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Unequal Family Contexts for Children and Adolescents in Spain

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Abstract

The environment in which children and adolescents develop plays a crucial role in shaping their future outcomes across various social, educational, economic, psychological, and health domains. Current research on the connection between inequality and family context often relies on predefined statistical categories like household income, parents' educational attainment, ethnicity, or occupation. However, inequalities are not experienced as isolated categories but at the intersection of multiple social identities, including gender, place of origin, employment status, and living conditions. We propose a quantitative approach to intersectional theory to understand how interconnected forms of inequality impact the family and labour contexts of children and adolescents. We reconstruct the contexts in which children (n=13,718) from different social classes are raised by utilising retrospective information from the 2018 Spanish Fertility Survey, which details parents' family and labour trajectories (n=9,685). This approach allows us to identify which social groups are more likely to experience positively rewarded or socially penalised trajectories. Our findings suggest that socially disadvantaged groups face higher exposure to unstable family trajectories and that it is the interaction between various deprivation social categories that contributes to more turbulent childhood and adolescence experiences instead of isolated categories.

Introduction

Over recent decades, Western societies have witnessed profound economic shifts that have changed family formation process and family dynamics (Furstenberg, 2014). Continued educational expansion, stagnation of real income, the growing economic uncertainty and job instability along with the rise of women's participation in the labour force have led to a change in the family (Adkins et al., 2020; Blossfeld and Kiernan, 2019). The shift from a male breadwinner model to a dual-earner paradigm moved alongside the blooming of new family arrangements and the growth of divorce rates, non-marital births, cohabitation and repartnering (Härkönen and Dronkers, 2006; Thomson, 2014). Altogether, the increase in labour and family instability has become a population-scale phenomenon and a nuanced comprehension of its causes and consequences is needed.

The growing instability of partnerships and labour trajectories can be analysed either from adults' or from children's points of view (Kalmijn and Leopold, 2021). From the children's perspective, childhood and adolescence are fundamental life stages for human cognitive and social development (P. R. Amato et al., 2015). During these periods of life, our understanding of the world and its effects on us are mediated by our caretakers and their nurturing practices

and experiences (Maté and Maté, 2022). In this context, children's exposure to unstable environments can lead them to interpret the social world as an adverse and incomprehensible one (Adam and Chase-Lansdale, 2002; Kerns et al., 2011). Research in health, psychology, education, and economics has shown the detrimental effects on children and adolescents' emotional well-being, cognitive development, and executive functioning of exposure to unstable familial and employment contexts (Adam and Chase-Lansdale, 2002; Bzostek and Beck, 2011).

Overexposure to stressful situations can also derive from parental employment or financial instability. The association between children's behavioural and academic outcomes and parental involuntary job loss has been extensively studied, showing how unwanted parental labour instability and long-term unemployment are related to lower grades, decreases in educational attainment, and internalising and externalising behaviours (Johnson et al., 2012; Kalil and Wightman, 2011; Pillas et al., 2014; Stevens and Schaller, 2009).

In contemporary societies, familial and labour instability are not evenly distributed. Research suggests that both the exposure to and the consequences of instability are unequally distributed, with socially disadvantaged groups being the most exposed to familial and financial turbulence (Perkins, 2019; Raley et al., 2015; Raley and Sweeney, 2020). In addition, socially unprivileged groups have less economic resources such as income, wealth, savings, and access to credit, to cope with unplanned circumstances and to provide additional support to their children when needed (Hardy et al., 2019). Consequently, the adverse effects of familial and labour instability for children and teenagers concentrate in low-income groups, making family and employment inequality a potential factor in the intergenerational transmission of social inequalities.

Despite relative advances in social protection and welfare, European societies are not freed from the reinforcing connection between social inequalities and family inequalities. In recent decades, structural economic change and increasing labour market de-regularization have led to a significant increase in income volatility, especially among low-income families (Western et al., 2016). Growing economic uncertainty reinforces family instability, as it can destabilise other life domains like housing, health, or interpersonal relationships (Sandstrom and Huerta, 2013). Additionally, the additive nature of changes has a cumulative effect on children's well-being. Greater exposure to adverse life events and changes in the family structure increases the odds of psychopathologies, and behavioural problems (Bzostek and Beck, 2011; Kerns et al., 2011).

When differentiating between social groups, extant research on the topic has mainly relied on single variables like education, and race/ethnicity (McLanahan, 2004). However, the social world is not experienced through a single characteristic, but at the intersection of the multiple categories of advantages and disadvantages that converge on individuals (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). The interaction between social privileges and disadvantages constitutes the social structure in which social processes take place. We overcome some traditionally over-simplistic approaches by considering the interplay between social categories, and so, the social structure in which social dynamics are embedded.

We focus on Spain, a country that in recent decades has experienced a rapid transformation of its family structure, moving from a predominantly traditional model to the European standards concerning divorce, cohabitation, singlehood, non-marital birth, and repartnering (Lesthaeghe, 2010). We reconstruct parents' family and labour trajectories using retrospective information from the 2018 Spanish Fertility Survey (SFS) to capture the context in which children are conceived, born, and grew from five years before birth until they are 19 years old. We use Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) to measure the different existing configurations of advantages and disadvantages among the adult Spanish population, and Clustering techniques to find the social groups in which these privileged and unprivileged configurations converge (Lebaron, 2009). Borrowing the term from Bourdieu, we call these groups *probable social classes* (Bourdieu, 2005). We visualise parents' family and labour trajectories from children's perspectives and examine the different degrees of exposure to instability across *probable social classes* via longitudinal entropy measures (Pelletier et al., 2020).

This paper makes two main contributions. First, we propose a multidimensional and intersectional measure of inequalities among adults in Spain. Second, we examine how intertwined inequalities captured by our *probable social classes* interact (or not) with specific family formation trajectories -including partnership, (re)marriage, divorce, separation, and childbearing, and labour force participation trajectories by looking at inactivity, unemployment and type of employment over time..

Background

From the 2000s onward, the rapidly changing partnership and fertility regimes in European societies have unfolded in tandem with increases in social inequality (Pikkety, 2019; Thomson, 2014). This century's economic, social, and political crises have sharpened the inequality consequences for families (Callan et al., 2011; Mínguez, 2017). As a result, heterogeneous effects of family instability and employment trajectories on children's outcomes by parental education, race/ethnicity, and immigration status persist (Johnson et al., 2012). The combination of changing family dynamics and the stability of heterogeneous effects fuels the reproduction of social inequalities, namely, the persistence of an unfair state of affairs where social groups transmit privileges and disadvantages to the next generation (P. Amato et al., 2015). Despite the greater welfare systems of European countries, virtually no European nation escapes these trends.

The linkages between family instability and increased social inequality have been largely highlighted with pioneering work done in the US and Europe (Hadfield et al., 2018; McLanahan, 2004). More generally, however, the link between family instability, the intergenerational transmission of disadvantages, and the overarching organisation of social and economic structures remains understudied, at least in the population studies literature. This blind spot arises from an overly-individualist narrative that, despite looking at differences in family dynamics by social categories (dubbed as socioeconomic status), partially neglects the role of social structures (Colen, 1995; Fraser, 2022, chap. 3). Structures are evident when social categories are understood as socially privileged and socially

disadvantaged, and when the confluence of these two aspects is at the forefront of both theoretical perspectives and methodological, especially measurement, approaches.

This section reviews the US and European contributions to family dynamics and the intergenerational transmission of disadvantages aiming at highlighting the blind spot in structures and the opportunities to look at the Spanish case through an intersectionality lens, i.e., through the lens of privileged and disadvantaged social configurations (Choo and Ferree, 2010a).

Rapidly changing partnership, marriage and fertility patterns across high-income societies

Spain's demographic trajectory stands out as an example of the deep changes in family formation trajectories, partnership formation behaviours, and fertility patterns that took place in the Global North over the few past decades. For instance, the country's Gross Divorce Rate climbed from one of the lowest in Europe to the regional mean by the mid-2000s (Esping-Andersen et al., 2013). Cohabitation has mirrored this trend, and births from unmarried couples surpassing those from married ones for the first time in 2022 (INE). Two primary explanations have been proposed for these changes in the Spanish context and beyond: economic and cultural factors.

Regarding the economic factors, in an initial stage, women's incorporation into the labour market and the consequential increase of their economic independence and bargaining power within the marriage institution has driven divorce rates upward throughout the 20th century (Ruggles, 1997; Sayer and Bianchi, 2000). Additionally, economic fluctuations and instability have played a significant role in fostering family instability (Killewald et al., 2023). However, some scholars have also highlighted the adverse trends of men's labour force participation, unemployment rates, real income, and job instability to explain the changing role of marriage in middle- and high-income societies (Perelli-Harris and Gerber, 2011; Sweeney, 2002).

In their systematic review, (Cavanagh and Fomby, 2019) underscore that, given the growing importance of heterogeneous family patterns and trajectories, their consequences on children would have impacts at a population scale. Hence, understanding the causes, the transmission mechanisms, and the consequences on children and adolescents of family instability is pivotal for understanding contemporary societies and guiding social policy.

The surge in non-traditional family structures during the latter half of the twentieth century (Furstenberg, 2014) shifted research focus from the singular impact of divorce on children to the broader implications of the exposure to multiple changes in family dynamics and their cumulative effects (Wu and Martinson, 1993). As (Schoon, 2019) posits: 'The more risk factors children are exposed to, the more difficult it becomes for them to function effectively and fully develop their potential.'

Since then, research has proved the association between family and employment instability and children's academic performance (Perkins, 2019), internalising and externalising behaviours (Adam and Chase-Lansdale, 2002; Cavanagh and Huston, 2006), cognitive

development (Barreto et al., 2017; Lee and McLanahan, 2015), as well as with sex and partnering trajectories (Zito, 2015; Zito and De Coster, 2016), the transitions to adulthood (Fomby and Bosick, 2013; Ryan et al., 2009), and the intergenerational mobility (Bloome, 2017).

The heterogeneous effects of family and employment instability on children's outcomes

The aforementioned theories on the economic foundations of changes in family patterns underscore the intertwined nature of labour dynamics and family instability at the individual level. However, neither the exposure nor the consequences of these two social processes are uniformly distributed across all social strata. Numerous authors have assessed the role of inequality in moderating the impacts of familial and job instability on children's outcomes (P. R. Amato et al., 2015; Brown et al., 2016; Fowler et al., 2015; Heard, 2007).

Parental labour instability is related to short and long-term impacts on children's academic and behavioural outcomes (Hill et al., 2011; Stevens and Schaller, 2009) and, consequently, on their future earnings. Previous studies in the US context show how the effects of long-term unemployment and job instability are more detrimental for black and socially disadvantaged groups (Johnson et al., 2012; Kalil and Wightman, 2011).

Regarding family instability, the principal theories seeking to elucidate the nexus between volatility and adverse outcomes for children are the Selection Hypothesis and the Instability Hypothesis. The Selection Hypothesis posits that repeated alterations in family structure do not inherently lead to negative developmental outcomes for children. Instead, it suggests that adverse consequences stem from a selection bias towards parents with specific characteristics and behaviours that may predispose their children to negative outcomes (Fomby and Cherlin, 2007).

Conversely, the Instability Hypothesis highlights the mediating role of stress induced by changes in family structure in driving negative effects on children. Events such as parental separation, loss of a caregiver, introduction of a stepparent, or parental economic instability can induce stress, particularly if they disrupt established household routines, rules, and relationships. Economic fluctuations, job insecurity, or residential relocations resulting from family changes can also disrupt children's social ties and sense of security (McLanahan and Sandefur, 1994; Wu and Martinson, 1993).

While the Selection Hypothesis may partially explain future patterns of transition to adulthood, particularly when instability occurs during early childhood (Fomby and Bosick, 2013), research by Wu and Martinson (Wu and Martinson, 1993) and Fomby and Cherlin (Fomby and Cherlin, 2007) on cognitive development and externalising behaviour supports the Instability Hypothesis after controlling for selection variables. However, discrepancies in findings may arise when considering various social groups, transition types, and outcomes, underscoring the intricate nature of family dynamics within unstable contexts (Hadfield et al., 2018).

The short- and long-term consequences of family instability differ when different social groups are considered, with unique transmission mechanisms affecting each group. As Hadfield and colleagues note (Hadfield et al., 2018): 'The stressors through which these transitions have an impact on developmental outcomes may differ based on race-specific cultural and family norms.' Therefore, most literature analysing this social process has focused on the differences by gender, age, race/ethnicity and social class.

Findings by Brenøe and Lundberg (Brenøe and Lundberg, 2018) and Cavanagh and Huston (Cavanagh and Huston, 2006) argue that volatility in the family structure has greater effects on boys' externalising behaviours and school outcomes, while girls are more influenced by long-term effects such as college completion and occupational, and earnings attainments. The timing of exposure to family instability is also a critical factor. Literature on this topic reports two main conclusions. First, changes in the family composition during early childhood tend to generate worse developmental outcomes for young children given their strong dependency on caregivers. Second, as they are more autonomous, older children and adolescents are more affected by disruptions in their social ties than by changes in the family structure (Bzostek and Berger, 2017; Heard, 2007; Ryan et al., 2009).

Turning to class and ethnicity, extensive research in the US reveals greater exposure to family instability among children from minority groups and economically disadvantaged households (Fomby and Bosick, 2013). However, Black, Latinx and poor children tend to report fewer negative impacts of family instability concerning internalising and externalising behaviours, as well as educational attainment compared to their White and more affluent counterparts (Fomby et al., 2010; Ryan et al., 2009; Schoon, 2019). Scholars suggest that the prevalence of extended family structures within Black families buffers the effects of caregiver loss or family structure changes by providing additional kin and co-resident support as compared to the predominant role of traditional nuclear families among White families (Raley et al., 2019). (Cavanagh and Fomby, 2019) also introduce the concept of saturation, which posits that socioeconomic disadvantages create a threshold beyond which additional stressors, such as family structure changes, have minimal impact on children's well-being, particularly in disadvantaged contexts. Conversely, the stability of white and middle- to upper-class households magnifies the disruptive effects of a single change in the family structure (Turney, 2017).

Stratified analyses often rely on predefined statistical categories like household income level, parent's educational attainment, or race/ethnicity, one at a time, overlooking the complex interplay of multiple intersecting factors shaped by power dynamics and various axes of inequality (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). Individuals experience the social world not through a single dimension but through the intersection of myriad factors including gender, ethnicity, social class, migration status, and family background (Choo and Ferree, 2010b). Consequently, conventional conceptualizations of inequality fall short in capturing the intricate web of social interactions.

The next section describes how we analyse multiple socioeconomic variables to construct social categories comprising both privileges and disadvantages. Family trajectories and

employment histories are then examined through the lens of these configurations and along children's life courses to measure the potential extent of intergenerational transmission of disadvantages from an intersectional and processual perspective.

Data and methods

We draw our results from the 2018 Spanish Fertility Survey (2018-SFS herein) developed by the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística - INE). The SFS is a nationally representative cross-sectional survey that collects demographic and socioeconomic information for individuals aged 18 to 55 along with their childbearing, marital, and employment histories. The 2018-SFS sample comprises 17,175 individuals; 14,556 women and 2,619 men. It is publicly available at www.ine.es.

To investigate the differences in the familial and labour context in which children grow up by parental social classes, we focus on individuals aged 39 to 55. This analytical sample allows us to link 20-year long parental, marital and employment histories with children's life courses from the year preceding childbirths to their age at the time of the survey. Table 1 shows the number of individuals in our analytical sample and the number of children, by parental age group and place of birth.

Table 1. Number of individuals and children in the analytical sample size by parental age groups and place of birth - Spanish National Fertility Survey 2018

		Age group			Total	%
		39-44	45-49	50-55		
Place of birth						
European Union	Individuals	101	93	95	289	3.0
	Children	140	121	116	377	2.9
LaCar	Individuals	225	136	150	511	5.3
	Children	326	217	233	776	5.9
Others	Individuals	118	61	66	245	2.5
	Children	232	111	110	453	3.4
Spain	Individuals	2,992	2,505	3,143	8,640	89.2
	Children	3,857	3,417	4,298	11,572	87.8
Total	Individuals	3,436	2,795	3,454	9,685	100.0
	Children	4,555	3,866	4,757	13,178	100.0

Note: LaCar stands for Latin American and Caribbean and comprises mostly people from Ecuador (17.7%) and Colombia (14.2%). The Others category includes countries from Asia, Africa, Oceania and North America.

As seen in Table 1, this sample is adequate for studying the relationship between social classes and children's growing-up contexts as it accurately reflects fertility and migration patterns of the first decade of the 21st century in Spain (Domingo and Gil-Alonso, 2007). Most individuals in our sample are Spanish-born followed by people from Latin American and Caribbean countries (LaCar). Other national and regional origins represent around 5% of the sample, with children being slightly overrepresented, a signal of the link between migration and fertility, especially first births (González-Ferrer et al., 2017).

Measuring parental social classes under an inductive and multivariate approach

We follow a multivariate inductive approach to measure social classes using information from eight demographic and socioeconomic variables. These variables reflect the cumulative result of individuals' opportunities and achievements throughout their life courses along with their familial background. The variables listed below were selected after a careful examination of data quality and availability in the 2018-SFS, and are in line with multivariate measurement approaches to social classes applied in other European contexts (Le Roux et al., 2008; Lebaron and Le Roux, 2015).

1. **Education:** Primary or less; Secondary; Tertiary Lower (University degree); Tertiary Upper (Postgraduate degree).
2. **Home space:** squared metres per person –Small (<20m²); Middle-Small (20-30m²); Middle (30-40m²); Middle-High (40-50m²); and High (>50m²).
3. **Housing access:** considering both the type of access (ownership or rent) and the percentage of household income used to pay for accessing above or below 40% to define low and high financial burden, respectively.
4. **Income:** monthly income categories –<1000€ (HHin01); 1000-1500€ (HHin02); 1500-2500€ (HHin03); 2500-5000€ (HHin04); >5000€ (HHin05).
5. **Occupation:** Inactivity; Unemployed; Elementary and Operators; Qualified Agricultural Workers, Artisans and Services; and Technicians and Superiors.
6. **Parents education:** Highest achiever coded as (1)
7. **Region of birth:** European Union, Latin America, Other (including North America, Asia and Oceania), and Spain.
8. **Urbanisation:** Rural, Intermediate, Urban

To measure social class, we implement a Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) on these eight variables followed by a Clustering Analysis based upon the first three MCA axes (details below). Factorial axes are individual-level numerical variables that summarise the associations among the eight input variables.

We prefer factorial axes over other methodologies for clustering such as model-based clustering and Latent Class Analysis because factorial axes are data-driven measures that summarise the confluence of categories. The summarising and configurational nature of factorial axes put the emphasis on critical social cleavages and divisory lines in terms of privileges and disadvantages. The relative weight of the top eigenvalues of an MCA's singular value decomposition serves as a measure of the strength of the confluence among the variables in the analysis, i.e., as a measure of how strongly privileges and disadvantages overlap and covary. Such emphasis and measures cannot be achieved explicitly with other methodologies (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004; Rouanet et al., 2000).

In addition, factorial axes are orthogonal to one another which favours efficiency and the inductive nature of clustering (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2010). Two individuals with similar characteristics across the eight input variables will have similar values in the factorial axes making them close to one another. Likewise, individuals with diverging values across these eight variables will be distant by virtue of having diverging factorial coordinates.

Thus, factorial axes are a good tool for grouping individuals in the spirit of *probable social classes*. We identify these classes in three steps. First, we calculate an individual-level distance matrix using the factorial axes and the Euclidean distance. Second, we input this matrix into the Ward method to identify individuals' clustering structure and select, via visual inspection of dendrograms, a few adjacent cluster solutions. Third, we consolidate the cluster solutions using the k-means algorithm (Hartigan and Wong, 1979). The combination of the Ward method and the k-means algorithm favours the identification of spherical clusters and avoids excessively small groups while maximising the between-group variance. As a result of these steps, we keep and interpret a six-cluster solution.

Given individuals' age, our eight variables and their clustering reflect the confluence of life-long opportunities and disadvantages. Outcomes such as being a homeowner or immigrant, and having or lacking educational credentials are not circumstantial but rather embedded in individuals' life courses from adolescence to their current age. In addition, the multivariate aspect of our measurement reduces the probability of misclassifying somebody due to exceptional circumstances such as temporary unemployment or financial shocks affecting household income.

Furthermore, using *probable social classes* for predicting children's outcomes is fully in line with a processual logic (Abbott, 1983). Social outcomes and inequalities emerge from processes, i.e., from conjunctures or configurations of circumstances and their unfolding over time (Johnson-Hanks, 2007). Under this approach, it is neither possible nor desirable to measure the effect of single variables on a given outcome while keeping the other constant (i.e., all things being equal). On the contrary, probable social classes keep all things unequal as they appear empirically in the data, so to speak (Gollac, 2004).

As a result of the processual approach, our analysis could be judged as merely descriptive. This judgement is true under the counterfactual framework of causal analysis. However, we discuss the plausibility of making causal-like claims outside of this framework under our processual and inductive approach (Lebaron, 2003; Lieberson and Horwich, 2008).

Social classes and childrearing contexts

We assigned parents' social class to their children assuming, based on the above-discussed literature, that the confluence of advantages and disadvantages captured by the clustering influence the context in which children were planned (or not), conceived, born, and raised. Using information on children's age we link parental marital and employment histories to children's life courses from five years before birth to their age at the time of the survey. This linked data allows us to study the familial and labour contexts in which children were

conceived and grew up. By splitting adults according to their *probable social class*, we assess the extent to which childhood and adolescent contexts vary in Spain.

To further support our *probable social class* approach and derive implications for the study of family and social inequalities, we calculate two child-level standardised longitudinal entropies, one for marital status and another employment histories. Children's lifecourse entropy captures the variation in parental partnership and employment status from the year of conception (i.e., one year before birth) to the child's age. This measure ranges from 0 to 1, with zero meaning that parents have the same marital or employment status during children's life course, and one indicating that they experience the maximum number of transitions.

Next, we regress children's longitudinal entropies on *probable social classes* and each of the eight variables of the MCA, one at a time. These models control for the parent's age group as in Table 1. As a benchmark model specification, we predict children's longitudinal entropies using all eight input variables and parents' age group as predictors in a saturated model specification. Finally, study entropy gaps across all models and compare the Bayesian and Akaike Information Criteria (AIC and BIC, respectively) for all specifications against the saturated specification computing AIC and BIC ratios. Because the women and men samples are independent, we conduct our analysis separately for fathers and mothers and include standardised sampling weights for representativity.

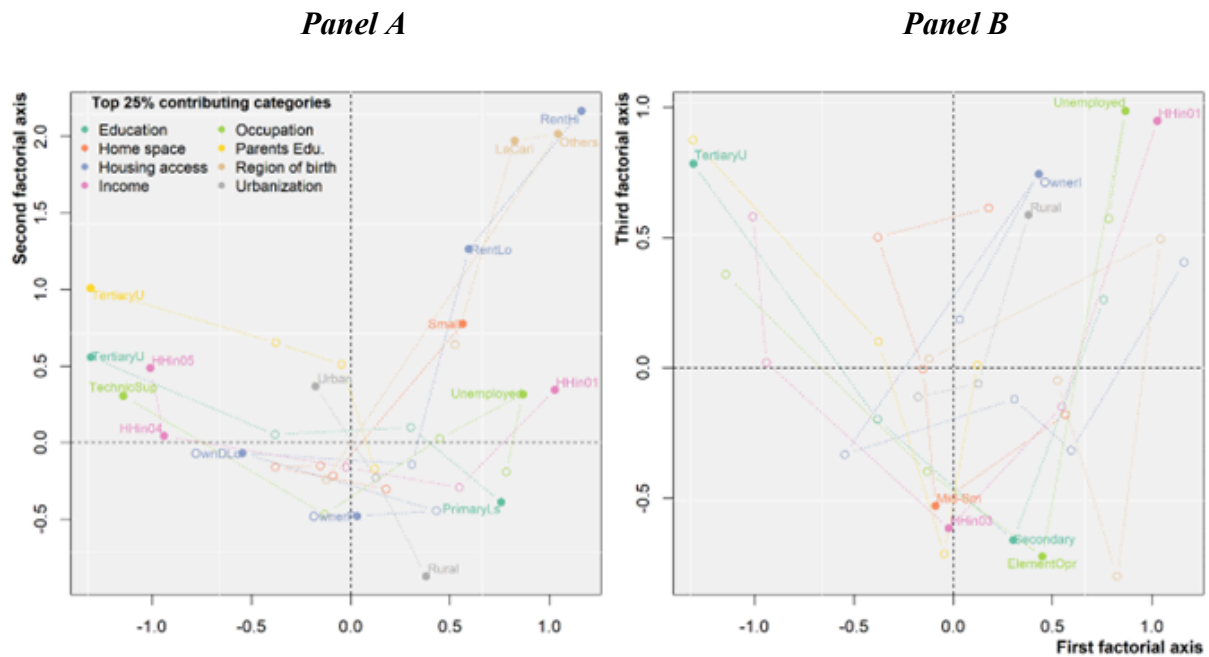
Results

The social space among adults in Spain

According to the 2018-SFS data, privileges and disadvantages give rise to different socioeconomic profiles among the adult Spanish population. These profiles allow us to study social groups according to their living conditions as defined by the confluence of socially privileged and socially disadvantaged categories.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of categories along the first three MCA axes (Panel A: first and second axes, Panel B: first and third axes). These three axes comprise 56.3%, 14.8%, and 5.7%, of the total variance, meaning that variables are strongly correlated. To favour interpretation, categories of the same variables are connected with dotted and the top 25% contributing categories to the axes' inertia are labelled to favour interpretation. Categories that appear close to one another signal the confluence of privileges and disadvantages. Likewise, categories that appear distal from one another indicate negatively correlated socioeconomic and status conditions among the studied individuals.

Figure 1. Confluence of privileges and disadvantages among individuals 39-to-55-years-old



Note: Only the top 25% contributing categories to the variance of the first, second (left panel) and third (right panel) factorial axes are labelled to highlight the main areas of socioeconomic distinctions among adults.

Hence, the first quadrant of Panel A comprises a series of socially disadvantaged categories including lack of access to homeownership (RentLo and RentHi), reduced space at home (Small), unemployment (Unemployed), and the lowest household income category (HHin01). Two regions of birth categories lay on the top right corner of this quadrant: Latin American and Caribbean and immigrants from regions other than the European Union. The location of these two regions of birth means that adults from these two regions tend to live in disadvantaged conditions with respect to the overall population, concerning housing access, space at home, employment, and income.

The second quadrant comprises, instead, socially privileged categories, namely, tertiary education in both parental and adult generations (TertiaryU), the top two income categories (HHin04 and HHin05), and prestigious occupations.

The second factorial axis (vertical) mainly opposes urban (top-left) vs. rural areas (bottom-right) and renters vs owners. Notably, the two most contributing categories of homeownership refer to individuals with low financial burdens to pay loans (OwnL), and debts already paid (OwnP), respectively. These oppositions are consistent with the greater prevalence of homeownership in rural than urban areas. The bottom area of panel A also comprises intermediate categories of educational attainment and occupation, although they are not labelled due to their relatively low contribution.

The fourth quadrant comprises the lowest educational attainment category: Primary or less (PrimaryL). This category correlates positively with unemployment, low household income, and rural residence.

The third factorial axis (Panel B) further distinguishes the tertiary education category on the top left-hand side, signalling a consolidated upper class where both parental and adult generations achieved postgraduate educational degrees. On the top-right of Panel B, the lowest income category (HHin01) goes along with rural residence, homeownership through inheritance (OwnerI), and unemployment (Unemployed). At the bottom of this panel, intermediate income levels (HHin03) go along with elementary occupations, secondary education, and small to medium space availability at home. These categories seem to describe the living conditions of working-class individuals.

All in all, MCA results indicate that the eight input variables are strongly correlated. Three orthogonal axes summarise 76.8% of these correlations. Privileged categories go along with each other whereas intermediate and low-status categories split into a group where unemployment, low education, and low income are relatively alleviated by homeownership through inheritance, and a group that resembles a relatively well-off working class.

Probable social classes

We examine cluster solutions with five, six, seven and eight clusters as they display relative merging-heights below 30 in the classification dendrogram, with maximum height equal to 57 (see Figure A1). The between-cluster variance after the implementation of the k-means algorithm for each of these solutions were: 66%, 70%, 72%, and 74%, respectively. The decreasing marginal gain in the between-clusters variance from the six-cluster (70%) to the seven-cluster (72%) solution led us to focus on the former.

A six-cluster solution reveals additional nuances to the stratification of adults in Spain. On the one hand, there is a net hierarchy in terms of overall resources, opportunities, and intergenerational relations across our cluster solution. Individuals in Cluster 1 have the most resources, socially valued credentials, and best living conditions compared to all other clusters. The reverse is true for individuals in Cluster 6. On the other hand, not all the eight variables correlate perfectly with the clusters; some clusters comprise both, relatively privileged and disadvantaged categories. The next paragraphs briefly summarise the main characteristics of each cluster. Table A1 in the appendix presents a full description of clusters according to the eight input variables.

Cluster 1 (14.1%) is an urban well-off social class with 92.3% of individuals born in Spain. Individuals in this cluster are concentrated in the top categories of all eight variables including tertiary upper education, prestigious occupations, middle to high space availability at home, and homeownership, either paid or with low financial burden. Virtually one-third of the parental generation of this cluster had tertiary education themselves (37.7%), a high share compared to 11.1% among the entire analytical sample.

Cluster 2 (19.7%) displays the second largest share of Spanish-born individuals across all the clusters (96.8%), with a non-negligible share of residents in intermediate areas. This group is also highly educated with tertiary lower education being the most common educational attainment (59.3%). In terms of occupation, 83.9% of individuals in this cluster are managers, artisans, and qualified workers. This cluster has a similar homeownership rate compared to Cluster 1 but with a slightly higher prevalence of fully paid dwellings. Space at home is more limited and income levels are lower compared to Cluster 1. Notably, 80.7% of the parental generation of this cluster finished primary education as most.

Cluster 3 (21.7%), the largest of the five clusters, comprises 91.0% Spanish-born individuals and 9.0% immigrants, mostly from other European countries (5.0%). Primary and secondary education categories comprise 70.7% of these individuals, and 87.6% of them are occupied in agriculture or as elementary operators. Space at home is more restricted than in the preceding clusters with more than 80% having fewer than 40 square metres per person. Homeownership rates are lower compared to the preceding clusters, with significant shares of individuals having a high financial burden due to a mortgage (11.0%) and being renters (10.9%). Accordingly, most individuals in this group are in below-average household income categories. Notably, only 4% of the parental generation in this cluster had tertiary upper education.

Cluster 4 (21.1%) is predominantly Spanish-born (97.6%). Notably, educational levels are strikingly low with 61.4% of the individuals with primary education or less. Individuals in this group are almost evenly distributed in urban and rural areas (30.0% in each), with a slight overrepresentation of residents of intermediate areas (41.0%). Inactivity affects one-fifth of these individuals and those working hold intermediary occupations. There is no clear pattern in terms of space at home, except for the low fraction living in less than 20 square metres per person. The homeownership rate without debt is high, although 9.4% of these individuals carry a high mortgage burden. Almost half of the individuals in this cluster live in households with income below 1,500 euros per month. Expectedly, the parental generation displays similarly low levels of educational attainment, with 97.8% of parents having secondary education, at most.

Cluster 5 (13.4%) comprises immigrants from all regions of origin, with EU immigrants being the majority (6.2%). The educational profile of this cluster is very low with almost two-third of the individuals having only primary education. Inactivity and unemployment affect 32.9% and 47.0% of this population, respectively. The homeownership rate is lower compared to other clusters, and the burden of debt is also salient with 9.9% having a high burden due to mortgages. This cluster is overrepresented in rural and intermediate areas and in the lowest income level (73.5%). Only one in ten parents had secondary education or higher.

Cluster 6 (10.0%), the immigrant cluster, is dominated by Latin American individuals (42.3%) and individuals in the Other category (25.7%). However, a non-negligible 21.9% are Spanish-born, and a tiny fraction of this cluster resides in rural areas (3.7%). The educational profile of this cluster is better than that of Clusters 4 and 5. Likewise, this cluster displays

lower levels of inactivity and unemployment compared to Cluster 4 which may signal better-off socioeconomic conditions. However, the prevalence of unemployment is almost twice that of the entire sample (24.1% vs. 12.3%). Most employed individuals in this cluster are elementary operators (40.7%).

The clearest mark of social disadvantage in this group comes from housing conditions and income. More than half of these individuals reside in fewer than 20 square metres per person (Small category: 54.0%) and 81.2% of them are renters. This implies the lowest homeownership rate among all the clusters. Notably, more than one-third of individuals in this cluster experience a high financial burden due to rent (33.7%) or loans (4.4%), and more than two-thirds live in households with less than 1,500€ monthly income. Unexpectedly, the parental generation is better educated than parents of Clusters 3 to 5, and slightly better than the overall sample.

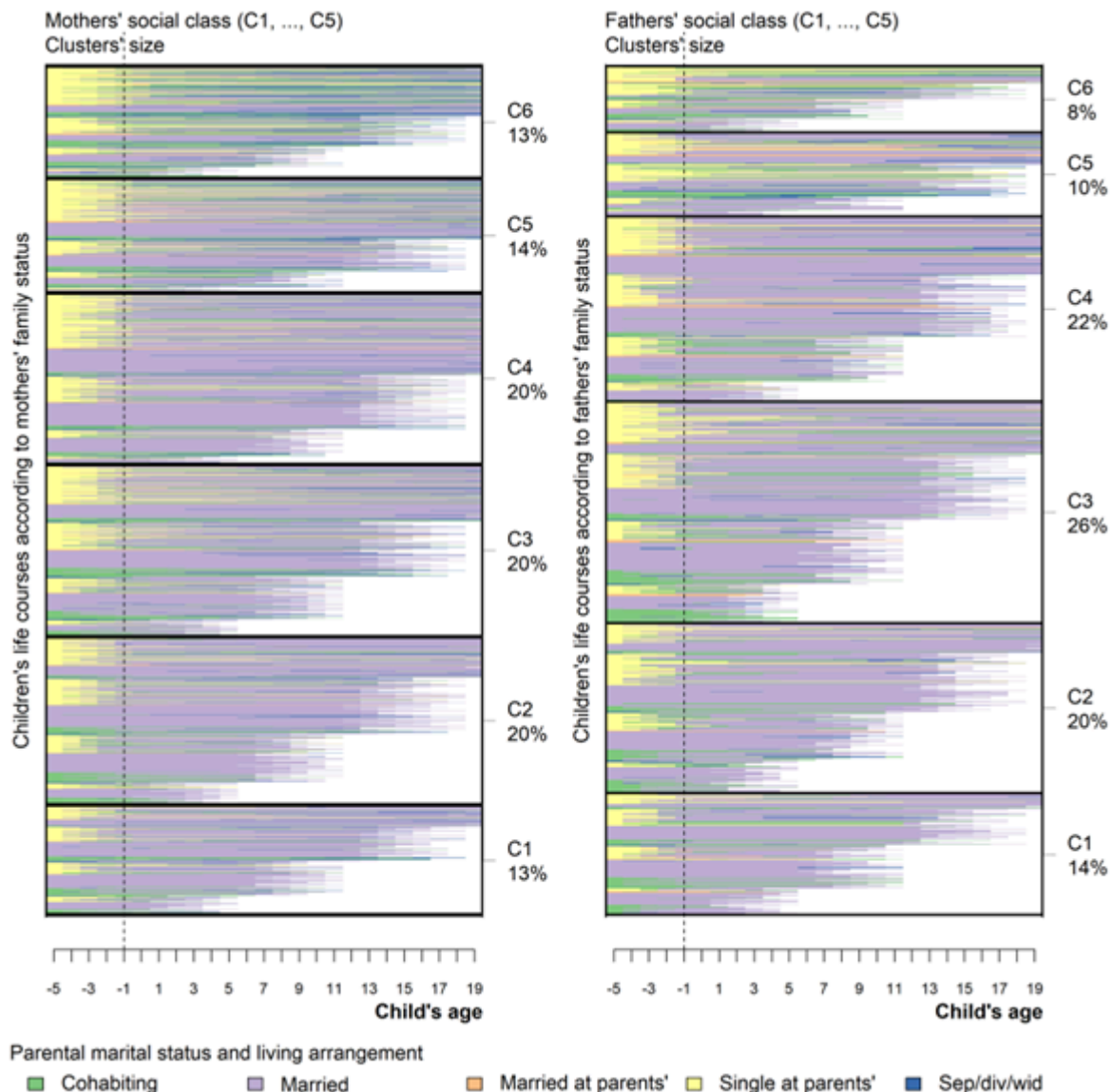
All in all, the confluence of mixed categories of privileges and disadvantages across clusters, along with the clear hierarchy in terms of socioeconomic resources and status from cluster 1 to 6, demonstrate the needs of a multivariate and intersectional lens to social stratifications in modern societies, especially if they are home of a significant share of immigrants. Most of the above described complexities and interrelations will be masked in univariate analysis based solely on migration status, educational attainment or occupational categories.

Family and employment histories through a children's life course lens

Figure 2 displays children's life courses from five years before birth (x-coordinate = -5) to their age at the time of the survey. Children's life courses are organised by parental *probable social class*, age groups (0-5, 6-11, and 12-18), and parental marital status five years before birth. Each year of children's lives is coloured according to their parental marital status and whether parents reside with their progenitors (i.e., children's grandparents).

According to Figure 2 the overarching patterns of marital status from children's life course perspective are similar between mothers and fathers. There are sharp probable social class gradients in premarital births and the amount of change children experience from conception to adolescence. One major difference between mothers' and fathers' family status trajectories is that union dissolution seems less prevalent among fathers, especially in high-order clusters. Also, patrilocality seems to be a feature of Clusters 4 and 5.

Figure 2. Children's family contexts from five years before birth to their age at the time of the survey

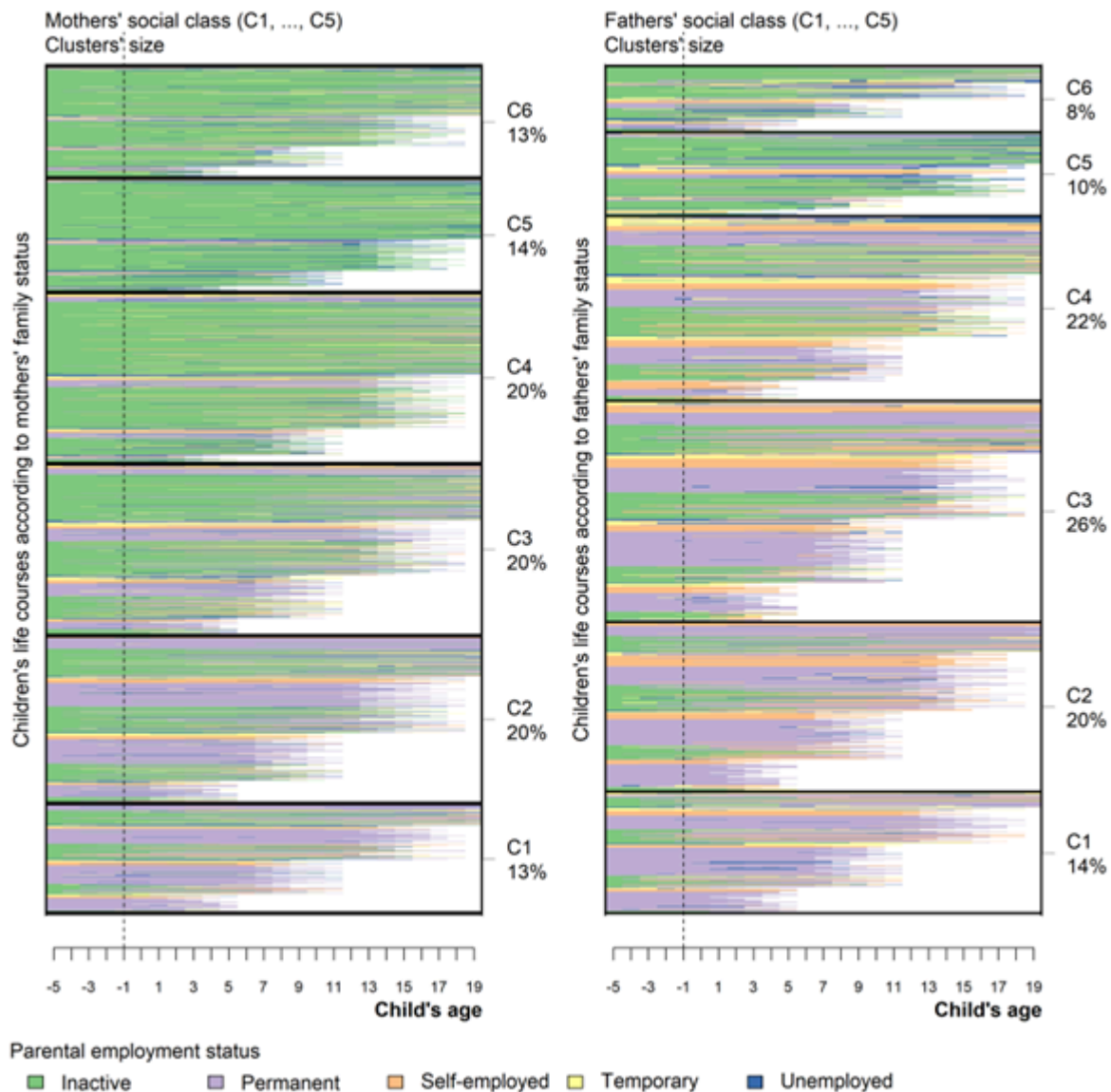


Note: Children's trajectories are sorted by cluster, age groups (0-5, 6-11, and 12-18), and parental marital status at birth.

In terms of common patterns between mother and father, Figure 2 suggests that marital and coresidential contexts for children to parents in extreme clusters are quite different. The proportion of married individuals at all years before childbirth is lower in high order clusters compared to low order. As a result, at children's birth, there is a higher prevalence of single parenthood and cohabitation in C4, C5, and C6 compared to C1 and C2. In addition, whereas union dissolution seems to be a feature of cohabiting unions among C1 and C2, it appears across all types of unions -marriages and cohabitation- in C4, C5, and C6, and it is particularly marked among women in the last cluster. In addition, union dissolution in high-order clusters seems to occur earlier than in other clusters. In lower-order clusters, a visual inspection suggests remarriage trajectories as some blue segments turn back to light purple.

The greater diversity of marital statuses and union instability among high-order clusters goes along with a high prevalence of variegated employment histories and unstable labour trajectories. As seen in Figure 3, most life trajectories among children in the upper classes occurred in contexts of sustained permanent contracts. There are also some uninterrupted spells of inactivity and self-employment among mothers and fathers in C1.

Figure 3. Children's labour contexts from five years before birth to their age at the time of the survey



Note: Children's trajectories are sorted by cluster, age groups (0-5, 6-11, and 12-18), and parental employment status at birth.

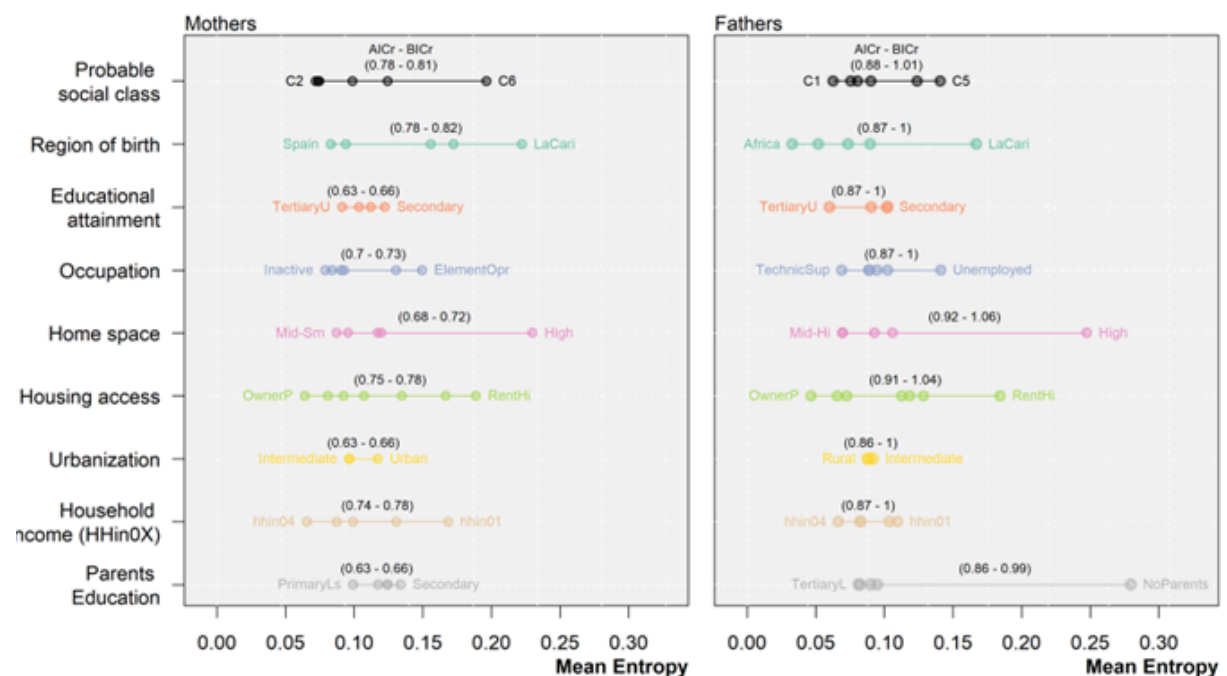
As one goes up towards higher-order clusters, permanent contracts become less prevalent and self-employment and inactivity take larger shares among fathers and mothers respectively. Temporary contracts and self-employment arrangements are also more visible, particularly in C3 among fathers.

At the end of the clustering structure, i.e., in C5 and C6 permanent contracts are virtually non-existent; overall inactivity dominates among fathers and mothers with sporadic spells of temporary contracts and self-employment. In all likelihood, these inactivity spells do not mean that parents are not engaged in productive activities or income-generating tasks. As they need to make a living for themselves and their children, they are likely engaged in informal, precarious and short-term tasks. The traditional sexual division of work whereby men are expected to participate in the public/economic production, whereas women are confined to the private/care realm, makes this prevalence of inactivity more salient among mothers than parents.

Implications for the study of family inequalities

Figure 4 shows the mean longitudinal entropy of adults' partnership trajectories over children's life courses across *probable social classes* and all the categories of the variables in the MCA. These means reflect the average variation in parent's partnership status along children's life course from conception to their age at the time of the survey. A high mean entropy implies greater diversity of partnership states net of the child's age and parents' cohort. Background markers exceeding the circle lines indicate high uncertainty in estimates, particularly among fathers due to small sample size. Vertical lines are 0.25 standard deviations apart.

Figure 4. Mean longitudinal entropy gaps in family trajectories from birth to 18 years old between the maximum and the minimum category of each variable



Note: The mean longitudinal entropy is net of cohort effects. Large transparent circles indicate unreliable estimates due to large standard errors. The numbers in parentheses are the AIC and BIC ratios comparing each variable's predictive capacity with respect to a saturated model. Below one indicates a worse fit, whereas the numbers above one indicate a better fit relative to a saturated model.

A horizontal line connects the category with the minimum and maximum mean entropy to indicate the range gap. The numbers in parentheses are the AIC and BIC ratios. These numbers indicate how well each variable predicts longitudinal entropy relative to a model with all MCA variables as predictors, termed saturated model. Ratios close to one indicate good fit relative to the saturated model.

According to Figure 4, the range of mothers' mean entropy across *probable social classes* is larger than the range across mothers' educational attainment, occupation, urbanisation, household income, and parental education. These results mean that the confluence of privileges and disadvantages, as captured by *probable social classes*, leads to identifying more significant gaps in partnership trajectories among mothers than five out of the eight input variables. In addition, the magnitude of the AIC and BIC ratios for the *probable social classes*, 0.78 and 0.81, respectively, indicate that this variable predicts longitudinal entropy of mothers' partnership trajectories almost as good as a saturated model. The larger values of the BICr relative to the AICr suggest the complexity of the saturated model may not be justified. This is also true for the other variables, but the ratios are slightly lower than those of the *probable social classes*, with only one exception, namely, the region of birth.

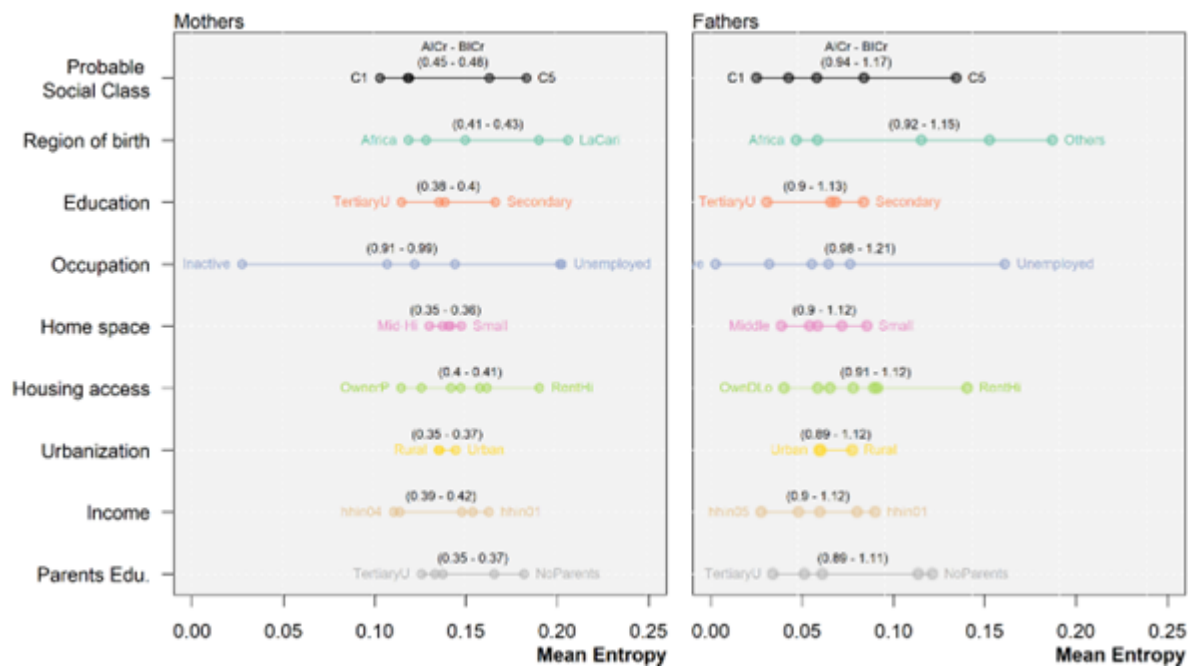
Importantly, whereas the entropy difference between C1 and C2, and C6 is more than half a standard deviation, the entropy gap by mothers' educational attainment and parental education are below 1/4th standard deviations, meaning that relying on any of these two latter variables will significantly underestimate gaps in partnerships variation across children's life courses. This is not to say that educational credentials do not matter. They do, in the context of the other variables that correlate positively with both high and low educational attainment.

Region of birth, home space, and housing access display larger ranges in the mean entropies compared to *probable social classes* mainly due to a large mean in a single category: Latin America and the Caribbean (LaCari), high ratio of square metres to persons at home (High), and high financial burden due to rent (RentHi). However, the AIC and BIC ratios favour *probable social classes* with the above-mentioned exception, where these differences are non-existent or minimal: 0.78 vs. 0.78 for AIC, and 0.82 vs. 0.81 for the BIC (we discuss these further in the last section).

For fathers, besides the greater uncertainty in mean entropy estimates-mainly due to the smaller sample size- overall patterns suggest that social factors influence their partnership trajectories quite differently compared to mothers. The gap across fathers' *probable social classes* is smaller or very similar to the gap across the mean gaps in other variables. Only the gaps among urbanisation and income categories are smaller than *probable social class* gaps. In addition, the AIC and BIC ratios across all variables, including *probable social classes*, are similar. The AIC ratios suggest that individual variables yield at least 86% as good fit compared to the saturated model, BIC ratios indicate that individual variables fit the data better than the eight variables together. This result means that the increase in complexity that results from adding predictors is weakly justified for fathers.

Figure 5 compares mean entropies, highlights gaps among categories, and assesses goodness of fit between bivariate and saturated models predicting the longitudinal entropy of parent's labour trajectories.

Figure 5. Mean longitudinal entropy gaps in parental labour trajectories from birth to 18 years old between the maximum and the minimum category of each variable



Note: The mean longitudinal entropy is net of cohort effects. Large transparent circles indicate unreliable estimates due to large standard errors. The numbers in parentheses are the AIC and BIC ratios comparing each variable's predictive capacity with respect to a saturated model. Below one indicates a worse fit, whereas the numbers above one indicate a better fit relative to a saturated model.

In terms of gaps' sizes, results for mothers' employment trajectories are very similar to those of partnership trajectories. The gap across *probable social classes* is larger than most other variables with exceptions due to single categories such as Inactive (Occupation) and LaCari (Region of birth). Probable social classes yield more significant gaps in employment entropies than mothers' educational attainment and parental education, reinstating the fact that focusing on educational categories solely would likely underestimate gaps in employment histories' variation.

In terms of the AIC and BIC ratios, single-variable models do poorly compared to the saturated model when predicting the longitudinal entropy of mothers' employment trajectories, except for Occupation where the AIC and BIC ratios are 0.85 and 0.93, respectively, indicating a strong predictive power. This strong predictive power underlines the cumulative nature of employment outcomes. The low mean entropy associated with the Inactive category indicates that mothers tend to stay inactive throughout their children's infancy and adolescence. At the other end of the entropy gap, unemployment is associated

with employment trajectories with multiple changes, meaning that unemployed mothers's status changes several times throughout their children's life courses.

For fathers, mean employment entropy gaps by *probable social class* are significant with more than half a standard deviation separating the upper (C1) and lower classes (C6). The gap is only larger among regions of birth and occupation categories. As for the case of mothers, these latter gaps indicate the cumulative influence of inactivity and unemployment for steady and varying employment trajectories, respectively. As for mothers, *probable social class* gaps are larger than gaps by educational attainment and parental education.

A significant difference between fathers' and mothers' results pertains to the AIC and BIC ratios for employment entropies. Whereas these ratios indicate poor predictive capacity of individual variables for mothers' employment entropies, they yield a very high goodness of fit for fathers' with ratios ranging from 0.83 to 1.23. This discrepancy could be associated with the fact that mothers' employment trajectories are overwhelmingly marked by inactivity, especially among the middle and lower classes (refer to Figure 3), which likely reduces the role of socioeconomic factors on mothers' employment status. In other words, the sexual division of work reduces social factors' explanatory capacity for public sphere matters among women whereas it is very salient for men. Interestingly, this sex difference in the explanatory capacity of socioeconomic variables is reversed for partnership trajectories, which typically are seen as a private and care-related (i.e., non-productive) realm.

Differences across *probable social classes* in other features of parental marital and labour trajectories, mirror those we report for the longitudinal entropy. We report some of these in Table A2. For example, children in Cluster 6 experience a mean number of family transitions 2.6 times greater than children in Cluster 1. Similarly, from birth to 18 years old, children in Cluster 6 spend less time residing with stably married parents and 1.6 more years with separated, divorced or widowed parents as compared to children in Cluster 1. Parental employment trajectories also exhibit stratified patterns. Whilst children in Cluster 1 spend on average 4.4 years with an inactive parent, the mean period of parental inactivity in the labour market for children in Cluster 6 is 15.6 years. The seemingly permanent inactivity of lower-class mothers is in sharp contrast to the job security of the upper class for both sexes, who spend a mean of 11.1 years in stable jobs.

Conclusions

In most high income countries, the familial and parental employment contexts in which children grow up are strongly stratified (P. Amato et al., 2015). We highlight the configurational nature of this social stratification in Spain, and thereby reveal greater divergence among lower-, middle-, and upper class children in terms of familial and employment contexts and their social significance. Specifically, we relied on MCA and clustering techniques to group adults aged 39 to 55 into six groups termed *probable social classes*. Next, we visualise and describe divergent familial and employment contexts over children's life courses from conception to adolescence by parental *probable social classes*.

This approach brings two main contributions, the first from the *probable social classes* themselves, and the other from what they reveal regarding children's life courses.

First, *probable social classes* indicate that, in contemporary Spain, migration status, educational and occupational opportunities, housing access, income levels, and family background interact in shaping individuals' realities, and thus, influencing demographic behaviour, socioeconomic outcomes, and the reproduction of inequalities. The confluence of disadvantages is the main characteristic of the lower classes, except in terms of educational credentials, reflecting an untapped potential in these groups (e.g., clusters 5 and 6). We show that both immigrants and native-borns are part of the lower end of the social space, a not sufficiently studied and addressed feature, from a policy perspective, of high-income countries stratification systems.

Moving up along the social space, the confluence of relative privileges such as homeownership and specific disadvantages such as financial burdens due to mortgages or low-paid occupations characterises the middle classes (i.e., clusters 2, 3 and 4). Relative deprivations play a crucial role in keeping these classes apart from greater mobility and better outcomes further signalling the synergistic and intersectional nature privileges and disadvantages. These mixture conditions are also likely factors in their demographic patterns. These classes comprise mostly native-born individuals and their spatial dispersion suggests greater heterogeneity in terms of the geographical contexts in which these groups live. Because these classes represent almost 60% of the total population, they are likely to drive aggregate results and overarching associations among variables. However, by looking at them from a *probable social class* perspective, we learn that they are not homogeneous and therefore variables' associations reported in other studies are likely class specific. Generally speaking, we have an urban class with increased educational attainment compared to the parental generation (cluster 2), and a large working class largely touched by financial burdens due to mortgages and splitted along the lines of educational attainment and occupational prestige, on the one hand, and homeownership and rural residence on the other (i.e., clusters 3 and 4).

The remaining pattern is that of the confluence of privileges, in particular privileges that persist across generations such as access to higher education. Co-occurring privileges constitute the upper class (i.e., cluster 1). Immigrants are not majoritarian in this class, but their shares are larger than those of the middle classes demonstrating an emerging layer of complexity within South-North migration streams such as that of Spain and Latin American, African, and Eastern European countries. This results is at odds of understanding the immigrant population as generally disadvantaged and in need of social assistance. More generally, the confluence of privileges and socially advantageous positions speak to the persisting need for greater redistributive policies.

Second, the *probable social class* perspective along with a children's life course lens enhance our understanding of how adults' familial and employment trajectories may influence children's outcomes. The confluence of parental family instability and precarious employment histories is pervasive among lower-class children's life courses, adding an

additional layer of disadvantage and potentially boosting the intergenerational transmission of inequalities (Castillo Rico et al., 2019; Perkins, 2019). At the other end of the social spectrum, stability and lower uncertainty might boost positive outcomes among children.

Differences in the exposure to family and labour instability are not unique for the two extreme *probable social classes*. Instead, there is a class gradient in children's parental and employment instability. In this regard, the results of our analyses support previous research on unequal exposure to instability. However, existing literature has missed the processual and potentially cumulative aspect of parental family and employment histories over children's life courses and the fact that they do not depend on single variables (i.e. education, income), but on the interplay among socioeconomic advantages and disadvantages.

As shown by McLanahan (McLanahan, 2004) children of mothers with fewer years of schooling have fewer resources than those of highly educated mothers, but the extent of this difference may be underestimated as other factors beyond educational achievement were not taken into account. According to our results, differences in children's exposure to unstable and changing familial context are larger when looked through mothers' *probable social classes* than when looked through maternal educational attainment categories. The same is true about unstable and changing employment trajectories for fathers.

These results underline the traditional division between the so-called public and the private spheres of social life and their socially-warranted attribution to men and women, respectively (Pateman, 1989; Schwartz, 2010). Socioeconomic and social status factors display a greater explanatory power for father's employment trajectories than their partnership and marital status histories. Conversely, socioeconomic and social status factors are more meaningful when analysing mothers' partnership trajectories, but are scarcely useful when measuring labour instability, due to the predominance of inactivity among women. Hence, gender roles and the sexual division of work between the public and the private spheres seem to have a remarkable role when measuring gender differences in the social factors that help explain children's divergent familial and labour contexts.

A relevant avenue for future research involves delving into the mechanisms that amplify or mitigate the adverse effects of parental family and labour instability across diverse social groups. The comprehension of the transmission pathways is crucial for designing effective public policies that provide children with the necessary support to ensure their full development. Additionally, non-normative family arrangements have been pointed out as the cause of children's negative developmental outcomes. However, it is important to note that the cause of diverging outcomes in children's development is not the family structure, but the lack of parental resources to face children's emerging demands when changes occur (Osborne and McLanahan, 2007).

Credits:

Carlos Ruiz-Ramos: Methodology, Formal analysis, Investigation, Data Curation, Writing - Original Draft, Writing - Review & Editing. **Andrés F. Castro Torres:** Conceptualization, Formal analysis, Writing - Original Draft, Writing - Review & Editing, Visualization, Supervision, Project administration.

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Appendix

Figure A1. Classification dendrogram resulting from applying the Ward method to a Euclidean distance matrix based on the first three MCA factorial axes

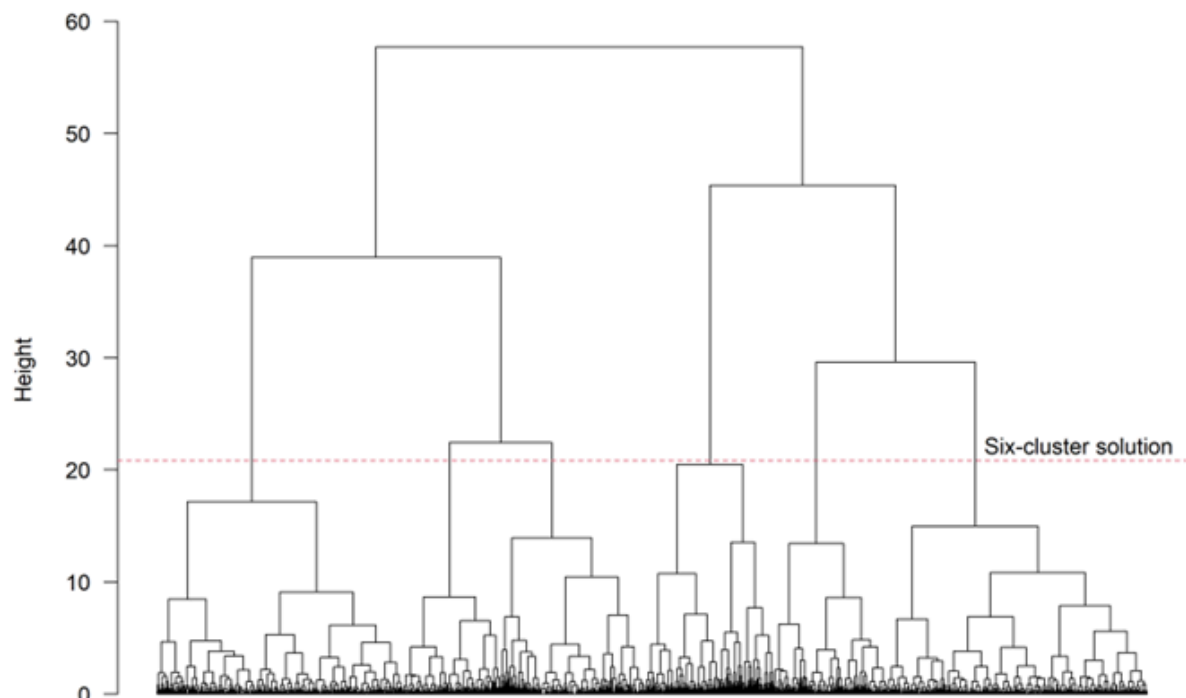


Table A1. Clusters' composition. Bolded numbers indicate within-cluster percentages that are higher than the percentages in the overall sample.

	39-55 years old individuals						
Clusters	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Place of birth							
European Union	3.2	2.2	5.0	2.2	6.2	10.1	4.3
LaCar	2.8	0.6	2.8	0.1	1.7	42.3	5.6
Others	1.7	0.4	1.2	0.0	2.7	25.7	3.5
Spain	92.3	96.8	91.0	97.6	89.4	21.9	86.6
Educational attainment							
Primary and below	1.0	6.2	25.2	61.4	72.4	30.6	32.5
Secondary	1.8	17.7	45.5	19.3	13.0	35.0	22.9
Tertiary low	19.8	59.3	29.1	18.6	11.6	25.6	28.8
Tertiary upper	77.4	16.7	0.2	0.7	3.0	8.9	15.7
Occupation							
Inactive	1.9	4.2	4.5	20.1	32.9	16.0	12.3
Unemployed	2.9	2.8	3.1	9.4	47.0	24.1	12.3
Elementary and Operators	1.5	9.2	60.0	32.7	11.1	40.7	27.5
Qualif. agric, Artisans and Services	7.6	29.8	27.6	33.1	5.7	11.4	21.8
Technicians and Superiors	86.2	54.1	4.7	4.7	3.2	7.7	26.1
Space availability at home							
Small	10.2	10.9	24.8	9.3	25.1	54.0	19.7
Small-Middle	14.6	21.6	33.7	23.9	10.0	12.8	21.3
Middle	35.4	36.2	30.8	33.1	30.1	18.2	31.6
Middle-High	29.4	21.7	6.1	18.5	16.2	8.3	16.7
High	10.5	9.5	4.6	15.2	18.6	6.7	10.7
Access to dwelling							
Owner debt payed	22.1	30.0	20.5	44.4	33.5	4.8	27.8
Owner inherited	8.5	9.0	4.2	19.0	34.8	3.1	12.9
Owner indebted low	54.9	51.9	53.0	25.7	9.5	6.5	36.8
Owner indebted high	3.8	5.2	11.0	9.4	9.9	4.4	7.7
Renter low	9.2	3.4	10.9	1.5	8.0	47.5	10.5
Renter high	1.4	0.5	0.3	0.0	4.3	33.7	4.3
Place of residence							
Urban	73.9	56.2	60.9	29.3	36.0	71.4	52.9
Intermediate	21.2	34.2	35.7	41.0	37.7	24.9	33.7
Rural	4.9	9.6	3.4	29.8	26.2	3.7	13.5
Household income group							
<1000€	3.2	2.4	3.1	11.1	73.5	42.5	18.0
1000-1500€	3.3	8.5	22.4	41.0	19.4	23.5	20.6
1500-2500€	13.9	30.4	56.7	36.2	3.8	25.5	30.9
2500-5000€	50.2	48.0	15.8	9.1	1.6	4.9	22.6
>5000€	29.4	10.7	2.0	2.6	1.8	3.5	7.8
Parent's education (higher achiever)							
Primary and below	55.6	80.7	80.0	94.4	90.2	71.5	80.2
Secondary	6.6	7.9	16.0	3.4	4.2	14.1	8.7
Tertiary low	11.6	6.4	3.9	2.1	4.4	9.0	5.7
Tertiary upper	26.1	5.0	0.1	0.1	1.2	5.3	5.4
Total	14.1	19.7	21.7	21.1	13.4	10.0	100.0

Note: Standard errors are available upon request.