

Living Apart Together in Europe.

A hidden family type from the mountains of Lapland to the shores of Naples

Inge Pasteels, Vicky Lyssens-Danneboom, Dimitri Mortelmans

¹ Department of Sociology, University of Antwerp

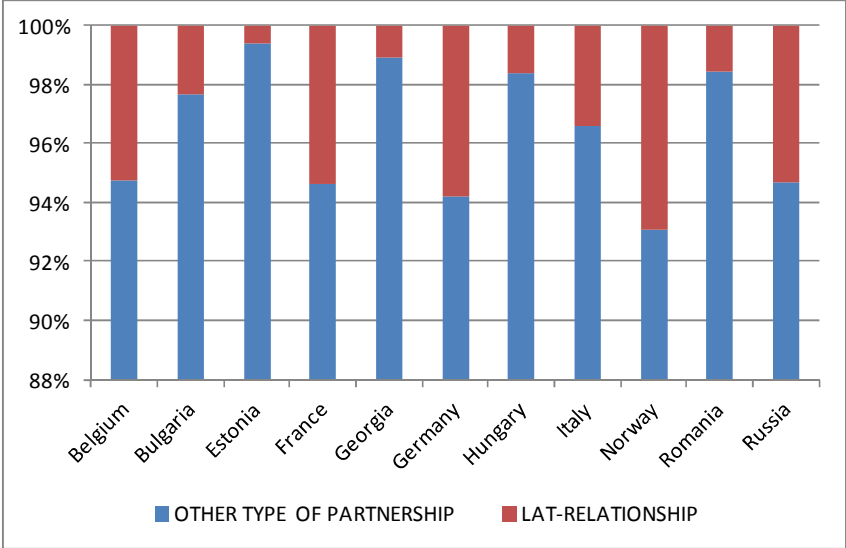
Partnerships in which the members are not sharing a common dwelling (Living Apart Together or LAT) are growing increasingly visible (Beaujouan, 2009; Levin, 2004; Levin & Trost, 1999), particularly among divorced and widowed individuals (De Jong Gierveld, 2004b; Ghazanfareeon Karlsson & Borell, 2002). Despite the fact that these non-residential partnerships are accepted throughout most of society and are practiced by a growing number of people, little is known about their prevalence and composition. In this paper, we seek to close this gap in our knowledge by using the Gender and Generations Survey to gain insights in the prevalence of LAT-relations throughout Europe.

Relationships in which intimate partners do not share a joint household are becoming more common, particularly among divorced and widowed individuals (De Jong Gierveld, 2004b; Ghazanfareeon Karlsson & Borell, 2002). Though LAT relationships are increasingly seen as a valid lifestyle choice, they are still far from being a generally recognised or an accepted social institution, a reality mirrored in the absence of legal recognition and regulation. Unlike cohabiting couples, who have gradually been granted a number of legal rights comparable to those enjoyed by married couples (Skinner, 2002), no legal structures exist to support partners in an LAT arrangement. LAT partnerships' existence within a legal vacuum clearly illustrates policy and law makers' marriage-centric approach to emerging partnership types (Barlow, 2004). As Cherlin (1978) argued in the seventies about remarriage and cohabitation, LAT relations can be called an "incomplete institution".

In the literature, LAT-individuals have been identified on the basis of their socio-demographic characteristics (Beaujouan, 2009; Castro-Martín e.a., 2008; J. Haskey, 2005; Milan & Peters, 2003; Strohm, 2009), their motives for engaging in a LAT-arrangement (Levin, 2004; Levin & Trost, 1999; Roseuil, 2006) or their daily practices within the relationship (De Jong Gierveld, 2004a; Ghazanfareeon Karlsson & Borell, 2002; J. Haskey, Lewis, J., 2006; Levin & Trost, 1999). The existing evidence shows that LAT-partnerships are heterogeneous in nature and their meaning varies substantially across the life course (Lyssens-Danneboom e.a., 2013). For some, LAT is a rather short-lived experience ending by partners either terminating the relationship or transforming it into

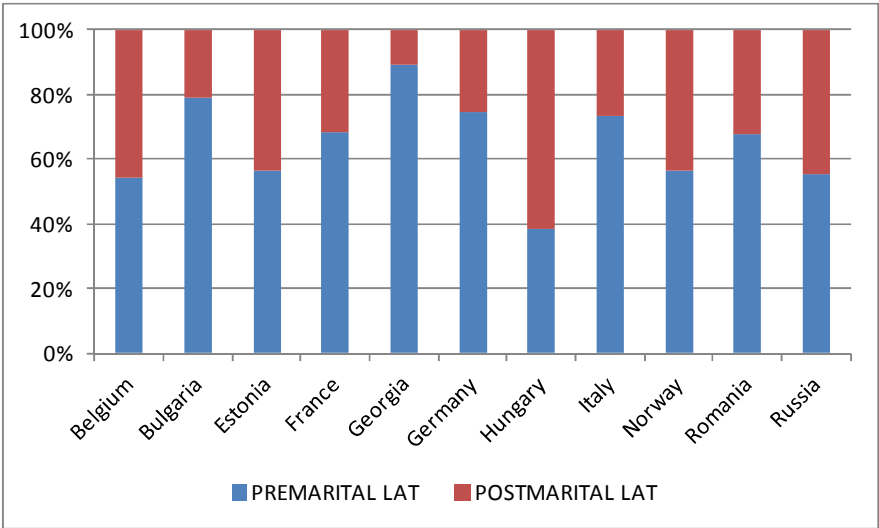
cohabitation (or marriage) within a few years. Others perceive LAT as a longstanding end in itself. While some LAT-arrangements show close similarities to a marital relationship, others are a distinct kind of partnership, not in any way comparable to marriage. Consequently, defining LAT-relations is not an easy task since it looks as if they move on a family continuum from (1) dating, (2) dating exclusively, (3) a committed relationship LAT (with intentions of starting living together or not); (4) unmarried cohabitation (with intentions of marriage or not) and (5) marriage. LAT relations of type 3 may be intermittent relationship forms moving either to 4 or 5 or they are also as a committed relationship just stable family forms in which both partners do not have any intention to shift to a cohabitation or marriage. Bearing the European landscape of present-day families in mind, it comes as no surprise that the prevalence of LAT-couples differ significantly across Europe. In Figure 1, we show the prevalence of LAT-relationships in some participating GGS-countries.

Figure 1 Prevalence of LAT-relationships in European countries (in %)



This figure shows the differences in appearance between countries but hides the internal heterogeneity of the LAT-relationship. In this paper, we look exactly at this heterogeneity by focussing on the characteristics of LAT-partnership across Europe. The paper gives an insight into characteristics as age, educational level and employment of the partners involved. Also characteristics of the relationship itself such as duration, occurrence in the lifecourse (premarital or postmarital; see figure 2), are informative to describe similarities and differences across Europa concerning this type of partnership.

Figure 2 Occurrence of LAT-relationships as event in the lifecourse in European countries (in %)



We use the wave 1 data of the Generations and Gender Programme (GGP) for Belgium, Bulgaria, Estonia, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Romania and Russia. The Generations and Gender Programme is a set of national Generations and Gender Surveys (GGS) with accompanying contextual databases. The surveys can be well compared cross-nationally because national panel surveys followed similar sampling, interview and follow-up rules. The data contain detailed information on union formation including current partnership and partnership history for respondents aged 18-79 years.

Using logistic regression models, we analyze the likelihood of being in a LAT-relationship in general and also the likelihood of this type of relationship as a choice instead of being single on the one hand or being in a cohabiting union on the other hand in a multivariate way. Descriptives about percentage of people involved in a LAT-relationship at the moment of interview can be given as preliminary results (see table 1 below)

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Table 1 Prevalence of LAT-relationships according to gender, age, educational level and employment in European countries (in %)

LAT	WOMEN										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	95,09	98,05	99,41	94,69	99,07	95,22	98,11	96,88	93,54	98,63	94,77
YES	4,91	1,95	0,59	5,31	0,93	4,78	1,89	3,12	6,46	1,37	5,23

LAT	MEN										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	94,38	97,31	99,37	94,6	98,71	93,22	98,62	96,3	92,59	98,27	94,63
YES	5,62	2,69	0,63	5,4	1,29	6,78	1,38	3,7	7,41	1,73	5,37

LAT	45 YEARS OR YOUNGER										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	94,41	96,4	99,3	93,43	98,83	91,25	97,98	95,85	91,97	97,92	92,64
YES	5,59	3,6	0,7	6,57	1,17	8,75	2,02	4,15	8,03	2,08	7,36

LAT	OLDER THAN 45										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	95	99,05	99,46	95,86	99	97,02	98,66	97,74	94,12	99,06	96,85
YES	5	0,95	0,54	4,14	1	2,98	1,34	2,26	5,88	0,94	3,15

LAT	LOWER EDUCATED										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	95,32	99,06	99,28	96,41	99,64	95,65	99,02	97,95	92,79	99,04	97,44
YES	4,68	0,94	0,72	3,59	0,36	4,35	0,98	2,05	7,21	0,96	2,56

LAT	MIDDLE EDUCATED										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	94,56	97,37	99,56	94,49	99,05	94,16	98,34	95,93	93,01	98,38	94,41
YES	5,44	2,63	0,44	5,51	0,95	5,84	1,66	4,07	6,99	1,62	5,59

LAT	HIGHER EDUCATED										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	94,47	96,28	99,18	92,64	98,26	92,32	97,21		93,2	96,68	93,87
YES	5,53	3,72	0,82	7,36	1,74	7,68	2,79		6,8	3,32	6,13

LAT	INACTIVE										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	96,27	98,8	99,4	96,19	99,01	96,75	99	98,58	95,17	99,06	96,92
YES	3,73	1,2	0,6	3,81	0,99	3,25	1	1,42	4,83	0,94	3,08

LAT	PARTTIME WORKING										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	94,38	94,57	99,73	94,07	99,08	95,2	98,13		95,01	97,4	92,14
YES	5,62	5,43	0,27	5,93	0,92	4,8	1,87		4,99	2,6	7,86

LAT	FULLTIME WORKING										
	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Georgia	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Norway	Romania	Russia
NO	93,37	96,54	99,35	93,11	98,64	91,12	97,74		91,38	97,96	92,8
YES	6,63	3,46	0,65	6,89	1,36	8,88	2,26		8,62	2,04	7,2