8. Fatherhood and men's second union formation: Norway, France and Hungary, 1980s–2000s

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INTRODUCTION

As part of the past decades' profound changes in partnership behaviour, more and more people are experiencing the dissolution of their first stable relationship and entering the 're-partnering market', and many of them already have children. In this context, re-partnering offers a burgeoning area of research that could help us to understand the implications of demographic change for family life (Sweeney 2010). The aim of this chapter is to investigate how the effect of fatherhood on the re-partnering of men has changed since the 1980s in three European societies: Hungary, France and Norway.

Most studies on re-partnering focus only on women and disregard men. It is usually women who are the main caregivers, and data on female fertility and partnerships are often more readily available, more complete and accurate than those on males (Beaujouan 2011; Breton and Prioux 2009; Meggiolaro and Ongaro 2010). Moreover, it is mostly the women who live with the children after separation or divorce (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Poortman 2007; Wu and Schimmele 2005).

In this chapter we focus on men for two main reasons. Firstly, men's and fathers' involvement in family life and childcare has been documented as having increased in a number of societies, while women's growing participation in the labour market has challenged the traditional gendered division of family responsibilities (Cabrera et al. 2000; Williams 2008). Secondly, many divorced or separated fathers do not live with their children, with probably different effects on men's demographic behaviour after separation than on women's. This question is especially relevant because sole maternal child custody is no longer the only option, and more and more couples choose joint physical custody after union dissolution (Elrod and Dale 2008). As a result, more men will co-reside with their children

at least on a part-time basis. In the case of joint physical custody, both parents spend equal or substantial amounts of time with their children, so children have ongoing close contact with both parents (Bauserman 2002).

Regarding change over time, prior studies have found that the general rate of re-marriage has decreased, partly because many people establish a 'living apart together' (LAT) or a non-married cohabiting union as their next relationship, and partly because more people stay single (Spijker and Solsona 2012). Most of these studies looked at marriages. Since patterns of union formation have changed over time and the rate of non-marital childbearing has dramatically increased, we also take into consideration re-partnering after a cohabiting partnership and cohabitations as second unions. Moreover, most studies only refer to one point in time (e.g., Beaujouan 2012; de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003). In order to get a more comprehensive view on changes in the re-partnering of men, we examine the period between 1980 and 2008. Moreover, focusing on three countries also makes it possible to consider changes in contextual-level constructions, which may lead to different outcomes in research on men's re-partnering.

The following section provides the main theoretical considerations and empirical studies on men's re-partnering, and then we present our hypotheses. Subsequently we describe the relevant country contexts, introduce our data and methods, and finally we move on to presenting and discussing the empirical findings.

BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

Parenthood status, custody and living arrangements are crucial aspects when looking at the re-partnering behaviour of men and women (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Ivanova et al. 2013). Previous empirical results are not conclusive regarding the impact of fatherhood status on re-partnering. Some studies found no relationship between having children and the re-partnering of men in Canada (Wu 1994), France, Germany, Romania and the Russian Federation (Ivanova et al. 2013). Others found a negative association in the United States (US) (Sweeney 1997), the Netherlands (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Poortman 2007) and Norway (Ivanova et al. 2013). Studies that differentiate between having co-resident and non-resident children showed that probably it is not parenthood itself but the presence of children in the household that slows down re-partnering (Bernhardt and Goldscheider 2002 for Sweden; Földházi 2010 for Hungary; Beaujouan 2012 for France; Ivanova et al. 2013 for France, Germany, Norway, Romania and Russia). A number of studies concluded that fathers re-partner faster than non-fathers. Stewart et al. (2003) found a

positive association between having and being involved with non-resident children and the formation of non-marital unions in the US; Wu and Schimmele (2005) found the same in Canada. Goldscheider and Sassler (2006) for Sweden, and Barre (2003) for France, found a positive relationship between men having co-resident children and union formation. In the United Kingdom, having co-resident children aged 12 or younger seems to make the re-partnering of separated fathers easier (Di Nallo 2015).

Considering the contrasting implications of co-resident and non-resident fatherhood for re-partnering, it is not surprising that the empirical results are not conclusive. These mixed results may also be due to the different methods, the different conceptualizations of union and parenthood status, and the different contextual background of the examined countries; furthermore, the role of fatherhood may also have changed over time (Sullivan et al. 2014).

This chapter examines the question of how the effect of fatherhood on the re-partnering of men has changed in France, Hungary and Norway since the 1980s. Our approach is new in the sense that we focus on men, take a comparative perspective, look at change over time, consider both cohabiting and marital unions, and also differentiate between (part- or full-time) residential and non-residential fatherhood.

We develop our hypotheses for five different groups of men. Firstly we look at the most general group: all men who have experienced a union dissolution by the age of 50 (see the 'Data and Methods' section below for a detailed description of our sample). Secondly, we compare men who were childless at the end of their first union and men who already had at least one child. And thirdly, we further differentiate between two subgroups of fathers: those who have only non-resident children, and those who live together with at least one of their children on a part- or full-time basis. We are interested in how the probability of re-partnering has changed for these five groups since the 1980s.

Need, attractiveness and opportunity are three general arguments that help us to understand re-partnering behaviour (Becker 1981; de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Goldscheider and Waite 1986; Oppenheimer 1988). According to this approach, re-partnering depends on: (1) the person's emotional, financial or social need for a new partner; (2) the attractiveness of the individual for potential partners; and (3) their opportunities to meet possible mates.

We use the considerations of need, attractiveness and opportunity to formulate our expectations regarding the changing effect of fatherhood and the changing probability of re-partnering for the five different subgroups of men. In Table 8.1 we present the probably most important drivers for the five groups and the three considerations that may explain

Table 8.1 Expected changes in the effect of fatherhood and the probability to re-partner for different subgroups of men since the 1980s, based on the considerations of need, opportunity and attractiveness

	Need	Opportunity	Attractiveness	Expected change in the probability to re-partner since the 1980s
Men in general	Singlehood and childlessness have become more accepted; men develop skills for housework and childcare → decreasing need	The number of single and divorced/ separated women has increased, larger re-partnering market → increasing opportunity	No change	No change
Childless men	Singlehood and childlessness have become more accepted; men develop skills for housework and child care → decreasing need	The same as for men in general	No change	No change
Fathers	Singlehood and childlessness are more accepted; men develop skills for housework and childcare; the role of being a father has become more important in men's life → decreasing need	Increasing number of single women; more interactions at children's activities or at school → increasing opportunity Increasing involvement with children → decreasing opportunity	Being already a father as a sign of child- and family-centred attitudes and fecundity → increasing attractiveness	No change

Table 8.1 (continued)

	Need	Opportunity	Attractiveness	Expected change in the probability to re-partner since the 1980s
Father with only non-resident children	The same as for fathers in general	The same as for fathers in general	Involved fatherhood as the new expectation → decreasing attractiveness	Decreasing probability to re-partner
Fathers with co-resident children	The same as for fathers in general	Increasing number of single women; more interactions at children's activities or at school; online dating; increasing help from the welfare state and widely available childcare institutions → increasing opportunity Increasing involvement with children → decreasing opportunity	Being perceived as a 'good father', involved fatherhood → increasing attractiveness	Increasing probability to re-partner

changes over time in re-partnering. Since we cannot directly measure and test how the needs, the opportunities and the attractiveness of men have changed (at least not with the available data), we have formulated one hypothesis for each group. The last column of Table 8.1 shows what we expect for each group of men, based on how their need, opportunity and attractiveness may have changed. When formulating our expectations, we give about equal weight to all the three considerations (for example, if one

of the considerations suggests increasing probability, one suggests decreasing probability, and one suggests that there has been no change, we expect that the trends balance each other and no change has taken place on the whole). For the sake of simplicity, we expect that changes are linear, and the 1980s is the reference period.

We have to note that the function of Table 8.1 is not to provide a full list of factors that have influenced changes in the re-partnering of men in the past three decades. Our aim is to offer an overview and to illustrate the complex nature of the phenomenon and the usefulness of distinguishing between different subgroups of men and the arguments of need, opportunity and attractiveness. Here we only list factors that may be relevant for most European societies. Other contextual factors and country-specific arguments are discussed in the next section.

The first basic argument is that people enter a union because it improves their emotional, financial or social well-being, and the greater their need in these respects, the more likely they are to re-partner. Financial need is probably less relevant for the re-partnering decisions of men than women due to the gender role expectation that men should provide for themselves (Spéder 2011). Moreover, single fathers work full-time more often and are less likely to live in poor or materially deprived households than single mothers (Chzhen and Bradshaw 2012).

We assume that the need to re-partner has decreased in all groups of men due to several reasons. Alternative living arrangements, such as being single or living apart together, have become more common and more accepted in recent decades (Lesthaeghe 2010), thus probably fewer men re-partner only to comply with social norms and expectations. The prevalence and social acceptance of childlessness have also increased (Merz and Liefbroer 2012), so the need to re-partner in order to become a father might have decreased as well. The role of being a father has become more important in the lives of many men, maybe in some cases taking priority over a new union, thus decreasing the emotional need to re-partner. A new partner may be viewed as a source of extra demands and a disruption in the relationship between father and children (Lampard and Peggs 1999). Some studies show that divorced parents living with children prefer LAT relationships: they might try to avoid disrupting the environment with which their resident children are familiar (Beaujouan et al. 2009; Levin 2004; Reimondos et al. 2011). Studies that consider longitudinal trends in men's and women's time on housework and childcare show a slow convergence between the two sexes (Bianchi et al. 2000; Neilson and Stanfors 2014). Since men have become more likely to develop the necessary skills for reconciling the responsibilities of paid work, household tasks and childcare, their need for re-partnering may have decreased.

The second argument is that the probability of re-partnering depends on the opportunity to meet potential partners. Some factors would suggest that men's and fathers' re-partnering opportunities have decreased, while other factors point at increasing opportunities. The re-partnering market may be less effective for separated or divorced people because the number of single people decreases with age and the number of social contacts decline following divorce (Kalmijn and Uunk 2007), even though separated men may increase their interactions with possible mates through other channels.

The number of single people at later ages is limited, especially for women seeking a new partner, because men often partner with somewhat younger women, and at later ages there are more women than men (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Wu and Schimmele 2005). However, more and more people terminate their first unions, so the number of people searching for new partners (the 're-partnering market') has increased in all of the examined countries, especially for men, which expands men's opportunities to find a new partner (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Ivanova et al. 2013; Spijker and Solsona 2012). Since the number of single mothers has increased more than the number of single fathers, fathers may have a comparative advantage after divorce or separation because they are less likely to have a strong preference against re-partnering with lone mothers, thus further enlarging their potential pool of new partners (South 1991).

Compared to younger singles, separated men are probably less involved in traditional marriage markets such as schools, voluntary associations and leisure locations. However, separated fathers may expand their opportunities to meet potential partners (probably other parents) by participating in their children's activities or interactions in the children's school. Moreover, new marriage markets have emerged such as online dating, in which divorced people are more likely to be involved. Some studies show that online dating is especially beneficial for people who face a slim marriage market, for example, gays, lesbians and middle-aged persons (Rosenfeld and Thomas 2012). We assume that it is especially fathers with co-resident children who may benefit from the new opportunities such as children's activities and online dating.

Re-partnering is probably more difficult for divorced and separated fathers with co-resident children than for their childless counterparts, because they might go out less often, especially when the children are still young and the parent is more involved with the care of the children (Munch et al. 1997). Parenthood may negatively affect fathers' chances of re-partnering, even if they do not live with the children. However, the increasing supply of childcare facilities makes it easier for fathers with small children (especially for those with co-resident children) to re-partner.

Widely available childcare institutions may help re-partnering by allowing parents more time as well as functioning as possible places to meet potential partners.

The third argument is that re-partnering prospects depend on how attractive a person is to the opposite sex.[1] We believe that it is especially fathers who have experienced changes in their perceived attractiveness. Fatherhood may have two contradictory effects on attractiveness. On the one hand, it reflects the man's experience with and interest in children. Being perceived as a 'good father' (or being able to father a child) increases men's attractiveness for potential partners (Goldscheider and Sassler 2006; Prioux 2006; Stewart et al. 2003; Wu and Schimmele 2005). Fathers whose children reside with them demonstrate the highest level of involvement (Stewart et al. 2003). Having children might also make a man more attractive in cases when the prospective female partner is over her fertility age and childless but would like to be a parent (Lampard and Peggs 1999). The attractiveness of divorced fathers has probably also increased because public opinion has become more permissive towards divorce and separation when young children are involved and divorced people are less and less stigmatized (Liefbroer and Fokkema 2008; Scott 2006). Conversely, it is possible that fathers who do not live with their children after separation, at least on a part-time basis, fail to live up to the emerging expectation of involved fatherhood and thus have become less attractive on the re-partnering market. If shared residential custody of children is a widely available option for separated parents, not taking this option may also decrease attractiveness.

Potential partners may be less interested in someone who already has children, either because prior children can serve as a source of conflict in the new relationship, or because such a person is less likely to want to have additional children (Meggiolaro and Ongaro 2008). A potential partner may also expect the child to be a financial burden and a competitor for the attention, affection and time of the partner (Stewart et al. 2003). Rearing children requires substantial time and financial investment, especially from those parents who live with their young children (Becker 1981; Gauthier and Hatzius 1997; Ongaro et al. 2009; Zagheni and Zannella 2013).

Based on the above considerations, we formulated five hypotheses for the different categories of separated and divorced men in order to get a more accurate picture of the changes in their situation:

H1. We expect that the probability of re-partnering has not changed for men in general. Men may need a new partner less in the new millennium than they did one or two decades ago, because many men have become less reliant on a female partner to do the housework and the need to re-partner to fulfil

social expectations has probably also decreased. The emotional need for a new partner and men's general attractiveness probably have not changed. We suppose that men's opportunities to meet potential partners have increased because of the expanding re-partnering market. All in all, we expect no change in this group because men's decreasing need and increasing opportunities may have cancelled each other out.

H2. We expect that the probability of re-partnering has not changed for childless men. The argumentation is the same as for men in general (see H1).

H3. We assume that the probability of re-partnering has not changed in the case of fathers in general. Besides the previously discussed arguments, a few additional factors may play a role. The centrality of the father role in men's lives and the increasing involvement in childcare may have a negative effect on re-partnering, while the increased participation in child-related activities and higher attractiveness of fathers in general may have a positive effect. Overall, we suppose that these opposing effects balance out.

H4. The probability of re-partnering for fathers with only non-resident children is expected to decrease because of their decreasing attractiveness. If involved fatherhood is the new expectation and shared residential custody of children is a widely available option for separated parents, this group may seem less attractive for potential partners.

H5. We expect that the probability of re-partnering for fathers with co-resident children has increased owing to positive changes in their attractiveness and opportunity. They may benefit from the same changes that have been disadvantageous for fathers with only non-resident children. Moreover, the availability of alternative dating options and childcare institutions may have a positive impact on the opportunities to meet potential partners especially for this group.

OVERVIEW OF THE COUNTRY CONTEXTS

In this section, we briefly overview some relevant contextual factors that may help in understanding how men's re-partnering differs in the three examined societies, and what changes have taken place in the past decades. First of all, the partnership behaviour and the re-partnering market have changed since the 1980s. The institution of marriage has undergone significant changes, such as postponement, decreasing marriage rates

and increasing divorce rates all over Europe (Spijker and Solsona 2012). Between 1980 and 2008 the crude marriage rate dropped from 7.5 to 3.6 per 1000 population in Hungary, from 6.2 to 3.9 in France and from 5.4 to 4.8 in Norway. In the 1980s, the total divorce rate was higher in Hungary (0.29, that is, 29 per cent of marriages) than in France (0.22) and Norway (0.24). Following a gradual increase, divorce rates were similar (0.45–0.47) in all three of the countries in 2007, and more than half of them involved children. The gender asymmetry related to divorce has increased in all three countries among people in their thirties: the number of divorced men compared to divorced women has decreased, thus the situation has become more favourable for men. However, the remarriage rates of the divorced population have decreased since the 1980s and around 25–30 per cent of divorced men remarried in the three countries in 2006 (Spijker and Solsona 2012). We have no statistical data on the rate of re-partnering after cohabitation, in spite of the spread of cohabitation in all of the three countries. This new partnership form started to increase among young people in the 1970s in Norway (Noack 2001) and France (Martin and Théry 2001), and only in the 1990s in Hungary (Spéder 2005).

Fertility rates and childbearing intentions may also influence men's re-partnering in several ways. There might be higher social expectation on childless men to re-partner than on fathers in a pro-natalist society with a low childlessness rate. Total fertility rate was above 1.8 children per woman in France and Hungary and it was only 1.68 in Norway in 1985. During the 1990s fertility dropped sharply in Hungary while it only slightly decreased in France and even increased in Norway. After 2000 it further increased in Norway and France but kept decreasing in Hungary. As a result, fertility in France and Norway is among the highest in Europe, with 1.99 and 1.96 total fertility rates in 2008, respectively, whereas Hungary, with its 1.35 total fertility rate, belongs to the low-fertility countries (OECD 2011b). Childlessness and non-marital births are somewhat less common in Hungary than in the other two countries in 2010 (OECD 2011b), but in the 1980s and 1990s the childlessness rate was similarly low in all three countries.

Not only is the rate of childlessness lower in Hungary than in France and Norway, but the acceptance of voluntary childlessness also differs. The approval of voluntary childlessness is lower in Eastern European countries, including Hungary (with a disapproval rate of more than 50 per cent), than in Western European countries, including Norway and France (Merz and Liefbroer 2012). In a given society the level of acceptance of childlessness may influence the re-partnering needs of childless persons.

Gender equality may also play a role. In spite of the fact that dual earner families are common in all three of the countries, the dual carer

model is widespread only in Norway (Letablier 2013; Róbert et al. 2001). In a society where the traditional family model is dominant, men are more expected to be involved in the labour market and to have higher wages than women. Norway is one of the countries with the smallest difference between the two genders, while Hungary is among those countries where women are considerably less equal than men, and France is situated in-between (UNDP 2014). Norway is a special case because family policy actively encourages and supports men's participation in childcare and fathers are expected to play a more active role in their children's upbringing (Ellingsæter et al. 2013). In contrast, the traditional family model is still dominant in Hungary (Hobson and Fahlén 2009; Murinkó 2014; Oláh 2011; Saxonberg and Sirovatka 2006; Szalma 2010).

Some aspects of family policies may also be crucial in view of re-partnering, such as the availability of childcare services, which can alleviate single parents' situation by providing them more time for work or themselves. In Norway and France there is almost universal enrolment in formal childcare for pre-school children. In Hungary the enrolment of children aged under three is only 10.9 per cent but it is 86.7 per cent for children aged between three and five (OECD 2011b). Coverage declined in Hungary gradually after 1983, dropped sharply during the early 1990s, and a steady improvement started only in the early 2000s (Blaskó and Gábos 2012). Meanwhile, in France and Norway childcare facilities have gradually developed since the beginning of the 1980s (European Commission 2009).

In the case of separated parents, regulations concerning child custody and maintenance can also be important factors in the re-partnering process. The latest regulations in all three countries declare that both parents are regarded to be of equal importance for the child, and decisions should be made in the best interest of the child. No difference is made between married and non-married parents. While joint legal custody is regularly awarded, courts prefer joint physical custody arrangements only if all the necessary conditions are fulfilled and if parents are able to come to an agreement; however, the great majority of decisions in all three countries still place children in the full physical custody of the mother. Regulations that explicitly favour joint physical custody came into force in 2002 in France, in 2004 in Norway, and only in March 2014 in Hungary (Council of Europe 2014). Until the beginning of the new millennium the main pattern in all three countries was that the child stayed with the mother after parental separation. As a result, only a small proportion of single-parent households include the father and his child(ren): this rate was higher in Norway (18 per cent) than in France (14.7 per cent) and Hungary (12.6 per cent) in 2010 (OECD 2011b).[2] The proportion of children placed

in alternating residences is around 10 per cent in Norway (4 per cent in 1996, and 10 per cent in 2004) and France (1 per cent in 1996, and 11 per cent in 2005) (Boele-Woelki et al. 2005; Council of Europe 2014), but negligible in Hungary (Weiss and Szeibert 2014). The share of parental and court decisions on joint physical custody and the actual proportion of fathers and children in this arrangement are expected to increase.

In all three countries, non-custodial parents have to contribute to the cost of raising a child by making child support payments during the entire period examined. In Norway, a public child support agency plays the leading role in setting payment rates according to rigid formulas. In France and Hungary courts register the agreements of the parents and make a decision if parents cannot reach an agreement. Courts operate with discretion and use informal guidelines (OECD 2011b). There is considerable difference in the proportion of non-widowed single-parent families receiving child support in the three countries: it was 81 per cent in Norway, 46 per cent in France, and 40 per cent in Hungary in 2000 (OECD 2011b). The proportion of single parents receiving support payments has increased in most Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries since the 1990s, with the exceptions of France and Hungary (OECD 2011b). The share of child support payment received, as a percentage of disposable income, was 14 per cent in France, 7 per cent in Norway and 5 per cent in Hungary on average at the beginning of the new millennium. Three per cent of French and Hungarian, and 9 per cent of Norwegian families make child support payments, and on average these payments amount to 7 per cent of their disposable income in Hungary, 8 per cent in Norway and 2 per cent in France (OECD 2011a, p. 231). In most countries child support amounts are reduced or stopped when care is shared (equally) between resident and non-resident parents (OECD 2011a, p. 228). In France, having a new partner and 'new' children are taken into account as additional expenses of the non-resident parent, whereas in Norway only the new partner is considered; however, these factors are often not considered in practice if the parents have relatively high earnings (Skinner et al. 2007). No such information is available for Hungary due to the marginality of shared parenting after separation.

Finally, the general economic circumstances may also influence the re-partnering market in a given country. For instance, economic hardships such as recession, high and/or rising unemployment, or cuts in social welfare spending may worsen the situation of single people, especially parents, decreasing their attractiveness and opportunities on the re-marriage market but increasing their need to form a new union to alleviate the hardships.

Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita has been highest in Norway,

followed by France and Hungary, since the 1980s. Norway has experienced the most rapid GDP growth in the past decades, while in Hungary the 1990s were characterized by a sharp drop and then stagnation (IMF 2015). In Hungary unemployment was virtually non-existent in the 1980s but has been relatively high since then, similar to the level in France since the 1990s (IMF 2015). As a result of both the economic circumstances and the interventions of the welfare state, the risk of poverty in 2007 (operationalized as having income after social transfers which is below the poverty threshold) for single people living with at least one dependent child was highest in Hungary, followed by France, then Norway (Eurostat 2012).

These differences between the three examined countries and the different paths of their development probably affect how the need, opportunity and attractiveness of men and fathers have changed. However, it is hard to assess how these changing differences will manifest in the re-partnering behaviour of men in the three countries. Therefore we do not formulate country-specific hypotheses at this point, but will refer back to these differences when discussing our results.

DATA AND METHODS

For the empirical analysis, we use data from the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) for France (2005), Norway (2007–2008) and Hungary (2004–2005) (UNECE 2005).[3] The country surveys comprise nationally representative samples of the population aged 18–79, focusing on family, fertility, partnerships, health, ageing and related attitudes. The dataset includes complete fertility and partnership histories with monthly information. Individual weights adjust the distributions by gender, age and place of residence.

The sample that we used for the analysis includes men aged 50 or less[4] whose first (heterosexual) relationship ended in 1980 or later. The risk period starts at the end of the first union and it ends when the second union is formed or when the respondent is interviewed. The number of cases is summarized in Table 8.2. It is important to note that the number of cases or events is relatively low in the case of some variables, thus their regression coefficients should be treated with caution.

In our study, partnership is defined as either marriage or unmarried cohabitation that lasted for at least three months.[5] Living apart together and other possible partnership forms are not taken into account. Partnership dissolution is defined as either when the couple stopped living together or when they officially got divorced, whichever happened earlier. When looking at re-partnering, so far most studies have disregarded

Table 8.2 Number of cases

	Original sample size	Analysis sample, number of:		
		Persons	Events	Person-months
France	10 079	884	355	6676
Hungary	13 540	884	368	5165
Norway	14 481	1641	854	11 054

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, Wave 1, data for France (2005), Norway (2007–2008) and Hungary (2004–2005), authors' calculations.

people whose first long-term union was non-marital and/or who did not get married with their second partner (for exceptions, see Beaujouan 2012; Wu and Schimmele 2005). Releasing these restrictions is an important contribution to the literature, considering that about every second child is born outside marriage in the three examined countries (OECD 2011b).

Our main explanatory variable is the parenthood status of the male respondent.[6] In the regression models we use two parenthood status variables. The first one differentiates between fathers and childless men. This is a time-constant variable and only accounts for those children who were born during the first relationship of the men, or at most, eight months after the union ended. The second parenthood status variable further differentiates between cases (time periods) when at least one of the children is co-resident either full-time or part-time, and cases when all children live somewhere else. If parents share physical child custody after separation, both parents report that they live together with the child, so children are considered as also living with the father in these cases, and they divide their time between both parents.[7] The second parental status variable is dynamic in the sense that we keep track of children entering or leaving the father's household. However, the number of children born to the father is not allowed to change during the examined period.

In the analysis the co-residence of father and child means that the child lives with the father either full-time (sole physical custody) or part-time (joint physical custody). The dataset does not allow us to make further differentiation within this category and the number of cases would not make such a more detailed analysis possible. Moreover, shared physical custody is not the majority in any of the countries (Bjarnason and Arnarsson 2011). In spite of the fact that fathers might still spend less time with their children than mothers in the case of shared physical custody, children have a better and more frequent relationship with their father and better outcomes in general if the parents share physical custody than if the children

stay only with the mother (Bauserman 2002; Bjarnason and Arnarsson 2011; Nielsen 2011). As Toulemon and Pennec (2010) have pointed out, some parents – especially fathers – are reluctant to report that the child also lives with the other parent (half of the children who are reported to live with the father actually share residence between the parents in France). It means that the dividing line between full-time and part-time co-residence between father and children may be hard to distinguish.

We suppose that the major line of distinction is between fathers who have no physical custody and those who live with their children either on a part-time or a full-time basis. The latter group may also include a few widowers (5–10 per cent in our sample), and cases where the mother has relinquished custody due to major financial difficulties, personal problems or health reasons (Thompson and Laible 1999).

Three sets of models were tested. The first set looks at how the general probability of re-partnering has changed for men; thus these models include no interaction between period and fatherhood status and the dummy parenthood status variable is used only as a control. The second set of models tests if the effect of fatherhood on re-partnering has changed; consequently the dummy parenthood status variable is interacted with period. And finally, the third set of models differentiates between men with co-resident and only non-resident children to see if these groups are affected and have changed differently. Event history analysis with piece-wise exponential models is used.

The other control variables are the same in all the models. They include period (calendar year) and age of the man at the end of the first union, time since the end of the first relationship (dynamic variable), length and type of the first partnership, whether the union ended with the death of the partner, and the level of education of the respondent.[8] Independent variables are summarized in Table 8.3.

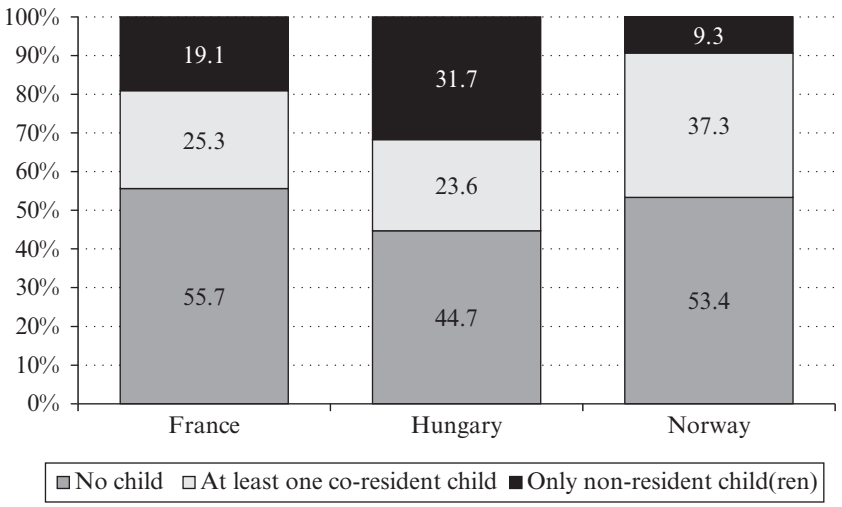
RESULTS

During the empirical analysis, first we looked at the characteristics of men after their first relationship dissolved. The descriptive results show that about half of the men whose first stable relationship ended have children; this rate is the highest in Hungary (Figure 8.1). The ratio of men with only non-resident children is lowest in Norway (9 per cent) and highest in Hungary (32 per cent). After their first relationship ended, 25 per cent of the separated or divorced men in France, 26 per cent in Hungary and 37 per cent in Norway lived together with at least one of their children, either full-time or part-time. If we only consider the two groups of fathers,

Table 8.3 Exposure and occurrence table of the independent variables by country

	France		Hungary		Norway	
	Person-month	Event	Person-month	Event	Person-month	Event
Parenthood status						
No children	35045	203	25736	195	65446	460
At least one co-resident child	9632	58	11223	76	27302	243
Only non-resident child(ren)	17273	94	24991	97	23814	150
Period at the end of the first union						
1980–1989	26747	118	31373	164	48642	272
1990–1999	28016	180	25513	155	50652	408
2000–2008	7188	56	5065	50	17268	173
Age at the end of the first union						
<25	16568	100	14033	126	29556	237
25–29	16477	110	16700	110	34381	275
30–34	14495	74	16391	61	23309	163
35–39	8141	34	7489	43	17667	94
40–49	6269	37	7337	27	11649	85
Time since the end of the first union						
<1 year	9667	99	9461	145	18473	164
1–2 years	7865	82	7497	81	15165	187
2–3 years	6613	45	6276	36	12501	130
3–5 years	14303	91	14190	69	27169	235
5+ years	23503	38	24526	37	43254	137
Length of first partnership						
0–6 years	37121	202	34147	238	75031	555
7+ years	24829	153	27803	130	41532	298
Type of first partnership						
Cohabitation	36917	215	17025	135	71367	520
Cohabitation then marriage	14255	86	7264	42	31118	235
Direct marriage	10778	54	37662	191	14077	99
First partner died						
Yes	1636	11	3697	24	2368	10
No	60314	344	58253	345	114195	844
Level of education						
Primary	15774	68	11457	56	32632	199
Secondary	30548	179	40308	237	40454	327
Tertiary	15628	108	10186	75	43477	328

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, Wave 1, data for France (2005), Norway (2007–2008) and Hungary (2004–2005), authors' calculations.



Source: Generations and Gender Survey, Wave 1, data for France (2005), Norway (2007–2008) and Hungary (2004–2005), authors' calculations.

Figure 8.1 Fatherhood status of men at the end of the first union

co-residential parenting is the most common in Norway, where 80 per cent of fathers live with their children right after separation. The corresponding figures are 57 per cent and 43 per cent in France and Hungary, respectively. These percentages decrease as time passes after the dissolution of the union, because children may leave the parental household as they grow up. In some cases, parents continue to live in the same dwelling for some time after separation because of a housing shortage or because it takes time to sell the common house. Moreover, the living or custodial arrangements may also change because of a new union of any of the parents, a residential move, or some other change in the circumstances or preferences of the child or the parents (Maccoby and Mnookin 1992).

Table 8.4 shows the main characteristics of men aged below 50 after the dissolution of their first union by parental status. Generally the groups of fathers with co-resident or non-resident children are quite similar to each other in all the three countries, while childless men are typically younger and more educated than fathers, and their first union was shorter and usually cohabitation. Childless men were on average 27–28 years old when their first union ended, while fathers were aged around 34–36. On average, first unions lasted for 7–8 years, even though the distribution is large. In Hungary, 71 per cent of these relationships were marriages, while

Table 8.4 Characteristics of men at the end of the first union by fatherhood status and country

	No child	At least one co-resident child	Only non-resident child(ren)	Total
France				
Age (years, mean)	27.8	36.1	34.6	31.1
Length of the first union (years, mean)	4.0	12.6	10.3	7.3
1st union was marriage (%)	19.3	72.9	65.0	41.6
1st partner died (%)	2.3	9.4	1.6	4.0
Number of children (mean)	–	1.86	1.74	1.80
Age of the youngest child (mean)	–	7.2	5.7	6.5
Education: primary (%)	21.1	29.9	23.5	23.8
Education: secondary (%)	44.8	47.7	59.6	48.4
Education: tertiary (%)	34.1	22.3	16.8	27.8
Hungary				
Age (years, mean)	27.4	35.6	34.2	31.5
Length of the first union (years, mean)	4.2	12.1	11.2	8.3
1st union was marriage (%)	44.9	93.7	90.4	70.8
1st partner died (%)	4.1	21.4	2.3	7.6
Number of children (mean)	–	1.78	1.52	1.63
Age of the youngest child (mean)	–	7.7	8.0	7.8
Education: primary (%)	13.5	23.6	18.9	17.6
Education: secondary (%)	65.5	57.5	65.6	63.6
Education: tertiary (%)	21.1	19.0	15.5	18.8
Norway				
Age (years, mean)	27.6	35.0	36.4	31.0
Length of the first union (years, mean)	3.9	11.7	12.2	7.4
1st union was marriage (%)	13.7	73.6	72.9	41.5
1st partner died (%)	1.2	5.0	0.6	2.6
Number of children (mean)	–	1.76	1.60	1.73
Age of the youngest child (mean)	–	6.5	8.8	6.9
Education: primary (%)	26.4	25.4	26.3	26.0
Education: secondary (%)	35.3	42.7	43.6	38.8
Education: tertiary (%)	38.3	31.9	30.1	35.1

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, Wave 1, data for France (2005), Norway (2007–2008) and Hungary (2004–2005), authors' calculations.

only 42 per cent of men married their first stable partners in France and Norway. Due to the low mortality of women in this age group, very few first unions ended with the death of the female partner (3–8 per cent). Among fathers who live with their child(ren) on a part- or full-time basis, this figure is higher, especially in Hungary (21 per cent). Hungarian fathers are more likely to live with their children because of the death of the mother than French or Hungarian fathers are. This difference may also mean that Hungarian men are less likely to take (or to be allowed) partial or full responsibility of their children if the mother is also available.

Fathers have 1.6–1.8 children on average. In all three countries about half of the fathers have one child, one-third have two children and only every fifth father has three or more children. The mean number of children is highest among fathers who live with at least one child full-time or part-time. The youngest child of the men was around 6–8 years old when the relationship of the parents dissolved.

The educational background of fathers with part- or full-time co-resident and non-resident children also differ from each other to some extent in France and Hungary: men with primary and tertiary education are similarly over-represented among fathers with co-resident children, compared to all fathers.

About half of the men in our sample found a new partner before they turned 50. Re-partnering was the most likely in Norway (55.4 per cent) and less likely in France (43.7 per cent) and Hungary (46.3 per cent). Tables 8.5–8.7 show the results of the three sets of event history models for the three countries.

Regarding the likelihood of re-partnering of men in general (Table 8.5), there has been no significant change in France and Hungary. Contrastingly, the chances of finding a new partner increased significantly between the 1980s and the 1990s in Norway but have not changed thereafter.

If we look at the difference between fathers and childless men (Table 8.6), we can see that the likelihood of re-partnering has not changed for men without children in any of the countries since the 1980s. In France there has been no change in either group and fatherhood in general does not influence re-partnering. In Norway fathers have become more likely to enter a new union. Hungarian fathers experienced a temporary drop in their chances of re-partnering in the 1990s. (This finding should be treated with caution due to the small number of cases.)

If we compare fathers with and without co-resident children (Table 8.7), there is no difference between the two groups regarding their chances of re-partnering in Norway: both groups have experienced increasing probabilities, especially in the latest period. This finding indicates that the two groups of fathers are the most similar to each other in Norway. In Hungary

Table 8.5 Determinants of the re-partnering of men after the dissolution of their first relationship: general change

	France		Hungary		Norway	
Period at the end of the first union						
1980–1989	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
1990–1999	1.134		0.858		1.300	**
2000–2008	0.952		0.776		1.298	*
Parenthood status						
Had no children	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
Had child(ren)	0.969		0.873		1.242	*
Age at the end of the first union						
<25	1.901	**	2.052	***	1.368	*
25–29	1.818	**	1.671	**	1.273	*
30–34	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
35–39	0.759		1.288		0.682	**
40–49	0.739		0.658	†	0.705	*
Time since the end of the first union						
<1 year	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
1–2 years	1.022		0.706	*	1.389	**
2–3 years	0.663	*	0.377	***	1.181	
3–5 years	0.616	**	0.319	***	0.993	
5+ years	0.152	***	0.090	***	0.370	***

Length of first partnership						
0–6 years	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
7+ years	1.709	**	1.032		1.081	
Type of first partnership						
Cohabitation	0.891		0.946		0.852	
Cohabitation then marriage	1.050		0.991		0.976	
Direct marriage	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
First partner died	1.097		1.340		0.641	
Level of education						
Primary	0.826		0.891		0.841	
Secondary	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
Tertiary	1.100		1.163		1.011	
Intercept	0.006	***	0.013	***	0.007	***
Log likelihood	−1016.8		−1071.9		−2080.4	

Notes: Regression results, discrete-time event history analyses; relative risks. Significance levels: *** p <0.001, ** p <0.01, * p <0.05, † p <0.1.

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, Wave 1, data for France (2005), Norway (2007–2008) and Hungary (2004–2005), authors' calculations.

Table 8.6 Determinants of the re-partnering of men after the dissolution of their first relationship: difference in change between fathers and childless men

	France		Hungary		Norway	
Period at the end of the first union (no children)						
1980–1989	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
1990–1999	1.105		1.092		1.127	
2000–2008	0.893		0.818		0.985	
Parenthood status (in 1980–1989)						
Had no children	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
Had child(ren)	0.918		1.067		0.962	
Parenthood status & period (interaction effects)						
Had child(ren) & 1990–1999	1.058		0.599	†	1.336	†
Had child(ren) & 2000–2008	1.179		0.977		1.915	**
Age at the end of the first union						
<25	1.912	**	2.073	***	1.402	*
25–29	1.832	**	1.665	**	1.306	*
30–34	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
35–39	0.759		1.349		0.698	*
40–49	0.737		0.670		0.704	*
Time since the end of the first union						
<1 year	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
1–2 years	1.021		0.707	*	1.389	**
2–3 years	0.662	*	0.379	***	1.179	
3–5 years	0.616	**	0.321	***	0.989	
5+ years	0.152	***	0.092	***	0.367	***

Length of first partnership						
0–6 years	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
7+ years	1.718	**	1.038		1.060	
Type of first partnership						
Cohabitation	0.884		0.931		0.827	
Cohabitation then marriage	1.041		1.020		0.953	
Direct marriage	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
First partner died	1.102		1.360		0.623	
Level of education						
Primary	0.821		0.872		0.834	
Secondary	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
Tertiary	1.102		1.165		0.996	
Intercept	0.007	***	0.011	***	0.008	***
Log likelihood	−1016.7		−1069.2		−2075.1	

Notes: Regression results, discrete-time event history analyses; relative risks. Significance levels: *** p <0.001, ** p <0.01, * p <0.05, † p <0.1.

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, Wave 1, data for France (2005), Norway (2007–2008) and Hungary (2004–2005), authors' calculations.

Table 8.7 Determinants of the re-partnering of men after the dissolution of their first relationship: difference in change between fathers with co-resident and non-resident children

	France		Hungary		Norway	
Period at the end of the first union (only non-resident children)						
1980–1989	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
1990–1999	1.023		0.754		1.455	†
2000–2008	0.700		0.595		2.038	*
Parenthood status (in 1980–1989)						
No children	0.932		1.078		1.065	
At least one co-resident child	0.707		1.419		1.051	
Only non-resident child(ren)	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
Parenthood status & period (interaction effects)						
No child & 1990–1999	1.077		1.439		0.775	
No child & 2000–2008	1.268		1.364		0.484	*
Co-resident children & 1990–1999	1.300		0.744		1.040	
Co-resident children & 2000–2008	2.720	†	2.291	†	0.883	
Age at the end of the first union						
<25	1.933	**	2.042	***	1.405	*
25–29	1.832	**	1.700	**	1.310	*
30–34	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
35–39	0.755		1.319		0.704	*
40–49	0.744		0.694		0.708	*

Time since the end of the first union						
<1 year	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
1–2 years	1.022		0.708	*	1.390	**
2–3 years	0.665	*	0.380	***	1.180	
3–5 years	0.616	**	0.324	***	0.991	
5+ years	0.149	***	0.094	***	0.369	***
Length of first partnership						
0–6 years	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
7+ years	1.726	**	0.997		1.059	
Type of first partnership						
Cohabitation	0.892		0.927		0.831	
Cohabitation then marriage	1.066		1.003		0.956	
Direct marriage	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
First partner died	1.108		1.237		0.614	
Level of education						
Primary	0.823		0.843		0.835	
Secondary	(ref.)		(ref.)		(ref.)	
Tertiary	1.110		1.154		0.992	
Intercept	0.007	***	0.011	***	0.008	***
Log likelihood	−1014.8		−1064.9		−2074.8	

Notes: Regression results, discrete-time event history analyses; relative risks. Significance levels: *** p <0.001, ** p <0.01, * p <0.05, † p <0.1.

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, Wave 1, data for France (2005), Norway (2007–2008) and Hungary (2004–2005), authors' calculations.

the drop in the 1990s affected both groups of fathers; afterwards, the likelihood of re-partnering increased among Hungarian men with co-resident children. In France there has been a non-significant but visible decrease for men with non-resident children, and the effect of having co-resident children became positive by the 2000s, suggesting that the probability of re-partnering has diverged for the two groups of men. To put it differently, fathers with full- or part-time co-resident children find a new partner more easily in the new millennium than before in all three countries. Norwegian fathers with only non-resident children have also increased their chances of re-partnering. Non-residential fatherhood has become an obstacle to re-partnering in France and Hungary, even though the differences are not significant.

Results regarding the control variables are similar in the three models. The younger the respondents, the faster they find a new partner, especially if they are still in their twenties. The probability of re-partnering usually decreases as more time passes since the end of the first relationship. The characteristics of the first relationship have almost no effect on establishing a subsequent union. The only exception is France, where men are more likely to re-partner after a relatively long (seven years or more) first relationship. Only one socio-economic background variable was available in the dataset, the highest level of education, and it has no effect on re-partnering in any of the three countries.

DISCUSSION

In this chapter we have analysed how fatherhood status affects re-partnering after the dissolution of the first union of men, and how this effect has changed since the 1980s in France, Norway and Hungary. Examining this process among men in more than one country has been rare in this field of research, especially using a perspective of three decades. Our findings also shed light on the importance of distinguishing between different groups of men in the re-partnering process. We used data from the Generations and Gender Survey and performed event history regression analyses.

We formulated five hypotheses for the changing probability of re-partnering and the effect of fatherhood status. These hypotheses were based on the three general considerations of need, attractiveness and opportunity. However, we did not (and could not) test the effect and importance of these three dimensions directly. Instead, we looked at the overall picture and used the three considerations to explain unexpected results and country differences.

The results of the empirical analysis confirmed some of our hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 was confirmed for France and Hungary, where the probability of re-partnering has not changed among men in general; while there was an increase among Norwegian men between the 1980s and the 1990s. Their increasing opportunities (the growing instability of unions, the increasing number of potential partners, developments of the father-friendly welfare state) and the growing attractiveness of involved Norwegian fathers may have made it more likely for these men to re-partner in the new millennium than one or two decades earlier.

The results confirmed Hypothesis 2 for all three countries: there has been no change in childless men's probability to re-partner. Their chances of re-partnering probably depend on factors that are stable over time, or changes in one dimension may have been counterbalanced by changes in another one.

Hypothesis 3 concerned the unchanged probability of re-partnering for fathers, and it was confirmed only for France. Contrary to our expectations, the likelihood of re-partnering has changed in Norway and Hungary: it has increased in the former country, and it temporarily decreased in the latter society in the 1990s. Changes in Norway may be explained by the trends that we summarized above (in relation to Hypothesis 1). The temporarily decreasing re-partnering probability of Hungarian men in the 1990s was probably due to the abrupt and drastic social, economic and policy changes that took place after the transition of 1989. One possible explanation is that the life circumstances (income, material deprivation, well-being, social networks, physical and mental health) of divorced fathers greatly deteriorated after the transition of 1989, while men with families have experienced improving conditions (Vukovich 2006). The coverage of formal childcare for pre-school children also dropped sharply during the early 1990s in Hungary (Blaskó and Gábos 2012). These changes probably influenced custodial fathers more than non-custodial ones.

We found a weak negative effect of non-residential fatherhood in France and Hungary in the 2000s, and a significant negative impact in Hungary in the 1990s (Hypothesis 4). For Norwegian fathers it has become easier to find a new partner, regardless of the residential situation of the children. One possible explanation concerns the high involvement of Norwegian fathers in the upbringing and everyday life of their children that may seem especially attractive for prospective partners in a gender-egalitarian society like Norway, where expectations for fathers go beyond being a good provider for the family and also include fathers as carers (Skevik 2006). Even though parenting takes time and energy, the availability of state-subsidized high-quality childcare leaves parents with more free time and they can focus on spending more 'quality time' with their children (Rønsen 2004).

Previous research found that re-partnering does not necessarily reduce non-resident fathers' contact with their children from the previous relationship (Manning and Smock 1999). Moreover, fathers in shared parenting may feel less stressed and more satisfied than fathers whose children live with the mother (Neoh and Mellor 2010).

Hypothesis 5 was confirmed: having full- or part-time co-resident children has an increasingly positive influence on the re-partnering of fathers. This positive affect appeared earliest in Norway, followed by the other two countries in the new millennium. Fatherhood had a significant negative effect on re-partnering only in Hungary and only in the 1990s, and the effect of co-residential fatherhood has even become positive in the new millennium. This lack of negative impact contrasts with findings regarding the re-partnering of lone mothers and also some of the results on men (e.g. de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Poortman 2007; Sweeney 1997), but it is in line with some other results (e.g. Wu 1994; Ivanova et al. 2013 – except for Norway). The 'good father' effect (Goldscheider and Sassler 2006; Prioux 2006; Wu and Schimmele 2005) and changing attitudes towards divorce and separation (Liefbroer and Fokkema 2008) may play an important role in this trend.

The finding that the rate of re-partnering of men with co-resident children has increased coincides with the result of Bernhardt and Goldscheider (2002), the only other study that has examined the changing effect of fatherhood status on re-partnering. As they put it, '[t]his increase may reflect the greater willingness of some women to care for "someone else's" children; men's lack of increase, in contrast, suggests men's continued resistance to having to support them' (Bernhardt and Goldscheider 2002, p. 295).

Our results underline that more targeted research would be needed on single or joint custodial fathers, preferably in a comparative perspective, in order to better understand who these fathers are, how their families live their everyday lives, and what the consequences are of this arrangement for the well-being of the parents and the children. This research area would bridge the gap between studies on fatherhood and fathering – that most often focus on partnered or non-resident separated fathers – on the one hand, and studies of single mothers on the other hand. The questions of how single fatherhood and joint physical custody affect the life course of men and their children, which fathers live with their children either full-time or part-time after parental separation, how custodial decisions are made, and why more and more women are willing to take on the potentially problematic role of the stepmother, clearly require more scholarly attention.

The present chapter shows that fathers' involvement and co-residence

with children after parental separation make it easier for men to re-partner. There are a few other studies that show the beneficial effects of joint physical custody. For example, joint physical custody also makes re-partnering easier for mothers (Schnor and Pasteels 2015). Moreover, recent custody law reforms in the United States were proved to have unintended positive consequences on the family behaviour of men (Halla 2013). Among others, it seems likely that men are willing to invest more in children under joint custody, since they can expect to spend a substantial amount of time with their children even after potential divorce or separation. If this relationship is also true for European countries, high father involvement in childcare, egalitarian gender attitudes and a growing preference for joint physical custody may mutually affect and strengthen each other, thus benefiting society on the whole.

Finally, we have to acknowledge the limitations of our study. Firstly, couples with (small) children are less likely to separate than childless ones (Andersson 1997; Waite and Lillard 1991), so fathers are probably under-represented among divorced and separated men. Secondly, some potentially important variables were not available in the data, such as non-resident fathers' contact with their children after separation, and the amount and nature of their involvement in childcare. In the future it would be important for panel surveys to include these kinds of questions because such factors can have important implications not only for the re-partnering process but also for the well-being of children and fathers. Lacking these questions, we also cannot differentiate between co-resident fathers who have sole physical custody and those who share custody, which may be a crucial factor to consider in the future due to the increasing number of shared physical custody decisions in most European countries. No data were available on the employment status of the fathers, although we are aware of the fact that men with better positions on the labour market have a higher probability of re-partnering, especially in less gender-egalitarian societies such as Hungary. We also have no information on a possibly important factor that men and women likely consider when they re-partner: fertility intentions. People who want (more) children, people who are satisfied with their current number of children, or intentionally childless people may select a partner with complementary intentions.

Despite its limitations, however, this study can contribute to a better understanding of the re-partnering process of men and fathers in particular. Such analyses are important because they can make it clearer for policy makers and the general public that policies which foster fathers' involvement with their children are important and beneficial. Fathers' involvement not only can increase the quality of the relationship between fathers

and children and decrease the burden of childcare on women, but may also help fathers to find a new partner.

NOTES

* Acknowledgement: the research was partially supported by the project 'Mapping Family Transitions: Causes, Consequences, Complexities, and Context' (no. K109397) of the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA).

1. Here we only consider heterosexual relationships.
2. All dependent children who are younger than 25 years and live with only one parent are included in this calculation.
3. Data were obtained from the Generations and Gender Programme Data Archive and were created by Statistics Norway, the Institut national d'études démographiques (INED) and the Hungarian Demographic Research Institute.
4. We use this age limit because we are mainly interested in re-partnering while the man has children under 18. We are aware that having children of any age may affect re-partnering but we believe that the mechanisms are different in the case of adult children and minors. Studying the effect of having adult children (or even grandchildren) would require a different study.
5. We regard cohabitations that lasted for at least three months as significant for the individual's life. Since most couples have separate households at the start of the partnership and start cohabiting only later (e.g. Ermisch and Siedler 2008), partnerships actually start before the couple moves in together. Moreover, only 4 per cent of the first cohabiting relationships or marriages lasted for less than 12 months in our sample. As a sensitivity check we run the regression models only on those respondents whose first union lasted for at least one year. Omitting men with a shorter first relationship did not change our results.
6. Several alternatives for the parenthood status variables have been tested. The simplest approach is to use a dummy variable (whether someone has any children or not), and there are several other possibilities that previous research has found to be useful predictors. We may make a distinction by the number of children, their residential status or age. The variables may either refer to the start of the risk period (time-constant) or they may be dynamic. Moreover, these criteria may be combined. We had to make a compromise between maximizing information and minimizing complexity. Different regression models (results not shown) indicate that the major distinctions are between having any children or not, and whether any of the children live with the respondent. The age of the children only marginally matters, and moreover, only few people with children above 18 are included in the two subsamples.
7. Joint physical custody (shared residence) presumes approximately equal division of time with children between the parents in all three countries (Boele-Woelki et al. 2005; Kitterød and Lyngstad 2012). The dataset does not include information on what custody decision was made after separation or divorce (and the initial arrangement may later be changed), and on how much time the children actually spend with each parent. In our data the percentages of father–child co-residence are similar to what other studies found, thus it seems reasonable to assume that reports of co-residence in fact mean that the child spends a considerable amount of time in the father's dwelling, and not only a few times a month.
8. We differentiated between the following categories: primary (International Standard Classification of Education, ISCED 1–2), secondary (ISCED 3–4) and tertiary (ISCED 5–6) education. College or university students were assigned tertiary education (around 5 per cent of all the cases in each country).

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