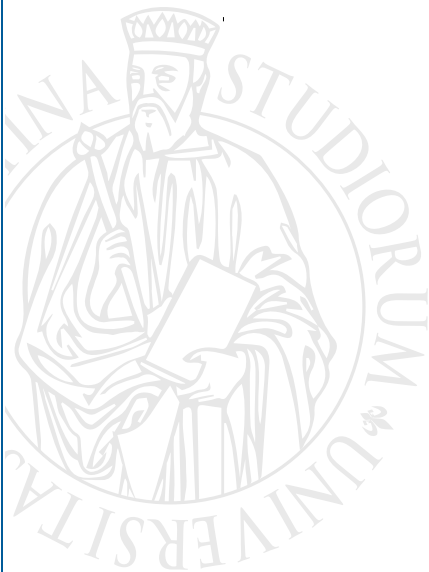UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI FIRENZE

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The impact of parental separation on the pattern of transition to adulthood in Italy

Marcantonio Caltabiano, Silvia Meggiolaro,
Valentina Tocchioni

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Marcantonio Caltabiano[a], Silvia Meggiolaro[b], Valentina Tocchioni[c]

Abstract

Many studies investigate the effects of parental separation on children, concentrating on short-term adjustment or long-term effects. Nevertheless, most of them usually consider each outcome separately, thus missing to look at the interdependencies among the different events. This paper focuses on the effects of parental separation on the events marking the transition to adulthood (from the end of education to parenthood) in a comprehensive way concentrating on a country, Italy, characterized by many peculiarities. Our aim is to verify whether young adults whose parents separated during childhood or youth show alternative pathways in comparison with those living with both parents, considering also whether the age at parental separation plays a role in differentiating these trajectories.

Using data from two cross-sectional rounds of the survey 'Families and Social Subjects' conducted in 2009 and 2016, we applied the Sequence Analysis Multistate Model procedure. Results suggest that children of non-intact families present particular trajectories especially for the formation of their own household, where a strong cultural effect seems to be at play (e.g., favoring cohabitation). Children's age at parental separation seems to differentiate more the pattern towards young adults' economic independence than of formation of their own household.

Keywords: parental separation, transition to adulthood, sequence analysis, competing-risk models, Italy

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[a] Università degli Studi di Messina, email: marcantonio.caltabiano@unime.it
[b] Università degli Studi di Padova, email: silvia.meggiolaro@unipd.it
[c] Università degli Studi di Firenze, email: valentina.tocchioni@unifi.it

1. Introduction

In recent years, in many societies, the number of children growing up for their whole childhood and adolescence with both their biological parents still married is decreasing, and, on the opposite, the number of children experiencing parental separation is increasing (Andersson and Philipov 2002; Andersson et al. 2017; OECD 2019). Thus, it is not surprising that, in this context, many studies focus on investigating the effects of parental separation on children (e.g., Härkönen et al. 2017). Parental separation changes, indeed, children's lives in many ways. The first change is that children cease to live full-time with both parents, implying stress and a need to adjust to the new situation. In addition, even if very heterogeneous family contexts may result after separation, with different levels of exposure to parental conflict (Amato 2010), parental separation implies also changes in family relationships. Even in the case of joint residential custody of the child, after separation the child often receives less involved parenting from the non-resident parent (usually the father), and the parenting style of the resident parent (usually the mother) frequently changes, too. Besides changes in family relationships, parental separation can lead also to a drop in household economic resources (Uunk 2004; Kalmijn et al. 2007).

Previous literature studying the effects of these changes in the lives of children has focused both on children's short-term adjustments, for example in terms of wellbeing (Amato 2006; Brown 2006; Osborne and McLanahan 2007; Kiernan and Mensah 2009; Mandemakers and Kalmijn 2014), and on long-term effects, such as the process of leaving home, union and family formation (Teachman 2003; Ongaro and Mazzuco 2009; Feldhaus and Heintz-Martin 2015; Härkönen et al. 2021), or about the intergenerational transmission of divorce (Teachman 2002; Li and Wu 2008; Feldhaus and Heintz-Martin 2015), but also on educational attainment and risky behaviors (Cavanagh and Huston 2006; Bernardi and Radl 2014; Grätz 2015; Bernardi and Boertien 2016; Guetto et al. 2022).

However, most previous literature considered each outcome separately, thus missing to look at the interdependencies among the different events. The current paper, instead, focuses on the effects of parental separation on all key events marking the transition to adulthood in a comprehensive way, that is, considering the transition to adulthood as a complex process, including more than simply an event, such as leaving home or entering the first union.

Following the life course approach, we acknowledge that life is a multidimensional process (e.g., Elder 1995, 1998), including several parallel paths that are highly interrelated and influence each other. We believe that recognizing this interdependency is crucial, whereas concentrating on single events insufficiently reflects the complexity of passages that define the

transition to adulthood (e.g., Aassve et al. 2007; Elder 1995, 1998; Levy and Bühlmann 2016; Sirniö et al. 2017). In this paper, we holistically take into account the interconnected patterns of education, labor market entry, exit from the parental home, formation of a union, and entry into parenthood, which are events suggested in life course research as the key events in the pathway to adulthood (e.g., Macmillan 2005; Müller and Gangl 2003; Settersten 2007). What is more, we examine both the *timing* of events and their characteristics, specifically, the educational level attained, the reasons for leaving the parental home and the type of union.

This comprehensive approach is even more important if we take into account the fact that, since the 1970s, the life courses of young adults have become destandardized and differentiated, due to, among others, educational expansion, cultural changes, and employment uncertainty (Buchmann and Kriesi 2011; Shanahan 2000). As a consequence, adult roles and economic autonomy are achieved via postponed and possibly more diversified life trajectories than in previous decades, obtained through increasing heterogeneity in the timing, ordering, and duration of the key events marking the transition to adulthood.

Another shortcoming in the literature that we intend to address is to verify if children's age at which parents split up plays a role in distancing the trajectories between children of intact families and those of separated parents. Prior research has, indeed, suggested that the timing of family instability has an impact on the consequences for children (see, for example, Fomby 2013, Fomby and Bosick 2013). However, previous literature has usually distinguished between children who experienced parental separation during their early childhood (by age 4 or 5) and those experienced later, during children's school years up to the entry to high school (age 14 or 15). Even if it is clear that family dissolution may affect children of any age, and there is not an age limit beyond which parental divorce would have no effect, studies considering higher age limits are quite scarce (e.g., Bernardi and Radl 2014; Feldhaus and Heintz-Martin 2015; Kreidl et al. 2017). Specifically, only a few studies have considered the effect of living in non-intact families also in young adulthood (Fronstin et al. 2001; Ongaro and Mazzuco 2009; Rijken and Liefbroer 2009; Thorsen 2017), but none of these has followed a comprehensive approach in examining the effects of parental separation on interrelated outcomes. We fill this gap in the literature, considering not only family instability experienced during childhood and adolescence but also during young adulthood.

To sum up, taking into account the complexity of processes that define the transition to adulthood, our objective is threefold: to identify and describe the different trajectories characterizing the transition to adulthood; to verify whether young adults whose parents separated experience diverse paths with respect to young adults with intact families; finally, to

verify whether these trajectories differ according to children's age at parental separation. The current paper concentrates on Italy, a country presenting peculiar characteristics, such as persistent traditional family behaviors, making the study of transition to adulthood in this context particularly worthwhile. The data come from the latest two cross-sectional rounds of the survey 'Families and Social Subjects' (FSS) conducted by the Italian Statistical Institute (ISTAT) in 2009 and 2016.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents theoretical remarks on the events marking the transition to adulthood and their interrelationship with parental separation, as well as previous empirical studies on the relationship between parental separation and one or more key events of the transition to adulthood (2.1); then the Italian background and its remarkable characteristics (2.2) are presented; after our research questions (2.3), Section 3 describes the data and the strategy of analysis; Section 4 presents the results; finally, conclusions and discussion follow.

2. Background, context, and research questions
2.1 Theoretical remarks and previous findings

Concentrating on the various events marking the transition to adulthood and the mechanisms at the interplay when parental separation occurs, empirical research on the effect of parental separation has consistently found that parental separation adversely affects the end of education and, broadly speaking, educational attainment (Magnuson and Berger 2009; Strohschein et al. 2009; Conger et al. 2010; Fomby 2013; Gähler and Palmtag 2015; Sapharas et al. 2016). Four main different mechanisms have been identified in this association: a reduction in economic resources following separation (McKeever and Wolfinger 2001; Albertini and Dronkers 2009; Thomson and McLanahan 2012; Guetto et al. 2022); changes in parents' time spent with children and in parenting practices (Beck et al. 2010); parenting stress within the family (Cooper et al. 2009; Beck et al. 2010); and children's emotional crisis linked to parental separation (Jekielek 1998). With the loss of a parent in the household, the co-resident parent (usually the mother) generally has fewer economic resources; consequently, economic disadvantages negatively impact children's education, since a decline in available income will reduce investments in children's human capital. Such a reduction in human capital may mean a decrease in formal education, since the child might be forced to leave school earlier for the need to obtain full-time employment (Crosnoe and Cavanagh 2010; Lee and McLanahan 2015). As mentioned above, parental separation changes also family relationships; in particular, the

absent parent obviously spends less time with his/her child, but also the custodial parent may spend less time with the co-resident child having more responsibilities within the household and spending eventual, additional time in the labor market. This reduction of parents' time implies less time to help the children with homework and supervise them, which may have an impact on children's schooling performances. Lastly, a context characterized by parenting stress and children's emotional crisis linked to parental separation are additional factors responsible for the negative school outcomes in children. This disadvantaged context negatively impacts children's wellbeing and thus their educational chances: indeed, children growing up in non-intact households have higher rates of negative academic performance and behavioral problems – such as marijuana use, early sexual initiation, and early childbearing (see, for example, Cavanagh, 2008 and Donahue et al., 2010) – and these, in turn, increase the risk of leaving earlier school, compared to children residing in intact households (Jeynes 2002; McLanahan et al. 2013).

As regards the process of leaving the parental home, there are many reasons why children of separated parents might leave the parental home earlier than those in intact families (see, for example, the discussion by Bernhardt et al. 2005), and most empirical findings support the idea of an earlier exit for children of separated parents (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1998; Holdsworth 2000; Bernhardt et al. 2005; Mazzuco and Ongaro 2009; Zorlu and Gaalen 2016). Increasing conflict between parents can be a pushing factor to leave the parental home, in contraposition with the closer family bonds connected with growing up with two biological parents; in addition, being affected by a parental separation during childhood, particularly if it occurs at a younger age, increases the risk for further biographical transitions (such as repartnering of parent(s)), and children have to cope with these new situations. Similarly, a deterioration in the household economic condition brought by parental separation can force children to leave home earlier (McLanahan and Carlson 2004; Kiernan 2006). On the other hand, in some situations, children experiencing parental separation may postpone leaving parental home because they have to support their mother (or father or a sibling) in a critical situation. This may be the case when the co-resident parent has not a new partner to live with: children living with a parent may leave the parental home at a slower rate, since they may feel reluctant to leave the parent alone (Mencarini et al. 2012).

Another important aspect to be considered is the reasons of exit (see, for example, the discussion by Bernhardt et al. 2005). Individuals from disrupted families may be more prone to leave home earlier in order to start a union: the strain connected with parental separation produces incentives to leave the parental home and to find a partner, and the lower parental

control experienced in non-intact families facilitates premature behaviors, such as early sexual intercourse, clearly connected with the propensity to enter a partnership. Different types of strain can also produce an increased risk for leaving home without a partner (for example, poor economic conditions). But despite the rich literature on the effect of parental separation on young adults' process of leaving home, studies examining in detail the diverse effects according to the type of exit are less numerous (Bernhardt et al. 2005; Ongaro and Mazzuco 2009; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010). Broadly speaking, an earlier exit from the parental home occurs more frequently for non-union reasons than for union reasons (see, e.g., Ongaro and Mazzuco 2009).

As said, the two processes of end of education and exit from the parental home do not occur in isolation, but they are closely connected with the others. In particular, for union formation the experience of parental separation seems to be positively associated with an early union formation, for the same mechanisms connected with strain and control which are at play in the process of leaving home (Bernhardt et al. 2005; Ongaro and Mazzuco 2009; Fomby and Bosick 2013). Thus, children experiencing parental separation have a higher rate of entry into the first union since they generally "grow up faster" (Weiss 1979) and get romantically involved and enter co-residential unions at an earlier age (Wolfinger 2005) to leave a home environment that can be economically and socially unpleasant.

As regards the effect of parental separation on the different type of the first union, it is worthwhile to mention that parental separations during childhood may influence children's life courses by affecting their value orientations, which, in turn, change their family behaviors. Indeed, parental separation is found to alter children's values towards more liberal and non-traditional attitudes (for example, toward early sexuality and non-marital cohabitation), lower marital commitment, and more egalitarian, non-traditional gender roles (see, for example, Amato and DeBoer 2001; Teachman 2002; Härkönen et al. Dronkers, 2021). This may influence union formation increasing the propensity to choose cohabitation rather than marriage as a form of union, since young adults whose parents separated during childhood may develop a less trustful attitude towards marriage (Jacquet and Surra 2001; Thorsen 2017) and, more in general, a preference towards less traditional family forms, which makes them less inclined to marry and more prone to other family forms (Riggio and Weiser 2008). Empirical results usually confirm that individuals who experienced parental separation have a higher likelihood of cohabiting, and do so at earlier ages (Amato and Kane 2011; Ryan et al. 2009). Similar results were obtained by Feldhaus and Heintz-Martin (2015) who found that parental separation accelerates the timing to first cohabitation, but not to marriage; this may be due to

the fact that in many countries cohabitation is the first step in the partnership-formation process after leaving the parental home. This clearly may depend also on the level of acceptance of cohabitation as an alternative form of union, and, thus, the socio-economic and cultural context may have a role.

The last two events in the transition to adulthood, labor market entrance and parenthood, have received much less attention in empirical research. Concerning labor market experience, most studies considered the adverse impact of parental separation on outcomes such as job autonomy, job satisfaction, or occupational status at a certain age (Ermisch and Francesconi 2001; Fronstin et al. 2001). The research specifically considering the entry into labor market is scarce (Aquilino 1996 and Fomby and Bosick 2013), but it has been found that the experience of parental separation is positively associated with an early entry into full-time work. Results of these studies suggested that the decision of children grown up in non-intact families to leave earlier education would encourage both earlier entry into the labor force and earlier attempts to establish an independent household (Aquilino 1996). In other words, the life paths in early adulthood, as regards labor force participation and family formation, are influenced by education outcomes. This clearly confirms the importance of considering interlocking trajectories among life domains (Elder 1984).

The very few studies analyzing the impact of parental separation on their offspring's transition to parenthood found a positive association with an early childbearing (Ermisch and Francesconi 2001; Fomby and Bosick 2013), especially if outside marriage (Cherlin et al. 1995; Kiernan and Hobcraft 1997), whereas some other studies found that parents' divorce has almost no impact on a child's entry into parenthood once the level of marital conflict is taken into account (Rijken and Liefbroer 2009). The fact that children whose parents divorced may become parents earlier may be motivated by a less attractive personal home situation, by early sexual activity, and limited use of adequate contraception (Albrecht and Teachman 2003; Hofferth and Goldscheider 2010), thus confirming a strong interconnection between events, that risk to give only partial information if transitions are considered separately.

2.2 The Italian case

Italy has been considered an exception in the European context until the beginning of 2000s for its low dissolution rates, with a value of the total divorce rate of 8 divorces per 100 marriages in 1995 (Istat, 2010), in comparison with some European countries with more than 50 divorces per 100 marriages (Sobotka and Toulemon 2008). It is not surprisingly, thus, the relatively few studies that exist on the process of transition to adulthood of children of separated

couples in this country (Ongaro and Mazzuco 2009; Mencarini et al. 2012). However, in recent years, separation and divorce rates have been rising considerably in Italy. The total divorce rate reached the value of 18 divorces per 100 marriages in 2008; this value has remained quite stable until 2014, but it has grown up to 30 divorces per 100 marriages as a consequence of the so called "fast divorce Law" of 2015 (Istat 2016). In the following years, separations and divorces maintained at high levels up to 2020, when the covid-19 pandemic has slowed down the dynamics related to a legal or consensual separation or divorce. Moreover, consequently to a high growth of divorce, second and higher order marriages have increased, too: the percentage of these marriages were 13.8% of total marriage officiated in 2008, but reached 21.1% in 2021 (Istat 2023).

In this period of changes – from a very low diffusion of marital instability to an increasing spread of it – also the social acceptance of separations and divorces has increased, and, simultaneously, a change in the socio-economic gradient of divorce has been observed. Given the strong social stigma that divorce had in the past (at least until the 1990s), especially in presence of children within the union, divorced couples tended to be highly educated and belong to the highest social strata of the population: individuals in higher socio-economic statuses were those more prone to accept new forms of behaviors as they were able to cope with the legal and socio-economic costs of a separation. However, some signals of changes have started: during the 1990s, women belonging to the lower social strata also seem to be more prone to dissolve their marriages, suggesting a reversing educational gradient in divorce, from positive to negative (Salvini and Vignoli 2011).

The case of Italy is also intriguing because it is a context characterized by strong family ties (Reher 1998) and by persistent traditional family behaviors in comparison with other European countries (Corijn and Kleijzing 2001). Traditionally, Italian young adults tend to leave their parental home at later ages compared to their counterparts in other European countries (Aassve et al. 2002; Aassve et al. 2013) and mainly for union-related reasons (usually marriage). Unmarried cohabitation is, indeed, far less common than elsewhere in Europe, even if in the last decades marriages rates started to decline and cohabitation has become more common (Istat 2012; Pirani and Vignoli 2016), with 33% of children born in 2019 from unmarried parents (but more than 40% in some central and northern regions; Istat 2020).

At the basis of these patterns there is a long-lasting interplay between cultural factors and institutional framework settings, resulting in a familistic welfare regime (Dalla Zuanna 2001; Dalla Zuanna and Micheli 2004). This context is reinforced by a critical housing market (characterized by the scarcity of affordable rented accommodation), by universities spread

throughout the nation discouraging education-related moves, and by a welfare system not particularly generous towards young people (see for example, Rosina et al. 2007 or Barbieri 2011).

Another peculiar aspect of the Italian context is the strong deregulation/segmentation that has characterized Italian labor market in recent years. The process of labor market flexibilization began in Italy during the 1980s and saw various laws and reforms during the 1990s, which triggered the spread of new flexible and temporary contracts (Barbieri and Scherer 2009), one of the fastest in Europe over the last decades (OECD 2016). Clearly, this context increased, in particular, the economic vulnerability of young people (Barbieri 2011; Vignoli et al. 2016). This unfavorable context has been exacerbated, among others, by the recent economic crisis of 2008: youth (and especially female) unemployment increased disproportionately with respect to the overall unemployment level in almost all European countries (Cho and Newhouse 2013; OECD 2013; Lin et al. 2013; Aassve et al. 2013).

Finally, in Italy the average education level of young people is lower than in most other European countries, whereas the number of secondary school dropouts is higher (European Commission 2022). Moreover, the school-to-work transition is not exempt from many troubles, as proved by the high number of young people not in education or training (the so called NEET) and the high unemployment rate (Pastore 2019; Caltabiano and Rosina 2018).

Despite the great steps made towards a secularization of family behaviors in this country, the family still remains pivotal in children's lives and later and longer processes characterize young people's transition to adulthood. Thus, not only, we may expect different paths for young people living in intact or non-intact families, but these pathways may be more distant than those in countries with a different social and cultural background and with shorter processes, as the North-Western European or Scandinavian countries.

Summing up, given all these peculiar characteristics of Italy, to study the process of transition to adulthood in such a context is worthwhile (Carcillo et al. 2015), but it is not an isolated case: Italy may be considered a representative of the Mediterranean context, but it shares also some similarities (presumably operating through similar cultural heritage mechanisms) with Ireland (Cook and Furstenberg 2002).

2.3 Research questions

Informed by the life course approach, in this paper we aim to assess if and how parental separation is associated with young Italians' transition to adulthood, considering the multiple

events marking this process. But, for understanding how young people's trajectories differ by parental separation, first, we must answer the following research question:

RQ1: what are the trajectories marking Italian young people's transition to adulthood? In particular, two main aspects need to be considered when looking at the transition to adulthood: first, the acquaintance of an economic independence from their parents; second, the formation of their own household. Broadly speaking, not necessarily these two aspects are interrelated or subsequent, given that a young person could be economically independent without forming a family his/her own household, as well as family formation could precede the economic independence from their parents (for example, if co-residing in the same household). For this reason, we split our first research question into two sub-questions investigating these two main aspects:

RQ1a: what are the trajectories towards Italian young people's economic independence?

RQ1b: what are the trajectories towards the formation of Italian young people's own household?

Second, our interest is specifically devoted to investigate the differences into trajectories between young people who lived in intact families and young people who lived parental separation. For this reason, our second research question asks:

RQ2: Do Italian young adults whose parents separated follow different paths in comparison with those grown up in intact families?

As abovementioned, young Italians are usually involved in serious difficulties in gaining economic independence; thus, for this reason we may expect fewer differences among the trajectories towards economic independence of children with or without separated parents. Instead, family formation is surely linked to economic independence, but is also driven by cultural values, which are very strong in Italy. In this case, we expect that young people's pathways could be more distant in the two groups, with children with separated parents more likely to be involved in secularized behaviours. For this reason, again we split our second research question into two sub-questions investigating these two main aspects:

RQ2a: Do Italian young adults whose parents separated follow different paths towards economic independence in comparison with those grown up with both parents in intact families?

RQ2b: Do Italian young adults whose parents separated follow different paths towards the formation of their own household in comparison with those grown up with both parents in intact families?

Finally, as anticipated above, a hit of empirical studies concentrated on the differences deriving from an earlier or later age at parental separation. With our approach, we intend to investigate this understudied aspect taking into account the age at which parental separation occurred, and verifying whether it has an influence in the transition to adulthood, especially in a country as Italy characterized by later and longer processes. In this respect, out third and final research question asks:

RQ3: Does the age at parental separation play a role in differentiating the pathways of the transition to adulthood followed by Italian young adults?

3. Data and methods

3.1 Data

We used data from the latest two cross-sectional rounds of the survey 'Families and Social Subjects' (FSS) conducted in Italy by the Italian Statistical Institute (ISTAT) in 2009 and 2016. The 2009 round is based on a representative sample at a national level of about 20,000 households; the 2016 round is formed by a sample of nearly 25,000 people aged over 18 years old. The two rounds provide completely comparable data about a broad range of socio-economic, demographic, and family characteristics and thus they can be pooled and analyzed together in order to guarantee a larger sample size to allow detailed analyses.

In particular, the surveys provide a lot of retrospective information on life course events, such as leaving of parental home and union formation. In addition, data on education and employment history are provided. Parental separation is investigated asking if respondents' parents got separated or not, and if so the year in which separation occurred[1].

Specifically, our sample is composed by 24,127 people who, at the time of the interview, were between 25 and 49 years old (see Table A1 in the Appendix for the sample composition by gender and survey year). The lower bound of the age limit was fixed in order to follow at least partly all individuals during the first years in the transition to adulthood process; the upper bound of the age limit was settled in order to avoid including in the sample older cohorts for which parental separation was a very rare phenomenon.

Table 1 shows some descriptive statistics about the five key life events for the transition to adulthood (end of education, labor market entry, leaving parental home, union entry,

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[1] The questionnaire does not specify neither which form of separation occurred (informal or legal), nor if parents were married or cohabited. The questionnaire gives us information also on whether parents have never lived together, but we excluded from the analyses individuals whose parents have never lived together, because even if they may share some similarities with those whose parents split up, parental separation does not represent a break in their lives.

parenthood) by parental separation. In our sample, most people lived in an intact family, whereas only 6.3% of young people experienced parental dissolution within 35 years old (with similar proportions between the two groups that lived parental separation during childhood or youth).

Young people in intact families experienced the end of education, the union entry, and parenthood at the threshold ages of each event in higher proportions than young people in the two groups with separated parents (see Table 1 for the thresholds, Table A2 in the Appendix shows thresholds by gender). Instead, a higher proportion of young people with separated parents entered the labor market and left the parental home by the age of 25 (30) with respect to young people with intact families.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics by type of family of origin. Pooled sample from FSS 2009 and 2016.

	Intact family		Parental separation 0-14 years old		Parental separation 15-35 years old	
	n	*%*	n	*%*	n	*%*
Observations	22,613	*93.7*	802	*3.3*	712	*3.0*
End of education *(by the age of 25)*	19,040	*84.2*	669	*83.4*	588	*82.6*
Labor market entry *(by the age of 25)*	15,290	*67.6*	598	*74.6*	512	*71.9*
Leaving parental home *(by the age of 30)*	15,834	*70.0*	599	*74.7*	519	*72.9*
First union entry *(by the age of 35)*	15,554	*68.8*	527	*65.7*	465	*65.3*
First child's birth *(by the age of 35)*	11,945	*52.8*	370	*46.1*	339	*47.6*

3.2 Strategy of analysis

Following the theoretical approach of life course research, we apply the Sequence Analysis Multistate Model (SAMM) procedure to assess how parental separation is associated with young people's transition to adulthood (Studer et al. 2018; see Liao et al. 2022 and Raab and Struffolino, 2022 for an introduction to sequence analysis).

The SAMM procedure is formed by two steps, which we implemented for the two main aspects for the transition into adulthood: young people's economic independence and the formation of their own household. Two key events are considered as starting points for these two aspects: the end of education for young people's economic independence, and the exit from the parental home for the formation of their own household. The other life events marking the transition into adulthood come into play through these events. In the following, first we describe the

SAMM procedure applied to young people's economic independence; second, we describe the SAMM procedure applied to the formation of young people's own household. More details on the method are given describing the first process, whereas for the second process we concentrate on the peculiarities in terms of states, number of years, model covariates and so on, taking for granted that the two steps of the procedure are the same.

3.2.1 Economic independence

The starting point marking young people's economic independence is the end of education. For studying this process (which corresponds to RQ1a), we create respondents' sequences of transition to adulthood focusing on the following events: concluding education; labor market entry; leaving parental home. Whereas labor market entry has only two possible states (no entry/entry), the other life course events are more detailed, in accordance with what identified in the previous literature. More precisely, final educational level distinguishes into three possible statuses: still studying; low-medium (at most lower secondary/vocational education) and high (upper secondary or higher) educational level. Leaving home includes the following statuses: still living with the family of origin; leaving for entering into a union; leaving for other reasons than union formation. Thus, the overall number of possible statuses is equal to 18, and all statuses are absorbing in that once a person has experienced an event of interest (i.e. s/he left the parental home for union), s/he no longer changes status. Finally, each sequence covers the period from age 12 to 35 with an annual observation unit, totaling 24 years of observation[2].

In the first step of the SAMM procedure, we extract 20,171 subsequences[3] of 7 years[4], where respondents are still studying in the first year and end their education in the second year. We then evaluate the distance matrix among subsequences by using the distance based on the longest common attributes (LCS)[5], and using the partitioning around medoid (PAM) clustering

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[2] We tested the start of sequences at 13 and 15 years old, but several respondents were not included in the analysis (4.4% and 23.3%, respectively) because for those born starting from January 1st, 1952 up to December 31st 1984 (namely, most of our respondents), at least eight years of education (reached usually at 13-14 years old) were compulsory. For the remaining respondents born after that date, at least nine years of education were compulsory.
[3] The number of subsequences is minor than the original sample of 24,127 respondents because: 942 individuals declared a too low age for concluding education; 1,284 individuals did not conclude their education at the interview date or they concluded after 35 years old; 1,730 individuals did not have concluded their education at least 6 years before the interview date (if younger than 35)/before 35.
[4] A seven-year period provides a view of medium-term dynamics after the end of education; we tested a shorter subsequence length of 5 years, but some medium-term dynamics were lost in this way.
[5] The LCS corresponds to an optimal matching algorithm with substitution cost equal to 2 and unitary indel costs, which is sensitive to duration, while still being sensitive to timing and sequencing (Studer and Ritschard 2016).

technique we identified seven clusters as the optimal solution both with respect to other algorithms (e.g., Ward's algorithm) and other number of clusters[6].

In the second step of the SAMM procedure, we estimate the effect of both time-constant and time-varying explanatory variables (listed below) on the chances to follow each type of subsequence using a multistate model. We need to estimate one hazard function for each typical subsequence cluster, therefore we use a competing-risk discrete-time event-history model[7], with person-years nested within individuals (Steele et al. 2004; Studer et al. 2018). In this setting, we estimate the chances to experience a specific typical subsequence for the end of education instead of (1) any other or (2) remaining in the education spell as defined by the sequences. Multiple spells for each respondent may occur according to how many years each respondent spends in education, in the same state before transitioning towards the end of education. The baseline hazard is respondent's age, grouped into four categories: 12-18, 19-24, 25-29.

The relationship between young people's trajectories and parental separation is estimated by including a time-varying covariate signaling if and when parental separation occurred. In particular, we estimate two models: first, we include a dichotomous time-varying covariate signaling if parental separation occurred (see Model A1 in the Appendix, for answering our RQ2); second, we include a time-varying covariate distinguishing if parental separation occurred when (1) respondents were between 0 and 14 years old, or (2) if they were above 14, or (3) if their parents never split up within the considered period (see Model A2 in the Appendix for answering RQ3).

We also include several control variables, referred both to the respondent and to his/her parents[8]. As for the respondent, we control for: gender; birth cohort (in three categories: 1960-1969; 1970-1979; 1980-1991), given that several cultural changes, described in § 2.2, occurred over the time span considered; if the respondent has sibling (yes/no); macroarea of residence, distinguishing among North, Centre and South/Islands, given that cultural changes and the softening of social stigmatization against separation proceeded slowly in the South than in the rest of Italy. As for parents' control variables, we include: parental education, measured as the

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[6] For the comparison among the different solutions, we used some cluster quality measures, such as average silhouette width and point biserial correlation (Studer 2013).

[7] The competing-risk discrete-time event-history analysis corresponds to a multinomial logit model with standard errors clustered at the individual level, for taking into account that multiple spells – corresponding to one year of observation - are nested within individuals. Even more, discrete-time models are more appropriate when durations are measured with a crude approximation, such as years (Allison 1982).

[8] We tested the inclusion of several interactions between parental separation and other relevant variables that could moderate the relationship, namely we tested interaction terms with gender, age class and birth cohorts in separated models. Nevertheless, all interaction terms were statistically meaningless to be included.

highest level of education between the parents (primary or lower; lower secondary/vocational; upper secondary/tertiary); mother's employment (yes/no) when the respondent was 15, because mother's labor market involvement or inactivity may imply less or more time to dedicate to their children, as well as the affordability of additional resources; father's social class when the respondent was 15 (distinguishing among management and professional; intermediate class; self-employed; working class; and finally a residual category for those not employed).

3.2.2 Formation of young people's own household

For studying the second non-economic life-course pathway (which corresponds to our RQ1b), namely the formation of young people's own household, we concentrate on the exit from the parental home as starting point, and we create respondents' sequences of transition to adulthood focusing on the following events: leaving parental home; first union entry; parenthood. Whereas leaving home and parenthood have only two possible states (no/yes), partnership distinguishes if a respondent starts cohabiting or s/he marries, in contrast with singlehood status. Thus, the overall number of possible statuses is equal to 12, and all statuses are absorbing. Finally, each sequence covers the period from age 15 to 40 with an annual observation unit, totaling 26 years of observation.

In the first step of the SAMM procedure, we extract 17,789 subsequences[9] of 5 years[10], where respondents are still living with the family of origin in the first year and leave the parental home in the second year. As in the procedure used for economic independence, we opt for the PAM clustering technique (Studer 2013) using the distance matrix based on LCS (Studer and Ritschard 2016). Accordingly, we choose the number of clusters maximizing these cluster quality measures, opting for six-cluster solution.

In the second step of the SAMM procedure, we estimate the relationship between several explanatory variables and the chances to follow each typical subsequence cluster using a competing-risk discrete-time event-history model, with person-years nested within individuals (Steele et al. 2004; Studer et al. 2018). In this setting, we estimate the chances to experience a specific typical subsequence for leaving the parental home instead of (1) any other or (2) remaining in the parental home spell as defined by the sequences. The baseline hazard is respondent's age, grouped into four categories: 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-35.

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[9] The number of subsequences is minor than the original sample of 24,127 respondents because: 427 individuals left their parental home within 15; 4,489 individuals did not leave their parental home at the interview date or within 40 years old; 1,422 individuals did not leave their parental home at least 4 years before the interview date (if younger than 40)/before 40.

[10] A length of 5 years provides short-medium dynamics after the exit from the parental home.

The relationship between young people's trajectories and parental separation is estimated by including a time-varying covariate signalling if parents split up (see Model B1 in the Appendix for answering RQ2) and when parental separation occurred (according to children's age at parental separation before or after 15 years old: see Model B2 in the Appendix for answering RQ3).

We also include several control variables[11], referred both to the respondent and to his/her parents[12]. As for the respondent's control variables, we control for: final educational level, (distinguishing among: primary or lower, lower secondary or vocational, upper secondary, tertiary); working condition[13] (with four categories: not employed, permanent employed, temporary employed, self-employed); gender; birth cohort; if the respondent has sibling; macroarea of residence. As for parents' control variables, we include: parental education; mother's employment when the respondent was 15; father's social class when the respondent was 15.

4. Results
4.1 Typologies for the transition to adulthood

4.1.1 Clusters for young people's economic independence

Concentrating on our first research question about which are the trajectories marking young people's transition to adulthood, let's start with our descriptive results about RQ1a on the trajectories towards young people's economic independence. Table 2 shows the seven different clusters identified, where the cluster labels recall their main features according to the studied processes, namely the end of education, the entry into the labor market and the exit from the parental home for union or non-union related reasons. The main distinction is between four clusters – whose respondents reached a low-medium educational level – and three clusters – whose respondents reached a high educational level. Accordingly, their end of education occurred at different ages. For the first groups of low-medium educated respondents, it occurred at the median age of 16 years old for those belonging to the "Low educated NEET", up to progressively increase in the other three clusters till to 18 years old for the "Low Educated

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[11] Where the covariates included in the model are the same of the model for the End of education subsequences, we skip to specify the various categories of each control variable.

[12] We tested the inclusion of several interactions between parental separation and other relevant variables that could moderate the . Nevertheless, all interaction terms were statistically meaningless to be included.

[13] For the model estimation, we dropped 69 observations for which the date of job start or job end around the subsequences was missing. The total number of observations is then 17,720.

Leaving & Working" cluster (see Table 2 for median ages for each cluster). For the second groups of high-educated respondents, their conclusion of education occurred at the median age of 19 years old for those belonging to the "High educated NEET", up to progressively increase in the other two clusters till to 24 years old for the "High Educated Leaving & Working" cluster. Examining their working patterns throughout the 7 years of subsequence duration (see Figure 1), it is clear that those respondents concluding their education later had a faster transition to the labor market, whereas those stopping their education early lived a long period of non-employment and non-education (and for this reason they have been defined as NEET). Remarkably, the "Low educated NEET", which is the most numerous cluster (23.0% of respondent subsequences), has the lowest percentage of respondents that lived parental separation within their conclusion of education (2.8%). Of course, a temporal effect could be at play because they are also those who are observed for the shortest time on average, but it does not seem to compensate for the gap existing with other clusters.

The two less numerous clusters (namely, the "Low Educated Leaving & Working" and "High Educated Leaving & Working", corresponding to 6.1% and 8.0% of respondents, respectively) are formed by youth who entered the labor market and left their parental home for non-union related reasons within six years of their conclusion of education. Their scarcity reveals how in Italy, concluding education and entering into the labor market do not imply a close exit from the parental home, which may be delayed over time. To be noteworthy for our purposes, those two clusters are also the ones with the highest percentages of respondents who lived parental separation by the end of education. Finally, a relatively few respondents left the parental home for union related reasons (mainly belonging to the "High Educated Working" cluster).

Table 2: Cluster labels, numerosity and some characteristics for young people's economic independence

Cluster label	abs. freq.	%	median age for the end of education	% respondents who lived parental separation
Low Educated NEET	4,640	23.0	16	2.8
Low Educated slow Working	2,601	12.9	16	3.5
Low Educated Working	3,706	18.4	17	3.9
Low Educated Leaving & Working	1,236	6.1	18	7.4
High Educated NEET	2,032	10.1	19	3.1
High Educated Working	4,340	21.5	20	3.9
High Educated Leaving & Working	1,616	8.0	24	6.2
Total	**20,171**	**100.0**	**18**	**3.9**

Figure 1: Cluster subsequences for young people's economic independence
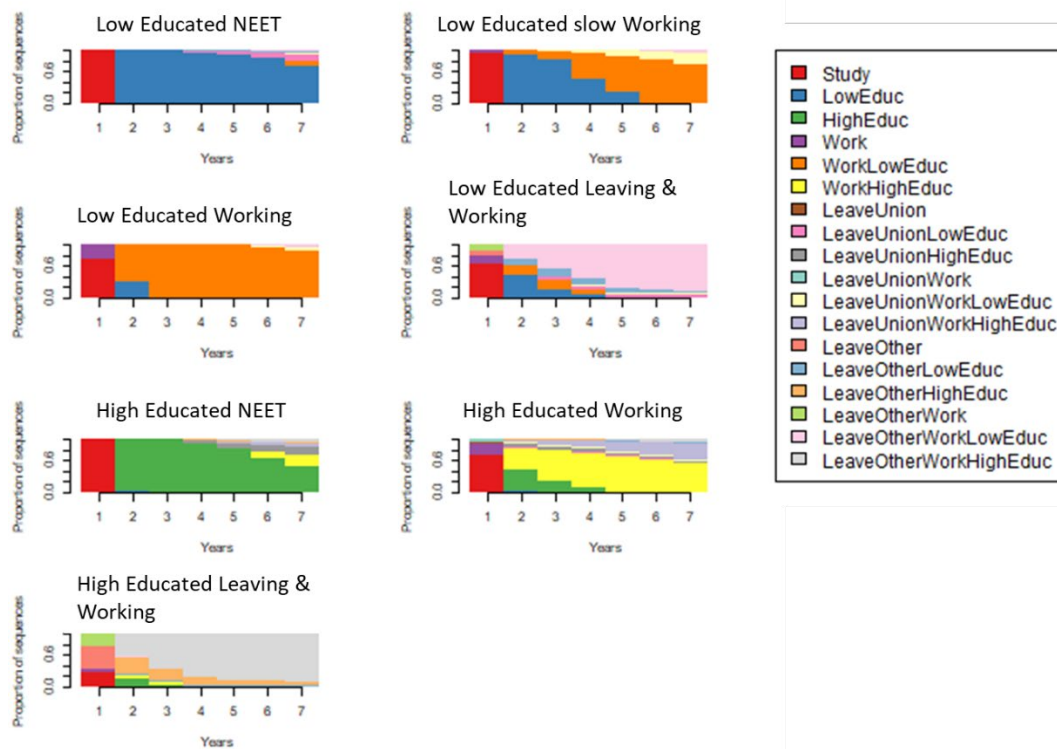
4.1.2 Clusters for family formation in young people's own household

For answering RQ1b, Table 3 show the six different clusters identified for the process of family formation in young people's own household. Also here, the cluster labels recall their main features according to the studied processes, namely leaving home, union entry and parenthood. Through the subsequence clustering, the main distinction that appears is that just respondents belonging to the first cluster leave their parental home for non-union related purposes, even if it accounts for one out of three people in the sample. In accordance with this pattern, they are also those who leave home at lower ages (the median age is 19: see Table 3).

Among all other remaining five clusters, those respondents who left home to form a cohabitation tend to exit one year earlier (the median age is 24 whilst it is 25 for those who marry), with a remarkable exception for the "Leave & Married, fast parenting" cluster who lives faster transitions towards the exit from the parental home, marriage entry and parenthood and conclude the process of the transition to adulthood within the 5 years of subsequence length.

Remarkably, the "Leave & Cohabiting" cluster and especially the "Leave & Cohabiting, parenting" clusters are the less numerous clusters (11.6% and 5.2% of subsequences, respectively), denoting that cohabitation was not so frequent in those birth cohorts (the

youngest birth cohort is 1991 in our sample). It is noteworthy that those two clusters are also the ones characterized by the highest percentages of respondents that lived parental separation within their exit from the parental home (9.4% and 8.6%, respectively). On the contrary, the lowest percentages of respondents who lived parental separation before leaving the parental home are the "Leave & Married, slow parenting" and the "Leave & Married, fast parenting" (2.6% and 2.5% of subsequences, respectively), followed by the "Leave & Married" cluster.

Table 3: Cluster labels, numerosity and some characteristics for the family formation in young people's own household process

Cluster label	abs. freq.	%	median age for leaving home	% respondents who lived parental separation
Leave	5,142	28.9	19	5.3
Leave & Married	2,785	15.7	25	3.5
Leave & Married, slow parenting	3,137	17.6	25	2.6
Leave & Married, fast parenting	3,746	21.1	23	2.5
Leave & Cohabiting	2,062	11.6	24	9.4
Leave & Cohabiting, parenting	917	5.2	24	8.6
Total	**17,789**	**100.0**	**23**	**4.6**

Figure 2: Cluster subsequences for the family formation in young people's own household process
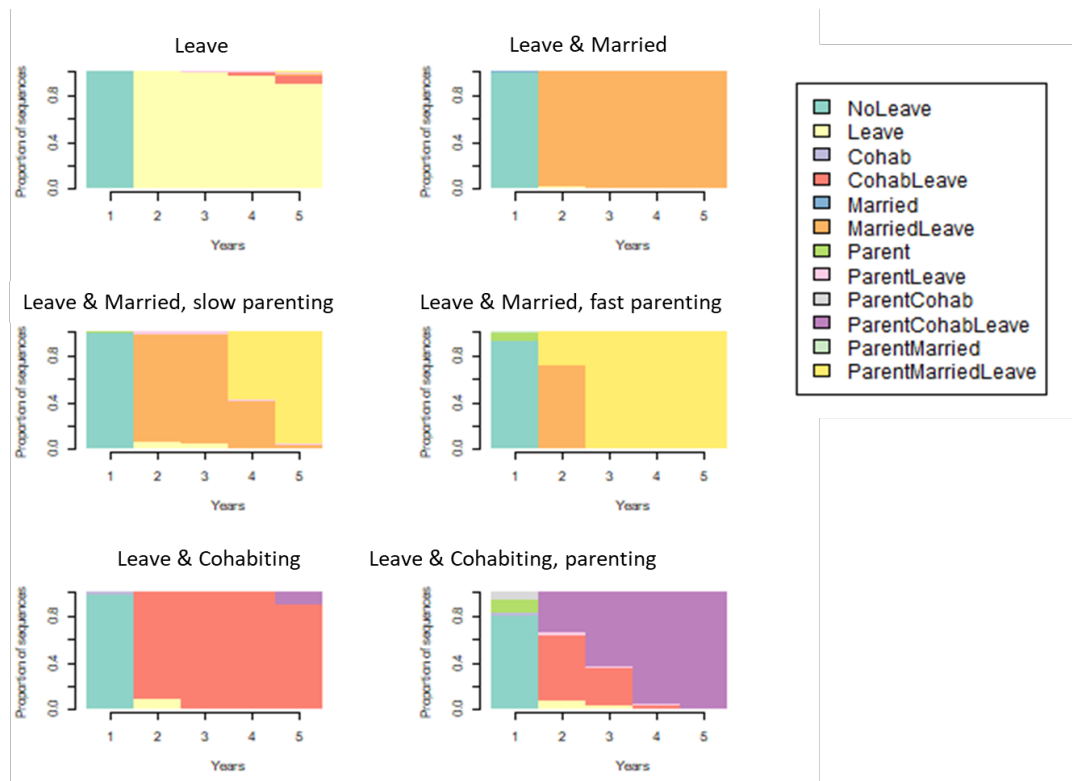
Finally, in the two clusters of cohabitation, marriage is delayed, but not completely rejected: indeed, 49.1% of young people in the "Leave & Cohabiting" cluster and 61.1% of those in the "Leave & Cohabiting, parenting" cluster enter into a marriage after cohabitation (thus the first union was a premarital cohabitation).

4.2 The relationship between parental separation and the typologies for the transition to adulthood

Checking an answer for our RQ2a, Figure 3 shows predicted probabilities of belonging to the seven different clusters for young people's economic independence trajectory, according to respondents' parental separation. Most of the predicted probabilities overlap between the two groups of respondents with an intact family or with parents that got separated, except for the two clusters whose individuals left their parental home within the 7 years after the end of education. Thus, we may assist in faster transitions towards entering into the labor market, and mainly towards leaving the parental home, for both more educated and less educated children having lived parental separation, which could be an indicator of their desire for independence and autonomy irrespective of the educational level attained.

On the contrary, the fact of having lived in a non-intact family because of parental separation does not have a clear pattern towards lower or higher educational attainment in our data.

Figure 3: Predicted Probabilities of being in a cluster for young people's economic independence, by parental separation
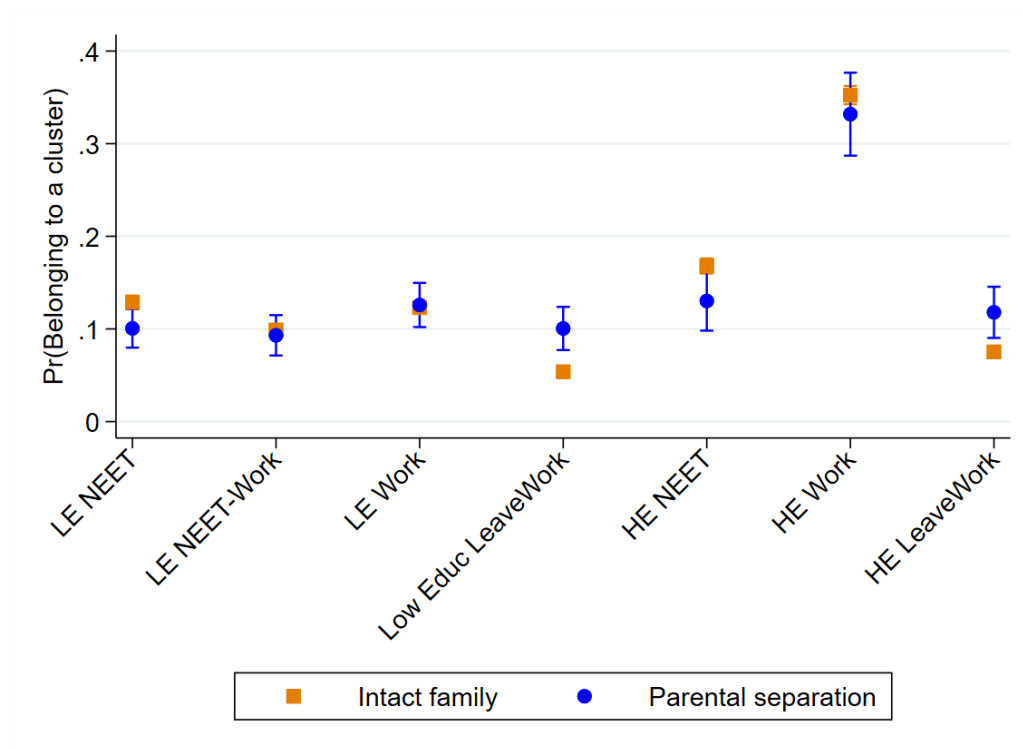
Note: To estimate predicted probabilities, we allow parental separation to vary and keep age group, gender, birth cohort, having siblings, macroarea of residence, parental education, mother's employment and father's social class at their mean values. Complete results are in Model A1 in Appendix.

For answering RQ2b, Figure 4 shows predicted probabilities of belonging to the six different clusters for the formation of young people's own household pathway, according to respondents' parental separation. On the one hand, children of non-intact families show a higher propensity of leaving home for non-union related reasons (1 out of 3: cluster "Leave") or for entering into their first cohabitation (clusters "Leave & Cohabiting" and "Leave & Cohabiting, parenting"). On the other hand, children who lived parental separation have a lower propensity of direct marriage than those who lived with an intact family. The highest gaps between the two groups are evident in the two clusters of "Leave & Married, slow parenting" and "Leave & Married, fast parenting", where the predicted probability (p.p.) of belonging to one of these two clusters is respectively 12.1 and 11.1 p.p. lower for children of non-intact families; on the other hand, the cluster of "Leave & Cohabiting" is more common among children of non-intact families (13.6 p.p. higher). This last cluster marks a clear non-traditional pattern, where 42.4% of young people did not have children within the interview date. On the opposite, having children within a few years after direct marriage signals the most traditional cultural behavior and is not popular among children of non-intact families; in this respect, it is

worth mentioning that all the three patterns that involve parenthood within five years after leaving parental home are the least popular among children of non-intact families, be it within marriage or cohabitation[14].

Figure 4: Predicted Probabilities of being in a cluster for the family formation on young people's own household, by parental separation
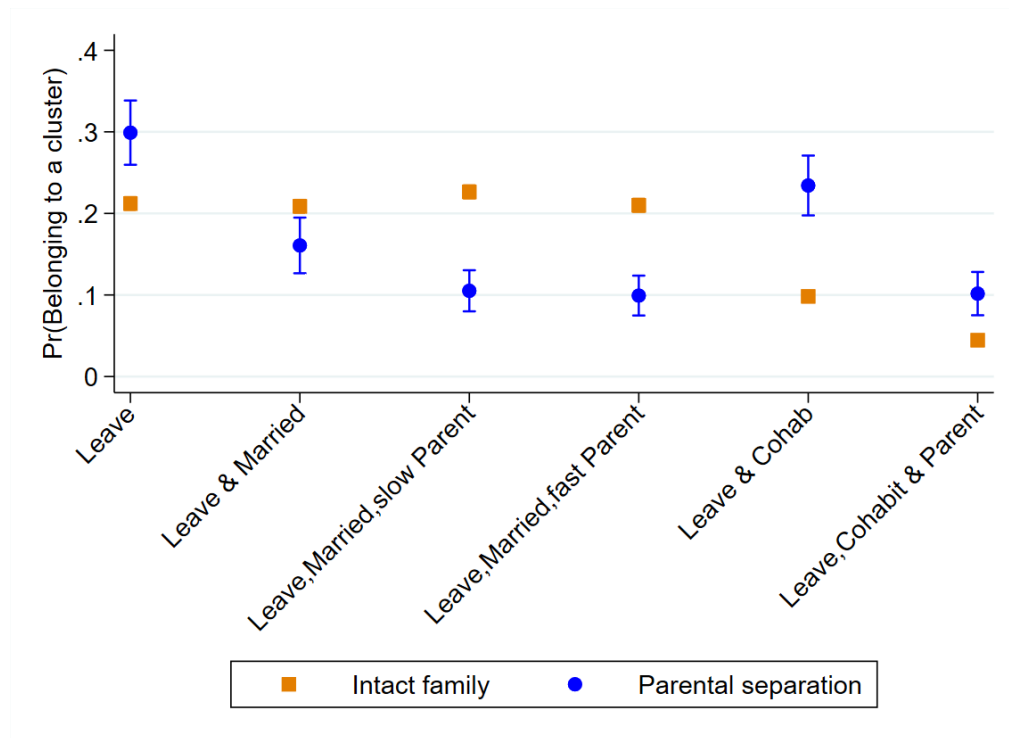
Note: To estimate predicted probabilities, we allow parental separation to vary and keep age group, gender, final educational level, working conditions, birth cohort, having siblings, macroarea of residence, parental education, mother's employment and father's social class at their mean values. Complete results are in Model B1 in Appendix.

Finally, for answering RQ3 on whether the age at parental separation plays a role in differentiating young people's pathways, Figure 5(a) shows predicted probabilities of belonging to the seven clusters for the economic independence process according to respondents' age at parental separation, distinguishing if it occurred before or after their fifteenth birthday. Results show that, on one hand, children whose parents got separated before 15 seem to have a similar behavior with respect to children from intact families, given that all confidence intervals overlap between the two groups.

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[14] Respondents within the "Leave & Cohabiting, parenting" cluster may become parent within marriage or cohabitation because the subsequence checks only the first union entry: more precisely, 82.7% of young people in this cluster have a child within cohabitation, whereas only 17.3% of them become a parent within marriage.

On the other hand, children whose parents separated after 14 show a higher propensity of being highly educated, start working and leaving the parental home than their peers with intact families, with nearly 1 out of 3 children prone to belong to the last cluster of "High Educated, Leaving & Working". Conversely, their propensity of being low educated is definitively lower in this group except for those belonging to the "Low Educated, Leaving & Working" (who shows similar probabilities among the three groups).

To sum up, children of parents who got separated when they were younger than 15 seem to be amidst the two groups of children of intact families on the one hand and children who lived parental separation after 14 on the other hand, as their predicted probabilities are always in the middle between the other two groups.

Figure 5(b) shows predicted probabilities of belonging to the six different clusters for the leaving home process according to children' age at parental separation. Some clusters still show not overlapping confidence intervals between children of intact families and children of non-intact families – irrespective of the children age at separation – namely the three most culturally distant clusters such as the "Leave & Married, slow parenting" and "Leave & Married, fast parenting" for the traditional pattern, and the "Leave & Cohabiting" cluster for the cutting-edge pattern. For the remaining three clusters, confidence intervals of predicted probabilities do overlap.

In sum, children's age at parental separation does not seem to differentiate much their pattern: what it matters is parental separation irrespective children's age for the transmission of cultural values from parents to children and the consequential choice of traditional or non-traditional pattern among children.

Figure 5: Predicted Probabilities of being in a cluster for young people's economic independence and for the family formation on young people's own household, by children's age at parental separation

a) Process of economic independence

b) Process of family formation on young people's own household
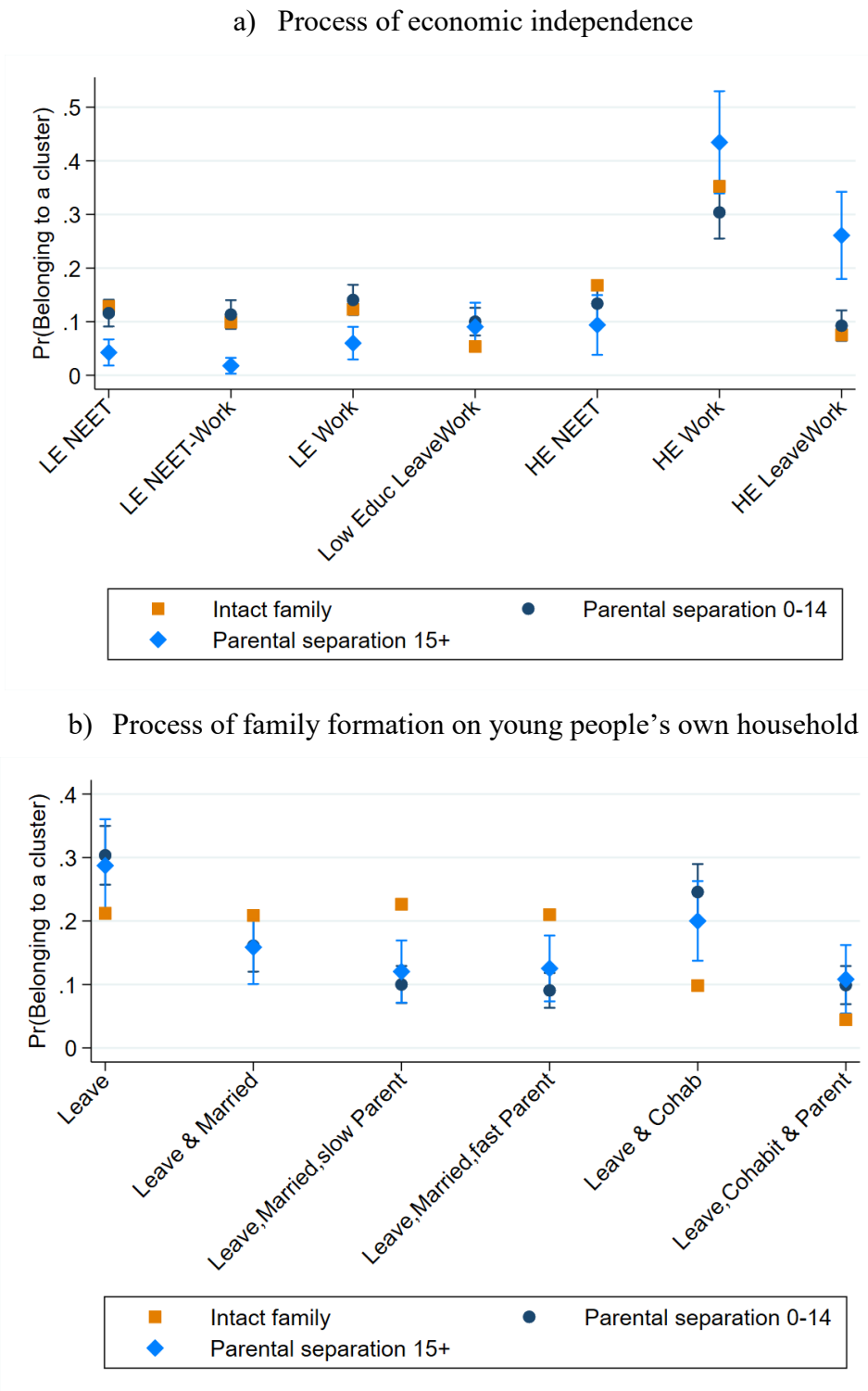
Note: To estimate predicted probabilities, we allow children's age at parental separation to vary and keep age group, gender, final educational level, working conditions, birth cohort, having siblings, macroarea of residence, parental education, mother's employment and father's social class at their mean values. Complete results are in models A2 and B2 in Appendix.

5. Conclusions and discussion

The increase in the recent years of the number of children experiencing parental separation leads researchers to study the consequences of parental separation on children, and, particularly, the effects on their transition to adulthood, in terms, for example, of the processes of leaving home, union and family formation (Ongaro and Mazzuco 2009; Feldhaus and Heintz-Martin 2015; Härkönen et al. 2021). The current study aims to address the shortcomings in the previous literature, which has treated each event marking the transitions to adulthood separately, thus not considering the interdependencies among the different events, as well as ignoring the consequences on children experiencing family instability during young adulthood. In particular, the paper examines a series of interconnected events, starting with the end of education, the entry into the labor market and the exit from the parental home, up to family formation with a co-residing union and parenthood. In this way, the multiple trajectories marking the transition to adulthood of young people are first described, and second, analyzed whether young adults whose parents separated follow different paths in comparison with those grown up with both parents in intact families, also according to children's age at parental separation. The reference is a country, such as Italy, which, as we have shown, present several peculiar characteristics making the study of the process of transition to adulthood in such a context particularly worthwhile.

Our results do not seem to point out to an earlier exit from education among children with separated parents: the "divorce penalty", using the terminology of Bernardi and Radl (2014), is not evident in our findings. This may be a contextual-specific result: up to a few decades ago in Italy, separated couples were those at the forefront of new family dynamics and with less traditional attitudes, namely mostly highly educated people (results available upon request). Given that we are studying young people born up to the 1990s, our analyses are still concentrated on the recent past. Thus, socioeconomically advantaged families seem to be able to shelter their pupils from the negative consequences of parental separation on education, as found in other works (e.g., Amato and Anthony 2014; Grätz 2015).

A typical pattern of children with separated parents and emerged in our results is, instead, that of faster transitions towards entering the labor market and mainly towards leaving the parental home (in accordance with previous results on the topic: e.g., Bernhardt et al. 2005), independently of the educational level attained. This result may correspond to young people's desire for independence and autonomy, which may be stronger in the case of parental separation, both as an attempt to exit from an unpleasant family context, such as a new partner

(with own children) of the cohabiting parent, and as a strategy to overcome a critical household economic condition.

But it is also worthwhile to note that children whose parents separated at younger ages have trajectories towards economic independence more similar to their peers in intact families than those who experienced parental separation after 14. This result may be explained supposing that the time passed from the event of parental separation is worthwhile for children's development and for recreating a non-conflictual, familial environment. Thus, this difference seems to point that economic necessity is not a (strong) drive for young Italians' behavior towards economic independence, where a desire of escaping a conflictual situation seems a more plausible motivation.

As regards the other events related with the formation of young adult's own household, in a familistic country like Italy, it is noteworthy how children experiencing parental separation show a higher propensity of leaving home both for non-union reasons or for entering into their first cohabitation, in line with what found by Ongaro and Mazzucco (2009). This result holds irrespectively of the age of children at separation; thus, a strong cultural effect seems to be at play in the formation of an individual's own household. Young people whose parents got separated are more likely to relax their ties with the family of origin and to become economically and non-economically independent creating their own household, eventually with an unmarried partner. Marriage is not refused, but it seems at least postponed after experiencing more flexible forms of partnership. Also parenthood does not seem one of their priorities, having the tendency at least of postponing first child's birth after some years of household independence.

This last result needs to be further studied: in particular, transition to parenthood of young people whose parents got separated should be investigate more in depth, since the diffusion of unions instability, and thus of children grown up with separated parents, could be considered an additional factor of low fertility in the Italian context in the near future. In particular, we ask ourselves: do children grown up with separated parents have a higher propensity of remaining childless or do they simply postpone parenthood? In this respect, Italy represents an exception, and the cultural drivers of non-traditional patterns seem to be the most plausible reasons behind the behavior of young Italians with non-intact families; but further investigation on the mechanism by means of which parental separation affects children's transition to adulthood should be tested with appropriate data, considering also personal attitudes and orientations.

Our results are referred to Italy, but for its closeness to other Mediterranean countries we may expect similar dynamics in this area.

Lastly, future research could also consider the extent to which these results hold for subgroups in the population: specifically, it would be interesting to consider potential gender and birth cohort differences. Prior research has indeed found that the effects of parental separation are differentiated according to gender (see, for example, the studies cited by Fomby and Bosick 2013). Moreover, given that Italy is experiencing important social and cultural changes in more recent years (for example, in terms of widespread of separation among all strata of the population: see Guetto and Impicciatore 2021), the influence by parental separation on the transition to adulthood could be different in the most recent cohorts of individuals: some peculiarities, such as the absence of an earlier exit from education among children with separated parents, could disappear. Obviously, this could be done only when more recent data that will be available in the future.

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Appendix

Table A1: Sample composition. Pooled data stemming from FSS 2009 and 2016.

	Birth cohorts	Men	Women	Total
			N *(%)*	
FSS 2009	1960-1984	7,404	7,707 *(51.0%)*	**15,111**
FSS 2016	1967-1991	4,453	4,563 *(50.6%)*	**9,016**
TOTAL		11,857	12,270 *(50.9%)*	**24,127**

Table A2: Descriptive statistics by gender and type of family of origin. Pooled sample from FSS 2009 and 2016.

a) Men

	Intact family		Parental separation 0-14 years old		Parental separation 15-35 years old	
	n	*%*	n	*%*	n	*%*
Observations	11,181	*94.3*	364	*3.1*	312	*2.6*
End of education *(by the age of 25)*	9,559	*85.5*	301	*82.7*	263	*84.3*
Labor market entry *(by the age of 25)*	8,541	*76.4*	283	*77.8*	237	*76.0*
Leaving parental home *(by the age of 30)*	7,7079	*63.3*	237	*65.1*	198	*63.5*
First union entry *(by the age of 35)*	6,948	*62.1*	203	*55.8*	170	*54.5*
First child's birth *(by the age of 35)*	5,008	*44.8*	129	*35.4*	117	*37.5*

b) Women

	Intact family		Parental separation 0-14 years old		Parental separation 15-35 years old	
	n	*%*	n	*%*	n	*%*
Observations	11,432	*93.2*	438	*3.6*	400	*3.3*
End of education *(by the age of 25)*	9,481	*82.9*	368	*84.0*	325	*81.3*
Labor market entry *(by the age of 25)*	6,749	*59.0*	315	*71.9*	275	*68.8*
Leaving parental home *(by the age of 30)*	8,755	*76.6*	362	*82.7*	321	*80.3*
First union entry *(by the age of 35)*	8,606	*75.3*	324	*74.0*	295	*73.8*
First child's birth *(by the age of 35)*	6,937	*60.7*	241	*55.0*	222	*55.5*

Table A3: Estimated coefficients for models A1 and A2 for the End of education process. Competing-risks discrete-time event-history models with "High Educated Working" cluster as base outcome.

	Model A1			Model A2		
	Coeff	std. Err.	p-value	Coeff	std. Err.	p-value
Low educated NEET						
Age class (ref. 13-19)						
20-25	-2.66	0.09	0.000	-2.66	0.09	0.000
26-30	-4.35	0.51	0.000	-4.35	0.51	0.000
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	0.02	0.05	0.664	0.02	0.05	0.659
Parental separation (ref. No separation)						
Yes	0.26	0.14	0.065			
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14				0.29	0.16	0.070
15+				0.13	0.33	0.684
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	0.24	0.06	0.000	0.24	0.06	0.000
1980-1991	0.61	0.07	0.000	0.61	0.07	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.01	0.08	0.927	-0.01	0.08	0.932
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	0.41	0.07	0.000	0.41	0.07	0.000
South/Islands	1.25	0.06	0.000	1.25	0.06	0.000
Parental education (ref. Primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	-0.45	0.06	0.000	-0.45	0.06	0.000
Upper secondary/tertiary	-0.81	0.08	0.000	-0.81	0.08	0.000
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.21	0.05	0.000	-0.21	0.05	0.000
Unknown	0.50	0.20	0.013	0.50	0.20	0.013
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	-0.08	0.10	0.440	-0.08	0.10	0.437
Self-employed	0.20	0.10	0.045	0.20	0.10	0.046
Working class	0.44	0.09	0.000	0.44	0.09	0.000
Not employed	0.55	0.17	0.001	0.55	0.17	0.001
Unknown	0.87	0.15	0.000	0.87	0.15	0.000
Constant	-1.11	0.15	0.000	-1.11	0.15	0.000
Low educated slow Working						
Age class (ref. 13-19)						
20-25	-2.10	0.08	0.000	-2.09	0.08	0.000
26-30	-4.37	0.62	0.000	-4.36	0.62	0.000
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	-0.37	0.06	0.000	-0.37	0.06	0.000
Parental separation (ref. No separation)						
Yes	0.26	0.16	0.097			

Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14				0.36	0.17	0.034
15+				-0.77	0.45	0.087
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	0.18	0.07	0.007	0.18	0.07	0.007
1980-1991	0.68	0.08	0.000	0.68	0.08	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	0.40	0.09	0.000	0.40	0.09	0.000
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	0.01	0.08	0.889	0.01	0.08	0.893
South/Islands	0.10	0.07	0.128	0.10	0.07	0.128
Parental education (ref. Primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	-0.22	0.07	0.002	-0.22	0.07	0.002
Upper secondary/tertiary	-0.85	0.09	0.000	-0.85	0.09	0.000
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	0.06	0.06	0.301	0.06	0.06	0.310
Unknown	0.38	0.24	0.112	0.38	0.24	0.112
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	-0.05	0.11	0.652	-0.05	0.11	0.646
Self-employed	0.25	0.11	0.023	0.25	0.11	0.024
Working class	0.41	0.10	0.000	0.40	0.10	0.000
Not employed	0.55	0.18	0.003	0.54	0.18	0.003
Unknown	0.50	0.17	0.004	0.49	0.17	0.004
Constant	-0.84	0.16	0.000	-0.84	0.16	0.000
Low educated Working						
Age class (ref. 13-19)						
20-25	-1.94	0.07	0.000	-1.94	0.07	0.000
26-30	-2.95	0.29	0.000	-2.95	0.29	0.000
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	-0.60	0.05	0.000	-0.60	0.05	0.000
Parental separation (ref. No separation)						
Yes	0.27	0.14	0.048			
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14				0.30	0.15	0.048
15+				0.07	0.30	0.816
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	0.37	0.06	0.000	0.37	0.06	0.000
1980-1991	0.96	0.08	0.000	0.96	0.08	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	0.45	0.08	0.000	0.45	0.08	0.000
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	-0.31	0.07	0.000	-0.31	0.07	0.000
South/Islands	-0.60	0.06	0.000	-0.60	0.06	0.000
Parental education (ref. primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	-0.32	0.06	0.000	-0.32	0.06	0.000

Upper secondary/tertiary	-1.06	0.08	0.000	-1.06	0.08	0.000
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	0.01	0.05	0.821	0.01	0.05	0.825
Unknown	-0.20	0.24	0.415	-0.20	0.24	0.415
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	-0.15	0.10	0.129	-0.15	0.10	0.128
Self-employed	0.28	0.10	0.003	0.28	0.10	0.004
Working class	0.42	0.09	0.000	0.42	0.09	0.000
Not employed	0.29	0.18	0.105	0.28	0.18	0.107
Unknown	0.44	0.15	0.004	0.44	0.15	0.004
Constant	-0.02	0.14	0.867	-0.02	0.14	0.863

Low educated Leaving and working

Age class (ref. 13-19)						
20-25	-1.27	0.09	0.000	-1.27	0.09	0.000
26-30	-1.82	0.27	0.000	-1.82	0.27	0.000
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	-0.67	0.07	0.000	-0.68	0.07	0.000
Parental separation (ref. No separation)						
Yes	0.75	0.16	0.000			
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14				0.71	0.18	0.000
15+				0.98	0.30	0.001
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	0.30	0.09	0.001	0.30	0.09	0.001
1980-1991	0.81	0.10	0.000	0.80	0.10	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	0.81	0.13	0.000	0.80	0.13	0.000
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	-0.10	0.10	0.303	-0.10	0.10	0.304
South/Islands	-0.25	0.09	0.004	-0.25	0.09	0.004
Parental education (ref. Primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	-0.20	0.09	0.025	-0.20	0.09	0.025
Upper secondary/tertiary	-0.38	0.11	0.000	-0.38	0.11	0.000
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	0.07	0.08	0.377	0.07	0.08	0.368
Unknown	0.80	0.24	0.001	0.80	0.24	0.001
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	0.34	0.14	0.014	0.34	0.14	0.014
Self-employed	0.57	0.14	0.000	0.57	0.14	0.000
Working class	0.70	0.13	0.000	0.70	0.13	0.000
Not employed	0.78	0.24	0.001	0.79	0.24	0.001
Unknown	1.07	0.20	0.000	1.07	0.20	0.000
Constant	-1.88	0.21	0.000	-1.88	0.21	0.000

High educated NEET

Age class (ref. 13-19)						
20-25	-0.57	0.04	0.000	-0.57	0.04	0.000
26-30	-1.24	0.11	0.000	-1.24	0.11	0.000
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	0.17	0.06	0.005	0.17	0.06	0.005
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14						
15+						
Parental separation (ref. No separation)				0.22	0.19	0.249
Yes	0.14	0.17	0.405	-0.27	0.36	0.450
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	-0.07	0.07	0.295	-0.07	0.07	0.292
1980-1991	-0.36	0.09	0.000	-0.36	0.09	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.07	0.09	0.456	-0.06	0.09	0.463
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	0.60	0.09	0.000	0.60	0.09	0.000
South/Islands	1.56	0.07	0.000	1.56	0.07	0.000
Parental education (ref. Primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	-0.03	0.07	0.712	-0.03	0.08	0.708
Upper secondary/tertiary	-0.03	0.09	0.741	-0.03	0.09	0.737
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.05	0.06	0.398	-0.05	0.06	0.393
Unknown	-0.16	0.28	0.568	-0.16	0.28	0.570
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	0.09	0.10	0.371	0.09	0.10	0.383
Self-employed	0.01	0.11	0.902	0.01	0.11	0.923
Working class	0.15	0.10	0.106	0.15	0.10	0.112
Not employed	-0.12	0.21	0.562	-0.13	0.21	0.543
Unknown	0.18	0.18	0.307	0.18	0.18	0.330
Constant	-1.49	0.17	0.000	-1.49	0.17	0.000
High educated Working	*base outcome*					
High educated Leaving and working						
Age class (ref. 13-19)						
20-25	1.16	0.04	0.000	1.15	0.04	0.000
26-30	1.40	0.08	0.000	1.40	0.08	0.000
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	-0.42	0.07	0.000	-0.43	0.07	0.000
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14						
15+						
Parental separation (ref. No separation)				0.25	0.20	0.201
Yes	0.34	0.16	0.031	0.53	0.24	0.030
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	0.10	0.08	0.203	0.11	0.08	0.202

	Coeff	std. Err.	p-value	Coeff	std. Err.	p-value
1980-1991	0.16	0.10	0.120	0.16	0.10	0.123
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	0.38	0.11	0.000	0.38	0.11	0.001
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	-0.18	0.10	0.054	-0.19	0.10	0.053
South/Islands	0.03	0.08	0.689	0.03	0.08	0.699
Parental education (ref. Primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	0.02	0.10	0.833	0.02	0.10	0.830
Upper secondary/tertiary	0.17	0.10	0.096	0.17	0.10	0.094
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	0.22	0.07	0.002	0.22	0.07	0.002
Unknown	0.31	0.32	0.331	0.31	0.32	0.331
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	-0.16	0.10	0.109	-0.16	0.10	0.113
Self-employed	-0.23	0.12	0.050	-0.23	0.12	0.053
Working class	-0.27	0.11	0.010	-0.27	0.11	0.011
Not employed	-0.09	0.23	0.694	-0.08	0.23	0.722
Unknown	0.04	0.20	0.844	0.05	0.20	0.808
Constant	-1.48	0.19	0.000	-1.47	0.19	0.000

Table A4: Estimated coefficients for Models B1 and B2 for the Leaving parental home process. Competing-risks discrete-time event-history models with "Leave" cluster as base outcome.

	Model B1			Model B2		
	Coeff	std. Err.	p-value	Coeff	std. Err.	p-value
Leave	*base outcome*					
Leave & Married						
Age class (ref. 15-19)						
20-24	0.33	0.03	0.000	0.34	0.03	0.000
25-29	0.32	0.05	0.000	0.32	0.05	0.000
30-35	0.08	0.10	0.420	0.08	0.10	0.404
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	0.92	0.06	0.000	0.92	0.06	0.000
Parental separation (ref. No separation)						
Yes	-0.24	0.15	0.107			
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14				-0.17	0.18	0.344
15+				-0.45	0.26	0.075
Final educational level (ref. Primary or lower)						
At most vocational	0.55	0.06	0.000	0.55	0.06	0.000
Upper secondary	0.43	0.07	0.000	0.43	0.07	0.000
Tertiary	0.64	0.14	0.000	0.64	0.14	0.000

Working condition (ref. Not employed)						
Permanent employed	0.51	0.06	0.000	0.51	0.06	0.000
Temporary employed	0.13	0.08	0.105	0.13	0.08	0.104
Self-employed	0.63	0.11	0.000	0.63	0.11	0.000
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	-0.43	0.06	0.000	-0.43	0.06	0.000
1980-1991	-1.44	0.09	0.000	-1.44	0.09	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.07	0.08	0.420	-0.07	0.08	0.428
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	0.14	0.08	0.070	0.14	0.08	0.070
South/Islands	0.25	0.06	0.000	0.25	0.06	0.000
Parental education (ref. Primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	-0.14	0.07	0.041	-0.14	0.07	0.041
Upper secondary/tertiary	-0.45	0.08	0.000	-0.45	0.08	0.000
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.17	0.06	0.003	-0.17	0.06	0.003
Unknown	-0.35	0.22	0.116	-0.35	0.22	0.115
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	0.22	0.10	0.023	0.22	0.10	0.023
Self-employed	0.17	0.10	0.099	0.17	0.10	0.100
Working class	0.19	0.09	0.038	0.19	0.09	0.039
Not employed	-0.06	0.17	0.717	-0.06	0.17	0.713
Unknown	-0.10	0.15	0.538	-0.10	0.15	0.515
Constant	-1.69	0.15	0.000	-1.69	0.15	0.000
Leave & Married, slow parenting						
Age class (ref. 15-19)						
20-24	0.31	0.03	0.000	0.31	0.03	0.000
25-29	0.24	0.05	0.000	0.24	0.05	0.000
30-35	-0.23	0.10	0.021	-0.23	0.10	0.022
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	0.91	0.06	0.000	0.91	0.06	0.000
Parental separation (ref. No separation)						
Yes	-0.61	0.15	0.000			
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14				-0.58	0.19	0.002
15+				-0.71	0.27	0.010
Final educational level (ref. Primary or lower)						
At most vocational	0.58	0.06	0.000	0.58	0.06	0.000
Upper secondary	0.63	0.07	0.000	0.63	0.07	0.000
Tertiary	0.78	0.14	0.000	0.78	0.14	0.000
Working condition (ref. Not employed)						
Permanent employed	0.46	0.06	0.000	0.46	0.06	0.000
Temporary employed	0.00	0.08	0.983	0.00	0.08	0.978
Self-employed	0.59	0.10	0.000	0.59	0.10	0.000

Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	-0.51	0.06	0.000	-0.51	0.06	0.000
1980-1991	-1.45	0.09	0.000	-1.45	0.09	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	0.13	0.09	0.142	0.13	0.09	0.140
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	0.45	0.08	0.000	0.45	0.08	0.000
South/Islands	0.68	0.06	0.000	0.68	0.06	0.000
Parental education (ref. Primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	-0.14	0.07	0.038	-0.14	0.07	0.038
Upper secondary/tertiary	-0.55	0.08	0.000	-0.55	0.08	0.000
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.21	0.06	0.000	-0.21	0.06	0.000
Unknown	0.08	0.20	0.681	0.08	0.20	0.683
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	-0.09	0.10	0.363	-0.09	0.10	0.365
Self-employed	0.01	0.10	0.917	0.01	0.10	0.919
Working class	0.03	0.09	0.708	0.03	0.09	0.709
Not employed	-0.64	0.17	0.000	-0.64	0.17	0.000
Unknown	-0.40	0.15	0.009	-0.41	0.15	0.008
Constant	-1.73	0.15	0.000	-1.73	0.15	0.000

Leave & Married, fast parenting

Age class (ref. 15-19)						
20-24	0.17	0.03	0.000	0.17	0.03	0.000
25-29	0.09	0.05	0.064	0.09	0.05	0.061
30-35	0.02	0.10	0.824	0.02	0.10	0.818
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	1.00	0.06	0.000	1.00	0.06	0.000
Parental separation (ref. No separation)						
Yes	-0.46	0.16	0.004			
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14				-0.47	0.19	0.014
15+				-0.47	0.27	0.086
Final educational level (ref. Primary or lower)						
At most vocational	1.05	0.05	0.000	1.05	0.05	0.000
Upper secondary	0.59	0.08	0.000	0.59	0.08	0.000
Tertiary	0.85	0.15	0.000	0.85	0.15	0.000
Working condition (ref. Not employed)						
Permanent employed	0.41	0.06	0.000	0.41	0.06	0.000
Temporary employed	0.04	0.08	0.627	0.04	0.08	0.623
Self-employed	0.58	0.11	0.000	0.58	0.11	0.000
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	-0.66	0.06	0.000	-0.66	0.06	0.000
1980-1991	-1.47	0.09	0.000	-1.47	0.09	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						

Yes	0.27	0.09	0.004	0.27	0.09	0.004
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	0.56	0.08	0.000	0.57	0.08	0.000
South/Islands	1.26	0.06	0.000	1.26	0.06	0.000
Parental education (ref. Primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	-0.20	0.07	0.002	-0.20	0.07	0.002
Upper secondary/tertiary	-0.61	0.08	0.000	-0.61	0.08	0.000
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.14	0.06	0.013	-0.14	0.06	0.013
Unknown	-0.31	0.21	0.137	-0.31	0.21	0.136
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	-0.01	0.10	0.905	-0.01	0.10	0.908
Self-employed	0.10	0.10	0.328	0.10	0.10	0.327
Working class	0.16	0.09	0.072	0.16	0.09	0.072
Not employed	-0.40	0.17	0.017	-0.40	0.17	0.017
Unknown	-0.23	0.15	0.135	-0.23	0.15	0.135
Constant	-2.48	0.16	0.000	-2.48	0.16	0.000
Leave & Cohabiting						
Age class (ref. 15-19)						
20-24	0.32	0.03	0.000	0.32	0.03	0.000
25-29	0.45	0.05	0.000	0.46	0.05	0.000
30-35	0.50	0.10	0.000	0.50	0.10	0.000
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	0.60	0.06	0.000	0.60	0.06	0.000
Parental separation (ref. No separation)						
Yes	0.18	0.12	0.136			
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14				0.26	0.14	0.062
15+				-0.07	0.23	0.771
Final educational level (ref. Primary or lower)						
At most vocational	0.50	0.06	0.000	0.50	0.06	0.000
Upper secondary	-0.10	0.09	0.272	-0.10	0.09	0.273
Tertiary	0.31	0.14	0.031	0.31	0.14	0.030
Working condition (ref. Not employed)						
Permanent employed	0.55	0.06	0.000	0.54	0.06	0.000
Temporary employed	0.53	0.08	0.000	0.53	0.08	0.000
Self-employed	0.39	0.12	0.002	0.39	0.12	0.002
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	0.63	0.08	0.000	0.63	0.08	0.000
1980-1991	0.61	0.09	0.000	0.61	0.09	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.09	0.09	0.320	-0.09	0.09	0.331
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	-0.17	0.08	0.037	-0.17	0.08	0.038
South/Islands	-1.01	0.08	0.000	-1.01	0.08	0.000

Parental education (ref. Primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	0.32	0.08	0.000	0.33	0.08	0.000
Upper secondary/tertiary	0.12	0.09	0.186	0.12	0.09	0.189
Mother's employment (ref. No)						
Yes	0.07	0.06	0.248	0.07	0.06	0.253
Unknown	-0.02	0.25	0.945	-0.02	0.25	0.936
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	0.03	0.10	0.771	0.03	0.10	0.762
Self-employed	-0.04	0.11	0.737	-0.04	0.11	0.732
Working class	0.03	0.10	0.766	0.03	0.10	0.766
Not employed	0.12	0.19	0.531	0.11	0.19	0.535
Unknown	-0.18	0.17	0.293	-0.18	0.17	0.270
Constant	-2.33	0.17	0.000	-2.33	0.17	0.000

Leave & Cohabiting, parenting

Age class (ref. 15-19)						
20-24	0.36	0.04	0.000	0.36	0.04	0.000
25-29	0.75	0.07	0.000	0.75	0.07	0.000
30-35	1.14	0.12	0.000	1.14	0.12	0.000
Gender (ref. Male)						
Female	0.79	0.09	0.000	0.79	0.09	0.000
Parental separation (ref. No separation)						
Yes	0.36	0.17	0.033			
Age class at parental separation (ref. No separation)						
0-14				0.39	0.19	0.047
15+				0.26	0.32	0.406
Final educational level (ref. Primary or lower)						
At most vocational	0.73	0.09	0.000	0.73	0.09	0.000
Upper secondary	0.04	0.13	0.743	0.04	0.13	0.741
Tertiary	0.38	0.19	0.047	0.38	0.19	0.047
Working condition (ref. Not employed)						
Permanent employed	0.43	0.08	0.000	0.43	0.08	0.000
Temporary employed	0.35	0.11	0.002	0.35	0.11	0.002
Self-employed	0.42	0.16	0.009	0.42	0.16	0.009
Birth cohort (ref. 1960-1969)						
1970-1979	0.41	0.11	0.000	0.41	0.11	0.000
1980-1991	0.69	0.13	0.000	0.69	0.13	0.000
Having siblings (ref. No)						
Yes	0.24	0.14	0.082	0.24	0.14	0.081
Macroarea of residence (ref. North)						
Centre	0.06	0.12	0.594	0.06	0.12	0.593
South/Islands	-0.42	0.10	0.000	-0.42	0.10	0.000
Parental education (ref. primary or lower)						
Lower secondary/vocational	0.04	0.11	0.722	0.04	0.11	0.721
Upper secondary/tertiary	-0.38	0.13	0.005	-0.38	0.13	0.005
Mother's employment (ref. No)						

Yes	0.05	0.09	0.555	0.05	0.09	0.556
Unknown	-0.36	0.37	0.326	-0.36	0.37	0.325
Father's social class (ref. Management and professional)						
Intermediate class	-0.18	0.15	0.256	-0.18	0.15	0.256
Self-employed	-0.21	0.16	0.173	-0.21	0.16	0.173
Working class	-0.06	0.13	0.682	-0.05	0.13	0.683
Not employed	-0.65	0.29	0.027	-0.65	0.29	0.027
Unknown	0.23	0.21	0.283	0.22	0.21	0.290
Constant	-3.71	0.23	0.000	-3.71	0.23	0.000