Trends, Patterns, and Determinants of Interreligious Partnerships in Austria (1971-2001)

Raya Muttarak* and Maria Rita Testa*

* Wittgenstein Centre for Demography and Global Human Capital (IIASA, VID/ÖAW, WU), Vienna Institute of Demography/Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria

Background

It is well observed that intermarriage has been increasing over the past decades in Western societies both for interethnic/interracial unions (Haandrikman 2013; R. Muttarak 2010; Rosenfeld 2008; Spörlein, Schlueter, & van Tubergen 2014) and interreligious marriage (Lehrer 1998; Sherkat 2004). A decline in hostile attitudes towards intermarriage, decreasing demographic differences across groups and the rise in the number of native-born individuals with migration background contributed to a continuing increase in interethnic/interracial unions. While interethnic/interracial marriage has been classically regarded as the litmus test of immigrant assimilation (Gordon 1964), religious intermarriage may signify other aspects of social development in a society. The modernization theory suggests that a decline in the salience of religion in social life can primarily explain the increase in the rates of intermarriage across religious groups. As other forms of stratification such as formal education and skill has gained importance in determining an individual's position in a society, ascriptive characteristics such as race and religion play less role in assortative mating (Kalmijn 1991) .

Similar to other "modern" European countries, Austria has been experiencing secularization characterized by an increase in the number of people without religious affiliation, a decline in church membership and a rise in religious pluralism (Goujon, Skirbekk, Fliegenschnee, & Strzelecki 2007). Meanwhile, the country has undergone various demographic changes, namely, a decline of fertility among Catholic population below replacement level along with a considerable rise in migration whereby immigrant women have higher fertility than native Austrians on the average. Such demographic dynamics contributed substantially to religious diversification in the country (Goujon & Bauer forthcoming). This raises an important question how these demographic and societal transformations shape personal preference and structural opportunity on partnership choice.

Empirical evidence from Germany (Hendrickx, Schreuder, & Ultee 1994), the Netherlands (Hendrickx, Lammers, & Ultee 1991) and Switzerland (Schoen & Thomas 1990) consistently demonstrates a decline in religious homogamy among Catholics and Protestants. Given a steady increase of foreign citizens in Austria since the mid-1980s (Statistics Austria 2013), this can influence an opportunity to meet and form a union with outgroup members. Thus, this study aims to investigate trends and patterns of interreligious partnerships in Austria over the period 1971-2001. Specifically, we explore the following questions:

1) How individual characteristics in particular educational attainment and religious affiliation shape interreligious partnership patterns
2) The role of educational assortative mating on the trends in interreligious unions
3) How changing religious composition in region of residence influences interreligious partnership formation

Data and methods

The analysis is based on the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Population Censuses, consisting of 10 per cent sample of households in Austria. Data are obtained from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, or IPUMS, maintained and publicly made available by the University of Minnesota. Apart from a large sample size, another advantage of using the micro-census data is the availability information of all members in a household. We are able to identify family interrelationships among individuals within the same household and link characteristics of one family member to another. This allows us to select couple(s) in a household and identify religious affiliation of both partners.

In this study, an interreligious union (or partnership) refers to a partnership (both marriage and co-habitation) between a man and a woman of different religious affiliations. We consider co-habiting couples because cohabitation has become a more common form of partnership in Austria. Since the interest is to investigate the trends and patterns of interreligious unions, the analysis includes only men and women who are currently in a partnership and living with a spouse/partner at the time of census collection. Those whose information on religious affiliation is not available are excluded from the analysis. The final sample includes a sample of 692,101 couples, of which 13.3 per cent are unions between men and women of different religious affiliations.

Dependent variable

The outcome of interest is being in interreligious partnership code 1 if an individual has a partner with a different religious affiliation; 0 otherwise. Logistic regression is employed to estimate the binary outcome variable i.e. the propensity to be in an interreligious union.

Independent variables

Determinants of interreligious unions include individual and contextual characteristics which can influence preferences and opportunities to meet and form a partnership with members of different religious groups. Individual characteristics that can determine interreligious partnership formation are age, religious affiliation and education. Age is divided into seven age groups: 1) 15-24; 2) 25-34; 3) 35-44; 4) 45-54; 5) 55-64; 6) 65-74; 7) 75 years and over. Religion is categorized as follows: 1) no religion; 2) Catholic; 3) Protestant; 4) other Christian; 5) Jewish; 6) Muslim; 7) other religion. Educational attainment is divided into four hierarchical categories: 1) lower secondary; 2) vocational and apprenticeship (including intermediate technical and vocational school and apprenticeship) ; 3) higher secondary (including grammar school and higher technical and vocational secondary school which provide a university entrance diploma); 4) post-secondary.

Educational homogamy is included to test whether couples in interreligious unions are more likely to be homogenous in terms of educational attainment. This variable is divided into three categories: 1) M>F (male partner has a higher level of education); 2) M=F (male and female partners have the same level of education); 3) M<F (male partner has a lower level of education).

We also explore the role of religious composition in the region of residence in determining the opportunity to meet and form a partnership with members of different religious backgrounds. To measure the religious diversity in each region, we apply Simpson's Reciprocal Diversity Index (1/D) with $D = \frac{\sum n(n-1)}{N(N-1)}$ while n = the total number of members of a particular religious group in a region and *N* = the total number of population in a region. The value of the index starts with 1 as the lowest

possible figure, representing a region containing only one religious group. The higher the value, the greater the diversity. We use the smallest geographical area available in the data i.e. the Eurostat NUTS3 which divides Austria into 35 regions.

Year dummies are also included in order to capture the trends of interreligious union over the period 1971 – 2001.

Descriptive results

Trends in interreligious unions

[FIGURE 1: ABOUT HERE]

First, we explore the trends of interreligious partnerships. Figure 1 presents percentages in interreligious unions over the period 1971 – 2001 by religious affiliation and gender. For both men and women, interreligious partnerships had been steadily increasing for Catholics and Protestants. The rates of interreligious unions increased from 4.1% to 6.2% and 7.1% to 12.6% for Catholic men and women respectively. Similarly for Protestants, the percentages of men and women in interreligious unions increased substantially from 43% to 59.8% and 48.5% to 63.7% respectively. On the contrary, for Muslims, the proportion of those in interreligious unions declined sharply in 1981 and the trend had not changed much since. This could be because the share of Muslims in the population was well below 1% in the early period making endogamy more difficult. Having less opportunity to meet a potential spouse from one's own group, marrying out became an inevitable option. As the proportion of Muslim population rose, we subsequently observed a decline in interreligious unions among Muslim men and women alike. For Jewish population, the rates of interreligious unions declined from 36.0% in 1971 to 25.5% in 2001 for men but increased from 18.0% to 26.1% for women. The proportion in interreligious partnerships fluctuated over the period observed for this group.

Almost half of men with no religious affiliation are in interreligious partnership as compared to approximately 16% of their female counterparts. These rates remained fairly stable over time. The meaning of interreligious union however differs for those with no religion since this means they are in a partnership with a partner with a particular religious affiliation. In this sense, women with no religion are far more likely than men to form a union with a male partner who has no particular religious affiliation.

Patterns of interreligious unions

[TABLE 1: ABOUT HERE]

Table 1 presents the distribution of a partner's religion by the respondents' religious affiliation for men and women. Religious homogamy is the most common partnership pattern for all religious groups but the rates differ between men and women. Unsurprisingly, interreligious unions commonly involve a partnership with a partner with Catholic background. This is due to the fact that because Catholic remains the majority population in Austria, an opportunity to meet and form a partnership with a Catholic person is higher than with other religious groups. Particularly for Protestant men and women, 47.0% and 42.7% of them respectively have a Catholic partner. Even for Muslim men and women, Catholic is the most common religious group of their partner for those in

interreligious unions. Those with no religious affiliation is the second most common group being partnered with when any given religious group marries out followed by Protestant.

The patterns of interreligious partnerships differ between men and women as well as by religious backgrounds. Catholic and Protestant women intermarry more than their male counterparts while the opposite is true for Jewish and Muslim women. The rate of endogamy for Muslim women is the highest across religious groups and gender with 96.0% of them having a male partner who are also Muslim as compared to 87.2% of Muslim men. There is also significant gender difference among those with no religious affiliation with as many as 39.5% of men with no religion having a Catholic partner compared with only 12.8% of their female counterparts.

Regional religious diversity and interreligious union

[FIGURE 2: ABOUT HERE]

Next, we examine the relationships between religious compositions in the region of residence and the prevalence of interreligious unions. Religious composition affects the opportunity to meet and form a partnership with members of different religious backgrounds. We apply Simpson's Reciprocal Diversity Index to measure the religious diversity. Figure 2 presents the correlation between religious diversity index and the rates of interreligious unions in different regions across the period 1971 - 2001. It is shown that religious diversity had increased over time so as the rates of interreligious unions. The relationships between religious diversity and interreligious partnership are considerably linear especially in 1971 and 1981. Religious diversity increased substantially in 1991 and continued to rise in 2001. Accordingly, over the period 1971 – 2001, interreligious partnership had become more common across Austria. Even in the regions with the lowest religious diversity, the proportion of interreligious partnership is greater than 5% in the year 2001.

Vienna, the capital of Austria, has the highest religious diversity as well as approximately the highest rates of interreligious unions. However, although religious diversity had been increasing steadily in Vienna, the rates of interreligious unions did not catch up as such as can be seen in the years 1991 and 2001. This suggests that apart from a macro-structural context which represents an opportunity to meet potential partners from other religious groups, preferences based on individual characteristics could play an important role in partnership choice.

Multivariate results

[TABLE 2: ABOUT HERE]

In the next analysis, we perform a series of logistic regression estimating the probability of being in interreligious unions for men and women separately as displayed in Table 2. Model 1 presents the main effects of individual demographic characteristics, religious diversity in a region of residence and census survey year on the propensity of being in an interreligious partnership. Model 2 further adds a set of interaction terms including religious affiliation*education, year*education and year*educational homogamy. The models are estimated with robust standard errors taking into account the possibility of intraclass correlation i.e. the observations within regions are non-independent.

Model 1 shows that the relationships between age and the propensity to be in an interreligious union differ between men and women. For men, the younger age groups i.e. those aged <35 years significantly have higher propensity to have a partner from a different religion while the older age

groups i.e. those aged >44 years significantly have lower propensity to be in an interreligious partnership comparing to men in the age group 35-44 years. For women, those in the older age groups do have lower propensity to have a partner from other religions similar to that of men. Both for men and women alike, those who are never married, divorced/separated and widowed have higher likelihood to be in an interreligious partnership than the married. The propensity of being in an interreligious union is positively associated with educational attainment. This holds true for both men and women. However, the pattern of the relationship between educational homogamy and the likelihood of being in an interreligious union differs between men and women. For men, the odds of having a partner from a different religion reduces by 9% ($e^{-0.099}$) in a couple where a man has higher education than a woman (M>F) and the odds increases by 1.6 times ($e^{0.440}$) in a couple where a female partner has higher education than a male partner (M<F). The opposite is true for women, in a couple where a man has higher education than a woman, the odds of being in an interreligious union increases by 1.5 times ($e^{0.419}$). With respect to religious affiliation, the likelihood of being in an interreligious union differs between men and women. For men, compared to individuals with no religion, men from any other religious background except for Protestants significantly have lower propensity to intermarry. This is however not necessarily the case for women. Apart from Muslim, other religious groups actually have higher likelihood of being in an interreligious union than those with no religion. Religious diversity has a significant positive relationship with the likelihood of having a partner from a different religion and the magnitude of the association seems to be much greater for women.

Model 2 further explores the interactions among different variables. We include the interaction terms between educational attainment and religious affiliation to explore whether the positive relationship between education and the propensity of having a partner from a different religion is the same across religious groups. For men, we find that compared to individuals with no religion, most religious groups have much less chance of being in an interreligious union in a low education group. Yet, in higher education groups at least from secondary onwards, the gap among religious groups becomes smaller. In other words, educational attainment mediates the impact of religious affiliation on interreligious partnership formation. The pattern however is less clear for women. The gap in the propensity of being in an interreligious union between Muslim women and women with no religious affiliation gets smaller, the higher the educational attainment. Yet for other religions there is a great variation depending on the level of education and religious groups being referred to.

In model 2, we also explore the changes in the impacts of educational attainment and the patterns of educational homogamy on interreligious partnership over time. Interestingly, all the interaction terms between year and educational attainment are negative suggesting that the positive effects of educational attainment on the propensity to form a partnership with a partner with a different religion has continuously decline since 1981. Similarly, the interaction terms between year and educational homogamy are also statistically significant and show that the differences have become smaller over time. For example, in 1971 the odds of being in an interreligious union for men in a couple where a female partner has higher education are 1.9 times ($e^{0.624}$) greater than their counterparts who have the same level of education as their female partners. But the odds decline to 1.4 times greater in 2001 ($e^{0.624+0.014-0.284}$). A further descriptive exploration confirms this pattern i.e. over time the relationships between educational homogamy and interreligious partnership have become smaller.

Discussion

Based on the household micro-census data for Austria for the years 1971 – 2001, we have explored trends, patterns and determinants of interreligious partnerships over time. We find that overall interreligious unions have been increasing which could partially be explained by the rise in religious diversity in all Austrian regions. Greater religious diversity in the region of residence means an individual have more opportunities to meet members of other religious groups. Likewise, a declining share of Catholic population and the increasing number of those with no religious affiliation (Goujon et al. 2007) could also contribute to an increase in interreligious partnership since individuals with no religions are generally more likely to be in cross-group relationships (Raya Muttarak 2013).

With respect to whom intermarries with whom, we find that Catholics is the most common group being partnered with when an individual is in an interreligious union. Given the importance of group size in determining an opportunity for members of different religious groups to meet and form a partnership (Blau & Schwartz 1984), it is easier for members of other religions to meet a Catholic person since Catholic is the largest group of population in Austria accounting for 73.6% of total population in 2001 (Goujon et al. 2007).

Apart from macro-structural factor i.e. religious diversity and group size which determine interreligious partnership formation, there are significant variations by age, gender, religious affiliation and education. Those in the younger age groups have higher propensity to have a partner from a different religion in line with the prediction of the secularization theory which foresees a decline in the salience of religion or the influence of religious groups in impinging upon the family decision making of younger members (Kalmijn 1998). We also find substantial gender and religious variations with Catholic and Protestant women being far more likely to be in an interreligious partnerships than their male counterparts while the opposite is true for Jewish and Muslim women.

References

Blau, P. M., & Schwartz, J. E. (1984). *Crosscutting Social Circles*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life : The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA.

Goujon, A., & Bauer, R. (forthcoming). Demographic forces shaping the religious landscape of Vienna. In S. Brunn (Ed.), *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics*. Springer.

Goujon, A., Skirbekk, V., Fliegenschnee, K., & Strzelecki, P. (2007). New Times, Old Beliefs: Projecting the Future Size of Religions in Austria. *Vienna Yearbook of Population Research*, *2007*, 237–270.

Haandrikman, K. (2013). *Binational Marriages in Sweden: Is There an EU Effect?*

Hendrickx, J., Lammers, J., & Ultee, W. (1991). Religious Assortative Marriage in the Netherlands, 1938-1983. *Review of Religious Research*, *33*(2), 123–145. doi:10.2307/3511909

Hendrickx, J., Schreuder, O., & Ultee, W. (1994). Die konfessionelle Mischehe in Deutschland (1901-1986) und den Niederlanden (1914-1986) [Religious Assortive Marriages in Germany (1901-1986) and the Netherlands (1914-1986)]. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *46*(4), 619–645.

Kalmijn, M. (1991). Shifting Boundaries: Trends in Religious and Educational Homogamy. *American Sociological Review*, *56*(6), 786–800. doi:10.2307/2096256

Kalmijn, M. (1998). Intermarriage and Homogamy: Causes, Patterns, Trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *24*(1), 395–421. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.395

Lehrer, E. L. (1998). Religious Intermarriage in the United States: Determinants and Trends. *Social Science Research*, *27*(3), 245–263. doi:10.1006/ssre.1998.0626

Lutz, W. (1985). Gemischt-konfessionelle Familien in Österreich. Analyse bevölkerungsstatistischer Daten. [Families with mixed religious denominations in Austria, an analysis of population statistics]. *Demographische Informationen*, 77–80.

Muttarak, R. (2010). Explaining trends and patterns of immigrants' partner choice in Britain. *Zeitschrift fur Familienforschung*, *22*(1), 37–64.

Muttarak, Raya. (2013, online ahead of print). Generation, ethnic and religious diversity in friendship choice: exploring interethnic close ties in Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. doi:10.1080/01419870.2014.844844

Rosenfeld, M. J. (2008). Racial, Educational and Religious Endogamy in the United States: A Comparative Historical Perspective. *Social Forces*, *87*(1), 1–31. doi:10.1353/sof.0.0077

Schoen, R., & Thomas, B. (1990). Religious intermarriage in Switzerland, 1969–72 and 1979–82. *European Journal of Population / Revue européenne de Démographie*, *6*(4), 359–376. doi:10.1007/BF01796835

Sherkat, D. E. (2004). Religious intermarriage in the United States: trends, patterns, and predictors. *Social Science Research*, *33*(4), 606–625. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2003.11.001

Spörlein, C., Schlueter, E., & van Tubergen, F. (2014). Ethnic intermarriage in longitudinal perspective: Testing structural and cultural explanations in the United States, 1880-2011. *Social Science Research*, *43*, 1–15. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2013.07.016

Statistics Austria. (2013). *International Migration to and from Austria by citizenship 1961-2012*. Vienna, Austria: Statistics Austria. Retrieved from http://www.statistik.at/web_en/statistics/population/migration/index.html

Figure 1: Trends in interreligious unions by religious affiliation

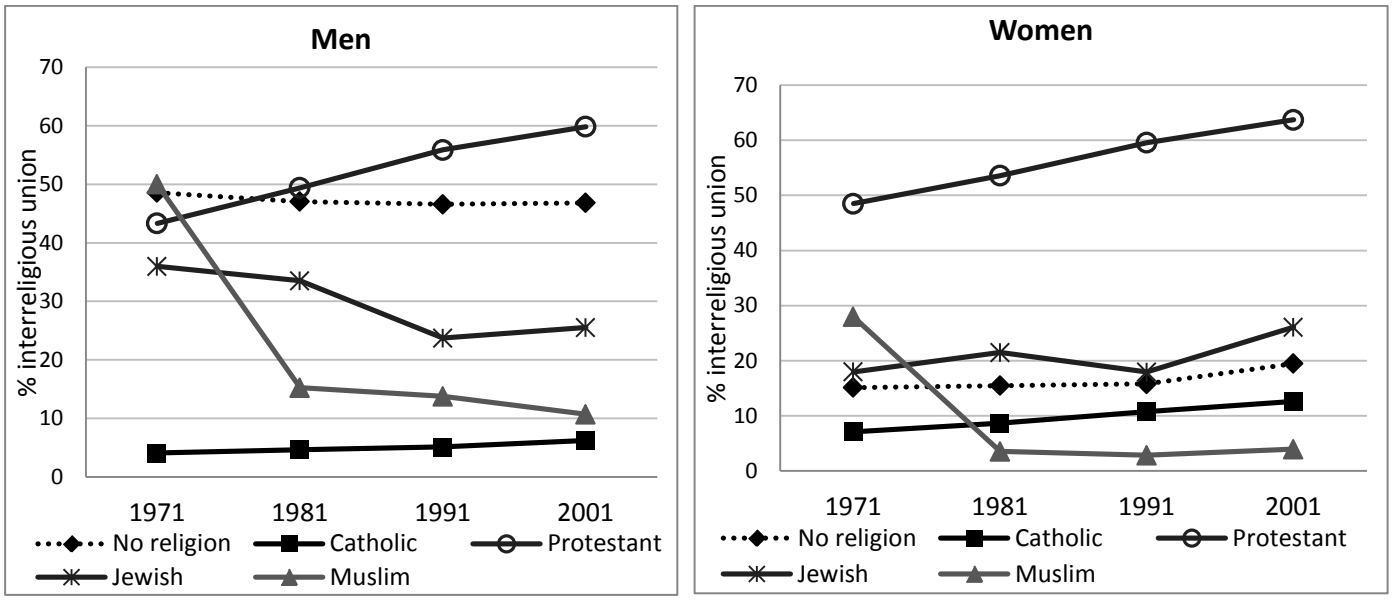

Table 1: Distribution of interreligious unions for men and women by religious affiliation

	Partner's religion							Row percentages
Respondents' religion	No religion	Catholic	Protestant	other Christian	Jewish	Muslim	Other religion	n
Men								
No religion	52.9	39.5	5.8	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.8	85,495
Catholic	1.3	95.0	3.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	539,447
Protestant	3.7	47.0	48.5	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.4	37,071
Other Christian	3.8	18.7	2.1	74.7	0.1	0.5	0.2	7,420
Jewish	7.7	16.0	3.2	0.7	69.6	1.8	1.0	687
Muslim	2.4	7.9	0.8	0.7	0.1	87.2	0.8	12,679
Other religion	3.2	15.6	1.6	0.3	0.0	0.7	78.7	9,302
Women								
No religion	83.0	12.8	2.5	0.5	0.1	0.6	0.5	54,487
Catholic	6.0	90.3	3.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.3	567,678
Protestant	12.1	42.7	44.2	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.4	40,681
Other Christian	8.9	14.2	1.8	73.4	0.1	1.2	0.4	7,550
Jewish	8.6	6.3	2.2	0.7	79.3	2.8	0.2	603
Muslim	1.0	1.8	0.2	0.3	0.1	96.1	0.6	11,515
Other religion	7.3	13.4	1.6	0.2	0.1	1.0	76.4	9,587

Figure 2: Percentages of interreligious unions by religious diversity index in each NUTS3 region for the years 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001

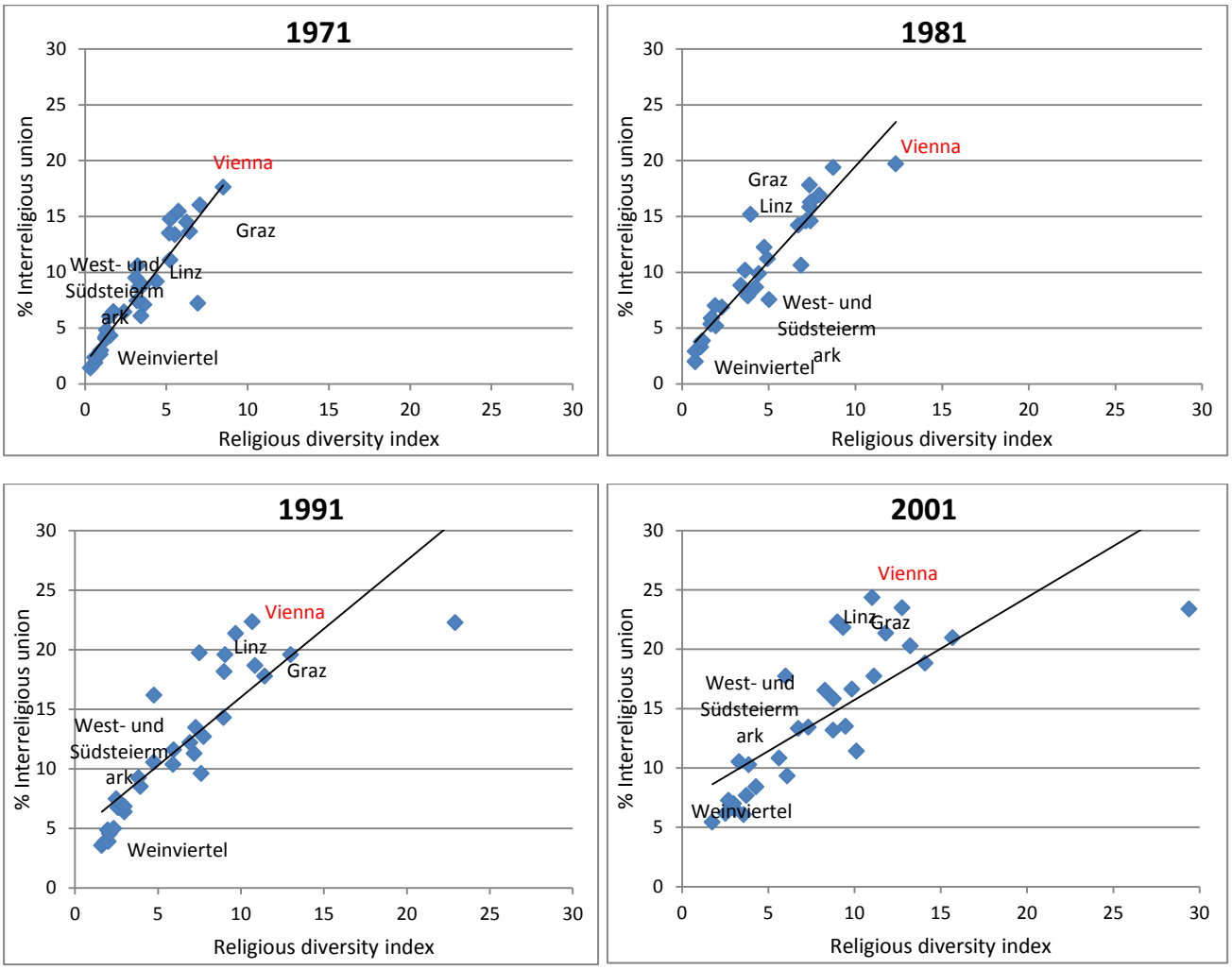

Table 2: Logit estimates of the probability of being in interreligious unions for men and women

	Men				Women			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	coef	se	coef	se	coef	se	coef	se
Age (ref: 35 - 44 years)								
15 - 24	0.098**	(0.031)	0.096**	(0.030)	-0.111***	(0.026)	-0.120***	(0.025)
25 - 34	0.080***	(0.012)	0.075***	(0.012)	0.004	(0.016)	0.001	(0.016)
45 - 54	-0.081***	(0.017)	-0.082***	(0.017)	0.006	(0.015)	0.004	(0.015)
55 - 64	-0.174***	(0.017)	-0.180***	(0.018)	-0.045+	(0.024)	-0.053*	(0.024)
65 - 74	-0.294***	(0.020)	-0.301***	(0.020)	-0.141***	(0.017)	-0.153***	(0.017)
75 years and over	-0.341***	(0.022)	-0.348***	(0.022)	-0.296***	(0.048)	-0.312***	(0.046)
Marital status (ref:never married)								
married	-0.652***	(0.023)	-0.659***	(0.023)	-0.650***	(0.034)	-0.660***	(0.035)
divorced/separated	0.403***	(0.049)	0.397***	(0.051)	0.515***	(0.033)	0.503***	(0.032)
widowed	0.250***	(0.028)	0.242***	(0.028)	0.324***	(0.059)	0.312***	(0.058)
Austrian citizenship	0.514***	(0.106)	0.467***	(0.107)	0.287+	(0.147)	0.276*	(0.137)
Religion (ref: no religion)								
Catholic	-2.681***	(0.304)	-3.014***	(0.338)	-0.225	(0.232)	-0.237	(0.250)
Protestant	0.233	(0.240)	-0.076	(0.287)	2.210***	(0.193)	2.132***	(0.218)
other Christian	-0.695*	(0.276)	-1.096***	(0.237)	0.741***	(0.143)	0.476***	(0.119)
Jewish	-0.659***	(0.087)	-0.634***	(0.079)	0.201**	(0.065)	0.205*	(0.099)
Muslim	-1.295***	(0.334)	-1.822***	(0.395)	-1.160***	(0.182)	-1.369***	(0.206)
other religion	-0.839***	(0.200)	-1.283***	(0.218)	0.903***	(0.047)	0.755***	(0.053)
Education (ref: lower secondary)								
intermediate secondary	0.436***	(0.032)	0.293***	(0.041)	0.553***	(0.057)	0.601***	(0.066)
higher secondary	0.760***	(0.049)	0.616***	(0.055)	0.710***	(0.094)	0.759***	(0.108)
post-secondary	0.955***	(0.056)	0.614***	(0.061)	0.894***	(0.100)	1.419***	(0.127)
Education homogamy (ref: M = F)								
M > F	-0.099***	(0.019)	-0.183***	(0.046)	0.419***	(0.039)	0.505***	(0.049)
M < F	0.440***	(0.029)	0.624***	(0.070)	0.057	(0.051)	0.125**	(0.043)
Year (ref: 1971)								
1981	0.021	(0.034)	0.095+	(0.054)	0.027	(0.029)	0.121**	(0.040)
1991	0.075	(0.079)	0.221*	(0.093)	-0.049	(0.083)	0.088	(0.094)
2001	-0.082	(0.089)	0.014	(0.108)	-0.063	(0.121)	0.143	(0.127)
Religious diversity index	0.922***	(0.260)	0.898***	(0.249)	4.795***	(0.482)	4.847***	(0.476)
Interaction terms								
Catholic*secondary			0.362***	(0.058)			0.045	(0.038)
Protestant*secondary			0.392***	(0.068)			0.173*	(0.072)
other Christian*secondary			0.435***	(0.104)			0.403***	(0.079)
Jewish*secondary			-0.116	(0.146)			0.040	(0.131)
Muslim*secondary			0.549***	(0.088)			0.423***	(0.115)
other religion*secondary			0.486***	(0.057)			0.292*	(0.138)
Catholic*post-secondary			0.871***	(0.153)			-0.173*	(0.080)
Protestant* post-secondary			0.423**	(0.163)			-0.137	(0.108)
other Christian* post-secondary			0.952***	(0.130)			0.566***	(0.087)
Jewish* post-secondary			0.133	(0.156)			-0.344**	(0.118)
Muslim* post-secondary			1.596***	(0.323)			0.406*	(0.174)

other religion* post-secondary			1.210***	(0.169)			0.287*	(0.138)
1981*secondary			-0.108+	(0.057)			-0.121***	(0.036)
1991*secondary			-0.232***	(0.052)			-0.175***	(0.049)
2001*secondary			-0.140*	(0.063)			-0.223***	(0.042)
1981*post-secondary			-0.196*	(0.079)			-0.296**	(0.101)
1991*post-secondary			-0.392***	(0.076)			-0.479***	(0.079)
2001*post-secondary			-0.282**	(0.099)			-0.581***	(0.069)
1981*M>F			0.028	(0.043)			-0.099***	(0.024)
1991*M>F			0.131***	(0.030)			-0.111***	(0.019)
2001*M>F			0.101*	(0.044)			-0.172***	(0.024)
1981*M<F			-0.152***	(0.044)			-0.059*	(0.030)
1991*M<F			-0.235***	(0.065)			-0.073**	(0.028)
2001*M<F			-0.284***	(0.083)			-0.110*	(0.044)
Constant	-0.45	(0.226)	-0.219	(0.236)	-2.516	(0.218)	-2.559	(0.212)
n	697,714		697,714		692,100		692,100	
Log likelihood	-212858		-212337		-234239		-234089	
DF	25		29		25		29	
Pseudo R2	0.25		0.25		0.14		0.14	

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Note: a) Robust standard errors in parentheses.

b) The variable educational homogamy has three categories: 1) M>F refers to a couple where a male partner has a higher level of education; 2) M=F refers to a couple where male and female partners have the same level of education; and 3) M<F refers to a couple where a male partner has a lower level of education.