

Separation and Spatial Mobility: A Cross-National Comparison

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Abstract

This study investigates spatial mobility of separated individuals in five industrialised countries. While there is a large body of literature examining residential changes related to separation in selected individual countries, only a few studies have compared patterns across countries. Using longitudinal data and applying Poisson regression models we study the risk of a move of separated men and women in comparison with cohabiting and married individuals. We use time since separation to distinguish between moves due to separation and moves of separated individuals. Our analysis shows that separated men and women are significantly more likely to move than their cohabiting and married counterparts. The risk of a residential change is the highest shortly after separation and it decreases with duration since separation. The patterns are similar across countries, although the levels of spatial mobility are higher in Australia.

Keywords: divorce, separation, residential mobility, migration, Poisson regression

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Introduction

There is a large body of literature on the interrelationships between family dynamics and spatial mobility in industrialised countries (Davies Withers, 1998; Deurloo et al., 1994; Kulu, 2008; Mulder & Wagner, 2001). Partnership events, such as the start and end of a co-residential union, usually trigger a move as they imply a change of residence for at least one of the partners (Clark, 2013; Dewilde, 2008; Mulder, 2006; Mulder & Lauster, 2010; Mulder & Wagner, 1998). The birth of a child also increases the likelihood of moving, although studies show that many couples move when waiting for their child to be born (Clark & Davies Withers, 2009; Feijten & Mulder, 2002; Kulu, 2008; Kulu & Steele, 2013; Rabe & Taylor, 2010). Moves related to union formation and family changes are usually ‘upward’ and are directed towards finding an ideal family home, whereas moves related to union dissolution are ‘downward’. Research shows that following union dissolution, individuals are likely to move to smaller, lower quality dwellings (Feijten, 2005; Gober, 1992) because moves after separation are usually urgent and financially restricted (Feijten & van Ham, 2007).

The aim of this paper is to study spatial mobility of separated individuals. We extend previous research in the following ways. First, we conduct a comparative study of five industrialised countries: Australia, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK. While previous research has investigated residential and housing changes related to separation in selected individual countries, only a few studies have compared trends and patterns across countries (Dewilde, 2008; Lersch & Vidal, 2014). This comparative study will show the extent to which mobility patterns of separated individuals are similar or different across countries and will improve our understanding of how institutional and policy-related factors shape residential and housing trajectories of separated individuals. Second, we empirically distinguish between moves due to separation and moves of separated individuals. Previous

studies typically made this distinction in theory and proceed with only analysing moves of separated individuals. By empirically distinguishing between these types of moves and including them both in the analyses, we are able to study short and long-term effects of separation on individuals' residential and housing trajectories. We use time since separation to distinguish the two types of moves, which, we believe, is a novel way of addressing this issue. Finally, this study shows a novel way of conducting a comparative study of spatial mobility of separated individuals when individual-level data cannot be shared across research teams because of confidentiality issues.

Previous Research

There is a growing literature on moves related to separation and divorce. One strand of research investigates moving patterns and destinations of separated individuals, whereas another stream examines who moves out upon separation and who stays. Upon separation at least one of the partners has to leave the joint home. Such moves are often urgent and temporary. This suggests that individuals are likely to move to any type of housing even if it is of a low quality and not in a desirable residential area. Most importantly, separation leads to a lower household income; therefore, separated individuals are likely to move from detached or semi-detached houses to flats and from home ownership to renting (Flowerdew & Al-Hamad, 2004; Sullivan, 1986).

Recent longitudinal research has supported the results by earlier (largely) cross-sectional analysis, but has also provided further insights into moving patterns around separation and of separated people. Feijten (2005) studied moves around separation in the Netherlands using retrospective life-history data and found that separation led to a significant increase in the likelihood of moving from an owner-occupied to a rental dwelling in the year of separation. The probability of leaving owner-occupation was higher for women than men,

which she attributed to lower economic independence of women. A subsequent study by Feijten and van Ham (2007) supported that individuals who had experienced separation moved more often than those in intact couple relationships and also showed that separated individuals moved over short rather than long distances, particularly if they had children with their ex-partner. The analysis of the British Household Panel Survey by the same authors revealed that separated individuals were not only more likely to leave homeownership, but also experienced a drop in housing quality after separation; the decline was more pronounced for individuals who experienced marital separation compared to those who split up from cohabitation (Feijten & Mulder, 2010).

A study by Dewilde (2008) on divorce and housing changes in twelve European countries supported that separated individuals are significantly more likely to move and experience tenure changes from home ownership to renting. Relatively similar patterns were observed in all twelve European countries, although the analysis also revealed that separated men and women, living in a country with strong extended family support and/or social housing policies were less likely to leave owner occupation in comparison to those in a country with limited family support and housing policies. Lersch and Vidal (2014) analysed separation and tenure in Britain and Germany and showed that separation is negatively associated with home ownership, as expected. Although home ownership rates increased again after repartnering, the levels did not reach those of the first marriage. Interestingly, while the effect of separation on housing changes was broadly similar in Britain and Germany, there were also some important differences; separated individuals in Britain maintained relatively high levels of ownership after separation, whereas ownership rates fell significantly in Germany, which the authors attributed to differences in housing markets.

Research on who moves out upon separation and who stays (if anyone) has only emerged in the last decade or so. Mulder and Wagner (2010) investigated the patterns in the

Netherlands and found that ex-partners initiating separation were more likely to leave, as were those who separated because of forming a new union. The analysis also showed that an ex-partner with custody of children was less likely to move out, as was an ex-partner who had more resources. A subsequent study by Mulder and Wagner (2012) revealed that moving patterns were also related to ownership at the beginning of a union. As expected, an ex-partner who (already) owned the home upon partnership formation or who did not move was less likely of leaving the joint home after a separation. Further studies have investigated the distance of a move and the role of ‘significant others’. Using Swedish register data Mulder and Malmberg (2011) showed that those with children in the household, especially women, were less likely to move and mostly moved short distances; also separated individuals who had parents or a sibling in the area were less likely to move or if they moved they were more likely to move short distances supporting the importance of location-specific capital and ties.

This study examines residential changes of separated individuals in seven countries: the UK, Australia, Belgium, the US, Germany, the Netherlands and France. We have thus included in the analysis industrialised countries from various continents, with different welfare state setup and policies, and housing markets and policies. While we may expect elevated mobility levels around the event of separation in all countries, we also expect some interesting differences across countries. Previous research shows that spatial mobility levels are higher in the US and Australia in comparison to European countries including the UK (Long, 1991). We thus expect to observe such differences also in our study. However, there are a number of interesting questions specific to moving patterns related to separation. First, we ask whether we observe any country-differences in the levels of moving due to separation and whether the levels vary by gender. We expect to observe many moves around separation, both among men and women, in countries where spatial mobility levels are high and housing markets are relatively flexible. By contrast, moves due separation may be less common (i.e.

normally only one ex-partner leaves) and potentially even gender-specific in countries where mobility levels are low. Second, we study whether spatial mobility levels among separated stay relatively high or rapidly decline after separation in all countries. As moves due to separation are often ‘downward’ on the housing ladder, we expect separated individuals to later make ‘adjustment’ moves ‘upward’. Again, an interesting question is whether such moves are more common in countries with flexible housing markets and/or strong social housing policies and whether patterns vary by gender. Although this study lacks information on housing, it is the first study to explicitly compare residential changes due to separation and of separated people in a number of industrialised countries.

Data

To investigate residential changes of cohabiting, married and separated individuals in a cross-national context, we use data from the following sources: the Household, Income, and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA), the 2001 Belgian Census linked with the Population Register for the period 2001-2006, the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP), the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS), and the British Household Panel Study (BHPS). Of these surveys, the HILDA, the GSOEP, and the BHPS are highly comparable as they follow similar data collection strategies. Residential histories were created using information on the year and month of moving to the current residence. For the NKPS, the precise date of residential moves is not known; only whether respondents have changed residence since the previous wave. For Belgium, we used a 4% random sample of men and women who were partnered in 2001. All data sources record one move per year; this implies that the rate of residential mobility is likely to be underestimated especially in the period immediately after separation when individuals might move several times before finding suitable accommodation. Additionally, all panel datasets contain retrospective union histories. For

Belgium, however, partnership status (cohabitation vs marriage) is time constant and is known only for 2001. Unions formed on or after January 1990 are selected with cohabitation, marriage and separation treated as separate partnership statuses. For more information on each dataset, see Table A1 in the Appendix.

Individuals can change partnership status and move simultaneously, as depicted by Figure 1. The risk population consists of individuals aged 16 to 49. Individuals are censored at the last interview, at the death of the partner or at age 50, whichever comes first. We use Poisson regression on aggregated occurrence-exposure data to analyse the rate of residential change by partnership status across countries with and without controlling for basic socio-demographic covariates (age, gender, calendar year, and educational level) (see below). The aggregated occurrence-exposure data is created by aggregating events (residential changes) and exposures (risk time) by the combination of covariates. If two or more events occur in the same month, the order of events is as follows: separation – residential change – union formation. Such a sequence is needed to ensure natural order in partnership histories and to keep control over those residential moves, which happen simultaneously with partnership changes.

Method

For a comparative study of n countries regarding residential changes by partnership status, an option is to pool individual-level data from the countries and then fit a hazard regression model (Hoem et al., 2010). However, this is often not possible due to issues of data confidentiality: individual-level data cannot be released to another country or research group to conduct comparative analysis. Fortunately, it is possible to overcome this obstacle by using the count-data approach to compare residential mobility and migration rates across countries and population subgroups. Researchers need to prepare an event-time (or occurrence-

exposure) table for each country, which is defined by a cross-classification over a set of time intervals and covariate categories (Preston, 2005). The data for each cell in such a table include the total number of events, E_{jk} ; the total time (e.g. person-years or person-months) at risk, R_{jk} ; and values of covariates, x_{jk} , for time period j and category k . For each cell, the ratio of the number of events to the risk-time is a crude hazard or rate:

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

where λ_{jk} is the hazard for category k in time period j . Let E_{jk} denote the number of residential changes for group k in age group j . We treat E_{jk} as the realisation of a Poisson random variable with the mean μ_{jk} :

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

The expected number of residential changes is, thus, the product of the hazard of residential change and exposure time. We can present this model in a log-linear format:

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

We then rearrange the equation to investigate the hazard of residential change:

$$\ln (\mu_{jk} / R_{jk}) = \ln \lambda_{jk} \quad (4)$$

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

$$\ln \lambda_{jk} = \alpha_j + x_{jk} \beta \quad (5)$$

where $\alpha_j = \ln\lambda_j$ measures the hazard of residential changes by age (the ‘baseline’), \mathbf{x}'_k is a vector of the covariates (e.g., partnership status, educational level and calendar period) and $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ represents a vector of the parameters to measure their effects.

Modelling Strategy

We estimate two sets of models separately for men and women. First, we focus on the relationship between partnership status and moves (Model 1). Second, in order to distinguish moves due to separation from moves of separated individuals we split the category of separated individuals by time since separation (0-4 months after separation, 5-11 months after separation, and 12 or more months after separation) (Model 2). Because in the Netherlands, no precise date of residential moves was available, it is not possible to know moves which happened earlier than 12 months after separation. Therefore, for the Netherlands, only two time since separation categories are available (0-11 months and 12+ months). To ensure that this specification does not drive the results, we conducted sensitivity analyses with only these two time since separation categories for each country (see Model 2b in the Appendix, Table A3).

To compare the risk of a residential move by partnership status across countries, we include interactions between partnership status and country. Married men and women in the UK are chosen as the reference category and all other risks are compared to this. This enables us to compare the results not only within but also across countries. The analyses include the following variables. Age is measured using 5-year age groups (16-19 (reference), 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49). Partnership status is operationalised as cohabiting, married, and separated. Additionally, we control for educational level (low (reference), medium, high), order of partnership status (first vs second and higher order), residential status (non-mover vs

moved once or more), and calendar year (1990-1994 (reference), 1995-1999, 2000-2004, 2005-2009, 2010+).

Descriptive Results

Table 1 describes the number of residential moves, number of person months, and the rate of residential change in Australia, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK. Overall, in most countries, the rate of residential change is between 10 and 14 moves per 1,000 person-months except in Australia, where it is almost twice as high (21 moves per 1,000 person-months). This is in line with previous studies that showed that overall, moving risks are about twice as high in Australia as they are in the UK (Long, 1991).

Table 2 shows the rate of residential moves by country and period. We find that in most countries, residential mobility has remained fairly similar between 1991 and 2013 (note the variation in data availability for some time periods in some countries).

Table 3 describes the rate of residential mobility by country and age. In general, the rate of residential mobility decreases as individuals get older. In Germany, however, 20-24 year-olds have the highest rate of residential mobility.

When examining the rate of residential moves by partnership status (Table 4), we find that in all countries except the Netherlands, mobility rates are the highest among separated individuals, followed by those who are cohabiting, and the married. In the Netherlands, cohabiting individuals have somewhat higher mobility rates than those who are separated. More specifically, individuals who separated recently (0-4 months) have the highest risk of moving; moving risks decrease as time since separation increases. Twelve and more months after separation, the risk of a residential move is still higher among separated than among cohabiting individuals in all countries except the Netherlands. While the patterns of the risk of a residential change by partnership status are similar across countries, the levels are about

1.7-1.9 as high in Australia as they are in the UK for individuals who are in a partnership and 1.6 times as high for separated individuals.

Multivariate Results

Figure 2 shows the risk of a residential move by partnership status across countries for men and women¹. Hazard ratios are compared to the moving risks of cohabiting men and women in the UK. After controlling for age, calendar year, educational level, order of partnership status, and residential status, separated men and women are about 1.5 time as likely to move in Germany, and the Netherlands; twice as likely to move in the UK and Australia; and about 3 times as likely to move in Belgium as their married counterparts. Married men and women exhibit lower moving risks in all countries than cohabiting and separated men and women. Similarly to what we have seen from the descriptive results, the patterns of the risk of a residential move are very similar across countries but the levels are higher in Australia compared to the other countries. Interestingly, in Belgium and Germany, there are smaller differences in the moving risks of cohabiting and married individuals than in the other countries.

Figure 3 depicts the results of Model 2, where we distinguish between moves due to separation and moves of separated individuals by replacing the category of separated individuals with a variable showing time since separation. As from the descriptive statistics, we see that in all countries the risk of a residential move is the highest shortly after separation and it decreases gradually as time since separation increases. Individuals who separated recently are more than three times as likely to move as married individuals in all study countries except Germany, where they are about twice as likely to move. Additionally,

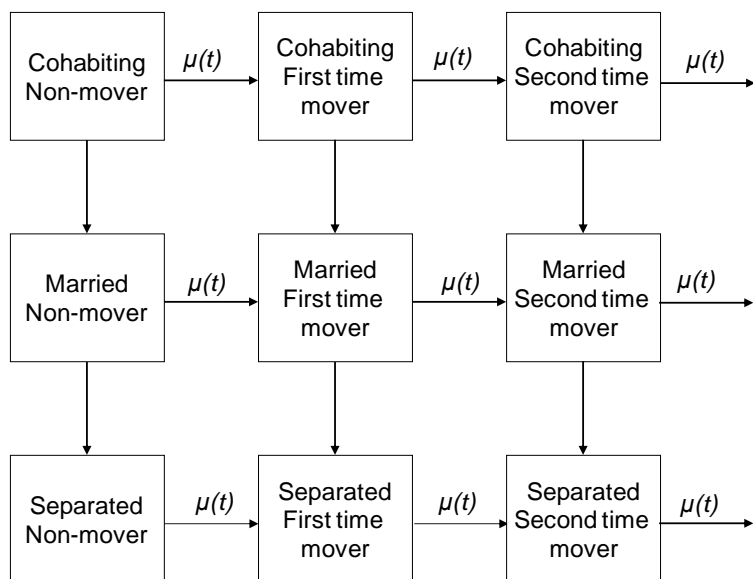
¹ The results of the full models (Model 1 and Model 2) are presented in Table A2 in the Appendix.

moving risks remain high even twelve and more months after separation. Interestingly, the patterns are similar for men and women in both countries.

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Note: $\mu(t)$ - hazard or rate of residential change

Figure 1 Processes and transitions

Table 1 Number of events, number of person months, and unadjusted mobility rates by country

	number of events	number of person-months	rate
Australia	7646	363217	0.021
Belgium	6235	533307	0.012
Germany	11631	859630	0.014
the Netherlands	4563	444887	0.010
United Kingdom	4273	362746	0.012

Table 2 Number of events, number of person months, and mobility rates by country and period

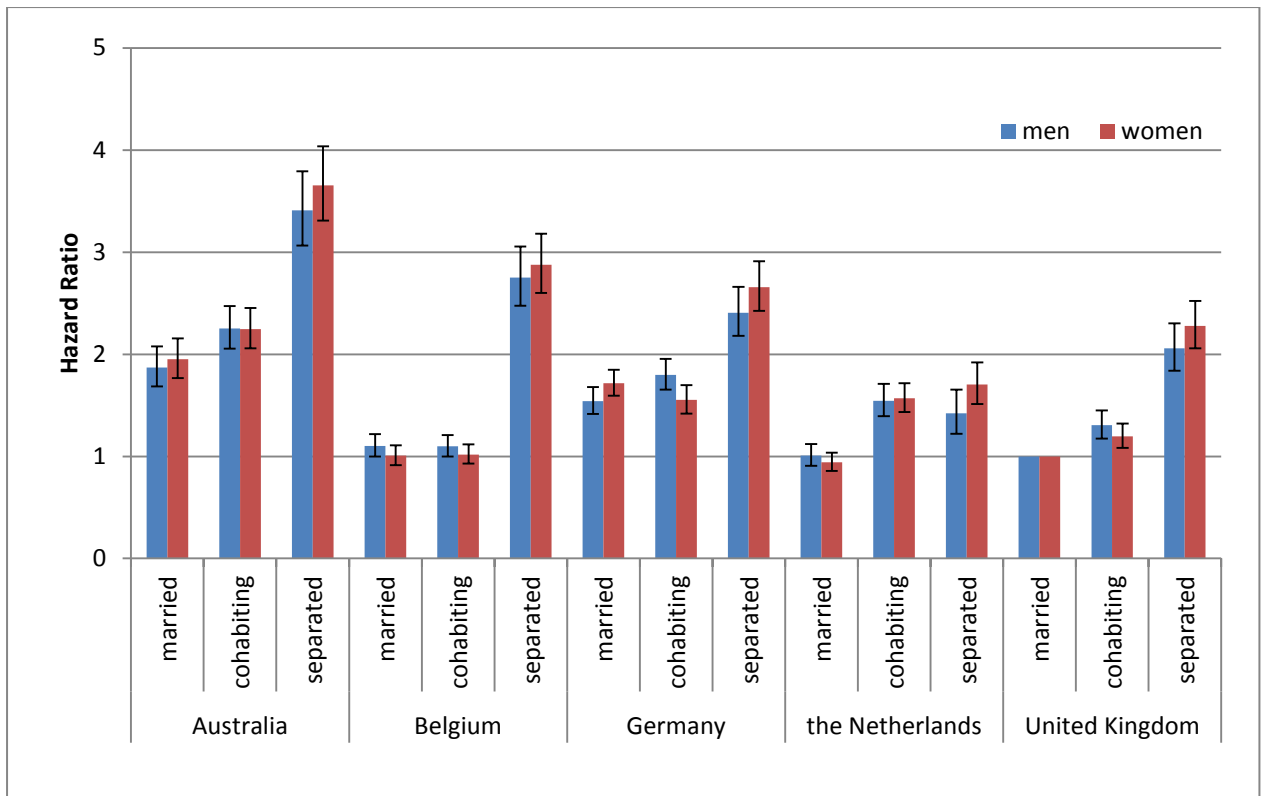
		number of events	number of person-months	rate
Australia	1990-1994			
	1995-1999			
	2000-2004	1498	58464	0.026
	2005-2009	3085	139268	0.022
	2010+	3063	165485	0.019
Belgium	1990-1994			
	1995-1999			
	2000-2004	4799	407823	0.012
	2005-2009	1436	125484	0.011
	2010+			
Germany	1990-1994	548	38017	0.014
	1995-1999	2255	131064	0.017
	2000-2004	4646	383057	0.012
	2005-2009	2722	216432	0.013
	2010+	1460	91060	0.016
the Netherlands	1990-1994	752	43862	0.017
	1995-1999	1460	105656	0.014
	2000-2004	1360	135947	0.010
	2005-2009	747	101838	0.007
	2010+	244	57584	0.004
United Kingdom	1990-1994	454	37683	0.012
	1995-1999	1150	86333	0.013
	2000-2004	1602	136738	0.012
	2005-2009	1067	101993	0.010
	2010+			

Table 3 Number of events, number of person months, and mobility rates by country and age

		number of events	number of person-months	rate
Australia	16-19	350	8201	0.043
	20-24	1858	55965	0.033
	25-29	2009	84054	0.024
	30-34	1472	76535	0.019
	35-39	956	61016	0.016
	40-44	624	45264	0.014
	45-49	377	32184	0.012
Belgium	16-19	27	1470	0.018
	20-24	870	48681	0.018
	25-29	2269	162084	0.014
	30-34	1588	140391	0.011
	35-39	725	78733	0.009
	40-44	438	53308	0.008
	45-49	318	48640	0.007
Germany	16-19	5	290	0.017
	20-24	590	30164	0.020
	25-29	2387	122850	0.019
	30-34	2844	184228	0.015
	35-39	2446	196520	0.012
	40-44	1580	173451	0.009
	45-49	1779	152127	0.012
the Netherlands	16-19	122	2174	0.056
	20-24	841	31077	0.027
	25-29	1313	85749	0.015
	30-34	1054	108290	0.010
	35-39	663	98050	0.007
	40-44	373	73614	0.005
	45-49	197	45933	0.004
United Kingdom	16-19	165	6046	0.027
	20-24	965	42608	0.023
	25-29	1224	74172	0.017
	30-34	852	75702	0.011
	35-39	531	67851	0.008
	40-44	335	54449	0.006
	45-49	201	41919	0.005

Table 4 Number of events, number of person months, and mobility rates by country and partnership status

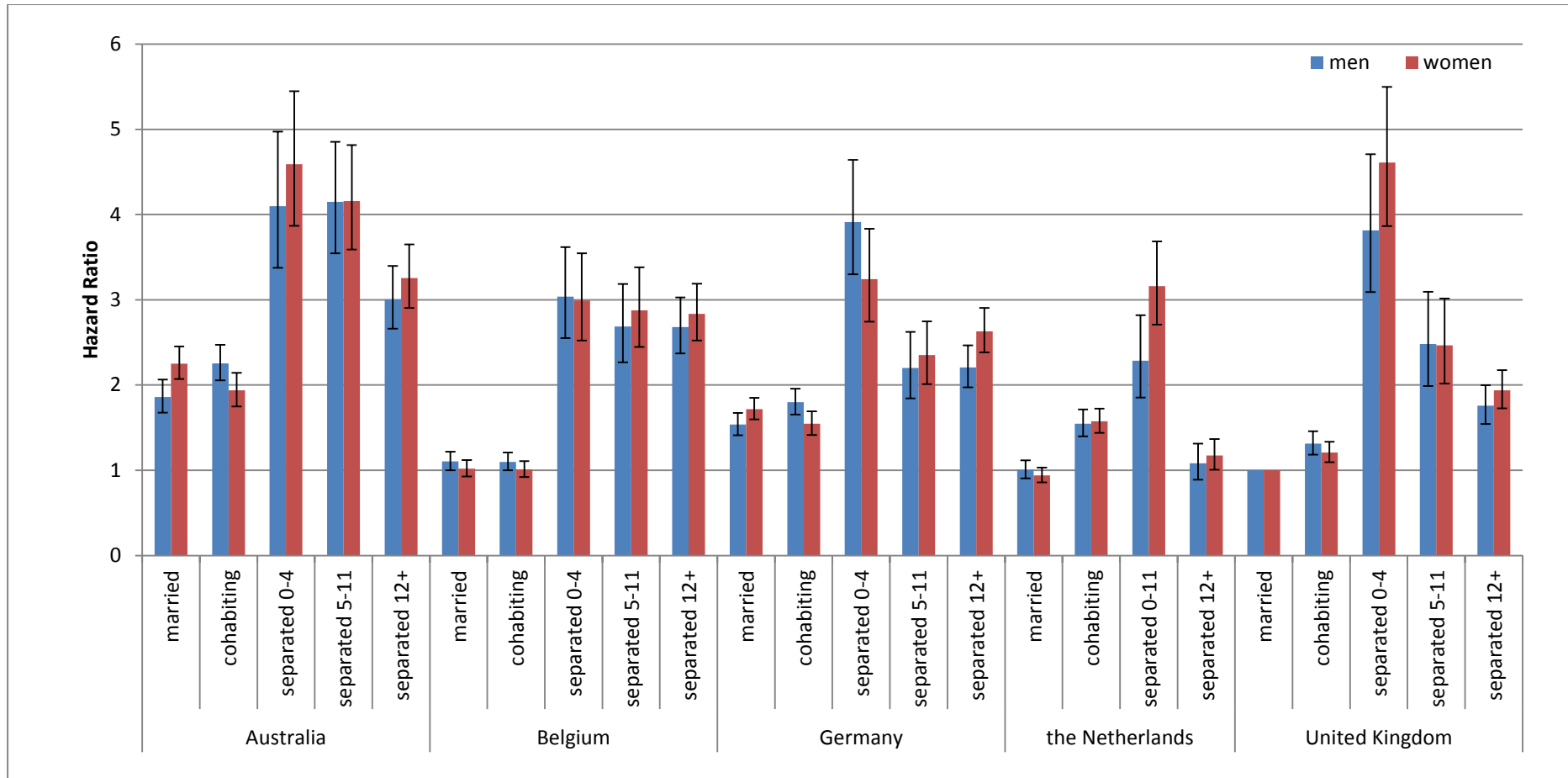
		number of events	number of person-months	rate
Australia	cohabiting	4028	184601	0.022
	married	1872	121950	0.015
	separated	1746	56666	0.031
	separated 0-4 months	288	6550	0.044
	separated 5-11 months	459	11513	0.040
	separated 12+ months	999	38604	0.026
Belgium	cohabiting	2590	259522	0.010
	married	2089	212223	0.010
	separated	1556	61562	0.025
	separated 0-4 months	324	10962	0.030
	separated 5-11 months	357	13627	0.026
	separated 12+ months	875	36973	0.024
Germany	cohabiting	5025	342994	0.015
	married	4557	408009	0.011
	separated	2049	108628	0.019
	separated 0-4 months	330	10880	0.030
	separated 5-11 months	350	18450	0.019
	separated 12+ months	1369	79298	0.017
the Netherlands	cohabiting	2148	144215	0.015
	married	1774	250534	0.007
	separated	641	50138	0.013
	separated 0-11 months	308	11539	0.027
	separated 12+ months	333	38599	0.009
United Kingdom	cohabiting	1511	112380	0.013
	married	1513	189040	0.008
	separated	1249	61326	0.020
	separated 0-4 months	248	5422	0.046
	separated 5-11 months	198	7274	0.027
	separated 12+ months	803	48629	0.017



Note: The analysis is controlled for age, calendar period, educational level, number of moves, and number of unions.

Source: See text.

Figure 2 Risk of a residential move by country, gender, and partnership status (Model 1), hazard ratios



Note: The analysis is controlled for age, calendar period, educational level, number of moves, and number of unions.

Source: See text.

Figure 3 Risk of a residential move by country, gender, and partnership status; distinguishing separated category by time since separation (Model 2), hazard ratios

Appendix

Table A1 Data sources used in the study

country	dataset	period	other
Australia	Household, Income, and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA)	2001-2013	
Belgium	2001 Belgian Census and 2001-2006 Population Register	2001-2005	A 4% random sample of men and women who were partnered in 2001. Partnership status (cohabitation vs marriage) is time constant; it is known only for 2001.
Germany	German Socio-Economic Panel		
The Netherlands	Netherlands Kinship Panel Study		
United Kingdom	British Household Panel Study (BHPS)	1991-2008	

Table A2 Relative risk of a residential move, men and women

	Women				Men			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
<i>Age</i>								
16-19 (ref)								
20-24	0.687	***	0.709	***	0.762	**	0.776	**
25-29	0.503	***	0.525	***	0.592	***	0.608	***
30-34	0.387	***	0.405	***	0.459	***	0.475	***
35-39	0.288	***	0.303	***	0.378	***	0.391	***
40-44	0.225	***	0.237	***	0.293	***	0.304	***
45+	0.246	***	0.259	***	0.297	***	0.309	***
<i>Period</i>								
1991-1994 (ref)								
1995-1999	1.107	**	1.114	**	1.183	***	1.196	***
2000-2004	1.007		1.020		1.081	**	1.096	*
2005-2009	0.985		1.002		1.073		1.092	*
2010+	0.951		0.970		1.013		1.035	
<i>Country*partnership status interactions</i>								
Australia*cohabiting	2.247	***	2.252	***	2.253	***	2.255	***
Australia*married	1.952	***	1.938	***	1.870	***	1.860	***
Australia*separated	3.655	***			3.408	***		
Australia*separated 0-4 months			4.590	***			4.099	***
Australia*separated 5-11 months			4.158	***			4.149	***
Australia*separated 12+ months			3.255	***			3.007	***
Belgium*cohabiting	1.018		1.019		1.098		1.099	
Belgium*married	1.008		1.010		1.103		1.104	*
Belgium*separated	2.876	***			2.749	***		
Belgium*separated 0-4 months			2.992	***			3.038	***
Belgium*separated 5-11 months			2.877	***			2.688	***
Belgium*separated 12+ months			2.836	***			2.679	***
Germany*cohabiting	1.717	***	1.718	***	1.798	***	1.799	***
Germany*married	1.553	***	1.548	***	1.541	***	1.536	***
Germany*separated	2.657	***			2.407	***		
Germany*separated 0-4 months			3.244	***			3.912	***
Germany*separated 5-11 months			2.350	***			2.200	***
Germany*separated 12+ months			2.631	***			2.207	***
Netherlands*cohabiting	1.568	***	1.576	***	1.542	***	1.547	***
Netherlands*married	0.943		0.940	***	1.008		1.005	
Netherlands*separated	1.704	***			1.422	***		
Netherlands*separated 0-11 months			3.160	***			2.286	***
Netherlands*separated 12+ months			1.173	**			1.081	
UK*cohabiting	1.196	***	1.209	***	1.304	***	1.313	***
UK*married (ref)								
UK*separated	2.277	***			2.057	***		
UK*separated 0-4 months			4.610	***			3.815	***
UK*separated 5-11 months			2.467	***			2.480	***
UK*separated 12+ months			1.938	***			1.757	***
<i>Educational level</i>								
low (ref)								
medium	0.963	*	0.963	*	0.948	**	0.948	**
high	1.100	***	1.098	***	1.062	**	1.060	**
<i>Order of move</i>								
No move (ref)								
One or more moves	0.834	***	0.838	***	0.865	***	0.869	***
<i>Order of union</i>								
First union (ref)								
Second or higher order union	1.492	***	1.476	***	1.422	***	1.410	***
<i>Constant</i>								
Number of observations	4230		6738		4192		6690	
Log-Likelihood	-6699.98		-7973.30		-5875.95		-6948.10	
LR chi2	5547.93		5746.52		3453.42		3583.92	
Prob>chi2	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	

Table A3 Results of the sensitivity analysis

	Women Model 2b	Men Model 2b
<i>Age</i>		
16-19 (ref)		
20-24	0.707 ***	0.774 **
25-29	0.524 ***	0.607 ***
30-34	0.404 ***	0.474 ***
35-39	0.302 ***	0.390 ***
40-44	0.237 ***	0.303 ***
45+	0.258 ***	0.308 ***
<i>Period</i>		
1991-1994 (ref)		
1995-1999	1.114 **	1.195 ***
2000-2004	1.019	1.094 *
2005-2009	1.001	1.090 *
2010+	0.969	1.033
<i>Country*partnership status interactions</i>		
Australia*cohabiting	2.252 ***	2.255 ***
Australia*married	1.939 ***	1.861 ***
Australia*separated 0-11 months	4.322 ***	4.132 ***
Australia*separated 12+ months	3.258 ***	3.009 ***
Belgium*cohabiting	1.019	1.099
Belgium*married	1.010 *	1.104 *
Belgium*separated 0-11 months	2.929 ***	2.846 ***
Belgium*separated 12+ months	2.837 ***	2.680 ***
Germany*cohabiting	1.717 ***	1.799 ***
Germany*married	1.547 ***	1.536 ***
Germany*separated 0-11 months	2.688 ***	2.850 ***
Germany*separated 12+ months	2.631 ***	2.207 ***
Netherlands*cohabiting	1.576 ***	1.548 ***
Netherlands*married	0.940	1.005
Netherlands*separated 0-11 months	3.161 ***	2.285 ***
Netherlands*separated 12+ months	1.173 *	1.082
UK*cohabiting	1.208 ***	1.313 ***
UK*married (ref)		
UK*separated 0-11 months	3.371 ***	3.039 ***
UK*separated 12+ months	1.938 ***	1.756 ***
<i>Educational level</i>		
low (ref)		
medium	0.963 *	0.947 *
high	1.098 ***	1.060 *
<i>Order of move</i>		
No move (ref)		
One or more moves	0.837 ***	0.868 ***
<i>Order of union</i>		
First union (ref)		
Second or higher order union	1.478 ***	1.411 ***
<i>Constant</i>		
	0.021 ***	0.018 ***
Number of observations	6738.000	6690
Log-Likelihood	-7991.024	-6965.85
LR chi2	5711.060	3548.41
Prob>chi2	0.000	0.000