

# Family background and leaving the parental home

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## **Abstract**

In this article the influence of the family background on the transition to leaving parental home for the first time is studied. The focus lies on the influences of a number of explanatory determinants in the field of family structure and family characteristics and on the differences in these effects for men and women. A distinction is made between individuals that leave the parental home to live alone and individuals that leave home to live with a partner. Data from the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS) are used to examine whether parental resources, the relationship between the parents and specifically the family structure, have an effect on the timing of young adults of leaving the parental home. A distinction between four types of family structure is made, namely families with both natural parents, single parent families, stepfamilies and other types of families. The methods used are event history analysis techniques. The results show significant effects for family characteristics as number of siblings and parental religiosity, for parental resources and for the family structure.

**Key words:** Leaving the parental home, family structure, family background, the Netherlands

## **Introduction**

Being one of the first major transitions in the life course with major consequences for both the parents and the child, leaving parental home has often been studied (Rusconi, 2004; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002). Differences in the timing of leaving parental home for the first time can be explained by looking at several aspects or domains of young adult's lives. These aspects include structural features like sex and place of birth, life course domains such as the educational career and characteristics of the family background. Over the past few decades there has been an increase in the number of households that do not exist of two natural parents and children. More and more children grow up in single parent families or with a stepfather or stepmother. The influence of the family structure on leaving the parental home has therefore become an important research topic (Mitchell, 2004). However, family structure is often measured in a time constant manner. Information is only available about one family structure, often the last structure before the transition is made. The duration of a certain family situation and the age at which an individual experiences his or her parental divorce is likely to be of influence as well.

In this article we examine the influence of family background on the transition to leaving parental home for the first time. The research question addresses the influence of changes in the family structure during the childhood and the effects of characteristics of the nuclear family when individuals are aged 15 on the transition of leaving parental home for the first time in the Netherlands. Next to that we look at the effects for men and women separately and at the differences between those who leave the parental home to live alone and those who leave home to live with a partner. Data from the first wave of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS, Dykstra et al, 2005) provide us with an extensive measurement of the family structure, the changes in it, parental resources and the quality of the relationship between the parents. The large scale dataset is analyzed using event history techniques.

## **Theoretical framework**

Young adults have different motives for leaving their parental home. Many researchers distinguish between motives for leaving home such as desire for independency and autonomy, union formation and educational or occupational career opportunities. Often a distinction is made between leaving home to live alone and leaving the parental home to live with a partner (Mitchell, 2004; Lahelma & Gordon, 2003; De Jong Gierveld et al, 1991). The relative importance of these motives did not stay the same over time because

of changes in cultural attitudes and economic circumstances. Recently young adults in the Netherlands tend to leave home more often to live independently than to live with a partner (Mulder et al, 2002; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002).

### ***Family background***

Several aspects of the family background have found to be of influence the transition of leaving the parental home. The family background consists of both structural characteristics of the nuclear family and economic resources of the parents.

An important characteristic of the nuclear family that influences the timing of leaving the parental home is the number of siblings an individual has. Because of lack of space in bigger families, young adults with siblings leave home earlier compared to those without any siblings (Mitchell et al, 1989: 607). We expect that having more siblings will lead to a higher risk of leaving parental home, specially for those that leave home to live alone. Residential location is another aspect for which an impact on the timing of leaving home is found. This aspect is related to the degree of urbanization and the availability of education and jobs in the environment (Mitchell et al, 1989: 606-607). Mulder et al (2002) note that not only the availability of opportunities is relevant but that there is also a difference in traditionalism between urban and rural areas and that housing costs are likely to be higher in urban regions. Mulder et al (2002) hardly find any influence of degree of urbanization on the transition to leaving the parental home, which might be caused by the high population density in the Netherlands and the therefore relatively good distribution of education and career opportunities. We therefore don't expect to find an effect for degree of urbanization.

Mitchell (2004) takes religiosity of the parental home into account when studying cultural and parental influences. Religiosity can be seen as a value that strengthens family-centered orientations but can also be seen as a form of traditionalism. Research has shown that religiosity leads to a higher risk of leaving home for reasons of marriage and to a lower risk of leaving home for other reasons (Mitchell, 2004). Since we don't make a distinction between people that leave home for cohabitation or for marriage, we expect religiosity of the parents to lead to a lower risk of leaving home because of the fact that nowadays young adults tend to leave home for reasons of independency instead of marriage.

In many studies on leaving the parental home, parental resources are taken into account Mulder et al (2002). A high amount of parental resources can have two contrasting effects: it can stimulate leaving home because of better opportunities but it also creates a comfortable home situations (a so called feathered nest) in which young adults prefer to stay. The effect of parental resources is likely to interact with the age of an individual. At younger ages, a good financial home situation might lead to a longer stay at the parental home, while with an increasing age, resources can help to find comfortable housing after leaving the parental home. Mulder et al (2002) find a positive effect of both fathers' educational level and father's socio-economic status for the Netherlands (Mulder et al, 2002). This result is in line with the earlier research of De Jong Gierveld et al (1991) in which a positive impact of father's economic job status was found on leaving home for occupational or educational reasons and for reasons of independency. The effect of father's socio-economic status is found to be bigger for males than for females (Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002). Aassve et al (2002) find parental income to have a positive effect on the transition.

The hypothesis on educational level is that a higher educational level of the parents will lead to an increased risk of leaving the parental home because children of higher educated parents tend to be higher educated as well. We also expect this effect to be bigger for those who leave the parental home to live alone, since those are more likely to leave because of educational reasons. We expect that a higher occupational status of the father leads to a higher age of leaving parental home because of a comfortable home situation. With an increasing age however, we expect the opposite result since fathers with a higher socio-economic status will be better able to support their children in a financial way. For fathers occupational status we expect a bigger effect for men than for women and also a higher risk for those persons who leave the parental home to live alone. Another aspect of parental resources is parental homeownership, for which we can assume that homeownership is an indicator for a good financial situation of the household. This may lead to better opportunities for young adults to leave parental home. A higher risk of leaving the parental home can thus be expected.

### ***Family structure***

In an early study on family characteristics and leaving the parental home, Mitchell et al (1989) inquire the influence of family structure on the timing of this event, distinguishing

between families with both natural parents, single-parent families and stepfamilies. They state that the high divorce rates in the last decennia have led to a great change in family structures and might have influenced relationships between family members. For single-parent households, previous research has shown that children have a higher risk of showing deviant behavior in several fields. Another important difference between two-parents and single-parent households are financial resources. Stepfamilies are more likely to have problems in relationships among family members, such as problems with and confusion about authority. The authors find strong evidence that individuals in single-parent families and stepfamilies have a higher risk of leaving parental home than individuals growing up with both natural parents (Mitchell et al, 1989).

Buck and Scott (1993) find in their study of leaving parental home in the United States that over time, young individuals are more likely to leave parental home for independency than for union formation. Especially coming from a single-parent family leads to a higher risk of leaving parental home (Buck & Scott, 1993). This result is also found by Cooney and Mortimer (1999). They add that a stepfamily structure leads to leaving home earlier as well, although only for girls. Cooney and Mortimer also found that a higher quality of the relationship with the parents leads to a lower risk of leaving parental home, but this effect is again only found for girls.

We expect that non-standard family situations (different from the standard nuclear family where children live with both parents the whole period of childhood) will lead to a higher risk of leaving parental home. More specifically we expect that a single parent structure increase the risk for both men and women and a stepfamily structure only leads to a higher risk for women. The quality of the relationship between the parents is another important aspect of the nuclear family in which an individual grows up. The hypothesis is that the higher the quality of the relationship between the parents, the longer one will stay at home since previous research has shown that a bad parental relationship leads to an increased risk of home leaving.

### ***Socio-demographic aspects***

There are several socio-demographic determinants for the transition to leaving parental home. In general females leave parental home at an earlier age than males which is partly caused by the fact that females also have a younger age of marriage and cohabitation

(Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002). Educational enrolment and the level of education attained have a strong impact on the transition to leaving parental home. Research shows that a high educational degree has a positive effect on leaving parental home (Aassve et al, 2002) although Mulder et al (2002) and Mulder & Hooimeijer (2002) only find this effect for young adults who leave parental home to live without a partner. We therefore expect that being out of education increases the risk of leaving parental home and also that this risk is higher for higher educated persons that leave home to live alone.

There has been a decrease in the age of leaving parental home in the period after World War II. This trend occurred both in Western-Europe and the United States. In the Netherlands, the average age of leaving home for women decreased from 24.5 in 1955 to 22.5 in 1975. The expansion of education is an important force behind this trend (Rusconi, 2004). In the 1980's and 1990's the average age started to increase a little bit again, although more for the United States than for European countries (Mulder et al, 2002; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002; De Jong Gierveld et al, 1991). Iedema et al (1997) find a decrease in age of leaving home as well, for both men and women, until the individuals born in the 1960's. Later cohorts show a slight increase in timing. Iedema et al also conclude that for earlier cohorts, marriage was the main reason for leaving home while for more recent cohorts also other reason became important (Iedema et al, 1997). Since the average age of leaving the parental home has decreased over the last decades, the hypothesis is that more recent cohorts have an increased risk of leaving parental home when compared to earlier cohorts, although the most recent cohorts may show a slight decrease again. Next to that we expect the increase in age of leaving home to be bigger for those who leave home to live alone compared to those who start a cohabitation or marriage.

### **Data & Methods**

For this paper, data from the first wave of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS; Dykstra et al., 2005) have been used. This dataset, of which the first wave was collected in 2002-2004, contains data about 8161 respondents, all residents of the Netherlands and aged 18-79. The dataset includes information on a broad range of socio-economic, demographic and family characteristics. Respondents are interviewed using CAPI questionnaires (Computer Aided Personal Interviewing) and filled out a self-completion

questionnaire with additional questions. Since only the first wave is used, all relevant aspects are measured through retrospective questions.

A lot of specific information about the family situation and changes in this situation is available in the dataset. Information about all different family situations during the childhood and the changes in it is available, as well as the age at which the changes took place. In order to distinguish between a number of family structures that is both theoretical sensible and small enough to have a sufficient amount of cases in each category, all this information has been recoded into four structures. The first family structure indicates a family situation where the respondent is living with both natural parents. The second structure indicates living with only the mother or only the father and is thus a single parent structure. The third structure indicates a stepfamily: the respondent is living with one natural parent and a stepparent. The last category contains all other family structures such as living with other family members or in a childcare institution. Since the age at which changes took place is known, the variable family structure is treated as a time varying covariate.

The quality of the parental relationship when the respondent was 15 years old is measured in five items about how often parents were having arguments with each other or even were living separate for a while. These five items have a Cronbach's alpha of .775 and the variable is created by taking the mean value on these items and dividing the variable in three categories of more or less equal size (using the 33<sup>rd</sup> and 67<sup>th</sup> percentiles): low, medium and high quality of the relationship. For respondents whose parents never lived together, there is no information about the quality of the parental relationship. Therefore an extra category is added to the variable.

Father's occupational status has been measured using the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) classification. Missing values have been imputed with the mean value and a dummy variable for the missings is added. Next to this variable, an interaction variable with age has been created by multiplying age with the ISEI classification. For the educational level of the parents, the highest level of one of the parents is used.

Only the highest educational degree of a respondent is available in the dataset, so some actions were necessary to develop a time varying covariate that combines both

educational activity and educational level. First we recoded the different educational levels into the years of education it takes in general to reach this level. Secondary vocational education (MBO) was believed to take 3 years in average, a university study was believed to take 5 years in average and a post graduation education was believed to take 4 years in average. By adding four years (since children in the Netherlands start preliminary school at that age), we have a proxy for the age one has left education. After creating a time varying covariate for being in or out of education, a combination was made between being out of education and the level of education attained. Three categories were formed, namely up to lower vocational degree, middle and higher secondary & middle vocational degree, and higher vocational or university degree.

The dependent variable is a measure of whether the transition to leaving parental home took place at a particular age. Process time starts at age 16 and ends at age 35 because this event happening after that age is considered to be out of the ordinary and needs a more in depth way of studying. Cases are censored at the time of interview or when the transition to leaving the parental home was not made before the age of 35. After dropping cases with missing values, there are 7330 subjects remaining. Table 1 shows descriptive statistics of the covariates.

*Table 1: Descriptive statistics for the time constant covariates (N=7330)*

*Source: NKPS, own estimates*

*Table 2: Descriptive statistics for the time varying covariates (49295 Person years)*

*Source: NKPS, own estimates*

For the models event history analysis techniques are used. Event history techniques are a class of statistical models for studying the occurrence and timing of events (Allison, 1984). Since the dataset provides only annual level information, discrete time models are used. The model used is multinomial logistic regression analysis of person-years (Allison, 2006), which is estimated in the following way:

$$\ln [ P (t; X) / 1-P (t; X) ] = \alpha(t) + \sum \beta_k X_k$$

Where  $P(t; X)$  is the probability of experiencing the event at time  $t$  for a given set of covariates  $X$  ( $X=X_1, \dots, X_k$ ),  $\alpha(t)$  is the baseline hazard at time  $t$  and  $\sum \beta_k X_k$  is the sum of all parameters for the covariates.

Since we are interested in the differences between males and females, two models are estimated. In the first model we estimate the odds ratios for females that leave parental home to live alone and females that leave home to live with a partner. The second model shows the results for males.

## Results

*Table 3: Odds ratios for the transition to leaving the parental home*

*Source: NKPS, own estimates*

\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

### ***Family background***

Having siblings only leads to a higher risk of leaving home for females that leave the parental home to live alone. It increases the risk with 25 to 35%. For males, no effect of number of siblings is found except for those who have four or more siblings and leave home to form a union, which leads to a lower age of leaving home. Degree of urbanization does lead to some significant results, although only for women. Living in a very strongly urbanized region leads to a lower age of leaving the parental home. For males we don't find any effect, which is as expected. For the religiosity of the parents when the respondents were aged 15, it seems that being religious, compared to not being religious, leads to a lower risk of leaving the parental home for females. This effect is strongest for females that leave home to live with a partner, meaning that women with religious parents have a higher age when they leave the parental home and are even a bit older when they leave home to live with a partner. Parents' being religious has no effect on the risk of leaving the parental home for males.

The educational level of the parents has a strong effect on both females and males that leave parental home to live alone. For the highest educated parents, compared to parents with a lower vocational degree, the risk for females and males is about 70 to 90% higher. The educational level of the parents does not have an influence on females that leave home to live with a partner; however, for males we do find a small effect.

A higher socio-economic status of the father leads to a lower risk of leaving the parental home for both men and women and for both reasons of leaving the parental home, which confirms our feathered nest hypothesis. The interaction effects with age, which are all significant, all show a slight increase in the risk of leaving home which is in line with our expectation that with increasing age, a higher socio-economic status of the father leads to a higher chance of leaving the parental home. Apparently parental resources stimulate home leaving after a certain age, while before that it encourages young adults to stay at home. After accounting for parental educational level and fathers' occupational status, homeownership of the parents does not have any significant effect of the transition to leaving the parental home.

### ***Family structure***

The family structure shows many strong effects. In general we can conclude that living in a single parent family, a stepfamily or in other family structures, leads to an increased risk of home leaving for both men and women and both for people that leave home to live alone and those who leave home to live with a partner and that these effects are stronger for females than for males. For females that leave home to live alone, living in a single parent family increases the risk with 25% while living in a stepfamily increases the risk even more: with 50%. For females that leave home to live with a partner, the relative risks are even higher. Those females living in single parent families or stepfamilies leave their parental home at younger ages than those females living with both natural parents. For men there appears to be a difference between the ones that leave the parental home to live alone and the ones that form a union. For the first category, living in a single parent family increases the risk significantly, while for the second group, the presence of a stepparent has an effect on home leaving. These effects are in line with our hypotheses, although we also find an effect of stepfamilies on males and not only for females.

For the quality of the parental relationship, the hypothesis is confirmed as well. The higher the quality of the parental relationship, the higher the age of leaving the parental home. A pleasant home sphere turns out to influence the timing of leaving the parental home as well, even after account for actual family structure.

### ***Socio-demographic aspects***

For both models, the risk of leaving the parental home to live alone is already lower in the age group 21-25 than in the age group 16-20 and even much lower for the older ages. This is probably due to the fact that people that leave home to live alone, do this for educational reasons. For both females and males that leave the parental home to live with a partner, we see that the opposite result: they leave home on a later age. Women that leave home to live with a partner, are most likely to leave their parental home aged 20-25, while men also are very likely to leave the parental home on even higher ages. Apparently, women are still younger than men when starting cohabitation or when they get married.

Compared to being enrolled in education, for females and males that leave parental home to live alone, have a lower risk of leaving home when they are out of education. This also confirms the idea that people that leave home to live alone, do this in general for educational reasons. When they are out of education, those with the lowest educational degrees have the highest age of leaving the parental home. For both males and females that start forming a union, we see an increased risk when being out of education. This implies that starting a union is something people do after finishing their education. For women, being out of education and having a lower vocational degree leads to the highest home leaving risk, while for men those with a higher educational degree are leaving home first.

In general we see that later birth cohorts have a higher risk of leaving the parental home, with the strongest effect for the cohort of 1950-1959 for females. The slight decrease we expected based on the literature, does not show here. We do see a steeper increase in the risk of leaving home for females that leave their parental home to live alone, although for the most recent cohorts, there appears to still be a smaller risk of leaving home to live alone than leaving home for reasons of union formation. For men, we see the opposite result: in the most recent cohorts they are more likely to leave home to live alone than to leave home to start a cohabitation or marriage.

## **Conclusions and discussion**

In this paper the transition to leaving parental home for the first time has been studied. Data from a large scale study in the Netherlands is used to examine what the effects are from both family background and socio-demographic variables on this transition and to see how these effects differ for men and women that leave the parental home to live alone and to live with a partner. We can conclude that all covariates have a significant effect on the risk of leaving parental home, except for parental home ownership, and that these effects indeed differ between men and women and between those who went to live alone and those who started to live with a partner.

The influence of a number of aspects about the family background at age 15 and the family structure on the transition to leaving the parental home have been examined. Having siblings only leads to a higher risk of leaving home for females that leave home to live alone. A lack of space could encourage the will to find an own place. Parents' being religious has a negative effect on the transition although the effect is only significant for women, which implies that daughters of religious parents leave home on a later age. We can conclude that parental resources (parental educational level and a higher socio-economic status of the father) in general increase the risk of leaving the parental home, although for fathers occupational status this effect become positive when children are a bit older. Until than, parental resources lead to a comfortable home situation in which young adults prefer to stay.

The effects of family structure and the changes in it are an important part of this article since the changes are measured in a very detailed manner and are treated as a time varying covariate. We can conclude that living in non-standard family structures indeed leads to a lower age of leaving home, for both males and females and for both reasons for leaving home. Moreover we can conclude that the effects of family structure are bigger for females than for males. The quality of the relationship between the parents at age 15 has an important influence on the transition as well: the higher the quality, the lower the risk of leaving parental home.

Concluding we can state that family background does have a significant effect on the transition to leaving parental home in the Netherlands and that these effects differ between men and women and between those who leave home to live alone and those who leave

home to live with a partner. Next to that the educational career seems to have an important influence on the age of leaving home and possibly explains the much of the differences in age of leaving home between leaving home to live alone and leaving home to live with a partner. Further research could show how different motives for leaving home, like desire for independency and leaving home to go for college, are related to each other and to family background characteristics and changes in the family structure.

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Table 1: Descriptive statistics for the time constant covariates (N=7330)

	N	%
<b>Event</b>		
Not occurred	257	3.5
Occurred	7073	96.5
<b>Reason for leaving home</b>		
Alone	3806	53.8
With a partner	3267	46.2
<b>Number of siblings</b>		
0	332	4.5
1	1827	24.9
2	1703	23.2
3	1156	15.8
4 and more	2312	31.5
<b>Degree of urbanization at age 15</b>		
Very strongly urbanized	1382	18.9
Strongly urbanized	1883	25.7
Moderately urbanized	1413	19.3
Hardly urbanized	1605	21.9
Not urbanized	1047	14.3
<b>Religiosity parents at age 15</b>		
Not religious	1132	15.4
Religious	5256	71.7
Unknown	942	12.9
<b>Parental educational level</b>		
Up to lower vocational	3464	47.3
Middle and higher secondary & middle vocational	2448	33.4
Higher vocational or university	1418	19.4
<b>Fathers socio-economic status at age 15</b>	7330	<i>mean:46.4</i>
<b>Fathers socio-economic status missing</b>	95	1.3
<b>Parents homeowner at age 15</b>		
No	3499	47.7
Yes	3831	52.3
<b>Quality parental relationship at age 15</b>		
Low quality	2055	28.0
Medium quality	2899	39.6
High quality	2293	31.3
Parents never lived together	83	1.1
<b>Sex</b>		
Male	3053	41.7
Female	4277	58.4
<b>Cohort</b>		
1923-1939	1228	16.8
1940-1949	1268	17.3

1950-1959	1507	20.6
1960-1969	1777	24.2
1970-1985	1550	21.2

Source: NKPS, own estimates

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for the time varying covariates (49295 Person years)

	Person- years	%
<b>Reason for leaving the parental home</b>		
Did not leave the parental home (yet)	42288	85.8
To live alone	3769	7.7
To live with a partner	3238	6.6
<b>Family structure</b>		
Both natural parents together	43761	88.8
Single parent	3691	7.5
Stepfamily	1026	2.1
Other	817	1.7
<b>Age groups</b>		
16-20	32106	65.1
21-25	13357	27.1
26-30	2937	6.0
31-35	895	1.8
<b>Education</b>		
In Education	21486	43.6
Out of education & lower vocational	11679	23.7
Out of education & middle vocational	13245	26.9
Out of education & higher vocational or university	2885	5.9
<b>Age * Fathers socio-economic status</b>	49295	<i>mean:</i> 215.8

Source: NKPS, own estimates

Table 3: Odds ratios for the transition to leaving the parental home

	Females		Males	
	alone	partner	alone	partner
<b>Number of siblings</b>				
0	1	1	1	1
1	1.25 *	0.88	1.08	1.18
2	1.36 **	0.97	1.15	1.09
3	1.42 **	0.94	1.01	1.19
4 and more	1.35 **	0.91	1.13	1.30 *
<b>Degree of urbanization at age 15</b>				
Very strongly urbanized	1	1	1	1
Strongly urbanized	0.88 *	0.88 *	0.99	1.01
Moderately urbanized	1.00	0.84 **	1.04	1.09
Hardly urbanized	0.96	0.95	0.95	1.03
Not urbanized	1.11	0.94	1.08	0.94
<b>Religiosity parents at age 15</b>				
Not religious	1	1	1	1
Religious	0.88 *	0.74 ***	0.91	0.92
Unknown	0.70 ***	0.78 ***	0.96	1.01
<b>Parental educational level</b>				
Up to lower vocational	1	1	1	1
Middle and higher secondary & middle vocational	1.21 ***	0.99	1.26 ***	1.17 *
Higher vocational or university	1.74 ***	1.02	1.90 ***	1.02
<b>Fathers socio-economic status at age 15</b>	0.99 ***	0.97 ***	0.99 ***	0.97 ***
<b>Age of leaving home * Fathers socio-economic status</b>	1.00 ***	1.01 ***	1.00 ***	1.00 ***
<b>Fathers socio-economic status missing</b>	0.87	1.14	1.65 **	1.49
<b>Parents home owner at age 15</b>				
No	1	1	1	1
Yes	1.08	0.99	1.02	0.91
<b>Family structure</b>				
Both natural parents together	1	1	1	1
Single parent	1.25 **	1.33 ***	1.17 *	1.04
Stepfamily	1.50 ***	1.99 ***	1.09	1.44 *
Other	1.92 ***	1.23	1.62 ***	0.97
<b>Quality parental relationship at age 15</b>				
Low quality	1	1	1	1
Medium quality	0.76 ***	0.91	0.75 ***	0.78 ***
High quality	0.63 ***	0.88 *	0.80 ***	0.78 ***
Parents never lived together	0.74	0.75	1.11	0.66
<b>Age groups</b>				
16-20	1	1	1	1
21-25	0.72 ***	2.00 ***	0.76 ***	6.25 ***
26-30	0.32 ***	0.76 *	0.44 ***	6.03 ***
31-35	0.03 ***	0.05 ***	0.09 ***	1.06
<b>Education</b>				
In education	1	1	1	1
Out of education & lower vocational	0.49 ***	3.74 ***	0.51 ***	1.99 ***
Out of education & secondary vocational	0.68 ***	3.21 ***	0.74 ***	2.04 ***
Out of education & higher vocational or university	0.74 **	1.96 ***	0.78 **	2.25 ***

<b>Cohort</b>								
1923-1939	1		1		1		1	
1940-1949	1.39	***	1.74	***	1.27	**	1.48	***
1950-1959	2.15	***	2.75	***	1.55	***	1.41	***
1960-1969	1.79	***	2.11	***	1.59	***	1.20	*
1970-1985	1.84	***	2.16	***	1.85	***	1.15	
<b>Model fit</b>								
Constant	0.05	***	0.03	***	0.05	***	0.01	***
	-		-		-		-	
Initial Log likelihood	14249.30		14249.30		10652.99		10652.99	
	-		-					
Final Log likelihood	12624.14		12624.14		-9497.71		-9497.71	
Number of observations	25897		25897		23398		23398	
Pseudo R2	0.114		0.114		0.108		0.108	
Degrees of freedom	66		66		66		66	

Source: NKPS, own estimates

\*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1