

Custody arrangements and social inequalities among children

Anna Garriga Professor of Sociology – University Pompeu Fabra of Barcelona.
Laura Bernardi Professor of Demography and Sociology of the Life Course
University of Lausanne.

Keywords

- Custody arrangements
- Divorce
- Social inequalities
- Child well-being

During the last decades, academic attention has focused on the rise of union dissolution involving children and its consequences for family dynamics and for the well-being of family members. Findings have consistently demonstrated that children growing up in non-intact families⁽¹⁾ show lower levels of well-being, regardless of the socio-economic background of their parents (Sigle-Rushton and McLanahan, 2004). A recent development in Western societies is the increasing concentration of non-intact families among the less advantaged. The differentiated socioeconomic composition of families affected by divorce and separation suggests that social inequalities among children are growing, namely if children who are disadvantaged by the socioeconomic vulnerabilities of their parents are also those who increasingly live in non-intact families (Bernardi et al., 2018). A second trend is the rise in shared physical custody (SPC). Even though children are still more likely to stay with their mothers, changes in legal and cultural practices across Europe have led to a higher share of separated parents who opt for SPC (Cancian et al., 2014; Kitterød and Lyngstad, 2012). Prior studies have documented that low prevalence of SPC families meant higher levels of selectivity. Children in SPC families tend to have parents with higher levels of education and income, and lower reported levels of conflictual relationships compared to children in more traditional sole custody (SC) arrangements (Nielsen, 2018). However, SPC inequality may be only temporary, since as the share of SPC increases, the profiles of SPC families generally become less selective and more heterogeneous, at least in terms of parental education and income (Sodermans et al., 2013). The empirical evidence is mixed, showing that, for the time being, a social gradient persists

in custody arrangements (Cancian et al., 2014; Meyer et al., 2017).

The increasing class stratification of family structures appears to predict a rise in socioeconomic inequality among children from different family structures and socio-economic backgrounds (McLanahan and Percheski, 2008). However, if the effects of divorce and separation were lower for disadvantaged children than for advantaged ones, inequality could be reduced or at least counterbalanced. Recent research examining the effect of separation and divorce on children's educational outcomes by parents' socioeconomic background found that children in advantaged families have comparatively more to lose from parental separation than their disadvantaged counterparts (Bernardi and Boertien, 2016). Yet, results are not univocal (Grätz, 2015; Mandemakers and Kalmijn, 2014), highlighting the need for more systematic and comprehensive research on the issue. One main reason for such divergent results is whether researchers considered the father's or mother's education⁽²⁾, which has opposite impacts on children. Overall, previous research suggests that a low maternal socioeconomic background dampens the effect of parental separation and family structure, while a low paternal socioeconomic background amplifies the effects of parental separation (Bernardi and Boertien, 2017). Since children tend to live with their mothers and maintain less regular contact with their fathers after parental break-ups (Fisher, 2007) they may suffer from a relative deprivation of paternal resources. This indicates that father's socio-economic background should compensate the negative effects of separation for children in shared physical custody while the opposite

This work was supported by the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research "LIVES – Overcoming vulnerability: Life course perspectives", which is financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF; 51NF40-160590). The authors are grateful to the SNSF for financial assistance. We are also grateful to the Spanish research team of HBSC for their assistance with the data.

(1) The term "intact family" here designates households composed of parents and their biological children. By contrast, "non-intact families" designate both lone-parent households and households including step-parents and/or step-children. In a context of diffusion and normalisation of union disruptions, such terms are used here without any normative connotation; they are more immediate than cumbersome expressions such as "parents living with their biological children".

(2) Six of the nine studies that focus on the mother's socio-economic background find some evidence that children with highly educated mothers are less negatively affected by parental divorce or growing up in a non-intact family (Albertini and Dronkers, 2009; Augustine, 2014; Fischer, 2007; Garriga and Berta, 2018; Grätz, 2015; Mandemakers and Kalmijn, 2014). In contrast, six of the seven studies that focus on the father's socio-economic background show that fathers' resources strengthen family structure and separation effects (Biblarz and Raftery, 1993; Fischer, 2007; Jonsson and Gähler, 1997; Mandemakers and Kalmijn, 2014; Elliot and Richards, 1991; Bernardi and Boertien, 2017).

should be true for children in single-mother families. Yet, despite the growing prevalence of SPC, research on the heterogeneity of family structure by parents' socioeconomic background has not yet distinguished between different custody arrangements in non-intact families. A second reason for divergent findings in the effect of mothers' and fathers' socioeconomic background on child outcomes depends on which indicator is used for parents' socioeconomic background. Most studies rely on either the mother's education or the highest parent education level and do not consider occupation. This choice is problematic in contexts where the correlation between parents' occupation and education is weak, as is the case in Spain (Barone and Ortiz, 2010; Flisi et al., 2017). In terms of outcomes, the literature on the heterogeneous effects of separation on children with different parental backgrounds mostly examines children's educational/occupational attainment and performance (Bernardi and Boertien, 2017), but largely overlooks physical and mental health. The literature on children's health after divorce generally overlooks the interaction between living arrangements and parental socioeconomic groups (Elliott and Richards, 1991; Cavanagh and Huston, 2006; Garriga and Berta, 2018). The few studies looking into these mechanisms find evidence that family socioeconomic background moderates the consequences of divorce differently depending on whether we look at psychological, academic or professional outcomes (Mandemakers and Kalmijn, 2014). This paper aims at contributing to the literature on social inequality among children of divorce by examining to what extent the increase of non-intact families, especially among the least advantaged, is associated with an increase in inequality for children living in different family structures and with different levels of parental socioeconomic background. The analyses consider the extent to which parents' socioeconomic background moderates the effect of family structure on child health and wellbeing outcomes in Spain.

Spain is a compelling case to study the interplay between family socioeconomic background and child custody for at least three reasons. First, in the 2000s, dramatic changes in family behaviours modified the traditional family composed of biological parents and children living together and within a married union. With the new millennium, Spanish families have rapidly moved towards a Northern European model, with increasing rates of cohabitation and separation (Moreno and Marí-Klose, 2013). While during the 1980s and 1990s, divorce and lone parenthood rates were low compared to other European countries, since the 2000s Spanish society has witnessed a large

increase of both phenomena. The educational gradient of both lone parenthood reversed from positive to negative (Garriga and Cortina, 2017). Second, divorce and child custody regulations have moved from being extremely conservative to very liberal in a relatively short time. While Spain was one of the last European countries to approve a restrictive divorce law in 1981, it passed the Divorce Act in 2005, a highly liberal and no-fault divorce law that simplifies proceedings involving direct access to divorce without going through any prior formal separation. The definition of shared custody given by the 2005 Divorce Act is purely formal and does not specify whether shared custody must be interpreted only legally or both legally and physically (Escobedo et al., 2012). In 2010, the implementation of several legal reforms in family law in the Spanish North-eastern Autonomous Communities made SPC the preferred judicial recommendation after divorce (Flaquer et al., 2017). In spite the rapidity of demographic and legal changes, the prevalence of SPC is now one of the highest among European countries (Solsona and Spijker, 2016), accounting for about 30,2% of divorces involving children (INE, 2017). Third, these rapid changes have not been accompanied by a comparative increase in welfare for families. Total public expenditure on families, at 1,5% of GDP, is among the lowest in Europe (OECD Family Database). The country has the highest relative child poverty of families with children, at 24%, rising to 42% for children in non-intact families.

We draw on the Spanish data from the 2014 'Health Behaviour in School-aged Children' (HBSC) waves (Moreno et al., 2013). This is the only Spanish survey providing information on a variety of reported health and well-being outcomes, on both parental socio-economic backgrounds and child custody in non-intact families. We use these data to test a variety of hypotheses on the specific effect of father's and mother's occupation and education on four different health outcomes in different types of non-intact families.

Background and hypotheses

We start with the assumption, based on previous literature (Bernardi and Boertien 2016), that parents' socioeconomic background is a key moderator of how family structure and living arrangements affect children's outcomes (figure 1). Parental socioeconomic background can operate through the effect of economic resources, time and quality of parenting, parents' psychological well-being, and social support networks. Two hypotheses, the "compensatory" and the "floor effect" hypotheses, make diverging predictions about the ways in which this moderator

operates (Garriga and Berta, 2018; Bernardi and Boertien, 2016). The *compensatory hypothesis* claims that children from families with a higher socioeconomic status are more protected from the negative consequences of growing up in a non-intact family because of their relatively higher level of resources. The competing *“floor effect hypothesis”* maintains that the divorce penalty is higher for advantaged children because with parental separation they lose comparatively more than their less advantaged counterparts who have less to lose. In other words, disadvantaged mothers are already poorer, have lower psychological well-being and provide poorer parenting quality, independently of the type of family structure in which they live, meaning that their children’s conditions cannot worsen significantly through separation.

Such hypotheses need to be declined by parental gender by educational and occupational resources and by custody arrangements.

Mother’s socioeconomic status

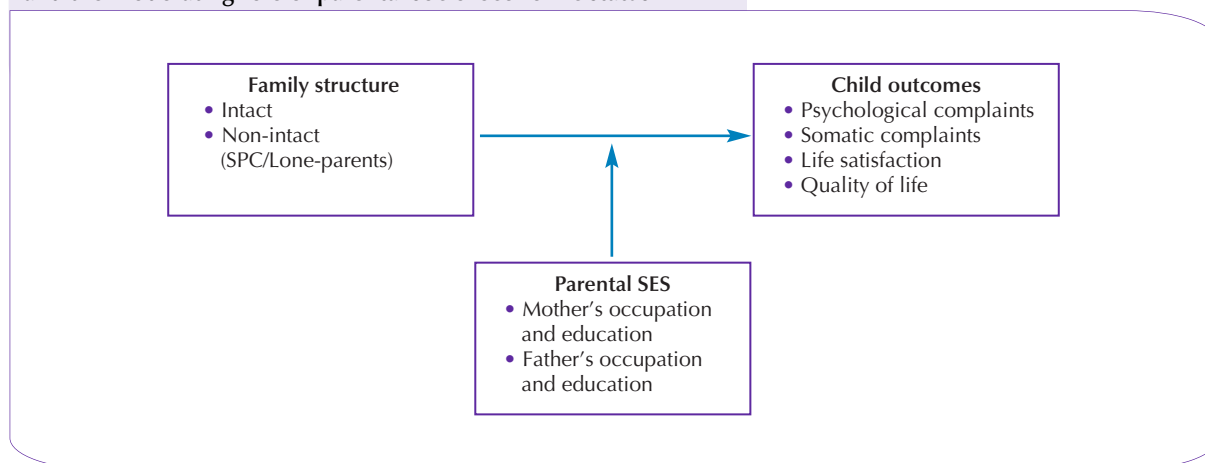
Most studies find evidence in favour of the compensatory hypothesis for mothers’ socio-economic background, though Anna Garriga and Paolo Berta (2018) find a *floor effect* in some countries such as the United States and Italy, where maternal resources worsen the effect of separation on their children. There are several reasons to expect that mothers’ socioeconomic status compensates positively for the effect of growing up in a non-intact family and positively moderates the effects on children’s outcomes. Such mothers have higher levels of financial and psychological resources and higher opportunities for good parenting quality.

Mother’s financial resources and social support: Children in non-intact families whose mothers have higher socio-economic backgrounds enjoy more resources. First, more highly educated mothers have greater chances of having more financial resources since they are more likely to work and earn an independent income; have a higher chance of being employed before separation and lone motherhood (Garriga and Berta, 2018; Struffolino et al., 2018); have more opportunities to re-enter the labour market if they have to withdraw from it (Drobnic et al., 1999); and are more able to increase working hours to escape poverty or to maintain a high standard of living (Van Damme et al., 2009). They also have higher incomes to pay for childcare while they work and more networks to support them with childcare (Putnam, 2016).

Higher status unions and better negotiation skills: On the one hand, because of homogamy in the marriage market, women with higher educational levels tend to have ex-partners with higher resources; on the other hand, a higher level of education may make them more capable to navigate the legal system during the process of separation. For instance, highly educated mothers report higher levels of maintenance and child allowances (Huang, 2009). Based on these findings, a better socio-economic background should reduce the extent to which growing up in a non-intact family negatively impacts on child well-being through reducing the financial constraints that children experience.

Mother’s psychological resources: Mothers’ mental health has negative effects on children, directly and through parenting quality (Kiernan and Huerta, 2008). While

Figure 1 – The effect of family structure on children's outcomes and the moderating role of parental socio-economic status



mothers in non-intact families experience more psychological problems than those in intact families (Waite et al., 2009), separated mothers from higher socio-economic backgrounds have comparatively fewer psychological problems. Mothers with a higher education level who do suffer from psychological disorders may be more aware that such problems or conflicts with ex-partners can affect children's well-being and may try to reduce negative consequences for their children (Mandemakers and Kalmijn, 2014). They are also more able to detect whether their children present mental health issues and have more means to pay for professional support (Putnam, 2016).

Mother's parenting time and quality: despite the fact that compared with mothers in couples, lone mothers generally have less time, less energy and more stress, and suffer from task overloads (Astone and McInahan, 1991; Bernardi et al., 2018), which are important constraints for good parenting, higher educated women seem to maintain a higher level of involvement with their children following divorce than less educated mothers (Augustine, 2014).

Father's socio-economic background

Fathers' involvement across socio-economic groups drives the choice between a compensatory hypothesis and a floor effect hypothesis regarding the moderation of fathers' socio-economic background on child outcomes in non-intact families (Fisher, 2007; Mandemakers and Kalmijn, 2014). In intact families, financial resources, psychological well-being, and quality parenting are positively associated with fathers' higher socioeconomic background (Gracia, 2014; Phelan et al., 2010).

Father-child contact: Parental separation reduces father-child contact and the related ability of children to profit of fathers' resources (Biblarz and Raftery, 1993). Fathers' contact with children is not randomly distributed across social groups, but is positively related to fathers' higher socio-economic characteristics (Fisher, 2007). Highly educated fathers are more likely to keep regular contact with their children after separation (Cooksey and Craig, 1998), and such contacts partially protect these children from the negative consequences of separation. In addition, the quality of father-child relationships after separation is higher for children with highly educated fathers than for those with less educated ones (Kalmijn, 2015) which is beneficial for child well-being in non-intact families (Amato and Gilbreth, 1999).

Custody arrangements

Parent-child contacts are strongly correlated to children's living arrangements in non-intact families. While mothers invest as much time in their children independently of whether they live in intact or non-intact families (Fischer, 2007), fathers generally spend less time with their children after separation. The exception is parents who opt to equally share the physical custody of their children. A meta-analysis of the recent literature shows that SPC is generally beneficial for children's well-being (Nielsen, 2018). This is possibly because children in SPC families are equally exposed to their mothers' and fathers' resources and the moderation may follow the compensatory hypothesis in both cases. Contrary to the SC situation, fathers' resources may compensate the disadvantages of parental separation. The compensatory effect of mothers' socio-economic resources also tends to be stronger in SC than in SPC families, since mothers with SC spend more time with their children than the latter. One of the arguments against SPC is that it may reduce the quality of children's attachment to their mothers and thus their ability to profit from her resources (Elizabeth, 2018).

Father's and mother's socio-economic background

Most research relies on a single indicator, i.e. level of education or occupational status, to capture parental socio-economic background, with considerable variation across the literature. Yet, while generally correlated, parents' occupation and education may be weakly linked during economic recessions due to underemployment (Borgna et al., 2018) which is characteristic of Spain in the early 21st century (Flisi et al., 2017). During the recession in Spain the relative increase in unemployment was greater for the highly educated than for the less educated, similar to other European countries such as Italy (Ine, 2018). Second, the fact that single mothers are urged to earn as sole breadwinners, the correlation between education and occupation may be especially weak for them, since they may accept jobs that require educational credentials below their own. The same argument holds for fathers since most of them have to pay for child support and accommodation.

Hypotheses

Taking into account the above we expect that:

- mothers' socio-economic status compensates positively for the effects of growing up in a non-intact family and positively moderates the effects on children's outcomes (hypothesis 1);

- the association of fathers' socio-economic status and children's outcomes is positive but weaker for children in non-intact families than for those in intact families. According to the floor hypothesis, in non-intact families, children of fathers with higher resources are more similar to their less fortunate counterparts (hypothesis 2);
- fathers' socio-economic background better compensates for the negative effects of growing up in an SPC family than for the negative effects of growing up in a single-mother family (hypothesis 3);
- mothers' socio-economic background better compensates for growing up in a single-mother family than in an SPC family because of the time the mothers spend with their children (hypothesis 4);
- occupation is a stronger moderator of the effects of family structure on children's outcomes than education (hypothesis 5).

Data and methods

We draw on the Spanish cross-sectional data of the 'Health Behaviour in School-aged Children' (HBSC) from 2014. This survey is conducted by the World Health Organization in 40 countries across Europe and North America (Currie et al., 2008). The final sample for Spain consists of 23,548 adolescents aged 11 to 16⁽³⁾. The aim of this cross-national study is to gain insight into young people's well-being, health behaviours and social context.

Main variables

Family structure: We distinguish family structure types as follows: Adolescents living in a) an intact family or b) a non-intact family. Non-intact families include adolescents who live in an SPC family or in single-mother family (table 1)⁽⁴⁾. Adolescents who respond "I live with my mother and father" are considered to be living in an intact family. Those who indicate that they live half the time with their mother and half the time with their father are classified as living in an SPC⁽⁵⁾. Those who answer that they live with their mother and stay with their father less than half of the time are considered to live in a single-mother family.

Parents' socio-economic background is operationalised in the most comprehensive way possible with our data: we use

both the mother's and father's education and occupation. *Mother's and father's education* has three categories: low (ISCED 0 and ISCED 1-2), mid (ISCED-3-4) and high (ISCED 5-6) (OECD, 1999). *Mother's and father's occupational status* were calculated with ISCO-08 (ILO, 2012). We created the following variables: low, mid, high, not working (merging unemployed and out of work) and unclassified.

Table 1 – Descriptive results of main variables used

Variables	%
Family structure	
Two parents	83,2
Shared custody	5,8
Single-mother	11
Gender	
Male	49,7
Female	50,2
Immigrant background	
Spanish	83
Foreign	17
Age	
11-12 years	34,9
13-14 years	33,1
15-16 years	32
Mother's education	
Low	29
Mid	35,2
High	35,8
Father's education	
Low	32,9
Mid	37
High	30,1
Mother's occupation	
Low	13,3
Mid	26,5
High	20,7
Not working	29,6
Unclassified	9,9
Father's occupation	
Low	30
Mid	21,1
High	25,5
Not working	11,2
Unclassified	12,2

Source: HBSC, 2014.

Scope: Spanish children aged 11 to 16.

Interpretation: 83,2% of Spanish children live with both parents.

(3) We are grateful to the Spanish team at HBSC for their advice on data analysis.

(4) We exclude adolescents who live in single-father families due to insufficient cases (n=390) to carry out the interaction analyses between family structure and parents' socio-economic background.

(5) Unfortunately, HBSC data does not allow us to distinguish child time shares across households (e.g. 30%-70%) other than the rough, reductive indicator of a fifty-fifty SPC.

Adolescent's health outcomes: We focus on several adolescent health-related outcomes such as *life satisfaction*, *quality of life*, *somatic complaints* and *psychological complaints* (table 2). These indicators measure both positive and dysfunctional elements of the subjective experience of an adolescent's health rather than focusing on a strictly medical assessment. Several studies have demonstrated the accuracy of the HBSC measures related to adolescents' state of health (Ravens-Sieberer et al., 2009). Moreover, we select these measures because, while they are highly correlated and part of a global measure of health, it has been shown that each captures a dimension of adolescents' self-perception of health (Ramos et al., 2010).

We measure life satisfaction with the Cantril Ladder (Cantril 1965), a tool that can measure adolescents' overall perception of their lives over time in a way that is relatively stable compared with spontaneous reactions to immediate experiences. Adolescents are asked to indicate where they are standing on a ladder with 10 rungs. The top of the ladder (10) indicates "the best possible life" and the bottom (0) "the worst possible life".

Health-related quality of life is measured with the Kidscreen instrument designed for cross-cultural use among young people aged 8-18. Specifically, the Kidscreen-10 version provides a global, health-related quality of life index with 10 items covering physical, psychological and social aspects. Each item is answered on a 5-point response scale. The Kidscreen-10 item statements are:

- (1) Have you felt fit and well?
- (2) Have you felt full of energy?
- (3) Have you felt sad?
- (4) Have you felt lonely?
- (5) Have you had enough time for yourself?
- (6) Have you been able to do the things that you want to do in your free time?
- (7) Have your parent(s) treated you fairly?
- (8) Have you had fun with your friends?
- (9) Have you got on well at school?
- (10) Have you been able to pay attention?

The additional measures of subjective health are a symptom checklist based on different health complaints. Subjective complaints are about symptoms that adolescents may experience regardless of a definite diagnosis (Ramos et al., 2010). Four questions concern somatic complaints: Headache, Stomach-ache, Backache, and Felt

dizzy. Four more questions concern mental complaints: Have had difficulty getting to sleep, Felt low, Have been irritable, and Felt nervous. In 2014 survey, the question is "In the last 6 months, how often have you had the following complaints?" The response categories are: About every day, More than once a week, About once a week, About once a month, and Seldom or never.

Control variables

Adolescent gender is given the value 0 for boys and 1 for girls. We also include adolescent age group (11-12 years old; 13-14-years old and 15-16 years old). Foreign background is "0" when both parents were born in Spain and "1" when at least one parent is not Spanish-born.

Results

The effect of family structure according to parents' education and occupation

Table 3 shows the extent to which growing up in a non-intact family is associated with several adolescent health dimensions. Models include controls for adolescents' age, gender, immigrant background, and all measures of parents' socio-economic background such as mother's and father's education and occupation. Results show that growing up in a non-intact family is negatively associated with life satisfaction and quality of life, and positively associated with somatic and psychological complaints. In other words, adolescents in non-intact families not only have less life satisfaction and lower levels

Table 2 – Descriptive results of health outcomes

Health Indicators	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	N
Life Satisfaction	8,87	1,97	1	11	23 548
Quality of life	3,87	0,6	1	5	21 065
Psychological Complaints	2,45	1,44	1	5	23 336
Somatic Complaints	2,91	1,46	1	5	23 548

Source: HBSC, 2014.

Scope: spanish children aged 11 to 16.

Interpretation: the average level of life satisfaction among spanish children is 8.87 out of 10.

Table 3 – Main effects growing up in non-intact family

	Life satisfaction	Quality of life	Psychological complaints	Somatic complaints
Family structure				
Intact	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Non-intact	- 0,53***	- 0,12***	0,23***	- 0,12**
Constant	9,74***	4,20***	2,43***	1,86***
R-squared	0,10	0,14	0,04	0,07

Source: HBSC, 2014.

Scope: spanish children aged 11 to 16.

Significance: + p< 0,10 *p<0,05 **p< 0,01 ***p<0,001.

Interpretation: living in a non-intact family decreases the level of child's life satisfaction by -0,53 points, ceteris paribus.

of life quality than those living in intact families, they also suffer from more psychological and somatic complaints.

In order to capture to what extent the effect of growing up in non-intact families is moderated by parents' socio-economic backgrounds, we estimate a few interactions between family structure and the measures of parents' socio-economic backgrounds. We perform an interaction for each measure of parents' socio-economic background in separate models. We use this methodological approach to avoid multicollinearity problems between education and occupation, and because occupation explain part of the indirect effects of education.

Table 4 shows the estimations for the interaction between various levels of the mother's education and family structure. For life satisfaction, the interaction effect between

low-educated mother and non-intact family is significant and worsens the effect of growing up in a non-intact family on life satisfaction. For children with highly educated mothers, the effect of growing up in a non-intact family is $-0,5^{(6)}$ while for children with lower educated mothers this effect increases to $-0,77$. For the other outcomes, the interaction is not significant, but the sign of the interaction goes in the direction of the compensatory hypothesis. The interaction between family structure and having a moderately educated mother is not significant in any outcome except for somatic complaints. Having a moderately educated mother compensates the extent to which growing up in a non-intact family impacts on somatic complaints compared to having a mother with a high or low educational level. In contrast to mothers' education, mothers' occupational categories seem much more relevant. Table 4 also indicates that the interaction between having a mother with a low occupational

Table 4 – Main effects and interaction between growing up in non-intact family and mother's socio-economic background

	Life satisfaction	Quality of life	Somatic complaints	Psychological complaints	Life satisfaction	Quality of life	Somatic complaints	Psychological complaints
Family structure								
Intact	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Non-intact	- 0,50***	- 0,12***	0,35***	0,23***	- 0,33***	- 0,12***	0,08	0,02
Mother's education								
High	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>				
Mid	- 0,21+	0,04**	0,15***	0,07+				
Low	- 0,53***	0,10***	0,20***	0,15***				
Mother's education / family structure								
High / non-intact	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>				
Mid / non-intact	- 0,03	- 0,01	- 0,30***	- 0,03				
Low / non-intact	- 0,27+	- 0,06	- 0,08	0,12				
Mother's occupation								
High occupation					<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation					- 0,10	- 0,01	0,08	0,07
Low occupation					- 0,16+	- 0,05	0,14**	0,08
Unclassified					- 0,12+	- 0,02	0,001	0,02
Not working					- 0,18***	- 0,04**	0,16***	0,15***
Mother's occupation / family structure								
High occupation / non-intact family					<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation / non-intact family					- 0,31**	- 0,06	0,05	0,26+
Low occupation / non-intact family					- 0,38+	- 0,01	0,30+	0,50***
Unclassified / non-intact family					- 0,17	0,01	0,27**	0,28**
Not working / non-intact family					- 0,45***	- 0,04	0,17	0,22+
<i>Constant</i>	9,36***	4,28***	1,80**	2,37***	9,90***	4,28***	1,81***	2,35***
<i>R-squared</i>	0,09	0,14	0,07	0,04	0,09	0,14	0,07	0,04

Source: HBSC, 2014.

These models include adolescents' age, gender and immigrant background as control variables. Significance: + $p < 0,10$ * $p < 0,05$ ** $p < 0,01$ *** $p < 0,001$.

Scope: spanish children aged 11 to 16.

Interpretation: living in a non-intact family decreases the level of life satisfaction by $-0,50$ points for children whose mothers have a high educational level.

(6) These effects are calculated following the formula main effect+interaction term. In table 4, the main effect for life satisfaction is $-0,50$ and the interaction term is $-0,27$ for children with less educated mothers. When we sum these two effects, the effect of growing up in a non-intact family is $-0,77$ for children with low educated mothers.

level and living in a non-intact family is significant in all outcome variables, except for quality of life. For children whose mothers have a high occupational level, the coefficient of the effect of growing-up in a non-intact family on life satisfaction is $-0,33$ while this effect is almost double for children whose mother has a low occupational level ($-0,71$). The extent to which growing up in a non-intact family impacts on somatic and psychological complaints is almost 0 for children whose mothers have a high occupational level while this effect is $0,38$ for somatic complaints and $0,52$ for psychological complaints in children whose mother has a low occupational level. There are also significant interactions between family structure and other occupational categories that support the compensatory hypothesis. Growing up in a non-intact family has a stronger impact on life satisfaction and psychological complaints for children whose mothers have a mid-occupational level or no job than for children whose mother has a high occupational level. Moreover, the interaction between family structure and unclassified occupation is significant for somatic and

psychological complaints, showing that children whose mothers have an unclassified occupation have more somatic and psychological complaints than those whose mothers have a high occupational level.

Table 5 shows that the interaction between father's education and family structure is significant in the two outcomes that measure the positive subjective experience of an adolescent's health. Having a highly educated father reduces the negative effect of growing up in a non-intact family on life satisfaction and quality of life. Likewise, for mother's education, there are no significant differences between children with highly educated and moderately educated fathers. Only for somatic complaints, having a father with an average educational level reduces the effect of growing up in a non-intact family compared to having a father with a high or low educational level.

The interaction between growing up in a non-intact family and low occupational level is significant on two outcome

Table 5 – Main effects and interaction between growing up in non-intact family and father's socio-economic background

	Life satisfaction	Quality of life	Somatic problems	Psychological problems	Life satisfaction	Quality of life	Somatic complaints	Psychological complaints
Family structure								
Intact	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Non-intact	$-0,36^{***}$	$-0,08^{**}$	$0,34^{***}$	$0,22^{**}$	$-0,25^{**}$	$-0,001$	$0,05$	$-0,20$
Father's education								
High	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>				
Mid	$-0,15^{***}$	$-0,05^{***}$	$0,12^{***}$	$0,10^{**}$				
Low	$-0,26^{***}$	$-0,10^{***}$	$0,21^{***}$	$0,23^{***}$				
Father's education / family structure								
High / non-intact	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>				
Mid / non-intact	$-0,28^{+}$	$-0,07$	$-0,23^{**}$	$0,01$				
Low / non-intact	$-0,26^{+}$	$-0,08^{+}$	$-0,12$	$-0,02$				
Father's occupation								
High occupation					<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation					$0,005$	$0,004$	$0,14^{**}$	$0,07$
Low occupation					$-0,23^{***}$	$-0,05^{**}$	$0,14^{***}$	$0,10^{+}$
Unclassified					$-0,07$	$0,02$	$0,09^{**}$	$0,01$
Not working					$-0,40^{***}$	$-0,08^{***}$	$0,24^{***}$	$0,16^{**}$
Father's occupation / family structure								
High occupation / non-intact family					<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation / non-intact family					$-0,64^{***}$	$-0,23^{***}$	$0,21$	$0,33^{**}$
Low occupation / non-intact family					$-0,22$	$-0,13^{**}$	$0,20$	$0,36^{**}$
Unclassified / non-intact family					$-0,21$	$-0,13^{**}$	$0,20$	$0,28^{+}$
Not working / non-intact family					$-0,45^{**}$	$-0,11^{+}$	$0,04$	$0,14$
Constant	$9,88^{***}$	$4,29^{***}$	$1,79^{***}$	$2,32^{***}$	$-0,24$	$4,26^{***}$	$1,79^{***}$	$2,38^{***}$
R-squared	$0,09$	$0,14$	$0,07$	$0,04$	$0,09$	$0,14$	$0,07$	$0,04$

Source: HBSC, 2014.

These models include as control variables adolescents' age, gender, and immigrant background. Significance: + $p < 0,10$ * $p < 0,05$ ** $p < 0,01$ *** $p < 0,001$. Scope: spanish children aged 11 to 16.

Interpretation: living in a non-intact family decreases the level of life satisfaction by $-0,36$ for children whose fathers have a high educational level.

variables: quality of life and somatic complaints. In contrast, the interaction with mid occupational level is significant in three outcome variables: life satisfaction,

quality of life and psychological complaints. These interactions show that having a father with a high occupational level reduces the harmful effects of growing up in a non-intact family compared to having a father with a mid or low occupational level. Having a father with an unclassified occupation increases the effects of family structure on life satisfaction and psychological complaints. The same is true for life satisfaction and quality of life when having a father without a job is considered. Interactions between father's occupation and family structure support the compensatory hypothesis, independently of their significance level.

Does the type of living arrangement matter?

Table 6 shows that growing up in an SPC or single-mother family is negatively related to life satisfaction and quality of life, and positively related to somatic and psychological complaints. We also test whether there are significant differences between non-intact families when changing the reference category (now SPC). We find that there are no significant differences between SPC and single-mother families in any outcome variable. However, although there are no significant differences on the main effects of the different types of non-intact family, we hypothesise that the moderating role of parents' socio-economic background may be different according to family structure and custody arrangement.

The interaction between family structure and a less educated mother is significant only for psychological complaints for children in SPC families and for life satisfaction for children in single-mother families (table 7, p. 212). The effect of growing up in SPC for children whose mother

has a high educational level is almost 0 while it is 0,35 for children whose mother has a low educational level. In other words, a highly educated mother in a SPC family can counterbalance the negative effect of growing up in a non-intact family. In contrast, a highly educated mother in a single-mother family can only reduce the negative effect of growing up in a non-intact family by one third. Considering the mother's occupation, the interaction between a mother with a low occupational level and a SPC family is significant for somatic complaints, and the same is true for a single-mother family for psychological complaints. The magnitude of the compensatory effects is similar in both family arrangements.

The interaction between family structure and a less educated mother is significant only for psychological complaints for children in SPC families and for life satisfaction for children in single-mother families (table 7). The effect of growing up in SPC for children whose mother has a high educational level is almost 0 while it is 0,35 for children whose mother has a low educational level. In other words, a highly educated mother in an SPC family can counterbalance the negative effect of growing up in a non-intact family. In contrast, a highly educated mother in a single-mother family can only reduce the negative effect of growing up in a non-intact family by one third. Considering the mother's occupation, the interaction between a low occupational level and an SPC family is significant for somatic complaints. The same is true for a single-mother family for psychological complaints. The magnitude of the compensatory effects is similar in both family arrangements.

Turning to fathers' socio-economic background, table 8 (p. 213) shows that the interactions between the father's education and SPC are not significant in three out of four outcomes. The only exception is that children whose fathers

Table 6 – Main effects of types of family arrangement

	Life satisfaction	Quality of life	Psychological complaints	Somatic complaints	Life satisfaction	Quality of life	Psychological complaints	Somatic complaints
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2
Family structure								
Intact family	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	0,48***	0,09***	-0,15*	-0,17*
SPC	-0,48***	-0,09***	0,15*	0,17*	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Single-mother	-0,56***	-0,13***	0,29***	0,25***	-0,05	-0,05	0,14	0,08
Constant	9,77***	4,20***	2,56***	1,82***	9,29***	4,10***	2,41***	1,98***
R-squared	0,10	0,01	0,05	0,07	0,10	0,01	0,05	0,07

Source: HBSC, 2014.

All models include as control variables adolescents' age, gender, immigrant background and parents' socio-economic background.

Significance: + p < 0,10 *p < 0,05 **p < 0,01 ***p < 0,001.

Scope: spanish children aged 11 to 16.

Interpretation: living in a single-mother family decreases the level of child life satisfaction by -0,56 points, ceteris paribus.

have a mid-educational level have less life satisfaction than those whose fathers have high or low levels. We also find that for quality of life, low paternal education increases the negative effect of growing up in a single-mother family, and high paternal socio-economic background increases the effects of growing up in a single-mother family, while the opposite is true for somatic complaints. The interaction between SPC and low occupational level is significant for psychological complaints. In contrast, the interactions with mid occupational level and the interactions with unclassified occupational level are significant in all of the outcome variables and the interaction with not working is significant in two outcomes. These interactions show that for children in SPCs, having a father with a high occupational level reduces the harmful effects of growing up in a non-intact family compared to having a father with other occupational categories. The number of significant interactions with father's occupation is lower when we take into account single-mother families. Interactions between father's occupation and both family arrangements support the compensatory hypothesis, independently of their significance level.

Conclusion and discussion

The aim of this study was to determine to what extent the increase of non-intact families, especially among the least advantaged, is associated with an increase in inequality for children living in different family structures and whose parents have different socio-economic backgrounds. We focus on the moderating role of mothers' and fathers' socio-economic backgrounds. We contribute to the growing research focusing on the consequences of the respective role of class stratification and children's living arrangement on social inequalities. We contribute to the growing research focusing on the heterogeneity effects of family structure by contrasting the competing compensatory and floor-effect hypotheses (Bernardi and Boertien, 2016). We use the case of Spain, which is compelling for several

reasons: first, the limited literature on the relationship between parental SES, family structure and child outcomes in Europ; second, the recent and extremely rapid increase of

Table 7 – Main effects and interaction between types of family arrangement and mother's socio-economic background

	Life satisfaction	Quality of life	Somatic complaints	Psychological complaints
Family structure				
Intact family	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
SPC	- 0,40***	- 0,07	0,26**	0,01
Single-mother	- 0,57***	- 0,15***	0,41***	0,38**
Mother's education				
High	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid	- 0,18***	- 0,04**	0,15***	0,0739
Low	- 0,26***	- 0,10***	0,20***	-0,147**
Mother's education / family structure				
SPC / High	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
SPC / Mid	- 0,18	- 0,05	- 0,30**	- 0,21
SPC / Low	- 0,07	- 0,02	- 0,01	- 0,32+
Single-mother / High	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Single-mother / Mid	0,05	0,03	- 0,32***	- 0,03
Single-mother / Low	- 0,33+	- 0,07	- 0,138	- 0,20
<i>Constant</i>	9,86***	4,28***	1,80***	2,37***
<i>R-squared</i>	0,09	0,14	0,07	0,04
Family structure				
Intact family	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
SPC	- 0,16	- 0,05	- 0,16	- 0,06
Single-mother	- 0,46***	- 0,18***	0,27**	0,08
Mother's occupation				
High occupation	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation	- 0,10	- 0,01	0,08	0,07
Low occupation	- 0,16+	- 0,05	0,14**	0,07
Unclassified	- 0,12+	- 0,02	0,002	0,02
Not working	- 0,18***	- 0,04**	0,16***	0,15***
Mother's occupation / family structure				
High occupation / SPC	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation / SPC	- 0,40	- 0,05	0,10	0,07
Low occupation / SPC	- 0,48	- 0,10	0,71**	0,43
Unclassified / SPC	- 0,40+	- 0,05	0,43**	0,33+
Not working / SPC	- 0,29	0,14	0,59***	0,32
High occupation / single-mother	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation / single-mother	- 0,21	- 0,04	-0,05	0,32+
Low occupation / single-mother	- 0,26	0,06	0,04	0,49***
Unclassified / single-mother	0,005	0,06	0,12	0,23
Not working / single-mother	- 0,44**	- 0,16	- 0,10	0,14
<i>Constant</i>	9,89****	4,28***	1,82***	2,36***
<i>R-squared</i>	0,09	0,13	0,07	0,04

Source: HBSC, 2014.

These models include as control variables adolescents' age, gender and immigrant background. Significance: + p< 0,10 *p <0,05 **p < 0,01 ***p< 0,001.

Scope: spanish children aged 11 to 16.

Interpretation: living in a single-mother family decreases the level of life satisfaction by -0,57 points for children whose mother has a high educational level.

divorce and share of single-mother families in Spain (Moreno and Mari-Klose, 2013) as well as the impressive spread of SPC as a living arrangement for children following

recent changes in the divorce law and custody regulations. We analyse both the effect of mothers' and fathers' education and occupation separately on four health outcomes and distinguish between single-mother and SPC post-separation custody arrangements in non-intact families. Our results for mothers' socio-economic background are consistent with early studies in that we find that mothers' resources compensate for the negative effects of growing up in a non-intact family and that interactions between mothers' education and family structure, although not significant, go in the direction of the compensatory hypothesis (hypothesis 1). We also find that a mother's occupation is more important than her education in bringing about the compensatory effect. This is an original finding showing that when education and occupation levels are weakly correlated, like in the Spanish context of post-economic recession, mothers' occupation should be directly considered as an independent factor influencing children outcomes (Fischer, 2007).

Contrary to earlier studies and to our Hypothesis 2, fathers' resources reduce the negative effects of growing up in a non-intact family. Several reasons could explain this. First, four of the five studies that focus on the father's socio-economic background and obtain evidence in favour of the floor-effect hypothesis are based on Anglo-Saxon countries (Elliott and Richards, 1991; Biblarz and Raftery, 1993). The only study that finds support for the compensatory hypothesis uses German data. Future research should use a cross-national approach to determine whether fathers' resources condition the effects of family structure differently by country and try to disentangle the mechanisms that could explain country differences.

Second, our findings suggest that the moderating role of fathers' socio-economic background is outcome-dependent. Although most studies focusing on educational or socioeconomic outcomes find

Table 8 – Main effects and interaction between types of family arrangement and father's socio-economic background

	Life satisfaction	Quality of life	Somatic complaints	Psychological complaints
Family structure				
Intact family	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
SPC	- 0,28+	-0,06	0,17	0,08
Single-mother	- 0,42**	-0,09+	0,48***	0,34**
Father's education				
High	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid	- 0,16***	- 0,10***	0,12***	0,10**
Low	- 0,26***	- 0,05***	0,21***	0,233***
Father's education / family structure				
SPC / High	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
SPC / Mid	- 0,43**	- 0,07	-0,09	0,22
SPC / Low	- 0,15	- 0,02	0,04	0,002
Single-mother / High	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Single-mother / Mid	- 0,16	- 0,06	- 0,36**	- 0,16
Single-mother / Low	- 0,30	- 0,11+	- 0,27+	- 0,08
<i>Constant</i>	9,87***	4,29***	1,79***	2,32***
<i>R-squared</i>	0,09	0,14	0,07	0,04
Family structure				
Intact family	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
SPC	- 0,14	0,03	- 0,12	- 0,17
Single-mother	- 0,37**	-0,04	0,24	0,15
Father's occupation				
High occupation	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation	0,005	0,003	0,14**	0,07
Low occupation	- 0,23***	- 0,049**	0,14***	0,10
Unclassified	- 0,07	0,02	0,10**	0,01
Not working	- 0,40***	- 0,08***	0,24***	0,16**
Father's occupation / family structure				
High occupation / SPC	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation / SPC	- 0,74***	- 0,22***	0,37+	0,39+
Low occupation / SPC	- 0,15	- 0,09	0,27	0,47**
Unclassified / SPC	- 0,41+	- 0,14+	0,36**	0,41**
Not working / SPC	- 0,50+	- 0,16	0,35**	0,14
High occupation / single-mother	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Mid occupation / single-mother	- 0,52**	- 0,22***	0,03	0,22
Low occupation / single-mother	- 0,22	- 0,14**	0,08	0,22
Unclassified / single-mother	- 0,02	- 0,10	0,02	0,13
Not working / single-mother	- 0,36	- 0,06	- 0,21	0,05
<i>Constant</i>	9,89***	4,26***	1,79***	2,38***
<i>R-squared</i>	0,09	0,14	0,68	0,04

Source: HBSC, 2014.

These models include as control variables adolescents' age, gender, and immigrant background.

Significance: + p < 0,10 *p < 0,05 **p < 0,01 ***p < 0,001.

Scope: Spanish children aged 11 to 16.

Interpretation: living in a single-mother family decreases the level of live satisfaction by -0,42 points when the mother has a high educational level.

evidence in favour the floor-effect hypothesis, this is not the case when health outcomes are at stake. Jornt Mandemakers and Matthijs Kalmijn (2014) show that fathers' resources increase the effect of parental separation on psychological well-being, while Jane Elliott and Martin Richards (1991) do not establish significant interaction effects for behavioural outcomes. We find that the interaction with fathers' resources reduces the negative effect of growing up in a non-intact family when this is measured in terms of life satisfaction, quality of life and psychological complaints. However, this is not the case for somatic complaints. Further research should test to what extent the conditioning role of parents' resources is outcome-specific by considering several types of outcome.

Third, it has also been argued that in countries with a high percentage of SPC the conditioning role of the father's resources would be different than in countries with a low percentage of SPC (Bernardi and Boertien, 2017). Spain is among the Western countries with the highest percentage of SPC, which especially concerns more advantaged fathers (Solsona and Spijker, 2016; Flaquer et al., 2017). Considering that children in SPC families spend more time with their fathers than children in single-mother families, we have hypothesised that fathers' resources increase the effect of family structure in single-mother families (floor effect hypothesis) while the opposite is true for SPC families (compensatory effect hypothesis). The result of interactions between fathers' socio-economic background and custody arrangements are coherent with the SPC situations. In accordance with our hypothesis, the interactions between fathers' education and occupation and growing up in an SPC family are either not significant or go in the direction of the compensatory hypothesis. The moderation seems more important for fathers' occupation than for their education. All interactions between growing up in a single-mother family and fathers' resources support the compensatory hypothesis (for somatic complaints) or are not significant. Overall, our findings do not suggest that the direction of the conditioning role of fathers' resources depends on the type of intact family in which children live.

These results diverge from those of Fabrizio Bernardi and Diederik Boertien (2016), who show that low paternal socio-economic background amplifies the effects of parental separation on educational outcomes when children reside with their mothers, while the effect of parental separation does not diverge by fathers' education when children reside with their fathers. However, according to our hypothesis 3 it is important to highlight that the com-

pensatory role of fathers' socio-economic background seems stronger in SPC families than in single-mother families, especially when we take into account fathers' occupation. It is necessary to study more in depth the types of non-intact family arrangements focusing on other countries and outcomes rather than those studied here, such as socio-economic outcomes. We also make different hypotheses regarding the conditioning effect of mothers' socio-economic background on different types of family arrangement. We argue that the compensatory role of mothers' socio-economic background is stronger in single-mother families than in SPC families (*Hypothesis 4*) but we do not find substantial differences between the compensatory role of mothers' socio-economic resources in different family types.

Our study presents important limitations mostly related to the nature of the data. While the HBS survey is invaluable in the Spanish context because it is the only survey to include information on both parents' education and occupation, on a variety of indicators of child health and well-being, and on their family structure, it is also limited in several ways. First, we could only use it as a cross-sectional dataset and therefore were not able to control for selection into non-intact families. The interaction effects obtained between family structure and parents' socio-economic background must be interpreted as associational and may be spurious (parents with different socio-economic backgrounds may have different probabilities of living in a non-intact family, particularly a single-mother family) (Grätz, 2015). Second, the lack of retrospective information does not allow a control of parental conflict prior to parental separation. Yet, parental conflict is one of the most important control variables in estimations of the net effect of family structure since it is not randomly distributed across social groups. Empirical evidence suggests that couples with low socio-economic backgrounds experience more conflict in their relationships than those from high socio-economic backgrounds (Conger et al., 2010). Third, we do not have information on stepparents' characteristics and particularly their socio-economic background. We cannot therefore control for it and its moderation on children's outcomes. Fourth, we cannot distinguish between mothers who have become single mothers after divorce and separation, and single mothers (not living in couple at the childbirth). Nevertheless, fathers' involvement may differ substantively between these two groups. Fifth, we cannot include single-father families because of the small number of children who live in this family type, which does not allow for complex interaction analyses. Finally,

while we distinguished the moderating role of parental resources by gender, we did not explore children's gender. We unfortunately do not have enough cases to perform a three-way interaction including family structure, parents' socio-economic background and children's gender.

Despite these limitations, our study contributes to the literature on social inequalities and family structure by revealing the importance of examining multi-dimensional children's outcomes, including health and well-being outcomes, especially when fathers' resources are considered. It also suggests that in contexts with a high level of over-qualified employed people, such as in post-recession Spain, it is necessary to include both parental education and occupation (hypothesis 5) so as to correctly capture the mechanisms by which parental socio-economic background contribute to child development in different family structures. Most importantly, our findings – in showing that the negative effect of growing up in a non-intact family is either greater for less advantaged children or does not diverge depending on parents' socio-economic background– corroborate the hypothesis that the increase in non-intact families, especially among the less advantaged,

is associated with an increase in social inequalities in children's health and wellbeing. The disadvantages of children with poor socio-economic backgrounds will cumulate, in the first place because they live through parental separation, and secondly because they are more negatively affected by it. In addition, because SPC is more common among the most advantaged children and fathers' socio-economic background seems to have a stronger compensatory effect in SPC families than in single-mother families, SPC may translate into an additional source of inequality. The recent increase of SPC in most Western countries may imply increased inequality between non-intact families, and challenge the future implementation and practice of child custody in non-intact families. Overall, our research suggests that the social divide in the consequences of separations may become wider rather than narrower over time and that issues of family behaviour and social stratification remain closely linked in modern societies. Policies aimed at reducing inequality and directed towards less advantaged children need to consider that a substantive number of these children live in single-mother families and they may be more negatively affected by single motherhood.

- Albertini M., Dronkers J., 2009, Effects of divorce on children's educational attainment in a Mediterranean and catholic society, *European Societies*, n° 11, p. 137-159.
- Amato P., 1993, Children's adjustment to divorce: Theories, hypotheses, and empirical support, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, n° 55, p. 23-38.
- Amato P., Gilbreth J., 1999, Nonresident fathers and children's well-being: A meta-analysis, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, n° 61, p. 557-573.
- Astone N. M., McLanahan S., 1991, Family structure, parental practices and high school completion, *American Sociological Review*, n° 6, p. 309-320.
- Augustine J., 2014, Maternal education and the unequal significance of family structure for children's early achievement, *Social Forces*, n° 93, p. 687-718.
- Barone C., Ortiz L., 2011, Overeducation among European University Graduates: A comparative analysis of its incidence and the importance of higher education differentiation, *Higher Education*, n° 61, p. 325-337.
- Bernardi F., Mortelmans D., Larenza O., 2018, Changing lone parents, changing lives, in Bernardi L., Mortelmans D. (eds), *Lone parenthood in the life course*, Cham, Switzerland, Springer.
- Bernardi F., Boertien D., 2016, Understanding heterogeneity in the effects of parental separation on educational attainment in Britain: Do children from lower educational backgrounds have less to lose?, *European Sociological Review*, n° 32, p. 807-819.
- Bernardi F., Boertien D., 2017, Non-intact families and diverging educational destinies: A decomposition analysis for Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States, *Social Science Research*, n° 63, p. 181-191.
- Biblarz T., Raftery A., 1993, The effects of family disruption on social mobility, *American Sociological Review*, n° 58, p. 97-109.
- Borgna C., Solga H., Protsch P., 2018, Overeducation, labour market dynamics, and economic downturn in

Europe, *European Sociological Review*, n° 35, p. 116-132.

- Cancian M., Meyer D., Brown P., Cook S., 2014, Who gets custody now? dramatic changes in children's living arrangements after divorce, *Demography*, n° 51, p. 1381-1396.
- Cantril H., 1965, *The pattern of human concerns*, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press.
- Cavanagh S., Huston A., 2006, Family instability and children's early problem behavior, *Social Forces*, n° 85, p. 575-605.
- Conger R., Conger K., Martin M., 2010, Socioeconomic status, family processes, and individual development, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, n° 72, p. 685-704.
- Cooksey E., Craig P., 1998, Parenting from a distance: The effects of paternal characteristics on contact between nonresidential fathers and their children, *Demography*, n° 35, p. 187-200.
- Currie C., Molcho M., Boyce W., Holstein B., Torsheim T., Richter M., 2008, Researching health inequalities in adolescents: The development of the Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children (HBSC) Family Affluence Scale, *Social Science & Medicine*, n° 66, p. 1429-1436.
- Drobnic S., Blossfeld H.-P., Rohwer G., 1999, Dynamics of women's employment patterns over the family life course: A comparison of the United States and Germany, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, n° 61, p. 133-146.
- Escobedo A., Flaquer L., Navarro-Varas L., 2012, The social politics of fatherhood in Spain and France: A comparative analysis of parental leave and shared residence, *Ethnologie française*, n° 42, p. 117-126.
- Elizabeth V., 2018, 'It's an invisible wound': the disenfranchised grief of post-separation mothers who lose care time, *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, n° 41, p. 34-52.
- Elliott B., Richards M., 1991, Children and divorce: Educational performance and behaviour before and after parental separation, *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family*, n° 5, p. 258-276.
- Flaquer L., Escobedo A., Garriga A., Moreno C, 2017, A igualdade de género, o bem-estar da criança e a residência alternada em Espanha, in Marinho S., Correia S. (eds), *Uma família parental, duas casas*, Lisbon, p. 87-107.
- Fisher P., 2007, Experiential knowledge challenges 'normality' and individualized citizenship: towards 'another way of being', *Disability & Society*, n° 22, p. 283-298.
- Flisi S., Goglio V., Meroni E., Rodrigues M., Vera-Toscano E., 2017, Measuring occupational mismatch: Overeducation and overskill in Europe – Evidence from PIAAC, *Social Indicators Research*, n° 131, p. 1211-1249.
- Garriga A., Berta P., 2018, *Single-mother families, mother's educational level, children's school outcomes: A study of twenty-one countries*, in Cahn N., Carbone J., DeRose L., Wilcox W. (eds), *Unequal Family Lives* Cambridge University Press, p. 143-164.
- Garriga A., Cortina C., 2017, The change in single mothers' educational gradient over time in Spain, *Demographic Research*, n° 36, p. 1859-1888.
- Gelman A., Loken E., 2014, The Statistical Crisis in Science, *American Scientist; Research Triangle Park*, n° 102, p. 460-465.
- Gracia P., 2014, Fathers' child care involvement and children's age in Spain: A time use study on differences by education and mothers' employment, *European Sociological Review*, n° 30, p. 137-150.
- Grätz M., 2015, When growing up without a parent does not hurt: Parental separation and the compensatory effect of social origin, *European Sociological Review*, n° 31, p. 546-557.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (Ine), 2018, *Statistics on annulments, separations and divorces*, https://www.ine.es/en/metodologia/t18/t1830420p01_en.pdf
- International Labour Office (Ilo), 2012, *International standard classification of occupations 2008 (ISCO-08): Structure, group definitions and correspondence tables*.
- Huang C., 2009, Trends in child support from 1994 to 2004: Does child support enforcement work?, *Journal of Policy Practice*, n° 9, p. 36-53.

- Jonsson J., Gähler M., 1997, Family dissolution, family reconstitution, and children's educational careers: Recent evidence for Sweden. *Demography*, n° 34, p. 277-293.
- Kalmijn M., 2015, Father-child relations after divorce in four European countries: Patterns and determinants, *Comparative Population Studies*, n° 40, p. 251-276.
- Kiernan K. E., Huerta M. C., 2008, Economic deprivation, maternal depression, parenting and children's cognitive and emotional development in early childhood, *The British Journal of Sociology*, n° 59, p. 783-806.
- Kitterød R., Lyngstad J., 2012, Untraditional caring arrangements among parents living apart: The case of Norway, *Demographic Research*, n° 27, p. 121-152.
- Liu R. X., Chen Z., 2006, The effects of marital conflict and marital disruption on depressive affect: A comparison between women in and out of poverty, *Social Science Quarterly*, n° 87, p. 250-271.
- Mandemakers J., Kalmijn M., 2014, Do mother's and father's education condition the impact of parental divorce on child well-being?, *Social Science Research*, n° 44, p. 187-199.
- McLanahan S., 2004, Diverging destinies: How children are faring under the second demographic transition, *Demography*, n° 41, p. 607-627.
- McLanahan S., Percheski C., 2008, Family structure and the reproduction of inequalities, *Annual Review of Sociology*, n° 34, p. 257-276.
- Meyer D. R., Cancian M., Cook S. T., 2017, The growth in shared custody in the United States: Patterns and implications, *Family Court Review*, n° 55, p. 500-512.
- Moreno L., Mari-Klose P., 2013, Youth, family change and welfare arrangements: Is the South still so different?, *European Societies*, n° 15, p. 493-513.
- Nielsen L., 2018, Joint versus sole physical custody: Outcomes for children independent of family income or parental conflict, *Journal of Child Custody*, n° 15, p. 35-54.
- Phelan J., Link B., Tehranifar P., 2010, Social conditions as fundamental causes of health inequalities: Theory, evidence, and policy implications, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, n° 51, p. 28-40.
- Putnam R., 2016, *Our kids: The american dream in crisis*, New York, Simon & Schuster Paperbacks.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 1999, *Classifying Educational Programmes Manual for ISCED-97 Implementation in OECD Countries*, Resource document.
- Ramos P., Moreno C., Rivera F., Pérez P., 2010, Integrated analysis of the health and social inequalities of Spanish adolescents, *International Journal of Clinical and Health Psychology*, n° 10, p. 477-498.
- Ravens-Sieberer U., Torsheim T., Hetland J., Vollebergh W., Cavallo F., Jericek H., Alikasifoglu M., Välimaa R., Ottova V. Erhart M., 2009, Subjective health, symptom load and quality of life of children and adolescents in Europe, *International Journal of Public Health*, n° 54, p. 151-159.
- Sigle-Rushton W., McLanahan S., 2004, *Father absence and child wellbeing: a critical review*, in Moynihan D., Rainwater L., Smeeding T. (eds), *The Future of the Family*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, p. 116-155.
- Solsona M., Spijker J., 2016, Effects of the 2010 civil code on trends in joint physical custody in Catalonia. A comparison with the rest of Spain, *Population*, n° 71, p. 297-323.
- Sodermans A., Matthijs K., Swicegood G., 2013, Characteristics of joint physical custody families in Flanders, *Demographic Research*, n° 28, p. 821-848.
- Struffolino E., Bernardi L., Larenza O., 2018, Lone parenthood and employment trajectories: A longitudinal mixed-method study, *LIVES Working Paper*, n° 67, p. 1-33.
- Van Damme M., Kalmijn M., Uunk W., 2009, The employment of separated women in Europe: Individual and institutional determinants, *European Sociological Review*, n° 25, p. 183-197.
- Waite L., Luo Y., Lewin A., 2009, Marital happiness and marital stability: Consequences for psychological well-being, *Social Science Research*, n° 38, p. 201-212.