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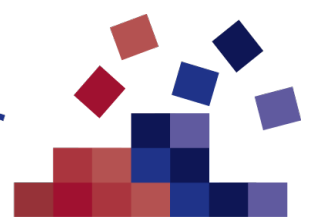
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A u t h o r

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A b s t r a c t

The aim of this study is to show that, because of socialisation process that develop normative conceptions of behaviours and attitudes that are appropriate for each sex category, men and women tend to choose different pathways out of the parental home. Using retrospective data from the LIVES Cohort survey, a panel survey of 1691 respondents that started in autumn 2013 in Switzerland, a competing risk analysis model has been developed. This approach examines the effects of sex and other independent variables, such as age, ethnic origin, family structure during childhood and place of residence on the propensity to leave home to live alone, to live with a partner or to share a residency with roommates. The results show that in comparison with men, women have a higher likelihood of leaving home to start a union. This confirms the idea according to which the diverging paths taken by men and women during their transition to adulthood can be considered as an anticipation of the roles they are expected to fulfil later in life or of the behaviours they feel is viewed by others as the right and socially accepted way to behave. Finally, there is some evidence that the impact of age, ethnic origin, family structure and place of residence on the different pathways out of the parental home varies according to sex. As a consequence, even though these independent factors have a significant impact on the departure from the parental home, it seems that sex overlaps this effect.

A u t h o r ' s   a f f i l i a t i o n

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1. Introduction

As a result from changes in demographic behaviours that took place during the second half of the XXth century in Western Europe, a growing number of researchers have devoted particular attention to the transition to adulthood (Galland, 1996; Billari, Philipov, & Baizán, 2001; Aassve, Billari, Mazzuco, & Ongaro, 2002; Schizzerotto & Lucchini, 2004). Most studies postulates that, in comparison with the previous pattern of transition to adulthood that was early, contracted and simple, it has become more difficult and it takes longer to grow up (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010). Also, it has been shown that life events are becoming increasingly disconnected (Galland, 1996) and that new stages in life emerged, such as the independent life without a partner, the cohabitation with non-family members, premarital cohabitations, conceptions and births etc. (Schumacher, Spoorenberg, & Forney, 2006). In this context, a growing attention has been devoted to the departure from the parental home. The reason is that the departure from the parental home is one of the main, and very often, one of the first components of the transition to adulthood (Schizzerotto & Lucchini, 2004). As a result, both timing and destination of young adults' home-leaving are likely to have significant and powerful consequences in the life of an individual (Buck & Scott, 1993). On the one hand, there is a common belief according to which age norms define the appropriate timing at which major life events should occur (Billari & Liefbroer, 2007). As an illustration, leaving home too early can negatively affect professional and family trajectories of young adults that will, in turn, threaten their subsequent success and stability (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998). This stems from the fact that young adults who leave home before the end of high school tend to forgo education for work (Mitchell, Wister, & Burch, 1989). Conversely, leaving home too late is likely to delay marriage and childbearing, and a higher age at first birth may affect birth weighs and birth defects (Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010). Conversely, it is also important to take into consideration the separate pathways out of the parental home because adult trajectories often depend on the paths individuals take during their transition to adulthood (Mulder & Hooimeijer, 1999). For instance, people who leave home early to live with a partner and sometimes children are less likely to pursue higher education (White & Lacy, 1997). What is more, it has been demonstrated that married women with less education have a lower likelihood of possessing the skills that foster marital stability. Alternatively, the increasing number of moves from the parental home to independent living might delay both marriage and entry into parenthood, and may most probably push young people to adopt less traditional family behaviours and more egalitarian gender role attitudes (Waite, Goldscheider, &

Witsberger, 1986). An older age at marriage might also have an influence on marital stability. Indeed, people who marry at a more mature age have more time to find an appropriate mate, which increases their chance to establish an enduring relationship (Heaton, 2002). Likewise, spending a significant amount of time within the family of orientation enables young adults to learn how to adequately fulfil the role of spouse (Booth & Edwards, 1985).

However, even though a significant number of studies have examined the reasons for home-leaving (i.e., education, marriage etc.), far too little attention has been paid to the process of leaving home to different possible destinations. Above all, there has been little research reported on the factors that have an influence on the different pathways out of the parental home in Switzerland, a country that is worth studying. The reason is that, as in most Western countries, marital and family behaviours have evolved in Switzerland (Schumacher et al., 2006). Men and women from more recent generations tend to leave the parental home at an older age (Gabadinho, 1998). At the same time, out of wedlock cohabitations have experienced a significant rise and have progressively become a temporary or definitive step toward formation of unions (Gabadinho, 1998; Wanner, 2002; Rossier & Le Goff, 2005). Accordingly, recent developments in Switzerland have heightened the need for investigating when Swiss residents leave the parental home and with whom they live after this departure. Furthermore, a significant number of researchers have stated that life course trajectories, especially those associated with the transition to adulthood, are likely to diverge between men and women (Andres & Adamuti-Trache, 2008; Cañada-Vicinay, 2005). However, these divergences cannot directly be attributed to the sex of individuals. Indeed, sex refers to the biological differences between men and women and only few divergences in the roles assigned to men and women can be explained by biological and physical characteristics, with the exception of pregnancy and childbirth. On the contrary, considering differences in roles and relationships between men and women as the result of their assignation to a gender seems a more adequate approach. Indeed, gender could be defined as a socially constructed status stemming from psychological, cultural and social mechanisms (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The aim of this contribution is, thus, to show that men and women tend to choose different pathways out of the parental home, not because they are biologically and physically different, but because they have been socialized in such a way that they developed normative conceptions of behaviours and attitudes that are appropriate for each sex category (*Ibid.*). Nonetheless, according to Buck and Scott (1993) and Garasky (2002), any examination of the process of home-leaving and their different possible destinations should not only take into

consideration individual characteristics, but also constraints and opportunities that people may encounter in their local environment. Concerning Switzerland, this country distinguishes itself by its particular geographical location at the heart of Europe, but also by its diverse cultural heritages (Wanner, Peng, & Cotter, 1997; Sauvain-Dugerdil, 2005). Accordingly, Switzerland appears as a suitable context to study the impact of sociocultural background on home-leaving. As a result, with a view to taking a broad perspective of the home-leaving process, a micro-meso-macro theoretical framework has been developed in this paper, in which various associations between the different pathways out of the parental home and various independent factors at different level are addressed. Therefore, the main questions addressed in this paper are: (1) Do pathways out of the parental home diverge according to sex? (2) Does the relationship between home-leaving and sex remain significant even after having controlled for individuals' age, cultural background, family structure during childhood and place of residence? What is more, it has been previously reported that the transition to adulthood has become late (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010). According to Galland (1996), the norm regarding the age at the entry into adulthood has been altered. Indeed, a norm of precocity has given way to a norm of delay. Nothing anymore induces young people to hasten their departure from the parental home. As a consequence, we could wonder who are the young adults who decide or who are forced to become independent and to assume the responsibilities that go along with adulthood. In other words, another aim of this paper is to identify the different pathways out of the parental home of young adults who manage or who are pushed toward early emancipation.

2. Conceptual framework

In a prior study, Ajzen and Fishbein (2000) stated that the behaviour of an individual can be predicted by his/her intention to perform a particular behaviour. In turn, this aforementioned intention is composed of two features, which are the attitude of the person and the subjective norms. On the one hand, an attitude refers to a general tendency to favour or to avoid particular behaviours (Baanders, 1996). As an illustration, it has been reported that, as a result of socialisation processes that tend to perpetuate and reproduce traditional behaviours for each sex, women tend to place a greater value on family life than men (Mitchell, 1994). On the other hand, subjective norms can be defined as *"a person's belief of what relevant others expect him or her to do, what he or she feels is viewed by others as the right and socially accepted way to behave (normative beliefs) and the motivation to comply*

with these relevant others and their behavioural expectations" (Baanders, 1996, p. 275). In the same line of thinking, Everett Hughes (1945) has developed a concept called master status, which is mainly used in sociology to designate specific individual characteristics that are socially important enough to weigh more heavily and to dominate others statuses (Levy, 2013). To put it more simply, the master status can be seen as a socially defined status assigned to an individual that is determinant in shaping his/her social identity and life choices. As a result, this concept can easily be applied to gender (Krüger & Levy, 2001). Indeed, the master status has often been used to designate the gender differentiation of life courses with regard to employment and family (Levy, 2013). Although women benefit from much broader career opportunities than in the past, a large number of them also plan to have children and to be the primary caregiver when their children are very young (Dey & Hurtado, 1999). As a result, years before having their first child, young women often anticipate the role they will have to fulfil and tend to choose employment that will enable them to reconcile their career and their private life. As a consequence, while men have a higher tendency to favour a professional life, women are more likely to privilege a family life (Widmer & Ritschard, 2013). Indeed, we know that, in many cases, women withdraw from the economic sector or reduce their activity rate when they give birth. Some of them reintegrate subsequently the labour market, most often, on a part-time basis (Fagan & Rubery, 1996; Bolzman, Fibbi, & Vial, 2003). As an illustration, in 2014, 59.2% of women worked on a part-time basis (<89%) in Switzerland, while this number amounted to 15.9% within the male population (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2015). Nevertheless, we have to keep in mind that gender roles and gender relationships are learned and that they can vary across cultures and over time. There are also some circumstances in which the gender differentiation of life courses with regard to employment and family are more visible. Firstly, it has been shown that the transition to parenthood leads to a more traditional division of household labour (Baumgartner & Fux, 2004; Baxter, Hewitt, & Haynes, 2008) . Secondly, although the transition from cohabitation to marriage has no effect on the division of housework, there is some evidence that the exit from a cohabiting or marital union significantly influences it. Indeed, while divorced or separated men tend to increase the time they spend on housework tasks, their female counterparts are more likely to reduce it (Gupta, 1999). Lastly, it has been demonstrated that men with higher levels of education spend more time in housework tasks than men with lower education levels. On the other hand, for women, being highly educated leads to a decrease in the hours spent in housework tasks (Baxter et al., 2008). With respect to the departure from the parental home*,* prior studies have shown that sex has a significant discriminating influence

on the timing of home-leaving (Thomsin, Le Goff, & Sauvain-Dugerdil, 2004; Rossignon, 2015). For instance, according to Billari et al. (2001), while the median age at first home-leaving for women is equal to 19.2 in Switzerland, that of men is slightly higher (21.5). Likewise, it has been suggested that the pathways out of the parental are also likely to differ according to sex. As an illustration, it has been established that the risk of leaving home for union formation is significantly greater for women than for men (Aquilino, 1991; Buck & Scott, 1993; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002). Similarly, Bolzman (2007) showed that, among Swiss-born individuals, men leave the parental home to live alone more often than women. On the contrary, young women with a Swiss background have a higher likelihood of leaving home to form a union. Consequently, we could say that the diverging paths taken by men and women during their transition to adulthood could be considered as an anticipation of the roles they are expected to fulfil later in life.

Other independent factors

Even though the impact of sex on the different pathways out of the parental home has been demonstrated, it is also known that the departure from the parental home is associated with other variables, such as age, ethnic origin, childhood family structure and geographical location. As a consequence, these factors need to be integrated into a model that studies the relationships between sex and home-leaving.

Firstly, there is some evidence that the propensity to leave home to live alone is higher in younger ages (up to 20). This observation may stem from the fact that people who leave home to live without sharing a residency with their partner, if they have one, often do it for educational purposes (Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). Consequently, leaving home to live with a partner often happens at an older age.

As far as ethnic origin is concerned, there is some evidence that the home-leaving process of young migrants results from two different behavioural patterns (*Ibid.*). On the one hand, their patterns of leaving home must be in accordance with the cultural norms that are dominant in their society of origin. On the other hand, it also has to be consistent with the main cultural norms of their host society. Thus, decisions regarding the departure from the parental home often represent a compromise between these two cultures, though the second-generation immigrants are more likely to follow the patterns of leaving home that are dominant in the home country of their parents, independently of their economic and educational backgrounds (Giuliano, 2007). Reher (1998) developed a model on family

systems in Western Europe in which he made a distinction between the Nordic family system with relatively weak family ties and the Southern family system with relatively strong family ties. He also stated that the process of home-leaving in these two family systems diverges and that it does not only concern its timing but also its possible destinations. Concerning the Nordic family system, it has been reported that the departure from the parental home occurs at an earlier age and that people who belong to this family system often leave home to share a residency with friends and colleagues who are at a similar stage in their own lives (*Ibid*.). Except from the fact that this early emancipation may be explained by divergences in the strength of intergenerational ties, this family system might also be shaped by institutional frameworks at the societal level that push young adults to leave or to stay at home (Aassve et al., 2002). For instance, there is some evidence that some Northern European countries, such as Sweden and the UK, provide greater financial support for young adults both in education and in the labour market (Holdsworth, 2000; Aassve et al., 2002; Bernhardt, Gähler, & Goldscheider, 2005) . As a result, founding an independent household is expected to be easier in countries where the general support of the welfare state is stronger. Moreover, many Northern European and Northern American countries encourage young adults to attend higher education at universities with on-campus accommodations (Holdsworth, 2000; Billari et al., 2001; Aassve et al., 2002). Consequently, Northern European and Northern American students often have to leave home to pursue higher education, and it has been demonstrated that those who pursue a higher educational degree are more likely to leave home to live alone or with roommates (Bernhardt et al., 2005). Regarding the Southern family system, it is generally recognised that the departure from the parental home is more likely to occur at an older age, and that it generally happens simultaneously with union formation or marriage (Reher, 1998). Also, as reported by Bolzman (2007), Italian and Spanish second-generation immigrants are less numerous to leave home to live alone than Swiss natives (18% and 29% respectively). The late departure from the parental home can be first explained by the fact that family ties are stronger within the Southern family system. Another reason might be that a significant number of Southern countries have local universities where young adults can study without having to leave the parental home (Holdsworth, 2000; Billari et al., 2001; Aassve et al., 2002). With regard to the lower likelihood of second-generation immigrants from Southern countries leaving home to live alone, it could be explained by the fact that a significant number of first-generation immigrants of Southern origin belong to the lowest social classes. As a result, they cannot financially support their children in the establishment of an independent living (Bolzman, 2007). For this reason, the departure from the parental

home is often only considered when second-generation immigrants with a Southern background are economically independent, a situation which might occur at a later age when people are more likely to have found a partner with whom to share a residency. Also, sharing a home with a partner means that an additional income can be used to cover the cost of the independent household. Nevertheless, it has been asserted that the higher probability of women leaving home to start a union can mainly be found among the Swiss population (*Ibid*.). Indeed, there is some evidence that young women with an immigrant background are as likely as their male counterparts to experience an unmarried cohabitation (23% and 21% respectively).

Thirdly, it is generally recognised that the family structure in which young adults have grown up are likely to have an influence on their first residential choices outside of the parental home. According to Aquilino (1991), the childhood family structure does not only have an impact on the timing of home-leaving, but it also influences the pathways out of the parental home. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that young adults from disrupted families are more likely to leave home to initiate a non-marital partnership than those who grow up in a stable, two-parent household (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998). As stated by Bernhardt et al. (2005), this could be explained by the fact that dissolved households are more likely to be characterized by an absence of adult control or a lack of parental surveillance, and that these deficiencies may foster deviant and premature behaviours, such as premarital cohabitation. In the same line of thinking, Baumrind (1966) argues that, if parents do not interfere when their children engage in a behaviour which could be considered as unacceptable, this leaves them free to act as they would naturally have if they did not fear the adult's disapproval. What is more, it might also increase the probability of socially disapproved behaviours occurring again in the future. Furthermore, children from dissolved households are also expected to have a lower tendency to leave home to live alone. Indeed, as one of the major difficulties encountered by dissolved households are financial (Mitchell et al., 1989), young adults may received less financial support from their parents in the establishment of an independent household. Regarding young adults who grow up in a biparental family, they are conceivably less likely to leave home to form a union. The reason is that young adults from intact households have a higher tendency to attend college than those from other family structures (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998). Indeed, enrolment in higher education is frequently associated with a step toward residential independence either to live alone or with roommates (Bernhardt et al., 2005; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002). Parents from intact households might also have more economic resources to help their children set up their own independent

household. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the effect of the family structure on the distinct routes out of the parental home differs according to sex (Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). As an illustration, both men and women have higher odds of leaving home to live alone when they live in a single-parent household. However, only women are more likely to leave home to live without a partner when they cohabit with a stepparent. In addition, it has been reported that living in a stepfamily increases women's probability of leaving home to live with a partner. As a consequence, we could say that, in most of the cases, young adults who grow up in a non-intact household are more likely to acquire their independence, whether towards unmarried cohabitation or lone residency. Also, it seems that young women are more affected by the family structure in which they grow up than men.

Fourthly, it could conceivably be hypothesised that local employment and education opportunities of the local area in which individuals have resided during their childhood have an impact on the home-leaving process. As an illustration, Bernhardt et al. (2005) have shown that, in Sweden, people from rural areas have a higher likelihood of leaving home to attend school than those who grow up in a metropolitan area, and that those who pursue a higher educational degree are more likely to leave home to live alone or with roommates. One possible explanation might be that, even though family-oriented attitudes are more frequent in rural areas, these latter also offer fewer education and professional opportunities (Buck & Scott, 1993). As a result, while the former may push children to stay at home until marriage, the latter might encourage them to leave home if they want to establish an independent living. Nonetheless, the metropolisation process that has been taking place in Switzerland over the past 15 years is singular. Like in many European countries, most of the institutions of higher education are concentrated in some Swiss agglomerations, such as Zurich, Geneva, Basel, Bern and Lausanne. However, thanks to the development of railroad and road networks, it has become easier and quicker for individuals to commute between their place of residence and these metropolitan areas (Viry, Kaufmann, & Widmer, 2009). Also, as Switzerland is a small country, distances between cities are not too big. Furthermore, there is also an augmentation of the bi-residency between urban and rural areas (Thomsin, 2005). Indeed, although a significant number of students live in metropolises during the week, most of them return to their parental home during weekends and holidays. As a result, tough some young adults who want to pursue higher education might be forced to move out from their parental home, this proportion is likely to be more limited in Switzerland than in other European countries. However, it has been suggested that the relationships between the childhood place of residence and the routes out of the parental home may differ according to sex (Bernhardt et

al., 2005). As an illustration, young women who reside in rural areas have a higher tendency to leave home to live independently than those who grow up in metropolitan areas. Furthermore, young women who spend their childhood in an urban area, that is not part of a metropolitan centre, are more likely to leave home to initiate a union than young girls who reside in metropolitan areas (*Ibid*.). Lastly, there is some evidence that leaving home to live with a partner is the least likely destination among large metropolitan areas (*Ibid*.). This could be due to the fact that there are more alternatives to family roles in big centres. Nonetheless, as far as men are concerned, the childhood place of residence does not have an influence on their probability of leaving home to enter a union.

3. Methodology

Data

The analyses used data from the LIVES Cohort survey[1], a panel survey whose first wave was conducted from mid-October 2013 to the end of June 2014 (Elcheroth & Antal, 2013). The sample was composed of 1691 respondents, among which 415 were Swiss and 1276 were from a foreign background. Various criteria had to be fulfilled in order to be eligible, such as being a Swiss resident and being aged 15-24 on January 1st 2013. Also, respondents had to have begun attending a Swiss school before the age of 10. Regarding people of foreign origin, only those whose parents were born in a foreign country and arrived in Switzerland after the age of 18 were taken into consideration. What is more, whether naturalized or not, the second-generation immigrants were overrepresented and a particular attention was paid to offsprings of low- or middle-skilled migrants who mainly come from Southern Europe or from the Balkan Peninsula.

This survey distinguishes itself by its particular sampling process which is very similar to respondent-driven sampling, meaning that an initial randomly chosen sample serves as a primary contact to asses a particular type of population (Heckathorn, 1997). The initial subjects are asked to provide the names of a specific number of individuals who fulfil the research criteria. Then, these individuals are approached and asked whether they want to participate in the study. Each person who agrees is asked to give a fixed number of supplementary names. This procedure continues for as many stages as desired. This method is

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[1] PRN LIVES. (2013). *Enquête de cohorte* [Data file]. Lausanne : MIS Trend.

often used to contact hidden populations who are hard to reach, such as drug addicts. Concerning the LIVES Cohort survey, the Federal Statistical Office selected around 4000 people from the Federal Resident Registration. Based on this, a random sampling with unequal probability of respondent selection was generated which means that each time the second-generation immigrants were more likely to be selected. To increase the chances of reaching this type of population, the selection process depended on various criteria. Indeed, individuals who met those criteria had a higher probability of being part of the survey. First, people who held the nationality of one of the following countries - Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Spain, Italy, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Portugal, Serbia and Turkey – or who were born in one of these aforementioned countries had a higher probability of being selected. The resident permit was also a selection criterion. Indeed, it was assumed that a holder of a B or C resident permit was more likely to be a second-generation immigrant than someone who had the Swiss nationality. Lastly, people residing in a municipality belonging to one of the thirty regions with the highest percentage of foreign-born residents - such as Lausanne, Geneva, Lugano etc. - had also more chances of being selected in the sample. Further, the selected respondents had to indicate the name of the people with whom they remembered having had a conversation at least once a week for the last three months. Then, from the network of each respondent, the second-generation immigrants were always more likely to be selected than the other eligible members. Thus, the people with the biggest social network were implicitly more likely to be selected.

Regarding my analyses, they were principally based on a life history calendar (LHC). This tool aims to collect retrospective event history data on numerous life domains (Freedman, Thornton, Camburn, Alwin, & Young-DeMarco, 1988). It usually takes the form of a large grid with a temporal dimension on the one side and different life domains on the other side (Morselli et al., 2013). Respondents are asked to fill the LHC by reporting events for each life domain and by indicating when they occurred and when they ended. Thus, the objective of the LHC is to collect information on the timing and the sequencing of events individuals have previously experienced (Axinn, Pearce, & Ghimire, 1999). Concerning the LHC that has been used in this study, it takes the form of a vertical grid where the columns are divided into life domains and the rows into years. The LHC relates principally to the areas of residency, living arrangements, intimate relationship, family history, occupation and education and, finally, health. As regards this article, there has been a focus on the trajectories

of living arrangements that describes at each age the composition of the respondent's household.

Methods

The present study uses an event history framework. Event history analysis is a commonly used term to describe a number of statistical methods designed to study the transition from one particular state to another one and the time elapsed until this transition (Abbott, 1995). Therefore, this approach appears as the most suitable approach to examine the departure from the parental home in general. Nevertheless, the aim of this contribution was to consider the different routes out of the parental home and to study the effects of covariates on each one of them. According to Bernhardt et al. (2005), the different pathways out of the parental home can be considered as *"competing risks"*, meaning that individuals can follow different trajectories. These destinations are considered as mutually exclusive, which means that individuals are likely to follow one of such trajectories until the event of interest occurs. Consequently, these ways out of the parental home should be viewed as a separated process, working independently and ensuing from different causes (Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002). For this reason, examining the probability of young adults leaving the parental home to live alone, to start a union, to share a residency etc**.** required a competing risk model (Blossfeld & Rohwer, 1995). Regarding the sample, the observations were organised in a discrete-time framework, which means that they were separated into fixed intervals over time. Consequently, the best way to estimate a discrete-time competing risk analysis is to use a multinomial logistic regression (Beyersmann, Allignol, & Schumacher, 2012). The multinomial logit model is a generalization of the classic logit model, where the explained variable has more than two modalities of answer. Its objective is to predict the influence of a set of independent variables on a categorical dependent factor with multiple outcomes. The idea is to nominate one of the response categories as a baseline or reference cell and calculate log-odds for all other categories relative to the baseline. The results show how independent factors affect the likelihood of being in each category vs. the category of reference. The log-odds are, thus, a linear function of the predictors such as:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \ldots + \beta_k X_k + \varepsilon$$

Nonetheless, using independent factors to explain the occurrence of an event can appear problematic if the time frame of these independent variables overlaps that of the event history analysis. Indeed, we cannot estimate the probability of an individual leaving the parental home by taking into account changes in the family structure that have occurred at a later time. As an illustration, when we estimate the probability of an individual to leave home at the age of 15 to live alone, to live with a partner or to share a residency, we cannot take into consideration the fact that his/her parents divorced when he/she was 18, even if he/she did not leave the parental home until the age of 22. Indeed, the past cannot be explained by the future. For this reason, defining distinct time frames between independent and dependent variables that would not overlap was a necessary step.

Conceptualization

Dependent variable: Different pathways out of the parental home

No questions were asked about the reasons for leaving home. However, the LIVES Cohort survey collected detailed life history records of the composition of the respondents' household at each age. Thanks to this information, sequences of states that described at each age the family structure in which individuals lived until the time of interview have been built. As the risk period of experiencing the event of interest started from the age of 15, 172 individuals (10%) had already left the parental home at the time of interview. This means that only 10% of the sample had already established an independent household at the time of survey. This low value could come from the fact that respondents are very young. Indeed, the median age of the sample is equal to 19. It is maybe due to the fact that young adults still living at their parental home were easier to contact and had therefore a higher propensity to participate to the study. We also have to remember that second-generation immigrants were overrepresented in the sample and that they were more likely to leave home at a later age than the Swiss natives. Consequently, four distinct routes can be distinguished (Cf. Table 1): (1) the respondents stayed in the parental home (category of reference), (2) the individuals left home to initiate an independent living, (3) the respondents left the parental home to live with a partner and, in some cases, with children and (4) the individuals moved out of the parental home to share a residency with either siblings or friends.

Independent variables

A number of independent variables were used in the analyses. Firstly, an *age* variable has been created and divided into three categories: less than 18 years old, between 18 and 24 years old and more than 24 years old. The first modality has been defined as the category of reference. As previously explained, the probability of leaving home to live alone is expected to be higher in younger ages. Conversely, the likelihood to leave home to live with a partner is supposed to be greater in older ages. As a consequence, the transformation of the age variable into a categorical factor should be an adequate means to very these assumptions. Secondly, a *sex* variable has been added to the analyses and men have been defined as the category of reference. Thirdly, a categorical variable referring to the *ethnic origin* of respondents has been created. The place of birth of respondents' parents has been used as a reference to distinguish Swiss natives from second-generation immigrants. In some research conducted by the National Institute of Demographic Studies (INED) and the Centre for Studies and Research on Qualifications (CEREQ), respondents were considered as second-generation immigrants if at least one of their parents was not born in the host country (Santelli, 2004). This definition has also been used in this paper, and the origin country of the foreign parent has been used as the benchmark to define the ethnic origin of respondents. Concerning mixed unions, namely marriages between people with different national origins (Swiss not included), the native country of the mother has always been emphasized. Indeed, it has been previously seen that the departure from the family home is more an issue of socialisation than a lack of opportunities. As the role of socialisation is principally endorsed by mothers, their native country has always been considered in case of mixed unions. In some circumstances, the information about the country of birth of the parents was missing. In this case, the ethnic origin was deduced from the respondents' first nationality. As it was a self-assessed nationality, if "Swiss" was mentioned as the first nationality, it should also be verified that a second foreign national had not been mentioned. If it had, respondents were considered as a second-generation immigrants and their second foreign nationality was used to assess their ethnic origin. Four categories have been created: Switzerland (category of reference), Eastern Europe, South-western Europe, North-western Europe and other continents. Further, a variable referring to the *childhood family structure* has been created. As it has been mentioned in the previous section, the LHC provided detailed life history records of the respondents' various life domains. As a result, this tool does not only inform about the timing of occurrence of events, but it also enables the identification of typical groups of life

trajectories over the life course. Accordingly, sequence analysis appears as the most adequate method to achieve this aim. Indeed, this particular method does not only examine transitions from one state to the next, but also the timing, duration, order and reversibility of states changes (P. Martin, Schoon, & Ross, 2008). Sequence analysis has been divided in three steps. Firstly, sequences of states describing the family structure in which individuals lived until the age of 14 have been constructed. Indeed, as previously mentioned, from a methodological point of view the time frame of independent variables cannot overlap that of the dependent variable. Consequently, as the risk of experiencing the event of interest start from the age of 15, only sequences of states that described the family structure in which respondents lived until the age of 14 have been taken into account. Secondly, a distance matrix representing a matrix containing distances, taken pairwise, of two sequences or of a set of characters has been formed (Abbott, 1995). In this paper, the optimal matching method has been used (Abbott & Hrycak, 1990) with an insertion/deletion cost of 4 and a substitution cost based on transition rates, because the aim was to examine transitions and these transitions rates are based on the data. Therefore, the objective of this approach is to assign a high cost when changes between two sequences are seldom observed and a lower cost when they are frequent (Gabadinho, Ritschard, Mueller, & Studer, 2011). Finally, the closest sequences were gathered together into clusters (MacIndoe & Abbott, 2004). Concerning the clustering method, which refers to the means by which the clusters are formed, a Ward clustering method has been used. It takes the form of an agglomerative hierarchical clustering (Yan, 2005). Namely, it starts with *n* clusters, each of them containing a single object in the data. Then, the two objects that have the closest between-objects distance are fused and are treated as a single cluster in the next step. The procedure continues until there is only one single cluster containing all the *n* objects. This process can be plotted in a dendogram, a tree diagram frequently used to illustrate the arrangements of the clusters produced by hierarchical clustering. As a result, it indicates the optimal number of clusters into which the sequences can be gathered (Steinbach, Karypis, & Kumar, 2000). This method has been use to identify typical groups of trajectories of childhood family structure. Nonetheless, one of the main limitations of the life history calendar is that it does not enable to distinguish the extended family structure from the stepparent one. What is known is that the respondents, at a certain point in time, were living with one of their parents and other relatives, but what is not known is the nature of the family ties between these relatives and the respondents. This could have been a grandparent, but it might also have been a stepparent. Consequently, both family structures have been gathered together in the same group. As a result, four mutually exclusive

categories were constructed: (1) the bi-parental family, (2) from biparental to lone-parent family, (3) from non-standard family structure to biparental family, (4) toward extended/step-parent family. The first modality has been used as the category of reference in the regression analyses. To sum up, one could say that the below clustering provides an opposition between an absence of change (cluster 1) and presence of changes (clusters 2, 3 and 4). However, it goes beyond a simple opposition between two situations, such as the absence or the presence of a divorce or a separation. Indeed, the clusters give an illustration of the complexity of the family structure in which individuals can live. It is also a suitable way of capturing family structures in a dynamic manner, instead of only looking at final outcomes. Moreover, a variable indicating the *place of residence* of respondents at age 14 has been added to the analyses. As explained beforehand, using independent variables to explain the occurrence of an event can be problematic if the time frame of the independent variable overlaps that of the dependent variable. Consequently, keeping one-year gap between the time frame of the independent variable and the initial year of the observation window was indispensable. The variable regarding the place of residence is composed of three modalities: metropolitan areas (category of reference), other urban areas and rural areas. This classification results from the typology of Swiss communes in twenty-two categories by Martin, Dessemontet and Joye (2005). The classification developed by the aforementioned researchers is based on a model centre-periphery, meaning that municipalities are classified in different categories according to their belonging to a metropolitan agglomeration, to a non-metropolitan agglomeration or to a rural municipality. The other criteria used to construct this typology are variables related to employment, structure of buildings, wealth, tourism, structure of the population and centrality. Concerning the sample, there were also a small number of people who were living abroad when they were 14 years old (n=5). Because this number was very small, these cases have been recoded as missing. Lastly, in the section regarding the description of the sample, it has been reported that second-generation immigrants have been over-represented in this survey and that, for this reason, the selection process was based on various criteria such as place of birth, nationality, residence permit, place of residence and size of social network. As a result, in order to avoid biases in the analyses, the inclusion of these factors was a necessary step. Nonetheless, almost all these criteria designated the situation of respondents at the time of the survey, namely in 2013. However, most of the people who left the parental home did it before 2013 and, methodologically speaking, one cannot explain the probability of an event occurring by factors that refers to a subsequent time period. As a consequence, only the variables that referred to the time period preceding the beginning of the risk period have been

kept, namely the place of birth. Indeed, nationality, residence permit, place of residence and network size are all time-varying variables that can change over time. Moreover, nationality is already partially taken into account in the analyses through the ethnic origin variable. Accordingly, a variable indicating the place of birth of respondents has been created and divided in two modalities: over-represented places of birth and under-represented places of birth. The first modality designates individuals who were born in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Spain, Italy, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Portugal, Serbia or Turkey because they had a higher probability of being selected in the sample. All other given answers have been gathered into the second modality.

4. Analysis

The table below provides a synthesis of the composition of the sample, whose aim is to describe its particularities (Cf. Table 1). As we can see, a very low number of individuals already left the parental home at the time of interview. Nonetheless, among those who left, the same proportion of people chose to live in each of the possible destinations. Furthermore, women are slightly more numerous than men. Also, as previously mentioned, the sample is quite young. Indeed, more than 70% of the respondents are between 18 and 24 years old. Moreover, as it has been previously explained, there is an overrepresentation of second-generation immigrants. As an illustration, approximately 25% of the sample is of Swiss origin, whereas the rest of the respondents have foreign parents. Among this population with a foreign background, it appears that Eastern Europeans are overrepresented. Besides, it seems that a significant proportion of respondents grew up in a biparental family. As a consequence, we can see that non-intact families are still quite rare in this sample. Additionally, there is some evidence that most respondents lived either in a metropolitan area or in another urban area when they were young. Lastly, a great majority of individuals were born in a place that belongs to the modality "underrepresented places of birth".

Table 1: Descriptive table of the composition of the sample

			N (total= 1691)	%
Dependent variable	**Pathways out of the parental home**	Living in parental home	1517	89.7
		Living alone	58	3.4
		Living with partner (children)	54	3.2
		Living in a shared residence	62	3.7
		n/a	0	
Independent variables	**Sex**	Men	814	48.2
		Women	874	51.8
		n/a	3	
	Age	Less than 18	366	21.7
		Between 18 and 24	1244	73.6
		More than 24	79	4.7
		n/a	2	
	Ethnic origin	Swiss	412	24.4
		South-western Europe	402	23.8
		Eastern Europe	572	33.9
		North-western Europe & other continents	302	17.9
		n/a	3	
	Childhood family structure	Biparental family	1310	77.5
		From biparental to lone-parent family	190	11.2
		From non-standard family structure to biparental family	109	6.5
		Transition toward extended/step-parent family	82	4.8
		n/a	0	
	Childhood place of residence	Metropolitan areas	764	45.6
		Other urban areas	643	38.4
		Rural areas	269	16
		n/a	15	
	Place of birth	Overrepresented places of birth	202	12.1
		Underrepresented places of birth	1472	87.9
		n/a	17	

The following table provides a synthesis of the results of the multinomial logistic regression, which aims to measure the impact of various selected independent factors on the probability of choosing one pathway out of the parental home rather than of staying at home (Cf. Table 2). Given the low sample size, a 4th significance level (p < 0.10) has been included in the analyses. Regarding Table 2, we can see that leaving the parental home to either live alone, with a partner or with roommates is always more probable among the oldest individuals than among the youngest ones. Nonetheless, the results also show that moving out from the parental home to cohabit with a partner and/or with children is the most likely

destination among the oldest respondents. Also, there is some evidence that, in comparison with men, women have a higher likelihood of leaving home to start a union, which is consistent with what was expected. Furthermore, second-generation immigrants from South-western Europe or from Eastern Europe have lower odds than Swiss natives of leaving the parental home to establish an independent living or to share a residency. In addition, as it could have been expected, the probability of choosing a particular route out of the parental home rather than of staying at home does not significantly diverge between children of immigrants from North-western Europe or from other continents and children of Swiss natives. Regarding the childhood family structure, in comparison with young adults who grow up in a biparental family, children of divorced parents have a higher likelihood of leaving the parental home to live alone. The same observation can be made for young adults who grow up in an extended family or in a stepfamily. Nevertheless, people who go from a non-standard family structure to a biparental household have the same probability of leaving home than those who are raised in a biparental family. Additionally, residents of rural regions have a higher probability than inhabitants of metropolitan areas of moving out from the parental home to live alone. Concerning respondents from urban areas that are not part of a metropolis, they are more likely to leave home to establish an independent household with roommates than metropolitans. Lastly, there is some evidence that people who were born in an area that belongs to the modality "underrepresented places of birth" have lower odds of leaving home to start a union or to share a residency.

Table 2: Multinomial logit model of the pathways out of the parental home (ref= staying at the parental home)

		Living alone (n=58)			Living with partner / children (n= 54)			Living in a shared residency (n= 62)		
		Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.
Intercept		-7.976	0.819	***	-8.587	0.938	***	-6.662	0.822	***
Age	Less than 18 (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Between 18 and 24	3.129	0.522	***	3.692	0.725	***	3.490	0.594	***
	More than 24	3.899	0.887	***	5.195	0.852	***	3.408	1.169	**
Sex	Men (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Women	-0.148	0.279		1.752	0.386	***	-0.067	0.271	
Ethnic origin	Swiss (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	South-western Europe	-0.946	0.449	*	-0.108	0.428		-1.779	0.555	**
	Eastern Europe	-0.713	0.373	+	-0.144	0.416		-1.718	0.457	***
	North-western Europe & other continents	-0.188	0.393		-0.141	0.503		0.472	0.322	
Family structure	Biparental family (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	From biparental to lone-parent family	1.436	0.313	***	-0.245	0.534		0.194	0.393	
	From non-standard family structure to biparental family	-0.123	0.759		0.044	0.482		-0.194	0.567	
	Transition toward extended/step-parent family	0.960	0.543	+	-0.308	0.738		-0.091	0.737	
Place of residence	Metropolitan areas (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Other urban areas	0.431	0.329		-0.294	0.323		0.619	0.302	*
	Rural areas	0.864	0.382	*	0.163	0.383		0.158	0.440	
Place of birth	Overrepresented place of birth (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Underrepresented place of birth	0.451	0.529		-0.630	0.379	+	-0.812	0.492	+

+ $p < 0.1$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

In Table 2, the impact of a set of selected factors on the probability of choosing one of the pathways out of the parental home has been demonstrated. Nonetheless, as previously mentioned in the theoretical section, the effect of these independent factors on the dependent variable is likely to vary according to another explanatory variable; in our case, sex. As a consequence, interactions effects between all independent factors and sex have been included into the next model (Cf. Table 3). Nevertheless, in order to save space, only significant interaction effects have been reported. Concerning simple effects, we can see that the probability of choosing one of the three pathways out of the parental home increases with age. Nonetheless, it appears that adults who are more than 24 years old are less likely to live home to share a residency. Also, women have higher odds to leave home to live with a partner or to share a residency than men. Regarding ethnic origin, second-generation immigrants from South-western or Eastern Europe have lower chances of leaving home to live alone than Swiss natives. Also, Eastern and North-westerner Europeans have lower odds of leaving home to start a union. Besides, there is some evidence that young adults of South-western or Eastern origin have a lower probability of leaving home to share a residency with friends or siblings than Swiss-born individuals. Regarding family structure, it seems that while young adults who grow up in a lone-parent household are more likely to leave home to live alone, they have lower chances of leaving home to start a union. Moreover, young adults who went from a non-standard family structure to a biparental household have lower odds of leaving home to live with a partner. What is more, the likelihood of choosing one of the three routes out of the parental home is always higher than the probability of staying at home within stepfamilies. Concerning residents from other urban areas, they have a higher likelihood to leave home to share a residency with roommates than metropolitans. In addition, young adults from rural areas have a higher probability of leaving home to start a union than young adults from metropolitan areas. Lastly, it seems that people who were born in a place that belongs to the category "underrepresented place of birth" have a lower probability of leaving home to start a union or to share a residency with friends and/or siblings.

Table 3. Multinomial logit model of the pathways out of the parental home with interaction effects (ref= staying at the parental home)

		Living alone (n=58)			Living with partner/children (n= 54)			Living in a shared residency (n= 62)		
		Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.
Intercept		-7.396	0.884	***	-86.954	0.865	***	-6.872	1.042	***
Age	Less than 18 (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Between 18 and 24	2.603	1.577	***	81.862	0.639	***	3.396	0.838	***
	More than 24	2.618	1.577	+	83.751	0.871	***	-41.479	0.673	***
Sex	Men (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Women	-1.111	1.192		80.361	0.872	***	0.210	1.345	***
Ethnic origin	Swiss (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	South-western Europe	-0.901	0.548	+	-0.002	0.999		-1.337	0.667	*
	Eastern Europe	-0.955	0.489	+	-0.382	0.881	*	-1.512	0.589	*
	North-western Europe & other continents	-0.988	0.669		-55.598	0.263	***	0.488	0.471	
Family structure	Biparental family (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	From biparental to lone-parent family	1.791	0.408	***	-45.616	0.270	***	0.616	0.489	
	From non-standard family structure to biparental family	0.141	1.111		-25.558	0.246	***	-0.560	1.049	
	Transition toward extended/step-parent family	1.423	0.774	+	1.835	0.970	+	1.442	0.781	+
Place of residence	Metropolitan areas (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Other urban areas	0.407	0.449		-0.035	0.974		0.723	0.439	+
	Rural areas	0.644	0.529		1.433	0.857	+	0.368	0.623	
Place of birth	Overrepresented place of birth (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Underrepresented place of birth	0.426	0.536		-0.645	0.381	+	-0.828	0.494	+
Age* Sex										
Between 18 and 24 * Female		0.838	1.025		-78.325	0.655	***	0.344	1.239	
More than 24 * Female		1.632	2.032		-78.733	0.974	***	45.841	0.673	***
Ethnic origin * Sex										
Northern-western Europe * Female		1.541	1.091	+	55.575	1.479	***	-0.033	1.344	
Family structure* Sex										
From biparental to lone-parent family*Female		-0.849	0.673		45.499	0.270	***	1.173	0.896	
From non-standard family structure to biparental family*Female		0.674	1.526		25.765	0.246	***	0.522	0.214	
Transition toward extended/step-parent family*Female		-1.054	1.186		-2.985	1.457	*	-45.759	0.000	***
Place of residence *Sex										
Rural areas* Female		0.068	0.776		-1.527	0.971	+	-1.704	0.888	

+ p < 0.1; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

As far as interaction effects are concerned, estimating the effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable becomes more complicated, because this effect also depends from the value of another independent variable. For this reason, variances, but also covariances have to be taken into account (Rakotomalala, 2009). In this case, the logit takes this form:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_1 X_2 + \varepsilon;$$

where X_1 refers to the independent factor and X_2 to the interacting variable. However, as previously mentioned, the aim of this analysis was to determine whether the effect of an independent variable on the dependent variable varies according to sex. Consequently, regarding the present analyses, the interacting variable can be seen as a binary factor, where men equal to zero and women to 1. Thus, when $X_2 = 0$, the logit can be written that way:

$$y\,(X_2 = 0) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \varepsilon;$$

Conversely, when $X_2 = 1$, it becomes:

$$y\,(X_2 = 1) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 + \beta_3 X_1 + \varepsilon;$$

As a result, the gap between men's and women's logits, namely the log odds ratio, can be obtained by differentiation:

$$\Delta\text{logit } X_2 = \text{logit } (X_2=1) - \text{logit } (X_2=0) = \beta_2 + \beta_3 X_1$$

In this way, the odds ratio $OR(X_3) = e^{\Delta\text{logit } X_3}$ depends on the coefficients β_2 and β_3, but also on the value of X_1. This means that we cannot only take into account the coefficient β_2 which is associated with the individual variable. Regarding the results in the table below, there is some evidence that women who are between 18 and 24 are more than seven times more likely to leave home to start a union than men who are at the same age (80.361-78.325= 2.036; $e^{2.036}$=7.66). The same observation can be made for women who are older than 24, except from the fact that they have 5 times more odds of leaving home to found their own household with a partner and sometimes children than their male counterparts. Women aged

more than 24 are also more likely to leave home to share a residency than their male peers. As far as ethnic origin is concerned, the results show that women with a North-western European background have 1.5 times more chances of leaving the parental home to live alone than men who have the same foreign origin. Besides, they also have a higher probability of leaving home to live with a partner. Furthermore, if we take a look at non-standard households, we can see that women appears to have higher odds of leaving home to live with a partner and, in some cases, children. Conversely, women from stepfamilies are less likely to leave home to share a residency than men who grow up in the same kind of family environment. Lastly, young women from rural areas are more likely to establish an independent household with a partner and, in some cases, children than their male counterparts. Nonetheless, the postulated hypothesis was that young women who reside in rural have a higher likelihood of leaving home to live independently than those who grow up in metropolitan areas. As a consequence, if place of residence is considered as the interacting factor, we can see that this hypothesis is more or less confirmed. Indeed, women from rural areas are 1.1 times less likely to leave the parental home to start a union than women from metropolitan areas.

5. Discussion

As a conclusion, these analyses show that women are more likely than men to leave home to start a union. As mentioned beforehand, men and women have been socialised in such a way that they may have developed normative conceptions of attitudes and activities that are appropriate for each sex category (West & Zimmerman, 1987). As a result, the diverging paths taken by men and women during their transition to adulthood can be considered as an anticipation of the roles they are expected to fulfil later in life or of the behaviours they feel is viewed by others as the right and socially accepted way to behave (Baanders, 1996). Indeed, as women are expected to privilege a family life (Widmer & Ritschard, 2013), leaving home to start a union might be more socially accepted than leaving home to live alone.

These results also demonstrate that, as stated by Buck and Scott (1993) and Garasky (2002), it is primordial to not only take into consideration the individuals' characteristics, but also the constraints and opportunities that people may encounter in their local environment. Indeed, while individual factors such as age and ethnic origin tend to influence the pathways out of the parental home, it has also been shown that the place of residence and the family

structure in which individuals grow up are likely to have an influence on the trajectories they follow after their departure from the parental home. What is more, the previous findings make us aware of the fact that the factors, which have an impact on the different pathways out of the parental home, are likely to diverge between men and women. Firstly, the present study demonstrates that older respondents are more likely to leave home than the younger ones, whatever the destination state. This contradicts the previous assumption according to which leaving home to live alone is more likely in younger ages, whereas leaving home to live with a partner are more probable in older ages. However, the analyses also indicated that moving out from the parental home to share a residency with a partner and/or children is the most likely destination among the oldest respondents. As a result, this is a partial confirmation of the assumptions according to which older individuals have higher odds to leave home to start a union. Nonetheless, we can see that, among older individuals, other destination states such as leaving home to live alone or to share a residency with roommates are also very probable (Table 1). This could stem from the fact that the transition to adulthood has become more complex nowadays (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010). Consequently, we could assume that, although the departure from the parental home is still a significant marker of independence for young adults, there has been a diversification of the routes out of the parental home. Indeed, new stages in life have recently emerged, such as the independent life without a partner and the cohabitation with non-family members, and might be likely to become as probable as premarital cohabitations. However, when the interaction effects between sex and age are taken into account, we can see that young adults who are more than 24 are less likely to leave home to live in a shared residency. The reason may be that this kind of living arrangements may more frequently concern young students whose aim is to share rent costs. There is also some evidence that, among older individuals, women have a higher likelihood of leaving home to live in a shared residency than their male peers. This could be explained by the fact that the older women may have other reasons to leave home, such as the obtaining of an employment, and that these reasons might push them to leave the parental home to share a residency. Secondly, the results provided a confirmation of the importance of cultural differences in the determination of living arrangements. Indeed, we have seen that second-generation immigrants from Eastern or South-western Europe have a lower probability of leaving home to establish an independent living or a shared residency than their Swiss peers. As previously mentioned in the theoretical section, the lower likelihood of second-generation immigrants leaving home to live alone or to share a residence may stem from cultural and economic factors. Nevertheless, when interaction effects between sex and ethnic origin are

taken into account, we can see that Eastern Europeans are also less likely to leave home to start a union. This is a good illustration of the late departure from the parental home of this foreign population. In other words, they always have a lower likelihood to leave home whatever the destination states than to stay at home. In the same way, young adults from North-western Europe and other continents have a lower tendency to leave home to found their own household with a partner and, in some cases, children than Swiss natives. This may come from the fact that people who belong to the Nordic family system often leave home at an earlier age to share a residency and friends and colleagues who are at the similar stage in their own lives (Reher, 1998). However, among second-generation immigrants from North-western Europe, there is some evidence that women have more chances of acquiring their independence through an independent living. Conversely, they are also more likely to leave home to live with a partner. As a consequence, it seems that, in a family system where traditional norms and obligations are less significant, women seem to take advantage of this freedom to leave their parents to live alone or with a partner. Thirdly, the present research showed that the family structure in which individuals grow up has a significant influence on the pathways out of the parental home. More precisely, the results demonstrated that, in comparison with young adults from intact families, children who grow up in a lone-parent or in step-parent household have a higher likelihood of leaving the parental home to live alone, which contradicts the previous hypotheses. This ascertainment could stem from the fact that, as young adults from dissolved or reconstituted families are likely to leave home at an earlier age (Bernhardt et al., 2005), they are probably less likely to have met a partner with whom they are ready to live. What is more, rather than being the consequence of the will to found a household with one's partner, the desire to leave the parental home might be more linked to the urge to establish an independent household. Indeed, there might be some strains in dissolved and reconstituted households such as financial strains or conflictual relations that are likely to push individuals to move out, whatever their current marital or economic situation. On the contrary, as children from intact families leave at a later age, they have more time to find someone and to test the relationship before founding a household with their partner (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998; Bernhardt et al., 2005). Nonetheless, when interaction effects between family structure and sex are taken into account, we can see that young adults who went from a non-standard household to a biparental have a lower likelihood of leaving home to start a union. One possible explanation is that, as reported by Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1998), young adults from intact households have a higher tendency to attend college than those from other family structures and that enrolment in higher education

is frequently associated with a step toward residential independence either to live alone or with roommates (Bernhardt et al., 2005; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002). Regarding stepfamilies, the results show that young adults who grow up in that king of family environment have a higher probability of leaving home, whatever the destination state. Consequently, it seems that having to accept another parental figure in one's household might be a significant incentive toward independence. Also, there is some evidence that women from dissolved households have higher odds of leaving home to start a union than their male counterparts. Conversely, women from stepfamilies are less likely to leave their parents to share a residency with roommates than men who grow up in the same family environment. As a result, even though family structure has a significant impact on the pathways children taken when they leave home, there are some reasons to believe that the effect of sex is stronger. Thirdly, the results confirmed partially the assumption according to which the local environment in which people grow up has an impact on their home-leaving process. Indeed, residents from rural regions have a higher probability of moving out from the parental home to live alone than inhabitants of metropolitan areas. Also, it appears that young people from urban areas have higher odds of leaving home to share a residency than those who reside in a metropolis. These observations can be explained by the fact that educational and professional opportunities are more limited in urban areas that do not belong to a metropolis or in rural areas. Accordingly, people residing in those aforementioned regions and who want to pursue higher education or who want to find employment might be more likely to move out from the parental home than those residing in metropolises. What is more, it has been demonstrated that individuals who pursue higher education are more likely to leave home to live alone or with roommates (Bernhardt et al., 2005). As a result, even though it has become easier, quicker and cheaper to commute, it seems that moving out from the parental home is still a more desirable option. Another possible explanation may be that, even though young adults come back to their parental home every weekend, they still declared themselves as living alone or with roommates. However, when interaction effects between place of residence and sex are taken into account, there is some evidence that young adults from rural areas are more likely to leave home to start a union. Also, women who grow up in rural areas have higher chances of establishing an independent household with a partner and, in some cases, children than their male counterparts. The reason may be that family-oriented attitudes are more frequent in rural areas (Buck & Scott, 1993). In the same way, women are also more likely to develop behaviours that are appropriate for their sex (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Baanders,

1996). For this reason, they have a higher tendency to privilege family life (Widmer & Ritschard, 2013).

Further implications

One relative weakness of this study is that any information about the socioeconomic status of the respondent's family will only be available in the second wave of the LIVES Cohort survey. As a consequence, the present analyses do not take into account the socioeconomic background of the respondents' family, even though it has been demonstrated that the family socioeconomic status of children is likely to have an impact on their pathways out of the parental home (Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002; Zorlu & Mulder, 2011). Indeed, the education level of parents has a positive influence on the probability of children leaving home to live without a partner, and a negative impact on the likelihood of leaving home to start a union. This can be explained by the fact that higher-educated individuals tend to place a greater value on independence and that they are often wealthier (Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010) . As a result, they have more economic assets to help their children to found their own household. A further contribution will be, thus, to integrate the socioeconomic background of the respondents' family in further analyses.

Moreover, although this research provided a very good understanding of the different pathways out of the parental home and of the factors that are associated with those choices, it did not examine the reasons for home-leaving. Consequently, longitudinal data supplemented with more detailed qualitative accounts of home-leaving experiences might provide useful information that could fill the gap. Also, the sample is very young, which makes it impossible to study the returning-home process. Indeed, according to Villeneuve-Gokalp (2000), the comings and goings between the parental home and the independent accommodation are still common practices. For this reason, studying the patterns related to the return to the parental home will certainly represent a significant contribution to this field of study. Nonetheless, to do that, one should resort to longitudinal data that include individuals older than 25 years old.

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