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The second time around: Educational attainment and repartnering in the Russian Federation and Estonia¹

Das zweite Mal dabei – Bildungsabschlüsse und erneute Partnerschaft in der Russischen Föderation und Estland

Abstract:

We examined how people's educational attainment was related to their behaviours on the repartnering market in the Russian Federation and Estonia. We addressed the following questions: 1) What is the effect of education on repartnering?; 2) What is the effect of own education on whom people repartner with (i.e., the new partner's educational attainment)? and 3) Does the educational level of the ex-partner matter for whom people repartner with? We examined the partnership histories of the participants in the Generations and Gender Survey and estimated discrete-time event-history (logistic and multinomial) models for the transition from first to second marital or non-marital cohabiting union. Men's rate of repartnering was higher for the higher educated whereas educational attainment played no role for women's repartnering. We observed a tendency towards educational homogamy in higher order unions. Interestingly, when the educational "match" in the first union was accounted for, our results indicated that people reproduced their partnering matches.

Zusammenfassung:

Wir haben den Zusammenhang zwischen Bildungsabschlüssen und Verhalten auf dem Partnerschaftsmarkt für erneute Partnerschaften in der Russischen Föderation und in Estland untersucht. Dabei haben wir folgende Fragen angesprochen: 1. Welchen Effekt hat die Bildung auf das Eingehen erneuter Partnerschaften? 2. Welchen Effekt hat die eigene Bildung darauf, mit wem Menschen neue Partnerschaften eingehen (d.h. auf den Bildungsabschluss des neuen Partners bezogen)? 3. Spielt das Bildungsniveau des ehemaligen Partners dabei eine Rolle, mit wem Menschen eine neue Partnerschaft eingehen? Wir haben die Partnerschaftsbiographien der Teilnehmer(innen) am Generations and Gender Survey untersucht und zeit-diskrete ereignisanalytische – logistische und multinominale – Modelle für den Übergang vom ersten zum zweiten ehelichen oder nicht-ehelichen Zusammenleben geschätzt. Bei Männern mit höherer Bildung war die Rate, eine neue Partnerschaft einzugehen, höher, während der Bildungsabschluss bei den Frauen für das Eingehen einer neuen Partnerschaft keine Rolle spielte. Wir konnten eine Tendenz in Richtung Bildungshomogamie in festen Partnerschaften höherer Ordnung beobachten. Interessanterweise legen unsere Ergebnisse nahe, dass – unter Einbeziehung

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Key words: assortative mating, education, Russian Federation, Estonia, repartnering, union dissolution

der Zusammensetzung der Bildungsabschlüsse aus der ersten Beziehung – die frühere Partnerauswahl reproduziert wurde.

Schlagwörter: assortative mating, Bildung, Russische Föderation, Estland, Eingehen einer neuen Partnerschaft, Auflösung einer festen Beziehung

1. Introduction

The past few decades have witnessed unprecedented alterations to family life, including the rise in intimate union instability (referring to both marriages and cohabitations; Cherlin 2010). This trend, however, has not signalled a decline in the importance of marriage and nonmarital cohabitation as it has been combined with high rates of repartnering (Coleman/Ganong/Fine 2000; Sweeney 2010). Entering a new intimate union after the dissolution of the first one has been shown to have a number of positive effects such as offsetting the decline in women's socioeconomic status following a separation (Dewilde/Uunk 2008) and improving adult psychological well-being (Wang/Amato 2000). However, these unions have been reported to be less stable than first unions (Lyngstad/ Jalovaara 2010). In other words, the benefits of repartnering can be overturned by the dissolution of the subsequent union (Cherlin 2009). Higher order unions differ from first unions in a number of important ways, which can contribute to this instability (e.g., the presence of stepchildren, Teachman 2008). Another important factor is the greater level of partner dissimilarity in higher order unions (Dean/Gurak 1978). As others have pointed out, repartnering individuals tend to be more different from their partners than their counterparts in first marriages which poses a problem as heterogamous unions are at a higher risk of relationship dissolution (for an elaboration of the mechanisms, see Booth/Edwards 1992). In our work, we contribute to this line of research by focusing explicitly on educational homogamy in repartnering after the breakup of the first marital or non-marital cohabitation. We address the following questions: 1) What is the effect of education on repartnering?; 2) What is the effect of one's own education on whom people repartner with (i.e., the new partner's educational attainment)? and 3) Does the educational level of the ex-partner matter for whom people repartner with? We examine these questions using data from two (North-)Eastern European countries, namely, Estonia and the Russian Federation.

2. Educational attainment and (re)partnering

To understand why educational attainment might be an important element in (re)partnering, we need to recognize that the decision to enter a union is guided by preferences and opportunities (Goldscheider/Waite 1986; Becker 1991; Oppenheimer 1988). In other words, the probability of starting a union depends on the individual's assessment of the benefits of being in a relationship (juxtaposed with the associated costs), as well as the

opportunities to meet, and attract a partner. Multiple factors can impact the preference and opportunities structures (e.g., age at union dissolution, parenthood status, gender, duration of the original union and whether it ended with divorce or widowhood; for an overview, see Coleman/Ganong/Fine 2000.) Yet, in this work, we focus explicitly on the role of education while controlling for the above-mentioned characteristics.

Traditionally, the discussion of how educational attainment (and the associated socio-economic resources) might affect people's likelihood of entering an intimate union has been guided by gender-specific propositions. The seminal work of Becker (1981, 1991) argued that role specialization within the cohabiting union (with one partner focusing on paid labour and the other on the household domain) is one of its most prominent advantages over remaining single. Therefore, given the prevalence of the male breadwinner model in 20th century Western Europe, the groups of high-resource women and low-resource men have been expected to be least likely to partner as they either have little to gain from being in a union or are less attractive to potential partners (for a more comprehensive overview, see Dykstra/Poortman 2010). Interestingly however, when it comes to repartnering in particular, the literature has rendered mixed results. Whereas some authors have found the expected positive effect of education on repartnering for men (Uunk 1998) and a negative one for women (Klein 1990), others have found no effect of education (Matthijs 1987; Bumpass 1990; Sweeney 1997). We continue this research line by studying the possible educational gradient in repartnering in (North-)Eastern Europe. We elaborate on the specificities of the context later on.

3. Educational attainment and whom do people repartner with

When it comes to the question of who partners whom, the literature has conveyed the clear message that people have a preference for and tend to choose similar others as intimate partners (Blossfeld 2009; Kalmijn 1998; Mare 1991). This preference, combined with the previously outlined gender-specific division of tasks which has been prevalent in the Western European context, has resulted in what has been described as a pattern of educational homogamy combined with female hypergamy and male hypogamy (for a detailed elaboration, see Van Bavel 2012). In other words, women have tended to partner with men who are *at least* as highly educated as them, and men with women who are *at most* as educated as them. However, an important consideration – in particular in the study of *repartnering* – are not only the preferences which people have, but also the constraints of the partnering market. Preferences determine whom people would like to partner with, yet the restrictions of the partnering market delimit the partner pool (Kalmijn/Flap 2001). As previously mentioned, the repartnering market has been described as providing less available mates than the first union market (Dean/Gurak 1978), which suggests that partnering 'the second time around' could follow a pattern of assortative mating that is distinct from the one typically observed in first unions.

In addition to the market restrictions, works on assortative mating after union dissolution have contended that the match in the first union should be taken into consideration when examining the relationships of repartnering individuals (Dean/Gurak 1978; Gelissen 2004; Jacobs/Furstenberg 1986; Theunis/Pasteels/Van Bavel 2013). In other words, as the

life course framework asserts, no life-stage can be understood in isolation from those preceding it (Elder 1985). Here, two main scenarios have been proposed. On the one hand, some scholars have postulated that those who experience the dissolution of their first union repeat their partnering patterns over time (Dean/Gurak 1978). In other words, even after the experience of an unsuccessful first match, people do not adjust their preferences towards a partner who is dissimilar from their ex-partner. Alternatively, one can expect that people learn from experience (Gelissen 2004; Shafer 2004). Stated differently, after the dissolution of the first union, people will look for a new type of match where their subsequent partner is dissimilar from their previous partner. Currently existing studies, based on Western European and North American samples, have not provided clear evidence for one of these hypotheses over the other (Dean/Gurak 1978; Gelissen 2004; Jacobs/Furstenberg 1986).

4. The (North-)Eastern European context: Estonia and the Russian Federation

In this contribution, we focused explicitly on the interplay between education and repartnering in the Russian Federation and Estonia. Although we did not formulate specific expectations on how our findings might differ from contributions based on Western European samples, we contend that the arguments delineated make the Eastern European context an interesting opportunity to test the previously outlined mechanisms.

The first distinctive characteristic of the Russian Federation and Estonia concerns the returns to education which can impact the overall importance of educational attainment (a proxy for socioeconomic resources) on the (re)partnering market. As has been well documented, the returns to schooling were substantially lower in the Russian Federation and its satellite states during the Soviet regime than they were in Western countries (Fleisher/Sabirianova/Xiaojun 2005). Although, of course, changes have been observed since the collapse of the Soviet Union, a *decrease* in the returns to education was in fact even temporarily experienced during the transition period of the early and mid-1990s (Gerber, 2000). Only more recently has there been a trend towards an increase in the returns (Fleisher/Sabirianova/Xiaojun 2005). However, they have not yet reached the Western European levels and at least for the Russian Federation, the upturn has been described as modest (Flabbi/Paternostro/Tiongson 2008).

Another important dissimilarity from many Western European countries is the fact that in (North-)Eastern Europe female participation in tertiary education has been continuously high, at places regularly outperforming men (Van Bavel 2012). More importantly, in contrast to the male-breadwinner model, typical of 20th century Western Europe, this trend in educational attainment has been combined with a tradition of full-time employment for both men and women (Haas/Steiber/Hartel/Wallace 2006). These particularities can have consequences for the previously documented pattern in Western Europe of lower propensity to partner for highly educated women in particular (Dykstra/Poortman 2010).

Finally, both the Russian Federation and Estonia have displayed patterns of early and nearly universal entry into marriages which have remained characteristic of these countries even after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Hajnal 1965; Philipov/Jasilioniene

2008; Scherbov/van Vianen 2004). Additionally, in contrast to other Eastern European countries (e.g., Bulgaria, Romania), the union dissolution rates in the Russian Federation and Estonia have been consistently higher than in Western Europe (Kalmijn 2007). Combined, these characteristics imply that the repartnering market in these (North-)Eastern European countries, may not be as restricted as in Western Europe, thus allowing people to realize their partnering preferences the second time around. Additional support for this lower selectivity on the repartnering market is the finding that no relationship exists between education and the likelihood of divorce in Estonia (Harkonen/Dronkers 2006) and in the Russian Federation (Muszynska/Kulu 2007).

In summary, in this work we examined how one's educational level was related to their performance on the repartnering market (i.e., rate of repartnering and whom they repartnered with), as well as to whether the educational "match" in the first union had an effect on whom people partnered with the second time around. We addressed these questions using data on partnership trajectories in the Russian Federation and Estonia, controlling for a number of other factors which may impact the individual's performance on the repartnering market (e.g., age at union dissolution, parenthood status, gender, duration of the origin union and whether it ended with divorce or widowhood).

5. Method

5.1 Data and Measures

In order to address our research questions, we used data from the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS; United Nations 2005). A detailed description of the survey can be found in Vikat et al. (2007). The GGS is designed as a panel study of nationally representative samples of men and women, between the ages of 18 and 79, in each of the participating (mainly) European countries. In this paper, we utilized the first data collection which was conducted in 2005 in the Russian Federation ($N = 11,261$; hereafter, referred to in the abbreviated form: Russia) and in Estonia ($N = 7,855$). The wave included retrospective information about the participants' partnership histories (e.g., month and year when the respondent started living with a partner, the month and year when a union dissolved, the educational level of the partners), collected during structured face-to-face interviews in the respondents' homes. In this work, we focused on respondents who reported that they cohabited with a partner in the past, either in a marital or nonmarital union ($n = 4,474$ for Russia or 39.7% of the original sample and $n = 3,169$ for Estonia or 40.3% of the original sample). Although the participants could report multiple unions, we focused on repartnering after the first.

An important advantage of these data is the fact that detailed information was collected about *all* previous unions and the respective ex-partners. As earlier works have acknowledged, focusing on the transition from the *previous* to the *current* cohabiting union can lead to selectivity in the analytical sample due to the dissolution of the least homogamous higher order unions (Gelissen 2004; Theunis/Pasteels/Van Bavel 2013). In other words, if information is collected only about surviving higher order unions, this can lead to over-

estimating the level of homogamy in repartnering due to the fact that homogamy is positively related to marital success (Booth/Edwards 1992). As the Russian and Estonian GGS data include information about *all* previous partnerships, we were able to overcome this shortcoming by examining respondents' repartnering trajectories after their *first-ever* coresidential (marital) union.

Our operationalization of repartnering was based on the self-reported month and year when the respondent started living together with the subsequent partner after the end of the first union. After cleaning for data consistency with respect to the reported dates, we were left with 6,634 individuals (3,711 from the Russian and 2,923 from the Estonian GGS samples). We excluded the participants who reported that they started their subsequent relationship before the end of the first union ($n = 358$ in the Russian Federation and $n = 214$ in Estonia). Of the union dissolutions, only 15.9% of the complete sample took place in the 2000s. A total of 3,165 or 47.7% repartnered after the first relationship (detailed descriptive information is provided in Table 1).

The information about the highest completed educational level of the respondent and of all partners was reported by the participants. The data were coded according to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), designed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Information about when the highest degree was acquired was only available for the respondent. In 3.6% of the cases of the final analytical sample (combined Russia and Estonia), the highest education was completed after the respondent repartnered. Additional analyses showed that there were no noteworthy differences in the results if those cases were excluded (results available upon request). Therefore, these respondents were kept in our analytical sample. Of those who reported the date when they completed their highest educational level, all did so before the end of the 1990s.

The participants also reported the birth dates of all of their biological children. Based on this information, we were able to determine whether the respondent was a parent when he/she became at risk for repartnering and the age of the youngest child at the same time. We opted not to control for the children's residential arrangements as previous works have already shown that, by and large, children remain with their mothers after relationship breakup (Ivanova/Kalmijn/Uunk 2013) and thus, the number of men whose children resided with them would be prohibitively low. Table 1 provides detailed information about our sample.

5.2 Analytical approach

We used discrete-time event-history analysis (Yamaguchi, 1991). Discrete-time models are a good approximation of continuous time models if the time intervals are not too large (we use months as intervals). Duration dependency was accounted for by introducing interval dummies (1-6mo, 7-12mo, 13-24mo, 25-36mo, 37-60mo, 61-120mo, 121-300mo). This approach was chosen as most flexible and because it did not require us to make assumptions about the shape of the hazard. To perform our analyses, we constructed a person-month file that contained records for each individual for each month, starting with the month the first union dissolved and ending with the month in which the person repartnered

or, in case the person remained single, the month of interview. We censored our observations at 25 years as very few events were observed after that period. We corrected for the fact that the observations were not independent within individuals by using the `vce(cluster)` option in Stata (McCullagh/Nelder 1989). We ran our analyses on the pooled Russian and Estonian data and included a dummy to control for the country of origin of the respondent. The decision to pool the country data was taken as a way to increase the sample size. Our decision was justified by the fact that, although the two countries have existed as independent states since the early 1990s, they are still marked by the Soviet past. Currently, a quarter of the Estonian population is ethnically Russian (Statistics Estonia 2002; Statistics Estonia 2012).

We estimated three models to address our three research questions. The first model was estimated with a logistic regression for the impact of the respondent's educational level (coded in four categories) on the probability to repartner in a given month, conditional on still being single the month before. This model was estimated separately for men and women to account for the documented gender differences in the overall likelihood of repartnering (Ivanova/Kalmijn/Uunk 2013). The model included controls for the respondent's age at the time of union dissolution (and its squared term to account for possible curvilinear age effects), the current age of the youngest child born prior to the union dissolution (time-varying), whether the first union was a marriage and its duration, how it ended (i.e., due to death of the partner or separation), and a time-varying dummy denoting whether the current year was after 1991.

The second and third research questions were addressed by estimating multinomial discrete-time event-history models (i.e., competing risks models) predicting the monthly conditional probability of repartnering with a person of a specific educational level (vs remaining single), given that one had not repartnered yet. Although ideally we would have estimated these models separately for men and women, we opted to present the pooled analyses (and control for gender) as we found the number of events per category to be small. As an additional check, we ran the analyses split by gender and the substantive findings were virtually identical for men and women (results available upon request). Due to our concern about the number of events per category, we also collapsed the previously used four educational categories into three categories, denoting low (ISCED 0/1/2), middle (ISCED 3/4), and high education (ISCED 5/6). A Wald test was used to ascertain that there was no significant difference in the conditional probability to repartner with someone of ISCED 3 compared to ISCED 4. The first of the competing risk (multinomial) models addressed the question whether respondents tended to repartner with others similar to them in educational attainment (i.e., the rate of repartnering with a person of a specific educational level was predicted by the respondent's educational level). The second competing risk (multinomial) model took the "educational match" in the original union into account (i.e., whether it was homogamous, hypergamous, or hypogamous) in order to examine if people repeated their partnering patterns across time.

For all analyses, we display the estimated coefficients (and standard errors in parentheses) in the relevant tables. For ease of interpretation, we also graph the predicted monthly conditional probabilities (the transition rate) of repartnering, estimated at representative values.

Table 1: Descriptive information about the analytical sample

	Russia, <i>n</i> = 3,711	% female in category	Estonia, <i>n</i> = 2,923	% female in category	Combined <i>N</i> = 6,634	% female in category
Characteristics of the respondent						
Female respondent	2,805		2,171		4,976	
Mean age at interview	53.99		54.20		54.08	
(<i>SD</i>)	(15.34)		(15.67)		(15.48)	
Education level of the respondent						
ISCED 0/1/2	867	80.4%	858	72.4%	1,725	76.4%
ISCED 3	847	65.6%	850	71.8%	1,697	68.7%
ISCED 4	552	74.1%	495	73.5%	1,047	73.8%
ISCED 5/6	1,272	80.0%	720	80.0%	1,992	80.0%
Characteristics of the origin union						
Mean age of the respondent at the end of the union	37.86		37.31		37.62	
(<i>SD</i>)	(15.08)		(14.45)		(14.80)	
Mean duration of the union in years	16.06		15.14		15.66	
(<i>SD</i>)	(14.32)		(13.23)		(13.86)	
The union was a marriage (vs nonmarital cohabitation)	3,187	76.9%	2,288	76.4%	5,475	76.7%
At least one child of the respondent born before union dissolution	2,959	79.1%	2,332	77.0%	5,291	78.2%
Age of the youngest child at union dissolution						
Three years old or younger	596	79.7%	450	76.0%	1,046	78.1%
Between the ages of four and eleven	956	77.5%	861	73.5%	1,817	75.6%
Twelve or older	1,407	80.0%	1,021	80.3%	2,428	80.1%
The union dissolved due to a breakup (vs partner death)	2,261	69.8%	2,034	68.6%	4,295	69.2%
Educational match in the union						
Homogamous match	1,612	77.8%	1,263	74.1%	2,875	76.2%
Hypergamous match (respondent's education level was lower)	580	66.2%	693	68.7%	1,273	67.6%
Hypogamous match (respondent's education level was higher)	1,087	77.9%	958	78.4%	2,045	78.1%
Repartnering						
Did not repartner	1,959	82.4%	1,510	79.4%	3,469	81.1%
Entered another cohabiting union after origin union	1,752	68.0%	1,413	68.8%	3,165	68.3%
Characteristics of the destination union						
Mean age at start of the union	33.16		32.78		32.99	
(<i>SD</i>)	(10.15)		(9.27)		(9.77)	
The union was a marriage	1,032	68.6%	768	69.8%	1,800	69.1%
Educational match in the union						
Homogamous match	614	69.5%	545	66.4%	1,159	68.1%
Hypergamous match (respondent's education level is lower)	379	58.1%	428	65.2%	807	61.8%
Hypogamous match (respondent's education level is higher)	358	81.0%	439	75.2%	797	77.8%

Source: GGP wave I, calculations by authors.

6. Results

Descriptive analyses of the data show that respondents were at risk of repartnering for 7.8 years on average and the median survival time equalled 4.6 years. The hazard of repartnering was highest in the first 6 months after separation and continuously declined after this; cumulative failure rates show that approximately a quarter of the sample had repartnered after 2 years. The results of the multivariate analyses are presented in Tables 2 and 3 and Figures 1 and 2 and are discussed in relation to the research questions. The first research question asked, in how far we could observe differences by education in repartnering after the dissolution of the first union. The results presented in Table 2 show that education mattered only for men and in the direction consistent with a male earner model: Compared to men with tertiary education, the hazard of repartnering for men with primary (ISCED 0/1/2) and (upper) secondary (ISCED 3) education was 19.7%² and 16.5%, respectively, lower. No significant difference (at $p < .05$) between men with vocational education (ISCED 4) and those with tertiary education were observed. For women, the educational level was not associated with their conditional probability to repartner.

Table 2 shows that for women, having children was a particular important predictor of repartnering. The repartnering rates of both mothers with young children, as well as of women with older children were decreased relative to childless women. Men's repartnering was not affected by their parenthood status. In addition, older age and widowhood lowered the repartnering rate for women in particular. We also observed that women from Estonia repartnered faster than their Russian counterparts and the time after the collapse of the Soviet Union was associated with higher repartnering rates for women. Finally, for both men and women, we saw that the duration of the original union was positively associated with the rate of repartnering which might be signaling a preference towards having a partner.

The second research question asked whether respondent's own education had an effect on whom he/she repartnered with in terms of education. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 3 (Panel A) and graphically represented in Figure 1. The graph shows the transition rate of repartnering by respondent's own education on the y-axis while the bars represent the educational level of the new partner. A clear tendency towards educational homogamy can be observed, with a higher rate of repartnering with someone with the same educational level. Table 3 confirms that these effects are all statistically significant.

2 $\exp(-0.22)-1$, see Table 2, Model 1

Table 2: Discrete-time event history models of the monthly conditional probability (transition rate) to repartner (vs staying single) based on respondent's educational level

	Model 1: Males		Model 2: Females	
	b	SE	b	SE
Respondent's edu level (ref. = ISCED 5/6)				
ISCED 0/1/2	-0.22 *	(0.10)	-0.08	(0.06)
ISCED 3	-0.18 *	(0.09)	0.06	(0.06)
ISCED 4	0.18 +	(0.10)	-0.01	(0.07)
Age of the respondent at union dissolution	-0.00	(0.02)	-0.06 **	(0.02)
Squared age of the respondent	-0.00 **	(0.00)	-0.00 **	(0.00)
Current age of the youngest child (ref. = no children) ¹				
The child is 3 years old or younger	-0.11	(0.14)	-0.52 **	(0.10)
The child is 4 to 11 years old	-0.09	(0.09)	-0.25 **	(0.06)
The child is 12 or older	-0.11	(0.12)	-0.27 **	(0.09)
The origin union was a marriage (ref. = cohabitation)	-0.10	(0.09)	0.02	(0.06)
Duration of the origin union in years	0.05 **	(0.01)	0.06 **	(0.01)
Union was dissolved due to death of a partner (ref. = separation)	0.08	(0.13)	-0.13 *	(0.06)
The current year is after 1991 (ref. = before 1991) ¹	0.05	(0.07)	0.10 *	(0.05)
The respondent is from Estonia (ref. = from Russia)	-0.00	(0.07)	0.09 *	(0.04)
Time without repartnering (ref. = 1 – 6 mo) ¹				
7–12 months	-0.56 **	(0.11)	-0.30 **	(0.09)
13–24 months	-0.85 **	(0.11)	-0.43 **	(0.08)
25–36 months	-1.08 **	(0.12)	-0.67 **	(0.09)
37–60 months	-1.25 **	(0.11)	-0.78 **	(0.08)
61–120 months	-1.51 **	(0.11)	-1.26 **	(0.08)
121–300 months	-2.24 **	(0.14)	-2.23 **	(0.11)
Constant	-2.46 **	(0.39)	-1.71 **	(0.29)
Miscellaneous parameters				
Number of events	965		2,078	
Number of person periods	104,799		498,495	
Number of respondents	1,607		4,840	
Log pseudolikelihood	-5112.29		-11994.56	
Degrees of freedom	19		19	

¹ Time varying covariate.

Note. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 3: Conditional probability (transition rate) to repartner with someone with a specific educational level (vs staying single)

	Repartners with					
	ISCED 0/1/2		ISCED 3/4		ISCED 5/6	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Part A: Research question 2						
Respondent's educational level (ref. = ISCED 0/1/2)						
ISCED 3/4	-0.85** ^a	(0.10)	0.59** ^b	(0.08)	0.63** ^b	(0.14)
ISCED 5/6	-1.52** ^c	(0.14)	0.33** ^d	(0.09)	1.47** ^e	(0.14)
Controls ¹	Included: see Table notes					
Constant	-4.20**	(0.54)	-2.22**	(0.33)	-4.66**	(0.50)
Miscellaneous parameters						
Number of events	548		1,431		759	
Number of person periods (<i>n</i> respondents)			603,294 (6,447)			
Log pseudolikelihood (df)			-18014.86 (51)			
Part B: Research question 3						
Respondent's edu level & origin match (ref. = ISCED 0/1/2 & homogamous match)						
ISCED 0/1/2 & partnered up	-0.63**	(0.15)	0.74**	(0.14)	0.82**	(0.27)
ISCED 3/4 & homogamous match	-1.46**	(0.17)	1.09**	(0.12)	0.82**	(0.23)
ISCED 3/4 & partnered down	-0.63**	(0.12)	0.96**	(0.12)	0.74**	(0.23)
ISCED 3/4 & partnered up	-1.43**	(0.19)	0.86**	(0.13)	1.40**	(0.23)
ISCED 5/6 & homogamous match	-2.63**	(0.31)	0.32**	(0.15)	2.14**	(0.21)
ISCED 5/6 & partnered down	-1.37**	(0.16)	0.87**	(0.13)	1.56**	(0.22)
Controls ¹	Included: see Table notes					
Constant	-3.84**	(0.55)	-2.61**	(0.36)	-4.59**	(0.53)
Miscellaneous parameters						
Number of events	530		1,381		725	
Number of person periods (<i>n</i> respondents)			577,493 (6,182)			
Log pseudolikelihood (df)			-17193.09 (63)			

^{a, b, c, d, e} Educational coefficients noted with different superscripts differ significantly ($p < .05$) from each other.

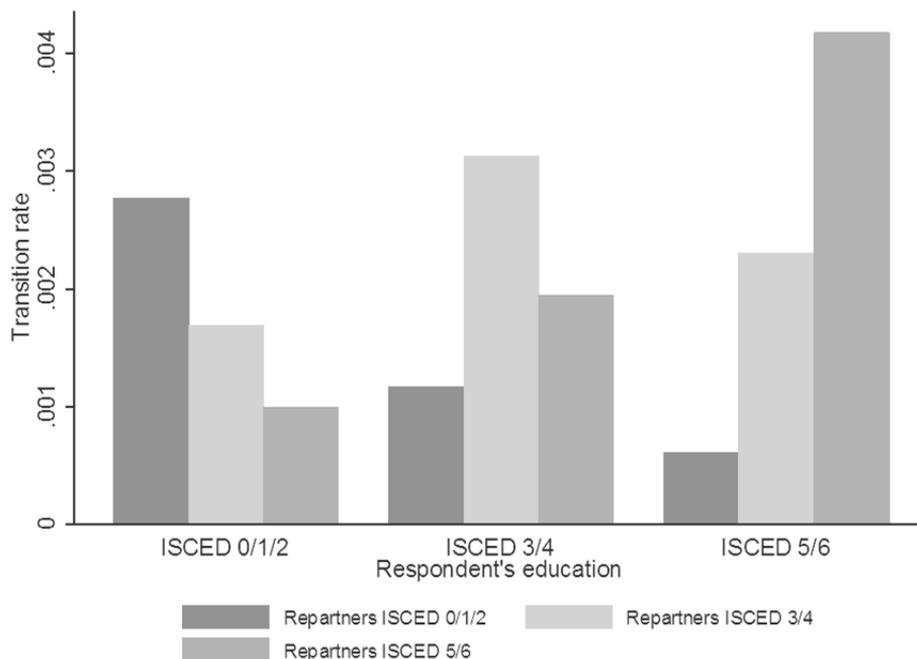
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Notes. ¹ Respondent's gender (ref. = male), age of respondent at union dissolution (and its square term), the respondent's parenthood status at union dissolution (ref. = not a parent), was the original union a marriage (ref. = a non-marital cohabitation), duration of origin union in years, did the original union end with partner's death (ref. = break-up), is the current year after 1991 (ref. = before 1991, time varying), is the respondent from Estonia (ref. = Russia), and the previously described dummies for time without repartnering (ref. = 1 – 60mo, time varying).

In the third and final research question, we were interested to know in how far the association between respondent's own education and the education of the new partner was dependent on the education of the ex-partner; in other words, whether people repeated their partnering patterns over time. The results of the competing risk model, which included information about the homogamy status of the first union, are presented in Table 3 (Panel B). To facilitate the interpretation, the findings are also graphically represented in Figure 2. Figure 2 shows the monthly transition rate of repartnering with someone of low (ISCED 0/1/2), medium (ISCED 3/4) and high (ISCED 5/6) education separately in three panels. Within each panel of an educational level of the new partner, the x-axis represents

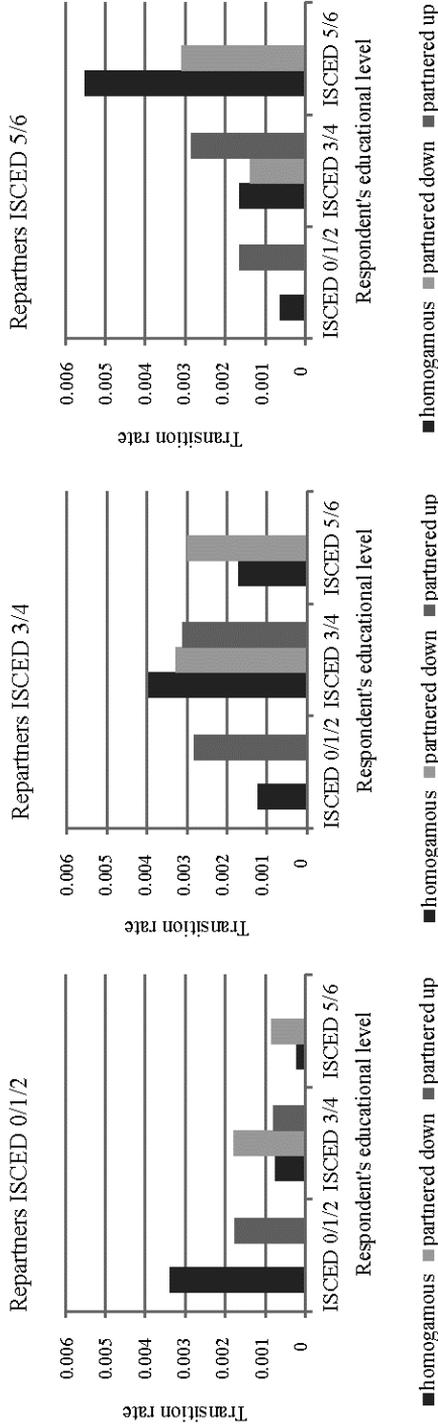
respondent's own education and the bars reflect the homogamy status of the first union. Within each panel, we still observe the highest repartnering rate between two individuals of the same educational level, but this transition rate was notably elevated among those who were in a homogamous first union as well. Among those who were in a hypergamous or hypogamous first union, the graph clearly shows a repetition of the previous pattern: the conditional probability to repartner 'up' ('down') was significantly higher if the first union was also hypergamous (hypogamous). For example, if we examine the panel for "repartners ISCED 5/6", we can see that the rate of repartnering with such a partner was higher for a respondent with middle education (ISCED 3/4) who was partnered up the first time than for someone with middle education who was partnered down or homogamously before. The same pattern of behaviour was true for the highly educated respondents. For example, if we examine the panel "Repartners ISCED 3/4", we can see that the transition rate was higher for a highly educated respondent who was partnered down before than for a highly educated respondent who was partnered homogamously the first time around. Note that for respondents with the lowest and highest educational level, respectively, the partnered-down and partnered-up bar are not produced, because logically someone with the lowest (highest) educational level cannot have had a partner with a lower (higher) education.

Figure 1: Predicted transition rate of repartnering in month 0-6 after 1st union by own and new partner's education.



Note: Predicted assuming reference categories (categorical variables) and mean values (continuous variables), see Table 3 (Panel A).

Figure 2: Predicted transition rate of repartnering in month 0-6 after 1st union by own and new partner's education and homogeneity status in first union.



Note: Predicted assuming reference categories (categorical variables) and mean values (continuous variables) of control variables, see Table 2 (Panel b)

7. Discussion

The main aim of this contribution was to examine the interplay between educational attainment and repartnering after the dissolution of the first coresidential (marital or non-marital) union. We utilized information on complete partnership trajectories of individuals in two (North-)Eastern European countries to address three research questions: 1) What is the effect of education on repartnering?; 2) What is the effect of one's own education on whom people repartner with (i.e., the new partner's educational attainment)? and 3) Does the educational level of the ex-partner matter for whom people repartner with? Several noteworthy findings emerged from our work.

With respect to the first question, our results indicated that a positive association existed between one's educational level and repartnering but only for the men in our sample. Women's entrance into a new coresidential union was not related to their educational level. Although not the focus of our work, we saw that what made a clear difference for women's repartnering was their parenthood status (i.e., mothers' rate of repartnering was lower than for non-mothers) which is in line with previous studies on the impact of children on repartnering (e.g., Ivanova/Kalmijn/Uunk 2013).

Our result about the lower educated men is in line with previous findings about the higher probability to remain single for low-resource (Dutch) men (Dykstra/Poortman 2010; Uunk 1998). Even though the returns to higher education might be lower in Eastern than in Western Europe (Flabbi et al. 2008; Fleisher et al. 2005), our findings indicated that, at least for men, lower educational attainment was a barrier on the repartnering market whereas higher education was "rewarded". As for the women in our study, previous studies – which have found that high-resource women are more likely to remain single (Dykstra/Poortman 2010) – have discussed the possible lesser need of these women to partner. Furthermore, these high-resource women might be less attractive on the (re)partnering market, due to the more prevalent homemaking role for women in male-breadwinner contexts. This second argument is less applicable in the (North-)Eastern European countries which we examined, as they have witnessed a long tradition of full-time employment for both men and women (Haas et al. 2006). Furthermore, in our study, most of the potentially repartnering women were mothers at the time when they entered the repartnering market. As children primarily remain with their mothers after union dissolution (Ivanova/Kalmijn/Uunk 2013), this might in fact increase women's need to find a new partner, irrespective of their educational attainment. Although our sample size precluded us from testing this proposition in a rigorous manner, future works might benefit from examining the impact of educational attainment separately for mothers and non-mothers.

Our further analyses of the repartnering trajectories of individuals demonstrated that a general tendency towards educational homogamy could be found in higher order unions. In other words, when people repartnered, they were most likely to do so with someone of a similar educational level. Previous works have argued that one of the challenges of higher order unions is the fact that they are more heterogeneous as a result of the more restricted repartnering market (Dean/Gurak 1978). This can pose a problem as partner similarity has been associated with union stability (Booth/Edwards 1992). In this study, we

found that in the Russian Federation and Estonia, the general tendency of people to choose similar others as intimate partners (Blossfeld 2009; Kalmijn 1998; Mare 1991) was also evident when it came to repartnering. Here, it is important to reiterate one of the particularities of the context which we examined. As we mentioned before, both countries have displayed patterns of early and nearly universal entry into marriages (Hajnal 1965; Philipov/Jasilioniene 2008; Scherbov/van Vianen 2004), combined with consistently high union dissolution rates (Kalmijn 2007). These specificities of the two countries might in fact result in a repartnering market which is less restricted than repartnering markets in Western European countries. A tentative support for this claim is also the finding that no relationship exists between education and the likelihood of divorce for our countries of interest (Estonia: Harkonen/Dronkers 2006; the Russian Federation: Muszynska/Kulu 2007). Such a less restricted repartnering market might allow people to realize their preference for similar others also the second time around.

Finally, we would like to turn our attention to the question of how people's repartnering trajectories might be affected by the educational match between the partners in the first union. Here, two possible scenarios were presented: one arguing that people replicate their patterns over time, and the second, that people change their preferences due to experience (e.g., Dean/Gurak 1978; Gelissen 2004; Jacobs/Furstenberg 1986; Theunis/Pasteels/Van Bavel 2013). Even though our results indicated that a pattern of homogamous repartnering could be observed for the countries of interest, we also found that people tended to repeat their partnering patterns. When there was a "mismatch" in the educational levels of the partners in the first union, that arrangement was replicated in the higher order union. Interestingly, we did not observe this only when the respondents had experienced hypergamous unions (i.e., their educational level was lower than their partners'). The results indicated that when the participants' ex-partners were lower educated than themselves, chances were that the subsequent union would also be hypogamous. Our interpretation of this continuity between unions is that people develop certain preferences during their first unions and even though those relationships dissolved, they realize their tastes the second time around as well. In other words, as ascertained by life course researchers, no life stage can be understood in isolation from those preceding it (Elder 1985).

Although our contribution provided some noteworthy findings about individuals' repartnering trajectories in the under-examined, (North-)Eastern European context, we would like to address some limitations of our study. Foremost, we found that despite the pooling of the two countries, the cell counts in some cases (especially when considering the educational levels of both the ex-partner and subsequent partner) were prohibitively low in order to examine possible gender differences in detail. This was also the reason why, as previously mentioned, we were not able to investigate more closely if the educational gradient (or lack thereof) in repartnering was in fact only observed for specific subgroups (e.g., mothers vs non-mothers) of the population of interest. Here, we should also mention that our argumentation for why educational attainment might affect repartnering was that it was a proxy for general socioeconomic resources. It might be informative, however, to examine this claim further by including not only indicators of human capital (i.e., educational level) but also time varying variables for actual economical resources (i.e., income). Finally, as we have argued throughout this contribution, carrying out iden-

tical analyses in multiple contexts can shed light on the robustness of the theoretical mechanisms. Here, however, we have restricted ourselves to studying only two, in this respect very similar, (North-)Eastern European countries. This decision was taken due to the fact that despite the otherwise rich and cross-nationally comparable data of the Generations and Gender Survey, questions about the educational level of the ex-partners were only included in one Western European country. This precluded us from carrying out rigorous multilevel analyses to examine if the answers to our questions varied in any systematic way across diverse contexts.

In conclusion, in this work, we found that in the Russian Federation and Estonia, lower educated men were less likely to repartner than their higher educated counterparts, whereas educational attainment had no impact on women's repartnering behaviours. Despite the argumentation that the repartnering market tends to be more restricted, we also saw a general tendency towards educational homogamy in higher order unions. Finally, our findings suggested that continuity can be found across intimate unions, where the second time around, people tend to replicate the educational match from their first relationship. It remains to be determined whether this stability across relationships is in fact due to some stable individual preferences and whether it holds outside the North-Eastern European context.

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