

QUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNION DISSOLUTION FOR COHABITING AND
MARRIED COUPLES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Abstract

This study uses panel data to analyze the relationship between job quality and union dissolution. The aim is to assess whether job quality has any effect on union dissolution. As cohabiting couples often behave in a different way to married ones, we distinguish between these two types of union. We find that higher job demands increase union stability for married couples. But in cohabiting relationships, we find that increasing working time demands is positively related to dissolution. These findings seem to indicate that married couples share problems they have at work, whereas cohabiting individuals need to interact more with their partner on a daily basis.

Keywords: cohabitation, divorce, employment, job quality, marriage, separation.

Introduction

Working arrangements are changing fast, and to an ever increasing degree, we are expected to be available throughout the 24 hours, 7 days a week (Presser, 2003). In this new, emerging economy manufacturing jobs are declining, while service oriented employment and computerization is increasing (Robone et al., 2011). Job patterns and working conditions are very clearly different from the way they used to be just a few decades ago. The labour market demands ever more flexibility from workers and we are witnessing a fall in permanent contracts. Temporary jobs and irregular working hours are becoming the norm across many sectors (Kivimäki et al., 2003; Brockwood, 2007). The traditional idea of employment characterised by high levels of predictability and a secure income source is certainly being challenged. Such changes are affecting families as it becomes increasingly difficult to balance work and family (Scherer, 2009; Grotti & Scherer, 2014)..

This change in working conditions and the associated potential decline in their quality, do not affect all workers in the same way. Whereas higher social classes enjoy quality jobs, lower social classes often experience less quality with worse working conditions. Some studies also suggest that marital homogamy in terms of education, including tastes and culture, is increasing (Blossfeld & Timm, 2003; Bonke & Esping-Andersen, 2011). As a result, most advanced countries are witnessing increased family polarization and greater presence of diverging destinies within families (McLanahan, 2004). On the one hand, employees with permanent jobs are likely to marry someone in the same social position (Prandy & Lambert, 2003), and hence enjoying the associated quality of employment, good health and stable union (Amato, 2010). In contrast, employees with worse working conditions and contract type are in a much more precarious situation, i.e.: those with temporary contracts, generally have poorer health (Borg & Kristensen, 2000) and possibly face difficulties in meeting family demands (Hughes et al., 1992; Jung Jang et al., 2012). Recent

trends show that couples from lower social classes are more likely to cohabit (Beaujouan & Bhrolcháin, 2011) than those from higher social classes (Smock, 2000). Cohabiting partnerships are also much more exposed to separation, in part because the two types of union do not have the same legal status (e.g. for the UK, see Barlow, et al., 2008). In sum, the flexibility of the labour market and the tendency towards couple homogamy (Kalmijn, 1998) is leading to a greater polarization in society with different expected levels of union stability for individuals that marry and those that cohabit without marrying (Jalovaara, 2013; Tach & Edin, 2013).

Whereas previous studies focusing on family instability used general employment conditions to assess the relationship between employment and marital stability at the individual level (Poortman & Kalmijn, 2002; Poortman, 2005), the literature on occupational health used a more extensive set of working characteristics to evaluate the relationship between job quality and workers' health (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1992; Borg & Kristensen, 2000; Jang et al., 2012). In this article we link both strands of literature by considering the effect of job quality on union dissolution. Relying on occupational health literature, we measure job quality in terms of job prospects, autonomy, working hours and income. To our knowledge, no study has analyzed in depth the relationship between job quality and the stability of unions. Using data from the British Household Panel Survey (1991-2008) we conduct couple level analyses to explore whether relationships in which either one or both partners has poor job quality also have higher odds of union dissolution over time. As family polarization in terms of marriage and cohabitation becomes the norm, our analysis is conducted for both married and cohabiting couples.

Background

Three to four decades ago family life was very much specialized. Husbands tended to work full time, and wives stayed at home. With the male breadwinner model dominating, men's employment conditions were characterized by a high degree of stability, and an income that in most cases provided sufficient resources for the upkeep of the whole family. Since then, we have witnessed a decline in manufacturing jobs and an increase in service oriented employments and computerization (Robone et al., 2011), and this has led to jobs becoming less stable. At the same time, we have also witnessed the progressive incorporation of women to tertiary education and, in recent years, rising costs of living. This has meant that we have moved away from the traditional society to one that is dominated by dual earner couples, with many women increasing their participation in the labour market in order to mitigate the negative impact of men's unemployment on the families' economic resources due to the recent economic crisis. With these changes in mind, research has focused on the living and working arrangements of dual-earner couples. This has covered several job dimensions such as employment stability, employment quality and pay.

One important trend in recent years is increasing investments in education. This trend has had two important consequences. First, highly educated individuals have greater chances of obtaining better quality employment. Secondly, while highly educated individuals tend to postpone marriage, there has been an increase in marriage homogamy in terms of education. That is, individuals are increasingly marrying someone from the same social context. In part, this reflects a series of shared common features such as culture, tastes and values (Blossfeld & Timm, 2003; Bonke & Esping-Andersen, 2011).

Moreover, highly educated couples also tend to cohabit prior to marriage (Kroeger & Smock, 2014), which they do once their financial circumstance improves (Manning et al., 2005). Indeed, the risk of union dissolution for highly educated individuals has been

decreasing over time (Goode, 1962; 1993). Individuals with lower education levels also tend to partner up with similarly educated people. These however, are more likely to cohabit rather than marry (Beaujouan & Bhrolcháin, 2011). Overall, whereas a large proportion of cohabiting relationships end in marriage or dissolution within the first few years, couples with lower education levels are less likely to get married.

This pattern is also evident in Britain. One of the reasons why rates of cohabitation among the less educated are so high is that women seem to use cohabitation as a strategy for escaping single motherhood (Smart & Stevens, 2000). In fact, in the United Kingdom, the working class increasingly sees cohabitation as an alternative to marriage (Kiernan, 2004). Nevertheless, cohabiting relationships do tend to be shorter in duration and more unstable than married relationships (Beaujouan & Bhrolcháin, 2011).

In a nutshell, two different pathways are observed. First, individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to marry, and once married, their partnerships remain relatively stable. Those with lower education levels, in contrast, are less likely to marry and have a higher degree of partnership dissolution. Second, this polarization in marriage patterns according to education level is also mirrored in job quality. Those with higher education levels tend to enjoy higher job quality, whereas those with lower education levels enjoy lower job quality.

In this article, we concentrate on the link between poor job quality and union dissolution. Work flexibility might be considered an essential factor to understand why some couples are more likely to separate. In the U.S., working non-standard hours (i.e. working more than half of the hours outside the 8am to 5pm period (Hedges & Sekcenski, 1979) has been found to have an effect on union dissolution. However, this effect differs by gender and by duration of marriage. On the one hand, women who are married for more than five years and work either at night or shifts on a rota basis are more likely to break up than women who

have been married for shorter periods of time (Presser 2003; Kalil et al., 2012). On the other hand, for men, working night shifts reduces marital satisfaction and increases likelihood of union dissolution. This might indicate that unions suffer when work timetables limit the time partners can spend together (Maume & Sebastian, 2012). Similarly, the likelihood of union dissolution for men that have been married for less than five years is higher when they work nights (Presser, 2003). Having a child also increases the likelihood of separation for both men and women, if they work non-standard hours. Although most of the existing evidence comes from studies conducted in the U.S., if either partner works long-hours with an irregular timetable, the risk of union dissolution increases. If one partner works a very demanding timetable, marital quality falls and the likelihood of divorce rises when compared to marriages where neither partners has a demanding work timetable (Gareis et al., 2003).

Some studies have also highlighted the impact that income earned from employment has on union dissolution (Oppenheimer, 1997; Sayer & Bianchi, 2000; Ermisch, 2003). When couples enjoy high incomes, families have a greater consumption potential. This lends itself to greater relationship stability as families benefit from economies of scale and can better mitigate potential disruptions from unexpected events such as illness or unemployment. Nevertheless, levels of income might have different effects depending on the type of union (Rogers, 2004; Kalmijn et al., 2007). For marriages, specialization and economic disparity between partners is associated with a lower probability of divorce, especially when the man dedicated himself the paid work, while the woman focuses on unpaid work (Becker, 1981). In cohabiting relationships the opposite seems to hold true. Where couples enjoy similar economic resources and have a more equitable distribution of power within the relationship, partnerships are more stable (Brines & Joiner, 1999).

However, not all jobs are equally affected by this increasing flexibility, also job insecurity plays a role in this context. Individuals working in less secure jobs will be at

greater risk and will tend to suffer more from current adverse employment conditions. In general, poor working conditions tend to be concentrated among the lower social classes (Borg & Kristensen, 2000), although workers with greater responsibilities and better quality jobs also tend to have to endure higher psychological demands and more conflicts at work.

As a result, in a flexible and competitive labour market employees are more exposed to lower wages, worse contractual conditions and a rise in temporary employment, high job demands including challenging working schedules, and low levels of job control (Datta-Gupta & Kristensen, 2008; Robone et al., 2011). Indeed, working variable shifts, performing complex and intensive tasks and having little job autonomy increase the probability of experiencing mental stress (Cottini & Lucifora, 2013). And this might be translated into a higher likelihood of union dissolution, especially for more vulnerable individuals (i.e. cohabiting people) with demanding work conditions (such as temporary contracts, low job control, long working hours, and an inflexible work schedule) and low incomes. In sum, our analysis focuses on two key hypothesis. The first is that Poor job quality associates with higher risk of union dissolution, and the second is that The impact of poor job quality should be higher in cohabiting unions. In what follows we outline our analytical strategy for analyzing these hypotheses.

Methodology

The data we use is from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS), and covers the period 1991-2008. The BHPS is a household-based panel that follows the same representative sample of individuals over time, asking every adult member of the sampled households. Thus, it is possible to use couple level information with repetitive information from both partners. The sample, in wave 1, covered 5,500 households and 10,300 individuals drawn from 250 areas of Great Britain. The survey includes a broad range of social issues such as household

composition, income, health, socio-economic values, education and labour market behaviour and was designed to gain a better understanding of social and economic change at the individual and household level in the United Kingdom.

For our study, we include all couples that began their relationships once they joined the panel and which last at least one year. These are classified into two different groups: married and cohabiting couples. The dependent variable is the same for the two groups, union dissolution. This is understood as the moment of separation. It takes the value 0 if partners continue together on any given year, given they were together in the previous year and the value 1 if partners no longer live together. For the sake of simplicity, cohabiting individuals who decide to marry instead of continue cohabiting or separate from their partners are right censored in the cohabitation sample in the year they make the transition to marriage. Hence they count as married individuals. Premarital cohabitation is becoming the most widespread form of entry into marriage in the United Kingdom (Berrington, 2001). However, in order to have these particular couples identified, we introduce a variable -premarital cohabitation with the same partner- in our marriage models. This study only takes into account the job conditions of dual-earner couples however, although this is an important source of selection bias, both partners are employed in almost 70% of couples. We evaluated the possibility of including unions where only the man was in paid employment, but the number of such couples is very limited and we decided against their inclusion in the final analyses.

The samples analyzed hence consist of 1234 married couples and 1262 cohabiting couples. In all of these both members of the couple are active in the labour market in paid employment. Table 1 shows that in line with what previous literature on cohabitation has shown, cohabiting partners have lower levels of education, enter into relationship at a younger age, and the mean duration of their relationships is shorter compared to their married counterparts. This could be indicating that cohabitation is seen as a transition stage towards

marriage or simply that cohabiting partners are more likely to split up compared to their married counterparts. In the United Kingdom, the risk of union dissolution for marriages and cohabitations is substantially different and it varies over time. For instance, the risk of marital dissolution within 5 years is about 8%, while it is close to 21% within 10 years (Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2013). For cohabitation dissolution, about one in three couples are expected to split up within the first 5 years, while about 40% of cohabiting couples are dissolved within 10 years. This study only takes into account dual earner couples because it is interested in the particular job conditions partners have. As a result, the levels of union dissolution for such couples might be different from the overall levels of union dissolution. Indeed, Figure 1 shows the survival rates of working married and cohabiting couples for our sample. It shows that while about 8% of marriages are expected to dissolve by the 10th year, this is about 20% for cohabiting couples. Moreover, while the proportion of marriages that survive the entire period under study (i.e. 17 years) is over 85%, about 75% of cohabiting couples are expected to continue together after 15 years.

(Figure 1 About Here)

Measuring working conditions.

In line with the report Eurofound (2012), which is outlined in the appendix, in this study we only consider the objective concept of job quality, which is related to the satisfaction of employees' needs (Green, 2006; Muñoz Bustillo et al., 2011). We understand the term 'objective' as the features of job that are the constituent elements and help to meet universal needs for good work. We also acknowledge that needs will differ according to each person's circumstances. However, the subjective concept of job quality, which includes well-being measures and references to preferences of different job characteristic, does not necessarily

correspond to whether the needs of employees are satisfied or not to the same extent that objective employment conditions do. According to the report, two sets of job features (i.e. extrinsic job quality and intrinsic job quality) are defined. Each set contains two blocks of job elements. Eurofound (2012) uses the four blocks (i.e. earnings, prospects, job control/autonomy, working time), to create valid and consistent indices. Eurofound (2012) states that all four indexes are necessary to get a comprehensive picture of job quality.

The first set of indicators refers to extrinsic job quality and includes earnings and prospects. Earnings assesses whether the income gained from employment has an effect on the risk of union dissolution. For this reason, we include both an absolute and a relative measure of income. The absolute measure is the logarithm of the household annual income from paid employment, which measures the level of economic resources a couples has. The rationale behind the use of this measure is that couples with higher levels of income are expected to experience lower levels of union dissolution. The relative measure has three categories: 1) reference category: the man's income from paid employment is at least one quintile above that of the woman; 2) the woman's income from paid employment is at least one quintile above that of the man; and 3) both partners have similar incomes, that is, they are in the same quintile. As we show in the theoretical section, power positions between partners have an impact on union stability. For marriages, deviations from the male-breadwinner model seem to increase union dissolution, whereas in cohabitations, the most stable unions seem to be those in which both members contribute equally.

Prospects evaluate the level of employability of partners and its impact on union dissolution. By employability we mean the type of contract and whether the job is likely to last. Two relative measures account for the level of employability of partners: the kind of contract each partner has and their opportunities for promotion. The type of contract includes four categories: 1) reference: both partners have a permanent contract; 2) The man has a

permanent contract and the woman a temporary one; 3) The woman has a permanent contract and the man a temporary one; 4) Both partners have a temporary contract. To capture the opportunities of promotion each partner has another categorical variable with four categories is created: 1) Reference: both partners have promotion opportunities; 2) The man has promotion opportunities but not the woman; 3) the woman has promotion opportunities but not the man; 4) Neither partner has promotion opportunities. Although the two variables are related to each other, the descriptive statistics show that they are not strongly correlated.

The second set of indicators refers to intrinsic job characteristics intended as presence of decisional autonomy in the job and working time quality. The first consists in a categorical variable capturing whether 1) Both partners have managerial duties. That is, partners supervise the work done by other employees (Reference category). 2) The man has managerial duties; 3) The woman has managerial duties; 4) Neither partner has managerial duties. With this variable we test whether job control, understood as partners supervising the work of others, enhances union stability.

The fourth block is about working time quality and includes measures related to the number of hours worked and schedule arrangements. For working hours, two absolute measures and two derived relative variables are considered. The absolute measures are a couples' mean number of regular working hours in a normal week, and a couples' mean number of hours worked as overtime (that is, additional hours worked over and above the regular working hours). These two absolute variables are not related and we expect them to be positively associated with union dissolution. The relative variables are used to establish what pattern of working hours between partners provides the highest levels of stability for couples. The first relative measure is related to the number of hours of overtime work and includes four categories: 1) Reference: neither partners works overtime; 2) the man works overtime; 3) the woman does overtime; 4) both partners work overtime. The second relative variable

considers whether partners work full-time or part-time. This is obtained from the two absolute variables outlined. That is, regular working hours and overtime hours worked. This variable also has four categories. These are: 1) Reference: both partners work full-time (more than 30 hours a week); 2) The man works part-time (less than 30 hours a week); 3) the woman works part-time; 4) both partners work part-time. Lastly, we include one categorical variable about the working timetable of partners. This is done to provide evidence on whether partners that work irregular timetables are more likely to separate. This variable has four categories: 1) Reference: both partners work daily and have a fixed/regular schedule. That is partners work only in the mornings, afternoons, evenings, nights or during the day; 2) the man works irregular hours. That is, he works shifts that may vary from day to day or has a timetable that include more than one time-period (such as lunches and eves). 3) The woman works irregular hours; 4) both partners have irregular work timetables.

In our study we also include covariates that have already been shown to affect the stability of the union. These are: duration of the relationship (in years), duration squared, homogamy with the low and medium educated (ISCED levels 1,2 or ISCED levels 3-4) and the more educated (whether both partners have ISCED levels of 5, 6 or 7), mean age of partners at the beginning of the relationship, mean age of partners at the beginning of the relationship squared, difference in age between partners, number of children, and whether there is one child who is under 4 in the household. In addition to this, the literature has also identified another variable that has been shown to have an effect on the stability of the couple (Gordon & Chen, 2010; Hasler & Troxel, 2013): whether one or both partners have recently lost sleep due to stress. Although, loss of sleep could be the result of a bad relationship, some studies have demonstrated that poor sleep (by either one or both partners) leads to less positive interaction between partners and more conflicts, which put the relationship at risk.

Lastly, and only for married couples, the variable premarital cohabitation is added to account for married couples that were formerly classed as cohabiting unions.

(Table 1 About Here)

In Table 1, the descriptive statistics for married and cohabiting couples for all independent variables are presented. Overall, married partners are more likely to be employed with permanent contract, have greater managerial duties, higher incomes and better working time patterns compared to cohabiting partners. Cohabiting partners fair better than their married counterparts in only one dimension, and this is promotion opportunities. Cohabiting individuals however, enjoy a similar income distribution to married individuals, although the proportion of women who earn more than their partner is higher for cohabiting unions. In the remaining dimensions, namely type of contract, job control, working hours and working schedule, married partners have better working conditions when compared to cohabiting partners. Thus, overall, married couples do enjoy better working conditions than cohabiting couples.

Analytical Strategy

We use event history modeling (Yamaguchi, 1991) to study how job quality measures affect the risk of union dissolution for the data between 1991 and 2008. In particular we use duration data to test whether two partners with given job conditions living together at a given time, cease to live together the following interval. In order to do so, discrete-time logit models are employed. This is because on the one hand, respondents contribute observations to each wave of the BHPS on an annual basis, hence a discrete approach is more appropriate than a continuous approach. They continue doing so until they experience dissolution or are

censored if they remain in a relationship or if they drop out of the survey. And on the other hand, the dependent variable is dichotomous (0=continue together/censored, 1=dissolution), making the duration of episodes, which refers to the time between the start of the risk period and an event occurring, or being censored, follow a log-logistic distribution. Therefore, once data is organized into couple-year form, the results are estimated based on the following equation models.

The equation for 'Model 1' is:

$$\log \left[\frac{P_{it}}{1 - P_{it}} \right] = \alpha + \beta_1(\text{job quality})_{it} + \beta_2 t_{it} + \beta_k X_{it} + \beta_l X_{i(t-1)} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

where P_{it} is the conditional probability of experiencing a separation for partnership i at year t (from one until seventeen), given that they have not dissolved or been censored prior to wave t . *Job quality* comprises a set of indicators that describes the working conditions of partners. These indicators are related to prospects (i.e. type of contract and promotion opportunities); job autonomy; income from paid employment (including absolute and relative levels of income); and time spent working (which includes the number of hours worked and the working schedule). t is relationship duration. k is a time-constant control variables measured when a couple enters the survey, and, l is a time-varying predictor measured at $t-1$, the wave prior to the potential separation. The objective of this model is to test the first hypothesis about the association between poor job quality and higher risk of union dissolution. This first model is run separately for married and cohabiting partners. People who opt for cohabitation are different from those who decide to marry and so is the risk of dissolution in the two types of union.

The equation for 'Model 2', is:

$$\log \left[\frac{P_{it}}{1 - P_{it}} \right] = \alpha + \beta_1(\text{job quality})_{it} + \beta_2(\text{uniontype})_{it} + \beta_3 t_{it} + \beta_k X_{it} + \beta_l X_{i(t-1)} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

Here job quality indicators, duration and covariates are the same as those for 'Model 1'. But in this model no separate regression for marriages and cohabitations are carried out. The married sample is appended to the cohabitation sample to create a single sample for both types of unions. We then introduce a dummy variable to identify the type of partnership. With the addition of this variable, we can check whether the risk of union dissolution for each type of union statistically differs from each other.

Finally, the equation for 'Model 3' is:

$$\log \left[\frac{P_{it}}{1 - P_{it}} \right] = \alpha + \beta_1(\text{job quality})_{it} + \beta_2(\text{uniontype})_{it} \\ + \beta_3(\text{job quality} * \text{uniontype})_{it} + \beta_4 t_{it} + \beta_k X_{it} + \beta_l X_{i(t-1)} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (3)$$

For this model, job quality, type of union, duration and covariates remain the same as 'Model 2'. This model is a continuation of Model 2 in the sense that the sample and most of the variables are derived from it. Nevertheless, for this model, an interaction term between job quality and type of union is included. This allows us to address our second hypothesis, which suggests that the impact of poor job quality is higher in cohabiting unions.

Results

Model 1 shows the survival of couples from the beginning of their relationship until their dissolution or when they become censored by the end of the survey, distinguishing between married and cohabiting couples. For marriages, when the husband has a temporary contract, the risk of marital dissolution is higher compared to marriages in which both partners have permanent contracts. Similarly, the lack of job control, measured as the absence of managerial duties, increases marital stability relative to marriages in which both partners have job control. With regard to working time measures, spouses' working overtime is positively related to union dissolution. However, marriages in which either the husband, wife or both spouses work overtime experience lower levels of union disruption compared to

marriages in which neither spouse works overtime. Finally, there is a lower risk of union dissolution the higher the income from employment of a household. The results for cohabiting couples are different. For these, when both partners work part-time, the risk of separation is higher relative to couples in which both members work full-time. The risk of break up for couples where both cohabiting partners have irregular work schedules is 58.4% higher than the risk of dissolution for cohabiting couples in which both partners have regular work schedules.

Therefore, we find mixed evidence for hypothesis 1, which predicted poor job quality to be positively associated with union dissolution. In fact, it seems to be highly dependable on the type of union and on some specific working conditions. For marriages, although husbands have a lower risk of marital disruption if they have temporary employments, we find that poor working conditions, such as the lack of job control or the working overtime, reduces the risk of marital disruption. This is different in the case of cohabitations. For these, we find that poor working conditions, such as where both partners work irregular schedules or where either the women or both partners have part-time jobs, increases the likelihood of cohabitation dissolution. Thus, it seems that whereas for marriages poor job quality is associated more to union stability than to union instability, for cohabitations poor job quality (particularly the measures related to time in work) is associated with union dissolution.

(Table 2 About Here)

Model 2 includes cohabiting and married couples in a single model, all job conditions covariates and a dummy variable based on the type of union. This tests whether cohabiting and married couples experience different risks of union dissolution. The coefficient suggests that cohabiting couples are 63.12% more likely to separate compared to married ones.

Additionally, Figure 2 shows that cohabitations are more unstable and more likely to dissolve

than marriages. The graph, which is conditional on the results of Model 2, plots the predicted difference of union dissolution between cohabiting couples (blue line) and married couples (red line). It shows that the difference between marriages and cohabitations is highly statistically significant and positive for cohabiting unions across the entire duration of a partnership, although this difference is weakened towards the later years of relationship. For instance, in the first year of a partnership, cohabiting couples are 8.5% more likely to separate than married couples, while from the tenth year onwards, the difference is lower than 1%. Overall however, married individuals are less likely to separate from their partners than cohabiting individuals.

(Figure 2 About Here)

Model 3 adds an interaction term between the type of union and job characteristics. The aim of this third model is to test whether poorer job conditions are more conducive to union dissolution for cohabiting couples rather than marriages as predicted by hypothesis 2. For promotion opportunities, managerial duties, income distribution and working schedule there are no statistically significant differences between the two types of union. However, the results for permanent employment (full-time vs. part-time), and hours of overtime worked do show differences between both types of union. For instance, cohabiting couples in which women work overtime and men do not have a higher risk of union dissolution than marriages in which the wife is the only one who works overtime. Although the other coefficients are not fully statistically significant, they do indicate that presence of further differences between both types of couples. For instance, cohabiting couples in which both partners work overtime are also more likely to separate compared to marriages in which both spouses work overtime. In addition, and contrary to what was expected, marriages in which the husband either has a

temporary contract or works part-time, have a higher risk of union dissolution than cohabitations in which men have temporary contracts or work part-time.

Hence hypothesis 2, which proposed that the impact of poor job quality is higher for cohabiting unions, is not supported. Although, cohabiting couples that work overtime show a higher tendency of separation, other job conditions (namely, men on temporary employments or men working part-time) are either not statistically significant or have the opposite effect. We can therefore state that the impact of poor job quality is not stronger on cohabitation dissolution than on marital dissolution.

The results for the control variables introduced are in line with the findings of existing literature. Duration, homogamy in higher education and higher mean age at the start of a relationship decrease the risk of union dissolution, whereas the number of children in the household increases the risk of separation (see Chan & Halpin, 2002). The variable 'sleep properly' has an effect on union dissolution: It shows that if one or both members of the couple do not sleep well, the risk of union dissolution increases, and this applies to both types of unions. But we find that it does not have any significant effect when married and cohabiting couples are evaluated separately. The difference in age between partners is statistically significant (except for married individuals), showing that the risk of union dissolution increases as the age difference between partners widens. Lastly, premarital cohabitation is positively associated with union dissolution. This might be due to the fact that individuals who marry without first having cohabited with their partners are more committed to the institution of marriage.

Discussion

Over the past few decades we have witnessed the emergence of family polarization and greater presence of diverging destinies within families (McLanahan, 2004). On the one

hand, individuals with higher levels of education are likely to end up with higher quality jobs, marrying people in a similar position, enjoying good health conditions and stable unions. On the other hand, individuals with lower education levels are more likely to have less stable jobs, have more health problems and are likely to opt for alternatives to marriage such as unmarried cohabitation (Liebfroer & Dourleijn, 2006). However, the literature has not yet reported on whether there are significant differences in terms of their likelihood of union dissolution between both types of families -highly qualified unions and less qualified unions- once job quality measures are taken into account. Previous studies on family dynamics have suggested that the increase in labour market participation of women would lead to a rise in the likelihood of separation (Amato & James, 2010). These studies however were mainly focused on measures related to the number of hours worked and to incomes earned from employment and how these affect union dissolution. Other characteristics of work have remained essentially unexplored within family studies. To date, the more detailed characteristics of work can be found in occupational health literature. This literature suggests that the lower classes in society have poorer working conditions than people in higher social classes (Borg & Kristensen, 2000). This means that people in the lower classes have more temporary employment (rather than permanent posts), higher job demands and worse health conditions (Datta-Gupta & Kristensen, 2008; Robone et al., 2011).

This study carries out couple-level analysis and combines these two strands of literature (occupational health and family outcomes literature), to look into the effect of job quality on union dissolution. The findings suggest that job quality measures should be included in family studies rather than be restricted to the literature on occupational health. This is so that we can better understand how family polarization affects the survival of partnerships. Indeed, we find evidence that partners' labour arrangements are crucial in determining whether two partners continue together or are likely to end their union at some

point in time. We use four measures of job quality: prospects, whether employment will continue over time; job control/autonomy, whether partners supervise the work done by others; labour income, in absolute and relative terms; and working time, the number of hours worked and work schedule or timetable. The analytical strategy consists of several discrete-time event history logit regressions covering the period 1991-2008. Different samples for married and cohabiting relationships are created to reflect their different demographic and work characteristics (Tach & Edin, 2013). As expected, married partners are more educated and employed in better quality posts with more permanent contracts, job control, higher incomes and better work schedules, than cohabiting partners.

With regard to the hypotheses proposed, interestingly, we find that the results contradict the first hypothesis, at least in relation to married couples. Cottini & Lucifora (2013) found that high job demands, such as performing complex and intensive tasks or having restricted job autonomy, increased the risk of experiencing mental health problems. However, if this is the case, the increased risk of mental health problems is not translated into a higher likelihood of marital dissolution for spouses suffering from high job demands. On the contrary, and with the exception of husbands that are in temporary employment (2.12% of the marriage sample), it seems that some high job demands increase marital stability. Indeed, the results found seem to hint to the absence of job control and working overtime as marriage stabilizers. In other words, this finding seems to indicate that spouses deal together with the problems they have at work. For cohabiting relationships, however, higher job demands, especially in terms of number of hours worked, increase the risk of separation. We find that the risk of cohabitation dissolution if both partners have part-time jobs or work irregular hours, is higher compared to the risk of cohabitation dissolution for couples in which both partners work full time or work regular hours. This seems to suggest that cohabiting relationships require greater daily interaction between partners in order to survive. This

interaction might be at risk if neither partner has a regular work schedule. For the second hypothesis, very few results are statistically significant. This suggests that poor working conditions do not adversely affect the stability of cohabitation unions compared to married partnerships. Indeed, some of the effects, such as men being on temporary contracts or men working part-time, are found to have a stronger impact on union dissolution of marital unions rather than cohabiting unions. It might be the case that each type of unions is rather different from the other, and hence poorer working conditions of cohabiting individuals alone might not explain the higher risk of dissolution these couples have.

Indeed, this study has various limitations that should be kept in mind when interpreting the results. Firstly, it is possible that we have not fully captured less educated couples in which either one or both partners have poor working conditions. This is because we rely on individuals' own evaluations and people that meet these criteria might be less likely to report their working conditions as poor. Secondly, in some of the models there are only a small number of events, hence results ought to be taken with caution. For instance, the marriage model that includes the whole set of working conditions has 83 separation events. Indeed, our prospective design has some advantages, such as having all employment information for every year partners continue in the sample, but at the same time it reduces the sample to only cover couples that started their relationship within the panel's time period. Thirdly, the couple level analysis increases the amount of missing information impeding the inclusion of some covariates (e.g. remarriage- whether it is a first or higher order marriage). Missing information in one variable at the individual level is translated into missing information at the couple level, regardless of whether there is missing information for one or both partners. Further studies could build on the findings provided in this study by testing whether the differences in the working characteristics and union stability between married and cohabiting couples found, apply to other datasets and countries. In addition, it would also be

interesting to check whether some of the poor working characteristics that seem to strengthen marital unions (that is, they leading spouses to increase their commitment to their respective partners), have the opposite effect on cohabiting couple or, in other words, increase their risk of union dissolution.

Appendix

To construct our indicators of job quality we take inspiration from a recent report by Eurofound (2012) on the quality of jobs. The authors propose four building blocks to evaluate appropriately the job quality in Europe using the EWCS. The first block is earnings and it takes into account its level (i.e. income obtained from employment) and fairness (i.e. whether there is discrimination in wages by gender, race...). The second block is related to the prospects of the job continuing in following years. It covers the material need for income and the immaterial need for employment continuity and enhancement. The third block concerns the intrinsic job quality, including the skills, intensity and the social and physical environment of the employment. Finally, the fourth block covers working time quality (i.e. the patters of work and other elements that provide services such as childcare). In our context, we construct our four blocks at the individual and couple level to follow as closely as possible the report and we use repetitive information for both partners throughout their relationship. By including the couple level analysis, we are able to better assess the variation within couples – by constructing all possible combinations for each working condition and couple (i.e. both partners share the same good working characteristics, the woman is better off, the man is better off, or both partners share the same bad working condition) – and the variation between couples – by running different analyses for married and cohabiting couples and checking for differences between them –.

References

- Amato, P.R. (2010). Research on divorce: continuing trends and new developments, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 650-666. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00723.x
- Amato, P.R., & James, S. (2010). Divorce in Europe and the United States: commonalities and differences across nations, *Family Science*, 1(1), 2-13.
doi: 10.1080/19424620903381583.
- Barlow, A., Burgoyne, C., Clery, E., & Smithson, J. (2008). Cohabitation and the law: Myths, money and the media, in K. Thomson, A. Park, and M. Phillips (eds.), *British Social Attitudes: The 24th report*. London: Sage, 29-52.
doi: 10.4135/9781849208697.
- Beaujouan, E., & Bhrolcháin, M.N. (2011). Cohabitation and marriage in Britain since the 1970s, *Population Trends*, 145, 1-25. doi: 10.1057/pt.2011.16.
- Becker, G.S. (1981). *A Treatise on the family*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass etc.
- Berrington, A. (2001). Entry into parenthood and the outcome of cohabiting partnerships in Britain, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63(1), 80-96.
doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00080.x
- Blossfeld, H., & Timm, A. (2003). *Who marries whom? Educational systems as marriage markets in modern societies*, Kluwer Academic, Dordrecht etc.
- Bonke, J., & Esping-Andersen, G. (2011). Family investments in children – productivities, preferences, and parental child care, *European Sociological Review*, 27(1), 43-55.
doi: 10.1093/esr/jcp054.
- Borg V., & Kristensen, T.S. (2000). Social class and self-rated health: can the gradient be explained by differences in life style or work environment? *Social Science and Medicine Review*, 51(7), 1019-1030. doi: 10.1016/S0277-9536(00)00011-3.

- Brines, J., & Joyner (1999) The ties that bind: principles of cohesion in cohabitation and marriages, *American Sociological Review*, 64(3), 333-355. doi: 10.2307/2657490.
- Brockwood, K.J. (2007). Marital satisfaction and the work-family interface: An overview. In E. Kossek & M. Pitt-Catsouphes (Eds.), *Work and family encyclopedia*. Chestnut Hill, MA: Sloan Work and Family Research Network. Retrieved from: <https://workfamily.sas.upenn.edu/wfrn-repo/object/8e1qi1ou2bu5vf0u>
- Chan, T.K., & Halpin, B. (2002). Union dissolution in the United Kingdom. *International Journal of Sociology*, 32(4), 76-93.
- Cottini, E., & Lucifora, C. (2013). Mental health and working conditions in Europe, *Industrial and Labour Relationships Review*, 66(4), 958-988.
- Datta Gupta, N., & Kristensen, N. (2008). Work environment satisfaction and employee health: panel evidence from Denmark, France and Spain, 1994-2001, *The European Journal of Health Economics*, 9(1), 51-61. doi: 10.1007/S10198-007-0037-6.
- Eurofound (2012). *Trends in job quality in Europe*. Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg. doi: 10.2806/35164.
- Ermisch, J.F. (2003). *An economic analysis of the family*, Princeton University Press.
- Gareis, K.C., Barnett, R.C. and Brennan, R.T. (2003). Individual and crossover effects of work schedule fit: a within-couple analysis, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65(4), 1041-1054. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2003.01041.x
- Goode, W.J. (1962). Marital satisfaction and instability. A cross-cultural class analysis of divorce rates, in R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (eds.) *Class, Status, and Power. Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective*, New York: The Free Press, 377-387.
- Goode, W.J. (1993). *World changes in divorce patterns*, Yale University Press, New Haven; London.

- Gordon A.M., & Chen, S. (2013). The role of sleep in interpersonal conflict: do sleepless nights mean worse fights? *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 00(0), 1-8. doi: 10.1177/1948550613488952.
- Green, F. (2006) *Demanding work: the paradox of job quality in the affluent economy*. Princeton University Press. Woodstock.
- Grotti, R., & Scherer, S. (2014). Accumulation of employment instability among partners: Evidence from six European countries, *European Sociological Review*, 30(5), 627-639. doi: 10.1093/esr/jcu063.
- Hasler, B.P., & Troxel, W.M. (2010). Couples' nighttime sleep efficiency and concordance: evidence for bidirectional associations with daytime relationship functioning. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 72(8), 794-801. doi: 10.1097/PSY.0b013e3181ecd08a.
- Hedges, J.N., & Sekscenski, E.S. (1979). Workers on late shifts in a changing economy, *Monthly Labor Review*, 102(9), 14-22.
- Hughes, D., Galinsky, E., & Morris, A. (1992). The effects of job characteristics on marital quality: specifying linking mechanisms, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 54(1), 31-42. doi: 10.2307/353273.
- Jalovaara, M. (2013). Socioeconomic resources and the dissolution of cohabitations and marriages, *European Journal of Population* 29(2), 167–193. doi: 10.1007/s10680-012-9280-3.
- Jung Jang, S., Zippay, A., & Park, R. (2012). Family roles as moderators of the relationship between schedule flexibility and stress, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(4), 897–912. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.00984.x
- Kalil, A., Ziol-Guest, K.M., & Levin Epstein, J. (2012). Nonstandard work and marital instability: evidence from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(5), 1289-1300. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00765.x

- Kalmijn, M. (1998). Intermarriage and homogamy: causes, patterns, trends, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 395-421. doi: 10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.395.
- Kalmijn, M., Loeve, A., Manting, D. (2007). Income dynamics in couples and the dissolution of marriage and cohabitation, *Demography*, 44(1), 159-179.
doi: 10.1353/dem.2007.0005.
- Kiernan, K. E. (2004). Unmarried cohabitation and parenthood in Britain and Europe, *Journal of Law and Policy*, 26(1), 33-55. doi: 10.1111/j.0265-8240.2004.00162.x.
- Kivimäki, M., Vahtera, J., Virtanen, M., Elovainio, M., Pentti, J., & Ferrie, J.E. (2003). Temporary employment and risk of overall and cause-specific mortality, *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 158(7), 663-668. doi: 10.1093/aje/kwg185.
- Kroeger, R. A., & Smock, P. J. (2014). Cohabitation, in J. Treas, J. Scott and M. Richards (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Families*, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, Chichester, UK, 217-235. doi: 10.1002/9781118374085.ch11.
- Lennon, M.C., & Rosenfield, S. (1992). Women and mental health: the interaction of job and family conditions, *Journal of health and social behavior*, vol. 33(4), 316-327.
doi: 10.2307/2137311.
- Liefbroer, A.C., & Dourleijn, E. (2006). Unmarried cohabitation and union stability: testing the role of diffusion using data from 16 European countries, *Demography*, 43(2), 203-221. doi: 10.1353/dem.2006.0018.
- Maume, DJ., & Sebastian, R. (2012). Gender, non-standard work schedules, and marital quality, *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 33, 477-490.
doi: 10.1007/s10834-012-9308-1.
- Mclanahan, S. (2004), Diverging destinies: how children are faring under the Second Demographic Transition, *Demography*, 41(4), 607-627. doi: 10.1353/dem.2004.0033.

- Muñoz de Bustillo, R., Fernández-Macías, R.E., Antón, J.I., & Esteve, F. (2011). *Measuring more than money: the social economics of job quality*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.
- Office for National Statistics (2013). *Divorce in England and Wales, 2011*, Statistical Bulletin, 1-16. Retrieved from: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_291750.pdf
- Oppenheimer, V.K. (1997). Women's employment and the gain to marriage: the specialization and trading model, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 431-453.
doi: 10.1177/019251300021007005
- Poortman, A.R., & Kalmijn, M. (2002). Women's labour market position and divorce in the Netherlands: evaluating economic interpretations of the work effect, *European Journal of Population*, 18(2), 175-202. doi: 10.1023/A:1015520411449.
- Poortman, A.R. (2005). How work affects divorce: the mediating role of financial and time pressures, *Journal of Family Issues*, 26(2), 168-195. doi: 10.1177/0192513X04270228.
- Prandy, K., & Lambert, P. (2003). Marriage, social distance and the social space: an alternative derivation and validation of the Cambridge Scale, *Sociology*, 37(3), 397-411. doi: 10.1177/00380385030373001.
- Presser, H.B. (2003). *Working in a 24/7 economy: challenges for American families*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
- Robone, S., Jones, A., & Rice, N. (2011). Contractual conditions, working conditions and their impact on health and well-being, *The European Journal of Health Economics*, 12(5), 429-444. doi: 10.1007/s10198-010-0256-0.
- Rogers, S.J. (2004). Dollars, dependency and divorce: Four perspectives on the role of women's income, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66(1), 59-74.
doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2004.00005.x
- Sayer, L.C., & Bianchi, S.M. (2000). Women's economic independence and the probability of divorce: a review and reexamination, *Journal of Family Issues*, 21(7), 906-943.

doi: 10.1177/019251300021007005.

Scherer, S. (2009). The social consequences of insecure jobs, *Social Indicators Research*, 93(3): 527 – 547. doi: 10.1007/s11205-008-9431-4.

Smart, C., & Stevens, P. (2000). *Cohabitation, breakdown*. London: Family policy studies centre.

Smock, P.J. (2000). Cohabitation in the United States: an appraisal of research themes, findings and implications, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 1-20.

doi: 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.1.

Tach, L., & Edin, K. (2013). The compositional and institutional sources of union dissolution for married and unmarried parents in the United States, *Demography*, 50(5), 1789-1818.

doi: 10.1007/s13524-013-0203-7.

Yamaguchi, K. (1991). *Event History Analysis*. Newbury Park: Sage.

FIGURE 1. PROPORTION OF MARRIAGES AND COHABITING COUPLES SURVIVING IN THE 18 WAVES.

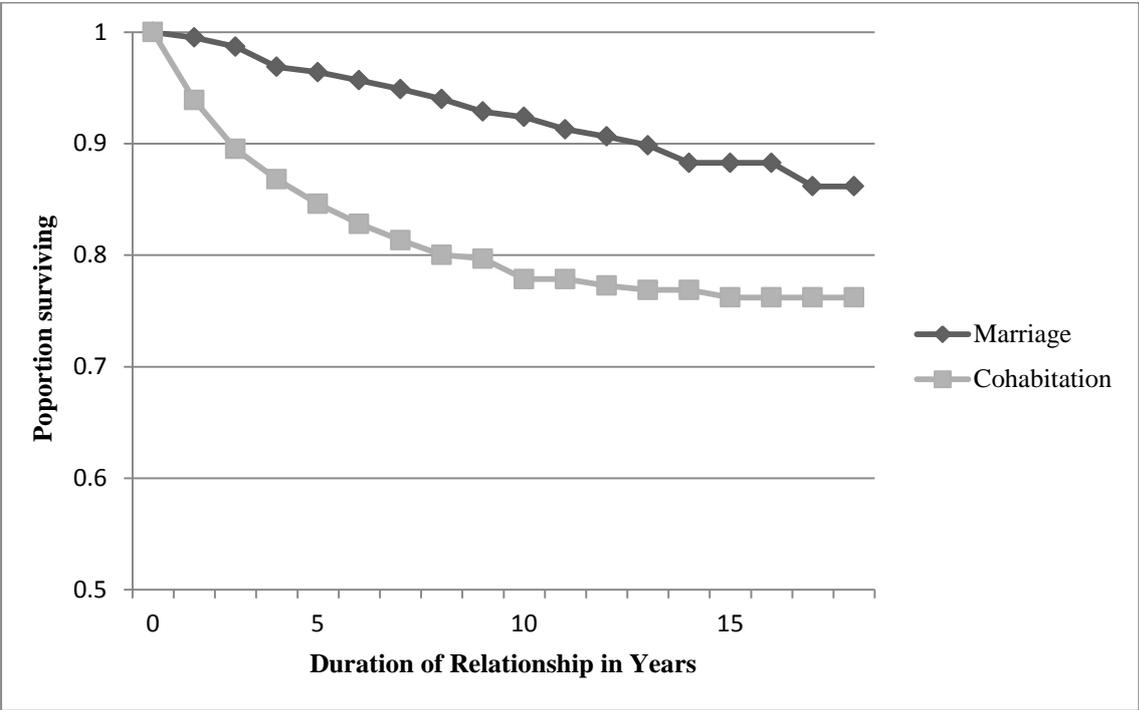


FIGURE 2: CONDITIONAL MARGINAL EFFECTS OF COHABITATION WITH 95% CONFIDENCE OF INTERVALS

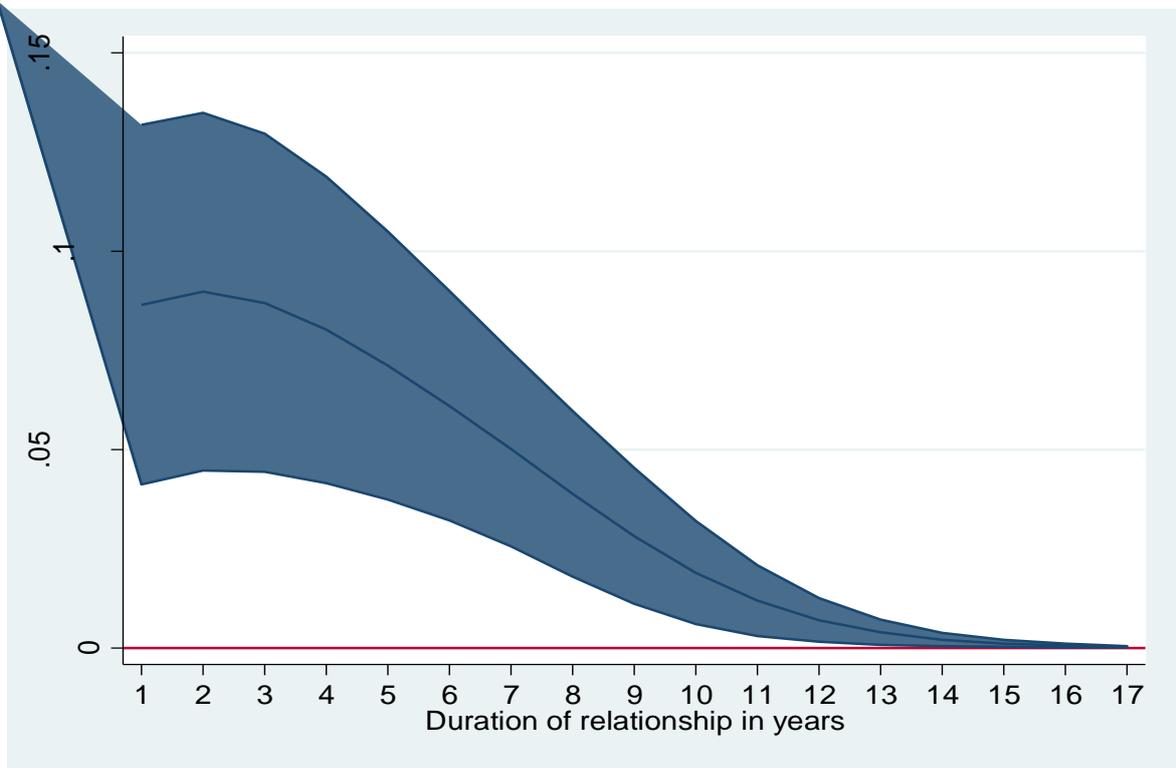


Table 1: *Descriptive statistics for married and cohabiting unions*

	Cohabitation			Marriage		
	Total	Mean	SD	Total	Mean	SD
<i>Prospects</i>						
Permanent vs. temporary contract (Ref. both permanent)	3046	.9018	.2976	5290	.9257	.2623
Man temporary, woman permanent	3046	.0371	.1890	5290	.0212	.1440
Woman temporary, man permanent	3046	.0529	.2238	5290	.0486	.2150
Both partners temporary contract	3046	.0075	.0866	5290	.0036	.0598
Permanent vs. temporary contract (Missing information)	3046	.0007	.0256	5290	.0009	.0307
Promotion opportunities (Ref. both prom. oppor)	3046	.3276	.4694	5290	.3110	.4629
Man promotion opportunities, woman not	3046	.2200	.4143	5290	.2384	.4261
Woman promotion opportunities, man not	3046	.1901	.3924	5290	.1858	.389
None of partners promotion opportunities	3046	.2081	.4060	5290	.2238	.4168
Promotion opportunities (Missing information)	3046	.0542	.2264	5290	.0410	.1984
<i>Job control/autonomy</i>						
Managerial duties (Ref. both manag. duties)	3046	.1599	.3656	5290	.1913	.3934
Man managerial duties, woman no	3046	.1651	.3713	5290	.3087	.4620
Woman managerial duties, man no	3046	.2311	.4216	5290	.1484	.3555
None of partners managerial duties	3046	.4429	.4981	5290	.3503	.4771
Managerial duties (Missing information)	3046	.0010	.0314	5290	.0013	.0363
<i>Labour Income</i>						
Ln (household labour income)	3046	10.20	.6660	5290	10.40	.5109
Income distribution (Ref. Man earns more)	3046	.5525	.4973	5290	.6070	.4884
Woman earns more money than man	3046	.1467	.3539	5290	.0919	.2889
Partners ear a similar amount of money	3046	.3003	.4585	5290	.2981	.4575
Income distribution (Missing information)	3046	.0030	.0181	5290	.0030	.0549
<i>Working Time</i>						
Working hours	3026	36.23	6.258	5265	34.49	6.699
Overtime working hours	2976	3.922	4.342	5197	4.017	4.498
Full-time vs. part-time (Ref. both full-time)	3046	.7745	.4180	5290	.6244	.4843
Man part-time, woman full-time	3046	.0174	.1308	5290	.0163	.1265
Woman part-time, man full-time	3046	.1878	.3906	5290	.3382	.4731
Both partners part-time	3046	.0095	.0971	5290	.0117	.1076
Full-time vs. part-time (Missing information)	3046	.0108	.1035	5290	.0094	.0967

Overtime vs. no overtime (Ref. none overtime)	3046	.2666	.4422	5290	.2879	.4528
Man overtime working hours, woman no	3046	.2935	.4554	5290	.3111	.4630
Woman overtime working hours, man no	3046	.1471	.3542	5290	.1301	.3364
Both partners overtime working hours	3046	.2699	.4440	5290	.2533	.4349
Overtime vs. no overtime (Missing information)	3046	.0230	.1499	5290	.0176	.1314
Working schedule (Ref. both regular hours)	3046	.6175	.4861	5290	.6348	.4815
Man irregular working hours, woman regular	3046	.1389	.3459	5290	.1302	.3366
Woman irregular working hours, man regular	3046	.1064	.3084	5290	.0885	.2840
Both partners irregular working hours	3046	.0558	.2296	5290	.0397	.1952
Working schedule (Missing information)	3046	.0814	.2735	5290	.1068	.3089
<i>Controls</i>						
Cohabitation before marriage (Ref. no cohabit)				5290	.4646	.4988
Cohabitation before marriage				5290	.5354	.4988
Match in Education (Ref. no match)	3046	.4790	.4996	5290	.4350	.4958
Match in Low-Medium education	3046	.3063	.4610	5290	.2784	.4483
Match in High Education	3046	.2147	.4107	5290	.2866	.4522
Sleep (Ref. Boyh partners have slept well)	3046	.6753	.4683	5290	.6875	.4635
Sleep (Any/Both partners have not slept properly)	3046	.3080	.4617	5290	.2981	.4575
Sleep (Missing information)	3046	.0167	.1283	5290	.0144	.1190
Duration of relationship in years	3046	7.908	4.356	5290	10.75	4.207
Mean age of partners at the start of relationship	3046	28.20	7.080	5290	29.45	6.776
Difference in age between partners	3046	1.481	5.330	5290	1.582	5.202
Number of children in household	3046	.4642	.8252	5290	.9023	1.003
Child under 4 years in household (Ref. no child)	3046	.1445	.3516	5290	.6938	.4610
Child under 4 years present in household	3046	.8555	.3516	5290	.3062	.4610

Note: The cohabiting couples that decide to marry are also included in the marriage sample

The total number of cohabitation and marriage refers to N-time observations for each variable.

Table 2. *Discrete-time event history logit models of the transition to union dissolution*

Variables	Model 1		Model 2	Model 3
	Cohabitation	Marriage	All couples	All couples
<i>Prospects</i>				
Permanent vs. temporary contract (Ref. both perma.)				
Man temporary, woman permanent	-.3011 (.4656)	.9131* (.4548)	.2428 (.3399)	1.001* (.4850)
Woman temporary, man permanent	-.3280 (.3217)	-.6392 (.7738)	-.3754 (.2700)	-.7962 (.7704)
Both partners temporary contract	-.1677 (.6585)	1.499 (1.115)	.0935 (.6412)	1.564 (1.106)
Promotion opportunities (Ref. both prom. opport.)				
Man promotion opportunities, woman not	-.0406 (.2319)	-.6982† (.3722)	-.2129 (.1870)	-.6813† (.3787)
Woman promotion opportunities, man not	-.0303 (.2354)	.0816 (.3350)	.0031 (.1883)	.0528 (.3389)
None of partners promotion opportunities	.0190 (.2387)	-.0667 (.3390)	-.0244 (.1926)	-.0846 (.3557)
<i>Job control/autonomy</i>				
Managerial duties (Ref. both managerial duties)				
Man managerial duties, woman no	-.4217 (.2705)	-.5342 (.3423)	-.4344* (.2138)	-.4448 (.3677)
Woman managerial duties, man no	-.1630 (.2772)	-.6651 (.4044)	-.3278 (.2268)	-.4634 (.4158)
None of partners managerial duties	-.3211 (.2309)	-.8806* (.3520)	-.4691* (.1948)	-.6853† (.3640)
<i>Labour Income</i>				
Ln (household labour income)				
Woman earns more money than man	-.0233 (.1030)	-.3627* (.1564)	-.0692 (.0969)	-.0842 (.0870)
Partners ear a similar amount of money	.3548 (.2297)	-.1786 (.3970)	.2296 (.1873)	-.1363 (.3883)
Partners ear a similar amount of money	.3232† (.1928)	-.1252 (.2853)	.1546 (.1541)	-.1367 (.2986)
<i>Working Time</i>				
Working hours				
Overtime working hours	.0171 (.0179)	-.0208 (.0241)	.0045 (.0142)	.0058 (.0142)
Full-time vs. part-time (Ref. both full-time)	.0143 (.0202)	.0796* (.0318)	.0293† (.0166)	.0308† (.0174)
Man part-time, woman full-time	.0396 (.6799)	.9428 (.6948)	.6215 (.4956)	1.340* (.6587)
Woman part-time, man full-time	.5301† (.2933)	.0400 (.3991)	.3543 (.2259)	.2656 (.3413)
Both partners part-time	1.443* (.5535)	0 (empty)	.5658 (.5277)	1.121* (.5146)
Overtime vs. no overtime (Ref. none overtime)				
Man overtime working hours, woman no	-.0678 (.2387)	-.8851* (.3443)	-.3548† (.1888)	-.5649† (.2965)
Woman overtime working hours, man no	.3312 (.2650)	-.8950* (.4351)	-.1020 (.2108)	-.7635† (.4285)
Both partners overtime working hours	-.0072 (.2651)	-1.405** (.4491)	-.4441* (.2170)	-1.001** (.3834)
Working schedule (Ref. both regular hours)				
Man irregular working hours, woman regular	-.0014 (.2427)	.2163 (.3306)	.1212 (.1942)	.2740 (.3400)
Woman irregular working hours, man regular	.3641 (.2471)	.0300 (.3863)	.2445 (.2021)	-.0107 (.3930)
Both partners irregular working hours	.6260* (.2810)	.1015 (.6034)	.4927* (.2388)	-.0259 (.6732)
<i>Controls</i>				
Type of union (0: marriage; 1: cohabitation)				
Prior cohabitation (0: No; 1: Yes)		.6063* (.2721)	.6312*** (.1452)	-.3353 (.5000)
Match in Education (Ref. No match in education)				
Match in low-medium education	-.0914 (.1719)	.2167 (.2570)	.0181 (.1385)	.0308 (.1397)
Match in high education	-.3885† (.2294)	-.8668** (.3326)	-.5502** (.1899)	-.5373** (.1889)
Sleep properly (0: Both have; 1: Any/Both have not)	.2737 (.1711)	.3147 (.2415)	.2883* (.1361)	.2975* (.1380)
Duration of relationship in years	-.8322*** (.0813)	-.4859*** (.1195)	-.6728*** (.0596)	-.6875*** (.0607)
Duration of relationship squared	.0291*** (.0053)	.0087 (.0067)	.0197*** (.0037)	.0206*** (.0037)
Mean age of partners at the beginning of relationship	-.0585*** (.0156)	-.0541* (.0223)	-.0571*** (.0125)	-.0566*** (.0125)

Difference in age between partners	.0460**	-.0082	.0253†	.0274*
	(.0152)	(.0279)	(.0130)	(.0133)
Number of children in household	.5767***	.3048*	.4531***	.4585***
	(.1155)	(.1193)	(.0840)	(.0852)
Child under 4 years in household (0: No; 1:Yes)	-.3758	-.2832	-.2329	-.2741
	(.2834)	(.3332)	(.2089)	(.2117)
Constant	1.254	5.677**	1.660	2.404*
	(1.338)	(2.084)	(1.202)	(1.200)
Number of events	214	83	297	296
Number of couples	1156	1149	1861	1848
Number of couple-years	2958	5092	8126	8050
<i>Interactions</i>				
<i>Permanent vs. temporary contract * Uniontype</i>				
(Ref. both permanent and arriage)				
Man temporary, woman permanent				-1.2818†
*cohabitation				(.6598)
Woman temporary, man permanent				.4815
*cohabitation				(.8360)
Both partners temporary contract				-1.765
*cohabitation				(1.284)
<i>Promotion opportunities * Uniontype</i>				
(Ref. both promotion opportunities and marriage)				
Man promotion opportunities, woman not				.6425
*cohabitation				(.4405)
Woman promotion opportunities, man not				-.0922
*cohabitation				(.4054)
None of partners promotion opportunities				.0765
*cohabitation.				(.4197)
<i>Managerial duties * Uniontype</i>				
(Ref. both managerial duties and marriage)				
Man managerial duties, woman no				-.0009
*cohabitation				(.4488)
Woman managerial duties, man no				.2403
*cohabitation				(.4889)
None of partners managerial duties				.2903
*cohabitation				(.4179)
<i>Income distribution * Uniontype</i>				
(Ref. man earns more money and marriage)				
Woman earns more money than man				.5009
*cohabitation				(.4484)
Partners ear a similar amount of money				.4347
*cohabitation				(.3536)
<i>Full-time vs. part-time * Uniontype</i>				
(Ref. both full-time and marriage)				
Man part-time, woman full-time				-1.502†
*cohabitation				(.8683)
Woman part-time, man full-time				.1585
*cohabitation				(.3652)
Both partners part-time				0
*cohabitation				(omitted)
<i>Overtime vs. no overtime * Uniontype</i>				
(Ref. none overtime and marriage)				
Man overtime working hours, woman no				.3946
*cohabitation				(.3516)
Woman overtime working hours, man no				1.015*
*cohabitation				(.4912)
Both partners overtime working hours*cohabitat.				.8247†
*cohabitation				(.4295)
<i>Working schedule * Uniontype</i>				
(Ref. both regular hours and marriage)				
Man irregular working hours, woman regular				-.2554
*cohabitation				(.4025)
Woman irregular working hours, man regular				.3556
*cohabitation				(.4586)
Both partners irregular working hours				.5995
*cohabitation				(.7235)

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses: †p<.1; * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001.