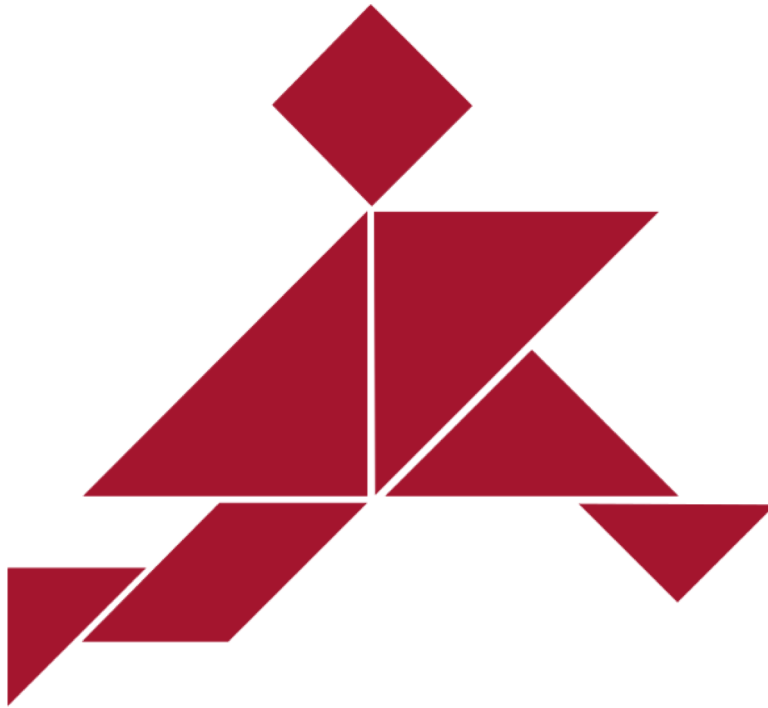

DO CUSTODY ARRANGEMENTS REINFORCE SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AMONG CHILDREN AFTER PARENTAL BREAK UP?

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OVERCOMING VULNERABILITY: LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVES

FAMILY DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

- Literature on the “Diverging destinies of children under the second demographic transition” (McLanahan 2004): increasing socio-economic polarization of family patterns (family stratification):
 - Trend for which highly educated parents continue to lead stable married family lives, whereas those with less education have witnessed increases in family dissolution and complexity.
 - Would lead to a polarization in children’s futures and well-being, by parents’ socio-economic status, and contribute to the intergenerational reproduction of inequality (cumulative disadvantage)

FAMILY DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

- Literature on divorce looked at family stratification and children outcomes.
 - Yet: Inconclusive on whether parental resources are detrimental or protecting for children in case of separation (Härkönen et al 2017)
 - Floor effect hypothesis (e.g. Bernardi and Boertien 2017)
 - Compensation /no moderation hypotheses (e.g. Amato et al. 2014)
 - This literature does not look at SPC and children outcomes.

FAMILY DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

- Shared physical custody (SPC) has increased in Western Europe due to shifts in fathers' involvement, legal regulations and practice
 - Boundaries across sole custody and two parent families become gradually blurred
 - Early studies brings some evidence that SPC has buffering effects for children of divorce
 - They do not look at family stratification
 - A few existing studies (none in Spain) bring evidence for a gradually declining socio economic selection of children in SPC vs sole custody
 - In Spain, together with a rapid development of the SDT indicators (law change favoring SPC 2005; prevalence in 2010:SPC 10%; 2014:SPC 21%, INE data).
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FAMILY DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

- *Consequences of SPC trends for social inequalities for children and their diverging destiny?*
 - If the socio-economic profile of shared custody families becomes more heterogeneous, SPC would be more “democratically distributed” and reduce differences among children of divorce.
 - On the contrary, if SPC remains mostly selective for children with higher parental resources, then it creates even more inequality among children
- The literature on diverging destinies does not consider that children may experience additional inequalities after separation due to the unequal distribution of shared physical custody across social strata

FAMILY DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

- Children with higher parental resources have a lower probability of parental separation, while the opposite is true (reversal Härkönen, 2018; Garriga and Cortina 2017 for Spain)

(H1) Children with higher parental resources may have higher probability of living in SPC

FAMILY DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

■ *Consequences of these trends for social inequalities for children?*

- If SPC is differentially beneficial for children with higher parental resources, its very “democratization” may increase inequality among children

(H2a) Living in SPC vs sole custody is beneficial (in terms of health outcomes) for children, independently of parental resources

(H2b) Parental resources drive difference between children in SPC and solo custody.

(H3a) Compensatory hypothesis: children with high parental resources have better outcomes in case of SPC and sole custody (compared to children in two parent families)

(H3b) Floor effect hypothesis: children with high parental resources have worse outcomes in case of SPC and sole custody (compared to children in two parent families)

(H4) Children with low parental resources benefit less of SPC than children of high parental resources.

DATA: SPANISH 'HEALTH BEHAVIOUR IN SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN' (HBSC).

- Cross-sectional survey carried out every 4 years by the World Health Organization (WHO) (Currie et al., 2008a; Inchley et al., 2016).
- Data from surveys in 2006 and 2014
- Children aged 11-16 answering self-completed questionnaires administered in schools.
- Children's samples:
 - 15,623 (2006)
 - 24,607 (2014).

INDICATORS OF CHILDREN OUTCOMES

- Subjective health indicators of the HBSC
(Ramos et al. 2010, (Erhart et al. 2009; Ravens-Sieberer et al 2009)
- Positive aspects (refer to life overall)
 - Life satisfaction (Cantril ladder, 10-point scale)
 - Health-related quality of life (HRQoL – Kidscreen-10 physical , psychological and social aspects, 5-point scale)
- Dysfunctional aspects (Haugland et al., 2014 : factor analysis 8 items).
 - Somatic complaints (frequency of headache, stomach-ache, backache, and felt dizzy in the last 6 months)
 - Psychological complaints (frequency of sleep problems, feeling low, irritable, nervous in the last 6 months)

Subjective Health Indicators	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Life Satisfaction	8.87	1.97	1	11
HRQoL	3.87	0.6	1	5
Somatic Comp.	2.91	1.46	1	5
Psyc. Comp.	2.45	1.44	1	5
N	22,474	20,115	22,302	22,278

INDICATORS OF FAMILY STRUCTURE

■ Nuclear family:

- **Two-parent:** Children live with the two biological parents under the same roof

■ Other families:

- **SPC** : Children live with each parent half of the time
- **Lone parent:** Children live with one parent most of the time

Family structure	2006	2014
Two parents	86.2	83.2
SPC	0.9	5.8
Lone parent	12.9	11.02
N	15,409	24,607

INDICATORS OF PARENTAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

■ Composite index of parental background (Moreno-Maldonado 2015)

■ Mother's and father's education (2014)

■ Low ISCED0-2 / middle ISCED 3-4/high ISCED 5-6

■ Mother's and (father's) occupation

■ Low / middle / high / unemployed / unclassified

Mother's education	2014
Low	29
Mid	35.2
High	35.8
Father's education	
Low	32.9
Mid	37
High	30.1
N	24,607

Missing correspond to 5% and 3% for mother and father's education respectively

INDICATORS OF PARENTAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

■ Composite index of parental background (Moreno-Maldonado 2015)

- Mother's and father's education (2014)
 - Low ISCED0-2 / middle ISCED 3-4/high ISCED 5-6
- Mother's and (father's) occupation
 - Low / middle / high / unemployed / unclassified

Mother's occupation	2006	2014
Low	16.8	13.3
Mid	25.7	26.5
High	20.5	20.7
Not working	29.7	29.6
Unclassified	7.3	9.9
Father's occupation		
Low	35.1	30
Mid	18.9	21.1
High	30.7	25.5
Not working	4	11.2
Unclassified	11.3	12.2
N	15,409	24,607

Missing correspond to 1.4 % and 6.8% for mother and father's occupation respectively

INDICATORS OF PARENTAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

■ Composite index of parental background (Moreno-Maldonado 2015)

■ Mother's and father's education (2014)

■ Low ISCED0-2 / middle ISCED 3-4/high ISCED 5-6

■ Mother's and (father's) occupation

■ Low / middle / high / unemployed / unclassified

■ Family Affluence Scale

■ Material resources, patterns of consumption, purchasing power (Currie et al. 2008b)

■ Low/middle and high

FAS	2006
Low	14.15
Mid	45.7
High	40.2
N	15,409

RESULTS: PROBABILITY OF LIVING IN A GIVEN FAMILY ARRANGEMENT BY PARENTAL RESOURCES (2006 AND 2014) - H1

FAS			
2006			
	Shared custody compared to two parent	Lone mother compared to two parent	Shared custody compared lone mother
Low/mid	Ref	ref	ref
High	1.11***	-0.26***	1.38***
2014			
	Shared custody compared to two parent	Lone mother compared to two parent	Shared custody compared lone mother
Low/mid	Ref	ref	ref
High	0.19	-0.79***	0.79***
Interaction by year	yes	yes	no

+ p < 0.10 *p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 < 0.001.

RESULTS: PROBABILITY OF LIVING IN A GIVEN FAMILY ARRANGEMENT BY PARENTAL RESOURCES (2006 AND 2014) – H2A AND H2B

	Life satisfaction		HRQoL		Somatic complaints		Psychological complaints	
Family structure	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Two parent (ref)	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	Ref	ref	Ref
Shared custody	-0.46***	-0.47**	-0.09**	-0.09*	0.14*	0.17*	0.12+	0.15*
Lone mother	-0.65***	-0.53***	-0.17****	-0.13****	0.26***	0.25****	0.31***	0.26****
Constant	9.77	9.58	4.25	4.17	1.89	2.03	2.43	2.58
R-squared	0.09	0.1	0.13	0.14	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.05
N	22,474	22,474	20,115	20,115	22,302	22,302	22,278	22,278

+ p < 0.10 *p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 < 0.001.

	Life satisfaction		HRQoL		Somatic complaints		Psychological complaints	
Family structure	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Two parent (ref)	0.46***	0.47***	0.09**	0.09	-0.14*	-0.17*	-0.12+	-0.15*
Shared custody	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Lone mother	-0.18*	-0.06	-0.17*	-0.13	0.12	0.08	0.18*	0.12
Constant	9.31	9.11	4.25	4.17	2.55	2.73	2.55	2.73
R-squared	0.09	0.1	0.13	0.14	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05
N	22,474	22,474	20,115	20,115	22,302	22,302	22,278	22,278

RESULTS: SUMMARY OF THE INTERACTION BETWEEN PARENTAL RESOURCES AND FAMILY TYPE

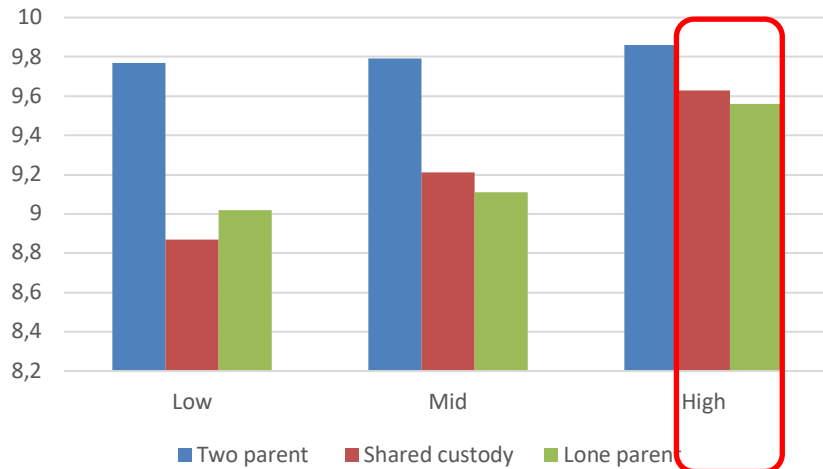
SPC VS TWO-PARENT – H3A H3B

	Life satisfaction	Somatic complaints	Psychological complaints	HRQoL
High mother's educational level* shared custody	no	no	yes	no
High father's educational level* shared custody	no	no	no	no
High mother's occupational level* shared custody	yes	yes	yes	yes
High father's occupational* shared custody	yes	no	yes	yes
Composite score * shared custody	yes	yes	yes	yes

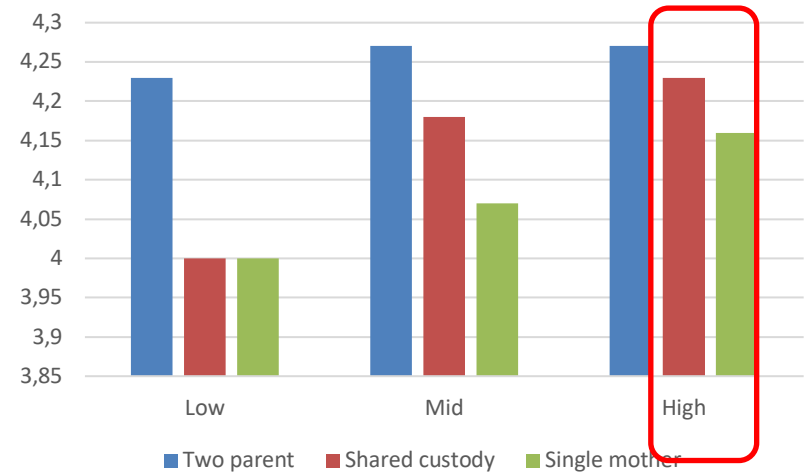
Controls: age, gender, migration background, mother's and father's education and occupation

INTERACTION BETWEEN FAMILY TYPE AND MOTHER'S OCCUPATION BY CHILDREN OUTCOMES - H3A H3B

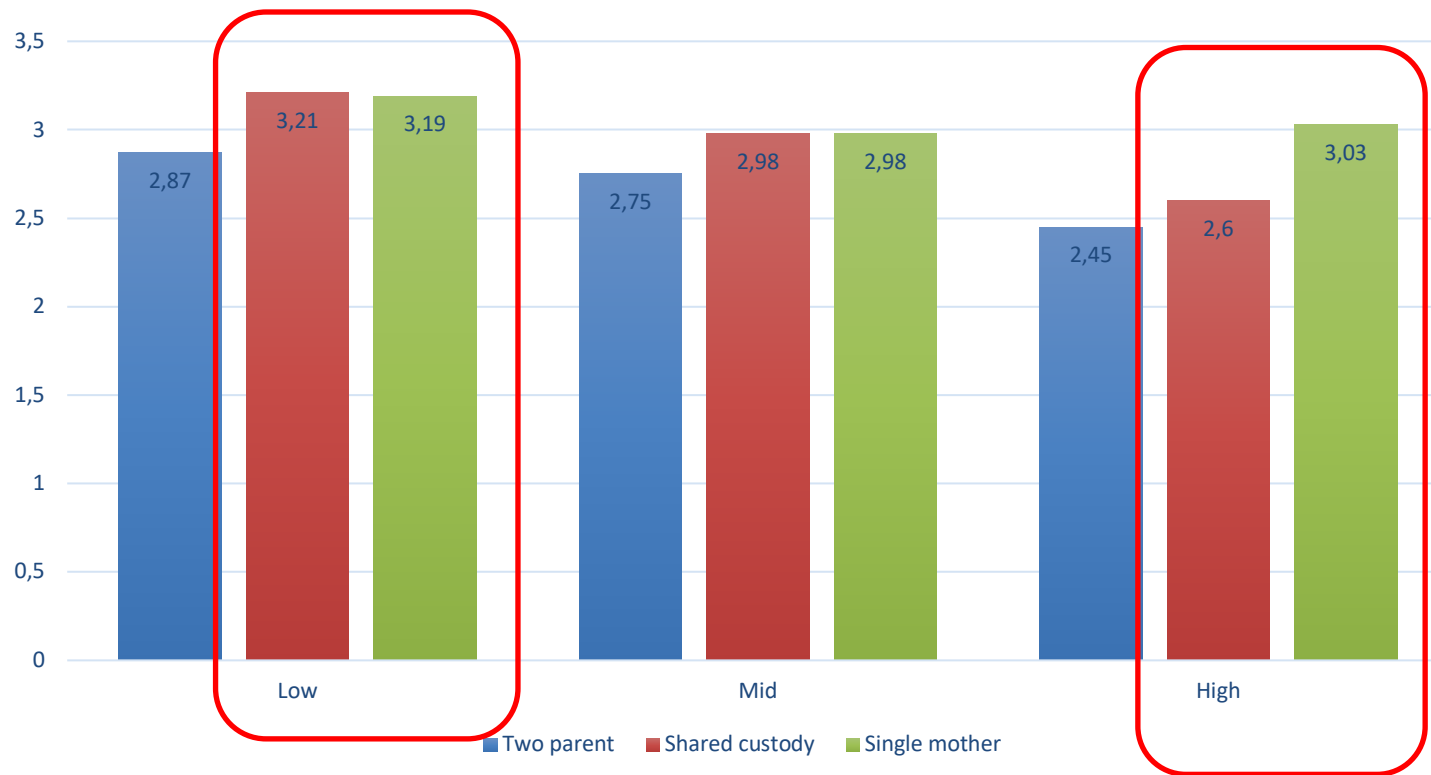
Life satisfaction: Mother's occupation



HRQoL: mother's occupation

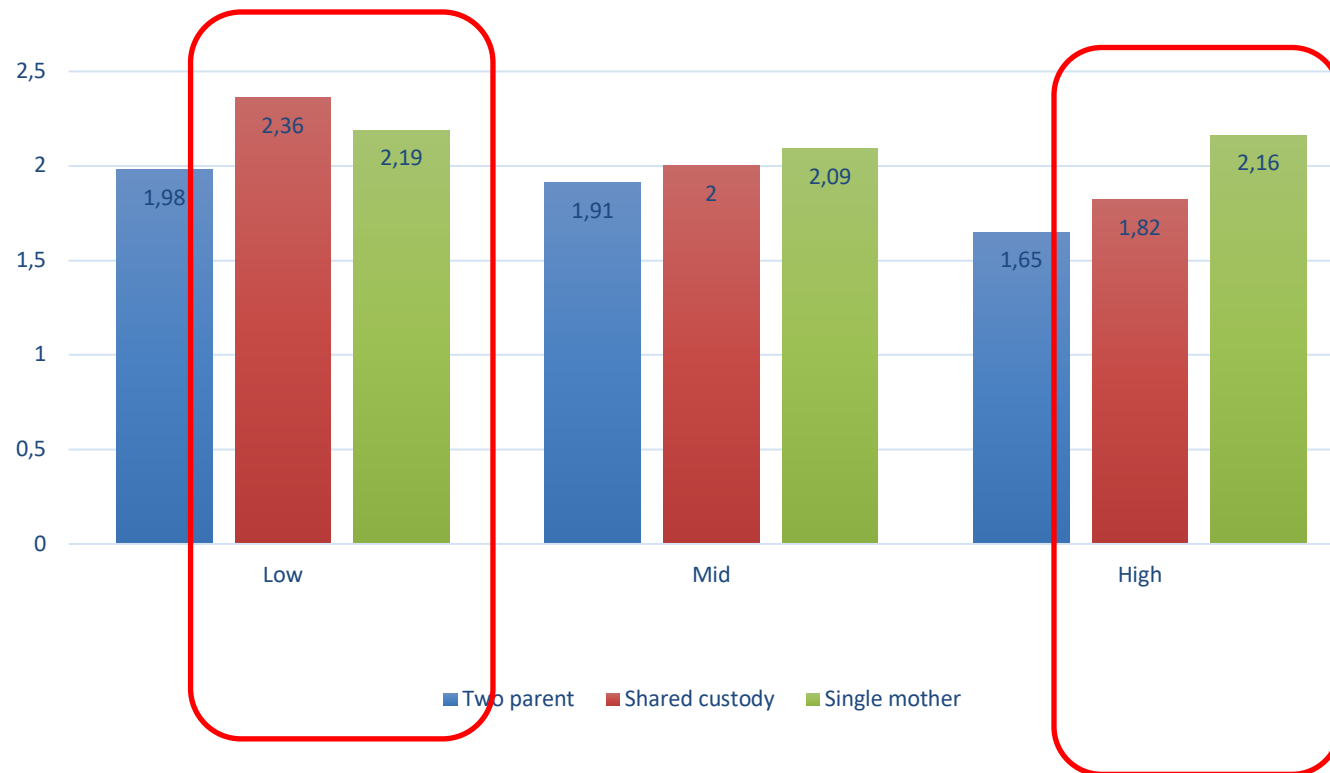


RESULTS: PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPLAINTS BY PARENTAL RESOURCES (COMPOSITE SCORE) AND FAMILY TYPE – H4



Controls: age, gender, migration background, mother's and father's education and occupation (model 2)

RESULTS: **SOMATIC COMPLAINTS** BY PARENTAL RESOURCES (COMPOSITE SCORE) AND FAMILY TYPE – H4



Controls: age, gender, migration background, mother's and father's education and occupation (model 2)

CONCLUSIONS

■ For children's destinies to converge rather than diverge:

■ 1. The prevalence of SPC among children of different social strata shall be similar

■ Yet, in Spain:

- there is an increase in shared physical custody, but also in socio-economic stratification of families (divide between two-parent and other families)
- no democratization of shared physical custody among children of separation and divorce (H1)

CONCLUSIONS

- For children's destinies to converge rather than diverge:
 - 2. Parental resources shall not be compensatory for the consequences of separation and divorce
 - And yet, we find that children with high parental resources have better outcomes in case of SPC and sole custody (compared to children with low resources)
 - The benefits of shared physical custody should be the same for children from different socio-economic backgrounds
 - Yet, we have some suggestive evidence that SPC is more beneficial for children with higher parental resources (income, occupation, education) than for those with lower parental resources.

DISCUSSION

- SPC may contribute to increase social inequalities among children
 - Family stratification: socio-economic gradient of separation and divorce and distribution of post separation living arrangements across social groups
 - Need for research on SPC among children with different parental resources.
 - Need for more longitudinal studies: link between conditions of parental separation, parental resources (both parents), custody arrangements and children outcomes
 - Need more comparative research (e.g. mediating contextual factors like prevalence of separation, or redistributive policies)
 - The ongoing debate shall consider that the diffusion of shared custody may increase social inequalities among non-intact families. Does SPC represent the preferred solution for all children in context of family stratification?

THANK YOU!

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