variables in the interaction and full models represent the value for the reference category of the interaction terms, and will not be analysed.

¹⁴This finding is likely to reflect an increased likelihood of transitioning to single due to the death of a partner, as opposed to separation or divorce. A squared term for the interactions was not included in the model for this reason.

analysis suggests that given high fertility intentions, people in a first or higher order marriage are significantly less likely to transition to single compared to both of the never married cohabiting groups (the difference between the higher order marriage group and the premarital cohabiters is borderline significant $p=0.062$). This indicates that the cohabiting groups who have been married in the past have the same likelihood of transitioning to single as the married groups, given comparable fertility intentions. Overall, this suggests that a cohabiter's previous marital history interacts with fertility intentions and leads to different relationship outcomes for different groups. The associations with the first marriage group remain in the full model. In regard to differences between the cohabiting groups, remarriage cohabiters are significantly different from non-marital cohabiters; they are also significantly different from premarital cohabiters in the full model (post-marital cohabiters are also borderline significant in the full model $p=0.077$). This suggests that of cohabiters who intend to have children, those who have been married previously and intend to marry are particularly unlikely to separate. Together, these findings suggest that separation is relatively unlikely for cohabiters if they have been married in the past and that marriage did not fulfil their fertility intentions. This is particularly true if they intend to marry their current partner.

The results for union length indicate that there are no significant differences between any of the cohabiting groups in their likelihood of transitioning to single. While there are significant differences between both married groups and all of the cohabiting groups, it is not possible to draw conclusions because the union lengths between the groups are not comparable. The average union length for a person in a first or higher order marriage who transitions to single is 24.2 and 11.2 years respectively, which is substantially longer than for cohabiters (premarital 2.5 years, non-marital 3.4 years, post-marital 4.2 years and remarriage 2.2 years), leading to any comparisons between the married and cohabiting groups being invalid¹⁵.

The only significant results for respondents who had experienced parental divorce are borderline significant in the full model. Given divorced parents, post-marital cohabiters are

¹⁵ While the findings are invalid in regard to interpreting the comparisons between the married and cohabiting groups, the interactions between union length and relationship status groups were left in the model for two reasons. First, it was of interest to investigate if there are any differences between the cohabiting groups. Second, including these variables allows the interaction between group and union length to be controlled in the full model.

less likely to transition to single compared to remarriage and premarital cohabiters ($p=0.052$ and $p=0.088$ respectively). This suggests that when comparing cohabiters who have divorced parents, those who are previously married without plans to marry are less likely to separate compared to cohabiters who intend to marry. This may suggest that cohabiters who have experienced a marital breakdown, and witnessed the marital breakdown of their parents, treat cohabitation as a substitute for marriage, with this group being particularly stable. There are no significant associations for poor health.

Socio-economic Characteristics

There are a number of significant associations between the likelihood of transitioning to single, socio-economic characteristics and marital group. Given a high household income, people in a higher order marriage are less likely to transition to single compared to people in a first marriage, non-marital cohabiters and remarriage cohabiters (borderline significant $p=0.061$). The difference between the married groups suggests that higher order marriages are particularly stable if there is a high household income. Furthermore, non-marital cohabiters are more likely to transition to single compared to post-marital cohabiters and this association remains borderline significant ($p=0.065$) in the full model. This suggests that as the household income of cohabiters who have no intention to marry increases, those who have been married in the past are less likely to separate compared to those who have not, and this association remains despite controlling for all other interaction effects. This reflects findings by Sassler and Cunningham (2008:21) that cohabitation may act as a substitute for marriage for middle-class cohabiters, and this research suggests that this is especially the case for those who have experienced marital breakdown in the past.

While there are no significant differences in the likelihood of transitioning to single between any of the cohabiting groups for homeownership, there are a number of associations for the married groups. The married groups are significantly different from one another, indicating that given homeownership, people in a first marriage are more likely to transition to single compared to those in a higher order marriage. This reflects the findings for income and suggests that wealth and a socio-economic status may be protective for higher order marriages. Furthermore, given homeownership, non-marital cohabiters are less likely to transition to single compared to people in a first marriage. As homeownership is typically associated with marriage (both marital relationships, and past

marriages, see Chapter 5), a cohabiter who is never-married and also does not intend to marry but owns their own home may be a select group who are particularly stable, and for whom cohabitation is a substitute for marriage. The findings for years of schooling indicate that as years of schooling increases, premarital cohabiters are significantly less likely to transition to single compared to people in a first marriage, non-marital cohabiters and post-marital cohabiters. This indicates that premarital cohabiters are particularly unlikely to separate as years of schooling increases.

Attitudinal Characteristics

There are a number of significant associations between the likelihood of transitioning to single, attitudinal characteristics and marital group. One finding comes across particularly clearly for the influence of religion. As religiosity increases, post-marital cohabiters are significantly more likely than all other groups to separate. These associations remain significant in the full model; there are no other significant results (remarriage is borderline significant in both the interaction model $p=0.075$, and full model $p=0.060$). This indicates that post-marital cohabiters are particularly likely to separate if they place a high importance on religion. It may be that if a person is religious, and has been married in the past, being in a cohabitation relationship as a substitute for marriage is a particularly unfavourable status, leading to higher rates of relationship dissolution.

There are a number of significant associations for gender role attitudes (note that an increase in a coefficient indicates a more conservative response). Given more conservative gender role attitudes, post-marital cohabiters are more likely to transition to single compared to married people and non-marital cohabiters; conversely, given liberal gender role attitudes, they are less likely to transition to single. This is further evidence that for post-marital cohabiters, cohabitation may be a substitute for marriage, particularly if they have liberal gender role attitudes. No significant associations remain in the full model.

The findings for the relationship satisfaction interaction terms suggest that poor relationship satisfaction is a driving factor behind transitions to single. Given a high level of relationship satisfaction, all cohabiting groups are more likely to transition to single compared to married people. Interestingly, non-marital cohabiters are less likely to

transition to single compared to premarital cohabiters, indicating that if both groups have a high level of relationship satisfaction the group that is not intending to marry is less likely to separate (borderline significant $p=0.063$). This suggests that for non-marital cohabiters who have a high level of relationship satisfaction, cohabitation may be a substitute for marriage and a lack of plans to marry do not reflect a lack of commitment. Furthermore, there is only a significant difference between the cohabiting groups who are never married, indicating that cohabitation is more likely to be a substitute for marriage for cohabiters who have not been married previously¹⁶. There are no significant findings for happiness or financial satisfaction.

The Likelihood of Transitioning to Married

The results from the models showing the likelihood of transitioning to married model are presented in Table 10. The reference group is single people. Appendix 7 shows the coefficients for the model with each of the other categories as the reference category. There are 34,497 observations and the standard error has been adjusted for 8,444 household clusters. The Pseudo R-squared for the base model is 0.18 (Wald chi2: 1936.50, df= 4, p-value <0.001). It increases to 0.25 in the full model (Wald chi2: 2342.70, df= 91, p-value <0.0001), indicating that the full model explains a greater amount of the variation in the data.

¹⁶ This, however, needs to be interpreted with caution, as the number of observations for remarriage cohabiters who transition to single is relatively low (N=53) and non-significance may be due to limited statistical power.

Table 10: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Married – Single Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models										Full Model	
Relationship Status Categories (ref: Single):															
Premarital Cohab.	2.66***	2.46***	1.61***	1.22***	-0.31	0.79***	1.56***	1.96***	1.65***	1.17***	1.29***	1.23***	0.65*	1.52**	-1.01
Non-marital Cohab.	0.13	-0.02	-0.67***	-0.37	-0.81	-0.61	-0.95***	-0.31	-0.78***	-0.54	-1.16***	-0.59*	-0.77	1.85	0.56
Post-marital Cohab.	0.60***	0.67***	-0.24	-0.40*	0.27	-0.44	-0.22	0.14	-0.32	-0.56	-0.22	-0.26	-1.19 [†]	0.90	0.39
Remarriage Cohab.	2.89***	2.93***	1.95***	1.95***	0.14	0.89**	1.92***	2.32***	1.97***	1.69***	1.83***	1.71***	0.62	3.09***	1.03
Female		-0.09	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)		0.27*	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.11
Non-English Speaking															
Main English Speaking		0.06	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07
Indigenous		-0.64**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.63**	-0.64**	-0.61**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.61**	-0.63**	-0.63**	-0.62**	-0.60**	-0.66**
Has child		0.03	0.29***	0.30***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.29***	0.29***	0.27***	0.32***	0.28***	0.30***	0.30***
Age		-0.01***	-0.00	-0.01 [†]	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01 [#]	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Holds Degree		0.62***	0.21 [†]	0.22 [#]	0.23 [#]	0.20 [†]	0.22 [#]	0.19 [†]	0.20 [†]	0.21 [†]	0.20 [†]	0.20 [†]	0.22 [#]	0.17	0.20 [†]
Fertility Intentions			0.06***	0.04 [†]	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.05*
Relationship Satisfaction			0.13***	0.13***	0.06*	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.09**
Missing			-0.51*	-0.53*	-1.18***	-0.50*	-0.54*	-0.55*	-0.51*	-0.52*	-0.50*	-0.50*	-0.56*	-0.49*	-1.05***
Financial Satisfaction			0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.07***	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.05*
Poor Health			0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.28*	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.10
Missing			0.40 [#]	0.41*	0.29	0.38 [#]	0.08	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.43*	0.39 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	-0.07
Religiosity			0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.11***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.12***
Missing			0.26**	0.25**	0.25**	0.26**	0.26**	0.50**	0.26**	0.24**	0.27**	0.27**	0.26**	0.26**	0.82***
Parental Divorce			-0.12	-0.12	-0.11	-0.12	-0.13	-0.12	0.02	-0.13	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.05
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.08**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.08*
Missing			-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.74***	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.63**
Owns Home			0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.33***	0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.35***	0.01	0.36***	0.34***	0.35***	0.09
Household Income			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	-0.00	0.00***	0.00***	0.00
Happiness			0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.13*	0.00	-0.06
Missing			0.88***	0.88***	0.63*	0.90***	0.93***	0.88***	0.87***	0.92***	0.88***	0.88***	0.05	0.87***	0.85*
Years of Education			0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.09***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.13***	0.13***
Interaction Terms															
(ref: Single):															
Relationship Satisfaction *															
Premarital Cohab.						0.21***									0.17***
Non-marital Cohab.						-0.00									0.03
Post-marital Cohab.						-0.08									-0.16 [#]
Remarriage Cohab.						0.19*									0.13

<i>Missing *</i>			
Premarital Cohab.	2.37***		2.49***
Non-marital Cohab.	1.09		1.50 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.	0.56		1.61
Remarriage Cohab.	2.98***		2.57**
Fertility Intentions *			
Premarital Cohab.	0.06*		0.04
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.11 [#]		-0.12*
Post-marital Cohab.	0.10 [#]		0.07
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.02		-0.04
Financial Satisfaction *			
Premarital Cohab.	0.14***		0.08**
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.01		0.04
Post-marital Cohab.	0.04		0.04
Remarriage Cohab.	0.17***		0.15***
Poor Health *			
Premarital Cohab.	-0.31		0.01
Non-marital Cohab.	0.43		0.56
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.74		-0.55
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.74**		-0.47 ⁺
<i>Missing *</i>			
Premarital Cohab.	0.44*		0.66
Non-marital Cohab.	1.29**		2.04
Post-marital Cohab.	0.35		-1.44*
Remarriage Cohab.	1.06**		0.67
Religiosity *			
Premarital Cohab.	-0.09***		-0.09***
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.20*		-0.24**
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.08		-0.09 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.09**		-0.11**
<i>Missing*</i>			
Premarital Cohab.	-0.35		-0.74**
Non-marital Cohab.	0.29		-0.21
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.86		-1.61*
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.33		-0.84*
Parental Divorce *			
Premarital Cohab.	-0.26		-0.16
Non-marital Cohab.	0.38		0.34
Post-marital Cohab.	0.50		0.45
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.21		-0.12
Gender Role Attitudes *			
Premarital Cohab.		0.07 ⁺	0.05

Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.07	-0.02		
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.04	0.06		
Remarriage Cohab.																	0.04	0.06		
<i>Missing*</i>																				
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>																	0.74**	0.57*		
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>																	0.76	0.69		
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>																	0.96 [#]	1.13 [#]		
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>																	0.58 [#]	0.42		
Owns Home *																				
Premarital Cohab.																	0.54***	0.45**		
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.73 [#]	0.86*		
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.03	0.18		
Remarriage Cohab.																	0.19	-0.01		
Household Income *																				
Premarital Cohab.																	0.00***	0.00*		
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.00	-0.00		
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.00	-0.00		
Remarriage Cohab.																	0.00*	0.00		
Happiness *																				
Premarital Cohab.																		0.19**	0.06	
Non-marital Cohab.																		-0.01	0.10	
Post-marital Cohab.																		0.19	0.27 ⁺	
Remarriage Cohab.																		0.26**	0.09	
<i>Missing*</i>																				
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>																		1.28***	-0.81	
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>																		0.96	-2.05	
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>																		1.46	0.56	
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>																		2.32***	-0.37	
Years of Education *																				
Premarital Cohab.																			0.01	-0.02
Non-marital Cohab.																			-0.19*	-0.17 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.																			-0.09	-0.08
Remarriage Cohab.																			-0.09 [#]	-0.11*
Constant	-4.21***	-3.77***	-6.30***	-6.03***	-5.63***	-5.85***	-6.27***	-6.51***	-6.34***	-6.08***	-6.10***	-6.02***	-5.70***	-6.68***	-5.52***					
Pseudo R-Squared	0.1812	0.1928	0.2883	0.2302	0.2327	0.2308	0.2309	0.2306	0.2288	0.2297	0.2298	0.2299	0.2305	0.2292	0.2447					
Observations	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497					

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Baseline Relationship status Transitions

The results for the base model indicate the likelihood that a particular group will transition to married, relative to all other groups, without any control or predictor variables included in the model. There are significant differences between all of the groups in the model, except between single people and non-marital cohabiters. The model indicates that overall, remarriage cohabiters followed by premarital cohabiters are the most likely to transition to married. These groups are followed by single people and non-marital cohabiters (which are equally likely to transition to married); post-marital cohabiters are the least likely to transition to married. This suggests that at the baseline level, cohabiters who intend to marry are the most likely to transition to married, with those who have been married in the past being more likely to marry compared to those who are never married. The trend is the reverse for cohabiters who do not intend to marry, with those who are never married being more likely to marry compared to those who are previously married¹⁷. The associations change as blocks of covariates are added. No significant differences remain between any of the groups when the relationship satisfaction control is included in the model, suggesting that relationship satisfaction is significantly associated with the relationship status before the transition. This indicates that all groups are equally likely to transition to married when the interaction between the groups and relationship satisfaction is controlled, highlighting the importance of relationship satisfaction on transitions to marriage¹⁸.

Control and Predictor Variables

The control model indicates that people born in non-English speaking ('other') regions are more likely to transition to married compared to those born in Australia, while Indigenous Australians are less likely to transition to married. The likelihood of transitioning to married decreases with age, while it increases when the respondent holds a degree. The coefficients are not significant for women, people born in main-English speaking countries and people who have children, indicating that there is no significant difference in the likelihood of marriage between these characteristics and their reference category (men,

¹⁷ These findings, however, need to be treated with some caution, as only 37 non-marital cohabiters and 44 post-marital cohabiters transition to married.

¹⁸ As 79 percent of single people as a whole, and 45 percent of single people who transition to married, do not report relationship satisfaction in the previous wave, the model predicts the likelihood of transitioning to married controlling for non-response through the use of the flag variable. As such, the coefficients in the model including the relationship satisfaction predictors reflect the likelihood of transitioning to married given a valid response for relationship satisfaction (i.e. single people in a relationship are compared to cohabiters with comparable levels of relationship satisfaction).

people born in Australia and people who do not have children). Having a child becomes highly significant in model 3, where all of the predictor variables are added indicating that marriage is more likely when there is a child present, but only when the predictor variables are controlled. The predictor model indicates that transitions to marriage are more likely as fertility intentions, relationship satisfaction, religiosity, income and years of education increase. People who own their own home are more likely to transition to married, as are people who hold more traditional gender role attitudes. Financial satisfaction, poor health, parental divorce, and happiness are not significantly associated with transitions to married.

Interaction Models

As with the previous table, unless specified, the significant associations discussed below refer to the interaction models, and not the full model. A positive coefficient suggests that given a higher response on the predictor variable, a particular group is more likely to transition to married, compared to the reference category; a negative coefficient suggests the reverse.

Demographic Characteristics

The interaction terms for fertility intentions with marital groups in the previous wave showed a number of significant associations between the likelihood of transitioning to married, fertility intentions and marital group. Overall, given high fertility intentions, post-marital and premarital cohabiters are the most likely to transition to married, followed by single people. Non-marital and remarriage cohabiters are the least likely to marry given high fertility intentions. There are several significant differences. Post-marital and premarital cohabiters are significantly different from all other groups. On the other hand, non-marital cohabiters and single people are significantly different from all groups with the exception of remarriage cohabiters (there are a number of borderline significant results: non-marital and single $p=0.064$; post-marital and single $p=0.053$). The majority of these associations remain significant in the full model. These results indicate that of the two cohabiting groups who do not intend to marry, if they both intend to have a child, cohabiters who have not been married are the least likely to marry (and as the likelihood of transitioning to single suggests they are also the most likely to separate), while those who have been married are the most likely to marry. This suggests that if a cohabiter who has been married previously aspires to have a child, they are relatively likely to get married,

despite not intending to marry in the previous wave. Table 1, however, shows that post-marital cohabiters have, on average, the lowest level of fertility intention, suggesting that high fertility intentions amongst this group is somewhat atypical. On the other hand, if cohabiters intend to marry and have a child, those who have been married previously are significantly more likely to marry than those who have not. This presents a complex picture of the relationship between a cohabiter's intention to marry, previous marital history and their fertility intentions.

There are a number of significant results for the interaction terms for previous marital status and poor health. Overall, given poor health, non-marital cohabiters are the most likely to transition to married, followed by single people and premarital cohabiters. Post-marital and remarriage cohabiters are the least likely to transition to married given poor health. There are significant differences between remarriage cohabiters and all groups, except post-marital, and between non-marital and all groups, except single (some of these associations are borderline significant: remarriage and premarital $p=0.097$; non-marital and premarital $p=0.085$; non-marital and post-marital $p=0.053$). This suggests that given poor health, the cohabiting groups that have been married are relatively unlikely to marry – regardless of intention to marry, and the cohabiting group that is never married and is not intending to marry and single people are relatively likely to marry.

The results for parental divorce are borderline significant, and indicate that if all groups have divorced parents, both of the cohabiting groups that do not intend to marry are more likely to marry compared to premarital cohabiters (borderline significant, premarital reference category: non-marital $p=0.092$, post-marital $p=0.077$). This to some degree reflects the findings for the model predicting transitions to single, and further suggests that cohabitation maybe be a stable status for persons who have experienced parental marital disruption. The results do not remain significant in the full model.

Socio-economic Characteristics

The results for the socio-economic characteristics show a number of significant associations. Given a high level of income, premarital cohabiters are significantly more likely to transition to married compared to non-marital cohabiters, this association, however, becomes non-significant in the full model. Furthermore, compared to single,

premarital and remarriage cohabiters are significantly more likely to transition to married given a high level of income (remarriage is no longer significant in the full model). The results for education show similar trends. Overall, taking only coefficients into account, given more years of education, premarital cohabiters and single people are the most likely to transition to married, followed by post-marital and remarriage cohabiters; non-marital cohabiters are the least likely to transition to married given more years of education. Non-marital and remarriage cohabiters are both significantly different from both premarital cohabiters and single people (the difference between single and remarriage is borderline significant $p=0.067$). These associations remain significant in the full model (some, however, become borderline significant). This suggests that a high level of education amongst premarital cohabiters makes them particularly likely to marry.

The results for homeownership are clearer in the full model; borderline significant and non-significant associations become significant, indicating that including all interaction terms elucidates the associations for homeownership. Overall, taking only coefficients into account, remarriage cohabiters are the least likely to transition to married if they own their own home, followed by single people and post-marital cohabiters; premarital and non-marital cohabiters are the most likely to transition to married if they own their home¹⁹. Single people and remarriage cohabiters are both significantly different from both of the never married cohabiting groups. This suggests that never married cohabiters who own their own home are particularly likely to marry.

Overall, the results for the socio-economic characteristics suggest that having a high socio-economic status leads to premarital cohabiters being particularly likely to marry, while the opposite is true for non-marital cohabiters. While this does not hold true for the results for homeownership, it does for education and household income. Marriage may represent a personal 'achievement' and capstone in life (Cherlin, 2004) for premarital cohabiters in particular, as favourable socio-economic circumstances in this group are particularly likely to spur marriage.

¹⁹Due to the nature of the data, it is not possible to say if the respondent or another person in household owns the home. However, due to the construction of household units within HILDA it is reasonable to assume that for the cohabiting couples it is either the respondent or the respondents partner that owns the home.

Attitudinal Characteristics

The results for the interaction terms for religiosity indicate that given a high level of religiosity, single people are significantly more likely to transition to married compared to all cohabiting groups, except post-marital cohabiters, who become borderline significant in the full model ($p=0.090$). This reflects literature which finds a strong association between choosing not to cohabit and religiosity (see Soons and Kalmijn 2009:1143). Furthermore, there is a borderline significant difference between non-marital and all other cohabiting groups in the full model (premarital $p=0.052$; post-marital $p=0.094$; remarriage $p=0.094$). This indicates that when all other interaction effects are controlled, given a high level of religiosity, all groups are more likely to marry compared to non-marital cohabiters. The descriptive statistics (see Table 1) indicate that non-marital cohabiters have, on average, the lowest level of religiosity compared to all other groups, and those who do transition to married have a particularly low level of religiosity. Taken together, this suggests that it is particularly uncommon for cohabiters who are never married and not intending to marry to be religious, however, if this is not the case, this group is particularly unlikely to marry. This is in line with the findings for relationship dissolution, and suggests that cohabitation may be a particularly unfavourable status for religious persons who do not intend to marry.

The model indicates that given a high level of relationship satisfaction, premarital cohabiters are significantly more likely to transition to married compared to all groups except remarriage cohabiters. Remarriage cohabiters are significantly more likely to transition to married compared to single people and post-marital cohabiters. The significant associations change somewhat in the full model. Remarriage cohabiters and single people are no longer significantly different, nor are non-marital and premarital cohabiters, indicating that when all other interaction terms are controlled both of these two groups are equally likely to marry. As expected, when relationship satisfaction is high, the cohabiting groups who intend to marry are more likely to transition to married.

Interestingly, however, when the interactions between predictor characteristics and relationship status are taken into account, remarriage cohabiters and single people, and the two cohabiting groups who are never married, are equally likely to marry. Overall, this indicates that when relationship satisfaction is high the two groups that intend to marry and the two groups that do not intend to marry are equally likely to marry, suggesting that previous marital history is less important than relationship satisfaction and intention to marry when investigating transitions to marriage.

The only finding for gender role attitudes is borderline significant ($p=0.080$), and suggests that given conservative gender role attitudes premarital cohabiters are more likely to transition to married compared to single people. Taking this somewhat differently, given liberal gender attitudes, premarital cohabiters are less likely to marry compared to single people. There is, however, a high level of missing data for this variable, suggesting that this finding must be treated with caution (27.6% of premarital cohabiters and 12.7% of single people who transition to married do not provide a response for gender role attitudes). No significant associations remain in the final model.

There are numerous significant findings for financial satisfaction. Overall, only taking coefficients into account, given a high level of financial satisfaction remarriage and premarital cohabiters are most likely to transition to married, followed by post-marital cohabiters and single people; non-marital cohabiters are least likely to transition to married. There are significant differences between premarital and remarriage cohabiters and all other groups, suggesting that the cohabiting groups that intend to marry are particularly likely to marry if they have a high level of financial satisfaction. This supports the findings of the more objective measures, income and years of schooling above, and suggests that if cohabiters intend to marry, marriage is particularly likely if the financial circumstances are favourable. While there are no significant differences between the cohabiting groups for happiness, the results suggest that given a high level of happiness premarital and remarriage cohabiters are significantly more likely to transition to married compared to single people.

Discussion and Conclusions

The analyses in this chapter examined transitions out of cohabitation and the factors that influence these transitions. As shown in Chapter 5, the characteristics of the typology groups vary substantially and it was therefore expected that the factors that influence transition outcomes will also vary by cohabitation group. Indeed, this chapter has shown that the factors that predict transitions to either a single or married state vary by intention to marry and previous marital history. Overall, for both relationship dissolution and marriage, intention to marry followed by previous marital status is predictive of outcomes. If a favourable outcome can be considered to be a decreased likelihood of separation, or

an increased likelihood of marriage, cohabiters who intend to marry are more likely to experience a favourable outcome, with the influence of previous marital history varying by outcome. For cohabiters who have no intention of marrying, having experienced a failed marriage leads to a relatively low chance of both marriage and relationship dissolution, while being never married leads to an increased chance of relationship dissolution. This, to some degree supports Hansen, Moum and Shapiro's (2007) argument that for previously married persons cohabitation may provide a substitute for marriage without signalling a lack of commitment, something which may not be the case for never married persons, where marriage may signal increased commitment, stability, security and joint investments.

Importantly, no differences in the overall likelihood of separation or marriage between any of the cohabiting, married or single groups remain when socio-demographic characteristics and the interactions between these and relationship status are taken into account. While for transitions to single all of the interactions between socio-demographic characteristics and relationship status appear to account for influence transitions, for those transitioning to marriage the key factor is relationship satisfaction.

The findings for the predictor characteristics indicated that the factors that encourage marriage are not necessarily the same as the ones that impede separation. Holding a tertiary degree, expecting a child in the near future, higher levels of relationship satisfaction, owning your own home, and greater income all encourage marriage and impede separation. Additionally, both separation and marriage are more likely amongst the young. The factors that were found to impede separation are being male, having a longer union length, and higher levels of financial satisfaction and happiness. The factors that encourage marriage are being of non-English speaking origin, non-indigenous, holding traditional gender attitudes, religiosity and more years of schooling.

As expected, the influence of intention to marry and previous marital history on cohabitation outcomes varies relative to the type of predictor characteristic investigated. The results for fertility intentions indicate that if a cohabiter has had a previous marriage and this marriage did not fulfil their fertility intentions, marriage is particularly likely and dissolution unlikely. This holds regardless of intention to marry. This goes beyond

existing literature which highlights the importance of fertility intentions for converting cohabitations to marriage (for examples see Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007b; Guzzo, 2006; Sassler & Cunningham, 2008), and suggests that having experienced a failed marriage that did not fulfil fertility intentions leads couples, or at least an individual within a couple, to being particularly impelled to marry. Furthermore, the strong link between fertility intentions and marriage suggests the majority of cohabiters continue to believe that childbearing should take place within marriage, despite cohabitation increasingly being seen as an acceptable status for adult unions. This suggests that Australia is firmly within Kiernan's third stage of cohabitation, where cohabitation is becoming socially acceptable as an alternative to marriage, but is generally not seen as an ideal arena in which to raise children (Kiernan, 2002).

Of particular importance is the finding that while high socio-economic status and financial satisfaction promotes marriage for cohabiters who intend to marry (this is particularly the case for those who are never married), the opposite is true for cohabiters who are not intending to marry. This group is relatively unlikely to both marry and separate (with this being the case in particular for previously married cohabitants). While a substantial amount of research has found that socio-economic status has a positive relationship with the likelihood of transitions to marriage (Duvander, 1999:710; Lichter, et al., 2006; Smock & Manning, 1997), the current research suggests that this is not necessarily the case for cohabiters who do not intend to marry, with this group being particularly stable. This reflects findings by Sassler and Cunningham (2008) that cohabitation may serve as an alternative to marriage for middle-class individuals who reject parenting, or in the case of this research, who are previously married and have likely fulfilled their fertility intentions.

While poor health does not appear to influence separation, it leads previously married cohabitants to being relatively unlikely to marry, regardless of intention to marry. Given that poor health does not encourage separation, this result suggests that this is not due to a lack of commitment, but rather practical difficulty of previously married cohabiters formalising their union. The finding that single and never married cohabiters who do not intend to marry are relatively likely to marry given poor health is less clear, however, as there are few non-marital cohabiters who transition to marriage (N=37), this may not be a reliable finding. Further analyses will need to be carried out to understand this better.

The results for parental divorce are particularly interesting, and indicate that having experienced parental marital breakdown, or having personally experienced marital breakdown, leads cohabiting relationships to being particularly stable. This goes against the majority of existing literature which finds that having experienced parental divorce leads to less favourable outcomes for romantic relationships. Wolfinger (2001:305), for example, finds that if cohabiters who have experienced parental divorce do not marry soon after entering the union, their chances of marriage steadily decline, while the hazard of dissolution remains fairly constant. He concludes that this implies a partnership without commitment. The findings of this research contradict these conclusions, and suggest that the relationship between having experienced divorce, either of one's parents or personally, does not lead to less favourable outcomes for cohabiting relationships.

Higher rates of relationship dissolution amongst religious cohabitants who have been married in the past suggests that cohabitation is a particularly unfavourable status for this group. This is in line with existing literature, which finds that religious commitment and participation is linked to a lower likelihood of cohabitation and cohabitation as a substitute for marriage (Guzzo, 2006; Thornton, et al., 1992:648), and further emphasises the importance of prior marital status on the outcomes of cohabiting relationships. In this case, the union outcomes of a previously married person who is religious are different to those of a person who is never married. This may reflect differing expectations based on previous relationship experience. Similarly, religious cohabitants who are never married and not intending to marry are particularly unlikely to marry. It may have been expected that previously married cohabitants would be the least likely to marry as many religions do not approve of re-marriage post divorce. This may not be the case, however, as religious persons are less likely to divorce (Vaaler, Ellison, & Powers, 2009; Wilson & Musick, 1996), and those who do divorce are unlikely to have their religious views influence their decisions to remarry. Furthermore, it may be deduced that as religions are generally favourable toward marriage, a lack of marital intentions amongst never married religious cohabiters is indicative of a lack of commitment.

Less traditional gender role attitudes are associated with a particularly low likelihood of relationship dissolution for cohabiters who have been married in the past, and do not intend to marry, indicating that cohabitation amongst this group is particularly stable.

Given that the question used to measure liberal gender role attitudes²⁰ is synonymous with egalitarianism, this research suggests people who hold more egalitarian views toward gender role attitudes are particularly likely to utilise cohabitation as a substitute for marriage post-divorce.

The results for relationship satisfaction yielded a number of interesting results, and suggest that the association between relationship status group and relationship satisfaction is different for relationship dissolution and marriage. Of particular significance, given a high level of relationship satisfaction amongst cohabiters who are never married, those who do not intend to marry are less likely to separate compared to those who are intending to marry. This indicates that when never married cohabiters are very happy in their relationship and nonetheless not intending to marry, this group is particularly stable and is likely treating cohabitation as a substitute for marriage. As such, a lack of plans to marry does not reflect a lack of commitment for this group of cohabiters. Furthermore, the findings for relationship satisfaction suggested that cohabitation is more likely to be a substitute for marriage for cohabiters who have not been married previously. The findings for transitions to married, however, suggested that previous marital history is less important than relationship satisfaction and intention to marry when investigating transitions to marriage.

The aim of this chapter was to explore transitions out of cohabitation and the factors that influence these transitions, with particular focus on understanding which circumstances lead to marriage, and which lead to relationship dissolution. This is important because it sheds light on the influence that cohabitation has on life course pathways and partnership formation. Overall, the results indicate that particular characteristics are indicative of stable cohabiting relationships, where cohabitation is likely to be a substitute for marriage, while other characteristics are associated with particularly unstable cohabiting relationships. Characteristics that are indicative of cohabitation as a stable substitute for marriage include having fulfilled (or simply having low) fertility intentions, high socio-economic status, parental divorce, egalitarian gender attitudes and high relationship satisfaction. Being religious is the primary characteristic that was found to be indicative of unstable cohabiting relationships. Having looked at the characteristics that influence

²⁰ "It is better for everyone involved if the man earns the money and the woman takes care of the home and children."

relationship status transitions, the next step is to examine the outcomes of relationships status and these transitions for well-being. This will be done in the next chapter, which examines the association between relationship status, transitions in relationship status and happiness.

Chapter 7

Cohabitation and Happiness

At the heart of all relationship status choices, transitions and patterns are romantic relationships, which in the majority of Western nations are considered to be highly emotional and personal. Despite this, much research investigates outcomes and associations in a way which often overlooks the reality of romantic relationships, which are typically highly emotional and sensitive aspects of people's lives. Indeed, romantic relationships have been shown to be particularly strong sources of positive emotion, namely, happiness (Argyle, 2001:77). Happiness is increasingly being used in the social sciences as a robust measure of subjective well-being (Frey, 2008). This chapter adds to the literature on the association between relationship status and well-being (see Chapter 3 for an extensive review) by examining how cohabiting relationships affect happiness, arguing that examining romantic relationships within this framework is more reflective of their emotional and sensitive nature. While there is a plethora of research on cohabitation and its implications for well-being, often operationalised in terms of life satisfaction (R. Lucas & Clark, 2006; Richard E. Lucas, et al., 2003; Ryan, et al., 1998; Stutzer & Frey, 2006; Zimmermann & Easterlin, 2006), relationship satisfaction (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005), physical and psychological health (McCabe, Cummins, & Romeo, 1996), and financial status (Waite, 1995), relatively little has been done on the association between cohabitation and happiness. Furthermore, this research investigates the relationship between happiness and cohabitation from a longitudinal perspective and employs the cohabitation typology developed in this thesis, which has not been considered previously. The following section discusses the emotional aspects of happiness and happiness as a form of well-being, before progressing to discuss previous research that investigates the association between relationship status and happiness. This is followed by a discussion of the analytical strategy adopted here, and the results and conclusion.

Emotional Happiness

Psychology emphasises the importance of intimate attachments for individual strength and enjoyment of life (Myers, 1999). These types of bonds are imperative for human

happiness. Indeed, when asked what makes them happy, the majority of people mention, above anything else, satisfying close relationships with family, friends or romantic partners. In addition to attachment and love in close relationships such as between parents and children or close friends, which entail mutual understanding, giving and receiving support, valuing and enjoying spending time together, the bond between spouses or lovers additionally offers physical affection, and expectation of exclusiveness and an intense fascination with the significant other (Myers, 1999:376). Emotional exchanges are to a large extent what intimate relationships are about, providing both commitment and evidence of commitment, which result from self-disclosure and empathetic perceptions of the emotions of the significant other (Frijda, 1999:205). Emotions, as brought about by these types of relationships, are essential components determining well-being and the experienced quality of life (Frijda, 1999). Experiencing these emotions directly influences a person's instrumental and social functioning over long time periods that extend beyond the initial experience of the emotions (Frijda, 1999:205). Being in love is found to be the greatest source of positive emotions and happiness; when couples are young and in love intimate relationships are a great source of positive affect. This passionate love is then replaced by companionate love over time, which is a source of satisfaction rather than joy (Argyle, 1999:361; 2001). This approach, deriving mainly from the field of psychology, emphasises the connection between intimate relationships, emotions and well-being, which is often neglected in sociological investigations on the outcomes of relationship status. The following section will discuss happiness within the framework of well-being.

Happiness as Well-being

Existing research indicates that happiness is a distinct form of well-being. Diener, Kahneman, Tov and Arora (2010:3) argue that measures of subjective well-being sit along a continuum anchored at two ends by evaluative judgements at one end and experienced affect at the other. While no measure of well-being is completely free of both of these components, a global measure of 'life satisfaction' is more heavily weighted with judgement, while reports of 'happiness' are more saturated with effect (Diener, et al., 2010:3). Similarly, Keyes, Shmotkin and Ryff (2002) argue that while measures of happiness and life satisfaction both fall under the stream of subjective well-being, the former is an affective indicator of hedonic well-being, while the latter is a cognitive assessment. Likewise, Ingelhard (2010:357) argues that life satisfaction and happiness tap different aspects of subjective well-being. The former measures a cognitive evaluation

of one's circumstances, while the latter measures a more affective response. In the same vein, Kahneman (1999) contends that the pleasantness of people's emotional lives is fundamentally different to global judgements such as reports of 'life satisfaction'. Overall, this indicates that the concept of happiness is a distinct form of well-being and is fundamentally different from measures of life satisfaction. Happiness is a more emotive and affective measure, while life satisfaction is a cognitive assessment or evaluative judgment.

This distinction is supported in empirical studies, indicating that there are different aspects of subjective well-being. Inglehart (2010:357), comparing changes in subjective well-being of people from numerous countries over time, finds that life satisfaction is more strongly influenced by economic conditions than happiness, which is more sensitive to religion and democratization. Research by Lucas, Diener and Suh (1996) investigates whether different measures of well-being are distinct, and find that life satisfaction is discernable from measures of positive and negative affect. Diener et. al. (2010:13) find that measures of well-being vary along a dimension that is anchored at one end by judgement's about one's life, and by affect at the other. They find that life satisfaction primarily reflects a judgement, while reports of happiness fall toward the affective end of the spectrum. In addition to these two measures differing in their relations with each other, they differ in their strength of association with variables such as income and the ownership of modern conveniences. The associations for happiness were more strongly related to assessments of emotive feelings (such as the recent experience of positive and negative feelings such as sadness, anger, worry and depression), while life satisfaction was strongly related to assessments of material effects (Diener, et al., 2010:13). Given that the current research is concerned to take the highly emotive and sensitive nature of romantic relationships into account when investigating the association between relationship status and well-being, happiness, as opposed to other measures such as life satisfaction, is the most appropriate measure to use. The following section provides a brief overview of existing research on the association between relationship status and happiness.

Happiness and Relationship Status

As stated above, despite a plethora of research on the association between relationship status and well-being, often operationalised as life satisfaction, relatively little has examined the association between relationship status and happiness. A vast array of

research that claims to be investigating association between relationship status and happiness actually uses measures that asks respondents to rate their general life satisfaction (Frey, 2008 Chapter 8; R. Lucas & Clark, 2006; Richard E. Lucas, et al., 2003; Stutzer & Frey, 2006; Zimmermann & Easterlin, 2006). This research often uses the German Socio-Economic Panel Study, and the measures derive from a question that asks respondents how satisfied they are with their life in general, with the response scale ranging from 0 (totally unhappy) to 10 (totally happy). Research that explicitly uses happiness measures is rare.

Baxter and Hewitt (2011), for example, argue that happiness and life satisfaction are qualitatively different measures of well-being, and examine the association between relationship status transitions and well-being for both of these measures. While they find few differences in subjective well-being outcomes for those in a marital relationship compared to cohabiters who intend to marry, their analysis suggests that cohabiting men who do not intend to marry have lower levels of happiness and life satisfaction compared to married men. They suggest that men's well-being is dependent on the level of commitment within a relationship. They also find that remarried men and women have a higher level of subjective well-being compared to men and women in their first marriage (remarried men are happier, and remarried women are more satisfied with their life). They provide two explanations for this finding; it may be that remarried individuals make better partner choices, or that remarried individuals report levels of subjective well-being in reference to an earlier point in time when they had lower levels of well-being (possibly due to a recent separation/divorce or a marriage of poor quality) (Baxter & Hewitt, 2011). The largest differences in well-being are found between those who are married and people who are separated, divorced or widowed, in which the latter group reports a far lower level of both happiness and life satisfaction, likely due to a recent marital breakdown. They find that control variables such as education, health, presence of child in the household, employment status, household income, and gender role attitudes are more important for life satisfaction than for happiness. These findings are preliminary but, nonetheless, this research indicates that life satisfaction and happiness have different associations with relationship status. There is no other Australian research investigating the association between marital status and happiness.

Borooah (2006) investigates factors that are associated with happiness in Northern Ireland. However he combines married and cohabiting respondents into one category. While he finds that marital status does not affect happiness directly, his research indicates that marital status indirectly influences happiness through financial worries which are more common amongst people who are married, separated, divorced or widowed compared to single, never married people. Taking a broader view, Stack and Eshleman (1998) investigate whether marital status is associated with happiness for 17 nations and utilise a specific happiness measure. While they find that married people have significantly higher levels of happiness than people of other marital statuses, and that marriage increases happiness considerably more than does cohabitation, this finding needs to be treated with caution. The data that they use was collected in 1981-1983 and as the prevalence of cohabitation has changed substantially in essentially all Western countries since the early 80s (Kiernan, 2001), their findings may not be valid today. A similar study using the same data is conducted by Mastekaasa (1994). However, while the study investigates the influence of marital status on a range of well-being measures across 19 countries, including specific happiness measures, cohabitation is not taken into consideration.

Measuring Happiness

There are a number of limitations with using a self-reported happiness measure. Frey and Stutzer (2002:12) argue that there are three aspects of cognitive process that need to be taken into account when dealing with self-reported feelings of happiness. The first is *adaptation*, whereby people adjust to fortunate or unfortunate life experiences over time. The second is *aspiration*, whereby people compare their current situation with what they aim to achieve. The third is *comparison*, whereby people compare their situation with that of their peers. Furthermore, as life events often comprise many factors which can take place simultaneously, such as becoming a parent and withdrawing from the labour force, or moving city and starting a new job, or relationship separation and subsequent divorce, isolating specific effects is especially challenging. In support of *adaptation* as suggested by Frey and Stutzer (2002:12), Soons, Lieferbroer and Kalmijn (2009) show that the association between well-being and relationship status is mediated by the length of time that has passed since any given relationship status transition. Essentially, the effect of an event on happiness can be influenced by other events and individual factors, in addition to when the events occurred and how widespread they are in any given social circle. While it is not possible to take all of these aspects into account in a statistical model, it is important

to acknowledge them when considering any conclusions that can be drawn from the results.

Analytical Strategy

As discussed, the aim of this chapter is to examine the influence of relationship status on levels of happiness from a longitudinal perspective. The cohabitation typology will be employed to investigate how intention to marry and previous marital history mediate the relationship between relationship status and happiness. The analysis employs a random effects model, with all independent variables constructed to enable identification of between and within individual effects. This allows investigation of changes in happiness for a person when they move into different relationship statuses, and between people in different types of relationships. The sample, measures and analysis are discussed below. Further information on the variables, data and how missing data are dealt with can be found in Chapter 4: Research Methods and Design.

Measures

Outcome Variable

The concept of interest in this chapter is a person's overall perception or feeling of happiness. The HILDA survey asks all respondents: "These questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you during the past 4 weeks. For each question, please give the one answer that comes closest to the way you have been feeling. How much of the time during the past 4 weeks: Have you been a happy person?". The response categories are a likert scale and range from (1) All of the time to (6) None of the time. The categories have been reverse coded for this analysis so that a higher score indicates a higher level of happiness. The distribution of the responses for this variable are considerably skewed, with a vast majority of responses scoring 5 'Most of the time' (51.5%); followed by 18.7 percent of respondents scoring 4 'A good bit of the time'. 14.4 percent of the sample responded with 3 'Some of the time', and 9.3 percent responded with 6 'All of the time'.

The measure of happiness used here is asked in the context of a list of items that measure outcomes such as: being full of life, nervous, down in the dumps, calm and peaceful, energetic and worn out and tired. This is particularly appropriate, as reports of happiness are highly sensitive to manipulations that attract attention to specific domains of life (Kahneman, 1999:21-22), and the items preceding and subsequent to the employed measure draw attention to the desired emotional constructs. This is notably different to the life satisfaction measure, which asks ‘all things considered, how satisfied are you with your life?’ after a list of items that asks a respondent to rate their satisfaction with their: home, employment, finances, safety, community, health, neighbourhood and free time. The correlation between these two possible well-being measures is 0.43 (N=87337²¹), indicating that there is a not substantial amount of co-variation in the responses that respondents give for these two measures. This suggests that these two items are measuring different outcomes.

Independent Variables

There are three groups of independent variables: key independent variables, primary control variables, and predictor control variables. The key independent variable comprises dummy categories of the relationship status categories, first marriage, higher order marriage, single and the four cohabiting groups. The primary control variables consist of base-line demographic characteristics, and comprise gender, region of birth, indigenous status, age, parental status, education (holds a degree) and income. Age squared is also included to test for a quadratic relationship between happiness and age. These characteristics have been chosen to control for primary demographic differences between the relationship status groups. The predictor control variables comprise fertility intentions, financial satisfaction, health, religiosity, parental divorce, gender role attitudes, home ownership, years of education, and relationship satisfaction. These are differentiated from the primary control variables as they represent characteristics that both affect, and are affected by marital status and happiness to a greater extent than the primary control variables.

²¹ This correlation is based on the same analytical sample of the analyses carried out in this chapter. The total number of respondents here varies slightly from the analysis as there are 34 respondents who report happiness but not life satisfaction.

The only independent variable that is coded differently from that described in Chapter 4 is relationship satisfaction. To enable single people to be included in the model while also including a measure for relationship satisfaction, the 'missing on relationship satisfaction flag' variable has been divided into two components. One measures people who are missing due to not returning the Self Complete Questionnaire or not responding to the item, and the other measures people who responded 'not applicable' to the question in the survey. It is reasonable to presume these are people who do not have a partner. This allows the model to differentiate between single people who are and who are not in a romantic relationship. There is no annually collected measure in HILDA for living together apart couples (that is, couples who live separately in different locations), so constructing relationship satisfaction in this manner is the best available measure to separate the responses of single people who are in relationships from those who are not.

Analysis

A random effects model²² is estimated to examine the relationship between variations in happiness, relationship status and other key variables. Ordinary regression is not appropriate for longitudinal data as the data are clustered, and any unobserved between-subject heterogeneity is likely to lead to within-subject correlations (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008:185). Using a random-effects model accommodates this within-subject dependence by including a random intercept for each respondent, which represents the combined effects of omitted variables for each individual (unobserved heterogeneity). This model assumes that the random intercepts are uncorrelated with the independent variables. When this assumption is violated and endogeneity is present in the model, the regression coefficients for the random effects model are biased. Unbiased estimates of the within individual effects can be obtained by explicitly parameterising the model in terms of between-individual and within-individual components. This is achieved by replacing each time-varying independent variable with two new variables representing within-person means and deviation from the means. A Hausman test is employed to test whether this method deals with endogeneity and the ensuing violation of assumptions. Both of these methods are described in greater detail below.

²² A random effects model is analogous with a random intercept model.

As indicated above, a method to deal with endogeneity within the random effects model is to separate out between- and within-person effects by computing cluster means, and deviations from cluster means (de-meaned variables), which is essentially a form of instrumental variable²³ (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008:115). To estimate the between-person effects of a variable, the mean of the observations for a person across the eight waves is computed to create a mean response on the variable corresponding to a person. For example, the observations for financial satisfaction for a respondent are summed across all eight waves and then the sum is divided by the number of waves for which an observation is non-missing providing an average measure of financial satisfaction for that respondent. The within-person effect is computed by deducting the cluster (or person) mean of a given variable from the response at a given wave and these are denoted the deviations from cluster means or de-meaned variables. For example, to compute the de-meaned response at wave one, a respondent's cluster mean for financial satisfaction is deducted from their response for financial satisfaction at wave one, and so on for each subsequent wave. All of the independent variables used in the model have been divided into cluster means, and deviations from cluster means (de-meaned variables), allowing the between- and within-person effects to be estimated. Separate measures for between- and within-person effects should only be included in the final model when they are significantly different, which is done by testing the null-hypothesis that the corresponding coefficients are the same (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008:118).

A Hausman endogeneity test is used to confirm that the assumptions of the random-effects model have not been violated, which would lead to biased estimates of the model parameters. The Hausman test statistic for endogeneity can be used to compare two alternative estimators of the coefficients, both of which are consistent if the model is true (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008:122). A significant Hausman test indicates strong evidence for model misspecification, while a non-significant Hausman test indicates that the random-intercept model is correctly specified (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008:122-123). For the purposes of this analysis, three models were estimated and two Hausman tests were performed. The results are displayed in Appendix 8. Please note that only time-varying variables are included in these analyses and in cases where missing data has been dealt with via the use of flag variables, the original variables, where missing data is

²³ As the new variable, which represents the deviation from the cluster mean, is correlated with the original variable but uncorrelated with the random intercept, leading to an instrumental variable.

not dealt with, have been used. The first model includes random intercepts and is estimated using a generalised least squares approach. The second model is similar including random intercepts but with all variables decomposed into cluster means, and deviations from cluster means (measuring between- and within-person effects). The third model is a fixed-effects model. The first Hausman test compares the estimates of the first and third models (generalised least squares with random-effects model and generalised least squares with fixed-effects model). The Hausman test statistic is highly significant, indicating model misspecification. The second test compares the estimates of the second model with the third model (generalised least squares with random-effects model with all variables divided into cluster means, and deviations from cluster means and generalised least squares with fixed-effects model). In this case, the Hausman test statistic is non-significant (Chi-Squared (18 d.f.) = 21.30, P-value = 0.2644), indicating that the generalised least squares model with random intercepts and all variables divided into cluster means is correctly specified, and does not violate the assumptions of a random effects model. Specifically, the random intercepts are uncorrelated with the independent variables, leading to unbiased parameter estimates and hence the model that does not have issues associated with endogeneity.

The analysis consists of five models, to which the independent variables (divided into with between- and within-person effects) are included additively in four groups. The groups of variables are included block-wise to enable the effects of different types of independent variables to be identified. The first group comprises the key independent variable, marital status, the second group includes the primary control variables, and the third group includes the predictor control variables with the exception of relationship satisfaction, which is added separately as a fourth group.

Only people in a relationship are able to report relationship satisfaction, so the models including this group compare only people who are in a romantic relationship²⁴. Including this variable has a substantial effect on the model, so including it separately allows the effect to be investigated in greater depth. A linear combination of estimators is used to test for a significant difference between the between- and within-person effects for each independent variable in the fourth model, which includes all four groups of independent

²⁴ People who do not report relationship satisfaction are coded 0 and the coefficients are adjusted via the use of flag variable (for more detail, see Chapter 4). People who do not report relationship satisfaction are not modelled in this model.

variables. The fifth model (the final model) includes separate measures for between- and within-person effects only for those variables in which these two separate effects are significantly different. As the key independent variables comprising relationship status are dummy categories, these are not tested for significant differences and left in the final model with separate between- and within-person effects. The panel is unbalanced, with respondents being able to move into and out of the sample over the eight waves.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 11 displays the mean levels of happiness for each category of the independent variable, with the continuous variables dichotomised²⁵ at their median. These results are merely descriptive of the sample used in the analytical models, and all responses have been aggregated and do not take the longitudinal nature of the data into account. The table indicates that overall, the mean level of happiness does not vary substantially between the relationship status groups, with all values lying between 4.32 (SD = 1.08, non-marital cohabiters) and 4.49 (SD = 1.01, people in a first marriage). As for the relationship status categories, the happiness differences between the categories of the control variables do not vary substantially, with a few exceptions. People who report poor health report a level of happiness that is 0.85 points below those who do not report poor health. People who score the median or below on the financial satisfaction distribution have a mean happiness 0.6 points below those who score above the median. This is also the case for relationship satisfaction, with the difference being 0.45. Those who own a home also report a happiness score that is 0.15 below those who do not own their own home. These variables will be discussed in detail in the results section of this chapter.

²⁵ The continuous variables are dichotomised according to the 50th percentile (median). Everything up to and including the median is coded 0 and everything above the median is coded 1. The median for each variable is indicated in Table 11.

Table 11: Descriptive Statistics for Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness

Variable	Mean happiness	Standard deviation	Frequency
<i>Relationship status</i>			
First marriage	4.49	1.01	40759
Higher order marriage	4.45	1.08	7168
Premarital cohabiters	4.48	0.98	4738
Non-marital cohabiters	4.32	1.08	2672
Post-marital cohabiters	4.38	1.15	1945
Remarriage cohabiters	4.41	1.03	1264
Single	4.34	1.15	28825
<i>Primary Control Variables</i>			
Female	4.42	1.07	46651
Male	4.43	1.07	40720
Born in Australia	4.43	1.06	67796
Born in Main English Speaking	4.46	1.06	9473
Born in Other	4.34	1.13	10097
Not Indigenous	4.43	1.07	85893
Indigenous	4.27	1.18	1478
Age <=44	4.40	1.05	44233
Age >44	4.45	1.10	43138
<i>Predictor Control Variables</i>			
Never had child	4.43	1.06	25494
Had child	4.43	1.09	61877
Does not hold degree	4.41	1.09	68723
Holds degree	4.47	0.99	18648
Household income <= 880	4.38	1.14	43724
Household income > 880	4.47	1.00	43647
Expect child = 0	4.42	1.10	58817
Expect child >=1	4.44	1.02	28554
Financial satisfaction <=7	4.28	1.10	56139
Financial satisfaction > 7	4.68	0.97	31232
Poor health	4.61	0.95	67547
Does not report poor health	3.76	1.21	18673
Religiosity <=4	4.40	1.07	43677
Religiosity >4	4.46	1.07	37694
Parental divorce	4.44	1.07	76260
Does not report parental divorce	4.31	1.11	11111
Gender role attitudes <=4	4.41	1.10	42988
Gender role attitudes >4	4.45	1.03	36839
Owens home	4.31	1.13	21919
Does not own home	4.46	1.05	65452
Years of education <=13	4.41	1.09	68723
Years of education >13	4.47	0.99	18648
Relationship satisfaction <=9	4.30	1.03	42403
Relationship satisfaction >9	4.75	0.99	22552
Overall mean happiness	4.42	1.07	87371

Missing Data Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics for the missing data are shown in Table 12. The level of missing data is between 1.09 percent (missing on relationship satisfaction due to not returning the self complete questionnaire or not responding to the item) and 8.63 percent (missing on gender role attitudes). The flag variable for not having a romantic partner indicates that 24.6 percent of the sample responded 'not applicable' to the question on relationship satisfaction. The second column indicates the mean happiness of respondents who are missing compared to those who are not, while the third reports the standard deviations. As can be seen, there are some differences in mean happiness between the missing and non-missing groups, and the standard deviations also vary. This suggests that there may be an association between happiness and non-response for some of the items, highlighting the importance of dealing appropriately with missing data.

Table 12: Missing Descriptive Statistics for Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness

Variable	Missing N (%)	Mean happiness: missing respondents (not missing)	Standard deviation: missing respondents (not missing)
Religiosity	6000 (6.87)	4.40 (4.43)	1.11 (0.07)
Gender role attitudes	7544 (8.63)	4.39 (4.43)	1.14 (1.07)
Relationship satisfaction			
No SCQ or missing	950 (1.09)	4.35 (4.43)	1.24 (1.07)
No Partner	21466 (24.57)	4.33 (4.46)	1.16 (1.04)
Poor health	1151 (1.32)	4.29 (4.43)	1.25 (1.07)

Results

The results for the random effects model with between- and within-person effects predicting happiness are shown in Table 13, with first marriage as the reference category. A positive co-efficient indicates that the corresponding relationship status category is associated with a higher value on the dependent variable, happiness, compared to the reference category. A negative co-efficient indicates the reverse. The asterisks indicate a significant difference in happiness between these two categories. As in previous analyses in this thesis, to allow all significant differences between the relationship statuses to be investigated, Tables 2-7 in Appendix 9 redisplay the models alternating the reference categories for relationship status in turn.

Table 13: Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness – First Marriage Reference

VARIABLES	Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Relationship Status Categories (ref. First Marriage):						
<i>Within Effects</i>						
Higher order marriage		0.04	0.05	0.04	0.00	-0.00
Premarital cohabiters		-0.00	-0.02	-0.04	-0.04 [#]	-0.05*
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.08*	-0.10**	-0.09**	-0.06 [#]	-0.06 [#]
Post-marital cohabiters		-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	-0.06	-0.06
Remarriage cohabiters		0.12**	0.11**	0.08*	0.02	0.01
Single		-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.05*	-0.05**
<i>Between Effects</i>						
Higher order marriage		-0.05 [#]	-0.05 [#]	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Premarital cohabiters		0.05	-0.03	0.04	0.05	0.06 [#]
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.23***	-0.24***	-0.09*	-0.05	-0.05
Post-marital cohabiters		-0.09 ⁺	-0.08	0.05	0.05	0.04
Remarriage cohabiters		-0.12 [#]	-0.09	-0.03	-0.05	-0.05
Single		-0.13***	-0.18***	-0.04*	0.21***	0.21***
<i>Independent Variables:</i>						
Female			0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)						
Non-English Speaking			-0.11***	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.08***
Main English Speaking			0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Indigenous			-0.01	0.05	0.04	0.04
Age	<i>Within</i>		-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01***
	<i>Between</i>		-0.02***	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age Squared	<i>Within</i>		0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00**
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00**	0.00*	
Has Child	<i>Within</i>		-0.02	0.02	0.04 [#]	
	<i>Between</i>		-0.07***	0.02	0.02	0.03*
Holds Degree	<i>Within</i>		0.03	0.01	0.01	
	<i>Between</i>		0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01
Household Income	<i>Within</i>		0.00***	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00*	0.00**	0.00**
Fertility Intentions	<i>Within</i>			0.02***	0.01***	
	<i>Between</i>			0.02***	0.02***	0.01***
Financial Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>			0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Between</i>			0.10***	0.09***	0.09***
Poor Health	<i>Within</i>			-0.43***	-0.42***	-0.42***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.95***	-0.94***	-0.94***
	<i>Missing</i>			-0.37***	-0.37***	-0.37***
Religiosity	<i>Within</i>			0.00 ⁺	0.00	
	<i>Between</i>			0.00**	0.00**	0.00***
	<i>Missing</i>			0.03 [#]	0.02	0.03*
Parental Divorce	<i>Within</i>			0.07***	0.08***	0.08***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.11***	-0.12***	-0.12***
Gender Role Attitudes	<i>Within</i>			0.00	0.00	
	<i>Between</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Missing</i>			0.01	0.02	0.02

Owns Home	<i>Within</i>			-0.03**	-0.03*	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.04*	-0.03 [#]	-0.03**
Years of Education	<i>Within</i>			-0.01	-0.01	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Relationship Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>				0.09***	0.09***
	<i>Between</i>				0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Missing: No SCQ</i>				0.19***	0.19***
	<i>Missing: Not applicable</i>				0.00	0.00
Constant		4.48***	4.75***	3.86***	3.48***	3.51***
Observations		87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371
Number of id2		17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449
R-Squared:						
	<i>Within</i>	0.0011	0.0033	0.0339	0.0524	0.0524
	<i>Between</i>	0.0050	0.0248	0.2260	0.2420	0.2421
	<i>Overall</i>	0.0044	0.0192	0.1709	0.1897	0.1898

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

The models are based on 17,449 respondents who provide a total of 87,371 observations. A respondent is in the model for at least one wave, with five being the average and eight being the maximum. The within R-squared increases from 0.0011 in model 1 to 0.0524 in the full model, while the between R-squared increases from 0.0050 to 0.2421 (the overall R-squared increases from 0.0044 to 0.1898). This indicates that the full model, which includes the full range of control variables and only differentiates between- and within-person effects when they are significantly different, explains a greater amount of variation in the data for both changes in happiness over time and among individuals. The between-subject standard deviation (σ_u) decreases from 0.7539 in model 1 to 0.6219 in the full model; the within-subject standard deviation (σ_e) decreases from 0.7847 to 0.7635; the intra class correlation (ρ) or proportion of unexplained variance between individuals, decreases from 0.48 to 0.40 (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008:64). This indicates that the independent variables in the model explain 8 percent of the variation among individuals but they only explain 2 percent of variation in change over time within an individual. The results for the independent variables are described below. The discussion focuses on Table 13 and all of the tables included in Appendix 9.

Key Independent Variable: Relationship Status

The associations between happiness and the key independent variable of interest in this study, relationship status, which is included in all five models, vary across models as

blocks of independent variables are added. As the models are progressively extended, and more control variables included, not only are fewer associations between categories of relationship status significant, but the significant associations that remain are altered. By models 4 and 5 substantially fewer significant associations are present, indicating that many of the control variables are also inter-related with relationship status and play a role in explaining the level of happiness that a person experiences. To clarify, in model 1, which includes no control variables, the significant associations are conveyed through the relationship status categories. However, when important control variables which are also related to relationship status are included in the model, the variation in happiness initially attributed to relationship status is instead partially attributed to the control variables. The resulting regression coefficients for relationship status represent the partial association between happiness and relationship status that exists beyond the effect of the other control variables in the model. That is, the control variables also partially reflect some of the association between relationship status and happiness.

Of all five models reported in Table 13, model 5 provides the best fit to the data explaining more variation than any of models 1 through 4. The results from model 5 provide estimates of the associations between happiness and relationship status among persons in different relationship types and also between happiness and changes in relationship status for a person, net of the effects of all other control variables in the model. However, as explained above, because relationship status may also be associated with other factors, such as a person's age or the birth or presence of a child, and the coefficients for the categories of relationship status in the model will change as blocks of variables are added, it is useful to interpret each of the five models in turn to better understand the associations between relationship status, the control variables and happiness. However, the final conclusions from this analysis will be based on results for model 5.

Within-Person Effects

Estimates of the effects of changes in relationship status (within-person effects) from model 1, which does not include any control variables, indicate that people are the least happy when they are single or in a cohabiting relationship with no intention to marry, and are most happy when they are cohabiting prior to remarriage. Of particular interest, people are significantly happier when they are premarital cohabiters compared to when

they are non-marital cohabiters. Similarly, people are happier when they are remarriage cohabiters compared to when they are post-marital cohabiters. This indicates that given a transition between these two statuses, cohabiters are happier when they intend to marry.

The coefficients for relationship status can no longer be interpreted separately from the effects of other variables when the predictor and control variables are added in models 2-5. The difference in happiness between the never married cohabiting groups becomes borderline significant (p-value = 0.072) when the predictor control variables are added in Model 3, and non-significant when relationship satisfaction is added in Model 4. The difference between the previously married cohabiting groups, however, remains borderline significant in Models 4 and 5 (p-value = 0.084 and 0.083 respectively). This suggests that when the independent variables, in particular relationship satisfaction, are taken into account, never-married cohabiters are not happier when they intend to marry, while previously married cohabiters are happier when they intend to marry. This indicates that intention to marry is more important for happiness amongst previously married cohabiters, while amongst never-married cohabiters relationship satisfaction mediates the relationship between happiness and intention to marry.

While this appears to contradict other findings in this thesis and existing research which contends that marriage is less important for previously married people, as this part of the analysis is looking at within-person effects, what is actually being investigated here is a cohabiter who *transitions* between intending and not intending to marry. As such, those who do not transition between these two statuses are not modelled, and it is amongst this group that we would expect marriage to be less important, as their intention to marry does not vary. Overall, this suggests that *ceteris paribus*, transitioning to intending to marry is only associated with an increased level of happiness for cohabiters who have been married in the past, suggesting that intention to marry is more important for happiness for people who have experienced a failed marriage and whose intentions to marry change at some point. Furthermore, the difference between the two never married cohabiting groups loses significance when control factors are taken into account, lending support to the findings from previous empirical chapters, which suggest that some non-marital cohabiters treat cohabitation as a substitute for marriage, and a lack of intention to marry does not reflect a lack of commitment, or in the context of this chapter, a lack of happiness.

The associations between post-marital and non-marital cohabiters, and between premarital and remarriage cohabiters are not of interest, as it is unlikely for a respondent to move between these two statuses, as it would require a marriage, a divorce/separation, and movement into another cohabiting relationship within the 8 waves of HILDA data. While this is possible, it is unlikely to be frequent enough for the associations to be meaningful.

In regard to the associations for the cohabiting groups that transition to married, the results suggest that marriage heralds an increase in happiness for never married cohabiters, while this is not the case for previously married cohabiters. While moving from premarital cohabitation to a first marriage is not associated with an increase in happiness in models 1, 2 and 3, after controlling for relationship satisfaction in models 4 and 5, a transition from premarital cohabitation to first marriage is associated with a significant increase in happiness (the association is borderline significant in model 4, p -value = 0.064). Likewise, moving from being a non-marital cohabiter to being in a first marriage is associated with an increase in happiness in all models regardless of the level of relationship satisfaction (the associations are borderline significant in models 4 and 5, p -values = 0.069 and 0.053 respectively). This suggests that marriage is associated with an increase in happiness even when a never married cohabiter did not expect or intend to marry previously. However, this finding needs to be treated with some caution as relatively few non-marital cohabiters marry between waves (see Chapter 6), meaning that such a cohabiter may have moved through the status of premarital cohabitation in the intervening period before transitioning to married.

The associations for the never married groups are slightly more difficult to specify as it is not possible to determine if the transitions occurred from higher order marriage to cohabiting, or from cohabiting to higher order marriage. However, it is reasonable to assume that the latter transition is more common than the former. Regardless of this, transitions between being a previously married cohabiter and being in a higher order marriage are not associated with an increase in happiness. In fact the opposite is true. Model 1 indicates that people are significantly happier when they are remarriage cohabiters compared to when they are in any other relationship status, including being in a

higher order marriage. This indicates that cohabiting and intending to marry is a particularly happy status for previously married people. There are a number of possible explanations for why happiness is higher when people are remarriage cohabiters compared to when they are in a higher order marriage. The increase in happiness may actually be measuring people who transition from unhappy higher order marriages to cohabiting with intentions to marry. However, this order of transitions is less likely than the reverse. It may also be that transitioning to remarriage cohabitation is associated with a substantial increase in happiness, and this happiness wanes by the time that people transition to married. Indeed, this association loses significance in model 2, indicating the primary control variables account for some of the difference in happiness found in model 1.

It is also worth noting that people become happier when they transition from a first marriage (involving union dissolution via separation or divorce) to being a cohabiter who intends to marry their partner. This is interesting, and suggests that people who experience union dissolution and move into a cohabiting relationship with plans to wed increase their level of happiness. As for many other associations, the relationship status net of satisfaction level becomes non-significant when relationship satisfaction is controlled for in model 4. It appears that intention to marry and hence relationship status as defined in this analysis is highly correlated with relationship satisfaction.

In regard to transitions to and from single, people are significantly less happy when they are single compared to being in any other group in the model, with the exception of being a non-marital cohabiter. The lack of significant difference between single and non-marital cohabitation indicates that moving between these relationship statuses does not lead to a change in happiness. This finding is particularly interesting as all other relationship status transitions are significant (in model 1), suggesting that transitions between non-marital cohabitation and single are different in some way to the other relationship status transitions involving the single status. It could be that never married people who move between being single and cohabiting without intentions to marry begin cohabiting for pragmatic rather than romantic reasons, as found by Lindsay (2000). These significant associations remain until model 4, in which relationship satisfaction is added to the model. Thereafter, being single is associated with a significantly lower level of happiness compared to being in a first marriage, and compared to being a remarriage cohabiter

(borderline significant p -value = 0.081); all other associations become non-significant. This indicates that despite including all controls, and the majority of other associations becoming non-significant, transitions between single and first marriage or remarriage cohabitation are associated with considerable increases in happiness²⁶. Overall, these findings indicate that being single is associated with a relatively low level of happiness when compared to being in a relationship, however, when relationship satisfaction taking into account, only moving from being single to either a first marriage or remarriage cohabitation leads to an increase happiness.

Overall, the findings indicate that when the key variables, in particular relationship satisfaction, are controlled, the majority of differences between the relationship status groups cease to be significant, indicating that relationship status categories are closely related to other individual characteristics and that each of these characteristics also have an effect on happiness.

Between-Person Effects

The between-person results indicate that, with no controls implemented, non-marital cohabiters are the least happy, with significant differences between non-marital cohabiters and all groups with the exception of remarriage cohabiters. While not significantly different from one another, premarital cohabiters and people in a first marriage are significantly happier than all other groups (borderline significant differences associations between first marriage and the categories higher order marriage $p=0.061$, post-marital cohabiters $p=0.076$, and remarriage cohabiters $p=0.075$). This suggests, that at baseline with no controls implemented, people who are either premarital cohabiters or in a first marriage are the happiest, while never married cohabiters who do not intend to marry are the least happy. Interestingly, there is a borderline significant difference between premarital cohabiters and those in their first marriage ($p=0.064$), higher order marriage ($p=0.089$) and remarriage cohabiters ($p=0.084$) in model 5, indicating that premarital cohabiters are actually *happier* than people in these groups when other factors are controlled in the model. While premarital cohabiters are significantly happier than non-marital cohabiters in all models, the coefficients decrease from -0.28 to -0.11 between model 1 and model 5,

²⁶This comprises two possible transitions, a separation from a relationship resulting in a decrease in happiness, or a move into a relationship, indicating an increase in happiness.

indicating that the control variables account for some difference in happiness between these two groups. There is no significant difference between post-marital and remarriage cohabiters, suggesting that intention to marry has a greater influence on the happiness of the never married cohabiting groups.

One particularly interesting finding for the between-person effects is that while single people are less happy compared to most other groups in models 1 – 3, when relationship satisfaction is added in model 4, the trend is reversed and single people become significantly happier compared to all groups, with a large positive coefficient. At first glance this is somewhat unexpected. However, as relationship satisfaction is being controlled, and all respondents who are not in a relationship are given a score of 0 on relationship satisfaction and then controlled via the use of two flag variables (see the Analytical Strategy section above for more detail), what is actually being compared in models 4 and 5 is single people who have a comparable level of relationship satisfaction to people in marital or cohabiting relationships. So, while initially this finding appears contradictory, upon taking a closer look, it is actually supported by existing research, which indicates that “falling in love is usually rated as the strongest source of positive emotion - ie happiness” (Argyle, 2001:77). This suggests that single people who have a comparable level of relationship satisfaction to married or cohabiting people may be in the early stages of ‘love’ – something which has been found to decline over time from “head over heels” love to joyous love (Argyle, 2001:77). It is therefore expected that the effect of ‘new love’ on happiness declines over time, to some degree explaining this result.

While non-marital cohabiters are consistently the least happy relationship status group, the number of significant associations diminish between model 1 and model 5, with the exception of post-marital cohabiters, who are happier compared to non-marital cohabiters in all models (and premarital, as discussed above). This suggests that amongst the cohabiters who do not intend to marry, those who are never married have a consistently lower level of happiness, supporting the finding that marriage is more important for never married cohabiters.

The findings for both of the between-person and within-person effects indicate that when controls are included in the model, in particular relationship satisfaction, many differences in happiness between the relationship status groups cease to be significant. However, a greater number of significant associations remain for the between-person effects (compared to the within differences), in particular, the high levels of happiness amongst both single people and premarital cohabiters. This indicates that *ceteris paribus*, there are more differences in happiness between people of different marital states than there are for changes in marital status for a particular person. These findings can be considered in the context of the selection and causation hypotheses. While there is likely to be a selection of happier people into more committed relationships and more committed relationships are likely to increase happiness, these findings indicate that when all of the controls are implemented there are more significant associations remaining for the between-person effects. This suggests that selection plays a greater role in explaining the association between relationship status and well-being.

Primary and Predictor Control Variables

The linear combinations of estimators conducted on the separate measures for the between- and within-person effects at model 4 indicated that there were significant differences for age, household income²⁷, financial satisfaction, health, parental divorce and relationship satisfaction. Age squared, parental status, holding a degree, fertility intentions, religiosity, gender role attitudes, homeownership and years of education were not found to have significantly different between-and within-person effects, and so were included as one measure. Unless otherwise stated all the results discussed here are based on model 5.

There are no significant results for gender, indigenous status, education (for neither holding a degree or years of education) or gender role attitudes. The results for place of birth indicate that people who are born in non-English speaking countries ('other' regions) have a lower level of happiness compared to people born in Australia or in main-English

²⁷ The linear combinations of estimators indicated that the difference between the within-and between-person effects for household income were borderline significant (p -value = 0.075); this was considered sufficient to separate out the effects.

speaking countries (there is no significant difference between the two latter groups)²⁸. The within-person effects for age are significant, while the between effects are not. This suggests that there are no differences in happiness between people of different ages. However, happiness decreases with age. The squared term for age is significant, suggesting that the relationship between happiness and age is curved rather than linear. In this case, it is a U shape, suggesting that happiness first decreases and then increases as people age. This finding is supported by previous research (Yang, 2008).

People who are parents have a lower level of happiness compared to childless people in model 2, where only the primary control variables are included. This association disappears when the predictor control variables are included. In model 4, which includes relationship satisfaction, there is a borderline significant association (p-value = 0.067) indicating that people who transition into parenthood are happier compared to those who do not. In model 5, where the between and within effects are joined due to there not being a significant difference between the two in model 4, people who are parents have a higher level of happiness. This suggests that the association between parenthood and happiness is complex, and is heavily influenced by other factors. Overall, when all control variables are included parenthood is associated with a higher level of happiness.

Results for model 5 show that an increase in financial satisfaction is associated with an increase in happiness and that people with higher financial satisfaction tend to have higher levels of happiness. While the results show that having a higher household income is also associated with higher levels of happiness in addition to the level of financial satisfaction, there is no evidence that an increase in income leads to increased happiness after accounting for financial satisfaction. As the within-person effect for income is significant in model 2 but becomes non-significant in model 3 when financial satisfaction is included, it is likely that a change in income is highly correlated with a change in satisfaction and therefore only one of these change effects is significant in model 5. This suggests that both the amount of income and the satisfaction that this brings is associated with happiness, but it is the change in financial satisfaction that accompanies a change in income, rather than a change in income alone, that leads to a change in happiness.

²⁸ Additional analysis indicates that there is a significant difference between people born in non-English speaking countries and those born in 'Other' (data not shown).

Expecting to have a child in the future is associated with a higher level of happiness, as is a higher level of religiosity, while owning your own home is associated with a lower level of happiness. Both the within-and between-person effects for poor health are significant, indicating that people who report poor health are less happy compared to those who do not report poor health, and a reduction in health leads to a lower level of happiness. The findings for parental divorce are consistent between model 3 and model 5, with the between- and within-person effects showing opposite trends. While people who have divorced parents are less happy compared to those who do not, interestingly, experiencing a parental divorce leads to an increase in happiness. It may be that experiencing parental divorce as a child or adolescent is detrimental to happiness, however, experiencing it as an adult (as must be the case here, as the sample is over 18) leads to an increase in happiness.

It is expected that differences in happiness between people are greater than changes in happiness over time, as the models that are constructed for this analysis are not able to completely explain why people have different levels of happiness. This is reflected in the coefficients of financial satisfaction, health and parental divorce, where the between-person associations with happiness are greater than the within-person associations. Interestingly, relationship satisfaction shows the opposite trend. While people who have a high level of relationship satisfaction are happier, and an increase in relationship satisfaction is associated with an increase in happiness, the within-person coefficient is more than double the between-person coefficient (0.09 compared to 0.043, SE = 0.0025 and 0.0023 respectively)²⁹. This suggests that a change in relationship satisfaction has a greater influence on happiness than between-person differences in happiness. This highlights the importance of relationship satisfaction for happiness, and suggests that the influence of being in a happy and well-adjusted relationship accounts for much of the association between relationship status and overall well-being. Please note that the correlation between the measures of relationship satisfaction and happiness are not so high that this would bias the analyses (Pearson correlation coefficient = 0.2993, N = 64 955).

²⁹ Please note that this is a significant difference ($p < 0.001$), as this was tested in model 4 (as discussed in the Analysis section above) .

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this research is to investigate how an individual's happiness is influenced by relationship status. Emotions, in particular those brought about by romantic relationships, are the fundamental building blocks of human well-being and quality of life. If measures of well-being are seen to sit along a continuum which is anchored one end by evaluative judgements, such as life satisfaction, then it can be argued that experienced affect, such as happiness, emotions and emotional health, sits at the other end of the continuum. Empirical research supports the assertion that these two forms of well-being are distinct. Overall, this suggests that measures of happiness reflect the emotional nature of intimate attachments and are distinct from other forms of well-being. Furthermore, not only did this research differentiate between changes in relationship status for an individual and the difference between individuals of different marital statuses, it employs the cohabitation typology and investigates these associations from a longitudinal perspective. No other known research has carried out such an analysis. The overarching finding is that happiness, in regard to both changes over time and variations between people, is better explained by individual characteristics that may drive the choice of relationship status rather than by relationship status alone. When important individual characteristics, in particular, relationship satisfaction and as the typology has shown, a cohabiter's intention to marry and previous marital history, are taken into account, the main differences in happiness between the different relationship statuses cease to be significant. Interestingly, the analyses indicate that when all individual factors are controlled, transitions in relationship status have a weaker association with happiness than variations in happiness between people of different relationship statuses. This suggests that factors that influence selection into different relationship statuses may play a greater role than causation factors in explaining the overall association between relationship status and well-being.

Intention to Marry

The results indicate that the association between intention to marry and happiness is strongly mediated by previous marital history. Taking individual characteristics (including relationship satisfaction) into account, for cohabiters who have been married in the past, a transition to intending to marry is associated with an increased level of happiness,

whereas there is no significant difference in happiness between the two groups who do and do not intend to marry. The opposite is true for never married persons, with a transition to intention to marry not being associated with an increase in happiness, whereas, the intending to marry group is happier than the group not intending to marry. This indicates that the dynamics between happiness and plans to marry your current partner are strongly influenced by previous marital history. Overall, this suggests that a transition to intending to marry is of significance for previously married cohabiters, whereas this is not the case for never married cohabiters. It may be the case that after experiencing a separation or divorce in the past, a generally stressful life experience, with negative emotional and financial consequences, a shift from cohabiting with no intention to marry to intending to marry again is a particularly exceptional experience leading to a high level of happiness. This, to some degree, may reflect the link between feelings of love within intimate attachments and human happiness, as it is reasonable to assume that such a transition is associated with an increasing bond within a couple relationship. For the never married group, above and beyond the difference in happiness for the different intentions to marry, a transition is not found to be important for happiness.

Relationship Quality and the Influence of Love

This research indicates that being in a happy and well-adjusted relationship accounts for much of the association between relationship status and overall well-being. Not only do most associations between relationship status and happiness become non-significant when relationship satisfaction is included in the model, but the analyses indicate that a change in relationship satisfaction has a greater influence on happiness than between-person differences in happiness. While this does not invalidate the cohabitation typology, as intention to marry and previous marital history are found to mediate the relationship to some extent, this research indicates that relationship satisfaction has a great influence on happiness, above and beyond relationship status. This is reflected in the finding that while marriage is not associated with an increase in happiness for premarital cohabiters in general, when you compare cohabiters with equivalent levels of relationship satisfaction, they are indeed happier when they are married. This finding may indicate that when cohabiters are in a satisfying relationship and intend to marry, the actual transition to marriage increases their level of happiness. This dynamic is also supported by the finding that single people who have a comparable level of relationship satisfaction, and presumably also relationship quality, to cohabiting and marital people, are by far the

happiest group. This is likely to reflect this group being in a particularly satisfying romantic relationship and possibly also in the early stages of courtship.

Marital History

Cohabitation can in some cases be characterised as a committed relationship which may be substitute for marriage, and in other cases as an alternative to being single. The finding that moving into a relationship from being single is associated with an increase in happiness for every relationship status except non-marital cohabiters indicates that, overall when no individual characteristics are taken into account, non-marital cohabitation is more likely to be an alternative to being single. This association, however, does not hold when relationship satisfaction is taken into account, as only the transition from single to a first marriage or remarriage cohabitation is associated with an increase in happiness.

Furthermore, intention to marry appears to have a greater influence on the happiness of the never married groups. This is shown by a consistent significant difference between the happiness of the two never married typology groups, and no difference between the two previously married typology groups. This is further supported by the finding that there is a consistent significant difference between the happiness of the two typology groups who do not intend to marry, with the previously married being happier. Overall, this suggests that marriage often heralds an increase in happiness for the never married, but not for the previously married groups, lending support to the assertion that cohabitation is more often a substitute for marriage for people who have experienced a failed marriage. There may be two explanations for this. First, having already experienced a marriage, people who are separated, divorced or widowed may find less value in re-marrying when compared to people who are never married. Second, as the majority of people who are divorced or widowed have very low fertility expectations (see Chapter 5), and fertility intentions are a strong factor driving marriage (see Chapter 6), it may simply be the case that previously married cohabiters do not intend to have more children, and therefore do not marry.

Regardless of the reasons, the analyses in this chapter support the assertion that cohabitation is more likely to be a substitute for marriage for previously married cohabiters. The results, however, also indicate that cohabitation may be a substitute for marriage for some cohabiters who are never married and not intending to marry, as a transition to intending to marry is no longer associated with an increase in happiness for never married cohabiters when individual characteristics are taken into account.

Individual Factors

The independent variables also show a number of interesting associations. There were significant differences between the within- and between-person effects for age, household income, financial satisfaction, health, parental divorce and relationship satisfaction. This indicates that the relationship between happiness and people of, say different household incomes, is different to the relationship between a change in an individual's income and happiness. Additionally, a significant relationship was found between happiness and place of birth, being a parent, religiosity and homeownership. The significant associations are supported by previous research (Argyle, 1999).

The finding that people who are born in non-English speaking countries have a lower level of happiness compared to people born in Australia or main-English speaking countries is supported in previous research. Argyle (1999), in a review of existing research, finds that ethnic minorities often have a lower level of happiness, mainly due to their lower incomes, education and job status. He finds that when these variables are reduced the effect of ethnicity is reduced. This research, however, does not control for job status, possibly resulting in ethnicity not becoming completely non-significant. The association between happiness and age generally tends to be quite small and is somewhat more complex (Argyle, 1999). This research indicates that when important and potentially influential individual characteristics are controlled for, there are no differences in happiness between people of different ages, however, happiness decreases with age, and there is a stronger association for the young and old. Furthermore, the associations for age change as more control variables are included, indicating that the control variables mediate this relationship.

The findings indicate that people are happier when they are parents or expecting to have a child in the future and have a high level of financial satisfaction. Interestingly, homeownership was associated with a lower level of happiness. As the majority of Australian residents who own their own home are paying off a mortgage (ABS 2011: Cat.No.4130.0), it may be that the financial stresses associated with repayments influence this result. As expected, people who are religious were found to have a higher level of happiness (Argyle, 1999; Inglehard, 2010:352). Interestingly, while having a higher level of income is associated with a higher level of happiness, increases in income did not lead

to increases in happiness above and beyond the associated change in financial satisfaction. An increase in financial satisfaction, and a high level of financial satisfaction were both found to be associated with increased happiness. As expected, people who have a poor level of health are less happy, and a worsening of health is associated with a decrease in happiness.

The findings for parental divorce are particularly noteworthy, and suggest that experiencing parental divorce as a child or adolescent is detrimental to happiness, but experiencing it as an adult leads to an increase in happiness. Much research finds that children who experience the divorce of their parents, and/or who raised by only one parent, usually the mother, exhibit poorer behavioural and cognitive outcomes (Carlson & Corcoran, 2001). These associations however, have been found to operate through socio-economic status, which is associated with economic resources, parental socialisation, childhood stress, maternal psychological functioning and community context. When these factors are controlled, the negative outcomes of family structure become much smaller in size and often non-significant (Carlson & Corcoran, 2001; Kowaleski-Jones & Dunifon, 2006). As such, while this research indicates that these associations may have a long-lasting impact on the functioning of children of divorce, controlling for childhood socio-economic status may modify the findings. Explaining the finding that happiness increases when adults experience parental divorce is somewhat more difficult. First, an adult who presumably is financially independent from his or her parents is unlikely to experience a worsening of socio-economic status, which is the driving factor behind the detrimental impact of divorce. Second, adults may have a greater understanding of their parent's decision to separate and be able to recognise the benefits of this choice. It may also be the case that adult children support their parents through a separation and/or divorce, which in turn leads to a better parent-child relationship resulting in a higher level of happiness for the adult child.

The association between relationship satisfaction and happiness is of particular importance for this research. Relationship satisfaction is the only control variable where the within-person coefficient is larger than the between-person coefficient, indeed, it is more than double the magnitude. This indicates that changes to an individual's level of relationship satisfaction has a greater impact on happiness than comparable differences in

relationship satisfaction between individuals. This reflects the importance of intimate attachments for human happiness, in particular fresh romantic relationships and feelings of love, which have been found to be the greatest source of positive emotions and happiness (Argyle, 1999, 2001).

Overall, while a great deal of research finds a strong association between relationship status and well-being, this research highlights that the association between relationship status and happiness is better explained by a selection of happy couples into more committed relationships. As such, being in a loving, committed and satisfying relationship has an indirect influence on emotional well-being through relationship status, and it is not relationship status per se that has a direct influence on happiness. The following chapter will provide an overview of the main findings in this thesis, and offer some concluding statements.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The main purpose of this thesis was to fill some of the gaps in Australian research on cohabitation by investigating the characteristics, pathways and outcomes of cohabiters. Despite a substantial increase in both the number of couples cohabiting at any one time, and the proportion of couples who cohabit prior to marriage, relatively little is known about how this rise in cohabitation influences the pathways and outcomes of union formation. The rapid pace of change, different theoretical approaches, methodologies and disciplinary perspectives, in addition to the utilisation of data from different cultural contexts and time periods, has led to diverse and frequently contradictory research findings. This research aims to enhance the current understanding of cohabitation by proposing a framework, in the form of a cohabitation typology, which will allow the outcomes of cohabiting relationships for union formation pathways and well-being to be examined while taking the diversity of cohabiters into account.

A major contribution of the thesis is the development of a new typology of cohabiting couples based on intentions to marry and marital history. While previous studies have employed typologies based on either intention to marry, or previous marital history, no known study has employed both. The thesis argues that cohabiters are a diverse group and ignoring this diversity overlooks important variations in the pathways and experiences of cohabiting couples. Specifically, the analyses show considerable variation across cohabiting groups in relationship pathways, and variations in happiness levels.

Patterns of family and relationship formation have transformed substantially in recent times, with the majority of Western nations experiencing a significant shift in the norms, practices and values associated with union and family formation. It has been argued that marriage has been deinstitutionalised (Cherlin, 2004), and alternative relationship statuses are increasingly gaining prominence and social legitimacy (Coontz, 2004). While traditional marriage and family life are not vanishing (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), as their symbolic importance and value remain high and present in cultural ideals (Turner, 2004), they are losing their monopoly over what is considered socially appropriate and

acceptable. Cohabitation, along with living alone without a partner or in a 'living apart together' relationship, choosing not to have children and remaining childless, same-sex relationships, single-parent families and blended/step families, are all becoming increasingly common and socially accepted. It is within this context that non-marital cohabitation is becoming an increasingly normative and prominent relationship form.

Despite the substantial increase in the incidence of cohabitation, relatively little is known about the influence that it is likely to have on the pathways and outcomes of union formation. Of particular relevance for the outcomes of cohabitation are factors which influence pathways into and out of cohabitation and the impact of cohabitation on well-being. As cohabiting relationships tend to be short lived, often being converted into marriages or breaking up rather than continuing long-term (de Vaus, 2004), it is important to understand which factors are associated with these divergent pathways. While research has found that factors such as economic resources, intentions to marry, previous relationships, relationship satisfaction and achieved and desired fertility influence these pathways (Guzzo, 2009; Qu, et al., 2009; Smock & Manning, 1997; F. Steele, et al., 2006), no known systematic examination of the impact of numerous characteristics on cohabitation pathways has been carried out.

In addition to understanding pathways associated with cohabitation, another important outcome of cohabitation is its impact on well-being. Much research has indicated that relationship status has a substantial impact on virtually all facets of individual well-being (Baxter & Hewitt, 2011; Musick & Bumpass, 2012; G. K. Rhoades, et al., 2012). Given the highly emotional nature of romantic relationships, a particularly important factor when investigating their outcomes for well-being is happiness, which has been found to be a distinct form of subjective well-being (Diener, et al., 2010:3; Keyes, et al., 2002), and highly influenced by inter-personal and intimate relationships (Frijda, 1999; Myers, 1999). Despite this, not much research has investigated the association between romantic relationships and happiness.

Despite a substantial amount of research on the characteristics, pathways and outcomes of cohabiting relationships, no clear trends or findings are apparent (Musick & Bumpass, 2012). Research findings are often inconsistent or contradictory, and tend to vary

substantially by cultural context, time period and sample. Research has shown that the characteristics of cohabiters mediate the associations between cohabitation and outcomes (Brown & Booth, 1996; Hansen, et al., 2007), and the characteristics of cohabiters have been shown to vary by cultural context and time period (de Vaus, et al., 2005; Diener, et al., 2000; Hewitt & De Vaus, 2009; Musick & Bumpass, 2012; Ryan, et al., 1998; Soons & Kalmijn, 2009). This suggests that inconsistent findings on the outcomes of cohabiting relationships may to some degree be driven by the fact that like is not being compared to like, both within and across studies. Not only are cohabiters a diverse group, but their diversity is also likely to vary by cultural context and time period. Research on the outcomes of cohabiting relationships needs to take this diversity into account.

This thesis has contributed to existing knowledge on cohabitation in three key ways. First, by devising and employing a cohabitation typology which acknowledges key differences across cohabiters, specifically, the importance of intention to marry and previous marital history. Second, by investigating how the characteristics of each type of cohabiting group vary from other relationship status groups. Third, by examining the outcomes for each cohabiting group in terms of which factors influence transitions out of cohabitation, and the influence of cohabitation and relationship status pathways on emotional well-being, specifically, happiness.

Key Findings

Overall, the analyses in this thesis indicated four main findings: 1) Cohabiters are not a homogenous group; 2) relationship pathways vary across cohabiting groups; 3) happiness is better explained by individual characteristics than by relationship status; and 4) relationship satisfaction is strongly associated with many outcomes of cohabiting relationships

1. Cohabiters are Not a Homogenous Group

The main finding in this thesis is that cohabiters are not a homogenous group, and intention to marry and previous marital history play an integral role in shaping the pathways and outcomes of cohabiting relationships. In particular, there are systematic differences between cohabiters in regard to intention to marry and previous marital history, and these characteristics have a substantial role to play in transitions out of cohabitation

and the association between cohabitation, relationship status pathways and happiness. Moreover, in addition to varying by cohabitation group, the socio-economic, attitudinal and demographic characteristics of cohabiters differ from those of married, single or separated, divorced or widowed individuals. Overall, the cohabitation typology, as proposed in this thesis, reflects the high level of diversity within the cohabiting group, and leads to a better understanding of how the characteristics of cohabiters influence the outcomes of cohabiting relationships.

While previous research has investigated the impact of intentions to marry (Brown, 2004; Brown & Booth, 1996; Ciabattari, 2004; Guzzo, 2009) or prior marital history (Hansen, et al., 2007) on the outcomes of cohabiting relationships, no known research has utilised both of these characteristics to group cohabiters. The research conducted in this thesis indicates that both intention to marry and prior marital history are integral factors that need to be taken into account when examining cohabiting relationships.

2. Relationship Pathways Vary Across Cohabiting Groups

Overall, the research carried out in this thesis finds that the type of cohabiter (cohabitation typology group) and individual characteristics interact to lead to different pathways for cohabiting relationships. The associations between characteristics such as relationship satisfaction, fertility intentions, socio-economic status, parental marital break down, religiosity and gender role attitudes and cohabitation transitions were found to be strongly influenced by intention to marry and/or previous marital history. For example, a high socio-economic status amongst cohabiters who intend to marry increases the chance of marriage, while it decreases the chance of both marriage and separation for cohabiters who do not intend to marry. Furthermore, this association is stronger for previously married cohabiters. This indicates that while a substantial amount of research finds that socio-economic status is positively related to the likelihood marriage (Duvander, 1999:710; Lichter, et al., 2006; Smock & Manning, 1997), this may not be the case for cohabiters who do not intend to marry, with group being particularly stable in their relationship. This suggests that if the relationship between characteristics such as socio-economic status and relationship status transitions are examined without taking both intention to marry and prior marital history of cohabiters into account, the omission can lead to erroneous or misleading results. This has important implications for cohabitation research, and further

lends support to the key finding that cohabiters are not a homogenous group, and should not be treated as such.

3. Happiness is Better Explained by Individual Characteristics than by Relationship Status

The analyses conducted in Chapter 7 indicated that variations in happiness are better explained by individual characteristics that influence relationship status than relationship status *per se*. Specifically, it is not necessarily the institution of marriage that leads to a higher level happiness, but rather, factors such as relationship satisfaction, and intention to marry and previous marital history amongst cohabiters, are positively related to both happiness and the likelihood of being in a more committed intimate relationship. By employing an outcome of relationship status that reflects the highly emotional and sensitive nature of intimate relationships, this research was able to capture the association between relationship status and well-being in a distinctive and meaningful way. In particular, this research showed that the association between happiness and relationship status varied by a cohabiter's intention to marry and previous marital history, and that the dynamics were not the same for between-individual differences and within-individual differences. Transitions in intention to marry were more strongly related to happiness for previously married cohabiters, while a comparison between groups indicated that intention to marry was associated with happiness only for the never married groups. This indicates that the association between transitions in relationship status and happiness is not synonymous with differences in happiness by relationship status group. Indeed, for the majority of measures the differences between individuals was more highly associated with happiness than changes experienced by an individual, with the exception of relationship status. This suggests that unlike other measures, changes to an individual's level of relationship satisfaction has a greater impact on happiness than comparable differences in relationship satisfaction between individuals. This further highlights the strong association between relationship satisfaction and happiness. Overall, this research has shown that being in a loving, committed and satisfying relationship influences happiness above and beyond relationship status.

4. Relationship Satisfaction is Strongly Associated with Outcomes of Cohabiting Relationships

A finding which came across with particular clarity in all of the analyses conducted in this thesis is the importance of relationship satisfaction, which was found to be strongly associated with many of the outcomes of cohabiting relationships. A cohabiting

individual's level of relationship satisfaction predicted the likelihood of which cohabitation typology group they would be in. Relationship satisfaction was found to interact with both intention to marry and prior marital history to influence the likelihood of marriage and separation, and it was found to be one of the main factors affecting the association between relationship status and happiness. This finding supports arguments that while the integral functions of partnership (in particular marriage) were once primarily social, economic and political, this has shifted, and love, emotional connections, romanticism and intimacy are now fundamental for union formation (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Coontz, 2004, 2005; Giddens, 1992; Paetsch, et al., 2004; Turner, 2004). Notwithstanding, the majority of Western nations continue to witness continued, albeit declining, marriage rates despite a declining practical significance of marriage, and increasing acceptability of alternatives. This supports arguments that while the practical importance of the marriage certificate has declined, the symbolic importance has remained high (Cherlin, 2004:855; Gibson-Davis, et al., 2005).

This research suggests that it may not necessarily be marriage that is symbolic, but rather, marriage is a symbol that a perfect love-match has been found. Marriage signifies having achieved what is today one of the most important aspects of union formation, being in love, happy and satisfied with one's partner. While in cultures where cohabitation is highly accepted and socially integrated, a stable cohabiting relationship may also symbolise the same achievement, in most Western nations, for the majority of the population, marriage symbolises having achieved the perfect love-match. This research suggests that while relationship status does not necessarily directly influence outcomes, in terms of transitions and emotional well-being, above and beyond relationship satisfaction, as long as cohabitation is not equivalent to marriage in terms of signifying having achieved the perfect relationship, marriage will have a continued importance.

Limitations

This research has a number of limitations. First, this thesis has focused on individual analyses and has not examined how couple characteristics influence transitions and outcomes. Romantic relationships involve two people, and decisions related to relationship outcomes are often made jointly. Taking advantage of couple-level data and analyses and

partner's characteristics and intentions, may have increased the explanatory capacity of this research. Previous research which used couple-level data has found that when both partners were in agreement, expectations were good predictors of outcomes. However, when partners disagreed, outcomes were contingent on gender (Brown, 2000). Couple level analyses would have added a substantially higher level of complexity to the data management and analyses, particularly the longitudinal design. Moreover, Couple level analyses would require restricting the sample to couples who remain together over the life of the panel for some of the analyses and would have restricted the usefulness of comparisons with single individuals. The current analyses have moved understanding of cohabiters forward in a number of important ways, and further research beyond the scope of this project, will be required to investigate how the results reported here vary if couple level analyses are undertaken.

A related limitation is the lack of focus on gender. Factors leading to the formalisation or dissolution of a union have been found to vary substantially by gender. While male characteristics have been found to have a greater influence on the formation and formalisation of unions, much research has found that it is women who are the driving force behind union dissolution (Hewitt, et al., 2005; Hewitt, Western, & Baxter, 2006; Smock & Manning, 1997). While gender was controlled in all of the analyses conducted in this research, and some gender differences were apparent, not examining gender explicitly is a limitation of this research. Further research that moves to a couple level analysis will need to examine couple characteristics by gender.

There are a number of limitations associated with the data restrictions. In particular, a number of the variables used in this research were collected by the Self Complete Questionnaire, which had a higher level of missing data. While this was dealt with in the analyses so that there was not an undue loss of observations, descriptive statistics suggested that an association may exist between relationship status and missing data. While this was not considered substantial enough to interfere with the analyses, the missing data is nonetheless a limitation. Moreover, like with any panel survey data there is missing data due to attrition from the survey. This suggests that the results will be biased towards the type of people who remain in the survey. Furthermore, the analyses conducted in this thesis are restricted by the types of questions asked in the survey.

Policy Implications

This research suggests that the laws and policies directed toward cohabiting relationships do not necessarily reflect the social reality of cohabitation in Australia. As discussed in the introductory chapter, in 2009 the Commonwealth introduced legislation which brought the division of property and the payment of spouse maintenance of a separating cohabiting couple under the Federal family law regime (Australian Government, 2011a). The consequence of this is that an individual who is in a cohabiting relationship that has continued for two or more years has the same rights and conditions as an individual in a marital relationship in property settlements. This research has indicated that cohabiters are a diverse group, and that such legislation may not reflect what is appropriate for all cohabiting relationships. The two year time span before being conferred the same rights as married people may be too long for fair outcomes for a cohabiter who saw the relationship as being serious and committed from the beginning. At the same time, for a cohabiter who does not see their relationship as serious or committed, or who is cohabiting specifically because he or she does not want the same rights and obligations of a marital relationship, may be disadvantaged upon separation if it occurs two or more years after entering the union.

This research suggests that introducing a national register of cohabiting relationships would more accurately reflect cohabitation in Australia today. While it has been possible to register cohabiting relationships in Tasmania since 2003, and since 2008 in Victoria, the Australian Capital Territory, New South Wales and Queensland have all passed legislation allowing both same-sex and opposite sex cohabiting relationships to be registered. But registration is still not possible in South Australia, Western Australia or the Northern Territory (Australian Government, 2012b). This means that cohabiting individuals do not have access to equal rights across Australia. Introducing a registration of cohabiting relationships at a national level would both protect cohabiters who believe their relationship to be serious from the beginning, however who separate within 2 years, and would at the same time lead to fairer outcomes for cohabiters who separate after two years but do not want the obligations of marriage. While de-facto marriage status, regardless of whether the relationship has been registered, is appropriate when there are children involved or when substantial financial or non-financial investments were made within the relationship, the two year cut-off for cohabiting relationships to be considered

equivalent to marriage does not reflect the reality of the heterogeneity of cohabiting relationships in Australia.

Furthermore, under regulations and laws governing social security, entitlements to social security and family assistance are affected by whether an individual is considered to be a single person or partnered (Australian Government, 2012a). If an individual is considered to be partnered (a member of a couple), their social security payments and entitlements, for example their rate of pension, are generally lower, as the income and assets of their partner are assessable under income and assets tests. An individual under most circumstances is considered to be partnered from the time they commence living together (Australian Government, 2012a). Factors such as the financial and social aspects of the relationship, the nature of the household, the presence of a sexual relationship and the nature of the commitment are taken into account. Despite this, the research undertaken in this thesis indicates that cohabiting relationships are diverse, and treating cohabiting relationships equally and equivalent to marriage is not necessarily appropriate and may lead to substantial disadvantages for some groups. For example, reducing a single mother's access to social support because she lives with a cohabiting partner assumes that a marriage-like relationship exists. It assumes a sharing of economic resources between the couple, which may not necessarily be the case. Research has shown that cohabiters are less likely than married individuals to share financial resources, and less likely to be in more traditional bread-winner, home-maker relationships (Hamplova & Le Bourdais, 2009; Heimdal & Houseknecht, 2003; Stutzer & Frey, 2006; Treas & Widmer, 2000; Vogler, 2005). This research suggests that if partnership status is assessed for social security payments and entitlements, it is imperative that it is recognised that cohabiting relationships are diverse, and that they are not necessarily marriage-like. Not taking this into account may lead to disadvantages for cohabiting individuals.

Further Research

Given the findings from this study, there are a number of possible directions for further research. As noted under the limitations discussed above, the next stage would be to utilise couple-level data available in HILDA and look at gender more explicitly. Examining how intention to marry and prior marital history varies within a couple, and whether or not this influences outcomes, and the role of gender, would be of particular interest. For example, if intention to marry differs within couples, is it more consequential for outcomes

if women plan to marry but their male partners do not? Further, how does couple disagreement on intention to marry affect happiness outcomes and are the outcomes different if men intend to marry but women do not?

Furthermore, given the second policy implication discussed above, examining how cohabiting couples share financial resources and income, and whether or not this impacts on relationship outcomes, would provide valuable insight into the dynamics of cohabiting relationships and the implications that decisions regarding financial matters may have. In particular, it would be interesting to investigate if various forms of money management is associated with levels of commitment within relationships. There is currently no Australian research on either of these dimensions of cohabiting relationships.

At a broader, international level, it would be useful to examine whether the cohabitation typology is relevant for the situations in other countries, or whether other kinds of typologies are more meaningful in other country contexts. For example, in Sweden, where cohabitation is more institutionalised, other kinds of typologies may be needed. Examining if the cohabitation typology, as defined in this thesis, is valid in other cultural contexts is important, as employing it may be a particularly effective way of not only taking the heterogeneity of cohabiters into account, but it may also allow studies from different countries and using data from different points in time to be more comparable. As such, if valid in an international context, employing the cohabitation typology could possibly provide a means of more meaningful comparisons across countries.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while the rise in cohabitation will continue to influence both pathways to union formation and the context in which union formation decisions are made, this research has indicated that it is not necessarily relationship status per se that is important, but rather individual characteristics, such as relationships satisfaction, a cohabiter's intention to marry and previous marital history, have a greater influence on relationship choices, pathways and outcomes. Overall, cohabitation is a relatively new, but increasingly prominent relationship status, and its increasing popularity reflects a shift in the norms, practices and values associated with union and family formation, and increasing choices that adults have in relation to intimate partnership formation. This

thesis contributes to greater understanding of the characteristics of individuals choosing different relationship pathways and the outcomes of these pathways for future relationships and happiness.

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Appendix 1: Descriptive Statistics: How do Cohabitors Differ?

Descriptive Statistics: How do Cohabitors Differ?

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a thorough account of the descriptive statistics of each of the relationship status groups. The descriptive statistics are based on data from Wave 1 of HILDA. The first section examines differences between cohabiters and all groups, including those not in a relationship. The second section focuses on comparisons between respondents who are in a live-in relationship with a partner including married people and those in each group of the cohabiting typology. Overall, the purpose of splitting the analyses in such a way is twofold: it allows cohabiting people to be compared to other marital statuses as an entire group, and it allows characteristics that are unique to partnered people to be investigated.

All Respondents

Descriptive statistics for the marital status categories at Wave 1 are presented in Table 2. It is clear that married is by far the most common relationship status in this sample (57.2%), followed by single (18.6%) and separated, divorced or widowed (14.1%), while cohabiting is the least common relationship type comprising 10.2 percent of the overall sample. The gender distribution within categories indicates that there are substantial differences between the proportion of men and women who are separated, divorced or widowed and single in HILDA. The separated, divorced or widowed category is more likely to be comprised of women (68.3%), while married and cohabiting have roughly equal numbers of men and women (51.4% and 52.1% women respectively). The single group comprises a lower proportion of women, at 45.3 percent. These proportions are roughly in line with the ABS 2001 Census of Population and Housing indicating that wave 1 of HILDA is comparable to the broader population of Australia (ABS 2001). The higher numbers of separated, divorced or widowed women and fewer never married (single) women, supports research that finds that separated, divorced or widowed men are more likely to re-partner (Guzzo, 2006:338), and if they do, they are more likely to re-partner with a never married woman. Furthermore, women have a longer life expectancy, so are more likely than men to be widowed in the later stages of life. The average age of each marital status group also varies substantially; separated, divorced or widowed are by far the oldest (57 years), followed by married (48 years), cohabiting (35 years), and single (29 years). The relationship between marital status, age and gender is graphically displayed in Figure 1. Overall, these results suggest that there are both gender and age patterns in movement through different marital statuses.

In 2001 an estimated 23 percent of Australia's resident population was born overseas (ABS 2003:91), but the HILDA sample has a slightly higher proportion of people born overseas (26.24%),

indicating divergence from a representative sample. The summary statistics for region of birth indicate that people who are not born in Australia are more likely to be married, while single people are more likely to be Australian born. Cohabiting people are the least likely to be born in a non-English speaking country, suggesting that this groups is less likely to be cohabiting and more likely to be married. The age structures of migrants to Australia are markedly different from those of Australian born residents (ABS 2010:47). People born in Australia dominate the younger age groups, with proportions of overseas-born persons increasing with age. This is likely a result of few young families migrating to Australia (ABS 2010:47), and explains why single people, a status that is generally associated with youth, are more likely to be born in Australia. Furthermore, the data indicate that there are very different trends for those born in the main-English speaking countries and those born in the “other” category. The three largest groups of non-English speaking overseas-born residents are from Italy, China, Vietnam, India and the former Yugoslav Republics (ABS 2003:91-93), countries which tend to have conservative traditions toward marriage and cohabitation. This explains why these groups are more likely to be married and less likely to be cohabiting. Indigenous people are more likely to be cohabiting than in any other marital status. Indigenous people have different cultural understandings of marriage to the wider population of Australia and face structural inequalities, which result in higher rates of consensual partnering and lower rates of legal marriage. The findings for region of birth and Indigenous people are in line with existing research (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004).

There are strong associations between marital status, fertility and parity. While cohabiting people are substantially more likely to have had a child than single people (53.5% compared to 13.2%), their fertility rate is substantially lower than that of people who have been married (about 90% of both married and separated, divorced or widowed have had a child). It follows from this that cohabiting and single people are much more likely to expect to have a child in the future (47.5% and 62.0% respectively) compared to married and separated, divorced or widowed people (14.4% and 6.0% respectively).

Rates of parental divorce vary substantially between the groups; cohabiting people are the most likely to have divorced parents (30.2%), followed by single (25.8%), separated, divorced or widowed (17.5%), while married has the lowest rate (14.4%). These indicators are very interesting, as increasing rates of divorce over the last 30 years (Hewitt, Baxter, & Western, 2005), would suggest that the younger groups would have higher rates of parental divorce, something which these trends do not show. The cohabiting group is more likely than the single group to have divorced parents, despite being on average older, and the separated, divorced or widowed group is more likely to have divorced parents compared to the married group. These findings point to an

association between parental marriage break-down and an increased risk of divorce or cohabitation which has been found in previous research (Amato, 1996; Hewitt, et al., 2005).

The cohabiting and single groups are the least likely to report the poor health (17.7% and 18.0% respectively); married people report a slightly higher level (19.9%), while 28 percent of separated, divorced or widowed people report poor health. The finding that separated, divorced or widowed people have the lowest level of health is common in existing literature (Waite, 1995). These are, however, only descriptive characteristics and are likely to be strongly linked to the age differences between the categories. Separated, divorced or widowed is the oldest group, and so it is expected that this group will experience the poorest average health.

In regard to socio-economic characteristics, the average household income of cohabiting people is the highest, at \$1101 per week, followed by married (\$978 per week), single (\$960 per week) and separated, divorced or widowed (\$375.5 per week). The low household income of the separated, divorced or widowed group is likely to reflect their greater likelihood of living in a single person household, while the comparatively high household income of the single group may reflect a large portion of this group living at home with their parents. However, cohabiting and single people are the least likely to own their own home (roughly 55% of both groups), while 66 percent of separated, divorced or widowed and 86 percent of married people own their own home. It is interesting that cohabiting people are the least likely to own their own home despite having a comparatively high average income. As with having children, it appears that the groups that have been married are the most likely to own their own home. While this suggests that purchasing a home is more likely to be achieved within marriage than within cohabitation or while single, and that married people make decisions and commitments for longer term compared to cohabiters, it may also be that these associations are a reflection of the groups' different life stages. This will be investigated further in Chapter 5.

Average years of schooling is very similar for all the groups with the exception of separated, divorced or widowed which has the lowest average years of schooling (11.7 years compared to 12.2-12.4 years for the other groups). Again separated, divorced or widowed is the only group that has a substantially lower percentage of people who hold a degree, 12 percent compared to roughly 20 percent for the other groups. This is likely to reflect cohort effects, as half of the separated, divorced or widowed group is older than 56 years (median, data not shown), and people of this generation are less likely to have finished high school and to have achieved postsecondary education. People who are separated, divorced or widowed are also the most likely to not work for

pay, 60 percent compared to 37 percent amongst married, and 30 percent (single) and 25 percent (cohabiting). This is likely to reflect the fact that a large proportion of the separated, divorced or widowed category are retired. Amongst those who are employed, the cohabiting group works the longest hours with an average of 40.3 hours per week, while the married group works 39.4 hours, and the separated, divorced or widowed group works 37.7 hours. Those who are single spend the least time in paid work with an average of 35.7 hours per week. Married people have by far the highest level of financial satisfaction with a score of 6.5 out of 10 (with 10 representing a high level of satisfaction), followed by cohabiting (5.8), separated, divorced or widowed (5.7) and single (5.5). These are interesting findings, and the analyses in Chapter 5 will investigate these associations further.

There are substantial differences between the marital status groups in regard to attitudinal characteristics. Cohabiting people have a substantially lower average level of religiosity compared to all other groups. On a scale of 0 representing 'religion is one of the least important things' to 10 'religion is the most important thing', the cohabiting group receive a score of 3.0, while those who are single receive 4.1. Married respondents, and those who are separated, divorced or widowed receive a score of 5.1 and 5.4 respectively. This indicates that religiosity varies substantially by marital status, and that cohabiting people have by far the lowest level of religiosity. Gender role attitudes also vary by marital status. Cohabiting people report the most liberal gender role attitudes, followed by single people. Those who are married and separated, divorced or widowed are the most conservative in this respect. While the cohabiting group has a lower level of life satisfaction compared to those who are married (7.9 and 8.2 points respectively on a scale of 0-10, with 10 representing a high level of life satisfaction), they have a higher level of satisfaction compared to single and separated, divorced or widowed (both 7.6 points). All of these factors are also closely related to age with older people more religious and more conservative in terms of gender role attitudes (van Egmond, Baxter, Buchler, & Western, 2010). These factors are further investigated in Chapter 5.

These descriptive results have highlighted some interesting differences between the marital status groups. But the results so far, do not control for covariates. Some of the differences between the marital statuses may be a function of substantially different average ages or parity or religiosity between the groups. Chapter 5 investigates this further, by employing multinomial models which control for the varying characteristics of the marital status groups.

Partnered Respondents in Live-In Relationships

To compare how the cohabitation typology groups compare to one another and to people in marital relationships Table 3 presents similar descriptive statistics to those discussed above for partnered respondents in a live-in relationship. The tables distinguish those who are in their first, or a higher order marriage, and each of the groups in the cohabitation typology. Respondents in a first marriage comprise 73.2 percent of all partnered people and are by far the largest group; people in a higher order marriage comprise 11.7 percent of the partnered sample, while premarital cohabiters comprise 6.1 percent, non-marital cohabiters comprise 4.1 percent, post-marital cohabiters comprise 2.9 percent and remarriage cohabiters comprise 2.1 percent. While the percentage of each cohabiting group is relatively low, the number of observations in each category is large enough for meaningful analyses of relationship and wellbeing outcomes for these groups. Of the cohabiting groups, the largest is premarital cohabiters who are never married and intending to marry, this group comprises 40.3 percent of all cohabiters (total number of cohabiters is 1335). If we include cohabiters who have been married (and intend to marry), the total increases to 54.2 percent, indicating that roughly half of cohabiters intend to marry, with just under half not intending to marry at all. While cohabitation is often described as a 'trial marriage' these figures indicate that this is not the case for nearly half of cohabiters. Of married respondents, only 13.8 percent are in a second or higher order marriage, indicating that the vast majority are in their first marriage.

Women comprise around 50 percent of all the couple groups except for those in post-marital and remarriage relationships, where they comprise 61.4 percent and 44.3 percent respectively. This suggests that in the cohabiting groups that have been married previously, women are less likely to intend to remarry, while men are more likely to intend to remarry. As noted above, it is a common finding that men are more likely to remarry after divorce (Guzzo, 2006:388). The two cohabiting groups that have been previously married, post-marital and remarriage, are on average older (48 and 43 years, respectively) than the two that have not been married, premarital and non-marital (28 and 33 years, respectively). Within each group, the average age of those who intend to marry is roughly 5 years younger than the group that does not intend to marry. The average age of the first marriage group, at 48 years is the same as post-marital cohabiters, while those in a higher order marriage, at 52 years are older than all other groups. These findings highlight the strong association between age and marriage over the life-course.

The summary statistics for region of birth reveal similar trends to those found for the marital status categories, and indicate that people who are not born in Australia or an English speaking country (in the category 'other') are relatively unlikely to be cohabiting and are more likely to be in a first or higher order marriage. People who are born in a main English-speaking country are relatively

unlikely to be premarital cohabiters. However, they are more likely to be in any other group, especially the cohabiting groups who are previously married. This may reflect age, as the average age of Australian immigrants is older than Australians in general (ABS 2010:47). These associations will be further investigated in Chapter 5. Indigenous people are most likely to be non-marital and are relatively unlikely to be currently married or previously married. This reflects Aboriginal culture, where marriage is not practiced as it is in mainstream Australia (Dempsey & de Vaus, 2004:169).

The descriptive statistics for parity show that premarital cohabiters are the least likely to have a child (33.5 percent), followed by non-marital cohabiters (45.8 percent). This suggests that amongst cohabiters who have never been married there is an association between intention to marry and having a child. The percentage of people who have had children amongst the other groups does not vary substantially and lies between 83.2 percent for remarriage and 92.4 percent for higher order marriage. Reflecting these findings, premarital cohabiters are by far the most likely to expect to have a child in the future (79.9 percent), followed by non-marital cohabiters (37.7 percent); amongst the cohabiting groups that have been married, remarriage cohabiters are substantially more likely to intend to have children compared to post-marital cohabiters (24.5 percent compared to 8.7 percent). This further indicates that there is a strong association between fertility accomplishments and intentions and cohabitation type. Post-marital cohabiters, with 8.7 percent, are the only cohabiting group to have fertility intentions comparable to the two married groups, married (15.3 percent) and higher order marriage (8.9 percent).

Rates of parental divorce vary substantially between the groups; non-marital cohabiters have the highest rate at 37.5 percent, followed by premarital cohabiters (34.2 percent). All of the other groups have substantially lower rates of parental divorce, with remarriage cohabiters, higher order marriage cohabiters and post-marital cohabiters all reporting approximately the same rate (20.0 percent, 19.5 percent and 18.7 percent respectively). Those in a first marriage have the lowest rate of parental divorce at 13.6 percent. While this reflects research which finds an association between cohabitation, marital status and parental divorce (Amato, 1996; Hewitt, et al., 2005), these descriptive statistics do not take the differing mean ages of the marital status groups into account, something which will be looked at in depth in later chapters.

The descriptive statistics for poor health indicate that those in a higher order marriage (23.9 percent) and post-marital cohabiters (23.2 percent) are the most likely to report poor health. Remarriage cohabiters and respondents in a first marriage report similar levels of poor health (20.4

percent and 19.3 percent respectively), as do premarital and non-marital cohabiters (15.5 percent and 15.9 percent). While these findings are likely to reflect different age compositions of the groups, people in a first marriage and post-marital cohabiters report different levels of poor health, despite having the same average age. As discussed above, these associations will be further investigated in Chapter 5.

In regard to socio-economic characteristics, post-marital cohabiters have the highest average household income of \$1207 per week, followed by premarital cohabiters (\$1136), and remarriage cohabiters (\$1105); the average income then drops somewhat to \$990 per week for people in their first marriage, \$973 per week for non-marital cohabiters, and \$905 per week for people in a higher order marriage. Married people are the most likely to own their own home (86.7 percent of people in a first marriage and 83.2 percent of people in a higher order marriage), followed by the cohabiting groups that are previously married (72.2 percent of post-marital cohabiters and 69.7 percent of remarriage cohabiters), non-marital cohabiters (54.4 percent) and premarital cohabiters (42.2 percent).

The average years of schooling do not vary substantially between the groups; premarital cohabiters have the most schooling at 12.48 years, followed by non-marital cohabiters (12.40 years), married people (12.25 years), post-marital cohabiters (12.22 years), remarriage cohabiters (12.17 years). People in a higher order marriage have the lowest average years of schooling at 12.08 years. Non-marital cohabiters are the most likely to hold a degree (23.1 percent), while people in their first marriage, premarital and post-marital cohabiters are roughly equally likely to hold a degree (roughly 20 percent). People in a higher order marriage and remarriage cohabiters are the least likely to hold a degree (17.3 percent and 15.7 percent respectively).

Both of the married groups are more likely not to work for pay compared to the cohabiting groups. Amongst those who do work, there is not a great deal of variation, with all groups working on average between 38.2 (non-marital cohabiters) and 42.1 (remarriage cohabiters) hours per week. Married people are more satisfied with their financial situation compared to all of the cohabiting groups. These findings are likely to reflect both age and parenthood compositions of the groups.

The descriptive results for the attitudinal characteristics show a substantial amount of variation between the groups. While all of the cohabiting groups have a similar level of religiosity (roughly 3.2 on a 11-point scale), non-marital cohabiters have a substantially lower level (2.4). People in

their first marriage have the highest level of religiosity, followed by those in a higher order marriage (5.2 and 4.5 respectively). This indicates that there is a strong association between marital status and religiosity. Gender role attitudes show slightly different trends: on a 7-point scale, premarital and post-marital cohabiters are the most liberal, reporting 3.0 points, followed by remarriage (3.2 points) and post-marital (3.6 points). Married people are the most conservative (4.0 points for both of the married groups). Married people and remarriage cohabiters have the highest reported life satisfaction (roughly 8.2 on a 11-point scale), closely followed by premarital cohabiters (8.0 points). All other cohabiting groups report lower levels of life satisfaction. Married people, and the cohabiting groups that intend to marry, all have the same level of relationship satisfaction (8.8 on a 11-point scale), post-marital cohabiters report a substantially lower level (8.1 points), while non-marital cohabiters report by far the lowest level of relationship satisfaction, which at 7.8 points is an entire point below the most satisfied groups. Union length varies substantially between the groups; at 24 years it is the longest for people in their first marriage, followed by people in higher order marriage (13 years), post-marital cohabiters (8 years), non-marital cohabiters (7 years), and remarriage and premarital cohabiters (both 4 years).

Overall, the descriptive statistics indicate that there are clear differences between all of the groups that have been investigated. However, as discussed previously, it is expected that many of these differences are the product of the groups being in fundamentally different stages of the life course, or comprised of systematically dissimilar people, leading to inflated variation between the groups. This will be further investigated in Chapter 5.

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**Appendix 2: Multinomial Models for Relationship Status Categories, Alternating
Base Categories**

Table 1: Multinomial Model for Relationship Status Categories - Married Base Category

Variables	Base Model				Full Model			
	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single
Age	0.00	-0.07***	0.04***	-0.12***	0.00	-0.04***	0.05***	-0.07***
Female	0.00	0.00	0.80***	-0.42***	0.00	0.11*	0.95***	-0.27***
Religiosity	0.00	-0.13***	-0.02**	-0.02*	0.00	-0.12***	-0.02*	-0.02
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):								
Main English Speaking	0.00	0.34***	-0.13	-0.19	0.00	0.21	-0.22*	-0.36**
Non-English Speaking	0.00	-0.47***	-0.15	-0.32***	0.00	-0.66***	-0.42***	-0.87***
Indigenous	0.00	1.18***	1.06***	0.87***	0.00	1.09***	0.55*	1.15***
Years of Education					0.00	-0.05	0.04	-0.10**
Holds Degree					0.00	-0.02	-0.19	0.17
Household Income					0.00	-0.00*	-0.00***	-0.00***
Hours Worked					0.00	0.00	0.01***	-0.02***
Not in Labour Force					0.00	0.08	-0.24*	-0.12
Owns Own Home					0.00	-1.05***	-1.36***	-0.76***
Financial Satisfaction					0.00	-0.04*	-0.07***	-0.05**
Has had Child					0.00	-1.59***	-0.60***	-4.04***
Fertility Intentions					0.00	0.23*	-0.27*	-0.33**
Gender Role Attitudes					0.00	0.04	0.02	-0.00
Missing					0.00	0.47*	0.15	0.90***
Life Satisfaction					0.00	-0.04	-0.21***	-0.20***
Poor Health					0.00	0.04	-0.16*	0.01
Missing					0.00	-0.08	0.12	-0.31
Parental Divorce					0.00	0.33***	0.32***	0.10
Constant	0.00	1.60***	-3.80***	3.77***	0.00	3.04***	-0.92*	8.85***
Pseudo R-squared		0.1846				0.3381		
Wald chi2		1934.37 (df=18)				4449.52 (df=63)		
Prob > Chi 2		0.001				0.001		
Observations		13126				13126		

Standard error adjusted for 7,641 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 2: Multinomial Model for Relationship Status Categories - Cohabiting Base Category

Variables	Base Model				Full Model			
	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single
Age	0.07***	0.00	0.11***	-0.05***	0.04***	0.00	0.09***	-0.04***
Female	-0.00	0.00	0.79***	-0.43***	-0.11*	0.00	0.84***	-0.38***
Religiosity	0.13***	0.00	0.10***	0.11***	0.12***	0.00	0.10***	0.10***
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):								
Main English Speaking	-0.34***	0.00	-0.48***	-0.54***	-0.21	0.00	-0.42**	-0.57***
Non-English Speaking	0.47***	0.00	0.32*	0.15	0.66***	0.00	0.23	-0.22
Indigenous	-1.18***	0.00	-0.12	-0.31	-1.09***	0.00	-0.54*	0.06
Years of Education					0.05	0.00	0.09**	-0.05
Holds Degree					0.02	0.00	-0.17	0.19
Household Income					0.00*	0.00	-0.00***	-0.00***
Hours Worked					-0.00	0.00	0.01*	-0.02***
Not in Labour Force					-0.08	0.00	-0.31*	-0.20
Owns Own Home					1.05***	0.00	-0.31**	0.29**
Financial Satisfaction					0.04*	0.00	-0.03	-0.01
Has had Child					1.59***	0.00	0.99***	-2.45***
Fertility Intentions					-0.23*	0.00	-0.50**	-0.56***
Gender Role Attitudes					-0.04	0.00	-0.02	-0.04
Missing					-0.47*	0.00	-0.32	0.43
Life Satisfaction					0.04	0.00	-0.17***	-0.16***
Poor Health					-0.04	0.00	-0.20	-0.03
Missing					0.08	0.00	0.20	-0.23
Parental Divorce					-0.33***	0.00	-0.01	-0.23*
Constant	-1.60***	0.00	-5.40***	2.17***	-3.04***	0.00	-3.96***	5.81***
Pseudo R-squared		0.1846				0.3381		
Wald chi2		1934.37 (df=18)				4449.52 (df=63)		
Prob > Chi 2		0.001				0.001		
Observations		13126				13126		

Standard error adjusted for 7,641 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 3: Multinomial Model for Relationship Status Categories - Separated, Divorced or Widowed Base Category

Variables	Base Model				Full Model			
	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single
Age	-0.04***	-0.11***	0.00	-0.16***	-0.05***	-0.09***	0.00	-0.13***
Female	-0.80***	-0.79***	0.00	-1.22***	-0.95***	-0.84***	0.00	-1.22***
Religiosity	0.02**	-0.10***	0.00	0.00	0.02*	-0.10***	0.00	-0.00
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):								
Main English Speaking	0.13	0.48***	0.00	-0.06	0.22*	0.42**	0.00	-0.15
Non-English Speaking	0.15	-0.32*	0.00	-0.17	0.42***	-0.23	0.00	-0.45**
Indigenous	-1.06***	0.12	0.00	-0.19	-0.55*	0.54*	0.00	0.60*
Years of Education					-0.04	-0.09**	0.00	-0.14***
Holds Degree					0.19	0.17	0.00	0.36
Household Income					0.00***	0.00***	0.00	0.00***
Hours Worked					-0.01***	-0.01*	0.00	-0.03***
Not in Labour Force					0.24*	0.31*	0.00	0.12
Owns Own Home					1.36***	0.31**	0.00	0.60***
Financial Satisfaction					0.07***	0.03	0.00	0.02
Has had Child					0.60***	-0.99***	0.00	-3.44***
Fertility Intentions					0.27*	0.50**	0.00	-0.06
Gender Role Attitudes					-0.02	0.02	0.00	-0.02
Missing					-0.15	0.32	0.00	0.75**
Life Satisfaction					0.21***	0.17***	0.00	0.01
Poor Health					0.16*	0.20	0.00	0.16
Missing					-0.12	-0.20	0.00	-0.43
Parental Divorce					-0.32***	0.01	0.00	-0.22*
Constant	3.80***	5.40***	0.00	7.57***	0.92*	3.96***	0.00	9.77***
Pseudo R-squared		0.1846				0.3381		
Wald chi2		1934.37 (df=18)				4449.52 (df=63)		
Prob > Chi 2		0.001				0.001		
Observations		13126				13126		

Standard error adjusted for 7,641 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 4: Multinomial Model for Relationship Status Categories - Single Base Category

Variables	Base Model				Full Model			
	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single	Married	Cohabiting	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	Single
Age	0.12***	0.05***	0.16***	0.00	0.07***	0.04***	0.13***	0.00
Female	0.42***	0.43***	1.22***	0.00	0.27***	0.38***	1.22***	0.00
Religiosity	0.02*	-0.11***	-0.00	0.00	0.02	-0.10***	0.00	0.00
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):								
Main English Speaking	0.19	0.54***	0.06	0.00	0.36**	0.57***	0.15	0.00
Non-English Speaking	0.32***	-0.15	0.17	0.00	0.87***	0.22	0.45**	0.00
Indigenous	-0.87***	0.31	0.19	0.00	-1.15***	-0.06	-0.60*	0.00
Years of Education					0.10**	0.05	0.14***	0.00
Holds Degree					-0.17	-0.19	-0.36	0.00
Household Income					0.00***	0.00***	-0.00***	0.00
Hours Worked					0.02***	0.02***	0.03***	0.00
Not in Labour Force					0.12	0.20	-0.12	0.00
Owns Own Home					0.76***	-0.29**	-0.60***	0.00
Financial Satisfaction					0.05**	0.01	-0.02	0.00
Has had Child					4.04***	2.45***	3.44***	0.00
Fertility Intentions					0.33**	0.56***	0.06	0.00
Gender Role Attitudes					0.00	0.04	0.02	0.00
Missing					-0.90***	-0.43	-0.75**	0.00
Life Satisfaction					0.20***	0.16***	-0.01	0.00
Poor Health					-0.01	0.03	-0.16	0.00
Missing					0.31	0.23	0.43	0.00
Parental Divorce					-0.10	0.23*	0.22*	0.00
Constant	-3.77***	-2.17***	-7.57***	0.00	-8.85***	-5.81***	-9.77***	0.00
Pseudo R-squared		0.1846				0.3381		
Wald chi2		1934.37 (df=18)				4449.52 (df=63)		
Prob > Chi 2		0.001				0.001		
Observations		13126				13126		

Standard error adjusted for 7,641 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Appendix 3: Multinomial Models for Cohabitation Typology, Alternating Base Categories

Table 1: Multinomial model for Cohabitation Typology - First Marriage Base Category

Variables	Base Model						Full Model					
	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabiters	Non-marital Cohabiters	Post-marital Cohabiters	Remarriage Cohabiters	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabiters	Non-marital Cohabiters	Post-marital Cohabiters	Remarriage Cohabiters
Age	0.00	0.02***	-0.23***	-0.12***	0.01	-0.02***	0.00	0.27***	-0.08***	-0.02	0.29***	0.25***
Female	0.00	0.10	-0.38***	-0.14	0.62***	-0.22	0.00	0.98***	-0.11	-0.15	1.73***	0.76***
Religiosity	0.00	-0.07***	-0.11***	-0.21***	-0.18***	-0.13***	0.00	-0.03	-0.10***	-0.17***	-0.14***	-0.10***
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):												
Main English Speaking	0.00	0.41***	0.30	0.56**	0.61***	0.40	0.00	0.26*	0.01	0.23	0.38	0.25
Non-English Speaking	0.00	0.07	-0.43*	-0.23	-0.10	-0.42	0.00	-0.17	-0.73**	-0.63*	-0.40	-0.63
Indigenous	0.00	0.19	0.90*	1.82***	0.52	0.93	0.00	-0.98	0.85*	1.80***	-0.49	-0.34
Years of Education							0.00	-0.08*	-0.08	-0.11*	-0.08	-0.05
Holds Degree							0.00	-0.34	-0.03	0.41	-0.58	-0.77*
Household Income							0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00**	0.00	0.00
Hours Worked							0.00	0.01**	0.01	-0.01	0.02***	0.02*
Not in Labour Force							0.00	0.22	0.30	0.05	0.22	0.40
Owns Own Home							0.00	-0.42**	-1.05***	-0.75***	-1.04***	-0.76***
Financial Satisfaction							0.00	-0.01	-0.03	-0.02	0.03	-0.03
Has had Child							0.00	1.48***	-1.28***	-1.91***	0.97***	1.11***
Fertility Intentions							0.00	-0.30	0.52**	-0.96***	-0.73**	-0.18
Gender Role Attitudes							0.00	0.02	-0.00	0.03	0.02	0.10*
Missing							0.00	-0.13	-0.18	0.36	0.43	1.14*
Life Satisfaction							0.00	0.01	0.04	-0.06	-0.08	0.03
Poor Health							0.00	0.29*	0.10	-0.20	0.32	0.25
Missing							0.00	-0.08	0.43	0.07	0.01	-0.47
Relationship Satisfaction							0.00	0.04	-0.06	-0.25***	-0.13**	0.03
Missing							0.00	0.56	-0.74	-1.80**	-1.40*	-0.32
Parental Divorce							0.00	0.47***	0.37**	0.56***	0.10	0.05
Union Length							0.00	-0.28***	-0.10***	-0.09***	-0.36***	-0.45***
Constant	0.00	-2.71***	6.21***	2.49***	-3.34***	-1.86***	0.00	-10.74***	4.34***	6.24***	-9.90***	-10.05***
Pseudo R-squared			0.1461						0.4193			
Wald chi2			1083.07 (df=30)						2784.38 (df=120)			
Prob > Chi 2			0.0001						0.0001			
Observations			8830						8830			

Standard error adjusted for 4693 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 2: Multinomial model for Cohabitation Typology - Higher Order Marriage Base Category

Variables	Base Model						Full Model					
	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors
Age	-0.02***	0.00	-0.25***	-0.14***	-0.01**	-0.04***	-0.27***	0.00	-0.35***	-0.29***	0.02*	-0.02
Female	-0.10	0.00	-0.48***	-0.24*	0.52***	-0.32**	-0.98***	0.00	-1.09***	-1.13***	0.76***	-0.22
Religiosity	0.07***	0.00	-0.04*	-0.14***	-0.11***	-0.07**	0.03	0.00	-0.07**	-0.14***	-0.11***	-0.08**
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):												
Main English Speaking	-0.41***	0.00	-0.11	0.15	0.20	-0.01	-0.26*	0.00	-0.25	-0.03	0.12	-0.01
Non-English Speaking	-0.07	0.00	-0.51*	-0.31	-0.17	-0.50	0.17	0.00	-0.56*	-0.46	-0.23	-0.47
Indigenous	-0.19	0.00	0.71	1.63***	0.33	0.74	0.98	0.00	1.83**	2.78***	0.49	0.64
Years of Education							0.08*	0.00	-0.00	-0.03	-0.00	0.02
Holds Degree							0.34	0.00	0.31	0.75*	-0.24	-0.43
Household Income							-0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00**	0.00	0.00
Hours Worked							-0.01**	0.00	-0.01	-0.02**	0.01	0.00
Not in Labour Force							-0.22	0.00	0.08	-0.17	0.00	0.18
Owns Own Home							0.42**	0.00	-0.63**	-0.33	-0.62**	-0.34
Financial Satisfaction							0.01	0.00	-0.02	-0.02	0.03	-0.02
Has had Child							-1.48***	0.00	-2.76***	-3.39***	-0.52*	-0.37
Fertility Intentions							0.30	0.00	0.83***	-0.66**	-0.42	0.12
Gender Role Attitudes							-0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.00	0.07
Missing							0.13	0.00	-0.04	0.49	0.57	1.28**
Life Satisfaction							-0.01	0.00	0.03	-0.07	-0.08	0.02
Poor Health							-0.29*	0.00	-0.19	-0.49*	0.03	-0.04
Missing							0.08	0.00	0.51	0.15	0.09	-0.39
Relationship Satisfaction							-0.04	0.00	-0.10*	-0.29***	-0.16***	-0.01
Missing							-0.56	0.00	-1.30	-2.36**	-1.96**	-0.88
Parental Divorce							-0.47***	0.00	-0.11	0.09	-0.37	-0.43*
Union Length							0.28***	0.00	0.18***	0.19***	-0.08***	-0.16***
Constant	2.71***	0.00	8.92***	5.20***	-0.63*	0.86**	10.74***	0.00	15.09***	16.99***	0.85	0.69
Pseudo R-squared			0.1461						0.4193			
Wald chi2			1083.07 (df=30)						2784.38 (df=120)			
Prob > Chi 2			0.0001						0.0001			
Observations			8830						8830			

Standard error adjusted for 4693 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 3: Multinomial model for Cohabitation Typology - Premarital Cohabitors Base Category

Variables	Base Model						Full Model					
	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors
Age	0.23***	0.25***	0.00	0.11***	0.24***	0.21***	0.08***	0.35***	0.00	0.06**	0.37***	0.33***
Female	0.38***	0.48***	0.00	0.24*	1.00***	0.16	0.11	1.09***	0.00	-0.04	1.85***	0.87***
Religiosity	0.11***	0.04*	0.00	-0.10***	-0.07*	-0.02	0.10***	0.07**	0.00	-0.07**	-0.04	-0.00
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):												
Main English Speaking	-0.30	0.11	0.00	0.26	0.31	0.10	-0.01	0.25	0.00	0.22	0.37	0.24
Non-English Speaking	0.43*	0.51*	0.00	0.20	0.34	0.01	0.73**	0.56*	0.00	0.10	0.33	0.10
Indigenous	-0.90*	-0.71	0.00	0.92**	-0.38	0.03	-0.85*	-1.83**	0.00	0.95**	-1.33	-1.19
Years of Education							0.08	0.00	0.00	-0.03	-0.00	0.03
Holds Degree							0.03	-0.31	0.00	0.43	-0.55	-0.74
Household Income							0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00*	0.00
Hours Worked							-0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.01*	0.02*	0.01
Not in Labour Force							-0.30	-0.08	0.00	-0.25	-0.08	0.10
Owns Own Home							1.05***	0.63**	0.00	0.30	0.01	0.28
Financial Satisfaction							0.03	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.06	0.00
Has had Child							1.28***	2.76***	0.00	-0.63**	2.25***	2.39***
Fertility Intentions							-0.52**	-0.83***	0.00	-1.49***	-1.25***	-0.71**
Gender Role Attitudes							0.00	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.03	0.10
Missing							0.18	0.04	0.00	0.53	0.61	1.32
Life Satisfaction							-0.04	-0.03	0.00	-0.10	-0.11	-0.01
Poor Health							-0.10	0.19	0.00	-0.30	0.22	0.15
Missing							-0.43	-0.51	0.00	-0.36	-0.42	-0.90
Relationship Satisfaction							0.06	0.10*	0.00	-0.19***	-0.06	0.09
Missing							0.74	1.30	0.00	-1.05	-0.66	0.43
Parental Divorce							-0.37**	0.11	0.00	0.20	-0.26	-0.32
Union Length							0.10***	-0.18***	0.00	0.01	-0.26***	-0.34***
Constant	-6.21***	-8.92***	0.00	-3.72***	-9.55***	-8.06***	-4.34***	-15.09***	0.00	1.90	-14.24***	-14.40***
Pseudo R-squared			0.1461						0.4193			
Wald chi2			1083.07 (df=30)						2784.38 (df=120)			
Prob > Chi 2			0.0001						0.0001			
Observations			8830						8830			

Standard error adjusted for 4693 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 4: Multinomial model for Cohabitation Typology - Non-marital Cohabitors Base Category

Variables	Base Model						Full Model					
	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors
Age	0.12***	0.14***	-0.11***	0.00	0.13***	0.10***	0.02	0.29***	-0.06**	0.00	0.31***	0.27***
Female	0.14	0.24*	-0.24*	0.00	0.76***	-0.08	0.15	1.13***	0.04	0.00	1.89***	0.91***
Religiosity	0.21***	0.14***	0.10***	0.00	0.03	0.07*	0.17***	0.14***	0.07**	0.00	0.03	0.07
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):												
Main English Speaking	-0.56**	-0.15	-0.26	0.00	0.05	-0.16	-0.23	0.03	-0.22	0.00	0.14	0.02
Non-English Speaking	0.23	0.31	-0.20	0.00	0.13	-0.19	0.63*	0.46	-0.10	0.00	0.23	-0.00
Indigenous	-1.82***	-1.63***	-0.92**	0.00	-1.30*	-0.89	-1.80***	-2.78***	-0.95**	0.00	-2.28**	-2.14**
Years of Education							0.11*	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.06
Holds Degree							-0.41	-0.75*	-0.43	0.00	-0.98*	-1.18**
Household Income							0.00**	0.00**	0.00	0.00	0.00***	0.00**
Hours Worked							0.01	0.02**	0.01*	0.00	0.03***	0.02**
Not in Labour Force							-0.05	0.17	0.25	0.00	0.17	0.35
Owns Own Home							0.75***	0.33	-0.30	0.00	-0.29	-0.01
Financial Satisfaction							0.02	0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.05	-0.00
Has had Child							1.91***	3.39***	0.63**	0.00	2.88***	3.02***
Fertility Intentions							0.96***	0.66**	1.49***	0.00	0.23	0.78**
Gender Role Attitudes							-0.03	-0.01	-0.04	0.00	-0.01	0.06
Missing							-0.36	-0.49	-0.53	0.00	0.07	0.79
Life Satisfaction							0.06	0.07	0.10	0.00	-0.02	0.09
Poor Health							0.20	0.49*	0.30	0.00	0.52	0.46
Missing							-0.07	-0.15	0.36	0.00	-0.06	-0.54
Relationship Satisfaction							0.25***	0.29***	0.19***	0.00	0.13*	0.28***
Missing							1.80**	2.36**	1.05	0.00	0.40	1.48
Parental Divorce							-0.56***	-0.09	-0.20	0.00	-0.46	-0.51*
Union Length							0.09***	-0.19***	-0.01	0.00	-0.27***	-0.35***
Constant	-2.49***	-5.20***	3.72***	0.00	-5.83***	-4.35***	-6.24***	-16.99***	-1.90	0.00	-16.14***	-16.30***
Pseudo R-squared			0.1461						0.4193			
Wald chi2			1083.07 (df=30)						2784.38 (df=120)			
Prob > Chi 2			0.0001						0.0001			
Observations			8830						8830			

Standard error adjusted for 4693 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 5: Multinomial model for Cohabitation Typology - Post-marital cohabiters Base Category

Variables	Base Model						Full Model					
	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors
Age	-0.01	0.01**	-0.24***	-0.13***	0.00	-0.03***	-0.29***	-0.02*	-0.37***	-0.31***	0.00	-0.04**
Female	-0.62***	-0.52***	-1.00***	-0.76***	0.00	-0.84***	-1.73***	-0.76***	-1.85***	-1.89***	0.00	-0.98***
Religiosity	0.18***	0.11***	0.07*	-0.03	0.00	0.04	0.14***	0.11***	0.04	-0.03	0.00	0.04
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):												
Main English Speaking	-0.61***	-0.20	-0.31	-0.05	0.00	-0.21	-0.38	-0.12	-0.37	-0.14	0.00	-0.12
Non-English Speaking	0.10	0.17	-0.34	-0.13	0.00	-0.33	0.40	0.23	-0.33	-0.23	0.00	-0.24
Indigenous	-0.52	-0.33	0.38	1.30*	0.00	0.41	0.49	-0.49	1.33	2.28**	0.00	0.15
Years of Education							0.08	0.00	0.00	-0.03	0.00	0.03
Holds Degree							0.58	0.24	0.55	0.98*	0.00	-0.19
Household Income							-0.00	-0.00	-0.00*	-0.00***	0.00	-0.00
Hours Worked							-0.02***	-0.01	-0.02*	-0.03***	0.00	-0.01
Not in Labour Force							-0.22	-0.00	0.08	-0.17	0.00	0.18
Owns Own Home							1.04***	0.62**	-0.01	0.29	0.00	0.28
Financial Satisfaction							-0.03	-0.03	-0.06	-0.05	0.00	-0.05
Has had Child							-0.97***	0.52*	-2.25***	-2.88***	0.00	0.15
Fertility Intentions							0.73**	0.42	1.25***	-0.23	0.00	0.55
Gender Role Attitudes							-0.02	-0.00	-0.03	0.01	0.00	0.07
Missing							-0.43	-0.57	-0.61	-0.07	0.00	0.71
Life Satisfaction							0.08	0.08	0.11	0.02	0.00	0.11
Poor Health							-0.32	-0.03	-0.22	-0.52	0.00	-0.07
Missing							-0.01	-0.09	0.42	0.06	0.00	-0.48
Relationship Satisfaction							0.13**	0.16***	0.06	-0.13*	0.00	0.16*
Missing							1.40*	1.96**	0.66	-0.40	0.00	1.08
Parental Divorce							-0.10	0.37	0.26	0.46	0.00	-0.06
Union Length							0.36***	0.08***	0.26***	0.27***	0.00	-0.09***
Constant	3.34***	0.63*	9.55***	5.83***	0.00	1.48***	9.90***	-0.85	14.24***	16.14***	0.00	-0.16
Pseudo R-squared			0.1461						0.4193			
Wald chi2			1083.07 (df=30)						2784.38 (df=120)			
Prob > Chi 2			0.0001						0.0001			
Observations			8830						8830			

Standard error adjusted for 4693 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 6: Multinomial model for Cohabitation Typology - Remarriage Cohabitors Base Category

Variables	Base Model						Full Model					
	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors	First Marriage	Higher Order Marriage	Premarital Cohabitors	Non-marital Cohabitors	Post-marital Cohabitors	Remarriage Cohabitors
Age	0.02***	0.04***	-0.21***	-0.10***	0.03***	0.00	-0.25***	0.02	-0.33***	-0.27***	0.04**	0.00
Female	0.22	0.32**	-0.16	0.08	0.84***	0.00	-0.76***	0.22	-0.87***	-0.91***	0.98***	0.00
Religiosity	0.13***	0.07**	0.02	-0.07*	-0.04	0.00	0.10***	0.08**	0.00	-0.07	-0.04	0.00
Region of Birth (ref: Australia):												
Main English Speaking	-0.40	0.01	-0.10	0.16	0.21	0.00	-0.25	0.01	-0.24	-0.02	0.12	0.00
Non-English Speaking	0.42	0.50	-0.01	0.19	0.33	0.00	0.63	0.47	-0.10	0.00	0.24	0.00
Indigenous	-0.93	-0.74	-0.03	0.89	-0.41	0.00	0.34	-0.64	1.19	2.14**	-0.15	0.00
Years of Education							0.05	-0.02	-0.03	-0.06	-0.03	0.00
Holds Degree							0.77*	0.43	0.74	1.18**	0.19	0.00
Household Income							-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00**	0.00	0.00
Hours Worked							-0.02*	-0.00	-0.01	-0.02**	0.01	0.00
Not in Labour Force							-0.40	-0.18	-0.10	-0.35	-0.18	0.00
Owns Own Home							0.76***	0.34	-0.28	0.01	-0.28	0.00
Financial Satisfaction							0.03	0.02	-0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00
Has had Child							-1.11***	0.37	-2.39***	-3.02***	-0.15	0.00
Fertility Intentions							0.18	-0.12	0.71**	-0.78**	-0.55	0.00
Gender Role Attitudes							-0.10*	-0.07	-0.10	-0.06	-0.07	0.00
Missing							-1.14*	-1.28**	-1.32	-0.79	-0.71	0.00
Life Satisfaction							-0.03	-0.02	0.01	-0.09	-0.11	0.00
Poor Health							-0.25	0.04	-0.15	-0.46	0.07	0.00
Missing							0.47	0.39	0.90	0.54	0.48	0.00
Relationship Satisfaction							-0.03	0.01	-0.09	-0.28***	-0.16*	0.00
Missing							0.32	0.88	-0.43	-1.48	-1.08	0.00
Parental Divorce							-0.05	0.43*	0.32	0.51*	0.06	0.00
Union Length							0.45***	0.16***	0.34***	0.35***	0.09***	0.00
Constant	1.86***	-0.86**	8.06***	4.35***	-1.48***	0.00	10.05***	-0.69	14.40***	16.30***	0.16	0.00
Pseudo R-squared			0.1461						0.4193			
Wald chi2			1083.07 (df=30)						2784.38 (df=120)			
Prob > Chi 2			0.0001						0.0001			
Observations			8830						8830			

Standard error adjusted for 4693 clusters; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Appendix 4: Additional Analysis for Gender Role Attitudes/Religiosity and Years of Education/Degree for Relationship Status

Table 1: Coefficients and Significant Associations for Years of Education when Degree is not included in the Full Model for Relationship status

	Married	Cohabiting	Separated	Single
Married	0	-0.051*	0.020	-0.071***
Cohabiting		0	0.071**	-0.019
Separated			0	-0.091***
Single				0

Table 2: Coefficients and Significant Associations for Degree when Years of Education is not included in the Full Model for Relationship status

	Married	Cohabiting	Separated	Single
Married	0	-0.20*	-0.0035	-0.19
Cohabiting		0	0.20	0.011
Separated			0	-0.19
Single				0

Table 3: Coefficients and Significant Associations for Religiosity when Gender role Attitudes is not included in the Full Model for Relationship status

	Married	Cohabiting	Separated	Single
Married	0	-0.13***	-0.019*	-0.020
Cohabiting		0	0.11***	0.11***
Separated			0	-0.00059
Single				0

Table 4: Coefficients and Significant Associations for Gender role Attitudes when Religiosity is not included in the Full Model for Relationship status

	Married	Cohabiting	Separated	Single
Married	0	-0.067**	-0.020	-0.0021
Cohabiting		0	0.047	0.065**
Separated			0	0.018
Single				0

Appendix 5: Additional Analysis for Gender Role Attitudes/Religiosity and Years of Education/Degree for Cohabitation Typology

Table 1: Coefficients and Significant Associations for Years of Education when Degree is not included in the Full Model for the Cohabitation Typology

	1stMarriage	HoMarriage	Premarital	Nonmarital	Postmarital	Remarriage
1stMarriage	0	-0.13***	-0.082*	-0.052	-0.17***	-0.16***
HoMarriage		0	0.045	0.075	-0.041	-0.035
Premarital			0	0.030	-0.086	-0.080
Nonmarital				0	-0.12*	-0.11
Postmarital					0	0.0052
remarriage						0

Table 2: Coefficients and Significant Associations for Degree when Years of Education is not included in the Full Model for the Cohabitation Typology

	1stMarriage	HoMarriage	Premarital	Nonmarital	Postmarital	Remarriage
1stMarriage	0	-0.65***	-0.30	0.0029	-0.90***	-0.98***
HoMarriage		0	0.35	0.65**	-0.26	-0.34
Premarital			0	0.30	-0.60*	-0.68*
Nonmarital				0	-0.91***	-0.98***
Postmarital					0	-0.079
remarriage						0

Appendix 6: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Single, Alternating Reference Categories

Table 1: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Single – First Marriage Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models												Full Model	
Relationship Status Categories																	
(ref: First Marriage):																	
Higher Order Marriage	0.41***	0.44***	0.30**	0.18	-0.15	0.30*	0.49*	0.28*	0.24	0.31**	0.53*	0.78***	0.56***	0.26	0.69	0.75	
Premarital Cohab.	1.30***	1.06***	0.69***	0.27	-0.52	1.02***	0.52*	0.69***	0.62***	0.65***	0.80**	0.84***	0.74***	0.22	1.75**	0.44	
Non-marital Cohab.	1.99***	1.85***	1.21***	0.78***	0.70**	1.64***	0.91***	1.20***	1.13***	1.24***	0.92**	1.45***	1.08***	0.84*	0.89 [†]	0.63	
Post-marital Cohab.	1.65***	1.64***	1.06***	0.86***	0.34	1.36***	0.84**	1.01***	0.52**	1.11***	1.54***	1.20***	1.27***	0.93*	0.67	0.27	
Remarriage Cohab.	1.02***	0.94***	0.57***	0.46*	-0.64	1.10***	0.41	0.58**	0.54*	0.51**	0.43	0.86***	0.49 [#]	0.55	-0.41	-0.73	
Female		0.12*	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)																	
Non-English Speaking		-0.03	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.08	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.06	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.10
Main English Speaking		-0.03	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
Indigenous		0.26	0.20	0.20	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.21	0.23
Has child		-0.00	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10	-0.10	-0.08
Age		-0.01***	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01**
Holds Degree		-0.48***	-0.20 [†]	-0.18	-0.21 [#]	-0.19 [†]	-0.20 [#]	-0.20 [†]	-0.19 [†]	-0.19 [†]	-0.20 [†]	-0.20 [†]	-0.21 [#]	-0.20 [#]	-0.19 [†]	-0.18	
Fertility Intentions			-0.03***	-0.10***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.08***	
Relationship Satisfaction			-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.33***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.33***	
Missing			-0.90***	-0.89***	-1.34***	-0.92***	-0.89***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.89***	-0.91***	-1.32***	
Union Length			-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.09***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***	
Union Length Squared			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	
Missing			0.01	0.01	0.01	0.38	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.39	
Financial Satisfaction			-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.05*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.04 [#]	
Poor Health			-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.13	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.09	-0.16	
Missing			-0.36	-0.37	-0.37	-0.35	-0.36	-0.42	-0.33	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.36	-0.25	
Religiosity			-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.02	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	
Missing			-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.29**	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.60**	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.62**	
Parental Divorce			0.13 [†]	0.14 [#]	0.14 [#]	0.13 [†]	0.13 [†]	0.13 [†]	0.13 [†]	0.15	0.13 [†]	0.13 [†]	0.13 [†]	0.13 [†]	0.13 [†]	0.19	
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	
Missing			-0.51***	-0.54***	-0.53***	-0.56***	-0.51***	-0.52***	-0.52***	-0.51***	-0.41*	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.31 [†]	
Owns Home			-0.30***	-0.29***	-0.30***	-0.28***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.31***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.09	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.15	
Household Income			-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00 [#]	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00*	
Happiness			-0.05 [†]	-0.05 [†]	-0.06 [#]	-0.05 [†]	-0.05 [†]	-0.05 [†]	-0.06 [†]	-0.05 [†]	-0.06 [†]	-0.05	-0.06 [†]	-0.09*	-0.05 [†]	-0.05	
Missing			-0.66 [#]	-0.63 [†]	-0.64 [#]	-0.63 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.63 [†]	-0.68 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.67 [#]	-0.65 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.85*	-0.65 [#]	-0.57	
Years of Education			-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	
Interaction Terms																	
(ref: First Marriage):																	
Relationship Satisfaction *																	

Appendices

Higher Order Marriage	0.06 ⁺		0.05
Premarital Cohab.	0.16 ^{***}		0.14 ^{**}
Non-marital Cohab.	0.07 [*]		0.04
Post-marital Cohab.	0.10 [*]		0.11 [*]
Remarriage Cohab.	0.16 [*]		0.16 [#]
<i>Missing *</i>			
Higher Order Marriage	0.98 ^{**}		1.19 [*]
Premarital Cohab.	1.14 ^{**}		0.98
Non-marital Cohab.	0.70 [*]		0.62
Post-marital Cohab.	0.95 [*]		0.36
Remarriage Cohab.	0.96		2.02 ⁺
Fertility Intentions *			
Higher Order Marriage	0.01		0.01
Premarital Cohab.	0.10 ^{***}		0.08 ^{**}
Non-marital Cohab.	0.13 ^{***}		0.10 ^{***}
Post-marital Cohab.	0.08 ⁺		0.08 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.	0.02		-0.03
Union Length *			
Higher Order Marriage	0.00		0.01
Premarital Cohab.	-0.06 [*]		-0.03
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.07 ^{***}		-0.04 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.05 [#]		-0.04
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.17 [*]		-0.17 [*]
<i>Missing *</i>			
Higher Order Marriage	-0.54		-0.66
Premarital Cohab.	-0.85		-0.80
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.64		-0.53
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.33		-0.45
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.06		-0.18
Financial Satisfaction *			
Higher Order Marriage		-0.03	-0.01
Premarital Cohab.		0.03	0.02
Non-marital Cohab.		0.05	0.04
Post-marital Cohab.		0.04	0.03
Remarriage Cohab.		0.03	0.02
Poor Health *			
Higher Order Marriage		-0.00	-0.15
Premarital Cohab.		0.19	0.35
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.05	0.07
Post-marital Cohab.		0.07	0.08
Remarriage Cohab.		0.25	0.32

<i>Missing *</i>			
Higher Order Marriage	0.29		-0.11
Premarital Cohab.	-0.16		-1.68*
Non-marital Cohab.	0.14		1.09
Post-marital Cohab.	0.29		-0.26
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.73		-1.32
Religiosity *			
Higher Order Marriage		0.00	-0.01
Premarital Cohab.		0.00	0.00
Non-marital Cohab.		0.03	0.04
Post-marital Cohab.		0.14***	0.13***
Remarriage Cohab.		0.03	0.02
<i>Missing*</i>			
Higher Order Marriage		0.87*	0.82*
Premarital Cohab.		0.42	0.53 [#]
Non-marital Cohab.		0.11	-0.11
Post-marital Cohab.		1.31***	1.27***
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.38	-0.22
Parental Divorce *			
Higher Order Marriage		-0.06	-0.03
Premarital Cohab.		0.12	0.08
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.13	-0.21
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.33	-0.45
Remarriage Cohab.		0.27	0.39
Gender Role Attitudes *			
Higher Order Marriage			-0.05
Premarital Cohab.			-0.02
Non-marital Cohab.			0.05
Post-marital Cohab.			-0.11 [#]
Remarriage Cohab.			0.05
<i>Missing*</i>			
Higher Order Marriage			-0.05
Premarital Cohab.			-0.25
Non-marital Cohab.			0.25
Post-marital Cohab.			-0.36
Remarriage Cohab.			-0.54
Owns Home *			
Higher Order Marriage			-0.65**
Premarital Cohab.			-0.14
Non-marital Cohab.			-0.39*
Post-marital Cohab.			-0.19

Remarriage Cohab.																		-0.46		-0.37			
Household Income *																							
Higher Order Marriage																			-0.00*	-0.00 ⁺			
Premarital Cohab.																			-0.00	-0.00			
Non-marital Cohab.																			0.00	0.00			
Post-marital Cohab.																			-0.00	-0.00			
Remarriage Cohab.																			0.00	0.00			
Happiness *																							
Higher Order Marriage																				0.00	-0.04		
Premarital Cohab.																				0.12	0.04		
Non-marital Cohab.																				0.09	0.02		
Post-marital Cohab.																				0.02	-0.12		
Remarriage Cohab.																				0.02	-0.13		
<i>Missing*</i>																							
Higher Order Marriage																					0.33	-0.87	
Premarital Cohab.																					0.41	1.75*	
Non-marital Cohab.																					0.45	-1.13	
Post-marital Cohab.																					0.49	0.22	
Remarriage Cohab.																					-0.65	-0.49	
Years of Education *																							
Higher Order Marriage																						-0.03	0.01
Premarital Cohab.																						-0.09 [#]	-0.10*
Non-marital Cohab.																						0.03	-0.02
Post-marital Cohab.																						0.03	0.05
Remarriage Cohab.																						0.08	0.07
Constant	-3.98***	-3.40***	1.04**	1.22***	1.40***	0.88*	1.11**	1.05**	1.13**	1.05**	1.04**	0.85*	1.07**	1.17**	0.97*	1.24**							
Pseudo R-Squared	0.0591	0.0652	0.1428	0.1456	0.1451	0.1456	0.1432	0.1434	0.1452	0.1431	0.1428	0.1437	0.1438	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1558
Observations	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 2: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Single – Higher Order Marriage Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models												Full Model
Relationship Status Categories (ref: Higher Order Marriage):																
First Marriage	-0.41***	-0.44***	-0.30**	-0.18	0.15	-0.30*	-0.49*	-0.28*	-0.24	-0.31**	-0.53*	-0.78***	-0.56***	-0.26	-0.69	-0.75
Premarital Cohab.	0.88***	0.62***	0.39**	0.09	-0.37	0.72***	0.04	0.41**	0.38*	0.34*	0.27	0.05	0.18	-0.04	1.06	-0.30
Non-marital Cohab.	1.58***	1.40***	0.91***	0.60***	0.86**	1.34***	0.43	0.92***	0.89***	0.93***	0.38	0.67***	0.51**	0.58	0.20	-0.12
Post-marital Cohab.	1.24***	1.20***	0.75***	0.68***	0.49	1.06***	0.35	0.73***	0.28	0.80***	1.01**	0.42#	0.71***	0.67	-0.02	-0.48
Remarriage Cohab.	0.61***	0.50**	0.27	0.28	-0.49	0.80**	-0.07	0.30	0.30	0.19	-0.10	0.08	-0.07	0.29	-1.10	-1.48
Female		0.12*	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.):																
Non-English Speaking		-0.03	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.08	-0.09	-0.09	-0.06	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.10
Main English Speaking		-0.03	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
Indigenous		0.26	0.20	0.20	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.23
Has child		-0.00	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08
Age		-0.01***	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**
Holds Degree		-0.48***	-0.20 ⁺	-0.18	-0.21 [#]	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 [#]	-0.20 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.21 [#]	-0.20 [#]	-0.19 ⁺	-0.18
Fertility Intentions			-0.03***	-0.08*	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.08 ⁺
Relationship Satisfaction			-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.28***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.27***
Missing			-0.90***	-0.89***	-0.36	-0.92***	-0.89***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.89***	-0.91***	-0.13
Union Length			-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.08***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***
Union Length Squared			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
Missing			0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.16	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	-0.26
Financial Satisfaction			-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.05
Poor Health			-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.13	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.09	-0.31
Missing			-0.36	-0.37	-0.37	-0.35	-0.36	-0.12	-0.33	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.36	-0.35
Religiosity			-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.03
Missing			-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.29**	-0.26*	-0.26*	0.27	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.26*	0.20
Parental Divorce			0.13 ⁺	0.14 [#]	0.14 [#]	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.09	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.15
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.07	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.05
Missing			-0.51***	-0.54***	-0.53***	-0.56***	-0.51***	-0.52***	-0.52***	-0.51***	-0.46	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.58
Owns Home			-0.30***	-0.29***	-0.30***	-0.28***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.31***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.73***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.70***
Household Income			-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00**
Happiness			-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 [#]	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05	-0.06 ⁺	-0.08	-0.05 ⁺	-0.09
Missing			-0.66 [#]	-0.63 ⁺	-0.64 [#]	-0.63 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.63 ⁺	-0.68 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.67 [#]	-0.65 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.52	-0.65 [#]	-1.45
Years of Education			-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.05	-0.01
Interaction Terms (ref: First Marriage):																
Relationship Satisfaction *																

First Marriage	-0.06 ⁺		-0.05
Premarital Cohab.	0.10*		0.09 ⁺
Non-marital Cohab.	0.01		-0.02
Post-marital Cohab.	0.05		0.05
Remarriage Cohab.	0.10		0.10
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>First Marriage</i>	-0.98**		-1.19*
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>	0.16		-0.21
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>	-0.29		-0.57
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>	-0.03		-0.83
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>	-0.03		0.82
Fertility Intentions *			
First Marriage	-0.01		-0.01
Premarital Cohab.	0.09 [#]		0.07
Non-marital Cohab.	0.11*		0.09 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.	0.06		0.07
Remarriage Cohab.	0.01		-0.04
Union Length *			
First Marriage	-0.00		-0.01
Premarital Cohab.	-0.06*		-0.04
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.08***		-0.05*
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.05*		-0.04 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.17*		-0.18*
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>First Marriage</i>	0.54		0.66
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>	-0.31		-0.14
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>	-0.09		0.13
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>	0.21		0.21
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>	0.48		0.48
Financial Satisfaction *			
First Marriage		0.03	0.01
Premarital Cohab.		0.06	0.04
Non-marital Cohab.		0.09 [#]	0.05
Post-marital Cohab.		0.07	0.04
Remarriage Cohab.		0.06	0.03
Poor Health *			
First Marriage		0.00	0.15
Premarital Cohab.		0.19	0.50 [#]
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.05	0.22
Post-marital Cohab.		0.07	0.22
Remarriage Cohab.		0.25	0.47

<i>Missing *</i>			
First Marriage	-0.29		0.11
Premarital Cohab.	-0.45		-1.57
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.15		1.20
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.01		-0.16
Remarriage Cohab.	-1.02		-1.21
Religiosity *			
First Marriage	-0.00		0.01
Premarital Cohab.	-0.00		0.02
Non-marital Cohab.	0.03		0.05
Post-marital Cohab.	0.13***		0.14***
Remarriage Cohab.	0.02		0.03
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage	-0.87*		-0.82*
Premarital Cohab.	-0.46		-0.29
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.76*		-0.93*
Post-marital Cohab.	0.44		0.45
Remarriage Cohab.	-1.25#		-1.03
Parental Divorce *			
First Marriage		0.06	0.03
Premarital Cohab.		0.18	0.11
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.07	-0.17
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.27	-0.41
Remarriage Cohab.		0.33	0.43
Gender Role Attitudes *			
First Marriage		0.05	0.03
Premarital Cohab.		0.04	0.01
Non-marital Cohab.		0.11 ⁺	0.06
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.05	-0.05
Remarriage Cohab.		0.11	0.08
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage		0.05	0.27
Premarital Cohab.		-0.20	-0.23
Non-marital Cohab.		0.29	0.24
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.32	-0.43
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.49	-0.41
Owns Home *			
First Marriage		0.65**	0.54*
Premarital Cohab.		0.51*	0.52*
Non-marital Cohab.		0.26	0.29
Post-marital Cohab.		0.46 ⁺	0.44

Remarriage Cohab.																	0.19	0.17	
Household Income *																			
First Marriage																	0.00*	0.00 ⁺	
Prenuptial Cohab.																	0.00	0.00	
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.00**	0.00*	
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.00	0.00	
Remarriage Cohab.																	0.00 [#]	0.00	
Happiness *																			
First Marriage																	-0.00	0.04	
Prenuptial Cohab.																	0.11	0.08	
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.08	0.07	
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.02	-0.08	
Remarriage Cohab.																	0.02	-0.09	
<i>Missing*</i>																			
<i>First Marriage</i>																	-0.33	0.87	
<i>Prenuptial Cohab.</i>																	0.08	2.63 ⁺	
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>																	0.12	-0.26	
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>																	0.16	1.09	
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>																	-0.98	0.39	
Years of Education *																			
First Marriage																		0.03	-0.01
Prenuptial Cohab.																		-0.05	-0.11 ⁺
Non-marital Cohab.																		0.06	-0.02
Post-marital Cohab.																		0.06	0.04
Remarriage Cohab.																		0.11	0.06
Constant	-3.57***	-2.96***	1.34***	1.40***	1.25**	1.17**	1.60***	1.34***	1.37***	1.37***	1.58***	1.63***	1.63***	1.42**	1.66**	1.99**			
Pseudo R-Squared	0.0591	0.0652	0.1428	0.1456	0.1451	0.1456	0.1432	0.1434	0.1452	0.1431	0.1428	0.1437	0.1438	0.1434	0.1434	0.1558			
Observations	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102			

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 3: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Single – Premarital Cohabitors Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models												Full Model
Relationship Status Categories (ref: Premarital Cohabitors):																
First Marriage	-1.30***	-1.06***	-0.69***	-0.27	0.52	-1.02***	-0.52*	-0.69***	-0.62***	-0.65***	-0.80**	-0.84***	-0.74***	-0.22	-1.75**	-0.44
Higher Order Marriage	-0.88***	-0.62***	-0.39**	-0.09	0.37	-0.72***	-0.04	-0.41**	-0.38*	-0.34*	-0.27	-0.05	-0.18	0.04	-1.06	0.30
Non-marital Cohab.	0.70***	0.79***	0.51***	0.51**	1.23**	0.63***	0.39	0.51***	0.51***	0.59***	0.12	0.61***	0.33#	0.63	-0.86	0.18
Post-marital Cohab.	0.35**	0.58***	0.36*	0.60**	0.86*	0.34 ⁺	0.32	0.32*	-0.10	0.46**	0.74*	0.36#	0.53*	0.71	-1.08	-0.18
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.27 ⁺	-0.12	-0.12	0.19	-0.11	0.08	-0.11	-0.11	-0.08	-0.14	-0.37	0.02	-0.25	0.33	-2.16 ⁺	-1.17
Female		0.12*	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)																
Non-English Speaking		-0.03	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.08	-0.09	-0.09	-0.06	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.10
Main English Speaking		-0.03	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
Indigenous		0.26	0.20	0.20	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.23
Has child		-0.00	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08
Age		-0.01***	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**
Holds Degree		-0.48***	-0.20 ⁺	-0.18	-0.21#	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20#	-0.20 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.21#	-0.20#	-0.19 ⁺	-0.18
Fertility Intentions			-0.03***	0.00	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.00
Relationship Satisfaction																
Missing			-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.17***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.19***
Union Length			-0.90***	-0.89***	-0.20	-0.92***	-0.89***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.89***	-0.91***	-0.33
Union Length Squared			-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.15***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.13***
Missing			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
Financial Satisfaction			0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.47	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	-0.40
Poor Health			-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.02	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.02
Missing			-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	0.06	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.09	0.19
Religiosity			-0.36	-0.37	-0.37	-0.35	-0.36	-0.58 ⁺	-0.33	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.36	-1.92**
Missing			-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01
Parental Divorce			-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.29**	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.18	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.09
Gender Role Attitudes			0.13 ⁺	0.14#	0.14#	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.28#	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.26#
Missing			-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.04
Owns Home			-0.51***	-0.54***	-0.53***	-0.56***	-0.51***	-0.52***	-0.52***	-0.51***	-0.66**	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.80**
Household Income			-0.30***	-0.29***	-0.30***	-0.28***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.31***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.22	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.18
Happiness			-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00
Missing			-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06#	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05	-0.06 ⁺	0.03	-0.05 ⁺	-0.01
Years of Education			-0.66#	-0.63 ⁺	-0.64#	-0.63#	-0.66#	-0.63 ⁺	-0.68#	-0.66#	-0.67#	-0.65#	-0.66#	-0.44	-0.65#	1.18 ⁺
Interaction Terms (ref: First Marriage):																
Relationship Satisfaction *			-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.10*	-0.11*

First Marriage	-0.16***		-0.14**
Higher Order Marriage	-0.10*		-0.09 ⁺
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.09 [#]		-0.10 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.06		-0.03
Remarriage Cohab.	0.00		0.02
<i>Missing *</i>			
First Marriage	-1.14**		-0.98
Higher Order Marriage	-0.16		0.21
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.45		-0.36
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.19		-0.63
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.19		1.03
Fertility Intentions *			
First Marriage	-0.10***		-0.08**
Higher Order Marriage	-0.09 [#]		-0.07
Non-marital Cohab.	0.03		0.02
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.02		-0.00
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.07		-0.11*
Union Length *			
First Marriage		0.06*	0.03
Higher Order Marriage		0.06*	0.04
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.01	-0.02
Post-marital Cohab.		0.01	-0.01
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.11	-0.14
<i>Missing *</i>			
First Marriage		0.85	0.80
Higher Order Marriage		0.31	0.14
Non-marital Cohab.		0.21	0.26
Post-marital Cohab.		0.52	0.35
Remarriage Cohab.		0.78	0.61
Financial Satisfaction *			
First Marriage		-0.03	-0.02
Higher Order Marriage		-0.06	-0.04
Non-marital Cohab.		0.02	0.01
Post-marital Cohab.		0.01	0.01
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.00	-0.00
Poor Health *			
First Marriage		-0.19	-0.35
Higher Order Marriage		-0.19	-0.50 [#]
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.24	-0.28
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.12	-0.28
Remarriage Cohab.		0.06	-0.03

<i>Missing *</i>			
First Marriage	0.16		1.68*
Higher Order Marriage	0.45		1.57
Non-marital Cohab.	0.30		2.77**
Post-marital Cohab.	0.45		1.41
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.57		0.35
Religiosity *			
First Marriage		-0.00	-0.00
Higher Order Marriage		0.00	-0.02
Non-marital Cohab.		0.03	0.03
Post-marital Cohab.		0.13**	0.13**
Remarriage Cohab.		0.02	0.02
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage		-0.42	-0.53 [#]
Higher Order Marriage		0.46	0.29
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.30	-0.64*
Post-marital Cohab.		0.90**	0.74*
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.80	-0.75
Parental Divorce *			
First Marriage		-0.12	-0.08
Higher Order Marriage		-0.18	-0.11
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.25	-0.29
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.46	-0.53 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.		0.14	0.32
Gender Role Attitudes *			
First Marriage		0.02	0.02
Higher Order Marriage		-0.04	-0.01
Non-marital Cohab.		0.07	0.05
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.09	-0.06
Remarriage Cohab.		0.07	0.07
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage		0.25	0.49
Higher Order Marriage		0.20	0.23
Non-marital Cohab.		0.49	0.46
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.12	-0.21
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.29	-0.19
Owns Home *			
First Marriage		0.14	0.02
Higher Order Marriage		-0.51*	-0.52*
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.25	-0.23
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.05	-0.08

Remarriage Cohab.																			-0.32			-0.35				
Household Income *																										
First Marriage																						0.00	0.00			
Higher Order Marriage																						-0.00	-0.00			
Non-marital Cohab.																						0.00	0.00			
Post-marital Cohab.																						-0.00	-0.00			
Remarriage Cohab.																						0.00	0.00			
Happiness *																										
First Marriage																							-0.12	-0.04		
Higher Order Marriage																							-0.11	-0.08		
Non-marital Cohab.																							-0.03	-0.01		
Post-marital Cohab.																							-0.10	-0.16		
Remarriage Cohab.																							-0.10	-0.17		
Missing*																										
First Marriage																								-0.41	-1.75*	
Higher Order Marriage																								-0.08	-2.63+	
Non-marital Cohab.																								0.04	-2.89*	
Post-marital Cohab.																								0.08	-1.54	
Remarriage Cohab.																								-1.06	-2.24+	
Years of Education *																										
First Marriage																									0.09 [#]	0.10*
Higher Order Marriage																									0.05	0.11 ⁺
Non-marital Cohab.																									0.11*	0.08
Post-marital Cohab.																									0.12 [#]	0.15*
Remarriage Cohab.																									0.17	0.17
Constant	-2.69***	-2.34***	1.74***	1.49***	0.88 [#]	1.89***	1.64***	1.74***	1.75***	1.70***	1.84***	1.68***	1.81***	1.38**	2.72***	1.68*										
Pseudo R-Squared	0.0591	0.0652	0.1428	0.1456	0.1451	0.1456	0.1432	0.1434	0.1452	0.1431	0.1428	0.1437	0.1438	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1558									
Observations	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102									

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 4: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Single – Non-marital Cohabitors Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models												Full Model
Relationship Status Categories (ref: Non-marital Cohabitors):																
First Marriage	-1.99***	-1.85***	-1.21***	-0.78***	-0.70**	-1.64***	-0.91***	-1.20***	-1.13***	-1.24***	-0.92**	-1.45***	-1.08***	-0.84*	-0.89 ⁺	-0.63
Higher Order Marriage	-1.58***	-1.40***	-0.91***	-0.60***	-0.86**	-1.34***	-0.43	-0.92***	-0.89***	-0.93***	-0.38	-0.67***	-0.51**	-0.58	-0.20	0.12
Premarital Cohab.	-0.70***	-0.79***	-0.51***	-0.51**	-1.23**	-0.63***	-0.39	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.59***	-0.12	-0.61***	-0.33 [#]	-0.63	0.86	-0.18
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.34**	-0.21 ⁺	-0.15	0.09	-0.37	-0.28	-0.08	-0.19	-0.61**	-0.13	0.62 ⁺	-0.25	0.19	0.09	-0.23	-0.36
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.97***	-0.91***	-0.64***	-0.32	-1.34*	-0.55*	-0.50	-0.63**	-0.59*	-0.73***	-0.48	-0.59*	-0.59*	-0.29	-1.30	-1.36
Female		0.12*	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)																
Non-English Speaking		-0.03	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.08	-0.09	-0.09	-0.06	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.10
Main English Speaking		-0.03	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
Indigenous		0.26	0.20	0.20	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.23
Has child		-0.00	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08
Age		-0.01***	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**
Holds Degree		-0.48***	-0.20 ⁺	-0.18	-0.21 [#]	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 [#]	-0.20 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.21 [#]	-0.20 [#]	-0.19 ⁺	-0.18
Fertility Intentions			-0.03***	0.03 ⁺	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	0.01
Relationship Satisfaction																
Missing			-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.26***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***
Union Length			-0.90***	-0.89***	-0.64*	-0.92***	-0.89***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.89***	-0.91***	-0.69
Union Length Squared			-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.16***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.15***
Missing			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
Financial Satisfaction			0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.25	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	-0.14
Poor Health			-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	0.01	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.00
Missing			-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.18	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09
Religiosity			-0.36	-0.37	-0.37	-0.35	-0.36	-0.28	-0.33	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.36	0.85
Missing			-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.02	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.02
Parental Divorce			-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.29**	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.49*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.73**
Gender Role Attitudes			0.13 ⁺	0.14 [#]	0.14 [#]	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.02	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	-0.02
Missing			-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.04	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.01
Owns Home			-0.51***	-0.54***	-0.53***	-0.56***	-0.51***	-0.52***	-0.52***	-0.51***	-0.16	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.34
Household Income			-0.30***	-0.29***	-0.30***	-0.28***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.31***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.48**	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.40**
Happiness			-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	0.00	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00
Missing			-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 [#]	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05	-0.06 ⁺	0.00	-0.05 ⁺	-0.02
Years of Education			-0.66 [#]	-0.63 ⁺	-0.64 [#]	-0.63 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.63 ⁺	-0.68 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.67 [#]	-0.65 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.40	-0.65 [#]	-1.70 [#]
Interaction Terms (ref: First Marriage):																
Relationship Satisfaction *			-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.01	-0.03

Appendices

First Marriage	-0.07*		-0.04
Higher Order Marriage	-0.01		0.02
Premarital Cohab.	0.09 [#]		0.10 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.	0.03		0.07
Remarriage Cohab.	0.09		0.12
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>First Marriage</i>	-0.70*		-0.62
<i>Higher Order Marriage</i>	0.29		0.57
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>	0.45		0.36
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>	0.25		-0.27
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>	0.26		1.39
Fertility Intentions *			
First Marriage	-0.13***		-0.10***
Higher Order Marriage	-0.11*		-0.09 [#]
Premarital Cohab.	-0.03		-0.02
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.05		-0.02
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.10*		-0.13*
Union Length *			
First Marriage		0.07***	0.04 [#]
Higher Order Marriage		0.08***	0.05*
Premarital Cohab.		0.01	0.02
Post-marital Cohab.		0.02	0.01
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.10	-0.13
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>First Marriage</i>		0.64	0.53
<i>Higher Order Marriage</i>		0.09	-0.13
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		-0.21	-0.26
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		0.31	0.08
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		0.57	0.35
Financial Satisfaction *			
First Marriage		-0.05	-0.04
Higher Order Marriage		-0.09 [#]	-0.05
Premarital Cohab.		-0.02	-0.01
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.01	-0.01
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.03	-0.02
Poor Health *			
First Marriage		0.05	-0.07
Higher Order Marriage		0.05	-0.22
Premarital Cohab.		0.24	0.28
Post-marital Cohab.		0.12	0.00
Remarriage Cohab.		0.30	0.25

<i>Missing *</i>			
First Marriage	-0.14		-1.09
Higher Order Marriage	0.15		-1.20
Premarital Cohab.	-0.30		-2.77**
Post-marital Cohab.	0.15		-1.36
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.87		-2.41*
Religiosity *			
First Marriage		-0.03	-0.04
Higher Order Marriage		-0.03	-0.05
Premarital Cohab.		-0.03	-0.03
Post-marital Cohab.		0.10*	0.09*
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.01	-0.02
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage		-0.11	0.11
Higher Order Marriage		0.76*	0.93*
Premarital Cohab.		0.30	0.64*
Post-marital Cohab.		1.20***	1.38***
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.49	-0.11
Parental Divorce *			
First Marriage		0.13	0.21
Higher Order Marriage		0.07	0.17
Premarital Cohab.		0.25	0.29
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.21	-0.24
Remarriage Cohab.		0.40	0.60
Gender Role Attitudes *			
First Marriage			-0.05
Higher Order Marriage			-0.11 ⁺
Premarital Cohab.			-0.07
Post-marital Cohab.			-0.16*
Remarriage Cohab.			0.00
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage			-0.25
Higher Order Marriage			-0.29
Premarital Cohab.			-0.49
Post-marital Cohab.			-0.61
Remarriage Cohab.			-0.78
Owns Home *			
First Marriage			0.39*
Higher Order Marriage			-0.26
Premarital Cohab.			0.25
Post-marital Cohab.			0.20

Remarriage Cohab.																		-0.07	-0.12				
Household Income *																							
First Marriage																			-0.00	-0.00			
Higher Order Marriage																			-0.00**	-0.00*			
Premarital Cohab.																			-0.00	-0.00			
Post-marital Cohab.																			-0.00*	-0.00#			
Remarriage Cohab.																			-0.00	-0.00			
Happiness *																							
First Marriage																				-0.09	-0.02		
Higher Order Marriage																				-0.08	-0.07		
Premarital Cohab.																				0.03	0.01		
Post-marital Cohab.																				-0.07	-0.14		
Remarriage Cohab.																				-0.07	-0.15		
<i>Missing*</i>																							
<i>First Marriage</i>																					-0.45	1.13	
<i>Higher Order Marriage</i>																					-0.12	0.26	
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>																					-0.04	2.89*	
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>																					0.04	1.35	
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>																					-1.10	0.65	
Years of Education *																							
First Marriage																						-0.03	0.02
Higher Order Marriage																						-0.06	0.02
Premarital Cohab.																						-0.11*	-0.08
Post-marital Cohab.																						0.01	0.07
Remarriage Cohab.																						0.05	0.09
Constant	-1.99***	-1.55***	2.25***	2.00***	2.11***	2.52***	2.03***	2.26***	2.26***	2.29***	1.96***	2.30***	2.14***	2.01***	1.86***	1.87**							
Pseudo R-Squared	0.0591	0.0652	0.1428	0.1456	0.1451	0.1456	0.1432	0.1434	0.1452	0.1431	0.1428	0.1437	0.1438	0.1434	0.1434	0.1558							
Observations	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102							

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 5: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Single – Post-marital Cohabiters Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models												Full Model
Relationship Status Categories (ref: Post-marital Cohabiters):																
First Marriage	-1.65***	-1.64***	-1.06***	-0.86***	-0.34	-1.36***	-0.84**	-1.01***	-0.52**	-1.11***	-1.54***	-1.20***	-1.27***	-0.93*	-0.67	-0.27
Higher Order Marriage	-1.24***	-1.20***	-0.75***	-0.68***	-0.49	-1.06***	-0.35	-0.73***	-0.28	-0.80***	-1.01**	-0.42#	-0.71***	-0.67	0.02	0.48
Premarital Cohab.	-0.35**	-0.58***	-0.36*	-0.60**	-0.86*	-0.34 ⁺	-0.32	-0.32*	0.10	-0.46**	-0.74*	-0.36#	-0.53*	-0.71	1.08	0.18
Non-marital Cohab.	0.34**	0.21 ⁺	0.15	-0.09	0.37	0.28	0.08	0.19	0.61**	0.13	-0.62 ⁺	0.25	-0.19	-0.09	0.23	0.36
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.63***	-0.70***	-0.49**	-0.41*	-0.98	-0.26	-0.43	-0.44*	0.02	-0.60**	-1.10*	-0.34	-0.78**	-0.38	-1.08	-1.00
Female		0.12*	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)																
Non-English Speaking		-0.03	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.08	-0.09	-0.09	-0.06	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.10
Main English Speaking		-0.03	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
Indigenous		0.26	0.20	0.20	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.23
Has child		-0.00	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08
Age		-0.01***	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**
Holds Degree		-0.48***	-0.20 ⁺	-0.18	-0.21#	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20#	-0.20 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.21#	-0.20#	-0.19 ⁺	-0.18
Fertility Intentions			-0.03***	-0.02	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.00
Relationship Satisfaction																
Missing		-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.23***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.22***
Union Length		-0.90***	-0.89***	-0.39	-0.92***	-0.89***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.89***	-0.91***	-0.96 ⁺
Union Length Squared		-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.14***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.14***
Missing		0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
Financial Satisfaction		0.01	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.05
Poor Health		-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.01	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.01
Missing		-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.06	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09
Religiosity		-0.36	-0.37	-0.37	-0.35	-0.36	-0.13	-0.33	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.36	-0.51
Missing		-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.12***	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.12***
Parental Divorce		-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.29**	-0.26*	-0.26*	0.71*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.26*	0.65*
Gender Role Attitudes		0.13 ⁺	0.14#	0.14#	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	-0.18	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	-0.26
Missing		-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.12*	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.10#
Owns Home		-0.51***	-0.54***	-0.53***	-0.56***	-0.51***	-0.52***	-0.52***	-0.51***	-0.77*	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-1.01**
Household Income		-0.30***	-0.29***	-0.30***	-0.28***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.31***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.28	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.26
Happiness		-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00**	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00**
Missing		-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06#	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05	-0.06 ⁺	-0.07	-0.05 ⁺	-0.17
Years of Education		-0.66#	-0.63 ⁺	-0.64#	-0.63#	-0.66#	-0.63 ⁺	-0.68#	-0.66#	-0.67#	-0.65#	-0.66#	-0.66#	-0.36	-0.65#	-0.36
Interaction Terms (ref: First Marriage):																
Relationship Satisfaction *																

First Marriage	-0.10*		-0.11*
Higher Order Marriage	-0.05		-0.05
Premarital Cohab.	0.06		0.03
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.03		-0.07
Remarriage Cohab.	0.06		0.05
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>First Marriage</i>	-0.95*		-0.36
<i>Higher Order Marriage</i>	0.03		0.83
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>	0.19		0.63
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>	-0.25		0.27
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>	0.01		1.66
Fertility Intentions *			
First Marriage	-0.08 ⁺		-0.08 ⁺
Higher Order Marriage	-0.06		-0.07
Premarital Cohab.	0.02		0.00
Non-marital Cohab.	0.05		0.02
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.05		-0.11 ⁺
Union Length *			
First Marriage		0.05 [#]	0.04
Higher Order Marriage		0.05*	0.04 ⁺
Premarital Cohab.		-0.01	0.01
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.02	-0.01
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.12	-0.14
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>First Marriage</i>		0.33	0.45
<i>Higher Order Marriage</i>		-0.21	-0.21
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		-0.52	-0.35
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>		-0.31	-0.08
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		0.26	0.27
Financial Satisfaction *			
First Marriage		-0.04	-0.03
Higher Order Marriage		-0.07	-0.04
Premarital Cohab.		-0.01	-0.01
Non-marital Cohab.		0.01	0.01
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.01	-0.01
Poor Health *			
First Marriage		-0.07	-0.08
Higher Order Marriage		-0.07	-0.22
Premarital Cohab.		0.12	0.28
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.12	-0.00
Remarriage Cohab.		0.18	0.24

<i>Missing *</i>			
First Marriage	-0.29		0.26
Higher Order Marriage	0.01		0.16
Premarital Cohab.	-0.45		-1.41
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.15		1.36
Remarriage Cohab.	-1.01		-1.06
Religiosity *			
First Marriage		-0.14***	-0.13***
Higher Order Marriage		-0.13***	-0.14***
Premarital Cohab.		-0.13**	-0.13**
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.10*	-0.09*
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.11#	-0.11#
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage		-1.31***	-1.27***
Higher Order Marriage		-0.44	-0.45
Premarital Cohab.		-0.90**	-0.74*
Non-marital Cohab.		-1.20***	-1.38***
Remarriage Cohab.		-1.69*	-1.48*
Parental Divorce *			
First Marriage		0.33	0.45
Higher Order Marriage		0.27	0.41
Premarital Cohab.		0.46	0.53 ⁺
Non-marital Cohab.		0.21	0.24
Remarriage Cohab.		0.60	0.84 [#]
Gender Role Attitudes *			
First Marriage		0.11 [#]	0.08
Higher Order Marriage		0.05	0.05
Premarital Cohab.		0.09	0.06
Non-marital Cohab.		0.16*	0.11
Remarriage Cohab.		0.16	0.13
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage		0.36	0.70 [#]
Higher Order Marriage		0.32	0.43
Premarital Cohab.		0.12	0.21
Non-marital Cohab.		0.61	0.67
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.17	0.02
Owns Home *			
First Marriage		0.19	0.10
Higher Order Marriage		-0.46 ⁺	-0.44
Premarital Cohab.		0.05	0.08
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.20	-0.14

Remarriage Cohab.																		-0.27	-0.27	
Household Income *																				
First Marriage																		0.00	0.00	
Higher Order Marriage																		-0.00	-0.00	
Premarital Cohab.																		0.00	0.00	
Non-marital Cohab.																		0.00*	0.00 [#]	
Remarriage Cohab.																		0.00	0.00	
Happiness *																				
First Marriage																		-0.02	0.12	
Higher Order Marriage																		-0.02	0.08	
Premarital Cohab.																		0.10	0.16	
Non-marital Cohab.																		0.07	0.14	
Remarriage Cohab.																		0.00	-0.01	
<i>Missing*</i>																				
<i>First Marriage</i>																		-0.49	-0.22	
<i>Higher Order Marriage</i>																		-0.16	-1.09	
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>																		-0.08	1.54	
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>																		-0.04	-1.35	
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>																		-1.14	-0.70	
Years of Education *																				
First Marriage																			-0.03	-0.05
Higher Order Marriage																			-0.06	-0.04
Premarital Cohab.																			-0.12 [#]	-0.15*
Non-marital Cohab.																			-0.01	-0.07
Remarriage Cohab.																			0.05	0.02
Constant	-2.33***	-1.76***	2.10***	2.09***	1.74***	2.23***	1.95***	2.07***	1.65***	2.16***	2.58***	2.05***	2.34***	2.10***	1.64*	1.51 [#]				
Pseudo R-Squared	0.0591	0.0652	0.1428	0.1456	0.1451	0.1456	0.1432	0.1434	0.1452	0.1431	0.1428	0.1437	0.1438	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1558	
Observations	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 6: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Single – Remarriage Cohabitors Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models											Full Model	
Relationship Status																
Categories (ref: Remarriage Cohabitors):																
First Marriage	-1.02***	-0.94***	-0.57***	-0.46*	0.64	-1.10***	-0.41	-0.58**	-0.54*	-0.51**	-0.43	-0.86***	-0.49#	-0.55	0.41	0.73
Higher Order Marriage	-0.61***	-0.50**	-0.27	-0.28	0.49	-0.80**	0.07	-0.30	-0.30	-0.19	0.10	-0.08	0.07	-0.29	1.10	1.48
Premarital Cohab.	0.27 ⁺	0.12	0.12	-0.19	0.11	-0.08	0.11	0.11	0.08	0.14	0.37	-0.02	0.25	-0.33	2.16 ⁺	1.17
Non-marital Cohab.	0.97***	0.91***	0.64***	0.32	1.34*	0.55*	0.50	0.63**	0.59*	0.73***	0.48	0.59*	0.59*	0.29	1.30	1.36
Post-marital Cohab.	0.63***	0.70***	0.49**	0.41*	0.98	0.26	0.43	0.44*	-0.02	0.60**	1.10*	0.34	0.78**	0.38	1.08	1.00
Female		0.12*	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)																
Non-English Speaking		-0.03	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.08	-0.09	-0.09	-0.06	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.10
Main English Speaking		-0.03	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06
Indigenous		0.26	0.20	0.20	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.23
Has child		-0.00	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08	-0.07	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10	-0.08
Age		-0.01***	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**
Holds Degree		-0.48***	-0.20 ⁺	-0.18	-0.21 [#]	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 [#]	-0.20 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.19 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.20 ⁺	-0.21 [#]	-0.20 [#]	-0.19 ⁺	-0.18
Fertility Intentions			-0.03***	-0.07 ⁺	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.12*
Relationship Satisfaction			-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.17*	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.17*
Missing			-0.90***	-0.89***	-0.38	-0.92***	-0.89***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.90***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.91***	-0.89***	-0.91***	0.70
Union Length			-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.26**	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.11***	-0.28**
Union Length Squared			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
Missing			0.01	0.01	0.01	0.32	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.21
Financial Satisfaction			-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.02	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.02
Poor Health			-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	0.12	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09	-0.09	0.16
Missing			-0.36	-0.37	-0.37	-0.35	-0.36	-1.15 ⁺	-0.33	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.37	-0.36	-0.36	-1.57*
Religiosity			-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.01	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.01
Missing			-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.29**	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.98	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.27*	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.84
Parental Divorce			0.13 ⁺	0.14 [#]	0.14 [#]	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.42	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.13 ⁺	0.58
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.04	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.03
Missing			-0.51***	-0.54***	-0.53***	-0.56***	-0.51***	-0.52***	-0.52***	-0.51***	-0.95	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.51***	-0.99
Owns Home			-0.30***	-0.29***	-0.30***	-0.28***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.31***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.54 [#]	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.30***	-0.53
Household Income			-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00
Happiness			-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 [#]	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05 ⁺	-0.06 ⁺	-0.05	-0.06 ⁺	-0.07	-0.05 ⁺	-0.18
Missing			-0.66 [#]	-0.63 ⁺	-0.64 [#]	-0.63 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.63 ⁺	-0.68 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-0.67 [#]	-0.65 [#]	-0.66 [#]	-1.50	-0.65 [#]	-1.06
Years of Education			-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.06	0.05
Interaction Terms																
(ref: First Marriage):																
Relationship Satisfaction *																

Appendices

First Marriage	-0.16*	-0.16 [#]
Higher Order Marriage	-0.10	-0.10
Premarital Cohab.	-0.00	-0.02
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.09	-0.12
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.06	-0.05
<i>Missing *</i>		
First Marriage	-0.96	-2.02 ⁺
Higher Order Marriage	0.03	-0.82
Premarital Cohab.	0.19	-1.03
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.26	-1.39
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.01	-1.66
Fertility Intentions *		
First Marriage	-0.02	0.03
Higher Order Marriage	-0.01	0.04
Premarital Cohab.	0.07	0.11*
Non-marital Cohab.	0.10*	0.13*
Post-marital Cohab.	0.05	0.11 ⁺
Union Length *		
First Marriage	0.17*	0.17*
Higher Order Marriage	0.17*	0.18*
Premarital Cohab.	0.11	0.14
Non-marital Cohab.	0.10	0.13
Post-marital Cohab.	0.12	0.14
<i>Missing *</i>		
First Marriage	0.06	0.18
Higher Order Marriage	-0.48	-0.48
Premarital Cohab.	-0.78	-0.61
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.57	-0.35
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.26	-0.27
Financial Satisfaction *		
First Marriage	-0.03	-0.02
Higher Order Marriage	-0.06	-0.03
Premarital Cohab.	0.00	0.00
Non-marital Cohab.	0.03	0.02
Post-marital Cohab.	0.01	0.01
Poor Health *		
First Marriage	-0.25	-0.32
Higher Order Marriage	-0.25	-0.47
Premarital Cohab.	-0.06	0.03
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.30	-0.25
Post-marital Cohab.	-0.18	-0.24

<i>Missing *</i>			
First Marriage	0.73		1.32
Higher Order Marriage	1.02		1.21
Premarital Cohab.	0.57		-0.35
Non-marital Cohab.	0.87		2.41*
Post-marital Cohab.	1.01		1.06
Religiosity *			
First Marriage		-0.03	-0.02
Higher Order Marriage		-0.02	-0.03
Premarital Cohab.		-0.02	-0.02
Non-marital Cohab.		0.01	0.02
Post-marital Cohab.		0.11 [#]	0.11 [#]
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage		0.38	0.22
Higher Order Marriage		1.25 [#]	1.03
Premarital Cohab.		0.80	0.75
Non-marital Cohab.		0.49	0.11
Post-marital Cohab.		1.69*	1.48*
Parental Divorce *			
First Marriage		-0.27	-0.39
Higher Order Marriage		-0.33	-0.43
Premarital Cohab.		-0.14	-0.32
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.40	-0.60
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.60	-0.84 [#]
Gender Role Attitudes *			
First Marriage			-0.05
Higher Order Marriage			-0.11
Premarital Cohab.			-0.07
Non-marital Cohab.			-0.00
Post-marital Cohab.			-0.16
<i>Missing*</i>			
First Marriage			0.54
Higher Order Marriage			0.49
Premarital Cohab.			0.29
Non-marital Cohab.			0.78
Post-marital Cohab.			0.17
Owns Home *			
First Marriage			0.46
Higher Order Marriage			-0.19
Premarital Cohab.			0.32
Non-marital Cohab.			0.07

Post-marital Cohab.																	0.27	0.27	
Household Income *																			
First Marriage																	-0.00	-0.00	
Higher Order Marriage																	-0.00 [#]	-0.00	
Premarital Cohab.																	-0.00	-0.00	
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.00	0.00	
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.00	-0.00	
Happiness *																			
First Marriage																	-0.02	0.13	
Higher Order Marriage																	-0.02	0.09	
Premarital Cohab.																	0.10	0.17	
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.07	0.15	
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.00	0.01	
<i>Missing*</i>																			
<i>First Marriage</i>																	0.65	0.49	
<i>Higher Order Marriage</i>																	0.98	-0.39	
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>																	1.06	2.24 ⁺	
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>																	1.10	-0.65	
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>																	1.14	0.70	
Years of Education *																			
First Marriage																		-0.08	-0.07
Higher Order Marriage																		-0.11	-0.06
Premarital Cohab.																		-0.17	-0.17
Non-marital Cohab.																		-0.05	-0.09
Post-marital Cohab.																		-0.05	-0.02
Constant	-2.96 ^{***}	-2.46 ^{***}	1.61 ^{***}	1.68 ^{***}	0.77	1.97 ^{***}	1.52 ^{**}	1.63 ^{***}	1.67 ^{***}	1.56 ^{***}	1.48 [*]	1.71 ^{***}	1.56 ^{***}	1.71 [*]	0.56	0.51			
Pseudo R-Squared	0.0591	0.0652	0.1428	0.1456	0.1451	0.1456	0.1432	0.1434	0.1452	0.1431	0.1428	0.1437	0.1438	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1434	0.1558	
Observations	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	51,102	

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Appendix 7: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Married, Alternating Reference Categories

Table 1: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Married – Single Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models										Full Model	
Relationship Status Categories (ref: Single):															
Premarital Cohab.	2.66***	2.46***	1.61***	1.22***	-0.31	0.79***	1.56***	1.96***	1.65***	1.17***	1.29***	1.23***	0.65*	1.52**	-1.01
Non-marital Cohab.	0.13	-0.02	-0.67***	-0.37	-0.81	-0.61	-0.95***	-0.31	-0.78***	-0.54	-1.16***	-0.59*	-0.77	1.85	0.56
Post-marital Cohab.	0.60***	0.67***	-0.24	-0.40*	0.27	-0.44	-0.22	0.14	-0.32	-0.56	-0.22	-0.26	-1.19 ⁺	0.90	0.39
Remarriage Cohab.	2.89***	2.93***	1.95***	1.95***	0.14	0.89**	1.92***	2.32***	1.97***	1.69***	1.83***	1.71***	0.62	3.09***	1.03
Female		-0.09	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)		0.27*	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.11
Non-English Speaking															
Main English Speaking		0.06	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07
Indigenous		-0.64**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.63**	-0.64**	-0.61**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.61**	-0.63**	-0.63**	-0.62**	-0.60**	-0.66**
Has child		0.03	0.29***	0.30***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.29***	0.29***	0.27***	0.32***	0.28***	0.30***	0.30***
Age		-0.01***	-0.00	-0.01 ⁺	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01 [#]	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Holds Degree		0.62***	0.21 ⁺	0.22 [#]	0.23 [#]	0.20 ⁺	0.22 [#]	0.19 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.21 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.22 [#]	0.17	0.20 ⁺
Fertility Intentions			0.06***	0.04 ⁺	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.05*
Relationship Satisfaction			0.13***	0.13***	0.06*	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.09**
Missing			-0.51*	-0.53*	-1.18***	-0.50*	-0.54*	-0.55*	-0.51*	-0.52*	-0.50*	-0.50*	-0.56*	-0.49*	-1.05***
Financial Satisfaction			0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.07***	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.05*
Poor Health			0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.28*	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.10
Missing			0.40 [#]	0.41*	0.29	0.38 [#]	0.08	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.43*	0.39 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	-0.07
Religiosity			0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.11***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.12***
Missing			0.26**	0.25**	0.25**	0.26**	0.26**	0.50**	0.26**	0.24**	0.27**	0.27**	0.26**	0.26**	0.82***
Parental Divorce			-0.12	-0.12	-0.11	-0.12	-0.13	-0.12	0.02	-0.13	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.05
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.08**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.08*
Missing			-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.74***	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.63**
Owns Home			0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.33***	0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.35***	0.01	0.36***	0.34***	0.35***	0.09
Household Income			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	-0.00	0.00***	0.00***	0.00
Happiness			0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.13*	0.00	-0.06
Missing			0.88***	0.88***	0.63*	0.90***	0.93***	0.88***	0.87***	0.92***	0.88***	0.88***	0.05	0.87***	0.85*
Years of Education			0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.09***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.13***	0.13***
Interaction Terms															
(ref: Single):															
Relationship Satisfaction *															
Premarital Cohab.						0.21***									0.17***
Non-marital Cohab.						-0.00									0.03
Post-marital Cohab.						-0.08									-0.16 [#]

Remarriage Cohab.	0.19*		0.13
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>	2.37***		2.49***
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>	1.09		1.50 [#]
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>	0.56		1.61
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>	2.98***		2.57**
Fertility Intentions *			
Premarital Cohab.	0.06*		0.04
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.11 [#]		-0.12*
Post-marital Cohab.	0.10 [#]		0.07
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.02		-0.04
Financial Satisfaction *			
Premarital Cohab.		0.14***	0.08**
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.01	0.04
Post-marital Cohab.		0.04	0.04
Remarriage Cohab.		0.17***	0.15***
Poor Health *			
Premarital Cohab.		-0.31	0.01
Non-marital Cohab.		0.43	0.56
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.74	-0.55
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.74**	-0.47 ⁺
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		0.44*	0.66
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>		1.29**	2.04
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		0.35	-1.44*
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		1.06**	0.67
Religiosity *			
Premarital Cohab.		-0.09***	-0.09***
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.20*	-0.24**
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.08	-0.09 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.09**	-0.11**
<i>Missing*</i>			
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		-0.35	-0.74**
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>		0.29	-0.21
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		-0.86	-1.61*
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		-0.33	-0.84*
Parental Divorce *			
Premarital Cohab.		-0.26	-0.16
Non-marital Cohab.		0.38	0.34
Post-marital Cohab.		0.50	0.45
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.21	-0.12

Gender Role Attitudes *																
Premarital Cohab.															0.07 ⁺	0.05
Non-marital Cohab.															-0.07	-0.02
Post-marital Cohab.															0.04	0.06
Remarriage Cohab.															0.04	0.06
<i>Missing*</i>																
Premarital Cohab.															0.74 ^{**}	0.57 [*]
Non-marital Cohab.															0.76	0.69
Post-marital Cohab.															0.96 [#]	1.13 [#]
Remarriage Cohab.															0.58 [#]	0.42
Owns Home *																
Premarital Cohab.															0.54 ^{***}	0.45 ^{**}
Non-marital Cohab.															0.73 [#]	0.86 [*]
Post-marital Cohab.															0.03	0.18
Remarriage Cohab.															0.19	-0.01
Household Income *																
Premarital Cohab.															0.00 ^{***}	0.00 [*]
Non-marital Cohab.															-0.00	-0.00
Post-marital Cohab.															0.00	-0.00
Remarriage Cohab.															0.00 [*]	0.00
Happiness *																
Premarital Cohab.															0.19 ^{**}	0.06
Non-marital Cohab.															-0.01	0.10
Post-marital Cohab.															0.19	0.27 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.															0.26 ^{**}	0.09
<i>Missing*</i>																
Premarital Cohab.															1.28 ^{***}	-0.81
Non-marital Cohab.															0.96	-2.05
Post-marital Cohab.															1.46	0.56
Remarriage Cohab.															2.32 ^{***}	-0.37
Years of Education *																
Premarital Cohab.															0.01	-0.02
Non-marital Cohab.															-0.19 [*]	-0.17 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.															-0.09	-0.08
Remarriage Cohab.															-0.09 [#]	-0.11 [*]
Constant	-4.21 ^{***}	-3.77 ^{***}	-6.30 ^{***}	-6.03 ^{***}	-5.63 ^{***}	-5.85 ^{***}	-6.27 ^{***}	-6.51 ^{***}	-6.34 ^{***}	-6.08 ^{***}	-6.10 ^{***}	-6.02 ^{***}	-5.70 ^{***}	-6.68 ^{***}	-5.52 ^{***}	
Pseudo R-Squared	0.1812	0.1928	0.2883	0.2302	0.2327	0.2308	0.2309	0.2306	0.2288	0.2297	0.2298	0.2299	0.2305	0.2292	0.2447	
Observations	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 2: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Married – Premarital Cohabitors Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models										Full Model	
Relationship Status Categories(ref: Premarital Cohabitors):															
Single	-2.66***	-2.46***	-1.61***	-1.22***	0.31	-0.79***	-1.56***	-1.96***	-1.65***	-1.17***	-1.29***	-1.23***	-0.65*	-1.52**	1.01
Non-marital Cohab.	-2.53***	-2.48***	-2.28***	-1.59***	-0.50	-1.40**	-2.51***	-2.26***	-2.43***	-1.71**	-2.44***	-1.83***	-1.43#	0.33	1.57
Post-marital Cohab.	-2.06***	-1.78***	-1.85***	-1.62***	0.58	-1.23**	-1.77***	-1.82***	-1.97***	-1.73***	-1.51***	-1.49***	-1.84**	-0.62	1.40
Remarriage Cohab.	0.24**	0.47***	0.34***	0.73***	0.44	0.11	0.37***	0.36**	0.32**	0.52#	0.55***	0.48**	-0.04	1.57*	2.04#
Female		-0.09	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)		0.27*	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.11
Non-English Speaking															
Main English Speaking		0.06	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07
Indigenous		-0.64**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.63**	-0.64**	-0.61**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.61**	-0.63**	-0.63**	-0.62**	-0.60**	-0.66**
Has child		0.03	0.29***	0.30***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.29***	0.29***	0.27***	0.32***	0.28***	0.30***	0.30***
Age		-0.01***	-0.00	-0.01 ⁺	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01 [#]	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Holds Degree		0.62***	0.21 ⁺	0.22 [#]	0.23 [#]	0.20 ⁺	0.22 [#]	0.19 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.21 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.22 [#]	0.17	0.20 ⁺
Fertility Intentions			0.06***	0.09***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.09***
Relationship Satisfaction			0.13***	0.13***	0.28***	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.26***
Missing			-0.51*	-0.53*	1.20**	-0.50*	-0.54*	-0.55*	-0.51*	-0.52*	-0.50*	-0.50*	-0.56*	-0.49*	1.45**
Financial Satisfaction			0.01	0.01	0.01	0.06**	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Poor Health			0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	-0.03	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.11
Missing			0.40 [#]	0.41*	0.29	0.38 [#]	0.53*	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.43*	0.39 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.60
Religiosity			0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.02	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.03 ⁺
Missing			0.26**	0.25**	0.25**	0.26**	0.26**	0.15	0.26**	0.24**	0.27**	0.27**	0.26**	0.26**	0.08
Parental Divorce			-0.12	-0.12	-0.11	-0.12	-0.13	-0.12	-0.24*	-0.13	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.21 [#]
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.01	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.03
Missing			-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	0.00	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.06
Owns Home			0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.33***	0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.35***	0.56***	0.36***	0.34***	0.35***	0.55***
Household Income			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
Happiness			0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	-0.00
Missing			0.88***	0.88***	0.63*	0.90***	0.93***	0.88***	0.87***	0.92***	0.88***	0.88***	1.33***	0.87***	0.04
Years of Education			0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.09***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.13***	0.11**
Interaction Terms															
(ref: Single):															
Relationship Satisfaction *															
Single						-0.21***									-0.17***
Non-marital Cohab.						-0.21*									-0.14
Post-marital Cohab.						-0.29**									-0.33***

Remarriage Cohab.	-0.02		-0.04
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>Single</i>	-2.37***		-2.49***
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>	-1.29		-0.99
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>	-1.81*		-0.89
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>	0.60		0.08
Fertility Intentions *			
<i>Single</i>	-0.06*		-0.04
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.16**		-0.16**
Post-marital Cohab.	0.05		0.04
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.08**		-0.08**
Financial Satisfaction *			
<i>Single</i>		-0.14***	-0.08**
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.14*	-0.04
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.10	-0.04
Remarriage Cohab.		0.04	0.07
Poor Health *			
<i>Single</i>		0.31	-0.01
Non-marital Cohab.		0.74 ⁺	0.55
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.43	-0.55
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.44 ⁺	-0.48 ⁺
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>Single</i>		-0.44*	-0.66
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>		0.85 ⁺	1.38
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		-0.09	-2.10**
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		0.62 [#]	0.01
Religiosity *			
<i>Single</i>		0.09***	0.09***
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.11	-0.15 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.		0.01	0.00
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.00	-0.02
<i>Missing*</i>			
<i>Single</i>		0.35	0.74**
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>		0.64	0.53
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		-0.51	-0.87
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		0.02	-0.09
Parental Divorce *			
<i>Single</i>		0.26	0.16
Non-marital Cohab.		0.64 ⁺	0.50
Post-marital Cohab.		0.76 ⁺	0.62
Remarriage Cohab.		0.05	0.05

Gender Role Attitudes *																		
Single																	-0.07 ⁺	-0.05
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.14	-0.07
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.03	0.01
Remarriage Cohab.																	-0.03	0.01
<i>Missing*</i>																		
Single																	-0.74 ^{**}	-0.57 [*]
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.03	0.11
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.22	0.56
Remarriage Cohab.																	-0.15	-0.15
Owns Home *																		
Single																	-0.54 ^{***}	-0.45 ^{**}
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.19	0.41
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.51	-0.27
Remarriage Cohab.																	-0.35 [#]	-0.46 [*]
Household Income *																		
Single																	-0.00 ^{***}	-0.00 [*]
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.00 [*]	-0.00
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.00	-0.00
Remarriage Cohab.																	-0.00	-0.00
Happiness *																		
Single																	-0.19 ^{**}	-0.06
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.21	0.05
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.01	0.22
Remarriage Cohab.																	0.07	0.03
<i>Missing*</i>																		
Single																	-1.28 ^{***}	0.81
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.32	-1.24
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.18	1.38
Remarriage Cohab.																	1.05 [#]	0.44
Years of Education *																		
Single																	-0.01	0.02
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.20 [*]	-0.14 ⁺
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.10	-0.05
Remarriage Cohab.																	-0.10 [*]	-0.09 ⁺
Constant	-1.56 ^{***}	-1.31 ^{***}	-4.69 ^{***}	-4.82 ^{***}	-5.94 ^{***}	-5.06 ^{***}	-4.72 ^{***}	-4.55 ^{***}	-4.69 ^{***}	-4.91 ^{***}	-4.81 ^{***}	-4.79 ^{***}	-5.05 ^{***}	-5.16 ^{***}	-6.53 ^{***}			
Pseudo R-Squared	0.1812	0.1928	0.2883	0.2302	0.2327	0.2308	0.2309	0.2306	0.2288	0.2297	0.2298	0.2299	0.2305	0.2292	0.2447			
Observations	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497			

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 3: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Married – Non-marital Cohabitors Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models										Full Model	
Relationship Status Categories(ref: Non-Marital Cohabitors):															
Single	-0.13	0.02	0.67***	0.37	0.81	0.61	0.95***	0.31	0.78***	0.54	1.16***	0.59*	0.77	-1.85	-0.56
Premarital Cohab.	2.53***	2.48***	2.28***	1.59***	0.50	1.40**	2.51***	2.26***	2.43***	1.71**	2.44***	1.83***	1.43#	-0.33	-1.57
Post-marital Cohab.	0.47*	0.69**	0.43#	-0.03	1.08	0.17	0.74**	0.44	0.46 ⁺	-0.02	0.93*	0.34	-0.41	-0.95	-0.17
Remarriage Cohab.	2.76***	2.95***	2.62***	2.32***	0.94	1.50**	2.87***	2.62***	2.76***	2.23***	2.99***	2.31***	1.39 ⁺	1.24	0.47
Female		-0.09	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)		0.27*	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.11
Non-English Speaking															
Main English Speaking		0.06	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07
Indigenous		-0.64**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.63**	-0.64**	-0.61**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.61**	-0.63**	-0.63**	-0.62**	-0.60**	-0.66**
Has child		0.03	0.29***	0.30***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.29***	0.29***	0.27***	0.32***	0.28***	0.30***	0.30***
Age		-0.01***	-0.00	-0.01 ⁺	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01#	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Holds Degree		0.62***	0.21 ⁺	0.22#	0.23#	0.20 ⁺	0.22#	0.19 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.21 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.22#	0.17	0.20 ⁺
Fertility Intentions			0.06***	-0.07	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	-0.07
Relationship Satisfaction			0.13***	0.13***	0.06	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.12
Missing			-0.51*	-0.53*	-0.09	-0.50*	-0.54*	-0.55*	-0.51*	-0.52*	-0.50*	-0.50*	-0.56*	-0.49*	0.46
Financial Satisfaction			0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.08	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.01
Poor Health			0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.72 ⁺	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.66
Missing			0.40#	0.41*	0.29	0.38#	1.37**	0.40#	0.40#	0.43*	0.39#	0.40#	0.40#	0.40#	1.98
Religiosity			0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	-0.09	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	-0.12
Missing			0.26**	0.25**	0.25**	0.26**	0.26**	0.79*	0.26**	0.24**	0.27**	0.27**	0.26**	0.26**	0.61
Parental Divorce			-0.12	-0.12	-0.11	-0.12	-0.13	-0.12	0.39	-0.13	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	0.29
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.15	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.10
Missing			-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	0.03	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	0.05
Owens Home			0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.33***	0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.35***	0.75*	0.36***	0.34***	0.35***	0.95*
Household Income			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	-0.00	0.00***	0.00***	0.00
Happiness			0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.14	0.00	0.05
Missing			0.88***	0.88***	0.63*	0.90***	0.93***	0.88***	0.87***	0.92***	0.88***	0.88***	1.01	0.87***	-1.20
Years of Education			0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.09***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	-0.07	-0.03
Interaction Terms															
(ref: Single):															
Relationship Satisfaction *															
Single						0.00									-0.03
Premarital Cohab.						0.21*									0.14
Post-marital Cohab.						-0.08									-0.19

Remarriage Cohab.	0.20		0.10
<i>Missing *</i>			
Single	-1.09		-1.50 [#]
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>	1.29		0.99
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>	-0.53		0.10
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>	1.89		1.07
Fertility Intentions *			
Single	0.11 [#]		0.12*
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>	0.16**		0.16**
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>	0.21**		0.20*
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>	0.09		0.08
Financial Satisfaction *			
Single		0.01	-0.04
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		0.14*	0.04
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		0.04	0.01
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		0.18*	0.11
Poor Health *			
Single		-0.43	-0.56
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		-0.74 ⁺	-0.55
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		-1.17 [#]	-1.10
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		-1.18*	-1.03 [#]
<i>Missing *</i>			
Single		-1.29**	-2.04
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		-0.85 ⁺	-1.38
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		-0.94	-3.48*
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		-0.23	-1.37
Religiosity *			
Single		0.20*	0.24**
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		0.11	0.15 [#]
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		0.12	0.15 ⁺
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		0.11	0.14 ⁺
<i>Missing*</i>			
Single		-0.29	0.21
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		-0.64	-0.53
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		-1.15	-1.40 ⁺
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		-0.62	-0.62
Parental Divorce *			
Single		-0.38	-0.34
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		-0.64 ⁺	-0.50
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		0.12	0.11
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		-0.59	-0.46

Gender Role Attitudes *															
Single															0.02
Premarital Cohab.															0.07
Post-marital Cohab.															0.08
Remarriage Cohab.															0.08
<i>Missing*</i>															
Single															-0.69
Premarital Cohab.															-0.11
Post-marital Cohab.															0.44
Remarriage Cohab.															-0.26
Owns Home *															
Single															-0.86*
Premarital Cohab.															-0.41
Post-marital Cohab.															-0.68
Remarriage Cohab.															-0.87*
Household Income *															
Single															0.00
Premarital Cohab.															0.00*
Post-marital Cohab.															0.00
Remarriage Cohab.															0.00
Happiness *															
Single															-0.10
Premarital Cohab.															-0.05
Post-marital Cohab.															0.17
Remarriage Cohab.															-0.02
<i>Missing*</i>															
Single															2.05
Premarital Cohab.															1.24
Post-marital Cohab.															2.62 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.															1.68
Years of Education *															
Single															0.17 [#]
Premarital Cohab.															0.14 ⁺
Post-marital Cohab.															0.09
Remarriage Cohab.															0.05
Constant	-4.08***	-3.78***	-6.97***	-6.40***	-6.44***	-6.46***	-7.22***	-6.82***	-7.12***	-6.62***	-7.25***	-6.62***	-6.47***	-4.83***	-4.96**
Pseudo R-Squared	0.1812	0.1928	0.2883	0.2302	0.2327	0.2308	0.2309	0.2306	0.2288	0.2297	0.2298	0.2299	0.2305	0.2292	0.2447
Observations	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 4: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Married – Post-marital Cohabitors Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models										Full Model	
Relationship Status Categories(ref: Post-Marital Cohabitors):															
Single	-0.60***	-0.67***	0.24	0.40*	-0.27	0.44	0.22	-0.14	0.32	0.56	0.22	0.26	1.19 ⁺	-0.90	-0.39
Premarital Cohab.	2.06***	1.78***	1.85***	1.62***	-0.58	1.23**	1.77***	1.82***	1.97***	1.73***	1.51***	1.49***	1.84**	0.62	-1.40
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.47*	-0.69**	-0.43 [#]	0.03	-1.08	-0.17	-0.74**	-0.44	-0.46 ⁺	0.02	-0.93*	-0.34	0.41	0.95	0.17
Remarriage Cohab.	2.29***	2.26***	2.19***	2.35***	-0.14	1.34**	2.14***	2.18***	2.29***	2.25***	2.06***	1.97***	1.81*	2.19*	0.64
Female		-0.09	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)		0.27*	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.11
Non-English Speaking															
Main English Speaking		0.06	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07
Indigenous		-0.64**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.63**	-0.64**	-0.61**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.61**	-0.63**	-0.63**	-0.62**	-0.60**	-0.66**
Has child		0.03	0.29***	0.30***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.29***	0.29***	0.27***	0.32***	0.28***	0.30***	0.30***
Age		-0.01***	-0.00	-0.01 ⁺	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01 [#]	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Holds Degree		0.62***	0.21 ⁺	0.22 [#]	0.23 [#]	0.20 ⁺	0.22 [#]	0.19 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.21 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.20 ⁺	0.22 [#]	0.17	0.20 ⁺
Fertility Intentions			0.06***	0.14**	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.13*
Relationship Satisfaction			0.13***	0.13***	-0.02	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	-0.07
Missing			-0.51*	-0.53*	-0.61	-0.50*	-0.54*	-0.55*	-0.51*	-0.52*	-0.50*	-0.50*	-0.56*	-0.49*	0.56
Financial Satisfaction			0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.01
Poor Health			0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	-0.46	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	-0.44
Missing			0.40 [#]	0.41*	0.29	0.38 [#]	0.43	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.43*	0.39 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	0.40 [#]	-1.50*
Religiosity			0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.04	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.03
Missing			0.26**	0.25**	0.25**	0.26**	0.26**	-0.36	0.26**	0.24**	0.27**	0.27**	0.26**	0.26**	-0.79
Parental Divorce			-0.12	-0.12	-0.11	-0.12	-0.13	-0.12	0.52	-0.13	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	0.41
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.04	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.02
Missing			-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	0.23	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	0.50
Owns Home			0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.33***	0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.35***	0.04	0.36***	0.34***	0.35***	0.27
Household Income			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00	0.00***	0.00***	0.00
Happiness			0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.22
Missing			0.88***	0.88***	0.63*	0.90***	0.93***	0.88***	0.87***	0.92***	0.88***	0.88***	1.51	0.87***	1.42
Years of Education			0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.09***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.04	0.05
Interaction Terms															
(ref: Single):															
Relationship Satisfaction *															
Single					0.08										0.16 [#]
Premarital Cohab.					0.29**										0.33***
Non-marital Cohab.					0.08										0.19

Remarriage Cohab.	0.27*		0.29**
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>Single</i>	-0.56		-1.61
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>	1.81*		0.89
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>	0.53		-0.10
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>	2.41*		0.96
Fertility Intentions *			
Single	-0.10 [#]		-0.07
Premarital Cohab.	-0.05		-0.04
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.21**		-0.20*
Remarriage Cohab.	-0.12*		-0.11*
Financial Satisfaction *			
Single	-0.04		-0.04
Premarital Cohab.	0.10		0.04
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.04		-0.01
Remarriage Cohab.	0.14 ⁺		0.11
Poor Health *			
Single		0.74	0.55
Premarital Cohab.		0.43	0.55
Non-marital Cohab.		1.17 [#]	1.10
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.01	0.07
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>Single</i>		-0.35	1.44*
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		0.09	2.10**
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>		0.94	3.48*
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		0.71	2.11*
Religiosity *			
Single		0.08	0.09 ⁺
Premarital Cohab.		-0.01	-0.00
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.12	-0.15 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.02	-0.02
<i>Missing*</i>			
<i>Single</i>		0.86	1.61*
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		0.51	0.87
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>		1.15	1.40 ⁺
<i>Remarriage Cohab.</i>		0.53	0.77
Parental Divorce *			
Single		-0.50	-0.45
Premarital Cohab.		-0.76 ⁺	-0.62
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.12	-0.11
Remarriage Cohab.		-0.71	-0.57

Gender Role Attitudes *																	
Single																-0.04	-0.06
Premarital Cohab.																0.03	-0.01
Non-marital Cohab.																-0.11	-0.08
Remarriage Cohab.																-0.00	-0.00
<i>Missing*</i>																	
Single																-0.96 [#]	-1.13 [#]
Premarital Cohab.																-0.22	-0.56
Non-marital Cohab.																-0.20	-0.44
Remarriage Cohab.																-0.38	-0.71
Owns Home *																	
Single																-0.03	-0.18
Premarital Cohab.																0.51	0.27
Non-marital Cohab.																0.70	0.68
Remarriage Cohab.																0.16	-0.19
Household Income *																	
Single																-0.00	0.00
Premarital Cohab.																0.00	0.00
Non-marital Cohab.																-0.00	-0.00
Remarriage Cohab.																0.00	0.00
Happiness *																	
Single																-0.19	-0.27 ⁺
Premarital Cohab.																0.01	-0.22
Non-marital Cohab.																-0.20	-0.17
Remarriage Cohab.																0.08	-0.19
<i>Missing*</i>																	
Single																-1.46	-0.56
Premarital Cohab.																-0.18	-1.38
Non-marital Cohab.																-0.50	-2.62 ⁺
Remarriage Cohab.																0.87	-0.93
Years of Education *																	
Single																0.09	0.08
Premarital Cohab.																0.10	0.05
Non-marital Cohab.																-0.10	-0.09
Remarriage Cohab.																-0.00	-0.03
Constant	-3.61 ^{***}	-3.09 ^{***}	-6.54 ^{***}	-6.44 ^{***}	-5.36 ^{***}	-6.29 ^{***}	-6.49 ^{***}	-6.37 ^{***}	-6.66 ^{***}	-6.64 ^{***}	-6.32 ^{***}	-6.28 ^{***}	-6.89 ^{***}	-5.78 ^{***}	-5.13 ^{***}		
Pseudo R-Squared	0.1812	0.1928	0.2883	0.2302	0.2327	0.2308	0.2309	0.2306	0.2288	0.2297	0.2298	0.2299	0.2305	0.2292	0.2447		
Observations	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497		

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 5: The Likelihood of Transitioning to Married – Remarriage Cohabitors Reference Category

Variables	Base Model	Control Model	Pred. Model	Interaction Models										Full Model		
Relationship Status Categories(ref: Remarriage Cohabitors):																
Single	-2.89***	-2.93***	-1.95***	-1.95***	-0.14	-0.89**	-1.92***	-2.32***	-1.97***	-1.69***	-1.83***	-1.71***	-0.62	-3.09***	-1.03	
Premarital Cohab.	-0.24**	-0.47***	-0.34***	-0.73***	-0.44	-0.11	-0.37***	-0.36**	-0.32**	-0.52#	-0.55***	-0.48**	0.04	-1.57*	-2.04#	
Non-marital Cohab.	-2.76***	-2.95***	-2.62***	-2.32***	-0.94	-1.50**	-2.87***	-2.62***	-2.76***	-2.23***	-2.99***	-2.31***	-1.39+	-1.24	-0.47	
Post-marital Cohab.	-2.29***	-2.26***	-2.19***	-2.35***	0.14	-1.34**	-2.14***	-2.18***	-2.29***	-2.25***	-2.06***	-1.97***	-1.81*	-2.19*	-0.64	
Female		-0.09	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07	
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)		0.27*	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.11	
Non-English Speaking																
Main English Speaking		0.06	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07	
Indigenous		-0.64**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.63**	-0.64**	-0.61**	-0.62**	-0.62**	-0.61**	-0.63**	-0.63**	-0.62**	-0.60**	-0.66**	
Has child		0.03	0.29***	0.30***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.29***	0.29***	0.27***	0.32***	0.28***	0.30***	0.30***	
Age		-0.01***	-0.00	-0.01+	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01#	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	
Holds Degree		0.62***	0.21+	0.22#	0.23#	0.20+	0.22#	0.19+	0.20+	0.21+	0.20+	0.20+	0.22#	0.17	0.20+	
Fertility Intentions			0.06***	0.02	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.01	
Relationship Satisfaction			0.13***	0.13***	0.26***	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	0.22**	
Missing			-0.51*	-0.53*	1.80*	-0.50*	-0.54*	-0.55*	-0.51*	-0.52*	-0.50*	-0.50*	-0.56*	-0.49*	1.52	
Financial Satisfaction			0.01	0.01	0.01	0.10*	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.10*	
Poor Health			0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	-0.46*	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	-0.37	
Missing			0.40#	0.41*	0.29	0.38#	1.14**	0.40#	0.40#	0.43*	0.39#	0.40#	0.40#	0.40#	0.61	
Religiosity			0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.02	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.01	
Missing			0.26**	0.25**	0.25**	0.26**	0.26**	0.17	0.26**	0.24**	0.27**	0.27**	0.26**	0.26**	-0.02	
Parental Divorce			-0.12	-0.12	-0.11	-0.12	-0.13	-0.12	-0.19	-0.13	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.16	
Gender Role Attitudes			-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.04	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.02	
Missing			-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.24*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.15	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.23*	-0.21	
Owens Home			0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.33***	0.34***	0.35***	0.34***	0.35***	0.21	0.36***	0.34***	0.35***	0.08	
Household Income			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00*	0.00***	0.00***	0.00*	
Happiness			0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.03	
Missing			0.88***	0.88***	0.63*	0.90***	0.93***	0.88***	0.87***	0.92***	0.88***	0.88***	2.37***	0.87***	0.48	
Years of Education			0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.09***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.04	0.02	
Interaction Terms																
(ref: Single):																
Relationship Satisfaction *																
Single																-0.19*
Premarital Cohab.																0.02
Non-marital Cohab.																-0.20

Post-marital Cohab.	-0.27*		-0.29**
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>Single</i>	-2.98***		-2.57**
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>	-0.60		-0.08
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>	-1.89		-1.07
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>	-2.41*		-0.96
Fertility Intentions *			
Single	0.02		0.04
Premarital Cohab.	0.08**		0.08**
Non-marital Cohab.	-0.09		-0.08
Post-marital Cohab.	0.12*		0.11*
Financial Satisfaction *			
Single		-0.17***	-0.15***
Premarital Cohab.		-0.04	-0.07
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.18*	-0.11
Post-marital Cohab.		-0.14 ⁺	-0.11
Poor Health *			
Single		0.74**	0.47 ⁺
Premarital Cohab.		0.44 ⁺	0.48 ⁺
Non-marital Cohab.		1.18*	1.03 [#]
Post-marital Cohab.		0.01	-0.07
<i>Missing *</i>			
<i>Single</i>		-1.06**	-0.67
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		-0.62 [#]	-0.01
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>		0.23	1.37
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		-0.71	-2.11*
Religiosity *			
Single		0.09**	0.11**
Premarital Cohab.		0.00	0.02
Non-marital Cohab.		-0.11	-0.14 ⁺
Post-marital Cohab.		0.02	0.02
<i>Missing*</i>			
<i>Single</i>		0.33	0.84*
<i>Premarital Cohab.</i>		-0.02	0.09
<i>Non-marital Cohab.</i>		0.62	0.62
<i>Post-marital Cohab.</i>		-0.53	-0.77
Parental Divorce *			
Single		0.21	0.12
Premarital Cohab.		-0.05	-0.05
Non-marital Cohab.		0.59	0.46
Post-marital Cohab.		0.71	0.57

Gender Role Attitudes *																		
Single																	-0.04	-0.06
Premarital Cohab.																	0.03	-0.01
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.11	-0.08
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.00	0.00
<i>Missing*</i>																		
Single																	-0.58 [#]	-0.42
Premarital Cohab.																	0.15	0.15
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.18	0.26
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.38	0.71
Owns Home *																		
Single																	-0.19	0.01
Premarital Cohab.																	0.35 [#]	0.46*
Non-marital Cohab.																	0.54	0.87*
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.16	0.19
Household Income *																		
Single																	-0.00*	-0.00
Premarital Cohab.																	0.00	0.00
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.00	-0.00
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.00	-0.00
Happiness *																		
Single																	-0.26**	-0.09
Premarital Cohab.																	-0.07	-0.03
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.28	0.02
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.08	0.19
<i>Missing*</i>																		
Single																	-2.32***	0.37
Premarital Cohab.																	-1.05 [#]	-0.44
Non-marital Cohab.																	-1.36	-1.68
Post-marital Cohab.																	-0.87	0.93
Years of Education *																		
Single																	0.09 [#]	0.11*
Premarital Cohab.																	0.10*	0.09 ⁺
Non-marital Cohab.																	-0.10	-0.05
Post-marital Cohab.																	0.00	0.03
Constant	-1.32***	-0.84***	-4.35***	-4.08***	-5.50***	-4.96***	-4.35***	-4.20***	-4.36***	-4.40***	-4.26***	-4.31***	-5.08***	-3.59***	-4.50***			
Pseudo R-Squared	0.1812	0.1928	0.2883	0.2302	0.2327	0.2308	0.2309	0.2306	0.2288	0.2297	0.2298	0.2299	0.2305	0.2292	0.2447			
Observations	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497	34,497			

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

**Appendix 8: Hausman Endogeneity Test for the Random Effects Model with
Between- and Within-Person Effects Predicting Happiness,**

Variables	Random Effects Model	Random Effects Model with Within and Between Person Effects		Fixed Effects Model	Hausman Test: Difference = Fixed - Random Effects Mode)		Hausman Test: Difference = Fixed - Random Effects Model with Within and Between Person Effects	
	Coefficient	Coefficient		Coefficient	Difference in Coefficients	Square Root S.E.	Difference in Coefficients	Square Root S.E.
Marital Status (First Marriage Reference)		Within Effects						
Higher order marriage	-0.0258	-0.0102	0.0033	0.0291	0.0145	0.0134	0.0163	
Premarital cohabiters	-0.0217	-0.0196	-0.0204	0.0013	0.0074	-0.0007	0.0084	
Non-marital cohabiters	-0.0486	-0.0341	-0.0373	0.0113	0.0108	-0.0032	0.0120	
Premarital cohabiters	-0.0734	-0.0586	-0.0476	0.0258	0.0131	0.0110	0.0147	
Remarriage cohabiters	-0.0014	0.0099	0.0281	0.0295	0.0128	0.0183	0.0145	
Single	0.0836**	0.0862***	0.0771**	-0.0065	0.0096	-0.0091	0.0104	
Marital Status (First Marriage Reference)		Between Effects						
Higher order marriage		-0.0119						
Premarital cohabiters		0.0408						
Non-marital cohabiters		0.0670						
Premarital cohabiters		0.1057*						
Remarriage cohabiters		-0.1135						
Single		0.2634***						
Independent Variables:								
Age	-0.0115	Within	-0.0158**	-0.0145*	-0.0030	0.0015	0.0013	0.0016
		Between	0.0092**					
Age squared	0.0001	Within	0.0001	0.0001	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
		Between	-0.0000					
Child	0.0744**	Within	0.0736**	0.0805**	0.0061	0.0051	0.0069	0.0057
		Between	0.0821***					
Degree	0.0430	Within	0.0325	0.0216	-0.0214	0.0160	-0.0109	0.0181

		Between	-0.0116					
Household income	0.0000	Within	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
		Between	0.0000					
Fertility intentions	0.0090***	Within	0.0086***	0.0084***	-0.0006	0.0004	-0.0002	0.0005
		Between	0.0126***					
Financial satisfaction	0.0336***	Within	0.0334***	0.0335***	-0.0001	0.0005	0.0000	0.0005
		Between	0.0703***					
Poor health	-0.3946***	Within	-0.3961***	-0.3928***	0.0018	0.0019	0.0032	0.0022
		Between	-0.9535***					
Religiosity	0.0033	Within	0.0041	0.0040	0.0007	0.0005	0.0000	0.0005
		Between	0.0039					
Parental divorce	0.0012	Within	0.0360	0.0751*	0.0739	0.0156	0.0392	0.0165
		Between	-0.0912***					
Gender role attitudes	-0.0028	Within	-0.0032	-0.0027	0.0001	0.0005	0.0005	0.0006
		Between	0.0113**					
Owens own home	-0.0316*	Within	-0.0293	-0.0299	0.0017	0.0041	-0.0006	0.0046
		Between	-0.0236					
Years of education	-0.0144	Within	-0.0152	-0.0179	-0.0035	0.0028	-0.0027	0.0032
		Between	-0.0021					
Relationship satisfaction	0.0951***	Within	0.0947***	0.0939***	-0.0012	0.0004	-0.0008	0.0004
		Between	0.1372***					
Constant	4.4466***	2.5805***	4.4630***					
Observations*	56,461	56,461	56,461					
Number of id2*	12,250	12,250	12,250					
Hausman Test Statistic				Chi2 (18)	60.19	Chi2 (18)	21.30	
				Prob > Chi2 =	0.0000	Prob > Chi2 =	0.2644	

* Note that missing data is not dealt with in this test, as this led to issues with the comparability of the Hausman tests. As such, some respondents who are included in the final analysis models for Chapter 7 are not included here. In particular, as relationship satisfaction is used in this test single respondents who do not report relationship satisfaction are not included.

**Appendix 9: Random Effects Model with Between- and Within-Person Effects
Predicting Happiness, Alternating Reference Categories**

Table 1: Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness – First Marriage Reference

VARIABLES	Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Relationship Status Categories (ref. First Marriage):						
<i>Within Effects</i>						
Higher order marriage		0.04	0.05	0.04	0.00	-0.00
Premarital cohabiters		-0.00	-0.02	-0.04	-0.04 [#]	-0.05*
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.08*	-0.10**	-0.09**	-0.06 [#]	-0.06 [#]
Post-marital cohabiters		-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	-0.06	-0.06
Remarriage cohabiters		0.12**	0.11**	0.08*	0.02	0.01
Single		-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.05*	-0.05**
<i>Between Effects</i>						
Higher order marriage		-0.05 [#]	-0.05 [#]	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Premarital cohabiters		0.05	-0.03	0.04	0.05	0.06 [#]
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.23***	-0.24***	-0.09*	-0.05	-0.05
Post-marital cohabiters		-0.09 ⁺	-0.08	0.05	0.05	0.04
Remarriage cohabiters		-0.12 [#]	-0.09	-0.03	-0.05	-0.05
Single		-0.13***	-0.18***	-0.04*	0.21***	0.21***
<i>Independent Variables:</i>						
Female			0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)			-0.11***	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.08***
Non-English Speaking						
Main English Speaking			0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Indigenous			-0.01	0.05	0.04	0.04
Age	<i>Within</i>		-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01***
	<i>Between</i>		-0.02***	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age Squared	<i>Within</i>		0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00**
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00**	0.00*	0.00**
Has Child	<i>Within</i>		-0.02	0.02	0.04 [#]	0.03*
	<i>Between</i>		-0.07***	0.02	0.02	
Holds Degree	<i>Within</i>		0.03	0.01	0.01	
	<i>Between</i>		0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01
Household Income	<i>Within</i>		0.00***	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00*	0.00**	0.00**
Fertility Intentions	<i>Within</i>			0.02***	0.01***	
	<i>Between</i>			0.02***	0.02***	0.01***
Financial Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>			0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Between</i>			0.10***	0.09***	0.09***
Poor Health	<i>Within</i>			-0.43***	-0.42***	-0.42***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.95***	-0.94***	-0.94***
	<i>Missing</i>			-0.37***	-0.37***	-0.37***
Religiosity	<i>Within</i>			0.00 ⁺	0.00	
	<i>Between</i>			0.00**	0.00**	0.00***
	<i>Missing</i>			0.03 [#]	0.02	0.03*
Parental Divorce	<i>Within</i>			0.07***	0.08***	0.08***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.11***	-0.12***	-0.12***
Gender Role Attitudes	<i>Within</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Missing</i>			0.01	0.02	0.02

Owns Home	<i>Within</i>			-0.03**	-0.03*	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.04*	-0.03 [#]	-0.03**
Years of Education	<i>Within</i>			-0.01	-0.01	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Relationship Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>				0.09***	0.09***
	<i>Between</i>				0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Missing: No SCQ</i>				0.19***	0.19***
	<i>Missing: Not applicable</i>				0.00	0.00
Constant		4.48***	4.75***	3.86***	3.48***	3.51***
Observations		87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371
Number of id2		17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449
R-Squared:						
<i>Within</i>		0.0011	0.0033	0.0339	0.0524	0.0524
<i>Between</i>		0.0050	0.0248	0.2260	0.2420	0.2421
<i>Overall</i>		0.0044	0.0192	0.1709	0.1897	0.1898

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 2: Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness – Higher Order Marriage Reference

VARIABLES	Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Relationship Status Categories (ref. Higher Order Marriage):						
<i>Within Effects</i>						
First Marriage		-0.04	-0.05	-0.04	-0.00	0.00
Premarital cohabiters		-0.04	-0.07 [#]	-0.08 [#]	-0.04	-0.04
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.12 ^{**}	-0.15 ^{***}	-0.13 ^{**}	-0.06	-0.06
Post-marital cohabiters		-0.06	-0.07 ⁺	-0.07	-0.06	-0.06
Remarriage cohabiters		0.08 [#]	0.06	0.04	0.01	0.01
Single		-0.14 ^{***}	-0.16 ^{***}	-0.14 ^{***}	-0.05	-0.05
<i>Between Effects</i>						
First Marriage		0.05 [#]	0.05 [#]	-0.00	0.00	0.00
Premarital cohabiters		0.10 [*]	0.02	0.03	0.05	0.06 ⁺
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.18 ^{***}	-0.19 ^{***}	-0.10 [*]	-0.05	-0.05
Post-marital cohabiters		-0.04	-0.03	0.05	0.05	0.05
Remarriage cohabiters		-0.07	-0.04	-0.03	-0.05	-0.05
Single		-0.08 ^{**}	-0.13 ^{***}	-0.04	0.21 ^{***}	0.22 ^{***}
<i>Independent Variables:</i>						
Female			0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)			-0.11 ^{***}	-0.09 ^{***}	-0.08 ^{***}	-0.08 ^{***}
Non-English Speaking						
Main English Speaking			0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Indigenous			-0.01	0.05	0.04	0.04
Age	<i>Within</i>		-0.02 ^{***}	-0.02 ^{***}	-0.01 ^{**}	-0.01 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>		-0.02 ^{***}	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age Squared	<i>Within</i>		0.00 [*]	0.00 [*]	0.00	0.00 ^{**}
	<i>Between</i>		0.00 ^{***}	0.00 ^{**}	0.00 [*]	0.00 ^{**}
Has Child	<i>Within</i>		-0.02	0.02	0.04 [#]	0.03 [*]
	<i>Between</i>		-0.07 ^{***}	0.02	0.02	
Holds Degree	<i>Within</i>		0.03	0.01	0.01	
	<i>Between</i>		0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01
Household Income	<i>Within</i>		0.00 ^{***}	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>		0.00 ^{***}	0.00 [*]	0.00 ^{**}	0.00 ^{**}
Fertility Intentions	<i>Within</i>			0.02 ^{***}	0.01 ^{***}	0.01 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>			0.02 ^{***}	0.02 ^{***}	0.01 ^{***}
Financial Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>			0.04 ^{***}	0.04 ^{***}	0.04 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>			0.10 ^{***}	0.09 ^{***}	0.09 ^{***}
Poor Health	<i>Within</i>			-0.43 ^{***}	-0.42 ^{***}	-0.42 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>			-0.95 ^{***}	-0.94 ^{***}	-0.94 ^{***}
	<i>Missing</i>			-0.37 ^{***}	-0.37 ^{***}	-0.37 ^{***}
Religiosity	<i>Within</i>			0.00 ⁺	0.00	
	<i>Between</i>			0.00 ^{**}	0.00 ^{**}	0.00 ^{***}
	<i>Missing</i>			0.03 [#]	0.02	0.03 [*]
Parental Divorce	<i>Within</i>			0.07 ^{***}	0.08 ^{***}	0.08 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>			-0.11 ^{***}	-0.12 ^{***}	-0.12 ^{***}
Gender Role Attitudes	<i>Within</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Missing</i>			0.01	0.02	0.02

Owns Home	<i>Within</i>			-0.03**	-0.03*	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.04*	-0.03 [#]	-0.03**
Years of Education	<i>Within</i>			-0.01	-0.01	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Relationship Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>				0.09***	0.09***
	<i>Between</i>				0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Missing: No SCQ</i>				0.19***	0.19***
	<i>Missing: Not applicable</i>				0.00	0.00
Constant		4.48***	4.75***	3.86***	3.48***	3.51***
Observations		87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371
Number of id2		17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449
R-Squared:						
<i>Within</i>		0.0011	0.0033	0.0339	0.0524	0.0524
<i>Between</i>		0.0050	0.0248	0.2260	0.2420	0.2421
<i>Overall</i>		0.0044	0.0192	0.1709	0.1897	0.1898

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 3: Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness – Premarital Cohabitors Reference

VARIABLES	Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Relationship Status Categories (ref. Premarital Cohabitors):						
<i>Within Effects</i>						
First marriage		0.00	0.02	0.04	0.04 [#]	0.05*
Higher order marriage		0.04	0.07 [#]	0.08 [#]	0.04	0.04
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.08**	-0.07*	-0.05 [#]	-0.02	-0.01
Post-marital cohabiters		-0.02	-0.00	0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Remarriage cohabiters		0.12**	0.14**	0.12**	0.06	0.06
Single		-0.10***	-0.09***	-0.06**	-0.01	-0.01
<i>Between Effects</i>						
First marriage		-0.05	0.03	-0.04	-0.05	-0.06 [#]
Higher order marriage		-0.10*	-0.02	-0.03	-0.05	-0.06 ⁺
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.28***	-0.21***	-0.13**	-0.10*	-0.11*
Post-marital cohabiters		-0.14*	-0.05	0.02	-0.00	-0.02
Remarriage cohabiters		-0.17*	-0.06	-0.06	-0.10	-0.11 ⁺
Single		-0.18***	-0.15***	-0.07*	0.16***	0.15***
<i>Independent Variables:</i>						
Female			0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)			-0.11***	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.08***
Non-English Speaking						
Main English Speaking			0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Indigenous			-0.01	0.05	0.04	0.04
Age	<i>Within</i>		-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01***
	<i>Between</i>		-0.02***	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age Squared	<i>Within</i>		0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00**
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00**	0.00*	0.00**
Has Child	<i>Within</i>		-0.02	0.02	0.04 [#]	0.03*
	<i>Between</i>		-0.07***	0.02	0.02	
Holds Degree	<i>Within</i>		0.03	0.01	0.01	
	<i>Between</i>		0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01
Household Income	<i>Within</i>		0.00***	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00*	0.00**	0.00**
Fertility Intentions	<i>Within</i>			0.02***	0.01***	0.01***
	<i>Between</i>			0.02***	0.02***	0.01***
Financial Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>			0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Between</i>			0.10***	0.09***	0.09***
Poor Health	<i>Within</i>			-0.43***	-0.42***	-0.42***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.95***	-0.94***	-0.94***
	<i>Missing</i>			-0.37***	-0.37***	-0.37***
Religiosity	<i>Within</i>			0.00 ⁺	0.00	0.00***
	<i>Between</i>			0.00**	0.00**	0.00***
	<i>Missing</i>			0.03 [#]	0.02	0.03*
Parental Divorce	<i>Within</i>			0.07***	0.08***	0.08***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.11***	-0.12***	-0.12***
Gender Role Attitudes	<i>Within</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Missing</i>			0.01	0.02	0.02

Owns Home	<i>Within</i>			-0.03**	-0.03*	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.04*	-0.03 [#]	-0.03**
Years of Education	<i>Within</i>			-0.01	-0.01	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Relationship Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>				0.09***	0.09***
	<i>Between</i>				0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Missing: No SCQ</i>				0.19***	0.19***
	<i>Missing: Not applicable</i>				0.00	0.00
Constant		4.48***	4.75***	3.86***	3.48***	3.51***
Observations		87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371
Number of id2		17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449
R-Squared:						
<i>Within</i>		0.0011	0.0033	0.0339	0.0524	0.0524
<i>Between</i>		0.0050	0.0248	0.2260	0.2420	0.2421
<i>Overall</i>		0.0044	0.0192	0.1709	0.1897	0.1898

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 4: Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness – Non-marital Cohabitors Reference

VARIABLES	Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Relationship Status Categories (ref. Non-marital Cohabitors):						
<i>Within Effects</i>						
First marriage		0.08*	0.10**	0.09**	0.06 [#]	0.06 [#]
Higher order marriage		0.12**	0.15***	0.13**	0.06	0.06
Premarital cohabiters		0.08**	0.07*	0.05 [#]	0.02	0.01
Post-marital cohabiters		0.06	0.07	0.06	0.00	0.00
Remarriage cohabiters		0.20***	0.21***	0.17***	0.07	0.07
Single		-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	0.01
<i>Between Effects</i>						
First marriage		0.23***	0.24***	0.09*	0.05	0.05
Higher order marriage		0.18***	0.19***	0.10*	0.05	0.05
Premarital cohabiters		0.28***	0.21***	0.13**	0.10*	0.11*
Post-marital cohabiters		0.13*	0.16*	0.14*	0.10 ⁺	0.10 ⁺
Remarriage cohabiters		0.11	0.15 [#]	0.06	-0.00	-0.00
Single		0.10*	0.06	0.06	0.26***	0.26***
<i>Independent Variables:</i>						
Female			0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)			-0.11***	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.08***
Non-English Speaking						
Main English Speaking			0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Indigenous			-0.01	0.05	0.04	0.04
Age	<i>Within</i>		-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01***
	<i>Between</i>		-0.02***	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age Squared	<i>Within</i>		0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00**
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00**	0.00*	0.00**
Has Child	<i>Within</i>		-0.02	0.02	0.04 [#]	0.03*
	<i>Between</i>		-0.07***	0.02	0.02	
Holds Degree	<i>Within</i>		0.03	0.01	0.01	
	<i>Between</i>		0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01
Household Income	<i>Within</i>		0.00***	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00*	0.00**	0.00**
Fertility Intentions	<i>Within</i>			0.02***	0.01***	0.01***
	<i>Between</i>			0.02***	0.02***	0.01***
Financial Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>			0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Between</i>			0.10***	0.09***	0.09***
Poor Health	<i>Within</i>			-0.43***	-0.42***	-0.42***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.95***	-0.94***	-0.94***
	<i>Missing</i>			-0.37***	-0.37***	-0.37***
Religiosity	<i>Within</i>			0.00 ⁺	0.00	0.00***
	<i>Between</i>			0.00**	0.00**	0.00***
	<i>Missing</i>			0.03 [#]	0.02	0.03*
Parental Divorce	<i>Within</i>			0.07***	0.08***	0.08***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.11***	-0.12***	-0.12***
Gender Role Attitudes	<i>Within</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Missing</i>			0.01	0.02	0.02

Owns Home	<i>Within</i>			-0.03**	-0.03*	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.04*	-0.03 [#]	-0.03**
Years of Education	<i>Within</i>			-0.01	-0.01	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Relationship Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>				0.09***	0.09***
	<i>Between</i>				0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Missing: No SCQ</i>				0.19***	0.19***
	<i>Missing: Not applicable</i>				0.00	0.00
Constant		4.48***	4.75***	3.86***	3.48***	3.51***
Observations		87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371
Number of id2		17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449
R-Squared:						
<i>Within</i>		0.0011	0.0033	0.0339	0.0524	0.0524
<i>Between</i>		0.0050	0.0248	0.2260	0.2420	0.2421
<i>Overall</i>		0.0044	0.0192	0.1709	0.1897	0.1898

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 5: Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness – Post-marital Cohabitors Reference

VARIABLES	Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Relationship Status Categories (ref. Post-marital Cohabitors):						
<i>Within Effects</i>						
First marriage		0.02	0.02	0.03	0.06	0.06
Higher order marriage		0.06	0.07 ⁺	0.07	0.06	0.06
Premarital cohabiters		0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.01
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.06	-0.07	-0.06	-0.00	-0.00
Remarriage cohabiters		0.14 ^{**}	0.14 ^{**}	0.11 ^{**}	0.07 ⁺	0.07 ⁺
Single		-0.08 [*]	-0.09 [*]	-0.07 [#]	0.01	0.01
<i>Between Effects</i>						
First marriage		0.09 ⁺	0.08	-0.05	-0.05	-0.04
Higher order marriage		0.04	0.03	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05
Premarital cohabiters		0.14 [*]	0.05	-0.02	0.00	0.02
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.13 [*]	-0.16 [*]	-0.14 [*]	-0.10 ⁺	-0.10 ⁺
Remarriage cohabiters		-0.03	-0.01	-0.08	-0.10	-0.10
Single		-0.04	-0.10 [#]	-0.09 [#]	0.16 ^{**}	0.17 ^{***}
<i>Independent Variables:</i>						
Female			0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)			-0.11 ^{***}	-0.09 ^{***}	-0.08 ^{***}	-0.08 ^{***}
Non-English Speaking						
Main English Speaking			0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Indigenous			-0.01	0.05	0.04	0.04
Age	<i>Within</i>		-0.02 ^{***}	-0.02 ^{***}	-0.01 ^{**}	-0.01 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>		-0.02 ^{***}	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age Squared	<i>Within</i>		0.00 [*]	0.00 [*]	0.00	0.00 ^{**}
	<i>Between</i>		0.00 ^{***}	0.00 ^{**}	0.00 [*]	0.00 ^{**}
Has Child	<i>Within</i>		-0.02	0.02	0.04 [#]	0.03 [*]
	<i>Between</i>		-0.07 ^{***}	0.02	0.02	
Holds Degree	<i>Within</i>		0.03	0.01	0.01	
	<i>Between</i>		0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01
Household Income	<i>Within</i>		0.00 ^{***}	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>		0.00 ^{***}	0.00 [*]	0.00 ^{**}	0.00 ^{**}
Fertility Intentions	<i>Within</i>			0.02 ^{***}	0.01 ^{***}	0.01 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>			0.02 ^{***}	0.02 ^{***}	0.01 ^{***}
Financial Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>			0.04 ^{***}	0.04 ^{***}	0.04 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>			0.10 ^{***}	0.09 ^{***}	0.09 ^{***}
Poor Health	<i>Within</i>			-0.43 ^{***}	-0.42 ^{***}	-0.42 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>			-0.95 ^{***}	-0.94 ^{***}	-0.94 ^{***}
	<i>Missing</i>			-0.37 ^{***}	-0.37 ^{***}	-0.37 ^{***}
Religiosity	<i>Within</i>			0.00 ⁺	0.00	0.00 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>			0.00 ^{**}	0.00 ^{**}	0.00 ^{***}
	<i>Missing</i>			0.03 [#]	0.02	0.03 [*]
Parental Divorce	<i>Within</i>			0.07 ^{***}	0.08 ^{***}	0.08 ^{***}
	<i>Between</i>			-0.11 ^{***}	-0.12 ^{***}	-0.12 ^{***}
Gender Role Attitudes	<i>Within</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Missing</i>			0.01	0.02	0.02

Owns Home	<i>Within</i>			-0.03**	-0.03*	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.04*	-0.03 [#]	-0.03**
Years of Education	<i>Within</i>			-0.01	-0.01	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Relationship Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>				0.09***	0.09***
	<i>Between</i>				0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Missing: No SCQ</i>				0.19***	0.19***
	<i>Missing: Not applicable</i>				0.00	0.00
Constant		4.48***	4.75***	3.86***	3.48***	3.51***
Observations		87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371
Number of id2		17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449
R-Squared:						
<i>Within</i>		0.0011	0.0033	0.0339	0.0524	0.0524
<i>Between</i>		0.0050	0.0248	0.2260	0.2420	0.2421
<i>Overall</i>		0.0044	0.0192	0.1709	0.1897	0.1898

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 6: Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness – Remarriage Cohabitors Reference

VARIABLES	Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Relationship Status						
Categories (ref. Remarriage Cohabitors):						
<i>Within Effects</i>						
First marriage		-0.12**	-0.11**	-0.08*	-0.02	-0.01
Higher order marriage		-0.08 [#]	-0.06	-0.04	-0.01	-0.01
Premarital cohabiters		-0.12**	-0.14**	-0.12**	-0.06	-0.06
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.20***	-0.21***	-0.17***	-0.07	-0.07
Post-marital cohabiters		-0.14**	-0.14**	-0.11**	-0.07 ⁺	-0.07 ⁺
Single		-0.22***	-0.22***	-0.18***	-0.06 ⁺	-0.07 ⁺
<i>Between Effects</i>						
First marriage		0.12 [#]	0.09	0.03	0.05	0.05
Higher order marriage		0.07	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.05
Premarital cohabiters		0.17*	0.06	0.06	0.10	0.11 ⁺
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.11	-0.15 [#]	-0.06	0.00	0.00
Post-marital cohabiters		0.03	0.01	0.08	0.10	0.10
Single		-0.01	-0.09	-0.01	0.26***	0.27***
<i>Independent Variables:</i>						
Female			0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)			-0.11***	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.08***
Non-English Speaking						
Main English Speaking			0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Indigenous			-0.01	0.05	0.04	0.04
Age	<i>Within</i>		-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01***
	<i>Between</i>		-0.02***	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age Squared	<i>Within</i>		0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00**
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00**	0.00*	0.00**
Has Child	<i>Within</i>		-0.02	0.02	0.04 [#]	0.03*
	<i>Between</i>		-0.07***	0.02	0.02	
Holds Degree	<i>Within</i>		0.03	0.01	0.01	
	<i>Between</i>		0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01
Household Income	<i>Within</i>		0.00***	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00*	0.00**	0.00**
Fertility Intentions	<i>Within</i>			0.02***	0.01***	
	<i>Between</i>			0.02***	0.02***	0.01***
Financial Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>			0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Between</i>			0.10***	0.09***	0.09***
Poor Health	<i>Within</i>			-0.43***	-0.42***	-0.42***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.95***	-0.94***	-0.94***
	<i>Missing</i>			-0.37***	-0.37***	-0.37***
Religiosity	<i>Within</i>			0.00 ⁺	0.00	
	<i>Between</i>			0.00**	0.00**	0.00***
	<i>Missing</i>			0.03 [#]	0.02	0.03*
Parental Divorce	<i>Within</i>			0.07***	0.08***	0.08***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.11***	-0.12***	-0.12***
Gender Role Attitudes	<i>Within</i>			0.00	0.00	
	<i>Between</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Missing</i>			0.01	0.02	0.02

Owns Home	<i>Within</i>			-0.03**	-0.03*	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.04*	-0.03 [#]	-0.03**
Years of Education	<i>Within</i>			-0.01	-0.01	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Relationship Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>				0.09***	0.09***
	<i>Between</i>				0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Missing: No SCQ</i>				0.19***	0.19***
	<i>Missing: Not applicable</i>				0.00	0.00
Constant		4.48***	4.75***	3.86***	3.48***	3.51***
Observations		87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371
Number of id2		17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449
R-Squared:						
<i>Within</i>		0.0011	0.0033	0.0339	0.0524	0.0524
<i>Between</i>		0.0050	0.0248	0.2260	0.2420	0.2421
<i>Overall</i>		0.0044	0.0192	0.1709	0.1897	0.1898

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, # p<0.075, + p<0.10

Table 7: Random Effects Model Predicting Happiness – Single Reference

VARIABLES	Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Relationship Status						
Categories (ref. Single):						
<i>Within Effects</i>						
First marriage		0.10***	0.11***	0.10***	0.05*	0.05**
Higher order marriage		0.14***	0.16***	0.14***	0.05	0.05
Premarital cohabiters		0.10***	0.09***	0.06**	0.01	0.01
Non-marital cohabiters		0.02	0.02	0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Post-marital cohabiters		0.08*	0.09*	0.07 [#]	-0.01	-0.01
Remarriage cohabiters		0.22***	0.22***	0.18***	0.06 ⁺	0.07 ⁺
<i>Between Effects</i>						
First marriage		0.13***	0.18***	0.04*	-0.21***	-0.21***
Higher order marriage		0.08**	0.13***	0.04	-0.21***	-0.22***
Premarital cohabiters		0.18***	0.15***	0.07*	-0.16***	-0.15***
Non-marital cohabiters		-0.10*	-0.06	-0.06	-0.26***	-0.26***
Post-marital cohabiters		0.04	0.10 [#]	0.09 [#]	-0.16**	-0.17***
Remarriage cohabiters		0.01	0.09	0.01	-0.26***	-0.27***
<i>Independent Variables:</i>						
Female			0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Region of Birth (ref: Aus.)						
Non-English Speaking			-0.11***	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.08***
Main English Speaking			0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Indigenous			-0.01	0.05	0.04	0.04
Age	<i>Within</i>		-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01***
	<i>Between</i>		-0.02***	0.00	0.00	0.00
Age Squared	<i>Within</i>		0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00**
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00**	0.00*	0.00**
Has Child	<i>Within</i>		-0.02	0.02	0.04 [#]	0.03*
	<i>Between</i>		-0.07***	0.02	0.02	
Holds Degree	<i>Within</i>		0.03	0.01	0.01	
	<i>Between</i>		0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01
Household Income	<i>Within</i>		0.00***	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>		0.00***	0.00*	0.00**	0.00**
Fertility Intentions	<i>Within</i>			0.02***	0.01***	
	<i>Between</i>			0.02***	0.02***	0.01***
Financial Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>			0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Between</i>			0.10***	0.09***	0.09***
Poor Health	<i>Within</i>			-0.43***	-0.42***	-0.42***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.95***	-0.94***	-0.94***
	<i>Missing</i>			-0.37***	-0.37***	-0.37***
Religiosity	<i>Within</i>			0.00 ⁺	0.00	0.00***
	<i>Between</i>			0.00**	0.00**	
	<i>Missing</i>			0.03 [#]	0.02	0.03*
Parental Divorce	<i>Within</i>			0.07***	0.08***	0.08***
	<i>Between</i>			-0.11***	-0.12***	-0.12***
Gender Role Attitudes	<i>Within</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Between</i>			0.00	0.00	0.00
	<i>Missing</i>			0.01	0.02	0.02
Owns Home	<i>Within</i>			-0.03**	-0.03*	-0.03**

	<i>Between</i>			-0.04*	-0.03 [#]	
Years of Education	<i>Within</i>			-0.01	-0.01	
	<i>Between</i>			-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Relationship Satisfaction	<i>Within</i>				0.09***	0.09***
	<i>Between</i>				0.04***	0.04***
	<i>Missing: No SCQ</i>				0.19***	0.19***
	<i>Missing: Not applicable</i>				0.00	0.00
Constant		4.48***	4.75***	3.86***	3.48***	3.51***
Observations		87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371	87,371
Number of id2		17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449	17,449
R-Squared:						
<i>Within</i>		0.0011	0.0033	0.0339	0.0524	0.0524
<i>Between</i>		0.0050	0.0248	0.2260	0.2420	0.2421
<i>Overall</i>		0.0044	0.0192	0.1709	0.1897	0.1898

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, [#] p<0.075, + p<0.10

Appendix 10: Published Paper Based on Chapter 5

Buchler, S., Baxter, J., Haynes, M., & Western, M. (2009). The social and demographic characteristics of cohabiters in Australia: towards a typology of cohabiting couples. *Family Matters* (82), 22-29.



The social and demographic characteristics of cohabiters in Australia

Towards a typology of cohabiting couples

Sandra Buchler, Janeen Baxter, Michele Haynes and Mark Western

Family relationships underwent substantial transformation over the latter part of the 20th century. Many Western nations saw a re-organisation of intimate partnering that led to significant changes in the way in which people chose a spouse and started a family. A significant rise in cohabitation was part of this transformation. In the 25-year period from 1982 to 2006, the proportion of all couples cohabiting in Australia rose from 4.7% to 14.9% (Australian Institute of Family Studies [AIFS], 2008; Dempsey & De Vaus, 2004, p. 170). While this is a significant change, even more dramatic was the rise in premarital cohabitation. This figure increased from around 5% in the 1960s to approximately 75% in 2006 (Headey & Warren, 2006), representing a substantial shift in both the demographics of the population and patterns of family formation. Not only are there now more people living in de facto or cohabiting relationships, it is becoming the norm to live in such a relationship before committing to marriage. This suggests that there has been a substantial shift in the practice and experience of marriage, choosing an intimate partner, and family formation patterns over the last 50 years. Recognising the characteristics of cohabiters is therefore important for understanding who cohabits and who does not, as well as the outcomes of differing kinds of cohabiting relationships.

Background

While there has been a significant amount of research conducted on both the characteristics of cohabiters and how these characteristics differ from those of married or single people, there is little Australian research that investigates differences *among* cohabiting people. In much of the research, cohabiters are seen as a homogeneous group and are generally compared to married people, with little regard for possible variation among them. We suggest that a useful way to investigate differences between cohabiting people is to develop a typology that divides cohabiters into four groups—by intention to marry and previous marital status. These two characteristics have been chosen as they are often found to be important factors when comparing cohabiting and married people on measures of wellbeing. In the next section, we review some of the key literature on the relationship between these two key characteristics and wellbeing before outlining our cohabitation typology. We focus on wellbeing since our aim in future research is to examine how different cohabiting types fare in terms of relationship trajectories and wellbeing.¹

Intention to marry

There is a significant body of research that examines the relationship between marital status, happiness and wellbeing.



There is a strong association between relationship satisfaction and intention to marry.

The majority of this research has found that people who are married have significantly higher levels of wellbeing and happiness in comparison to people of other marital status, including people who are in cohabiting relationships (Brown & Booth, 1996; Nock, 1995; Stack & Eshleman, 1998; Treas & Giesen, 2000). Much of this research has been undertaken in the United States, but numerous Australian studies also have found an association between marital status and wellbeing. A study by Fleming and Marks (1998) on wellbeing among young Australians found that in comparison to single people, people in cohabiting or marital relationships were more satisfied with their lives, particularly their home lives, but that married people had the highest levels of satisfaction. A number of studies, however, have found that this difference in wellbeing between cohabiters and married people (which is generally operationalised using life satisfaction or relationship satisfaction measures), is often influenced by cohabiters' intention to marry. For example, Brown and Booth (1996) found that cohabiters' marriage plans largely explained the difference in relationship quality between married and cohabiting couples. This research suggests that if a cohabiting couple intends to marry, their union outcomes, such as levels of disagreement, perceptions of fairness, happiness, conflict management and levels of interaction, do not differ substantially from those of married couples. In a more recent study, Brown (2004) found comparable results, and concluded that marriage per se did not lead to increases in relationship quality.

Given that findings of strong associations between wellbeing and marriage have been consistent across much of the Western world, a number of questions arise about the processes that lead to such outcomes. Why is there such a distinct marriage benefit? Two primary theories attempt to explain this trend. Social causation theory contends that "marriage itself increases happiness by providing emotional and financial support ... in contrast social selection theory contends that persons who are already relatively high in qualities like psychological health and financial status are the ones who are most likely to

marry in the first place" (Stack & Eshleman, 1998, p. 528). While there is a high level of debate about which of these processes plays a greater role, they are not mutually exclusive and can operate simultaneously. It is particularly interesting that when cohabiting couples are also taken into account, this marriage benefit appears to remain, as cohabiting couples who intend to marry have similar outcomes to married people. This raises further questions about the association between cohabitation and marriage, and the processes that might be working in these two forms of intimate partnering.

Prior marital history

Another factor likely to have a significant effect on the dynamics of a cohabiting relationship is prior marital history. For never-married persons, marriage may signal increased commitment, stability, security and joint investments, and so add value to a relationship and increase satisfaction. For previously married persons, however, marriage may no longer be important and cohabitation may provide a substitute for marriage without signalling a lack of commitment (Hansen, Moum, & Shapiro, 2007, p. 927). For example, individuals who have been previously married and have experienced a separation or divorce may not plan to remarry, even if they are very committed to their cohabiting partner. This suggests that the expectations and characteristics of cohabiting couples may vary by prior marital history. We suggest that both intention to marry and prior marital history are characteristics that should be taken into account when investigating variation among cohabiting people, and for this reason have used these two characteristics to create a typology of cohabiters.

A proposed cohabitation typology

While previous research has divided cohabiting people into typologies by either intention to marry or previous marital history, no known study has created a typology using both. The purpose of this paper is to develop a typology of

cohabiting people based on both of these characteristics. This results in four different groups that comprise the typology: (1) premarital cohabiters (not previously married and intending to marry); (2) long-term cohabiters (not previously married and not intending to marry); (3) marriage-renouncing cohabiters (previously married and not intending to marry); and (4) marriage-idealising cohabiters (previously married and intending to marry).² While these groups are not static—as cohabiters can move from one group to another if, for example, their intention to marry changes—we believe these groups signify different types of relationships. Intention to marry is likely to reflect different relationship expectations, while marital history indicates the different experiences cohabiters bring to their relationship. The following section outlines the methodology and variable construction and provides further information on how the typology of cohabiters is operationalised.

Methodology

A multinomial logistic regression was used to test for associations between the four typology groups and also between these groups and people in either their first or second and higher order marriages. A number of demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, socioeconomic status (SES), religiosity and ethnicity were examined, in addition to characteristics such as gender attitudes, parenthood and the likelihood of having children. Characteristics that were specific to partnered people, such as satisfaction with partner and union duration, were also included.

Data

We used data collected in Wave 1 (2001) of the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey. The 2001 HILDA sample was found to bear a close resemblance to the wider population of Australia and had coverage broadly in line with that shown by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census (Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, 2002, pp. 10–12). The sample was randomly drawn from all Australian households and the survey was administered in late 2001. The final number of households to complete the survey was 7,682, providing data on 13,969 individuals. For further information on HILDA, see <www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda> or the *HILDA User Manual* (Goode & Watson, 2007).

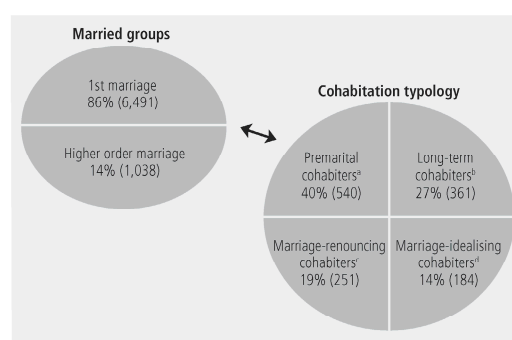
Our sample was constrained in a number of ways. People under the age of 18 were excluded from the analysis, as they need the consent of a guardian to be eligible to marry (*Marriage Act 1961*). People who did not report their marital status were also excluded from the analysis. Therefore, the final number of respondents in our sample was 8,865. There were also 498 respondents from this sample who did not return the self-complete questionnaire, one of the survey instruments used in the data collection. This, in addition to item non-response, resulted in a further reduction in sample size for some analyses.

Variables

The typology of cohabiting people was operationalised using variables that measured intention to marry and

marital history. Intention to marry was measured by a variable that asked: “How likely are you to marry your current partner?”, with five response categories ranging from “very likely” to “very unlikely”. Those who responded with “very likely” or “likely” were considered to be intending to marry. The marital history variable asked: “How many times have you been legally married?” This variable was used to create a dichotomous variable that measured “not previously married” (0) and “previously married” (1). These two variables were used to operationalise the typology of cohabiting people, which results in the categories noted above. Married people were also divided into two categories, those in their first marriage and those in a second or higher order marriage. Figure 1 shows a visual representation of these groups, and the percentage and number of respondents in each group. The biggest cohabiting group were premarital cohabiters (which made up about 40% of all cohabiters), followed by long-term cohabiters (27%), marriage-renouncing cohabiters (19%) and marriage-idealising cohabiters (14%). While the number of respondents in the two married groups is significantly higher, there were enough cohabiters in each group for meaningful statistical analysis.

The cohabitation typology and married groups functioned as the dependent variables in the analyses. The independent variables were: sex, age, years of schooling, income, hours of paid work, home ownership, religiosity, ethnicity, Indigenous status, gender attitudes, presence of children, fertility intentions, relationship satisfaction, parental divorce and union length. Age, years of schooling, income,³ hours of paid work and union length were all continuous variables. Gender, ethnicity, Indigenous status, home ownership, presence of children (measured as respondent ever having had children) and parental divorce were coded as dummy variables. Religiosity, fertility intentions, life satisfaction and relationship satisfaction were all measured on an 11-point Likert scale. A higher number indicated a higher level of religiosity, a great likelihood of having children in the future and a high level of life and relationship satisfaction. Gender attitudes were measured by a question asking: “It is better for everyone involved if the man earns the money and the



Notes: ^a Not previously married and intending to marry. ^b Not previously married and not intending to marry. ^c Previously married and not intending to marry. ^d Previously married and intending to marry.

Source: HILDA Wave 1, 2001

Figure 1 Distribution in marriage groups and cohabitation typology

Table 1 Summary statistics for cohabitation typology and marriage groups

	1st marriage	Higher order marriage	Premarital cohabiters ^a	Long-term cohabiters ^b	Marriage-renouncing cohabiters ^c	Marriage-idealising cohabiters ^d
Percentage of overall sample (%)						
All	73.22	11.71	6.09	4.07	2.83	2.08
Country of birth (brief, %)						
Australia	71.24	66.76	83.33	78.39	68.13	74.46
Main-English-speaking	11.38	17.34	9.81	14.04	20.72	16.85
Other	17.38	15.90	6.85	7.20	11.16	8.07
Other demographic data (%)						
Indigenous ^e	0.91	0.96	3.33	6.09	1.59	2.17
Own home	84.49	81.50	39.07	51.80	71.31	67.39
Ever had child	89.72	92.29	33.52	45.98	85.26	83.15
Expect child in future	15.21	8.86	79.81	37.67	8.76	25.00
Parental divorce	7.24	9.54	12.96	17.73	7.17	7.61
Continuous variables (mean)						
Age (years)	48.00	51.93	27.78	32.91	48.08	43.13
Years of schooling	12.25	12.07	12.47	12.42	12.19	12.19
Income (\$ '000)	40.10	40.10	31.80	32.80	39.49	44.53
Hours worked ^f	24.85	23.19	32.15	27.32	29.27	30.66
Religiosity ^g	5.16	4.53	3.19	2.34	3.22	3.23
Life satisfaction ^h	8.17	8.17	8.02	7.54	7.74	8.15
Gender role attitudes ^g	4.05	4.05	3.04	3.01	3.59	3.20
Union length (years)	24.38	13.57	4.22	7.27	8.06	4.81
Satisfaction with partner ^h	8.76	8.78	8.77	7.77	8.08	8.83
N (8,865)	6,491	1,038	540	361	251	184

Notes: ^a Not previously married and intending to marry. ^b Not previously married and not intending to marry. ^c Previously married and not intending to marry. ^d Previously married and intending to marry. ^e The observations in each cell are very small. ^f Hours worked includes all people, and not only those who worked (there were many people who worked zero hours). ^g The response categories for religiosity and gender role attitudes ranged from 0 to 10, with 0 indicating a liberal response, and 10 a conservative response. ^h Life satisfaction and Satisfaction with partner also ranged from 0 to 10, with a higher number indicating a higher level of satisfaction.

Source: HILDA Wave 1, 2001

woman takes care of the home and children". Responses were coded on a 7-point Likert scale, with a high score indicating more conservative attitudes towards men's and women's positions in society.

Analyses

Initially, a number of bivariate analyses were carried out to investigate the relationship between the typology and married groups, and the independent variables. This provided summary statistics for all of the variables used in this research. Multinomial logistic regression was used in the principal analysis. Multinomial logistic regression is a form of regression that involves testing the association between different categories of a dependent variable on a number of independent variables via a comparison of a series of dichotomous outcomes (Scott & Marshall, 2005). This allows a dependent variable with numerous categories to be investigated. In our model, the cohabitation typology and marital groups were the dependent variables. People in their first marriage was the reference category with which each of the other groups were compared. Model comparison was undertaken using pseudo R-squared and the AIC and BIC statistics, which indicated that all of the independent variables added significantly to the model. Furthermore, as observations within a household are not typically independent of one another, a robust estimator

of variance, which adjusts for household clustering, was employed in each regression analysis. The results of our analyses are outlined below.

Findings

Preliminary descriptive findings

Table 1 reports descriptive statistics for the independent variables. A number of interesting patterns emerged. For example, married people (including in both first and higher order marriages) were on average older and had longer union lengths compared to most of the cohabiting groups. Premarital cohabiters were on average the youngest of all groups and had the shortest average union length. Long-term cohabiters had the lowest average level of religiosity and had lower levels of life and partner satisfaction. The premarital and long-term cohabiters, on average, had more liberal attitudes towards gender roles, but this is likely to be a reflection of the younger average age of these two groups. Furthermore, Indigenous people, on average, had higher rates of cohabitation in comparison to non-Indigenous people. Overall, the preliminary findings indicate that there is a significant amount of variation between the cohabitation typology groups and the married groups in terms of characteristics, attitudes and intentions.

Table 2 Multinomial regression model predicting cohabitation typology

	Higher order marriage	Premarital cohabiters ^a	Long-term cohabiters ^b	Marriage-renouncing cohabiters ^c	Marriage-idealising cohabiters ^d
	Coefficient				
Social and demographic variables					
Age	0.265***	-0.076***	-0.017	0.288***	0.244***
Female (0 = male)	0.904***	-0.255**	-0.331**	1.756***	0.624***
Religious and ethnic differences					
Religiosity	-0.027	-0.101***	-0.199***	-0.130***	-0.103***
Place of birth:					
Europe (0 = Australasia)	0.267*	-0.027	-0.075	0.326	0.208
Asia	-1.288***	-0.833**	-1.229**	-2.233**	-1.557*
America	0.968**	-0.567	0.311	0.245	-0.017
Africa and Middle East	0.394	-1.519*	-0.760	1.167**	0.284
Indigenous	-0.778	0.812*	1.490***	-0.693	-0.016
Demographic differences					
Years of schooling	-0.131***	-0.077*	-0.036	-0.138***	-0.157***
Hours worked	0.007**	0.001	-0.010*	0.017***	0.005
Income	0.001	-0.063	-0.076	-0.005	0.031
No income	-0.026	0.179	0.217	-0.422	0.063
Own home	0.367**	1.024***	0.810***	0.894***	0.720***
Ever had child	1.404***	-1.279***	-1.939***	0.904***	1.002***
Expect child in future	-0.249	0.514**	-1.005***	-0.664*	-0.159
Union length	-0.281***	-0.109***	-0.107***	-0.361***	-0.437***
Parental divorce	0.254	0.105	0.323	-0.315	-0.222
Attitudinal differences					
Gender role attitudes	-0.022	0.003	-0.016	-0.016	-0.096*
Life satisfaction	-0.028	0.003	-0.014	-0.132*	-0.009
Satisfaction with partner	0.041	-0.073	-0.278***	-0.098*	0.044
Constant	-9.102***	4.733***	5.493***	-8.064***	-7.221***
Number of observations	8,075				
Pseudo R²	0.4156				
	Standard error adjusted for 4,375 clusters in household identification				

Notes: ^a First marriage is the reference category. ^b Not previously married and intending to marry. ^c Not previously married and not intending to marry. ^d Previously married and intending to marry. * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001.

Source: HILDA Wave 1, 2001

Multinomial model for the cohabitation typology

The results for the multinomial regression model predicting placement in the cohabitation typology are presented in Table 2. A positive coefficient suggests that the dependent category group (i.e., the cohabitation or marital status group) is more likely than the reference category group (people in their first marriage) to have a high value on the independent variable; a negative coefficient indicates the reverse. The model predicts that older people are more likely to be in higher order marriages, be marriage-renouncing cohabiters or marriage-idealising cohabiters, while younger people are more likely to be premarital cohabiters, in comparison to being in a first marriage.⁴ While these findings are not surprising, it is very interesting that the age of long-term cohabiters was not significantly different from people in their first marriage. Women were more likely to be in higher order marriages, be marriage-renouncing cohabiters or marriage-idealising cohabiters, while men were more likely to be premarital or long-term cohabiters, in comparison to being in a first marriage. This indicates that there were

significant differences in the gender compositions of all of these groups, when compared to the first marriage group.

Religious and ethnic differences

Religious people were more likely to be in first or higher order marriages, with no difference in religiosity between these two categories, while less religious people were more likely to be cohabiting. The coefficients suggest that the least religious people were most likely to be long-term cohabiters, followed by marriage-renouncing cohabiters, marriage-idealising cohabiters and premarital cohabiters. These findings are in line with other research, which has found that cohabiting groups are less religious when compared to married people (Dempsey & De Vaus, 2004). It is also not surprising that the cohabiting groups that did not intend to marry were less religious than groups that intended to marry. People born in Europe were more likely to be in higher order marriages in comparison to people born in Australasia, while people born in Asia were more likely to be married and less likely to be in all the other categories. People born in Africa or the Middle East were less likely to be premarital cohabiters and more likely to be marriage-renouncing cohabiters in comparison to being

in a first marriage. Indigenous people were significantly more likely than non-Indigenous people to be long-term or premarital cohabiters. These findings support previous research, which has found that rates of cohabitation have a strong association with ethnic background, and that Indigenous Australians are more likely than non-Indigenous Australians to cohabit (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008).

Demographic differences

People with more years of schooling were more likely to be married or to be long-term cohabiters. People who worked more hours were more likely to be in higher order marriages or to be marriage-renouncing cohabiters in comparison to being in a first marriage and people who worked fewer hours were more likely to be long-term cohabiters. Note that there were no significant differences for income or for the dummy category “No income”.⁵ People who owned their own home were significantly more likely to be in a first marriage than in any other category. The coefficients suggest that the greatest difference in home ownership was between those in their first marriages and premarital cohabiters, followed by marriage-renouncing cohabiters and long-term cohabiters, marriage-idealising cohabiters and, finally, people in higher order marriages. This is an expected finding. Rindfuss and Vanden Heuvel (1990), for example, found that cohabiters were significantly less likely than married people to own their own home. More recent research by Mulder (1997), however, suggested that the difference in home-buying behaviour between married and cohabiting couples seemed to be disappearing in the Netherlands. While our findings show that married people were still more likely to own their own home in Australia, the coefficients of the cohabiting groups suggest that some groups were more likely to own their own home than others.

People who had had children were more likely to be in higher order marriages, be marriage-renouncing cohabiters and marriage-idealising cohabiters and were less likely

to be long-term cohabiters or premarital cohabiters in comparison to people in first marriages. This reflects norms in Australia, whereby marriage is viewed as the ideal arena in which to have and raise children (de Vaus, 2004). People who expected to have a child in the future were more likely to be premarital cohabiters and less likely to be long-term cohabiters or marriage-renouncing cohabiters, in comparison to people in their first marriage. This also reflects Australian norms regarding marriage and childbearing (de Vaus, 2004), as cohabiters who are never married but intend to marry have by far the highest fertility intentions.

People who had been in a union longer were more likely to be in a first marriage. The coefficients suggest that premarital cohabiters and long-term cohabiters had a union length that was the most similar to people in their first marriages, followed by higher order marriages, marriage-renouncing cohabiters and marriage-idealising cohabiters. This suggests that when all the independent variables are held constant, the groups who had been married previously had a shorter average union length than the groups who were in a first marriage or never married. There were no significant results for parental divorce.

Attitudinal differences

People who had liberal gender role attitudes were more likely to be marriage-idealising cohabiters.⁶ This finding is unexpected, and suggests that there is something about people who have been previously married and intend to marry that is different from all other groups. People who had a low level of life satisfaction were more likely to be marriage-renouncing cohabiters and people who had a low level of satisfaction with their partner were more likely to be long-term cohabiters or marriage-renouncing cohabiters. These findings are consistent with literature that has found that marriage plans among cohabiting couples are associated with heightened levels of relationship and life quality (Brown, 2004). This raises interesting questions about



While it is generally expected that cohabitants are less likely than married people to have a child, our results indicate that this is only the case for cohabitants who have not previously married.



cohabiters who do not intend to marry. Is the lack of marriage intentions related only to relationship satisfaction, or are there ideological reasons not to marry and some intervening factors that lead to lower levels of relationship satisfaction?

Discussion

This research developed and examined a typology of cohabiting people that was based on intention to marry and previous marital history. It provided detailed information on differences between groups within this typology and people in their first and higher order marriages. The results support the argument that cohabiters should not be viewed as a homogeneous group, and suggest that there are significant differences between different types of cohabiters. No known research to date has constructed a cohabitation typology in this fashion.

A number of interesting findings come out of this research. The religiosity coefficients suggest that while all groups of cohabiters were on average less religious than people in first marriages, long-term cohabiters were far less religious than any other cohabiting group. Furthermore, long-term cohabiters were the least likely to have children, or to expect to have children in the future. This suggests that people who were less religious and had lower aspirations for parenthood were the most likely to be long-term cohabiters. Long-term cohabiters were also the only group that did not have fewer years of schooling than people in first marriages. This suggests that long-term cohabiters were quite different from all other cohabiting groups.

The analyses also reveal some interesting findings about the nature of the relationship between marital status and wellbeing. Interestingly, only long-term cohabiters and marriage-renouncing cohabiters had, on average, a lower level of partner satisfaction in comparison to people in first marriages (with the coefficients suggesting that the difference was greater for long-term cohabiters). These are the two groups of cohabiters that were not intending to marry. It is particularly interesting that this difference remained despite all the controls—in particular, controls

for life satisfaction. The results also indicate that cohabiters who intended to marry, regardless of whether or not they had been previously married, had the same level of partner satisfaction as people in their first marriage. These findings indicate that there is a strong association between relationship satisfaction and intention to marry. Does this suggest that cohabiters with less relationship satisfaction are less likely to intend to marry, or is there something about a lack of marriage plans that leads to lower partner satisfaction? Furthermore, marriage-renouncing cohabiters had a significantly lower level of life satisfaction, compared to people in first marriages. This suggests that there is something specific about previously married cohabiters who do not intend to marry that makes them different from all the other groups in regard to life satisfaction. This raises an issue that is often debated in the literature: is the difference in wellbeing of people of different marital status linked to a selection or a causation effect? While this research does not answer this question, it does provide important information on the types of cohabiters in Australia who have lower levels of wellbeing than married people and those who do not.

The findings also draw attention to the association between marital status and childbearing. While it is generally expected that cohabitants are less likely than married people to have a child, our results indicate that this is only the case for cohabitants who have not previously married. Cohabitants who have been married, in addition to people in higher order marriages, were more likely than people in their first marriage to have children. Australian ideals about marriage being the appropriate arena in which to have and raise children are reflected in this, suggesting that cohabitation has not yet taken on the traditional role of marriage in regard to childbearing. This is further reinforced by the finding that premarital cohabiters were the only group that was more likely than people in their first marriage to expect to have a child in the future. This highlights a strong association between experience of a previous marriage, cohabitants' intention to marry and parenthood. There is, however, also evidence suggesting that childbearing within cohabiting unions is increasing

(de Vaus & Gray, 2004). While this may be the case, the majority of people still have children within marriage.

It is also worth noting that there were no significant results for parental divorce. This suggests that the experience of parental divorce does not have a bearing on people's decisions on whether to cohabit or marry, their likelihood of divorcing and re-partnering, nor their intention to marry. This is contradictory to other studies, which have found strong associations between parental divorce, cohabitation and relationship stability (Wolfinger, 2001). The associations, however, have been found to be weaker in countries that have fewer divorce barriers, such as Australia (Wagner & Weiss, 2006).

People who were less religious and had lower aspirations for parenthood were the most likely to be long-term cohabiters.

Conclusion

Overall, our analyses suggest that there are many significant differences between the groups within the cohabitation typology and between these groups and married people. This study provides important information on the nature of these differences and emphasises that it is imperative not to treat cohabitants as a homogeneous group. Premarital cohabiters, overall, are likely to have a high level of life and relationship satisfaction, and are unlikely to have children, but aspire to become parents. They are also, on average, the youngest of our partnered groups. Long-term cohabiters are likely to be the same age as people in their first marriage, and have similar years of schooling and incomes, but are less likely to have children and far less likely to expect to have children in the future, and more likely to have a low level of relationship satisfaction. Marriage-renouncing cohabiters are likely to be older than people in their first marriage, more likely to have children and less likely to expect to have children in the future, and the most likely to have a low level of life satisfaction and low levels of relationship satisfaction. Marriage-idealising cohabiters are also on average older than people in their first marriage, likely to have more liberal gender role attitudes, and have relatively high levels of life and relationship satisfaction. These results provide evidence that there is a great deal of variation among cohabiting people.

Endnotes

- 1 The data used for this research came from the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey, which is funded by the Australian Commonwealth Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) and conducted by the Melbourne Institute for Economic and Social Research at the University of Melbourne. The research findings are the product of the researchers, and the views expressed should not be attributed to FaHCSIA or the Melbourne Institute. This research was supported by funding from an ARC Linkage Grant LP0775004.
- 2 These names have been applied to the typology groups for ease of discussion. They are not necessarily meaningful interpretations of the types of people that make up each typology group.
- 3 Income was derived from financial year gross wages and salary, and was measured in \$ '000 units. There was a dummy variable included called "No income", which controls for the 5,123 people (38.9%) who did not report an income.
- 4 In this paper, we report results based on multinomial logit regressions for marriage and cohabitation status. The regression coefficients indicate how each explanatory variable is associated with the log odds of being in one

marital status rather than a baseline or reference category. We interpreted the coefficients in terms of the log odds, recognising that, in the case of multinomial logit models, an increase or decrease in the log odds does not necessarily mean an increase or decrease in the relevant probabilities.

- 5 When education and hours worked are removed from the model, income becomes significant for premarital and long-term cohabiters (both have negative coefficients). This suggests that income is co-linear with hours worked and education.
- 6 To check for co-linearity between gender attitudes and religiosity, the model was re-run without the religiosity variable (data not shown). This did not, however, change the results.

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