

Leaving Home over the Recent Cohorts in Italy: Does Economic Vulnerability Matter?

Silvia Meggiolaro

Department of Statistical Sciences, University of Padova, Italy

meg@stat.unipd.it

Fausta Ongaro

Department of Statistical Sciences, University of Padova, Italy

ongaro@stat.unipd.it

July 26, 2022

Abstract

We focus on the process of leaving home among young Italians and aim to discern: a) whether more recent cohorts differ in how they depart from the parental home compared to previous cohorts; b) the role played by personal economic vulnerability in exiting the parental home; c) the extent to which the impact of the latter has changed over generations.

Data come from the pooling of two cross-sectional rounds of the survey ‘Families and Social Subjects’ conducted by the Italian National Institute of Statistics in 2009 and 2016. We employ discrete-time event history models, including a competing risks approach.

Our findings suggest that more recent cohorts have a lower risk of leaving the parental home for union-related reasons, and a higher risk of departing for non-union-related motives. Economic vulnerability differs in its influence according to the reason for exit. While we observe a clearly negative impact for union-related reasons, the effect varies for non-union related reasons. We furthermore see signs of differences across cohorts relative to this latter set of motives.

The results highlight the importance of considering reasons for exit in analyses of departure from the parental home. Our study is also one of the few that explores the role of individual economic vulnerability in a competing risk approach using a cohort perspective.

Key words: leaving home, economic status, birth-cohort perspective, Italy, event history models, competing risk approach

Acknowledgements: The authors acknowledge financial support provided by the ‘The Great Demographic Recession - GDR’ project, funded by the Italian MIUR under the PRIN 2017 research grant agreement n° 2017W5B55Y_003 (PI: Daniele Vignoli).

1. Introduction

Studying departure from the parental home is of crucial importance, as this is one of the key markers in the transition to adulthood (TTA) process. Indeed, how this step is experienced can have important consequences for young adults’ life course outcomes. For example, late exit from the parental home may contribute to the postponement of other transitions (i.e. forming a stable cohabiting partnership or having children), hence generally prolonging the transition to adult roles (Furstenberg 2010; Liefbroer and Toulemon 2010; Krahn et al. 2018). An early transition out of the parental home may instead be associated with earlier experiences of other TTA events (i.e. exit from education, entry into work or forming a family) that could prevent young people from acquiring adequate human capital for later in life (Osgood et al. 2005; Schwanitz 2017).

Given the significance of this life event, a rich literature explores the determinants of the decision to leave the parental home in Western societies (e.g., Mulder and Clark 2000; Corijn and Klijzing 2001; Aassve et al. 2002; Mazzuco and Ongaro 2009; Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Chiuri and Del Boca 2010; Iacovou 2010; Aassve, Arpini and Billari 2013; Tosi, 2017; Schwanitz, Mulder and Toulemon 2017). Studies show that – among the numerous (individual, family, contextual) factors influencing the decision to establish an independent household - young adults’ economic self-sufficiency may play an important role. In particular, empirical research demonstrates that young people who rely on an own income or stable/full-time employment are more likely to leave home (Whittington and Peters 1996; Mulder and Clark 2000; Iacovou 2010; Bertolini et al. 2017). Such conditions may, indeed, be an important prerequisite for gaining residential emancipation. However, scholars also document that the impact of personal economic resources can vary depending on the institutional and cultural context as well as gender and reason for leaving home (Aassve et al. 2002; Iacovu 2010; Schwanitz, Mulder and Toulemon 2017).

This paper assesses leaving home among young Italians from a cohort perspective. Specifically, we analyse: a) whether more recent cohorts (i.e. those born during the 1980s and early 90s, the so-called millennials) differ compared to previous cohorts (those born between 1965 and 1979) in terms of timing and reasons for exit; b) the role played by personal economic vulnerability in the process of leaving the parental home, where we distinguish between labour market exclusion and job insecurity; c) the extent to which the impact of economic vulnerability has changed over generations.

Italy offers a particularly interesting case for study. Young Italians traditionally tend to leave home at later ages compared to their counterparts in Central or Northern European countries (Corijn and

Kleijzing 2001; Aassve et al. 2002; Iacovu 2010; Aassve, Cottini and Vitali 2013), and mainly do so for union-related reasons (usually marriage). Underlying this pattern there is a historical interplay between cultural factors and an institutional framework (Ongaro 2005) that results in a familistic welfare regime (Dalla Zuanna 2001; Dalla Zuanna and Micheli 2004; Esping-Andersen 1999), where the co-residence of young adults with parents is socially accepted until they are ready to form a new family of their own.

However, in recent decades, young Italians have been exposed to certain cultural and (structural and conjunctural) economic changes, which may have affected their pathways to residential autonomy. Like previous cohorts, millennials live in a context characterized by persistent familistic welfare. They have also similarly been exposed to the effects of worsening work conditions that can be traced back to the structural labour market reform of the 1980s and 90s (Vignoli, Tocchioni and Salvini 2016). Yet, differently from previous cohorts, they experienced conjunctural economic crises due to both the 2008 Great Recession and the 2010 current sovereign debt crisis. Since the 1990s, young Italians transitioning into adulthood have necessarily taken on jobs that are extremely vulnerable to unemployment (temporary contracts) or instable work at higher risk of economic uncertainty (self-employment). Subsequent economic crises have further exacerbated the vulnerability of young adults, sharply increasing youth unemployment, low entry salaries, and temporary/instable jobs. Faced with a generalized deterioration of labour market conditions, millennials may have further delayed their exit from parental home compared to previous birth cohorts. Millennials are furthermore amongst the first to have more pervasively experienced: a) the cultural and behavioural changes associated with the spread of Second Demographic Transition (non-marital unions, out-of-wedlock childbearing and divorce); b) the diffusion of a ‘globalized’ youth culture that emphasizes individual rights, post-materialistic values and gender equity (Leccardi and Ruspini 2006; Cepa and Furstenberg 2021), fostered by the spread of social networks and internet connections (Digital 2022), and by the increasing individual’s international mobility. All these changes suggest that value orientations and social norms have shifted, potentially affecting millennials’ paths to residential autonomy (as well as the association between economic vulnerability and leaving home) and narrowing the differences relative to their Western and Northern European counterparts.

Though a number of studies explore the role played by economic self-sufficiency in youths’ propensity to leave the parental home, relatively few distinguish by type of vulnerability (Gousia et al. 2021) or by type of exit from the parental home (Bertolini et al. 2017), and none have adopted a cohort perspective. For Italy, relevant empirical analyses stop at the cohorts born in the early 1970s (Ongaro 2001; Billari et al. 2002). Our investigation thus sheds greater light not only on the interrelationship between different economic vulnerabilities and reasons for exiting the parental

home, but also – in assessing cohorts born between 1965 and 1996 – on how young people today depart the parental home in a ‘traditional’ society that is experiencing important societal and cultural changes.

To this end, we use retrospective data from the pooling of two rounds of the ‘Families and Social Subjects’ survey conducted by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) in 2009 and 2016, and apply event history models (either as a single ‘destination’ or a competing risk version), distinguishing between men and women.

The rest of the paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 reviews the literature on the relationship between economic conditions and leaving home. Section 3 describes the specificities of the Italian setting and sets forth our hypotheses. Section 4 presents the data and statistical models followed, in Section 5, by our findings. Section 6 concludes with a discussion of the results.

2. Youth Economic Self-Sufficiency and Leaving Home

A rich empirical literature explores the influence of individual economic resources on young adults’ household formation, with a number of studies looking specifically at the role played by personal income and occupational status in shaping young people’s departure from home. For instance, using data from the US, Avery, Goldscheider and Speare (1992) find that youth with higher levels of personal income are more likely to exit the parental home. Similarly focusing on the US, Mulder and Clark (2000) report that, while parental housing does impact leaving, young adults’ own income is far more important.

For Europe, research documents a positive relationship between economic self-sufficiency and leaving home. Wagner and Huinink (1991), for example, argue that in West Germany the impact of occupational status (and labour force experience in particular) has played an increasingly important role in the propensity to leave the parental home across birth cohorts. Ermish (1999) documents that young Brits with high levels of income are more likely to leave parental home and less likely to return. Nilsson and Strandh (1999), using Swedish register-based data, show that employed young adults have the highest propensity to leave home, whereas experiencing labour market difficulties tends to increase the probability of returning home. In their analysis of the Italian case, Aassve, Billari and Ongaro (2001) observe that – more than income itself – being employed is an important prerequisite for men to start their own households. In contrast, for women, employment status (employed, unemployed or inactive) has no impact on the likelihood of becoming independent of their parents. A comparative study of Italy and Spain confirms these patterns (Billari et al. 2002).

The literature also demonstrates the importance of distinguishing between different pathways out of the parental home. Departure is, in fact, closely associated with union formation, which complicates analyses. Hughes (2003) examines the relationship between labour and housing market conditions and the different living arrangements of US persons aged 18-30 and finds that higher incomes are particularly associated with marriage (and to a lesser extent with cohabiting and living alone) compared to living with parents or roommates. Meanwhile, Whittington and Peters (1996) report that personal financial resources are more important for young American men than women, particularly relative to partnership decisions. Similar findings appear in Iacovu's (2010) study: in all of the groups of European countries considered, young person's own income shows a strong positive association with leaving home for union-related reasons (for both men and women), while a weaker association appears for exits for personal autonomy, and even more so for education motives. These empirical results support the theory that the impact of economic conditions may vary by the reasons for exit. Generally, it would seem that economic vulnerability inhibits youth from making long-term binding commitments such as partnerships and, particularly, marriage (Becker 1981; Oppenheimer 1988, Blossfeld et al. 2005; Schoon and Binner 2017). The results are even supported by gender role theories according to which - in societies where the traditional male-breadwinner model is predominant - the impact of economic conditions on union transitions is gender specific (Blossfeld et al. 2005 p.19; Leschke and Jepsen 2012): as primary income earners, men are expected to have a job and be financially independent in order to leave the parental home and establish their own household, while for women, having a job or being financially independent does not seem to be a prerequisite. Studies furthermore suggest that the effect of personal economic resources may vary depending on a country's welfare regime. Generous welfare policies toward young adults can support the transition to financial autonomy, thus reducing the impact of income or job stability on the likelihood of leaving the parental home. Using the Esping-Andersen typology (1999), several papers demonstrate that in the 'familistic' Southern European welfare state, income and employment status are important factors in young adults' decision to leave home, while the effect appears negligible in the 'social-democratic' regimes of Nordic countries (Aassve et al. 2002; Aassve, Iacovou and Mencarini 2006; Billari 2004). These results echo the findings of Arundell and Lennartz (2017) who – in analysing certain individual turning points – provide empirical evidence of a supplementary 'welfare regime effect', whereby there is a higher propensity to return to parental co-residence in the more 'familistic' Southern European context when shifts to unemployment or inactive conditions occur. To summarise, although some effects may differ by reasons for exit, gender or welfare regime, the literature suggests that individual economic vulnerability - particularly a lack of personal income due

to labour market exclusion (i.e. being unemployed or inactive) - may deter young people from pursuing residential independency.

It is somewhat less clear whether housing independence from parents may also vary depending on job insecurity stemming from a (paid) non-permanent job. This is a fundamental question as young adults have increasingly faced a market comprised of non-standard jobs (temporary, atypical or non-formal types of contracts), largely due to labour deregularisation starting in the 1980s (Mills, Blossfeld and Klijzing 2005). It may be that - irrespective of the level of pay - an expected variation in income associated with jobs with high degrees of economic uncertainty deters young adults from establishing their own household (Oppenheimer, Kalmijn and Lim 1997; Mills and Blossfeld 2003; Mills, Blossfeld and Klijzing 2005; Fernandes et al. 2008; Becker et al. 2010).

Yet, while the empirical literature finds a negative association with job insecurity for certain TTA events (e.g. for first parenthood, see, among others, Barbieri, Cutuli and Scherer 2014; Dupray and Pailhé 2017; Vignoli, Tocchioni and Mattei 2020), relatively few studies observe a negative effect of non-standard employment on the probability of leaving the parental home. Looking at Germany, Gebel (2017) shows that having a temporary job does not reduce, for either men or women, the likelihood of exiting the parental home with respect to having permanent employment. Similarly, a study on British youth reports that while unemployment and part-time work do have a negative effect on the likelihood of housing autonomy, the same is not true for the duration of the contract (Gousia et al. 2021). Neither does objective job insecurity stemming from a temporary contract have a statistically significant impact on the risk of housing autonomy among young adults living in Italy, and this finding refers to both men and women, and to exits for both union and non-union-related reasons (Bertolini et al. 2017). Against the expectations (Blossfeld et al. 2005 and 2011), this result suggests that temporary employment may not have a significant impact on leaving home, even in countries where the welfare system is less generous in supporting youth in their transition to residential autonomy (Ranci, Brandsen and Sabatinelli 2014). That said, a recent study by Gousia et al. (2021) does document a negative association between non-standard jobs and leaving the parental home in the UK, where women in temporary or part-time (permanent) jobs have a lower risk of exiting the parental home than those in full-time permanent employment. Generally, however, the empirical evidence suggests that job precariousness is not detrimental for housing autonomy. This may be due to temporary contracts having become the dominant form of entry into the labour market for new generations of young people, making them more accustomed to insecurity and leading to departures from the parental home despite precarious employment (see, for example, Bertolini et al. 2017).

3. The Italian Setting and Hypotheses

In Italy (and in other Southern European countries), leaving home traditionally occurs at later ages than in Northern or Western European countries and mainly for union-related reasons (Corijn and Klijzing 2001; Billari et al. 2002; Aassve, Cottini and Vitali 2013). For example, in the early 1990s, 32% of Italian men and 20% of women had never left home at the age of 30, compared to 2% and 1% in Sweden, 9% and 5% in France; 11% and 5% in the UK (Billari et al. 2002). Ten years later, relatively little had changed (Assve, Cottini and Vitali 2013): in Italy 57% of young adults were living with their parents at age 25-29 compared to 19% in the UK, 12% in France, and 3% in Sweden. Recent data from Eurostat confirm the persistence of this trend.¹

An interplay between long-term cultural continuities and institutional and economic factors underlies this pattern (Ongaro 2005; Mazzuco, Mencarini and Rettaroli 2006; Ferrari, Rosina and Sironi 2014). Italy is a country characterised by ‘strong family ties’ (Reher 1998), implying a reliance on intergenerational assistance rather than welfare transfers (Dalla Zuanna and Micheli 2004). In other words, it is largely the family of origin that provides emotional and material support to young people leaving home (Mencarini and Tanturri 2006; Bertolini 2011). These strong intergenerational relationships are reinforced by an institutional framework that provides weak assistance to an early young adults’ leaving home. Take, for example, higher education. In Italy, young adults are encouraged to attend local public universities where, rather than residing in on-campus accommodation, they co-reside with their parents during their studies. The Italian housing market further complicates things. Affordable rented accommodation is scarce due to a rigid homeownership regime and the lack of a well-functioning mortgage system, making it difficult for young people to establish an own household (see, for example, Mulder and Billari 2010 or Modena and Rondinelli 2016). Of no less importance, the welfare system is not particularly generous towards young people (see, among others, Rosina, Micheli and Mazzuco 2007; Barbieri 2011). Conservative family values may also help to explain why the traditional path to housing autonomy is through union formation (especially marriage; for a description of the differences among European countries to this regard, see Corijn and Klijzing 2001). Leaving home early or departing for non-union-related reasons are much less socially acceptable (Tosi 2017). To add to this, the family patterns associated with the SDT began relatively late in Italy, with the diffusion of cohabitation, in particular, starting only in the late 1990s (Pirani and Vignoli 2016; Vignoli, Tocchioni and Salvini 2016). Consensual unions are, moreover, comparatively less common than in other European countries (Billari et al. 2002; Nazio and Blossfeld 2003). Thus, late home-leaving may also be related to the fact that young Italians less

¹ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/yth_demo_030/default/table?lang=en

frequently choose to form a partnership through a consensual union, such that the age at departure is highly influenced by the rising age at marriage (ISTAT 2022).

The structure of the labour market is another important factor shaping late exit from the parental home. A process of labour market flexibilization, which began in Italy during the 1980s and saw various laws and reforms during the 90s (until the ‘Biagi Law’ of 2003) triggered the spread of new flexible and temporary contracts (Barbieri and Scherer 2009). These increased, in particular, the economic vulnerability of young people and women (Barbieri 2011; ISTAT 2014; Vignoli, Tocchioni and Salvini 2016). Job insecurity may thus represent an additional reason for postponing departure from the parental home among young adults born after the 1960s, especially as getting married has traditionally been the path to housing autonomy. Meanwhile, it is not clear whether, in a country with a weak welfare state, having a stable job (and thus a lower risk of unemployment) is also a precondition for departing for non-union related reasons, a transition characterised by less long-term commitment. The economic crises of the new century – the 2008 Great Recession and the 2010 current sovereign debt crisis – hit the young population particularly hard and, accordingly, their efforts to attain financial independence. Indeed, during the recessions, youth unemployment increased disproportionately with respect to the overall unemployment level in almost all European countries (Cho and Newhouse 2013, OECD 2013, Lin et al. 2013; Aassve, Cottini and Vitali 2013). Recessions also hit young people with temporary or informal contracts, making them extremely financially vulnerable (Marcus and Gavrilovic, 2010); these contracts are indeed easily at risk of ending during these economic cycles. The conjunctural economic crises of 2008 and 2010 might therefore have further amplified the economic vulnerability of younger cohorts, inducing an additional delay in young Italians’ first residential autonomy (Carcillo et al. 2015). Recent ISTAT data seem to suggest that this could be the case: the percentage of young people (aged 18-34) citing economic reasons as their main motive for staying in the parental home has increased over the years.² This does not, however, mean that the age at leaving home has necessarily risen, but rather that exiting the parental home has becoming less the result of an individual choice and more the outcome of economic constraints (Alfieri et al. 2015, Modena and Rondinelli 2016). In fact this could be even the result of a change in the process of leaving home that selects more economically vulnerable people to stay at home. Alternatively, the generalized climate of economic uncertainty experienced by millennials may make them more accustomed to insecurity, meaning that some transitions out of the parental home are less dictated by certain kinds of economic vulnerability.

² In 2003, this percentage was 34, rising to 40 in 2009, and 44 in 2016 (authors’ elaboration using the Families and Social Subjects surveys, 2003, 2009, 2016).

Millennials have also been exposed to other macro changes, potentially impacting their paths to residential independence. They are, for example, the first to have fully experienced a European ‘youth culture’, aspiring to individual rights, post-materialistic values and gender equality, whose spread has been significantly accelerated by the pervasiveness of internet connections and young adults’ increasing international mobility (Leccardi and Ruspini 2006; Cepa and Furstenberg 2021; Digital 2022). A rising rate of tertiary education over the cohorts (especially among women) has indubitably also supported this process. These cultural changes may have influenced the lifestyles and preferences of youth, including their reasons for leaving the parental home or gender differences in the impact of economic vulnerability on departure. Millennials have also been the first generation to fully experience increasingly widespread ‘modern’ family behaviours. Though the SDT started later in Italy than in other Western and Northern European countries, the first 15 years of the new century witnessed a sharp rise in cohabitation, out-of-wedlock childbearing and divorce (ISTAT 2015, 2017 and 2022), suggesting that Italians, especially more recent cohorts, are catching up with the family behaviours of their European counterparts (Pirani and Vignoli 2016). The spread of non-marital unions in particular may have changed the paths millennials’ take out of the parental home and, with this, even the role played by job uncertainty in departures for union reasons (Vignoli, Tocchioni and Salvini 2016).

Given these different findings and considerations, we assess the leaving-home pathways of young Italians born between 1965 and 1996, paying particular attention to both the role of economic vulnerability (labour market exclusion and objective job insecurity) and change in the influence of the latter over time. To this end, we formulate the following hypotheses:

HP1: With respect to previous cohorts, millennials (both men and women) tend to anticipate leaving home for non-union-related reasons and to postpone leaving for union-related reasons;

HP2: Economic vulnerability connected with labour market exclusion has a negative effect on the risk of leaving home for both union- (especially for men) and non-union-related reasons;

HP3: The role of economic vulnerability connected with labour market exclusion has changed over the cohorts: we expect that for the most recent cohorts (millennials) labour *market exclusion* has a lower *gender specific impact* on exit for union-related reasons compared to previous cohorts;

HP4: Economic vulnerability connected with precarious employment (temporary contracts and self-employment) has a negative effect on the risk of exit for union-related reasons but, given the spread of cohabitation, its effect has diminished among the most recent cohorts.

HP5: Economic vulnerability connected with precarious employment has a negative effect on the risk of exit for non-union-related reasons, but with a lesser effect for more recent cohorts.

4. Data, Selection of the Sample, Preliminary Descriptions, and Statistical Implementation

4.1 Data and Selection of the Sample

The data come from the pooling of two cross-sectional rounds of the survey ‘Families and Social Subjects’ conducted by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) in 2009 and 2016. The 2009 round is based on a representative sample at the national level of about 20,000 households; the 2016 round comprises 24,753 people over the age of 18. The two rounds are entirely comparably in terms of a broad range of socioeconomic, demographic, and family characteristics and can thus be analysed together. With specific regard to the process of leaving home, the year and (main) reason for first exit³ are recorded for individuals who at the time of interview had left the parental home. This means we can study not only whether young adults have left the parental home, but also, in the affirmative, the pathways taken (marriage, cohabitation, work, study, independence, death of a parent, other reasons). Specifically, we assess two broad exit routes: leaving home to live with a partner (union-related reasons) and leaving home to live without a partner (non-union-related reasons).

We focus on young adults who at the time of interview (in 2009 and in 2016 respectively) were between the ages of 20 and 44 (and thus, born between 1965 and 1996). Following previous studies (e.g. Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Schwanitz, Mulder and Toulemon 2017), we use an age range of 16 to 34, as leaving home before or after these ages is generally considered to be out of the ordinary, requiring more in-depth study. We similarly exclude cases where the respondent reported having left the parental home for the first time before the age of 16, seen as either unrealistic or outliers (220 observations in 2009 and 150 in 2016, respectively corresponding to 1.6% and 1.7% of young adults ages 20 to 44 at interview). We also drop cases with missing information relative to whether or not respondents have left the parental home (148 observations, 1.7%, only for 2016). Finally, cases are censored at the time of interview or at age 35 in instances where transition out of the parental home has not yet occurred. In this way, our sample consists of 22,218 respondents (50.5% women and 49.5% men), among whom 66.1% had left the parental home by the time of the interview (or by the age of 34, if respondent is aged 35 or older at interview).

Table 1 provides more detailed descriptive statistics, considering gender and cohort differences as well as specific reasons for departure. We observe notable differences between the sexes: lower

³ We consider leaving home for the first time to be a nonrepeatable event. Our findings cannot therefore be straightforwardly applied to second or further exits from the parental home, for which different processes might be at work.

percentages of young men have left the parental home compared to women (60.2% vs 71.8%), and whereas women have mainly exited to go live with a partner, young men have departed in the same proportions for union- and non-union-related reasons. Gender differences also emerge among departures for non-union-related reasons, with a higher proportion of young men leaving home for work motives compared to women, and greater proportions of young women exiting to study.

Table 1. Distribution of respondents according to the main reason for leaving home by time of interview or by age 34 (if respondent aged 35 or older at interview) by birth-cohort.

	% that have left	% that have left with a partner			% that have left without a partner				
		Total =100	Cohabitation	Marriage	Total =100	For work	To study	For independence	Other reasons
1965-69	80.1	50.0	11.1	88.9	30.1	34.1	12.5	21.5	31.9
1970-74	78.5	43.9	21.0	79.0	34.6	41.8	14.3	22.9	21.0
1975-79†	72.5	35.5	35.7	64.3	37.0	38.7	16.1	25.5	19.7
1980-84‡	52.1	20.4	47.1	52.9	31.7	38.8	25.4	22.5	13.3
1985-89*	32.9	9.2	61.1	38.9	23.7	30.5	37.0	19.4	13.1
1990-96**	28.2	6.4	72.1	27.9	21.8	29.4	47.6	13.0	10.0
Total	60.2	29.4	28.6	71.4	30.8	37.0	21.7	22.2	19.1

Women

	% that have left	% that have left with a partner			% that have left without a partner				
		Total =100	Cohabitation	Marriage	Total =100	For work	To study	For independence	Other reasons
1965-69	88.2	70.7	10.0	90.0	17.5	31.0	27.1	23.1	18.8
1970-74	87.8	66.0	17.9	82.1	21.8	25.0	34.7	26.2	14.1
1975-79†	83.9	57.4	24.4	75.6	26.5	23.7	38.1	28.4	9.8
1980-84‡	69.7	41.3	35.8	64.2	28.4	26.9	42.0	21.5	9.6
1985-89*	42.5	20.2	45.1	54.9	22.3	18.6	55.9	18.1	7.4
1990-96**	34.5	12.4	59.2	40.8	22.1	12.7	61.0	14.1	12.2
Total	71.8	48.4	23.3	76.7	23.4	23.8	41.6	23.1	11.5

† truncated at ages 30-34 in 2009; ‡ truncated at ages 25-29 in 2009, and at ages 32-34 in 2016; *truncated at ages 20-24 in 2009, and at ages 27-31 in 2016; **truncated at ages 20-26 in 2016

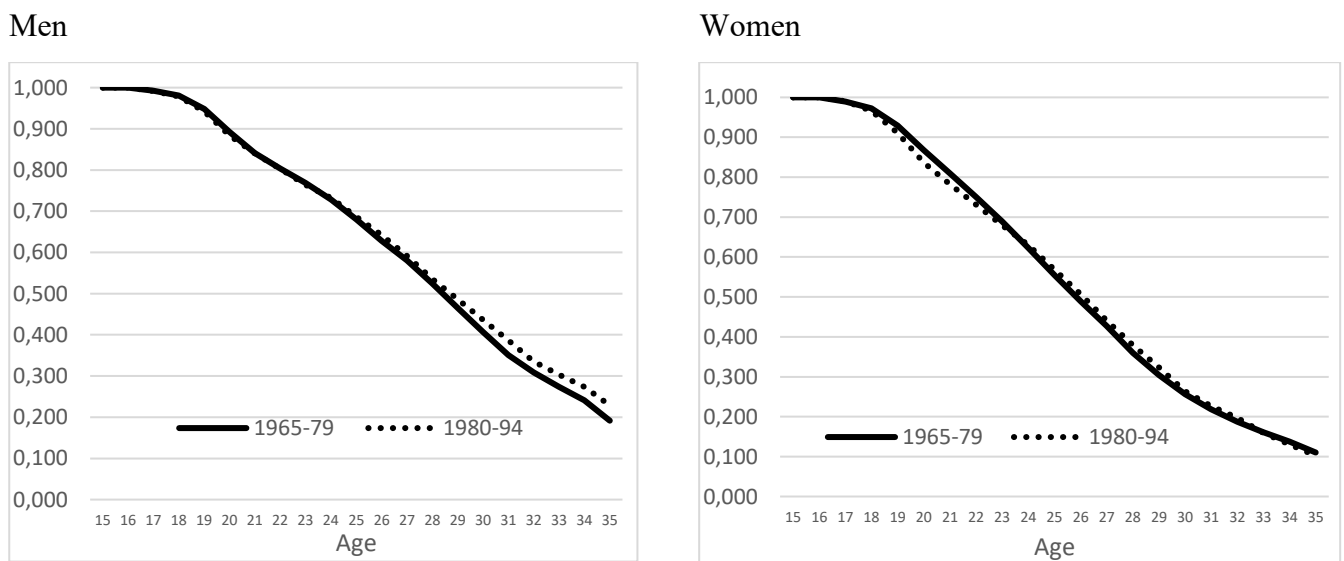
To test the hypotheses formulated above, we group individuals into two main categories: those born between 1965 and 1979 and those between 1980 and 1996 (millennials). We also divide the reasons for leaving into two broad categories: union-related (marriage and cohabitation) and non-union related (work, study, independence and other). This allows us to obtain an adequate sample size by gender for each group defined by cohort and exit: 6,134 men of less recent cohorts (2,016 of whom left home for union-related reasons and 3,533 for non-union-related reasons) and 4,862 male millennials (635 of whom left for marriage or cohabitation, and 1,288 for other reasons). Similarly, women born between 1965 and 1979 number 6,384 (4,092 of whom left the parental home for union-

related reasons, and 1,428 for non-union-related reasons), and 4,838 female millennials (1,334 of whom left for marriage or cohabitation, and 1,204 for other reasons).

4.2 Leaving the Parental Home over the birth-cohorts: Preliminary Descriptive Analysis

Figure 1 presents the survival functions of leaving the parental home for men and women grouped into the two above-described cohorts: 1965-1979 and 1980-1996. Figure 2 considers the reasons for leaving, distinguishing between union-related (Figure 2a) and non-union-related (Figure 2b)⁴ motives. We see in the first figure that there are no strong differences across cohorts in the timing of leaving home, for both men and women.

Figure 1. Proportion of young men and women who have not yet left the parental home by age and birth cohort.



A very different picture emerges when considering the reasons for leaving in the second figure. Younger cohorts leave the parental home for union-related reasons later than older cohorts (figure 2a), and this applies to both men and women. Indeed, survival functions are higher for younger cohorts, meaning that at every age, the percentage of individuals who have left the parental home for union-related reasons is greater among the older cohorts. For example, at age 30, 61% of men born

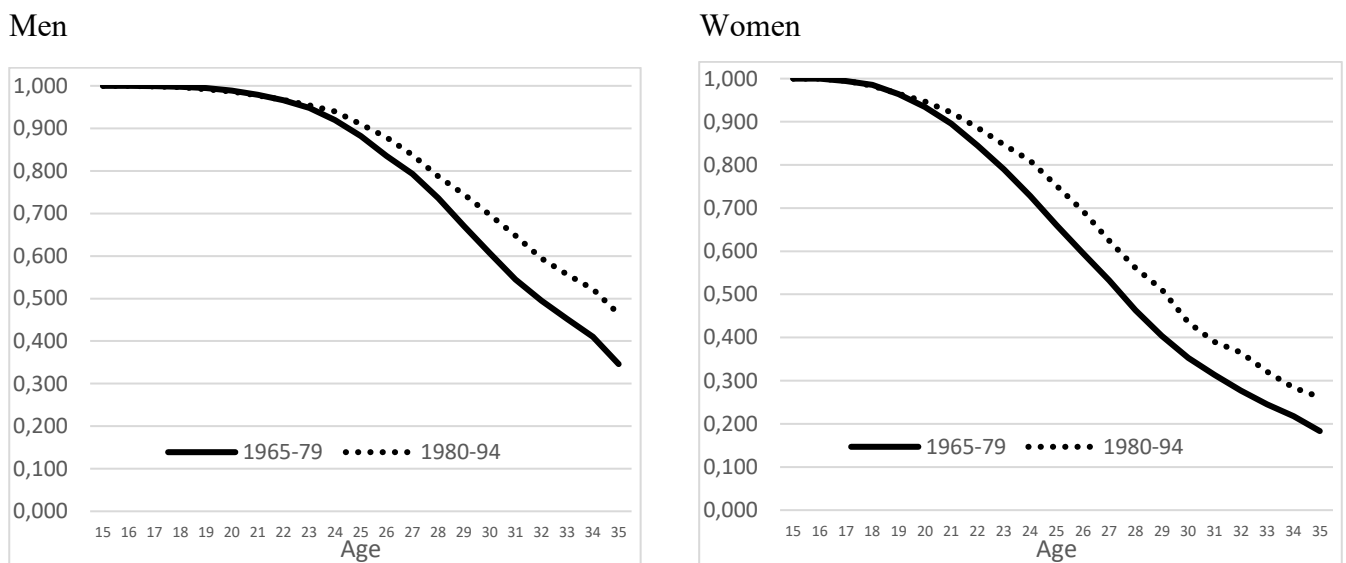
⁴ Similar graphs for the cohorts detailed in Table 1 are reported in the Appendix and clearly justify our choice to group the birth cohorts into two main categories, 1965-1979 and 1980-1996.

between 1965 and 1979 have not yet left the parental home to live with a partner; this same percentage is 70 for millennials. For women, these percentages are respectively 35 and 44 for the 1965-1979 and the 1980-1996 cohorts.

In contrast, and especially for women, younger cohorts leave earlier for non-union-related reasons than their older counterparts (Figure 2b). For example, while 73% of women born between 1965 and 1979 have not yet left the parental home at age 30 for non-union related reasons, this percentage drops to 61 for women born between 1980 and 1996. The difference between the two male cohorts is smaller: 67% for the older group and 63% for millennials. These results confirm our first hypothesis, namely that millennials, and particularly women, anticipate leaving home for non-union-related reasons and postpone leaving for union-related reasons.

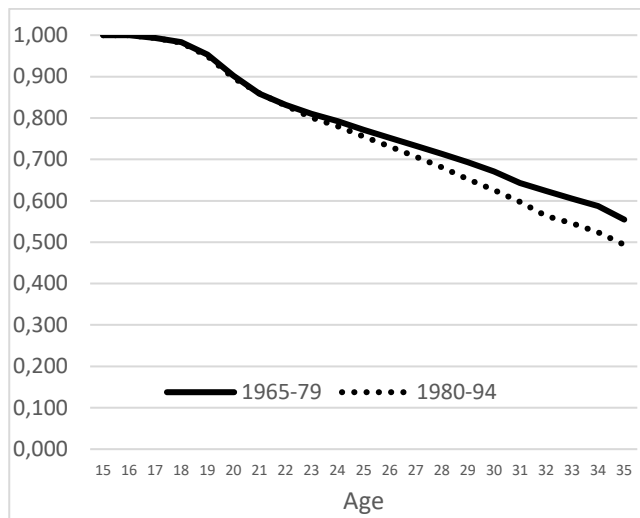
Figure 2. (Pseudo-) survival functions at leaving home for (2a) union-related reasons and (2b) non-union-related reasons.

2a. Proportion of young men and women who have not yet left home for union-related reasons by age and birth cohort.

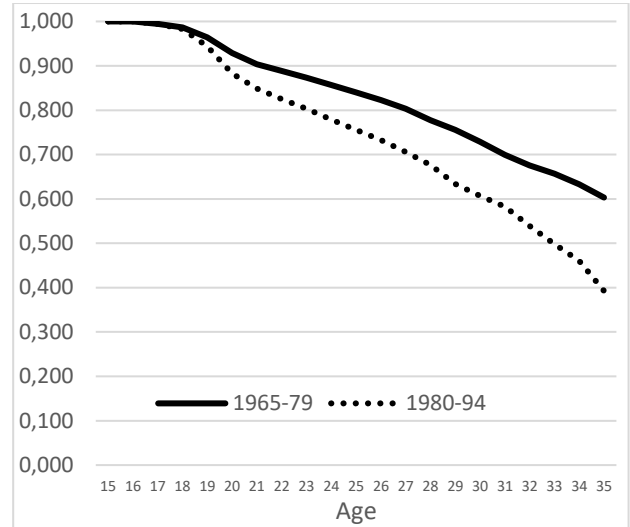


2b. Proportion of young men and women who have not yet left home for non-union-related reasons by age and birth cohort.

Men



Women



4.3 Statistical Implementation

4.3.1 The Models

We use event history models to shed light on the process of leaving home among cohorts of young Italians born between 1965-1996, with particular attention paid to the role of economic vulnerability and possible changes in its impact –both on the timing and reasons for exit - over the birth cohorts. Specifically, since only the year of leaving the parental home is recorded, we estimate discrete-time event history models, adopting a person-year scheme. In addition, in order to answer our different research hypotheses, we conduct separate analyses for men and women (an approach commonly used in the literature; see, for example, Aassve et al. 2002; Rusconi 2004; Chiuri and Del Boca 2010; Iacovou 2010; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Sironi, Barban and Impicciatore 2015; Modena and Rondinelli 2016; Schwanitz, Mulder and Toulemon 2017). Here, men are observed along 118,416 person-years and women along 107,586 person-years.

In a preliminary analysis, we first consider the process of leaving home as a single ‘destination’ (thus estimating a logistic regression of person years) and then use a competing risks approach (multinomial logistic regression), where leaving the parental home to live without a partner and leaving home to live with a partner are the outcomes of interest (a strategy that follows previous studies; see, for example, Mulder and Clark 2000; Zorlu and Mulder 2010; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010).

The discrete-time logit model used in a single destination perspective is given by:

$$\log \left(\frac{h_{it}}{1 - h_{it}} \right) = \alpha_t + \beta_1 x_{it1} + \dots + \beta_k x_{itk}$$

where h_{it} is the probability of leaving the parental home at time t for the young adult i (who has not yet departed).

In using a competing risks approach, we can allow the determinants to differ between the decision to leave the parental home for non-union-related reasons and that for union-related reasons (Iacovou 2010; Schwanitz, Mulder and Toulemon 2017). In this perspective, the transitions to different states are considered to be competing events, and the coefficients of the model are the effects of covariates on the probability of moving into a state i rather than remaining in the reference state.

The discrete-time multinomial logit model is given by:

$$\log \left(\frac{h_{it}^{(r)}}{h_{it}^{(0)}} \right) = \alpha_t^{(r)} + \beta_1^{(r)} x_{it1} + \dots + \beta_k^{(r)} x_{itk}$$

where $h_{it}^{(r)}$ is the probability of leaving the parental home (state 0) for reason r at time t for the young adult i , and x_{itj} ($j=1, \dots, k$) is the covariate vector (with some time-varying covariates), with its corresponding coefficients $\beta_j^{(r)}$ for exit reason r .

4.3.2 Independent Variables

a) Key Covariates

In this framework, our core explanatory variables are individuals' birth cohort and labour market situation. The former is defined as a dichotomous covariate that distinguishes millennials (born between 1980 and 1996) from previous cohorts (1965-1979). Labour market situation is a (time-varying) variable that combines employment status and type of job, thus capturing economic vulnerability in terms of either labour market exclusion or objective insecurity. Indeed, more than simply being or not being employed, we consider job stability, using information on occupational status and type of contract to construct four categories: not employed (including inactive and unemployed individuals), fixed term employees (employed with a temporary contract), permanent employees (permanent contract), and self-employed individuals (young entrepreneurs and freelancers).

In the 'Families and Social Subjects' survey, employment histories (including the type of contract in each employment spell) are recorded retrospectively on a monthly basis. This allows us to consider

our categorical variable on labour market situation as a time-varying covariate.⁵ To properly isolate the cases of unemployed and inactive individuals, we use this variable in connection with school enrolment condition - a time-varying dichotomous variable taking into account whether or not the individual is an education programme.

b) Control Covariates

Control covariates influencing the timing and different pathways out of the parental home can be differentiated between: individual, family and contextual characteristics (Schwanitz, Mulder and Toulemon 2017).

The individual characteristics that we control for in our analyses are age and level of education. Previous research consistently documents a strong age differentiation in leaving the parental home (Blaauboer and Mulder 2010). We accordingly include age in the models in linear as well as in logistic form since, after having done different tests, the linear-logistic specification shows the best fit (smallest AIC and BIC values). Education level has, meanwhile, been linked to different living-arrangement preferences (Mulder and Hooimeijer 2002), where higher levels of schooling seem to be associated with non-traditional values and independence (Liefbroer and Billari 2010). Here, we measure education using a three-category variable, considering the respondent's highest completed level of education at time of interview⁶: high (university degree – bachelor, master or PhD), medium (secondary school), or low (below secondary school).

Leaving the parental home is often the first event marking the transition to adulthood. The decision to depart is not, however, simply an autonomous choice on the part of young adults, but is also influenced by the context in which they grew up. We accordingly control for various family characteristics, including parental level of education, separation and maternal employment status. Parental education has, in fact, been shown to effect leaving home through the transmission of both cultural and economic resources (Ward and Spitze 2007; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Sironi, Barban and Impicciatore 2015), though findings are mixed and results depend both on the context and pathways of leaving home (Manacorda and Moretti 2006; Iacovou 2010; Sironi and Rosina 2015; Sironi, Barban and Impicciatore 2015; Schwanitz, Mulder and Toulemon 2017; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010). In our measure of parental education, we consider the education levels of both parents

⁵ Obviously, as information about leaving home is recorded on a yearly basis, the time-varying covariate on labour market situation is also considered on yearly basis.

⁶ Unfortunately, available data (particularly that from the 2016 round of the survey) does not allow us to consider level of education as a time-varying variable. The survey provides information only on the year of highest educational level obtained and not the years of all educational qualifications achieved.

at the time of interview. More specifically, we define a unique set of categories that takes into account the highest educational level obtained by at least one parent: ‘high’ refers to respondents who have at least one parent with a university degree; ‘medium’ where neither parent has a university degree, but at least one obtained a secondary school diploma; and ‘low’ includes the remaining individuals with low-educated parents (neither having completed secondary school). In addition to parental education, studies have also highlighted parental separation as a determinant of leaving home (Mazzuco and Ongaro 2009; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Tosi 2017). Here, we consider whether or not respondents’ parents are divorced or separated in a time-varying perspective, as the survey records the year in which the couple possibly stopped living together. Finally, research suggests that mother’s employment status may be a further important factor shaping young adults’ decision to leave home (Holdsworth, 2000; Iacovou, 2010). We consider mothers’ employment status using a question about her job situation when the respondent was aged 14, and measure it with a dichotomous variable that distinguishes between employed and not employed mothers.

Lastly, we control for area of residence (at interview) as a contextual characteristic, allowing us to account for geographical heterogeneity and the impact of unobservable context variables. In a country such as Italy, characterized by deep territorial differences and, especially, a North-South divide, it is particularly important to consider this dimension. Young adults living in the northern regions behave differently from those living in the South, varying in their timing of departure and pathways taken out of the parental home (Sironi and Rosina 2015, Bertolini et al. 2017). In the analyses that follow, we distinguish between four areas: Northeast, Northwest, Centre, South and Islands.

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics of the variables⁷ for men and women in our sample.

⁷ Person-years with missing data for at least one of these variables or for variables in time-varying format (labour market situation, enrolment status, and parental separation – see Table 2 note) are excluded from the analyses. This concerns just 2.8% of the person-years of the sample and thus their exclusion does not bias the results.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics (N= 22,218 observations, 226,002 person-years).

	Men	Women	Total
Level of education completed			
High	14.9	23.0	19.0
Medium	53.4	51.7	52.5
Low	31.7	25.3	28.5
Cohort			
1965-79	55.8	56.8	56.3
1980-96	44.2	43.2	43.7
Parental level of education			
High	9.8	10.0	9.9
Medium	29.9	30.1	30.0
Low	60.3	59.9	60.1
Mother's employment status when the respondent was 14			
Employed	44.4	47.1	45.8
Not employed	55.6	52.9	54.2
Area of residence			
Northwest	19.3	19.9	19.6
Northeast	21.7	20.9	21.3
Centre	16.8	16.9	16.9
South	30.9	31.1	31.0
Islands	11.3	11.2	11.2

* The time-varying variables, related to labour market situation, enrolment status and parental separation, are not presented in this table.

5. Results

In both the analysis that considers the process of leaving home as a single ‘destination’ and that using a competing risks approach, we start with model 1, or a descriptive assessment that includes only the cohort as a covariate (in addition to age, included in linear as well as logistic form). Model 2 then adds the key covariate on labour market situation and all the control covariates. Lastly, model 3 includes the interaction term between the key covariates, so as to explore possible change in the impact of economic vulnerability over the birth-cohorts.

5.1 The Determinants of Leaving Home

We begin, as mentioned, by considering the exit process as a single destination. Table 3 reports the results of the models estimated separately for young men (3A) and women (3B), where we do not make any distinction in terms of the reasons for leaving.

Model 1 reveals that millennials have a significantly lower risk of leaving the parental home compared to previous cohorts, and this is true for both men and women. Models 2 and 3 confirm this result for men, though for women the differences between millennials and the previous cohorts are no longer significant.

As regards the role of economic vulnerability, model 2 shows that labour market exclusion lowers the likelihood of leaving the parental home for both young men and women, compared to permanently

employed young adults (supporting the findings in literature; see, for example, Gousia et al., 2021). Precarious employment conditions, defined by a fixed term contract, do not instead influence the risk of departure from the parental home (for both men and women). Meanwhile, a situation of relative precarity such as self-employment negatively impacts the risk of leaving the parental home for young men, but not for young women.

Table 3A. Leaving the parental home: discrete-time event history model with a single destination. Estimated model coefficients on the probability of leaving home (models 1, 2 and 3).

Men

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value
Age	-0.008	0.008	0.301	-0.011	0.008	0.200	-0.014	0.008	0.101
Age logged	0.913	0.060	0.000	0.736	0.061	0.000	0.754	0.061	0.000
Cohort (ref: 1965-79)									
1980-96	-0.113	0.029	0.000	-0.099	0.031	0.001	-0.281	0.049	0.000
Labour market situation TV* (ref: permanently employed)									
Fixed-term contract				0.051	0.045	0.255	-0.044	0.0565	0.436
Self-employed				-0.080	0.041	0.049	-0.118	0.046	0.009
Not employed				-0.709	0.036	0.000	-0.759	0.042	0.000
Education (ref: out of education)									
Student				-0.033	0.045	0.462	-0.145	0.055	0.008
Interactions									
1980-96 cohort * labour market situation									
Fixed-term contract							0.305	0.094	0.001
Self-employed							0.156	0.099	0.116
Not employed							0.184	0.075	0.015
1980-96 cohort* student							0.245	0.077	0.002
Level of education completed (ref: high)									
Medium				-0.245	0.042	0.000	-0.268	0.043	0.000
Low				-0.176	0.049	0.000	-0.206	0.049	0.000
Parental level of education (ref: High)									
Medium				-0.241	0.052	0.000	-0.225	0.052	0.000
Low				-0.225	0.051	0.000	-0.208	0.051	0.000
Parental separation TV* (ref: Yes)									
No				-0.078	0.057	0.167	-0.078	0.057	0.171
Mother's employment status when respondent was 14 (ref: not employed)									
Employed				0.039	0.028	0.154	0.038	0.028	0.169
Area of residence (ref: Northwest)									
Northeast				0.138	0.039	0.001	0.139	0.039	0.000
Centre				-0.026	0.043	0.544	-0.028	0.043	0.522
South				-0.036	0.039	0.358	-0.037	0.039	0.345
Islands				0.038	0.049	0.441	0.039	0.049	0.423
Intercept	-4.469	0.062	0.000	-3.455	0.102	0.000	-3.409	0.102	0.000

* TV = time-varying covariate

These results are confirmed in model 3 for women (the interaction terms are not significant), suggesting that the role of economic vulnerability has not changed over the female cohorts. We observe, however, an entirely different dynamic for young male millennials. Specifically, the negative effect of labour market exclusion decreases due to the significant positive coefficient of the interaction term. Noteworthy as well is the fact that male millennials with fixed-term employment show a higher risk of departure from the parental home compared to their counterparts in previous

cohorts. A situation of relative uncertainty such as self-employment instead has the same negative impact on the risk of leaving the parental home across cohorts.

Thus, if for young women, both among older and younger cohorts, only a situation of labour market exclusion decreases the likelihood of leaving home, for male millennials new patterns seem to emerge. For this group of young adults, being out of the labour market continues to have a negative effect on the risk of departure, albeit less strong compared to previous cohorts. Meanwhile, a situation of economic vulnerability such as a fixed-term contract increases the risk of leaving home compared to previous cohorts.

Table 3B. Leaving the parental home: discrete-time event history model with a single destination. Estimated model coefficients on the probability of leaving home (models 1, 2 and 3)

Women

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value
Age	-0.060	0.008	0.000	-0.059	0.008	0.000	-0.061	0.008	0.000
Age logged	1.285	0.057	0.000	1.152	0.058	0.000	1.159	0.058	0.000
Cohort (ref: 1965-79)									
1980-96	-0.069	0.026	0.008	-0.015	0.027	0.584	-0.039	0.052	0.444
Labour market situation TV* (ref: permanently employed)									
Fixed-term contract				-0.047	0.045	0.293	-0.033	0.056	0.557
Self-employed				-0.087	0.058	0.136	-0.076	0.066	0.252
Not employed				-0.131	0.031	0.000	-0.123	0.035	0.001
Education (ref: out of education)									
Student				-0.453	0.038	0.000	-0.529	0.046	0.000
Interactions									
1980-96 cohort * labour market situation									
Fixed-term contract							-0.039	0.095	0.684
Self-employed							-0.039	0.156	0.771
Not employed							-0.032	0.065	0.627
1980-96 cohort* student							0.176	0.063	0.005
Level of education completed (ref: high)									
Medium				-0.151	0.035	0.000	-0.162	0.035	0.000
Low				0.146	0.043	0.000	0.131	0.043	0.002
Parental level of education (ref: High)									
Medium				-0.103	0.047	0.029	-0.096	0.047	0.042
Low				-0.132	0.047	0.004	-0.124	0.047	0.008
Parental separation TV* (ref: Yes)									
No				-0.204	0.049	0.000	-0.206	0.049	0.000
Mother's employment status when the respondent was 14 (ref: not employed)									
Employed				0.099	0.025	0.000	0.098	0.025	0.000
Area of residence (ref: Northwest)									
Northeast				0.164	0.036	0.000	0.164	0.036	0.000
Centre				-0.083	0.039	0.035	-0.082	0.039	0.038
South				-0.123	0.036	0.001	-0.123	0.036	0.001
Islands				-0.073	0.046	0.113	-0.071	0.046	0.124
Intercept	-4.378	0.057	0.000	-3.817	0.091	0.000	-3.808	0.092	0.000

* TV = time-varying covariate

5.2 Exit for Union-Related and Non-Union-Related Reasons

In this section, we present the results of the competing risks models, again estimated separately for young men (Table 4a) and women (Table 4b), where leaving the parental home for union-related reasons and leaving home for non-union-related motives (to pursue educational or employment

opportunities or to establish independence) are the outcomes of interest. Accounting for exit reasons is illuminating, revealing that the process of departing the parental home for union-related motives is quite different than doing so for other purposes.

a) Exit for Union-Related Reasons

Model 1 shows that both male and female millennials have a lower risk of leaving the parental home for union-related reasons compared to previous cohorts, a pattern clearly supported by the descriptive results (see Figure 2a) and confirmed in model 2.

As regards the role of economic vulnerability, model 2 shows that labour market exclusion lowers the likelihood of leaving the parental home to go live with a partner for young men, but not for women, compared to permanently employed young adults. Experiencing precarious employment conditions such as a fixed-term contract lowers the risk of departure for union-related reasons for both men and women. Meanwhile, a situation of relatively uncertainty, such as self-employment, does not instead effect either young men or women's risk of leaving the parental home to go live with a partner. Model 3 confirms all of these results for both sexes, implying that the role of economic vulnerability is the same among millennials and previous cohorts.

To summarise, economic vulnerability connected with labour market exclusion only has a negative effect on the risk of leaving the parental home for union-related reasons for men, confirming our HP2. This negative impact has not, however, changed across the cohorts, contrary that expected in HP3. Meanwhile, the negative effect of economic vulnerability in the form of a precarious job on the risk of leaving home with a partner, as expected in HP4, is confirmed, though only for vulnerability defined by temporary contracts (for both men and women) and not for self-employment. Furthermore, the negative effect of temporary contracts on the risk of leaving home for union-related reasons is the same across cohorts, thus rejecting the second part of HP4.

b) Exit for Non-Union-Related Reasons

With regard to non-union-related exit reasons, model 1 reveals that male, and particularly female, millennials have a higher likelihood of leaving the parental home for purposes other than to live with a partner (see also Figure 2b). Model 2 confirms this result for women, while male millennials instead have a lower risk of departure from the parental home for non-union-related reasons compared to previous cohorts.

The role of economic uncertainty and its differing impact for millennials compared to previous cohorts on departures for non-union-related reasons notably contrasts with the findings for union-related exits detailed above. Labour market exclusion, but also uncertain work conditions as defined by self-employment, decrease the risk of leaving the parental home without a partner for both men

and women (model 2), though the effects, particularly those connected with self-employment, are less strong for male millennials compared to previous cohorts (model 3). A situation of uncertainty as defined by a fixed-term contract instead increases the risk of leaving home without a partner (particularly) for men, and this effect is stronger for male millennials. The interaction terms are not significant for women, indicating that the effect of economic vulnerability is the same among female millennials and their counterparts in previous cohorts.

Economic vulnerability connected with labour market exclusion thus has a negative effect on the risk of leaving the parental home for non-union-related reasons for both men and women, confirming HP2. The effect has not, however, changed across cohorts, contrary to that expected in HP3. The impact of economic vulnerability in the form of a precarious job differs depending on whether this consists of fixed-term employment or self-employment. Uncertainty connected to self-employment decreases the propensity to leave the parental home without a partner for both men and for women, and, as expected in HP5, this effect diminishes among more the recent cohorts, though only for men. When, however, it comes to temporary contracts, HP5 is rejected. Surprisingly, economic insecurity connected with fixed-term employment does not delay leaving home. On the contrary, (especially male) millennials with a temporary contract show a higher propensity to leave the parental home for non-union-related reasons compared to their counterparts with permanent jobs.

Table 4A. Leaving the parental home for union-related or non-union-related reasons: discrete-time competing risks models. Estimated model coefficients on the probability of leaving home for specific motives (models 1, 2 and 3).

Men

	Model 1						Model 2						Model 3					
	With a partner			Without a partner			With a partner			Without a partner			With a partner			Without a partner		
	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value
Age	-0.094	0.018	0.000	-0.152	0.012	0.000	-0.071	0.018	0.000	-0.159	0.012	0.000	-0.071	0.018	0.000	-0.161	0.012	0.000
Age logged	2.749	0.172	0.000	1.165	0.075	0.000	2.221	0.173	0.000	1.053	0.077	0.000	2.217	0.173	0.000	1.061	0.077	0.000
Cohort (ref: 1975-79)																		
1980-96	-0.374	0.048	0.000	0.062	0.037	0.098	-0.251	0.049	0.000	-0.022	0.039	0.573	-0.251	0.067	0.000	-0.261	0.070	0.000
Labour market situation TV* (ref: permanently employed)																		
Fixed-term contract							-0.204	0.068	0.003	0.295	0.059	0.000	-0.213	0.078	0.006	0.170	0.079	0.032
Self-employed							0.023	0.049	0.643	-0.285	0.069	0.000	0.029	0.054	0.587	-0.455	0.085	0.000
Not employed							-1.000	0.056	0.000	-0.526	0.048	0.000	-1.022	0.063	0.000	-0.571	0.058	0.000
Education (ref: out of education)																		
Student							-0.596	0.094	0.000	-0.062	0.055	0.259	-0.526	0.106	0.000	-0.165	0.069	0.016
Interactions																		
1980-96 cohort * labour market situation																		
Fixed-term contract													0.031	0.153	0.839	0.341	0.122	0.005
Self-employed													-0.047	0.134	0.729	0.569	0.149	0.000
Not employed													0.100	0.127	0.431	0.163	0.098	0.098
1980-96 cohort* student													-0.274	0.201	0.174	0.208	0.091	0.022
Level of education completed (ref: high)																		
Medium							0.018	0.071	0.800	-0.517	0.053	0.000	0.022	0.072	0.757	-0.534	0.053	0.000
Low							0.257	0.076	0.001	-0.686	0.068	0.000	0.262	0.077	0.001	-0.714	0.068	0.000
Parental level of education (ref: High)																		
Medium							0.095	0.098	0.330	-0.351	0.060	0.000	0.094	0.098	0.338	-0.342	0.061	0.000
Low							0.221	0.095	0.020	-0.433	0.061	0.000	0.218	0.095	0.022	-0.424	0.062	0.000
Parental separation TV* (ref: Yes)																		
No							-0.08	0.086	0.378	-0.084	0.074	0.255	-0.074	0.086	0.385	-0.087	0.074	0.239
Mother's employment status when the respondent was 14 (ref: not employed)																		
Employed							-0.041	0.039	0.300	0.112	0.038	0.003	-0.041	0.039	0.302	0.110	0.038	0.004
Area of residence (ref: Northwest)																		
Northeast							0.102	0.057	0.074	0.160	0.054	0.003	0.103	0.057	0.073	0.164	0.054	0.002
Centre							-0.073	0.062	0.241	0.012	0.058	0.832	-0.072	0.062	0.245	0.011	0.059	0.855
South							-0.023	0.054	0.709	-0.039	0.054	0.465	-0.020	0.054	0.712	-0.040	0.054	0.452
Islands							0.077	0.069	0.270	0.025	0.069	0.717	0.078	0.069	0.265	0.027	0.069	0.703
Intercept	-8.380	0.222	0.000	-4.477	0.068	0.000	-7.382	0.257	0.000	-3.181	0.124	0.000	-7.379	0.257	0.000	-3.096	0.125	0.000

* TV = time-varying covariate

Table 4B. Leaving the parental home for union-related or non-union-related reasons: discrete-time competing risks models. Estimated model coefficients on the probability of leaving home for specific motives (models 1, 2 and 3).

Women

	Model 1						Model 2						Model 3					
	With a partner			Without a partner			With a partner			Without a partner			With a partner			Without a partner		
	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value	Coef	Std error	p-value
Age	-0.100	0.011	0.000	-0.093	0.014	0.000	-0.087	0.011	0.000	-0.099	0.014	0.000	-0.085	0.011	0.000	-0.101	0.014	0.000
Age logged	1.903	0.086	0.000	0.948	0.082	0.000	1.605	0.087	0.000	0.937	0.083	0.000	1.54	0.087	0.000	0.941	0.083	0.000
Cohort (ref: 1975-79)																		
1980-96	-0.364	0.034	0.000	0.417	0.041	0.000	-0.193	0.035	0.000	0.261	0.043	0.000	-0.164	0.063	0.009	0.267	0.088	0.003
Labour market situation TV* (ref: permanently employed)																		
Fixed-term contract							-0.136	0.056	0.015	0.088	0.073	0.227	-0.121	0.067	0.069	0.187	0.097	0.054
Self-employed							-0.018	0.066	0.789	-0.249	0.113	0.028	0.004	0.073	0.962	-0.329	0.145	0.023
Not employed							-0.018	0.036	0.620	-0.477	0.058	0.000	-0.038	0.040	0.347	-0.455	0.071	0.000
Education (ref: out of education)																		
Student							-1.227	0.058	0.000	0.278	0.058	0.000	-1.037	0.067	0.000	0.233	0.074	0.002
Interactions																		
1980-96 cohort * labour market situation																		
Fixed-term contract													-0.041	0.123	0.739	-0.209	0.147	0.153
Self-employed													-0.112	0.167	0.499	0.217	0.233	0.352
Not employed													0.086	0.079	0.273	-0.061	0.112	0.584
1980-96 cohort* student													-0.571	0.113	0.000	0.094	0.094	0.318
Level of education completed (ref: high)																		
Medium							0.039	0.047	0.405	-0.503	0.051	0.000	0.059	0.048	0.209	-0.508	0.052	0.000
Low							0.377	0.054	0.000	-0.498	0.079	0.000	0.403	0.054	0.000	-0.508	0.079	0.000
Parental level of education (ref: High)																		
Medium							0.102	0.072	0.154	-0.211	0.061	0.001	0.090	0.072	0.209	-0.208	0.061	0.001
Low							0.196	0.069	0.005	-0.480	0.065	0.000	0.181	0.069	0.009	-0.478	0.065	0.000
Parental separation TV* (ref: Yes)																		
No							-0.020	0.065	0.759	-0.459	0.069	0.000	-0.017	0.065	0.798	-0.461	0.069	0.000
Mother's employment status when the respondent was 14 (ref: not employed)																		
Employed							0.022	0.031	0.483	0.246	0.043	0.000	0.024	0.031	0.426	0.244	0.043	0.000
Area of residence (ref: Northwest)																		
Northeast							0.109	0.046	0.016	0.229	0.058	0.000	0.110	0.046	0.016	0.227	0.058	0.000
Centre							-0.023	0.048	0.629	-0.179	0.066	0.007	-0.022	0.048	0.645	-0.181	0.066	0.006
South							-0.101	0.044	0.020	-0.169	0.062	0.006	-0.099	0.044	0.022	-0.173	0.062	0.005
Islands							-0.063	0.055	0.258	-0.089	0.081	0.268	-0.065	0.055	0.240	-0.093	0.081	0.248
Intercept	-5.609	0.093	0.000	-4.783	0.073	0.000	-5.193	0.134	0.000	-3.939	0.133	0.000	-5.202	0.134	0.000	-3.935	0.136	0.000

* TV = time-varying covariate

c) Control Variable Results

The outcomes for the control variables are, generally, unsurprising. Being a student increases the risk of leaving the parental home for non-union-related reasons for women, irrespective of their birth cohort. For men, being a student only decreases the likelihood of departure from home for non-union-related reasons among the oldest cohorts. Among male millennials (see model 3) being a student instead seems to accelerate exit from the parental home for non-union-related reasons. Both men and women with lower levels of education have a lower risk of leaving the parental home for non-union-related reasons and, instead, higher risks of leaving to form a union. Higher educational levels may be associated with more non-traditional principles and a valuing of independence, increasing the risk of leaving the parental home for non-union-related reasons (Liefbroer and Billari 2010).

The findings on the impact of family background also go in the expected direction. Both men and women with higher-educated parents have a greater risk of departure for non-union-related reasons and a lower risk of departure for union-related reasons (Blaauboer and Mulder 2010). Having separated parents and/or employed mothers accelerate women's departure from home for non-union-related reasons (as also observed by Mazzucco and Ongaro 2009). The same result holds for men with employed mothers. Lastly, young men and women living in the Northeast have the highest likelihood of leaving the parental home, independently of the pathway.

6. Conclusion and Discussion

This paper focuses on a key event in the transition to adulthood: leaving home. We are particularly interested in how young adults' economic self-sufficiency shapes this process, and the interplay with their reasons for exit, broadly distinguished as either union or non-union related. Italy provides the context for analysis, a country that in recent decades has experienced important changes both in labour market conditions and value orientations, possibly affecting motives and pathways of departure. We accordingly adopt a cohort perspective, allowing us to assess whether the impact of economic vulnerability has changed over generations.

Our results highlight the importance of considering the reasons for leaving the parental home. Indeed, departure to go live with a partner is a very different process than exiting for non-union-related purposes. A failure to include this distinction would miss the fact that millennials exhibit a new behavioural pattern compared to previous cohorts: both men and women in this group have a lower risk of leaving the parental home to go live with a partner and a higher risk, particularly for women, of leaving for non-union-related reasons. Thus, the contemporary spread of cohabiting unions has not reversed the decreasing union-formation trend among millennials. Meanwhile, the worsening of

labour market conditions since the 1990s seems not to have discouraged millennials from leaving home for non-union-related reasons (see also, for Spain, Moreno Mínguez, 2016).

A distinction according to type of departure furthermore reveals that economic vulnerability has different effects according to the reasons for exit. It has a clear, negative impact when it comes to union-related reasons, albeit this depends somewhat on gender. Labour market exclusion has a strong negative effect only for men and its impact does not change over the generations, suggesting that a male breadwinner model persists to some degree. This is consistent with other studies showing that Italy continues to be a conservative country with a gender differentiated effect of labour market exclusion (Gousia et al. 2021). Having a precarious job in the form of a temporary contract also has a negative effect on the risk of leaving home for union-related reasons for both men and women and across cohorts. Thus, millennials' seemingly greater ease with uncertainty and the recent spread of cohabitation (a less 'committed' form of union) have not diminished the negative effect of having a temporary contract on leaving home for union-related purposes.

In contrast, our findings show that the effect of economic vulnerability on leaving the home for non-union-related reasons is not necessarily negative. Labour market exclusion and uncertainty connected with self-employment do have a negative effect on the propensity to leave the parental home for both men and for women, though, as expected, these effects are less strong among millennial men. Cultural change and a lesser fear of economic uncertainty could explain this behaviour. In fact, uncertainty connected with temporary contracts surprisingly increases the propensity to leave the parental home for non-union-related reasons. This is particularly true for men, additionally so among the more recent cohorts. The positive association implies not only a lesser discomfort with having a fixed-term contract (as found in previous studies, see Baranowska-Rataj 2011 and Gousia et al. 2011), but even a desire to seek autonomy, begging explanations other than that of an 'insecure income' to explain the current dynamic. This result might depend, for example, on differences in wages between temporary and permanent employment contracts (van Wijk, de Valk and Liefbroer 2021), that makes the former jobs more economically convenient than latter. If anything, Italian data suggest the opposite is true (Istat, 2021). Furthermore, additional models (not shown here) that consider the interactions between education level (as a proxy for potential income) and occupational situation show no evidence to this regard.

Excluding further structural differences between the two types of contracts (for example, the distance from home) which might explain the result, one potential explanation for the positive effect of having fixed-term employment on the propensity to depart for non-union-related reasons is that young adults (particularly men) in uncertain economic positions willing to leave home might see this way as (the only) opportunity to leave the parental home in a less 'committed' way. Meanwhile, those with

permanent employment can afford more long-term or more 'committed' life course projects (such as becoming a homeowner), and may prefer to delay departure to accumulate economic resources for more stable household transitions. Certainly, more detailed studies are needed to better understand the mechanisms underlying the interrelationship between exit from the parental home for non-union reasons and type of job.

The increasing tendency of young adults to depart for non-union related reasons gives rise to a number of questions. Is this a new, intermediate and less 'committed' step in the Italian transition to adulthood, whereby the country has become more similar to places in Central or Northern Europe? To what extent are young people who exit the home in this way at risk of returning to live with their parents? Additional studies might explore the longer-term paths of young people who leave the parental home for non-union-related reasons, particularly those who do so in uncertain economic conditions. Does this temporary status accelerate the transition to other events or rather produce a sort of deadlock situation?

Finally, leaving the home for union-related reasons also begs further consideration, particularly studies that distinguish between departures for the purposes of marrying and those to cohabit. Such explorations would help to better understand whether the diffusion of non-marital unions has been accompanied by a new pattern of exit from the family of origin, characterized by less commitment than marriage, and perhaps viewed as more compatible with economic uncertainty.

References

- Aassve, A., Billari, F.C., and Ongaro, F. (2001). The impact of income and employment status on leaving home: Evidence from the Italian ECHP sample. *Labour* 13(3): 501-529
- Aassve, A., Billari, F.C., Mazzucco, S., and Ongaro, F. (2002). Leaving home: A comparative analysis of ECHP data. *Journal of European Social Policy* 12(4): 259-275.
- Aassve, A., Iacovou, M., and Mencarini, L. (2006). Youth poverty and transition to adulthood in Europe. *Demographic Research* 15(2): 21-50.
- Aassve, A., Arpino, B., and Billari, F.C. (2013). Age norms on leaving home: Multilevel evidence from the European Social Survey. *Environment and Planning A* 45(2): 383-401.
- Aassve, A., Cottini, E., and Vitali, A. (2013). Youth prospects in a time of economic recession, *Demographic Research* 29(36): 949-962.
- Avery, R., Goldscheider, F., and Speare Jr, A. (1992). Feathered nest/gilded cage: Parental income and leaving home in the transition to adulthood. *Demography* 29(3): 375-388.
- Alfieri, S., Rosina, A., Sironi, E., Marta, E., and Marzana, D. (2015). Who are Italian “NEETS”? Trust in institutions, political engagement, willingness to be activated and attitudes toward the future in a group at risk for social exclusion. *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali* 123(3): 285-306.
- Arundel, R., and Lennartz, C. (2017). Returning to the parental home: Boomerang moves of younger adults and the welfare regime context. *Journal of European Social Policy* 27(3): 276-294.
- Baranowska-Rataj, A. (2011). Trash contracts? The impact of temporary employment on leaving the parental home in Poland. *Studia Demograficzne* 1(159): 57-73.
- Barbieri, P. (2011). Italy: no country for young men (and women). In: Buchholz, S. and Hofaecker, D. (eds.). *The Flexibilization of European Labor Markets: The Development of Social Inequalities in an Era of Globalization*. Cheltenham, UK/Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar: 108-146.
- Barbieri, P. and Scherer, S. (2009). Labour market flexibilisation and its consequences in Italy. *European Sociological Review* 25(6): 677-692.
- Barbieri, P., Cutuli, G. and Scherer, S. (2014). Giovani e lavoro oggi. Uno sguardo sociologico a una situazione di rischio. *Sociologia del lavoro* 136: 73-98.
- Becker, G. (1981). *A Treatise of the family*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press
- Becker, S.O., Bentolila, S., Fernandes, A., and Ichino, A. (2010). Youth emancipation and perceived job insecurity of parents and children. *Journal of Population Economics* 23(3): 1047-1071.
- Bertolini, S. (2011). The heterogeneity of the impact of labour market flexibilization on the transition to adult life in Italy: when do young people leave the nest? In: Blossfeld, H.P., Hofäcker, D., and

- Bertolini S. (eds). *Youth on Globalised Labour Markets: Rising Uncertainty and its Effects on Early Employment and Family Lives in Europe*. Opladen & Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich: 163-187.
- Bertolini, S., Bolzoni, M., Ghislieri, C., Goglio, V., Martino, S., Meo, A., Moiso, V., Musumeci, R., Ricucci, R., Torrioni, P.M. (2017). Labour market uncertainty and leaving parental home in Italy. In: Baranowska-Rataj, A., Bertolini, S. and Goglio, V. (eds.) *Country level analyses of mechanisms and interrelationships between labour market insecurity and autonomy*. EXCEPT Working Paper No. 11, Tallin University, Tallin: 16-40.
- Billari, F.C., Castiglioni, M., Casto Martin, T., Michielin, F. and Ongaro, F. (2002). Household and Union Formation in a Mediterranean Fashion: Italy and Spain. In: Klijzin, E. and Corijn, M. (eds.) *Dynamics of fertility and partnership in Europe*, vol. II, UNECE, New York and Geneva, United Nations: 1-16.
- Billari, F.C. (2004). Becoming an adult in Europe: A macro(/micro)-demographic perspective. *Demographic Research* S3(2): 15-44.
- Billari, F.C. and Liefbroer, A.C. (2010). Towards a new pattern of transition to adulthood? *Advances in Life Course Research* 15(2-3): 59-75.
- Blaauboer, M. and Mulder, C.H. (2010). Gender differences in the impact of family background on leaving the parental home. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 25(1): 53-71.
- Blossfeld, H.P., Klijzing, E., Mills, M., and Kurz, K. (2005). *Globalization, uncertainty and youth in society: The losers in a globalizing world*. London: Routledge.
- Blossfeld, H.P., Buchholz, S., Hoeficker, D., and Kolb, K. (2011). *Globalized labour markets and social inequalities in Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Carcillo, A., Fernández, R., Königs, S., and Minea, A. (2015). NEET Youth in the Aftermath of the Crisis. Challenges and Policies. Paris: OECD Publishing (OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers, No. 164).
- Cepa, K. and Furstenberg, F.F. (2021). Reaching adulthood: Persistent beliefs about the importance and timing of adult milestones. *Journal of Family* 42 (1): 27-57.
- Chiuri, M.C. and Del Boca, D. (2010). Home-leaving decisions of daughters and sons. *Review of Economics of the Household* 8(3): 393-408.
- Cho, Y. and Newhouse, D. (2013). How Did the Great Recession Affect Different Types of Workers? Evidence from 17 Middle-Income Countries. *World Development* 41(0): 31-50.
- Corijn, M. and Klijzing, E. (eds.) (2001). *Transition to adulthood in Europe*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

- Dalla Zuanna, G. D. (2001). The banquet of Aeolus: A familistic interpretation of Italy's lowest low fertility. *Demographic Research* 4, 133-162.
- Dalla Zuanna, G., and Micheli, G.A. (2004). *Strong family and low fertility: a paradox? New perspective in interpreting contemporary family and reproductive behaviour*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Digital (2022). Global Overview Report – DataReportal <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2022-global-overview-report>
- Dupray, A., and Pailhé, A. (2017). Does employment uncertainty particularly impact fertility of children of North African immigrants in France? A gender perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies* 44: 401-424.
- Ermisch, J. (1999). Prices, parents, and young people's household formation. *Journal of Urban Economics* 45(1): 47-71.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford university press.
- Fernandes, A., Becker, S.O., Bentolila, S., and Ichino, A. (2008). Income insecurity and youth emancipation: A theoretical approach. *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy* 8(1): 1-42.
- Ferrari, G., Rosina, A., and Sironi, E. (2014). Beyond good intentions: The decision-making process of leaving the family of origin in Italy. Dondena Working Paper, 60, 1-23.
- Furstenberg, F. F. Jr. (2010). On a new schedule: transitions to adulthood and family change. *Future Child* 20(1): 67-87.
- Gebel, M. (2017). The effects of unemployment and temporary employment on leaving the parental home in Germany. In: Baranowska-Rataj, A., Bertolini, S., and Goglio, V. *Country level analyses of mechanisms and interrelationships between labour market insecurity and autonomy*. Tallin University, Tallin (EXCEPT Working Paper No. 11, 16-40).
- Gousia, K., Baranowska-Rataj, A., Middleton, T., and Nizalova, O. (2021). The impact of unemployment and non-standard forms of employment on the housing autonomy of young adults. *Work, Employment and Society* 35(1): 157-177.
- Holdsworth, C. (2000). Leaving home in Britain and Spain. *European Sociological Review* 16(2): 201–222.
- Hughes, M.E. (2003). Home economics: Metropolitan labor and housing markets and domestic arrangements in Young Adulthood. *Social Forces* 81(4): 1399-1429.

- Krahn, H.J., Chai, C.A., Fang, S., Galambos, N.L., and Johnson, M.D. (2018). Quick, uncertain, and delayed adults: timing, sequencing and duration of youth-adult transitions in Canada. *Journal of Youth Studies* 21(7): 905-921.
- Iacovou, M. (2010). Leaving home: Independence, togetherness and income. *Advances in Life Course Research* 15(4): 147-160.
- ISTAT (2014). *Rapporto annuale 2014*. Rome: ISTAT.
- ISTAT (2015). *Matrimoni, Separazioni, Divorzi – Anno 2014*. Statistiche Report, Rome: ISTAT.
- ISTAT (2017). *Natalità e fecondità della popolazione residente – Anno 2016*. Statistiche Report, Rome: ISTAT.
- ISTAT (2021). *La struttura delle retribuzioni in Italia – Anno 2010*. Statistiche Report, Rome: ISTAT.
- ISTAT (2022). *Matrimoni, Unioni civili, separazioni e divorzi. Anno 2020*. Statistiche Report, Rome: ISTAT.
- Leccardi, C., and Ruspini, E. (eds.) (2006). *A new Youth? Young people, generation and family life*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis.
- Leschke, J., and Jepsen, M. (2012). Introduction: Crisis, policy responses and widening inequalities in the EU. *International Labour Review* 151(4): 289-312.
- Liefbroer, A.C., and Billari, F.C. (2010). Bringing norms back in: A theoretical and empirical discussion of their importance for understanding demographic behaviour. *Population, Space and Place* 16(4): 287-305.
- Liefbroer, A.C., and Toulemon, L. (2010). Demographic perspectives on the transition to adulthood: An introduction. *Advances in Life Course Research* 15(2): 53-58.
- Lin, C.Y., Edvinsson, L., Chen, J., and Beding, T. (2013). *National intellectual capital and the financial crisis in Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain*. Heidelberg: Springer Briefs in Economics, Springer.
- Manacorda, M., and Moretti, E. (2006). Why do most Italian youths live with their parents? Intergenerational transfers and household structure. *Journal of the European Economic Association* 4(4): 800-829.
- Marcus, R., and Gavrilovic, M. (2010). *The impacts of the economic crisis on youth: Review of evidence*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Mazzuco, S., Mencarini, L. and Rettaroli, R. (2006). Similarities and differences between two cohorts of young adults in Italy: Results of a cati survey on transition to adulthood. *Demographic Research* 15: 105-46.

- Mazzuco, S., and Ongaro, F. (2009). Parental separation and family formation in early adulthood: Evidence from Italy. *Advances in Life Course Research* 14: 119-130.
- Mencarini, L., and Tanturri, M. (2006). Una casa per diventare grandi. I giovani italiani, l'autonomia abitativa e il ruolo della famiglia d'origine. *Polis* 20(3): 405-30.
- Mills, M., and Blossfeld, H.P. (2003). Globalization, uncertainty and changes in early life courses. *ZfE Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 6: 188–218.
- Mills, M., Blossfeld, H.P., and Klijzing, E. (2005). Becoming an adult in uncertain times: a 14-country comparison of the losers of globalization. In: Blossfeld, H.P, Klijzing, E., and Mills, M. (eds.) *Globalization, uncertainty and Youth in society*. London: Routledge advances in Sociology Series: 423-441.
- Modena, F., and Rondinelli C. (2016). Leaving home and housing prices. The experience of Italia youth emancipation. In: Coppola, G., and O'Higgins, N. (eds.) *Youth and the Crisis. Unemployment, education and health in Europe*. New York: Routledge: 146-169.
- Moreno Minguez, A. (2016). Economic crisis and the new housing transitions of young people in Spain, *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 16(2): 165-183
- Mulder, C.H., and Billari, F.C. (2010). Homeownership regimes and low fertility. *Housing Studies* 25(4): 527-541.
- Mulder, C.H., and Clark, W.A.V. (2000). Leaving home and leaving the State: Evidence from the United States. *International Journal of Population Geography* 6(6): 423-437.
- Mulder, C.H., and Hooimeijer, P. (2002). Leaving home in the Netherlands: Timing and first housing. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 17(3): 237-268.
- Nazio, T., and Blossfeld, H. P. (2003). The diffusion of cohabitation among young women in West Germany, East Germany and Italy. *European Journal of Population* 19(1): 47-82.
- Nilsson, K., and Strandh, M. (1999). Nest leaving in Sweden: The importance of early educational and labor market careers. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61(4): 1068-1079.
- OECD (2013). *Revenue Statistics 2013*. OECD Publishing.
- Ongaro, F. (2001). Leaving home in Italy. In: Corijn, M., and Klijzing, E. (eds.) *Transition to adulthood in Europe*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers: 173-208.
- Ongaro, F. (2005). *Analisi del ritardo* In: Atti del Convegno “Famiglie, nascite e politiche sociali” (Roma, 28-29 aprile 2005), Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma: 15-37.
- Oppenheimer, V. K. (1988). A theory of marriage timing. *American Journal of Sociology* 94(3): 563-591.
- Oppenheimer, V.K., Kalmijn, M., and Lim, N. (1997). Men's career development and marriage timing during a period of rising inequality. *Demography* 34(3): 311-330.

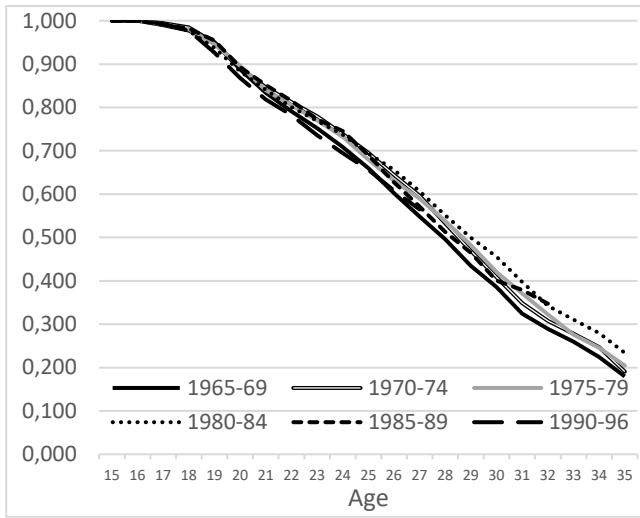
- Osgood, D.W., Ruth, G., Eccles, J.S., Jacobs, J.E., and Barber, B.L. (2005). Six paths to adulthood: Fast starters, parents without careers, educated partners, educated singles, working singles, and slow starters. In: Settersten, R.A., Furstenberg, F.F., and Rumbaut R.G. (eds.). *On the frontier of adulthood: Theory, research, and public policy*. University of Chicago Press: 320-355.
- Pirani, E., and Vignoli, D. (2016). Changes in the satisfaction of cohabitators relative to spouses over time. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 78(3): 598-609.
- Ranci, C., Brandsen, T., and Sabatinelli, S. (2014). *Social vulnerability in European cities: the role of local welfare in times of crisis*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Reher, D.S. (1998). Family ties in Western Europe: Persistent contrasts. *Population and Development Review* 24(2): 203-234.
- Rosina, A., Micheli, G.A., and Mazzuco, S. (2007). An analysis of young people's risk of difficulties on leaving the parental home. *Italian Journal of Social Policy* 4(3): 95-111.
- Rusconi, A. (2004). Different pathways out of the parental home: A comparison of West Germany and Italy. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 35(4): 627-649.
- Schoon, I., and Bynner, J. (eds.) (2017). *Young people's development and the Great Recession: Uncertain transitions and precarious futures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwanitz, K. (2017). The transition to adulthood and pathways out of the parental home: A cross-national analysis. *Advances in Life Course Research* 32: 21-34.
- Schwanitz, K., Mulder, C.H., and Toulemon, L. (2017). Differences in leaving home by individual and parental education among young adults in Europe. *Demographic Research* 37: 1975-2010.
- Sironi, M., Barban, N., and Impicciatore, R. (2015). Parental social class and the transition to adulthood in Italy and the United States. *Advances in Life Course Research* 26: 89-104.
- Sironi, E., and Rosina, A. (2015). Leaving the parental home in Italy during the economic crisis, *Genus* 71 (2-3): 199-216.
- Tosi, M. (2017). Age norms, family relationships, and home-leaving in Italy. *Demographic Research* 36(9): 281-306.
- van Wijk, D. C., de Valk H., and Liefbroer A.C. (2021). Temporary employment and family formation: an income or insecurity effect? *European Sociological Review* 37(4): 641-658.
- Vignoli, D., Tocchioni, V., and Salvini S. (2016). Uncertain lives: Insights into the role of job precariousness in union formation in Italy. *Demographic Research* 35: 253-282.
- Vignoli, D., Tocchioni, V., and Mattei, A. (2020). The impact of job uncertainty on first-birth postponement. *Advances in Life Course Research* 45, 100308.
- Wagner, M., and Huinink, J. (1991). Neuere Trends beim Auszug aus dem Elternhaus. *Acta Demographica* 1991: 39-62.

- Ward, R.A., and Spitze, G.D. (2007). Nestleaving and coresidence by young adult children: The role of family relations. *Research on Aging* 29(3): 257-277.
- Whittington, L.A., and Peters, H.E. (1996). Economic incentives for financial and residential independence. *Demography* 33 (1): 82-97.
- Wolbers, M.H.J. (2008). Employment insecurity at labour market entry and its impact on parental home leaving and family formation: a comparative study among recent graduates in eight European countries. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 48(6): 481-507.
- Zorlu, A., and Mulder, C.H. (2010). Location choices of migrant nest-leavers: Spatial assimilation or continued segregation? *Advances in Life Course Research* 15(2-3): 109-120.

Appendix

Figure 1. Proportions of young men and women who have not left the parental home by birth cohort.

Men



Women

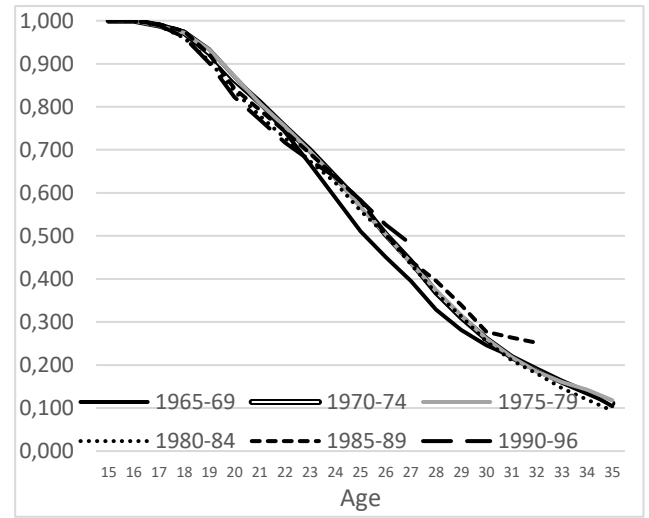
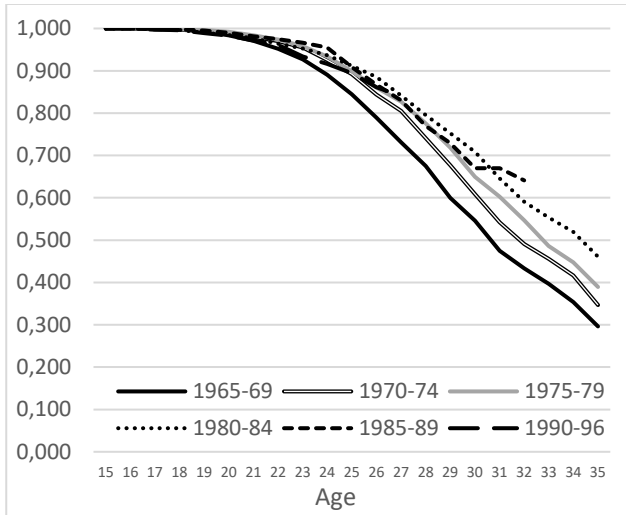


Figure 2a. Proportions of young men and women who have not left the parental home for union-related reasons by age and birth cohort.

Men



Women

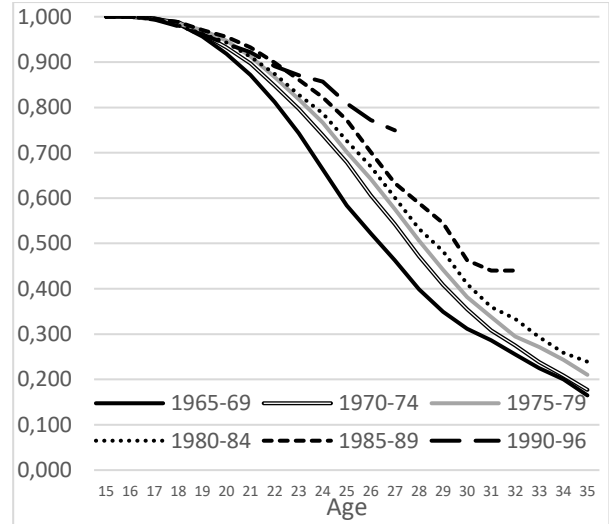
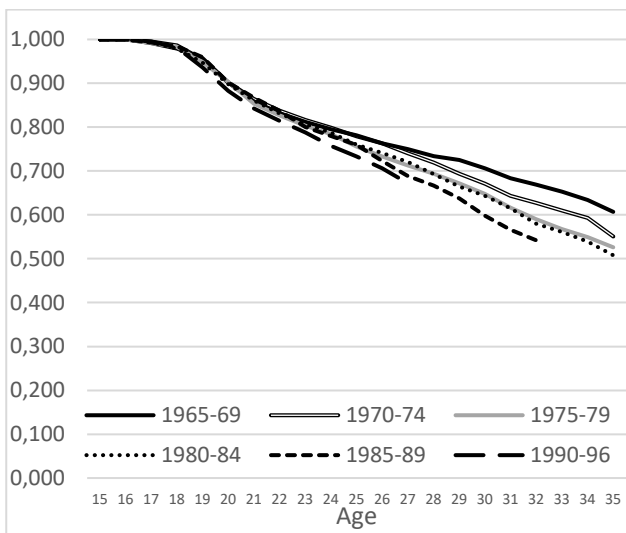


Figure 2b. Proportions of young men and women who have not left home the parental home for non-union-related reasons by age and birth cohort.

Men



Women

