

**European Divorce Conference
17-19 September 2015, Vilnius**

**The 13th Meeting of the European Network for the Sociological and Demographic
Study of Divorce**

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ABSTRACTS

Session 1: Economic Determinants of Divorce (10:30-12:00)

Unemployment and separation: Evidence from five European countries

Anne Solaz (INED, France), Esther Geisler & Michaela Kreyenfeld (MPI, Germany) Marika Jalovaara (Finland), Silvia Meggiolaro (UNIPD, Italy), Dimitri Mortelmans & Inge Pasteels (University of Antwerp, Belgium)

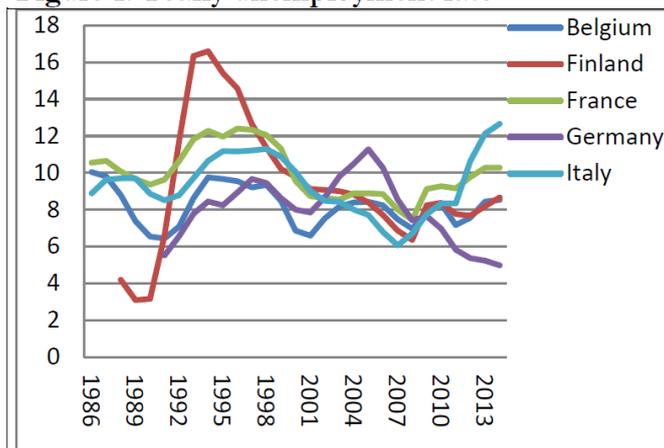
With the recent economic crisis, there has been renewed interest of researchers in the effect of economic conditions on demographic behavior. In this context, it has been studied how unemployment affects fertility dynamics (Kravdal, 2002). However, relatively little interest has been devoted to the effect of unemployment on union stability. There is consistent evidence from micro-level data that shows that (individual) job loss or unemployment, as any other indicator of an adverse economic condition (Weiss, Willis 1997), leads to a higher risk of union dissolution (Charles Stephens 2004). At the individual level, job loss curbs financial resources (which are only partially compensated by unemployment allowances), and increases the uncertainty about future earnings and career prospects. It is also well documented that unemployment causes depression and distress (Clark et al. 1999). These financial and emotional consequences of unemployment are likely to have a negative effect on marital stability. Surprisingly, macro-level evidence suggests the opposite and shows a pro-cyclical relationship between divorce and unemployment (Hellerstein, Morrill 2011; Amato, Beattie 2011; Schaller 2010). This micro-macro paradox (Fisher, Liefbroer 2006) calls for further investigations that include both individual as well as macro level measures of economic uncertainty. A cross-national comparison of separation behavior in Europe offers a unique opportunity to add to the literature. Many Europe countries have experienced substantial fluctuation in unemployment rates before the onset of the worldwide economic crisis. Furthermore, unemployment allowances differ between the countries of Europe allowing us to understand how the welfare state buffers adverse effects of economic recessions on union stability. This article draws on rich longitudinal data from Belgium (Flanders), Finland, France, Germany, and Italy to study the effect of unemployment on individual and aggregate unemployment on divorce risks.

Theoretical background. At the individual level, living in union (whether married or not) may constitute an insurance and solidarity against economic insecurity. Partners may choose to strengthen their relationship while one or the other is unemployed. Furthermore, there could exist a reluctance and social cost to leave a partner and let him/her alone in such a situation. Our first assumption is then that unemployment should decrease the divorce risk. However, the lack of money and of the social status associated to employment (and the limited professional perspective that unemployment involves) may change the relative bargaining power of partners. The economic theory predicts that it is mainly the income shock (often not anticipated) that increases the likelihood of dissolution. It also points out that unemployed have a lower value on the marriage market. Furthermore, the job loss is likely to lead to a loss of self-esteem, less network contacts, and psychological stress which might result in deviating behavior such as alcohol abuse. For all these reasons difficult to disentangle one from other, unemployment is also likely to increase union dissolution. This micro-effect leads to an opposite assumption. Then the micro-effect of unemployment on the probability of separation is ambivalent. At the macro-level, it has been observed that divorce decreases during recessions. The interpretation is linked to the cost of divorce; people decide to stay in difficult relationships and postpone union dissolution. If we interact both micro and macro levels, we can predict either a compensation effect: in a context

of crisis and high unemployment rate, the usual stigma of being unemployed may be reduced, or an accumulation effect: Being unemployed with bad economic conditions diminishes the likelihood of finding a job.

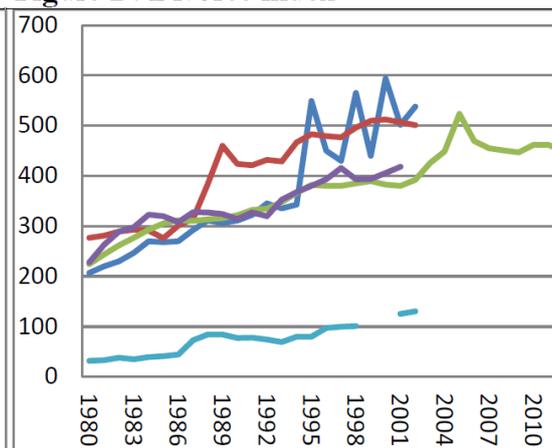
Countries context. In all countries, the divorce rate increased a lot on the period (and also not shown the risk of dissolution of unmarried partnerships) quite gradually with some sharp increase (reaction to French legislation in 2005 for instance). Italy continues to be an outlier with an increasing but still largely lower divorce risk. Yearly unemployment (figure 1) is quite high during the nineties especially in Finland and we observe a decreasing trend at the end of the nineties but an upturn from the recent crisis 2008 in all countries except Germany.

Figure 1: Yearly unemployment rate



OECD database

Figure 2 : Divorce index



Ined database

Data, sample and models. For each country, we use the most appropriate data available in the country able to link the employment situation and the partnership history (retrospective data for Flanders, France and Italy, panel data for Germany and register data in Finland). We select married or unmarried couples formed from the mid-seventies that lasted at least one year, whether it is the first couple or subsequent unions. First, we perform non-parametric models on the partnership duration to see the sole effect of the employment situation at the beginning of the union. We then use discrete time models (logit) on the couple duration, controlling for common (and available) covariates. Variables of interest include: individual employment situation (lagged), the yearly macro unemployment rate by age and sex. A second specification of the model is tested by adding an interaction term between macro unemployment and individual unemployment. Each model is separated by sex since we expect differences in the effect of unemployment according to sex.

Results. In all countries, first results (Table 1) show that unemployment increases the probability of dissolution for men. For women, the effect is reduced and sometimes not significant, showing that male job status continues to play a more significant role than those of women. The end of the main provider status could affect the union stability. Macro-unemployment effects are country-specific, positive for Finland and Italy, negative in Belgium and Germany, not significant in France. Concerning the interaction effects, they are mostly not significant, but mixed when significant. In Finland result supports a compensation effect showing that usual stigma of unemployment may be reduced when unemployment rate is high, whereas in Flanders, an accumulation effect exists with a higher divorce risk of unemployed partners during economic recession.

Table 1: Micro and macro effects of unemployment on divorce risk

Unemployment	Flanders (BE)		Finland		France		Germany		Italy	
	M	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Micro	2.75***	0.95***	1.94**	1.43*	1.34**	1.11	1.36*	1.56***	1.64*** ^a	0.86 ^a
Macro	0.84***	0.87***	1.02***	1.01***	0.980	1.007	0.90***	0.98	1.007	1.016***
Micro*macro	1.03***	1.00***	0.99***	0.99***	1.125	0.933	nt	nt	1.003	0.999

Discrete time models controlled for union duration and squared, union cohort, union rank, union type (married or not), age at union formation, education level, number of kids, presence of a child under 3, region if necessary.
nt =not tested yet

^a for Italy, the data do not allow to disentangle unemployment from inactivity at the micro-level.

Changing labor market characteristics and the rise of union instability

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Divorce rates have been increasing considerably over the last decades in Germany. Previous research has examined a large number of determinants of divorce in single European countries. There are only a few studies, however, that focus on the effects that change over time, e.g. the educational level (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2006:570; Härkönen and Dronkers 2006) and the intergenerational transmission (Wolfinger 2011). Little is known about such changes in Germany. In West-Germany, structural changes of socio-economic determinants do not explain increasing divorce rates (Wagner, Schmid, and Weiss 2015). It still remains open, however, if changing effects of risk factors are the reason for increasing divorce rates or if these effects remain stable over time and the share of single risk groups increased in societies. This paper deals with changes on the labor market. Due to the labor market reforms between 2002 and 2005¹ we expect changing job characteristics for many employees on the German labor market. As a consequence of these reforms more challenging job characteristics, such as fixed-term contracts or temporary working contracts, can be observed. Considering as well the growing number of employed women, we assume that this dual-earner situation strains couples. The aim of this paper is to investigate whether changing job characteristics on labor markets can explain increasing divorce rates?

Recent research has shown a negative effect of unemployment and feelings of job insecurity on marital stability (Wagner and Weiß 2010). Further, women's employment situation as an indicator of their dependency on their marriage is often examined as a crucial divorce risk factor (Böttcher 2006; Cooke et al. 2013). Cooke et al. (2013), however, point out, that there is no significant effect of women's employment on divorce risk in Germany. Besides unemployment and women's employment, the employment satisfaction affects intimate relationships as well (Berninger, Weiß, and Wagner 2011). Further, temporary workers report in a problem-centered interview (N=13) negative effects on their relationship due to their atypical working situation (Niehaus 2012). Persons with unstable working schedules, like night and rotating shift, do have lower marital stability than persons with standard working schedules (Presser 2000). A German study shows evidence for a higher dissolution risk among men and women with more working hours regardless of the employment arrangement of their partners, for women with at least the same number of working hours as her partners, as well as for persons holding fixed-term contracts (Böhm, Diewald, and Körnert 2010:221). But this study suffers from limitations. First, it does not investigate

¹These labor market reforms also contain deregulation of the labor market and are shortly described in Eichhorst and Marx (2011: 78f.).

historical time trends. Second, the operationalization of the outcome variable is poor, as long as it defines a relationship as unstable if one partner is leaving the household (Böhm et al. 2010:221). To our knowledge, there is no research that takes the changing job characteristics as well as the union stability from a cohort perspective into account. We want to focus on these macro changes in union stability as well as on the labor market in investigating them on the micro level and linking the results to our macro structural interest.

Based on the divorce-stress-model (Randall and Bodenmann 2009) the following hypotheses are derived and tested empirically: overwork raises chronic stress and therefore dyadic stress in couples because the time a couple can spend together is shortened. As a result of shortened mutual time the couple suffers from communication problems which are likely to increase the divorce risk. It is assumed that the demands on employees increased over the last decades. As a result, more and more people suffer from chronic stress. This raises the divorce rate over time. In this paper job characteristics are operationalized as working overtime, holding fixed-term or part-time positions as well as working in rotating shifts. This overwork varies between industrial sectors (or with job (KldB2²)). Additionally, it is assumed that dual-earner couples suffer more from these changing job characteristics than traditionally organized couples. Hence, dual-earner couples have greater divorce risk than traditionally organized couples.

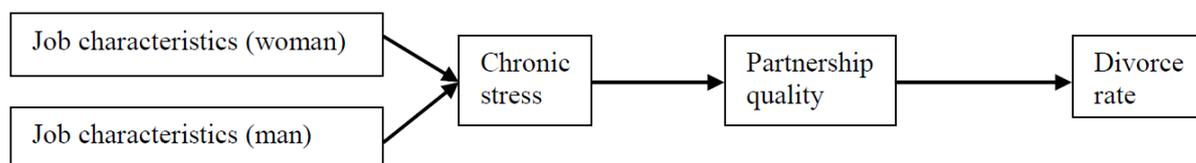


Figure 1: Assumed causal links (adapted from Randall and Bodenmann 2009:108)

The empirical analyses are based on the household panel GSOEP (German Socio-Economic Panel), which is conducted since 1984. The GSOEP allows to observe married men and women over nearly 30 years until today. It contains information on employment histories as well as employment conditions including the amount of employment (full/part time), kind of contract (fixed-term/permanent), overtime work and industrial sector. These data are available on a dyadic level.

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²German Classification of Occupations by the Federal Employment Agency (Bundesagentur für Arbeit)

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Branch of Occupation and Divorce Risks in Denmark

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Abstract: The current study covers the divorce risks of women and men in Denmark during 1981-2002. It is based on register data on all women and men born in 1945 and later that married in Denmark during 1981-2002. We control for standard socio-demographic covariates of divorce: age at and duration of marriage, educational attainment, metropolitan residence, and number of children. Our main independent variable is branch of occupation, which is sub-divided into 47 different categories. In general, divorce risks do not differ tremendously across branches but a few of them stand out: women and men on farms and in library or pharmacy businesses have the lowest divorce risks; the highest risks are found among women and men in hotel and restaurants and in manpower businesses. A more in-depth analysis reveals how divorce risks are related to the sex composition of employees in each sector and the degree to which the sector comprises part-time employment.

Session 2: Residential arrangements and parenting after divorce

Are parents with shared residence happier? Children's post-divorce residence arrangements and parents' life satisfaction

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Abstract. Whereas scholarship on shared physical custody after divorce focuses on children, their parents remain understudied. Therefore, we study whether parents with shared residence are more satisfied with their lives than sole resident and nonresident parents, and whether this can be explained by differences in the benefits and opportunity costs associated with child residence. Regression analyses on data from 4,175 recently divorced parents show that parents with shared residence report slightly higher life satisfaction than other parents, but that this relationship can be attributed to different circumstances of parents. Parents with shared residence have lower conflict than parents with other arrangements, which is related to lower life satisfaction. Nonresident parents have a less good relationship with their child than parents with shared residence, which is associated with lower life satisfaction. Sole resident mothers are less involved in leisure activities, employment, and romantic relationships than mothers with shared residence, which is related to lower life satisfaction.

The extensiveness of parenting plans, parental conflict and child well-being

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Abstract. Recent legislation in the Netherlands obliges married and cohabiting parents to construct a parenting plan when they separate. Similar to other Western countries the purpose behind these postdivorce arrangements is that it serves the interest of the child. A parenting plan is a binding agreement in which parents state how they will exercise their parental responsibilities after separation. The Dutch legislature requires that a parenting plan must contain at least: a) the division of care and childrearing tasks, b) child support and other childrearing expenses, and c) the way the parents communicate and inform each other about important matters concerning their children. Former partners are also advised by the government to include more points in their parenting plan.

Although it is believed by the legislature that an extensive parenting plan is in the best interest of the child, it remains the question in what situations the extensiveness of the parenting plan will be a useful instrument. Even though the legal demand to construct a parenting plan is in itself quite clear. The factors that should be included in the parenting plan, however, not so much. Moreover, critics have argued that it might not work as constructive as it supposed to due to the mandatory character, with this it can be used as a tool to stall the divorce procedure by one of the ex partners which can fuel the tensions.

In this study we investigate whether the constructed parenting plans meet at least the minimal requirements that are legally set for a parenting plan. We also investigate whether additional points are included in the parenting plans and we aim to uncover the most common aspect(s) included in the parenting plan besides the required points. Additionally, we try to uncover what the association is between the extensiveness of the parenting plan and what the role of conflict in all this is. These considerations lead to the following research questions:

- 1) How extensive are the constructed parenting plans and what is the role of conflict herein?
- 2) What is the association between the extensiveness of a parenting plan and child wellbeing? And to what extent can conflict account for this association?
- 3) To what extent does the association between the extensiveness of the parenting plan and child Well being vary by parental conflict?

To test these expectations we use data from 'New Families in the Netherlands' (NFN). These data are well suited to address our questions for two reasons. First, the NFN data include a high number of parents that divorced or separated after the implementation of the new divorce law. Second, these data include child characteristics such as wellbeing and it contains information about the legal arrangements and the extensiveness of which these arrangements are made by former couples after their separation.

Preliminary results show that most people include the mandatory points in their parenting plan, where former married people have slightly higher percentages than former cohabiters. From the mandatory items the 'information and communication' item is included the least. When we examine the additional points included in the parenting plan the most common aspect is the inclusion of 'the division of holidays, public holidays or special days between parents'. In addition, the main effect of the extensiveness of the parenting plan does not seem to make a significant difference on child wellbeing. Parental conflict, however, decreases child wellbeing drastically. For former cohabiters we do find evidence that the association between extensiveness of the parenting plan and child well being varies with the level of parental conflict.

Keywords: parenting plans, extensiveness, parental conflict, child wellbeing

The effect of Autonomous Regions Laws in recent trends of Joint Physical Custody(2007-2013) in Spain

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The legal dissolution of marriage in Catalonia and the rest of Spain became possible through the Divorce Law of 1981 (L30/1981), but this law proved to be rather restrictive for many who wanted to opt out of their marriage legally. As a result, the Spanish Divorce Reform of 2005 eliminated the necessity for a judicial separation prior to divorce and to allege a cause for divorce, leading to a sharp rise in divorce as a share of all legal marital dissolutions (from 40% in 2004 to 95% in 2013). The Reform also explicitly included the possibility for legal joint physical custody alongside individual custody so that children could alternatively live with the mother and father³. Although joint custody could already be arranged informally, it was rarely practised, in part because it required an agreement between the parties. The Reform therefore not only stipulated the legal possibility of such custody to be shared, it also stressed the coresponsibility of parents towards their children. A fund was also created to guarantee the payment of pensions for the children in

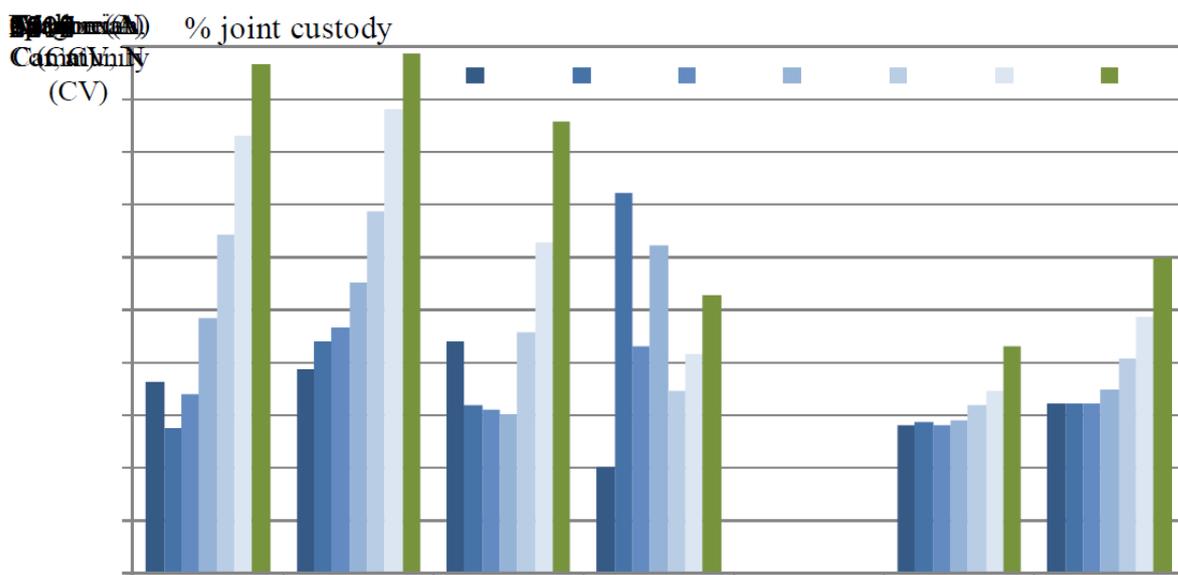
³In this paper we mean joint *physical* custody when we write joint custody. Unlike Anglo-Saxon statutes that specifically differentiate between joint *physical* custody and joint *legal* custody, the latter referring to the legal responsibility concerning important decisions related to the child(ren) such as health and schooling (Catalán Frías, 2011; Folberg, 1991), in current Spanish law joint legal custody falls under the pretext of *parental authority* (*patria potestad*) and according to the Catalan Civil Code under *parental coresponsibility*. Such is practised by both parents independent of the physical custody arrangement that has been made unless this right is revoked for one or both parents by a judicial decision (Ibanez Valverde, 2004; Solsona et al., 2014).

case on nonpayment by the liable parent and regulated the possibility for parents to attend voluntary mediation services for families (Simó and Solsona, 2010).

The idea behind the national level reform was to provide a better continuity to the family life of the child, reduce conflicts between parents, and allow fathers to feel more implicated and integrated in their child's education and development. At that time, it was estimated that about 2% of custodies in Spain were joint, 5% went to the father and the rest to the mother (Catalán Frías, 2011). In 2007, the year that data on custody arrangements were first registered by the Spanish Statistical Institute (INE) in the statistical bulletins on separations, divorce and annulments, 9.7% of custody sentences in Spain were a joint arrangement, suggesting that the new law still only had a small, though significant, effect. In 2010 this figure had only risen to 10.5%, but since then joint custody has shown a more steady increase, accounting for 17.9% of all arrangements in 2013 (INE, 2014). Yet, the figure would be higher if Spanish legislation considered joint custody as the preferred option like is the case in several US states and France, among other countries, rather than being an individual choice where both parents have to agree. Some therefore say that the state's Divorce Reform did not go far enough (Ibanez -Valverde, 2004).

Reforms have also been implemented at the regional level as Spanish Autonomous Regions have the power to legislate on civil matters. In particular, Aragon (Law 2/2010), Catalonia (Law 25/2010), Navarra (Law 3/2011) and Valencia (Law 5/2011) have produced their own laws concerning the care of children after marital breakup. For instance, in Catalonia shared custody is given as the "preferred option" but will not be granted by default, while in Valencia it is by default and may also be granted if it is opposed by one of the parents. While already prior to the implementation of these laws higher proportions of joint custody were usually awarded in these regions than in the rest of Spain, in all but Navarra differences have only increased since then. This is particularly the case in Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia where more than a quarter of awarded custodies are joint physical custodies, in which Catalonia experienced the clearest and most consistent upward trend in joint custody since 2007 (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The proportion of custody sentences awarded to both parents in the Spanish Autonomous Regions who recently implemented own laws concerning the care of children after marital breakup, in the rest of Spain and in Spain as a whole (2007-13)



In order to understand the regional differences in joint physical custody arrangements of minor children, in the full paper we will first concentrate on the singularities of the four regional civil legislations regarding joint physical custody before providing a detailed comparative analysis of the trends and characteristics of joint custody arrangements between each region and the rest of Spain. To do so, we will use data from INE on "Decrees of separations, divorces and annulments" for the period 2007-13.

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Fathers paid parental leave and its effects on intergenerational contact

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Abstract. A frequent intergenerational contact within the family might be thought of as something that can be taken for granted. However, high divorce and separation rates have become a common phenomenon in several European countries, including Sweden (see, e.g., OECD, 2012), and many families experience a geographical split-up already when the children are small. It is a well-established fact that a parental break-up in childhood has a negative influence on the intergenerational contact both shortly after the separation as well as in the long run. The intergenerational contact within dissolved families is less frequent than the contact within intact families (see, e.g., Lye, 1996; Skevik, 2006; de Graaf & Fokkema, 2007). Many scholars have investigated intergenerational contact though most studies focus on the comparison between families that have experienced a break-up and families that are intact. Consequently, little is known about potential differences in the frequency of intergenerational contact within the group of divorced/separated families. What has been shown is that, divorced/separated fathers (most commonly the non-residential parent) have a less frequent contact with their children than divorced/separated mothers have (Lye, 1996; de Graaf & Fokkema, 2007; Kalmijn, 2008; Palmtag, 2012). Some claim that mothers act as gatekeepers between the fathers and the children. In addition, mothers are believed to network more with relatives than fathers do (Lye, 1996). The question is why this gender difference exists. Is a close contact between mother and child established already when the child is minor, hence, is the time spent together when the child is infant the most crucial interaction for the later contact?

This study will take a closer look at the influence of parental leave, and its effects on the intergenerational contact. There are previous studies that deal with parental leave outcomes however, the majority of them focus on the outcomes for women, e.g. how or if women benefit from different parental leave systems or how it affects children (see Ferrarini & Duvander (2010) for an overview of Swedish studies). Only few concern the outcomes for fathers. Therefore this study will examine fathers' proportion of paid parental leave and its possible effects on the contact with the child when the child is older.

In 2009 Duvander and Jans performed a similar study on Swedish survey data however; they mainly used information reported by the mother. Consequently, the information was not given by the individuals in focus of the study but by a third part. The reason for this was that their sample only included parents living with the child and in 83 percent of their sample the residential parent was the mother⁴. In the present study we have the possibility to perform new analyses where it is possible to include the non-residential parent (the father) and their own reports about their contact with their children. There are many reasons why father's parental leave and the amount of it is of importance. One of the main arguments for increasing fathers' share of the parental leave is that it would lead to more gender equality. It is for example believed that an increase in fathers' parental leave could lead to a decrease of employers' statistical discrimination among adults in fertile ages. In addition, it could also contribute to a more gender equal share of household work if men spend more time in the household and with the children when they are small. Furthermore, it is argued that not only the parents would gain from an increase in fathers parental leave but also the children as they would get to spend more time with their father (Försäkringskassan, 2009).

The main aims of this study is to broaden the knowledge of intergenerational contact within dissolved families, gender equal distribution of parental leave and early engagement in childrearing. The research questions addressed in this study are similar to the once posed by Duvander and Jans (2009), so that results can be compared and the knowledge extended.

Do divorced/separated fathers who used parental leave have a more frequent contact with their children they do not live with compared to fathers who did not use any parental leave?

And do they have a more frequent contact with their children, the more paid parental leave days that they used when the child was small?

The study will mainly base on data from the Swedish Level of Living Survey (LNU). LNU is a panel survey that was carried out for the first time in 1968 and has been conducted five times since (in 1974, 1981, 1991, 2000 and 2010). The present study will only include data from the LNU-2000 and LNU-2010 (with the response rate 76.6 percentage and 60.9, respectively) since these waves also includes additional interviews with co-residential children and partners. The LNU survey is a random and representative sample of approximately 1/1000 individuals of the adult (age 18-75⁵) Swedish population (Gähler, 2004; SOFI, 2015). It covers a broad range of components that depict an individual's level of living, e.g. family and social relations, education, economic resources and personal biographies like for example the occupational history and partnership histories. Complementary information will be added from Swedish register data which is matched to the individuals participating in the LNU-survey. These data include information on the number of paid parental leave days that the individual has used during the year of the interview and the years between the interviews. The register data is of high quality and a good supplement to the respondents own reports. The analysis will focus on divorced/separated men but in some analysis women will be included so that possible gender differences also can be studied. It will also be possible to add information from intact families for additional comparison. Included respondents will be men and women which have children born in 1995 and later, hence after the introduction of the first "daddy month" in Sweden. As the daddy month is on a "use or lose" basis this inclusion criterion will partly reduce some of the self-selection of fathers into paid parental leave.

⁴ This represents the distribution in the Swedish population well. About 80 percent of divorced children are, according to public registers, living at the same address as their mother (Raneke, 2011).

⁵ The lower age limit was changed to 18 in 1991 due to a law change and was initially 15 (Gähler, 2004).

The results can contribute to the ongoing discourses about the importance of shared parental leave, division of responsibility of child rearing and household work and moderation of divorce consequences. Compared with many other European countries Sweden, together with the other Nordic countries, is one step ahead when it concerns fathers' right to paid parental leave. First by introducing the fathers quota and secondly by extending the fathers quota to 60 days. Therefore, the Swedish data is a good recourse to perform empirical analysis on which can be useful for policymakers in other countries when deciding on introducing or extending a parental leave quota for fathers.

Keywords.Daddy month, divorce, intergenerational contact, parental leave, separation, the Swedish Level of Living Survey (LNU)

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Session 3: Employment trajectories after divorce

The life course after divorce in Belgium: lone mothers' labour force attachment and risk factors

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Abstract. The risk of welfare dependency after divorce is one of the major concerns in the sociopolitical debate connected to the increasing number of lone parent families in most of the European countries. In fact, lone mothers are more likely than mothers in couples to be poor, unemployed, and welfare recipients. Even though paid work is considered one of the preferential ways out of poverty and welfare dependency, individual and family characteristics define a variety of labour supply strategies. It follows the typical work-first and welfare-to-work measures aiming to support employment for lone mothers implemented in many countries (Haux, 2013; Lewis, 2009) might actually target a group highly internally differentiated, and thus resulting in extremely mixed outcomes.

The worst financial consequences after divorce are suffered by women (Jansen, Mortelmans, 2009). Lone mothers might be confronted with additional burdens due to difficulties in re-entering the labour market after inactivity or in existing social assistance because of their increase in care responsibilities driven by being primary carer and breadwinner. Thus, experiencing lone motherhood might result in strategies for balancing work and life by mixing welfare and labour supply that differ according to previous and current resources as well as household characteristics.

The relationship between lone parenthood and labour market participation has been studied in terms of i) differential probability of being employed comparing lone mothers and mothers in couple (Western, Bloome, & Percheski, 2008), ii) single transitions (and their timing) in and out of the labour market after becoming a lone mother (Stewart, 2009), iii) the responsiveness to incentives (if any) for lone mothers to move off welfare and into work (Reilly, Simpson, & Athreya, 2014; D'Souza, Conolly, & Purdon, 2008; Dowler, 1998). However, the strategies adopted to balance family and work domains after the transition to lone parenthood cannot be captured by means of cross-sectional analysis looking at behaviours in a single timepoint over the life course.

By adopting a life course perspective and thus considering family trajectories' dynamics after divorce, we stress the importance of looking at differentiation within the group of women who experience at least one episode of lone motherhood right after their break-up. In fact, it has been argued that family disruption is a new social risk (Vandecasteele, 2010; Bonoli, 2005) that shapes differently the exposure to vulnerability of different groups when interacting with more traditional social risks, such as a weak labour market attachment or welfare dependency. For this reason, looking directly at the variety of experiences (Drobnič, 2000) of this specific group of women dealing with work-family reconciliation when the household structure changes might shed lights on emerging within-gender differences.

The Flemish case was selected according to four main criteria: i) the high divorce rates in the region, ii) relatively high diffusion of lone motherhood, iii) presence of welfare measures supporting a number of different recipients types (even to different extent and not necessarily so generous to avoid poverty) and low impact of childcare costs on income gain (Immervoll & Scarpetta, 2012, on OECD data 2007), and iv) availability of longitudinal data to observe lone mothers' employment trajectories over time: the Crossroads Bank of Social Security (CBSS Datawarehouse). A single-country study allows us for a better understanding of processes

that are strongly shaped by institutional configurations and individual outcomes over the life course (Mayer 2005).

We provided descriptive evidence on the variability of labour market participation patterns after experiencing lone motherhood by setting our analysis within the theoretical and analytical framework of sequence analysis (Abbott 2005), which considers individual processes unfolding over time—understood as a whole—as primary unit of analysis. We followed individual trajectories in the labour market or as welfare recipients during four years after this family transition occurred. We then considered whether the age at divorce acts as a stratification variable when looking at labour market opportunities, being the latter frequently path- and seniority dependent. Furthermore, we explore the relationship between employment trajectories and partnership status before lone parenthood, as well as with the number and the age of kids in the household as a proxy for the potential effect of care responsibilities on labour supply.

According to previous findings (Keegan and Wu, 2011), more than 50% of the lone mothers in our sample have a strong labour market attachment, being and remaining in full- or part-time for the whole time span considered. Another 12% either return after unemployment or increase the labour supply within the first two years after the transition to lone parenthood occurred. In other words, the debate on the economic cost of lone parents actually concerns only a part of those who experience lone parenthood at some point during their life course. In our case, 15% of the lone mothers in the sample experienced long lasting exclusion from the labour market being either unemployed/inactive or receiving the minimum wage. However, a not negligible 10% does not receive welfare support in absence of employment for the whole four years considered. The persistence in such configurations reveals the presence of disadvantages in place even before lone parenthood we cannot unfortunately account for due to the lack of information on education or migration status in register data.

We found the individual and household characteristics we considered as possible “barriers” to employment are differently associated to the patterns we identified. Also in this case the within-group variety appears to be crucial in defining more vulnerable profiles: young lone mothers seem less able to engage in paid work and thus experience relatively long period as recipients of welfare measures, while having had the time to build their own career before lone motherhood seems to keep older lone mothers strongly attached to employment. Furthermore, in the Flemish case is the number of kids below 17 in the household rather than the presence of very small kids to define different probability of pursuing certain labour market strategy. In particular the bigger the family size, the higher the probability of having a strong labour market attachment through full-time jobs, and the lower the likelihood to be unemployed/inactive and receive welfare benefits.

Understanding the rollercoaster trends in Finnish single mothers' employment, 1987-2007

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Introduction. An increasing number of single-parent families is one of the major consequences of the high incidence of divorce and separations in most Western countries. Previous research has found that single mothers experience more unemployment and other gaps in employment than partnered mothers, and that their employment is more vulnerable to economic recessions and negative effects of low education (Kjeldstad & Rønsen 2004; Wu & Eamon 2011). In Finland, the

economic position of single mothers was untypical on international standards until early 1990s – single mothers had higher employment rates than partnered mothers. The situation reversed when Finnish economy fell to a depression during early 1990s. The depression's impact on single mothers was severe, and an employment gap between single and partnered mothers emerged. This study aims to answer the following questions: How did Finnish single and partnered mothers' employment develop from 1987 to 2007? Can the differences in employment rates between single and partnered mothers be explained by structural factors? We hypothesize that single mothers' decreased employment is owing to their generally lower education. Young age and having young children may be additional risk factors that contribute into single mothers' low employment. After controlling for education, age, and age of children, a single parenthood disadvantage in employment may still prevail.

Data and methods. This study uses data formed, at Statistics Finland, through the linking of data from a longitudinal population register and registers of employment, educational qualifications and vital events. The extract is a 10 % random sample of persons born between 1940 and 1995 who were in the Finnish population at some point between 1970 and 2011. The sample used in this study (N=1,248,049 person-years) is limited to women born in Finland who are aged 18 to 49 on any year between 1987 and 2007, and who have at least one under 18-year-old child living in the same household. As a statistical method we will use multi-factor decomposition of differences to examine whether the changes in single parents' economic activity are due to differences in single parents' changed age, family demographics and educational distributions. Following Chevan and Sutherland's (2009) extensions to Das Gupta's (1993) decomposition method, we decompose the difference by each category of the control variables. A single parent is here defined as a parent who lives with her under 18-year-old children, without a cohabiting, married, or registered partner. Employment is coded into a dummy variable according to a person's main activity, where 1 = employed and 0 = not employed. We will consider age, age of youngest child and education as compositional variables. In this follow-up time is measured in full calendar years. All the variables are measured at the end of each year. For the purposes of decomposition we divide the years at the beginning and at the end of the follow-up to three-year time periods: 1987-1989 and 2005-2007. Both are periods of pre-recession economic upswings.

Preliminary results. In 1987, employment rates were lower among partnered (82%) than among single mothers (83%), but this reversed by 1990. There was a decrease in all mothers' employment during early 1990s economic depression. Employment rates were, at their lowest, 70% for partnered mothers and 62% for single mothers in 1994. Partnered mothers' employment rates almost recovered to pre-depression levels by the end of the follow-up (81% in 2007). Single mothers' employment rates stayed lower than those of partnered mothers through the rest of the follow-up (74% in 2007). During the follow-up, proportion of older age groups increased among partnered and single mothers. Single mothers were, on average, older than partnered mothers. Levels of education increased in both groups, but more so among partnered mothers, increasing the educational differences between the groups. During the whole follow-up, single mothers' children were significantly older than partnered mothers' children. Employment of under 30-year-old mothers, mothers with basic level education and mothers with 0-2-year-old children decreased substantially during the follow-up, especially among single mothers. We did a decomposition of differences between single and partnered mothers at the beginning and at the end of the follow-up: for 1987-1989 combined and for 2005-2007 combined. In 1987-1989, single mothers' employment rate was 1 percentage point higher than that of partnered mothers. This was due to composition effects, especially single mothers' children's older age. If the age, educational and family compositions of partnered and single groups had been similar, single mothers' employment rate would have been 1 percentage point lower than that of partnered mothers. In 2005-2007,

single mothers' employment was 7 percentage points lower than that of partnered mothers. Composition effects, especially children's age, reduced the difference. The gap between single and partnered mothers' employment rates would have been almost five percentage points greater if their children's age structures were similar. Differences in mothers' own age contributed to differences in employment rates only slightly. Single mother's lower educational composition increased the difference by 3 percentage points. On the contrary to 1987-1989, the difference was mostly due to rate effects (-8%), suggesting that single mothers' employment disadvantage cannot be explained by structural factors.

Discussion. The results suggest an educational selection into single parenthood, especially single motherhood. The increasing significance of rate effects indicate that single parenthood's adverse effects on employment have grown, and these effects cannot be explained by structural factors only. Single parents' employment is more vulnerable to macroeconomic fluctuations than that of partnered parents. Increasing economic inequality between single and partnered parents can contribute to the overall inequality between different socio-economic groups, households, and due to the gendered nature of single parenthood, between sexes (Kollmeyer 2013, McLanahan & Percheski 2008).

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Occupational mobility around separation for British men and women

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In the research literature, it is meanwhile well-established that divorce can entail severe negative consequences for people's living standards, especially for women. Negative effects are found on women's income, women's poverty risks and women's risk to become dependent on welfare (e.g., Aassve, Betti, Mazzuco, & Mencarini, 2007; Andreß, Borgloh, Bröckel, Giesselman, & Hummelsheim, 2006; Dewilde, 2002; Duncan & Hoffman, 1985; Jenkins, 2008; Uunk, 2004; Vandecasteele, 2010). Next to the negative effects for women's living standards, previous research also found a small positive effect of divorce on the labour supply of women (e.g., Jenkins, 2008; Johnson & Skinner, 1986; Raz-Yurovich, 2011; Van Damme, Kalmijn, & Uunk, 2009). Gaps in the literature still exist concerning the relationship between divorce and changes in occupational status. The scarce research in this area indicates that for men, divorce entails downward mobility in occupational status (Kalmijn, 2005). Evertsson (2004) is the only longitudinal study we found in which occupational changes around divorce are analysed for both men and women. Using event history analyses, she found for Sweden that in the short term women experience larger status increases after divorce than men. However, in the long-run women experience more status

decreases. Men show a more consistent pattern of downward status mobility after divorce. We add upon this previous work by studying changes in social status around separation for both men and women by fixed effects analyses using the British Household Panel Survey (1991-2008). We hypothesize to find a divorce penalty for men and a divorce premium for women. Possible explanations of gender differences are sought in a change in gender roles after divorce, which are reflected in the diminished relevance of gender role specialization in paid and unpaid work, gender differences in the loss of social capital, and gender dissimilarities in emotional stress experienced after divorce. First of all, the loss of the main breadwinner role may be a factor explaining a divorce penalty. Men would lose the benefits of role specialization which makes them to spend more time at home rather than in the labour market. This may then result in decreases in social status because of the lower investments of men in their careers (Kalmijn & Luijkx, 2005). Women, on the other hand, may experience more financial incentives to work. For them a divorce may be more costly than for men because they usually earn less than men so have more income to lose and they more often get custody over the children. These costs are only partly compensated for by child support and alimony. Identity changes may be a second explanation of gender differences in the separation effect on social status changes over time. There might be psychological consequences of the loss of the main breadwinner role for men. They may experience a threat of their masculine identity which may lead to depression with negative consequences for career making. Contrary to men, women may experience an increase in emphasis on their work identity rather than their family identity. Moreover, for women it has been found that divorce might be a 'growth enhancing transition' in the sense that women show resilience (Boon, 2005). Such successful emotional coping with the post-divorce situation can go together with an increase in self-confidence. This in turn may cause an identity change in which women focus more on their personal development; i.e. investing more time and energy in a job and perhaps in making a career thereby putting a stronger emphasis on work identity. Whether men emotionally suffer more than women remains an open question. Studies have found that men fare worse (Williams & Umberson, 2004), women fare worse (Monden & Uunk, 2013), and no significant gender differences in emotional stress after separation (Simon, 2002; Tavares & Aassve, 2013). A third mechanism explaining social status change differences between men and women concerns the change in social capital after union dissolution. It has been found that in the period after separation men suffer more than women from a deterioration of their social network and more often feel lonely (Booth et al. 1991; Kalmijn & Broese van Groenou 2005; Seltzer 1991). Such reduction of social capital may decrease men's health after separation (Monden & Uunk, 2013) and may therefore lead to more downward mobility among men (Kalmijn, 2005). Women, on the other hand, may experience more and stronger ties with their social network after a divorce, which eventually (partly via good mental health (Monden & Uunk, 2013)) may help improve their occupational position. The analysis is based on the British Household Panel Survey (1991-2008) and consists of fixed effects regressions explaining changes in individuals' occupational status score. A separation includes both separation from cohabitational and marital unions. We measure social status by the international socio-economic index (ISEI). The fixed effects specification entails the advantage that within-person effects are being studied. That means that unobserved time-constant explanatory variables cannot bias the estimates. Important time-changing variables that may explain heterogeneity in divorce outcomes will be included in the model. These include psychological health, the age of the youngest child, number of children, labour market experience, part-time/full-time work, and initial occupational status.

Preliminary results. Fixed effects regressions show a disproportionately large increase in ISEI score in the years around separation for working women, while for working men the increase is less steep. To be more specific: before union dissolution the occupational status trajectory of men and women is similar (controlling for time-constant gender differences), but from two years before

separation, women increase their ISEI score more than men on average, thereby increasing the gap between men and women's ISEI. At the time of separation the gender gap in ISEI score is 1,17. Although this gap decreases in a few years after separation, separated women remain to have a higher ISEI score than separated men. This is an interesting result, considering that on many other economic outcomes, women usually do worse than men after union dissolution. Sensitivity checks with the inclusion of previous ISEI scores for non-working men and women yield similar results. To what extent can we explain this gap by the three mechanisms outlined above? We find that only changes in the relevance of specialization apply: Men start to invest more time in housework and women more time in paid work after a separation and this translates into a lower increase in occupational status for men around separation and a stronger increase for women. We don't have evidence that any of the other two mechanisms apply.

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Session 4: Determinants of divorce (09:30-11:00)

Can we explain increasing divorce rates in West Germany? Empirical findings and further thoughts about alternative explanations

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Intensive and ongoing research on the determinants of marital stability has identified a large number of risk factors, but it is widely unknown why there was a sharp and nearly continuous upward trend in divorce rates in many developed countries. This upward trend continued over a hundred years, it began at the end of the 19th century and stopped in some countries at the end of the 20th century. In some of these countries, however, the increase of divorce rates has not only come to an end but even turned around into a trend of decreasing divorce rates.

We investigate the upward trend of divorce rates in West Germany since the middle of the 1930s by testing hypotheses on the changing socio-structural composition of marriage cohorts and on changes of the divorce behavior of different socio-structural subgroups (Wagner et al. 2015). Hypotheses are derived by linking the parameters of three theoretical micro models that explain marital stability – the exchange, the investment and the microeconomic model – to four societal processes: factors that foster self-reinforcing processes, the transmission of divorce risks across generations, changing gender roles and the deinstitutionalization of marriage. Empirical analyses use data from the German Life History Study (GLHS). Since women's reports about the marital history are more reliable than men's, we use a subsample of 3,234 women's first marriages of West German marriage cohorts between 1936 and 2005. Of the 3,234 first marriages, 395 marriages were separated or divorced, that is 12% of all first marriages. Based on person-period data, multiple binomial logistic regression models are estimated. The main contribution of this study is the robust empirical finding that we cannot explain the historical increase of divorce rates in Germany by compositional or behavioral changes of established socio-structural divorce risks. This is in line with the findings from previous studies.

We present alternative explanations of historical trends of divorce rates and the respective state of empirical research. A first explanatory approach is modeling the influence of macro-micro effects as a precondition to identify self-reinforcing processes. These processes possibly result from changes in the opportunity structure to dissolve a marriage. This opportunity structure is related to the availability of alternative partners, which changes across historical time as a consequence of changing divorce rates. A promising task for future research would be to identify these self-reinforcing processes (see also Diekmann 1994). Secondly, one could think of more cultural explanations of divorce trends (Amato 2004; Cherlin 2004). Cultural trends, e.g. reflected in an increase of individualistic values and opinions and a decrease in the strength of traditional marriage norms, might promote more partnership conflicts, a decrease in marital quality and less commitment to marriage as an institution.

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Separation Risks over Union Duration: An Immediate Itch?

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Abstract. This study examines the risk of separation over union duration. While previous research consistently reports a rising-falling pattern of divorce over marriage duration, little is known about the variation of the separation risk over cohabitation duration or over marriage duration when the length of partnership is measured since the beginning of coresidence rather than marriage. We will use large-scale register data from Finland, which include information on both marital and non-marital unions. We first study the risk of separation for marital and non-marital unions separately, controlling for observed and unobserved characteristics of individuals. We then examine the risk of separation over union duration considering cohabitation and marriage as parts of the same union. Our results show that in cohabitation the separation rate is highest at early durations, whereas for marriages we find a rising-falling pattern. Most marriages are preceded by cohabitation, and marrying is followed by a significant drop in the separation levels, which is independent of the length of premarital cohabitation. The results highlight the differences between union types; there is a low threshold of forming and dissolving cohabitations, whereas marriages are relatively stable.

Keywords: marriage, cohabitation, divorce, separation, union duration, Finland

Regional Diffusion of Divorce in Turkey

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Abstract. The topic of divorce has been researched extensively during the past decades (for excellent overview articles, see e.g. Amato, 2010; Amato & James, 2010; Härkönen, 2013; Lyngstad & Jalovaara, 2010; Wagner & Weiß, 2006). Research has concentrated, amongst others, on examining the effects of divorce, the causes of divorce, the intergenerational transmission of divorce, and macro-sociological mechanisms to explain differences in levels of divorce between countries. Additionally, various studies have investigated the relationship between divorce and migration, mostly in Western countries (e.g. Boyle et al., 2008; Caarls & Mazzucato, 2015; Frank & Wildsmith, 2005; Anderson & Scott, 2010). Typically, these studies compare the behaviours of migrants to that of the majority group and attribute similarity of behaviours to integration of migrants (Bean et al., 1996; Glick, 2010; Phillips & Sweeney, 2006).

However, less attention has been paid to changes in levels of divorce that occur within the origin context of migrants, or in non-Western countries in general (Tabutin & Schoumaker, 2004, 2005). Migrants' countries of origin are not static entities, and a striking example for the European context is Turkey. Not only has Turkish society undergone major societal changes, the largest immigrant community across Europe also originates from this country. Yet, before we can start explaining divorce prevalence among Turkish immigrants, we first require insight in the prevalence of divorce in Turkey.

In Europe, higher divorce rates, amongst others, reflect the changed demographic behaviour (e.g. Lesthaeghe, 1983, 2010; Lesthaeghe and Van de Kaa, 1986; Härkönen, 2013; Kalmijn, 2007). Much less is known about divorce in Turkey. It is often argued that the demographic transition in Turkey is not as advanced as for Western Europe (Rashad, 2000), also illustrated by a lower prevalence of divorce. Even though Turkey has relatively low divorce rates when compared with other (Western) countries, it has witnessed a notable increase during the past decades (e.g. Demir, 2013; Turkstat, 2011; Härkönen, 2013; Kavas & Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2010). In addition to the overall rise in divorce in Turkey, huge regional variation remains concerning levels of divorce. The aim of this paper is twofold. First, we study the levels of divorce in Turkey over time (1970-2008). Second, we examine the role of both individual characteristics and the regional context on the probability of divorce. While cross-national variation concerning divorce has been well documented, the role of regional variation within one country has been studied to a much lesser extent (but see e.g. Kalmijn & Uunk, 2007; Lester, 1999; and e.g. Glass & Levchak, 2014; Lesthaeghe & Neidert, 2006; Norval & Shelton, 1985 for regional variation in the U.S.). Turkey is a particularly interesting country to study the regional variation of divorce, due to the great variation in the prevalence of divorce between the different regions in Turkey. In some regions, crude divorce rates are very low, in other, crude divorce rates approximate those of West-European countries: whereas the overall divorce rate in 2008 was 1.40, it ranged from 0.48 in Southeast Anatolia to 1.88 in the Aegean region (Turkstat, 2011).

In this study, we examine the probability of divorce in Turkey, investigating both micro-level and macro-level predictors. We investigate the role of regional variation on the probability of divorce by considering GDP and crude divorce rates for each of Turkey's 12 regions. Data come from the Demographic Health Survey (2003 and 2008 waves), focusing on women (N=14,541), complemented with regional data from the Turkish Statistical Institute. We concentrate on marriages that took place between in Turkey 1970 and 2008, using discrete-time event history analyses to examine to what degree individual characteristics and the regional context influence divorce behaviour. Adopting a multilevel approach by distinguishing 12 distinct regions, we examine the role of regional GDP and regional crude divorce rates. This study improves upon the existing literature by a) examining the prevalence of divorce in Turkey, a rather understudied subject, b) studying the degree of change that is occurring within an origin country, and c) examining the effects of regional contexts within Turkish society applying a multilevel framework.

Session 5: Divorce and children's outcomes (11:30-12:30)

Does parental divorce break the intergenerational transmission of education, income and wealth?

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Abstract. In this paper we address the question whether parental divorce is related to increased or decreased inequality of opportunities to attain education, labor income, and wealth. Studies on the role of demographic events on life chances have so far found few effects of divorce on the intergenerational transmission of education. However, these results might be due to the choice of dependent variable. Whereas the transmission of education might require more time-intensive investments that are harder to make once divorced, the transmission of income and particularly wealth could be less sensitive to such time-constraints.

The comparison of different outcomes in this paper therefore can give us interesting insights in the role of divorce in the transmission of advantage across generations, as well as the mechanisms underlying inequality of opportunity in general. To this end we use data from the National Longitudinal Youth Survey 1979 (N = 7 301). The outcomes of interest are measured at ages 47-56 (wave 25, fielded in 2012) and consist of a dummy measuring whether the individual attained tertiary education, yearly personal labor income, and the persons 'net worth' (assets minus debt). After estimating the 'divorce penalty' for these outcomes by parental background, we look at the correlations between social background and these outcomes, and how this transmission of advantage is mediated by parental divorce. To this end, we use an Oaxaca-decomposition approach to analyze the influence of divorce on inequality of opportunity.

Preliminary results for education confirm earlier findings that divorce is related to lower educational attainment, but that its overall role in the transmission across generations is inconsequential. While parental divorce is more common for children from lower educational backgrounds, the effects are also smaller for this group. Results will be replicated for income and wealth and compared to those for education.

Parental divorce and children's union status: does the relationship weaken over cohorts?

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This paper explores the temporal (in)stability in the effects of family structure experienced during childhood and early adulthood upon subsequent patterns of union formation. We use data from the first wave of *Generation and Gender Survey* conducted in the Czech Republic in 2005. The country is a particularly interesting context to carry out such an analysis, since it has experienced a very rapid population change in the last two decades, which included postponement of and retreat from marriage, growing out-of-wedlock fertility, and growing incidence and prevalence of unmarried cohabitation (Chaloupková 2010; Thornton, Philipov 2009;). The current changes, however, include not only the demography of families, but also the meaning of cohabitation, its level of institutionalization and normative shifts regarding co-residential unions.

Empirical evidence shows profound implications of childhood family structure for timing and type of co-residential union. Children are more likely to choose cohabitation if they lived with single mother, in other than two biological parent households or if their parents cohabited (Teachman 2003; Ryan, Franzetta, Schelar, Manlove 2009). Experiencing parental divorce also elevates the likelihood of choosing cohabitation over marriage (Diekmann, Schmidheiny 2008; Cherlin, Kiernan, Chase-Lansdale 1995; Thornton 1991). These associations have been documented across historical periods, datasets, and methodologies. The underlying mechanisms have not been fully explored yet.

While studying the association between family composition during one's childhood and subsequent union formation of children – and possibly also changes over time in the size of this association – we consider a co-action of two aspects of (self-)selection. Firstly, if divorced parents are self-selected on attitudes and values (Birditt, Brown, Orbuch, McIlvane 2010), did the selectivity into divorce change across generations of parents? Secondly, if cohabitation spreads through society, and the rise of cohabitation leads to its increasing status heterogeneity (Nazio 2008; Nazio, Blossfeld 2003), did selectivity among children (here preference of cohabitation over marriage) change as well?

During the post-socialist change, we argue, cohabitation has changed its role in the family formation process in several former socialist countries including the Czech Republic as evidenced by both demographic and attitudinal indices. Looking at general population samples we find that 31 % of respondents in the 2002 ISSP survey admitted that they had ever lived in an unmarried cohabitation. The prevalence of cohabitation rises in younger cohorts. According to the 2008 ESS data, 20 % of individuals in the age category 56+ ever cohabited, while 43 % of individuals between 26 and 35 years did so (Kreidl, Štípková 2012). Moreover, data from Czech attitude surveys reveal that a significant drop in support for marriage as the best context for childbearing took place recently (Dimitrová 2007).

Heuveline and Timberlake's classification places the Czech population (surveyed in 1997) into the "prelude to marriage" ideal type, in which couples seek to test the relationship before formalizing it, but the duration of cohabitation is short and marriages are typically established before children are to born (Heuveline, Timberlake 2004).

Recent trends in the demographic behavior of the Czech population do, however, indicate that the position of cohabitation in the family formation process may be changing towards what Heuveline and Timberlake labeled "cohabitation as stage in the marriage process". As the All the necessary criteria has been met -*shares of births before marriage grow, average durations of cohabitations gets longer, and there is an increasing children's exposure to unmarried unions, and also the "cultural sanctions against out-of-wedlock childbearing have eroded"* (Heuveline, Timberlake 2004: 1217) in the Czech population.

Results of our analysis (discrete-time event-history analysis with competing risks) of entry into the first co-residential union (distinguishing cohabitations and marriages) reveal that selectivity into cohabitation on parental family structure has lowered significantly in the Czech society since the 1960s. Growing up with a single mother implied higher odds of choosing cohabitation over marriage for several decades. The effect, however, was very strong until the end of the 1970s, later it declined, and then (after 1998) it disappeared entirely. We attribute this change to two concurrent processes: growing divorce rates (and thus declining selectivity on values and marital conflict into divorce) among parents and to declining selectivity into cohabitation among children. While growing divorce rate was the driver of change until the early 1990s, we argue that the

changing status of cohabitation in the marriage process played a crucial role in accelerating changes in the selectivity of cohabitation after 1998.

In the Czech Republic, cohabitation changed its position in the kinship system from “prelude to marriage” to “stage in the marriage process” towards the end of the 1990s. While several other variables in our models (such as own and parental education, gender) seem to continue having an impact the choice between marriage and cohabitation, the weakening effect of parental family structure nevertheless indicates that preference for the cohabitation or marriage is increasingly stemming from idiosyncratic circumstance of people’s lives that are not associated with parental behaviors, attitudes and values.

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Session 6: Children, divorce and intergenerational relationships (14:00-15:30)

Children's relationships with parents and stepparents in shared residence: a gender perspective on biological and social parenthood

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The present study uses shared residence of children following parental divorce as a natural experiment to study gender dynamics in stepfamilies. When mother custody was the standard arrangement, children in stepfamilies were living full-time with mother and stepfather, and only occasionally visited their father and stepmother. Consequently, studies exploring gender differences in step relationships often suffered from methodological limitations, such as nearly empty cells and strong selectivity bias. The recent shift towards joint custody following parental divorce created a more comparable group of part-time stepfather and part-time stepmother families, together with the unique opportunity to compare the relationship of the same child with a part-time residential stepfather and a part-time residential stepmother. By comparing children's relationships with stepparents with their relationships with biological parents, we gain insight in whether the differences between stepmothers and stepfathers are the reflection of the gendered nature of parenthood, or whether they are typical for stepfamily relationships.

We work with two datasets. The *Divorce in Flanders*-survey includes information on 190 stepfather families and 183 stepmother families with a randomly selected child younger than 21 living between 33% and 66% in the household. The *Leuvens Adolescents and Family Study* includes information on 188 adolescents in shared residence having a stepfather living with mother, 190 adolescents having a stepmother living with father and 100 adolescents living part-time together with a stepfather and stepmother. We estimate fixed-effect models in order to analyze the interaction between gender and biological/social parenthood in explaining children's relationships with their parents. Preliminary results demonstrate larger differences between biological parents and stepparents than between (step)mothers and (step)fathers, with step relationship being less close than biological parent-child ties (confirming the notion of the so-called *step-gap*). Gender differences are overall small and are mainly found between biological parents: children in joint custody on average report a better relationship with their mother than with their father. In contrast with the Cinderella myth, children are as close with their stepmother as with their stepfather. The fact that previous studies often did find more problematic stepmother-stepchild relationships might be due to the selectivity of children living (full-time) with their father and stepmother following parental divorce.

Children's residence arrangements and child well-being: the moderating role of father's involvement in childrearing

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Ever since divorce rates started to increase in the second half of the 20th century, scholars have shown an interest in the relation between children's residence arrangements after union dissolution and children's well-being. The main focus of older studies from the 1970s thru 1990s has been to uncover whether a higher frequency of non-resident father visitation would be

associated with a higher child-well-being. This focus on non-resident father visitation was due to the fact that, at that time, mother custody was by far the most common. The common assumption was that a continuing role of the father in the life of children and the greater access to his resources associated with more frequent father visitation would improve child well-being. Surprisingly, most of these studies found little to no effect of the frequency of non-resident father visitation on child well-being (see review Amato & Gilbreth, 1999). More recent studies focused on the effect of the increasingly common arrangement in which the child resides about half of the time with either parent (i.e. shared residence/joint physical custody). This more recent and growing body of research has produced inconsistent results, though relatively many studies find small to modest positive effects of shared residence on child well-being as compared to sole residence arrangements (see e.g. review by Bauserman, 2002; Nielsen, 2011). This suggests that both parents' ongoing involvement after a break-up - thus also father's involvement - is beneficial to child well-being.

In this study, I reassess the relationship between children's residence arrangements and child well-being by arguing that the effect of residence arrangements is dependent upon the extent of father involvement in child rearing prior to union dissolution. I contend that a higher frequency of father-child contact (indicated by either more visitation in case of mother-residence or shared or father residence) is especially important for children's well-being when the father was already heavily involved in child rearing, because then the child stands to lose more in terms of continuation of the relationship and resources than when the father was less involved. An examination of how the effect of residence arrangements on child well-being depends upon the extent of father involvement before the union dissolved may firstly shed light on the inconsistent findings in previous literature, particularly the contrasting findings between the older and more recent studies. If father's prior involvement indeed moderates the relationship between children's residence arrangements and child well-being, this may explain why recent studies find greater support for a positive effect of fathers' continuing involvement after union dissolution than the older studies that find no such effects; the father's role has namely changed dramatically over the past decades with fathers becoming more and more involved in child-rearing tasks. Secondly, this study is of practical relevance as it may inform legal practice of how to weigh the father's role in child rearing in physical custody decisions.

Using large-scale survey data ($N \sim 4000$) from the Netherlands about a recent cohort of parents who divorced or dissolved their cohabiting union in 2010 (New Families in the Netherlands, 2012/3), I examine the relation between (a) children's main residence (mother, father, shared) and (b) non-resident father visitation (if mother residence) on the one hand, and children's psychological well-being on the other hand. Children's psychological well-being is measured by the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 1997) and asked for a particular focal child. Father's involvement prior to union dissolution is asked retrospectively by asking respondents how they and their ex-partner divided childrearing tasks for five such tasks. The measure ranges from (0) mother much more to (4) father much more.

Preliminary multivariate analyses show support for the hypothesis that greater contact with the father after union dissolution has a stronger positive influence on child well-being when fathers were also more heavily involved in child rearing prior to the break up. For main residence, I overall find that there is no difference in the child's SDQ between mother and shared residence when pre-divorce selection factors and post-divorce conflict are controlled for, while children in father residence do worse (but the latter group is a relatively small and possibly select group). More importantly, results show that when father involvement was relatively limited, there is little difference in child's SDQ between mother and shared residence whereas children function significantly worse in father residence as compared to the other two residence arrangements. In

contrast, when father's involvement used to be relatively high, children in mother residence do significantly worse than in both shared and father residence. Even stronger support is found for the moderating role of father's prior involvement when the results for non-resident father visitation are considered. Overall, I find that more frequent father visitation increases child's psychological well-being as measured by SDQ. This finding is counter to the bulk of previous studies stemming from the late 20th century, that typically find no significant effects. Furthermore, father's involvement in childrearing prior to the break up significantly moderates this effect. When fathers used to be relatively little involved, there is no significant effect of father visitation on the child's SDQ. However, the effect of non-resident father visitation turns into a positive effect the more fathers were involved during the relationships. When the father's contribution to childrearing used to high, frequent visits after union dissolution significantly increase the child's psychological well-being. These findings strongly suggest that the longstanding view that children's contact with fathers after union dissolution matters little for their well-being needs to be updated for more recent cohorts of fathers. In addition, the amount of father's involvement in childrearing before union disruption is crucial in understanding how child's well-being is affected by the amount of contact with their father after union dissolution. Legal practitioners should therefore carefully consider the extent to which fathers were already involved in child rearing prior to the break up when deciding upon children's residence arrangements.

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Parental Conflict after divorce and child self-esteem

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Parental conflict has negative effect on child's psychological adjustment. The aims of this study are to: 1) explore de child's perception of parental conflict; 2) analyze the influence of parental conflict on child's self-esteem. In this study participated 129 children (6- 12 years old) from Seville (Spain). Sixty- six of them had divorced parents and 63 lived with both parents. In 68.2% of cases the mother had the custody of the children, 25.8% was shared by two parents and only 4% had the father the custody of their children. The mean time since the divorce was 4.39 years. All of them were evaluated in the school context.

Children from divorced families perceived a greater intensity of conflict and poor resolution between their parents than those who lived with both parents. The results showed a negative correlation between parental conflict and global self-esteem of children from divorced and those who lived with both parents. On the one hand, the results indicated a negative correlation between intensity of conflict, poor resolution and stability of conflict and self-esteem of children from divorced families. On the other hand, the results showed a negative correlation between frequency, intensity, poor resolution and self-blame and self-esteem of children from two parental families. These results are discussed in the light of findings from other studies.

Session 7: Consequences of divorce (15:45-17:45)

Welfare Policy and the Implications of Divorce for Labor Market Earnings

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This study examines relations between the development of welfare legislation affecting single-parent families in Israel and the implications of divorce for mothers' earnings. The rise in single-parent families has been one of the most prominent social developments since the last quarter of the twentieth century (Kilkey, 2000; Lewis & Hobson, 1997; Millar & Rowlingson, 2001; Orloff, 2001). The relative number of these among all families with children is growing steadily. In some countries, more than half the children will be part of a single-parent family at one point or another in time (Millar & Rowlingson, 2001).

One of the common characteristics of single mothers in many countries is their poverty rates, which are remarkably higher than for the rest of the population. In the vast majority of cases, such families are headed by divorced mothers. There is an abundance of research reporting a significant decline in the economic wellbeing of women (and children) in the post-divorce period (Andreß, Borgloh, Bröckel, Giesselmann & Hummelsheim, 2006), whereas the consequences of divorce on men's economic wellbeing are less severe (Bianchi, Subaiya & Kahn, 1999; Jarvis & Jenkins, 1999; McManus & DiPrete, 2001; Manting & Bouman, 2006).

The high rates of divorce and its economic consequences, particularly for women, have given rise to state policies targeted at the single-parent household (Fraser & Gordon, 1994; Stier, 2011), especially with respect to integration into the job market (Abramovitz, 2006; Cook, 2012; Kilkey, 2000; Millar & Ridge, 2008; Orloff, 2001; Skevik, 2005). Welfare practices (e.g., allowances, social services, job market protections) impact the risk of deteriorating into poverty and the ability to maintain autonomous households (Kilkey, 2000; Lewis & Hobson, 1997; Millar & Rowlingson, 2001). Whereas in some welfare states, single mothers have been expected to serve as 'full-time care-givers' for their children, in others they are also expected to work (Kilkey, 2000). Influenced by a neoliberal ideology, the end of the twentieth century saw the beginning of a global policy of 'activation', i.e., a gradual attempt to integrate single mothers into the workforce accompanied by welfare-to-work programs and increasingly strict means and employment tests for welfare entitlement (Cook, 2012; Skevik, 2005).

Previous studies indicate that, in some countries, welfare solutions strengthen the position of divorced women in the job market. Welfare policy encourages the employment of women by offering a wide range of childcare frameworks, extended maternity leave and a broad public sector providing job opportunities suitable for parents (Mandel & Semyonov, 2005). The welfare policy that encourages women to enter the job market thus improves the economic conditions of their families following a divorce (Raeymaeckers et al., 2008; Uunk, 2004).

Following previous studies (McKeever & Wolfinger 2001; Raeymaeckers, Dewilde, Snoeckx & Mortelmans, 2008; Raz-Yurovich, 2013; Van Damme, Kalmijn & Uunk, 2009), the current research focuses on the implications of divorce for earnings of mothers in Israel, in the context of changes in the welfare state. Israel constitutes an important case study because of these changes in its welfare policies coupled with high fertility rates (Fogiel-Bijaoui, 1999; Gal, 2010). In Israel of the 1990s, the economic autonomy of single mothers was established through a combination of allowances and paid labor. However, starting in 2003 the political climate undermined the

legitimacy of welfare state-based economic autonomy, and since then the welfare state model has turned towards the market. Following the analytical strategy of Styrac and Matysiak (2012) and of Tamborini, Iams and Reznik (2012), we examine the implications of divorce for mothers' earnings in two periods of time that represent two kinds of policies targeted at single-parent families. While in the first period (1996-2003) economic autonomy of single mothers was established through a combination of allowances and paid labor, in the following period (2004-2008) legitimacy of welfare state-based economic autonomy was undermined, and the welfare state model turned toward the market.

The current research suggests a theoretical and empirical meeting of institutional and micro levels of analysis (Härkönen & Dronkers, 2006). Specifically, we examine policy changes affecting single-parent families, analyzing the implications of these changes for the earnings of mothers following divorce. Our research question is: How does divorce affect mothers' earnings, and how is this related to changes in welfare policy between the two periods?

Method. We used data from the combined Israeli census files (from the Central Bureau of Statistics; hereafter CBS) for the period 1995–2008. These data were matched to annual work history data and income tax data for each year from the National Insurance Institute (NII), as well as the civil registry of divorce (via the CBS). Annual data for each mother includes information about yearly earnings from paid labor, the number of months employed over the year and the mother's marital status in that year. The other independent variables that appear in the analysis (e.g., duration of marriage, ethnicity) are based on the 1995 census. Our analysis was designed to explore the change in mother's earnings after divorce and how this was related to change in policy configurations across time. Therefore, we restricted the sample to salaried mothers between the ages of 18 and 55 who were married and living with their spouse in the same household at the beginning of the research period (1995) and had divorced between 1996 and 2008 ($n=1,466$).

To examine changes in earnings following divorce, and whether these earnings changed from one policy period to the next, we first present descriptive statistics of median annual earnings and percentage change in annual earnings one year prior to the divorce and one to three years after the divorce in the two policy periods. Second, we utilized two types of multivariate regression techniques: (1) OLS regressions estimating the log difference between mother's pre- and post-divorce (at T+1, T+2 and T+3) earnings; and (2) logistic regressions estimating the log odds that a mother's real post-divorce earnings (at T+1, T+2 and T+3) were at least 30% higher than her earnings at T-1. These analyses should be treated as descriptive regressions (Ginther & Pollak, 2004), as they are not intended to evaluate causal relationships. This kind of analysis furthers understanding of the conditions that differentiate between patterns of change in mothers' post-divorce earnings (for a similar analysis, see Tamborini et al., 2012).

Findings. In general, we found that, regardless of policy period, on average divorced salaried mothers tend to increase their earnings one to three years following the divorce, consistent with previous research (Raz-Yurovich, 2013; Tamborini et al., 2012). About 80% of the divorced salaried mothers in our study experienced a post-divorce real earnings gain of at least 10%. However, the ability to increase earnings was higher in the first policy period than in the second.

Our multivariate analysis confirmed this connection between welfare policy period and the economic implications of divorce for mothers. When there was a generous welfare policy (1996-2003) that encouraged a combination of care work and paid labor, mothers' earnings increased in the one to three years following the divorce more so than in the second period (2004-2008), which encouraged paid labor through allowance cuts. Our study also confirms the importance of certain

socioeconomic resources and family characteristics for mothers' earnings following divorce (Jansen et al., 2009; Raeymaeckers et al. 2009; Tamborini et al., 2012; Van Damme et al., 2009).

The study suggests that the marked infringement on welfare mechanisms that offered autonomy to mothers reduced their ability to enhance their earnings from paid labor after divorce. A previous study, using the same data set, found the likelihood of divorce to be higher among lower socioeconomic groups (Kaplan and Herbst, forthcoming). Elsewhere (Herbst and Kaplan, 2014) we also showed that, throughout the two periods, married mothers earned more than divorced mothers. It should be reiterated that the number of poor single-parent families rose significantly after the welfare reform (Endeweld et al., 2009). All of this suggests it is essential to create policy that helps these mothers improve their earnings after divorce to make up for their lost income (ex-husband's earnings). This kind of policy supports lower socioeconomic groups and can therefore reduce poverty.

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Gender inequalities in income and employment: the role of children's age when parent divorce

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This study examines how children's age at parents' divorce affects the parents' subsequent employment and income across gender. We use a Danish survey of approximately 4,920 couples who had a child in 1995 linked with annual administrative records on relationship status until 2006, and labor market behavior and income the three years following a divorce to study the effect of timing of divorce on labor market outcomes among couple who divorce.

To control for the non-random nature of couple's timing of divorce we use a natural experiment that affected children's age at divorce but did not affect couples' divorce risks. Ten to 30 percent of a birth cohort suffers from infantile colic within roughly the first six month of life. Recent research has shown that the affliction makes couples who would have divorced anyway divorce earlier than otherwise (Fallesen and Breen 2014). The affliction is temporary and does not induce divorces that otherwise would not have happened, nor can couples predict whether their child will suffer from infantile colic (Fallesen and Breen 2014). In our sample, couples who divorce do so an average 0.5 years earlier if their child suffered from infantile colic. Colicky and non-colicky couples have identical divorce risks eleven years after childbirth.

All families in Denmark have access to subsidized high quality childcare, and take-up rates are close to 100 percent (Ploug 2012). Thus, there is little hindrance for both parents to remain in the labor force after having children. This is also evident in the high labor force participation rates for Danish women—whereas female labor force attachment tends to drop in countries with less generous childcare regimes after first birth fertility, the opposite is the case in Denmark (see Anderson, Kreyenfeld and Mika 2014 for comparison between Germany and Denmark). Research has also found that Danish parents more equally share childcare duties (Craig and Mullan 2011) and housework in general (Bonke and Jensen 2012; Esping-Andersen et al. 2013) compared to other non-Scandinavian Western countries, although gendered inequalities still persist. Given that gendered inequalities in the effect of children’s age at time of divorce on parental income persist even in a country with high gender equity such as Denmark suggests that the issue is pervasive across Western societies. Thus, the study has two main contributions. First, we link research on the gendered division of childcare and labor market activities with research on the impact of divorce on spouses’ labor market activities and introduce a new important dimension: children’s age when parents divorce. Second, we use a unique natural experiment—having a child with infantile colic—to show that the effect of children at time of divorce differs across parents’ gender at the age of the child.

We find that once controlling for the non-random timing of divorce, children’s age at time of parental divorce has substantial impact on women’s earnings and income, but no effect on their employment propensity. Divorcing with a child one year younger than it otherwise would have been results in more than ten percent less annual income the following three years after the divorce. Even when factoring in alimony payments, child support, and other redistributive payments, it still represents a substantial decrease in income. Additional analyses indicate that women’s annual wage progression is unaffected, which indicates that lacks of wage hikes due to promotion or job change into higher paying jobs among women who divorce with younger children drive the results. For men we find no effect of child’s age at time of divorce on employment propensity or income. We test the central assumption that infantile colic only affected timing of divorce and not labor market behavior directly by using a placebo sample of parents who did not divorce, but where some had children who suffered from infantile colic and find no indication of colic having any long-term effects on parents’ labor market outcomes.

Alimony and child support: An analysis on Belgian fiscal data

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1. Intro

Gender inequality in post-divorce economic decline takes a prominent place among studies on the negative consequences of union dissolution. It is often found that men’s divorce-related monetary losses are limited (Aassve, Betti, Mazzuco, & Mencarini, 2007), while mother-favoring custody arrangements, the loss of a partner’s income and a low female working rate lead to a more substantial drop in women’s household income (de Regt, Mortelmans, & Marynissen, 2013). This is a concerning issue. Not only is income an important determinant of individual well-being (Amato, 2000), economic decline also affects residing children both directly (e.g. child poverty (Cancian, Meyer, & Han, 2011)) and indirectly (e.g. bad parenting due to stress (Morrison & Cherlin, 1995)). Previous research has therefore repeatedly highlighted the importance of clear-cut policies concerning child support and alimony payments (Aizer & McLanahan, 2006; McMullen, 2011).

In Belgium for example, the determination of post-divorce transfers has no uniform, law-constituted criteria (Skinner & Davidson, 2009). This may elicit subjective allocations of alimony and thus result in disproportionate financial losses or gains for either of the ex-partners (McMullen, 2011). Bonnet, Solaz, and Garbinti (2013) point out that an objective evaluation of alimony and child support payments is generally complicated by the scarcity of detailed information concerning these financial transfers. Adequately assessing their scope, sufficiency and effect on income requires longitudinal data that includes the pre-divorce situation and offers insights in demographics, income and household composition - preferably of both ex-partners. In this paper we therefore make use of register data. As this includes fiscal information that has only recently been made available, our study provides the first analyses on detailed data concerning Belgian alimony and child support payments.

Our aims are threefold. Firstly, keeping in mind that registers are not collected for scientific purposes (Mortelmans & Pasteels, 2011), this article constitutes an explorative journey through the newly available fiscal data. We unravel the magnitude of post-divorce financial transfers in Belgium and shed light on the characteristics of who pays and who receives. Secondly, we assess the variations in the amount of child support and alimony payments in Belgium. Furthermore, we evaluate if, and to what extent, the recent legislative amendments to objectify the determination of post-divorce financial transfers in Belgium have succeeded in increasing uniformity. As these new guidelines still differ from governmentally imposed or commonly used determination schemes (e.g. in Canada or the Netherlands (Colaes & Denoyelle, 2010)), we make comparative suggestions concerning future evolutions in the determination of alimony and child support in Belgium. Finally, due to the scarcity of existing data, the true role of alimony and child support in counteracting economic decline following a divorce remains unclear. If these payments prove to be an important and overlooked source of income for the recipient (Cancian et al., 2011), this may provide us with a more nuanced perspective concerning gender inequality in the financial consequences of union dissolution.

2. First results

Our sample follows 88056 first marriages conducted between 1999 and 2002, giving us information on 176112 individuals and their year-by-year households up until 2012. The fiscal data runs from 2005 onwards. To enable comparisons between the pre-divorce and post-divorce situation of ex-partners, we only include people in our analyses who divorced during the follow-up and did not yet pay or receive alimony and/or child support. Also included are minors receiving child support, who are distinguishable as individual recipients in the Belgian registers.

Following a divorce, two types of payments can be made: alimony to an ex-partner and child support to children. As the majority of payers in our dataset are men, we lay our current focus on this group.

Table 1: Men paying, male co-parenting and median amount paid by per year - two-year interval

Year	As a % of divorced men	As a % of men with child*	Male HH with co-parenting**	Median amount paid in €/year
2006	26%	47%	8%	1880
2008	27%	44%	15%	2120
2010	28%	41%	19%	2400
2012	27%	39%	21%	2460

* % of men who pay, given that they had at least one dependent child at the time of divorce

** % of men who had a fiscally dependent child at the time of divorce, now with a co-parenting arrangement

Table 1 shows that having a fiscally dependent child at the time of divorce increases the chance that men pay. This is due to the fact that partner alimony is only rarely paid in Belgium, while child support is almost always mandatory. There is also a visible decline throughout the years in the proportion of fathers paying alimony. This can largely be explained by the rise in fiscal co-parenting arrangements in Belgium, in which case no alimony is paid.

Table 2: Alimony recipients

Year	Partner alimony (women)			Child support
	As a % of divorced women	% single-mother household*	Median amount received in €/year	Median amount received in €/year
2006	1.7%	66%	1800	1680
2008	1.7%	62%	1900	1800
2010	1.6%	60%	2160	2000
2012	1.4%	62%	2400	2160

* % of women receiving alimony as an ex-partner who are single mothers

Our focus concerning the recipients of partner alimony lies on females, as they are overrepresented on this end. First of all, we see that a very small proportion of divorced women actually receive alimony. About 60% of them are single mothers; a group with a very precarious poverty risk. It is to be expected that for these women (and their children) adequate and predictable post-divorce financial transfers are of utter importance. To assess this, we will carefully evaluate the uniformity of alimony and child support determination in different post-divorce household situations. Furthermore, the rise in the amount of the yearly median transfers is steeper on the paying than on the receiving end. This is probably due to the possibility of tax deduction when declaring paid amounts, while received amounts are taxed – an element that also requires further examination.

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Session 8: Trends and cross-national variations

Prevalence and Cross-Household Constellations of Nuclear Families, Single-Parent Families, and Stepfamilies in Europe

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Rates of divorce and separation are increasing or have stagnated at high levels in Europe as in all modern, industrialized countries. This should mean that single-parent families and step-families now make up a significant share of all European families, but no survey-based data has yet to confirm this supposition. For many countries, the only data available until now are estimates based on divorce rates. This study extends knowledge about the prevalence of family types in European countries and about their linkages in cross-household constellations. The study's main objective is to gauge the extent to which estimations based on crude divorce rates are accurate by comparing them against survey-generated data. The analysis presents descriptive statistics from official sources as well as from the surveys of the "Generations and Gender Program" (GGP), allowing comparisons of the prevalence of complex family structures that emerge from divorce and separation as predicted by crude divorce rates and as present in nationally representative survey samples. Data are now available for 16 European states (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, and Russia) and include a total of 55,350 family households with non-adult children. Single-parent families and stepfamilies constitute between 7 and 30 percent of the national samples. A north-south divide is clearly evident such that the share of single-parent families and stepfamilies is much higher in Europe's northern countries. Eastern Europe, however, includes countries in which the share of single-parent families and stepfamilies was extraordinarily high and countries in which the share was extraordinarily low. The crude divorce rate is in fact satisfactory as a rough indicator of the proportion of single-parent families and step-families, but it can lead to underestimations of the prevalence of complex family structures in Europe. A more glaring gap stems from the fact that official statistics do not allow for robust estimations of the prevalence of cross-household constellations. Our findings show that these constellations are typical not for only single-parent families and stepfamilies, but also for a significant number of nuclear families as well.

The effect of divorce on housing wealth in later life in 10 European countries

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Abstract: Since the 1970s, life courses have become increasingly de-standardized. This transition is characterized by a diversification of the timing of critical life course events, and the increased likelihood of disruptive life course events. Divorce is one of the disruptive life course events that attracted most scholarly attention. Recent research shows that divorce reduces the likelihood of residing in homeownership. Even in later life, ever-divorced display lower homeownership rates than their married counterparts. There is however less knowledge about the consequences of divorce in a majority of all cases: those who remain in homeownership, or move back into homeownership after a break in rental housing. This paper investigates the costs of a divorce by focusing upon housing wealth of ever-divorced homeowners in later life. The focus is on people that were aged fifty and over in 2011. We study the effect of different housing transitions of

divorced people, against the background of changing welfare and housing regimes. The empirical analysis is based on 10 European countries that participated in the third and fourth wave of the Survey of Health Aging and Retirement in Europe (2007/8 – 2011/2). We find that a divorce reduces housing wealth holdings of homeowners in later life. Downward moves on the housing market in terms of size and quality are the main drivers of this negative housing wealth effect. Cross-country differences in the housing wealth gap between divorcees and married couples can be mainly explained by the organization and regulation of the mortgage- and housing market.

Session 9: Life course after the divorce: repartnering

Divorce and social stratification-test of the hypothesis of individualization habitus on the case of Czech Republic

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Deep changes in the area of intimacy result in decreased stability in partnerships. Its consequences for the social reproduction regime can be conspicuous and relatively easily examinable: divorce moves the social reproduction outside the institution of marriage and forces the actors to redefine more or less their reproduction strategies. Therefore I have tried to design a theoretical model to explore this link. I have used Bourdieu's specific notions of concepts of "habitus" and "reproduction strategy" to describe a mechanism which structures the acting, self-consciousness and identity of women after a divorce by creating a specific kind of "individualization habitus". This work was published in the article *The Emergence of a Specific Kind of Individualization Habitus Among Divorced Women* (Fučík 2013). The aim of this work was to conceptualize the self-reinforcing nature of the individualization habitus after divorce as an alternative explanation for the lower rates of remarriage for divorced women and their small motivation for entering new partnerships (contrary to the concept of gender gap emphasizing the logic of deprivation and disadvantage). Now, in the second phase of the project, the aim is to empirically test the consequences of proposed theoretical model. There are four general hypotheses formulated in the process of grounded theory construction. This paper aims to present the empirical test of one of them – the self-reinforcing hypothesis. Individualization habitus leads to the redefinition of divorced women identities by the mechanism of empowerment. The model considers the long-term aspect of the self-reinforcing nature of the habitus. Compared to the post-divorce adaptation perspective, it gives an opposing point of view that can offer alternative explanations of the long-term effects of divorce. While the perspective of post-divorce adaptation assumes a gradual coming to terms with its impact, and if it speaks of long-term consequences, then it perceives them as the result of the most problematic aspects of the breakup of a partnership. The perspective of the individualization habitus explains the growing shift away from institutionalized forms of partnership and parenting. The long-term development and strengthening of the individualization habitus is among particular actors to a major extent the result of successful, rather than problematic post-divorce adaptation. The grounded hypothesis that I offer within the framework of these arguments is the hypothesis of development of the habitus. I assume that when controlled for age, the longer the time spent outside marriage the less will be the willingness to start new partnerships or more generally the social actors do not have the tendency to enter into institutionalized forms of partnerships (including cohabitation). On the survey data from Czech Republic I will test, to what extent and in which social groups of women the divorce is connected with empowerment processes, which are 1) strengthening the labour market position and 2) redefinition of gender roles in the partnership. These aspects represent two dimensions of sources of the individualization habitus. Through the necessity to hold up on the labour market and the role of breadwinner, divorced women increase their independence in the economic dimension which leads also to the redefinition of expectation from possible future partnership and gender roles tied to the intimate relationships.

To empirically test these theoretical connections I use the available datasets (EU-SILC, ISSP, Class structure, social mobility 2009) from Czech Republic, where the divorce rate reach one of the highest values across the Europe.

Keywords: Divorce, social reproduction, habitus

References: Fučík, P. (2013) *The Emergence of a Specific Kind of Individualization Habitus Among Divorced Women*. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage* 54(3) 248-269.