



**Country level analyses of mechanisms and  
interrelationships between labour market  
insecurity and autonomy**

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## Introduction

A. Baranowska-Rataj - Umeå University; S. Bertolini, V. Goglio- University of Turin

Leaving the home of origin and setting up one's own household is regarded as one of the key markers of the transition to adulthood (Corijn & Klijzing 2001; Manzoni 2016; Settersten 2012; Shanahan 2000). Although ceasing to co-reside with parents does not necessarily coincide with becoming financially independent, it usually implies reaching greater social autonomy for young people (Billari et al. 2001). This theoretical idea is further supported by the fact that young people increasingly prefer to live on their own (Klinenberg 2012).

Youth's striving towards residential autonomy may be hindered by a lack of access to the necessary financial resources. Due to recent developments in the modern labour markets youth are disproportionately affected by unemployment and temporary employment as compared to prime-aged workers (Bell & Blanchflower 2011; O'Higgins 2012; Müller & Gangl 2003). At the same time, the main source of financial support for most young adults comes from their paid work (Blank 2009). Compared to people in their prime, youth have less financial resources such as savings or wealth that could be mobilised in order to deal with a lack of stable employment when planning to invest in a household of one's own. *This brings a question of how the labour market career of young people and, in particular, the experiences of unemployment or unstable and insecure employment, affect decisions to move out of the parental home and establish one's own household.*

In the personal sphere of private life, the rising labour market uncertainties in many European countries have indeed contributed to the postponement or even the abandonment of long-term binding decisions such as leaving the parental home (Aassve et al., 2002; Ahn and Mira, 2002; Baizán, 2005; Mills and Blossfeld, 2003) and the gradual replacement of a standard family trajectory with a more turbulent and less uniform pattern (Hofäcker and Chaloupková, 2014). However, the magnitude of the repercussions of labour market insecurities on individual transitions in private life differs notably among countries, suggesting that institutional contexts at the nation-state level mediate the effects of globalisation on young individuals in a nation-specific way (Blossfeld et al., 2011; Mills and Blossfeld, 2003).

In this report, we present results from several studies that addressed this question by adopting a longitudinal research design, which allowed for establishing the temporal ordering of events and hence brought us closer to understanding causality beyond observed relationships. This report also provides empirical evidence from a number of countries with very different institutional and cultural settings: namely Italy, the UK, Poland, Estonia and Germany. Every study aimed at capturing different peculiarities of



the local labour market and societal conditions, which provides interesting insights on the process of leaving parental home across Europe.

The studies included in this work drew on selected national panel surveys (the Social Diagnosis data from Poland; Understanding Society, the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS); the Socio-economic Panel for Germany (SOEP)) as well as comparative harmonized longitudinal surveys (the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC)) that provided detailed longitudinal information on labour market status and co-residence with parents. The use (and availability) of longitudinal data is particularly relevant for the study of the process of housing autonomy. Indeed, with longitudinal data it is possible to isolate the timing and the sequential order of crucial events in the life course of an individual, which contributes to highlight the interrelations among different dimensions of the life course (e.g. labour market situation but also the private sphere of marriage or union formation).

The general research question that all contributions included in their work dealt with whether and to what extent labour market exclusion (defined as unemployment or inactivity) influenced the decision to leave the parental household in the medium term. Most of the country studies (Italy, UK, Poland and Germany) also considered the role played by job insecurity (proxies are temporary, loosely regulated, low work-intensity and sometimes even non-formal types of employment) on the decision to leave parental home. Some of the country studies presented here (Italy, Estonia, Poland) also considered a third research question, which dealt with the consequences of the economic crisis that took place in 2008, testing whether and how it affected the process of transition out of the parental home.

In addition, each country study focused on specific features of the national context in order to provide insights on the differential impact of common challenges (such as current changes in the labour market) on different institutional settings. In this framework, particular attention was devoted in all country studies to sub-groups of individuals more exposed to the risk of social vulnerability, which in the case of the country study presented here, were females and low-educated individuals, including immigrants for the UK case only.

The structure of the volume is as follows: this **introductory section** is followed by a **summary of the main findings** emerging from the five country studies presented.

**Chapter 1** contains the country study on Italy and uses longitudinal data for Italy from the EU-SILC database. Italy is a country characterized by a 'latest-late' pattern of exit from parental home, typical of Southern-European countries (estimated average age of exit in 2015 is 30.1 years old (Eurostat, 2017b)), with late union formation and late transition to parenthood (Billari et al., 2002). Such a postponement might be connected to the welfare state regime, which in Italy is weak and attributes an exclusive role of the original family in supporting young people towards this transition. Youth policies have



remained largely fragmented and delegated in their implementation to regions, without a real national plan of coordination and without an integration with other policies. On the side of the labour market, the very rapid introduction of flexible forms of employment was implemented without the creation of an adequate system of new forms of social protection, assuring access to social security to temporary workers just as for permanent workers. These reforms resulted in strong market segmentation between outsiders and insiders with a high risk for youth to remain trapped in precarious (temporary, non-formal and low paid) employment. Finally, the housing market is characterized by a strong culture of homeownership, also conceived as a means of intergenerational transfer of family wealth (Filandri, 2012). This results in a residual rental market with few affordable options and a strong influence of parental resources in the process of housing autonomy.

The country paper presented in this volume investigates the relationship between labour market exclusion, job insecurity and leaving the parental home among young and young adults (16 to 40 years old) over a 10-year period (2004-2014). Given the importance that marriage still plays in the process of exiting the parental home in Italy, the authors examined the probability of exiting the parental home with a partner, without a partner or not exiting at all. Particular attention was also devoted to gender, with separate models for men and women, educational attainment and the geographical area of residence, being a country characterised by a deep divide between the North and South.

**Chapter 2** investigates the relationship between labour market uncertainty and leaving the parental home in the United Kingdom. Young adults in the UK have traditionally displayed a relatively early transition to residential independence (estimated average age of exit is 24.4 years old) and among the lowest shares of young people co-residing with their parents (Billari et al., 2001). However, the authors investigated whether recent changes in the labour market, such as the rapid increase of low-paid and highly flexible contracts and a steep increase in rental costs, were likely to affect the home leaving patterns observed in the UK.

The welfare state regime of the United Kingdom is classified as liberal, with a pro-market orientation, low level of employment protection legislation and poorly developed welfare measures providing income support, consistently with an orientation toward workfare policies (Gallie, 2010). The UK labour market has been involved by important changes with an increase in unemployment observed after the recent recession, which has been disproportionately borne by the young British and the diffusion of zero-hours contracts, fixed-term contracts and reduced hours of work. The housing market has also been involved by a deterioration of the conditions of access for young people, with house prices and rents reaching record levels, as well as mortgage costs, thus making housing unaffordable on a starting salary (Shelter 2015). State policies in support of housing were also interested by recent austerity measures, reducing the financial



support available from the welfare system to young people and thus worsening the house affordability problem (Berrington et al. 2014).

The country study included in this volume uses data from Understanding Society, the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), and analyses the transition out of parental home for a sample of youth aged 16 to 35, observed over the period 2009 to 2014. A range of temporary forms of employment are considered, together with socio-economic characteristics linked to the ethnicity of the individual and the poverty of the household, as key factors in the process of leaving parental home in UK.

**Chapter 3** is about Poland and studied how job and income insecurity affected the transition out of the family of origin. In terms of the timing of leaving the parental home, Poland displays patterns similar to the 'latest-late' model observed in Italy and Spain (with average age of exit at 28.3 years old) and also similar proportions of young people co-residing with parents in their late twenties (about 80% among men and over 65% among women). Moreover, as in other Eastern European countries, a non-negligible proportion of young adults get married before having left the parental home (Billari et al. 2001).

The welfare state regime of Poland has been classified among Post-socialist neoliberal "embedded" model (Bohle and Greskovits, 2012), which combines neoliberal prescriptions with retained social welfare regime. In terms of recent developments in the labour market, Poland is a country where prolonged job search and precarious employment has become a common experience in the early stage of the life course (Baranowska et al. 2011; Saar et al. 2008) as well as the diffusion of informal jobs among young (Kovaceva 2001). The housing market is characterised by housing shortages and an underdeveloped private rental sector. State policies related to social housing and housing benefits are considered inappropriate, mainly targeted at low-income families and with no special programmes for young people (Ball 2008).

The country study presented in this volume uses data from the longitudinal database Social Diagnosis, a representative biannual panel household survey for Poland, and analyses a sample of youth aged 15 to 35 years old over the period 2007 to 2015. In this study, particular attention was devoted to the moderating role played by social support and gender. Indeed, on one hand, social support was a valuable resource for young adults, which could be used in order to overcome their job uncertainty. On the other hand, in a context of gendered norms towards the male breadwinner model, labour market exclusion and income insecurity might affect men more severely than women in their decision of exiting the parental home.

**Chapter 4** presents the case of Estonia, which investigated how labour market exclusion, more precisely unemployment, might affect the transition out of the parental home. Estonia is a country characterized by a pattern of exit from parental home typical



of Continental European countries, with a preference to leave home earlier than later (estimated average age in 2015 is 23.6), but not as early as in Scandinavian countries. Estonia is known for the liberal welfare regime, characterized among others by low and restricted levels of social benefits (Bohle & Greskovits 2012; Roosalu & Hofäcker 2015). The unemployment insurance benefit system strongly relies on previous work history and young entrants into the labour market usually remain excluded for not meeting the minimum requirements. A recent change in labour market regulations introduced in 2009 considerably lowered the level of protection for permanent employees, which explains the very limited use of temporary employment contracts in Estonia, also accompanied by a weak role of trade unions.

Youth unemployment figures for Estonia are lower compared to most other European countries, thanks to a fast recovery from the crisis. However, such figures remain higher than before the crisis and compared to the prime-age population. In addition, they come together with a high share of long-term unemployment, indicating the presence of barriers for youth in entering the labour market.

The housing market was profoundly reformed in the 1990s when publicly owned residential space was privatised, resulting in 96% of housing facilities privately owned. The rental sector only interests 15% of the population, whereas the subsidized housing sector such as social housing is almost non-existent. Recent policy measures do not contain measures targeted to ease access to housing for young people directly and the housing sector remains influenced by public policies only marginally.

The country study on Estonia used EU-SILC longitudinal data for a sample of youth aged 16-40 over the period 2004-2014. The study paid particular attention to the tension between a context not supportive of youth transition on one hand and social norms, which tend to support rather early than late exit on the other hand, also considering the crucial role played by the presence of a partner.

**Chapter 5** investigates the consequences of labour market exclusion and job insecurity on the process of leaving the parental home in *Germany*.

The pattern of exit in Germany is typical of Continental countries, between the two extremes of 'earliest-early' and 'latest-late' patterns of exit (estimated average age of exit is about 23.8 years old) and the persistence of a widespread male breadwinner model that may influence differently the patterns of exit of women and men.

The German conservative welfare regime provides a high level of support for young unemployed workers compared to many Southern or Eastern European states, although the same system was interested by a series of cuts in the level of expenditure in mid-2000s. Youth unemployment rate is quite low compared to most European countries; however, young Germans are still disproportionally often affected by unemployment compared to prime-aged workers. There are also important regional differences, with East Germany showing higher unemployment rates than West Germany. Moreover, as many other Western European countries Germany has





performed a partial deregulation of its labour market that resulted in a protected segment of permanent contracts and a less regulated sector of temporary employment. However, differently from other countries (e.g. Italy) in Germany many temporary jobs act as stepping-stones at the beginning of the working career. The housing market is characterized by a relatively low share of homeownership (51.9% vs. 69.5% of EU28 (Eurostat, 2017a)) and a developed rental sector that accommodates almost half of the population. The amount of expenditure on social housing is in line with EU28 average (0.6% of GDP).

The analyses presented in the German country study are based on data from the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) for the years 1995–2015, and consider a sample of young individuals younger than 20 at the moment of the first interview. This contribution is of interest because Germany is typically considered as a prime example of a smooth transition from education to work and has preserved a high level of welfare state support, especially if compared to the Southern or Eastern European countries considered in this volume. The differential impact of unemployment and temporary contracts was investigated, complementing the standard “*upward comparison*” to regular employment with a “*downward comparison*” to the alternative of unemployment, and took into consideration geographical differences between West and East Germany.



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## Summary of findings

The main research questions driving the present work were whether, and to what extent, labour market exclusion and job insecurity of youth had an impact on the transition toward autonomy and, in particular, toward housing autonomy in the medium term. The general hypotheses behind the five contributions presented in this volume assumed that unemployment and inactivity (as proxies for labour market exclusion) reduced the chances of making the transition out of the parental home for young individuals, as well as job insecurity, represented by having non-permanent jobs (including temporary, loosely regulated, low work-intensity, non-formal types of employment). Moreover, another expectation was that the great recession, which followed the economic crisis of 2008, further hampered the chances of youth and young adults of gaining housing autonomy.

Overall, we can summarise that, according to our expectations, the effect of unemployment on leaving the parental home was mediated by the Welfare State system. Indeed, unemployed or inactive individuals had a lesser chance of exiting the parental home in Italy, the UK and Poland. On the contrary, in Germany, such a negative effect of unemployment was limited to men in the western part of the country, while in Estonia, unemployment did not emerge as a critical factor in the process of exit parental home.

On the other hand, against our theoretical expectations, we found only limited evidence of a negative effect of temporary employment on the probability of exiting the parental home, because the great majority of the estimated effects were small and statistically insignificant in all the countries.

Finally, the economic downturn generated by the economic crisis in 2008 also seems to have contributed to delay<sup>1</sup> the transition out of the parental home, although with different timings across countries.

Below, we summarise the major findings emerging from the country studies more in detail:

- ***labour market exclusion***

Overall, a negative association could be seen between labour market exclusion (namely being unemployed or inactive) and the chances of getting housing autonomy,

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<sup>1</sup> The background of such a research question is the assumption that deteriorated economic conditions, following the economic crisis, hamper the process of leaving parental home. However, some other reasons may also be associated to the delay of the process, as an example, a general time trend towards leaving parental home later due to value change. Thus, when reading the results, we have to bear in mind that the type of analyses presented here are not able to distinguish the true effect of the crisis from other potential effects.



compared to employed individuals. However, the extent of this effect was heterogeneous across countries and gender: unemployed or inactive individuals had indeed a lesser chance of exiting the parental home in Italy, the UK and Poland. On the contrary, there was only a negative effect of unemployment limited to men in West Germany and no effect in Estonia. Consistently with the male-breadwinner model hypothesis, findings in Italy and Poland confirmed that labour market exclusion was less detrimental for women than for men on the chances of exiting the parental home. However, findings for the UK, a typical example of a liberal regime, showed significant differences by gender. Indeed, women tended to be disadvantaged by any form of labour market exclusion (unemployment and inactivity) and job insecurity (temporary and part time job), while estimates for men are less precise to be able to make definite conclusions.

- ***job insecurity***

Objective job insecurity, stemming from temporary, atypical or non-formal types of contracts, did not seem to be key risk factors in the transition out of the parental home in most of the country studies. With the only exception of the UK, where women in temporary jobs or part-time (permanent) jobs had a lower risk of exiting the parental home; findings in Italy, Poland and Germany did not show any significant association between temporary forms of employment and a reduced chance of housing autonomy. Therefore, it seemed to emerge that the key element in the transition to housing autonomy was having employment, independently from the type of contract. This may come as the result of two trends: on one side temporary employment (and other atypical forms of employment) was becoming the dominant form of entry into the labour market for young people, thus reducing the variability but also the perception of insecurity, as most of their peers only found temporary contracts. On the other side, it might also be the result that after a certain age, independently from the contract, young adults aimed at gaining housing autonomy, thus learning, or accepting to deal with, the risk of temporary contracts.

- ***economic crisis***

The studies, testing whether the economic crisis of 2008 reduced the chances of exiting the parental home, showed that such a negative association existed, although with some variability. Indeed, in Italy, individuals observed in the period after the crisis (from 2010 onward), and exiting with a partner, had a lesser chance of exiting the parental home compared to their peers observed in the pre-crisis period. However, the effect was not significant for those exiting alone. Nevertheless, the same negative effect was only observed in Estonia for individuals in the peak of the crisis (2008-2009). Estimates for Poland showed that individuals, who started to be observed in 2007, had a higher propensity to exit the parental home compared to those who entered the following waves. The issue of the economic crisis and its consequences was not



included in the country study on Germany, as it did not assume great relevance, being the least involved European country in the economic recession.

The other interesting findings that emerged from particular aspects of the single country studies, dealt with:

- ***parental background***

The Italian and Estonian country studies also considered whether a higher parental background, represented by the highest level of education of the parents, might play a positive role in supporting the transition to housing autonomy of their children (considering thus a direct effect of parental background on leaving home, net of individual labour market status and education). Results from Italy support the hypothesis that higher cultural resources of parents are positively associated to the transition out of the family of origin; having at least one parent with a higher education increases the propensity of individual exit for both men and women. The fact that the (direct) association was significant for individual exits, but not for exiting with a partner, suggested that the educational background of the parents might be associated with attitudes towards a model of education oriented toward the independence of children and less conservative in terms of gender roles.

A weak positive association of higher parental background was also observed in the country study on Estonia, although the effect was rather modest and not very clear-cut, as it became non-significant when looking at the mediating effect of parental education on young adults' employment status.

The study on the United Kingdom included a variable on the poverty status of the parental household and showed that neither poverty status of parental household nor the parents' employment status when the respondent was 14 years old bear any significant effect on the estimates of interest. Moreover, the variables, which serve as proxies for family background, are themselves not statistically significant, with the exception of mother's employment for men.

- ***social ties***

The country study on Poland highlighted the protective role of social support in buffering the negative effects of labour market exclusion and job insecurity on housing autonomy. Interestingly, findings showed that the more friends that young people had, the more likely they were to leave the parental house when holding a temporary contract. This finding was consistent with the substitution hypothesis of the Conservation of Resources theory, by which one type of resource (i.e. support from friends) might substitute for the absence of other types of resources (i.e. objective job security).

- ***ethnic origin***



The country study on the United Kingdom also included some controls for regional and ethnic origin of the individuals and showed that being a black woman (compared to being white), as well as living in Wales, it takes much longer to leave parental home.



# 1. Labour Market Uncertainty and Leaving Parental Home in Italy

## Longitudinal Analysis of the Effect of Job Precariousness on Propensity to Leave the Parental Household among Youth

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### Introduction

Leaving the home of origin is regarded as one of the key markers of the transition to adulthood (Corijn et al., 2001; Shanahan, 2000). It implies not only housing independence but also greater social autonomy for young people (Billari et al., 2001). It also improves opportunities to plan for the future and make important lifetime decisions, such as forming a family of one's own (Aassve et al., 2002; Avery et al., 1992).

Theoretical literature, which explains incentives for, and constraints on, leaving the parental home, views the opportunity to leave as being determined by the level of individual resources available directly to young adults (Ermisch, 1999; McElroy, 1985). This represents a very important decision in the private sphere of life and reduces opportunities to receive material and emotional support from the family. The risk of losing employment and the associated negative consequences for the standard of living are much stronger for those who decide to establish one's own household as compared to youth that stay home with their parents (Aassve et al., 2007; Parisi, 2008). Therefore, if young people experience difficulties in labour market integration and perceive their situation as unstable and insecure, they may be relatively less willing to take such a step. Specifically, unemployed or inactive youth may have very limited opportunities to leave the parental home, especially in countries with limited state support for them (Aassve et al., 2002). However, chances for housing independence from parents may vary strongly, also among those young people who are actually involved in paid work. In particular, the attention of researchers has recently turned towards the role of stability of employment (Barbieri et al., 2014; Becker et al., 2010; Fernandes et al., 2008). Labour market positions with high degrees of economic uncertainty prevent youth from making blind long-term commitments (Mills and Blossfeld, 2003; Oppenheimer et al., 1997). Thus, irrespective of the level of income received by young adults, the expected variation in income may deter them from investing in household formation (Fernandes et al., 2008). Another important factor in this respect is that temporary jobs produce wage discounts, namely lower levels of





income (e.g. due to lower bargaining power), and wage scars through the employment history of individuals employed with a temporary position (e.g. due to limited promotion chances) (Gebel, 2009)

Several studies showed the negative effects of job precariousness on the propensity of youth to leave the parental household, but also the variability of this impact among European Countries (for a review see (Baranowska-Rataj et al., 2015). In Southern European countries, characterised by a familist welfare model, the rise in labour market uncertainty has contributed to the postponement of the transition to adult life for young people, but the magnitude of such a repercussion has varied across countries and suggested that this depends on the specific national institutional context. (Blossfeld et al., 2005, 2012). As an example, in Southern-European countries, where welfare systems are less generous than those of Scandinavian countries in supporting individuals from job loss or in housing costs, the relationship between the labour market condition and the transition to residential autonomy has been found to be stronger (Ranci et al., 2014). Part of the literature underlined that young people with different levels of education used different strategies for leaving the parental home in different institutional contexts (Bertolini et al., 2014, 2015).

In Italy, there has been a late and rapid introduction of flexible forms of employment without adequate *'buffering'* through simultaneous social security reform assuring access to social security to temporary workers just as for permanent workers. These reforms resulted in strong market segmentation between outsiders and insiders (Regini, 2000). Workers employed with permanent contracts, especially in large companies, can often benefit from a high level of social protection: protection covering illness or unemployment benefits in the event of periods of unemployment, whereas there has been only a low level of social protection for flexible workers who, for example, are not entitled to unemployment benefits between one contract and another, or to periods paid during absence due to illness (Blossfeld et al., 2012).

The Italian system of welfare is weak and has had an exclusive role of the original family in supporting young people towards this transition (Ascoli et al., 2015; Bertolini, 2011; Fullin, 2005; Mencarini and Tanturri, 2006; Negri and Filandri, 2010; Reyneri, 2011). Postponement takes longer in Italy and it might be because this country has a less universalistic welfare state. Youth policies have thus remained largely fragmented and delegated, in their implementation, to regions, without a real national plan of coordination and, above all, without an integration with other policies, such as education, employment and family policies (Cordella and Masi, 2012; Antonucci, Hamilton and Roberts 2014).

For Italy in particular, empirical literature found a significant and positive impact of occupational status, type of employment and income on the transition out of the parental home, especially stronger for males (Aassve et al., 2002; Bertolini, 2011). Also getting married, considered as the traditional way to housing autonomy, was found to



be negatively associated to unemployment and temporary contracts, especially for males. On the contrary, for females, economic and job insecurity were less important, so that unemployed or inactive women did not have a lesser chance of getting married (Bernardi and Nazio, 2005; Bettio, 2013). In general, in countries, “...where the male-breadwinner model is predominant, it will be more important for males to establish themselves in a secure job as opposed to females...” (Blossfeld et al., 2005, p. 19).

In the literature focused on Italy, the relation between labour market flexibilization and family formation was analysed from two perspectives (Bertolini, 2011): on the one hand, the role of the family was described as providing protection for those who had an unstable job or a lack of adequate institutional support (Fullin, 2005; Reyneri, 2011).

In this sense, it may be argued that in Italy, the family substitutes the welfare state. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that unstable jobs can slow down family formation among young people. For young adults, one of the consequences of remaining in atypical employment is the postponement of important decisions in their private/family lives, whereas the length of postponement depends on the institutional context (Bertolini, 2011; Bertolini et al., 2014, 2015; Rizza, 2002).

In addition to the above, the effects of employment precariousness on family formation vary according to both social class and the level of education. In fact, young people with a high level of education tend to stay longer in their family of origin while studying, because of the lack of economic support for mobility and allowances for students. Young people in Italy also tend to stay in the family of origin while looking for their first job, due to the fact that early entrance to the labour market lacks access to unemployment protection (Bertolini, 2011; Bertolini et al., 2014). Young people coming from families of a high social class can count on cultural and economic support from their family also while they are working with a temporary contract, while young people coming from a low social class, usually also with a low education level cannot enjoy cultural and economic protection from the family of origin and must accept any type of job. Moreover, in Italy, the strategy of leaving home late can be interpreted as a way for middle class males (Barbera et al., 2010; Negri and Filandri, 2010) to wait for entering a high quality job position (Reyneri, 2011). The family background of parents also influences leaving home: parents with a higher level of education are more prone to encourage the autonomy of their children, resulting in a tendency to leave home earlier by their sons (Franchi, 2005; Negri and Filandri, 2010).

However, in general, young people in Southern Europe leave the parental home later. Despite increases in this incidence, consensual unions are also comparatively less common than in other European countries (Billari et al., 2001; Nazio and Blossfeld, 2003). Thus, late home-leaving may also be related to the fact that young people less frequently choose to form a partnership through a consensual union.

Authors stressed the importance to analyse separately the time of leaving the parental home alone or with a partner. This was because one of the main motivations to leave



the parental home, especially in Italy, is still to form a new family (Barbagli et al., 2004; Billari et al., 2001; Negri and Filandri, 2010; Rusconi, 2006).

On the other hand, Italy is a country characterised by deep territorial differences, in particular the North-South divide (Kazepov and Barberis, 2013). Previous research using cross-sectional data (Bertolini, 2012) showed that women living in the Northern regions behaved differently from those in the South. Moreover, such a trend was found significant even when controlling for the educational level: the condition on the labour market was significantly associated to the transition to housing autonomy of women living in Northern regions, both for high and low levels of education, while, in the South it was significant only for the highly educated. This was linked to the different ways in which women made the transition to adult life in Northern and Southern Italy. In fact, in the South of Italy, the dominant model is the male breadwinner, and women leave the parental home mainly through marriage. In this framework, the labour position of men became more important in order to sustain the new family. In the North of Italy, the prevalent model was the dual-earner model in which the working condition of the female matters when planning the transition with a partner. In this context, also the way of leaving the parental home alone or with friends became common and further reinforced the importance of the working condition for females.

Therefore, since Italy is in a situation of transition towards new models of families and work, and observing how the transition takes place for men and women in different geographical areas, also taking into account the level of education, contributes to better understanding the changes occurring in the country.

## Research hypotheses

Given this background, the aim of the paper is to investigate how labour market exclusion and objective insecurity affect the transition out of the parental home for young Italians. Using longitudinal data, we will be able to investigate whether, and to what extent, labour market conditions have influenced the attainment of housing autonomy, paying particular attention to two key dimensions: gender and area of residence. Thus, building on the research questions outlined in the Introduction of this volume and, based on some particular national features, we formulated the following hypotheses:

**HP1:** Labour market exclusion (unemployment) and objective job insecurity (temporary contracts) have a negative effect on the transition out of the parental home for males and to a lesser extent for women in Italy.

**HP2:** We expect to find a higher propensity for leaving the parental home for highly educated people (both male and female) in the South compared to individuals with higher education living in the North of Italy (due to mobility for employment reasons).



**HP3:** We expect to find that the worsening of economic conditions, as a consequence of the 2008 crisis, has had a negative impact on the chances of leaving the parental household, both with a partner or independently, reducing the likelihood of exiting for those individuals who were observed between 2010 and 2014.

**HP4:** We expect that a higher educational background of parents (at least one parent with higher education) can positively support exiting the parental home, through the transfer of economic resources or through a model of education more oriented toward independence.

## Data and Method

The empirical analyses were performed using the longitudinal data from the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions database (EU-SILC). In order to take into consideration a large period of observation, which includes both the pre- and post-crisis periods, we pooled together several waves of EU-SILC longitudinal data, from EU-SILC2007 (with observations starting in 2004 and ending in 2007) to EU-SILC 2014.

The longitudinal database followed individuals for a maximum of 4 years, per each wave. In order to avoid the risk of duplicating households when pooling together different waves, we only took individuals followed for 4 years, dropping cases of individuals followed for a shorter period, which might have appeared in several waves<sup>2</sup>.

The sample was composed of individuals residing in Italy, in the age range of 16 to 40, who lived with their parents at the beginning of the period of observation<sup>3</sup>. This is an extended age bracket compared to previous analyses carried out in the Except project, but has been enlarged so as to increase the chances of observing exits from the parental home which, in the case of Italy, tended to occur at adult age, much later than in other European countries<sup>4</sup>.

The dependent variable in our analyses was the event of exiting the parental household. However, since literature highlighted a strong role played by marriage and – more recently – also by consensual unions in determining the pattern of exit from the parental home, we operationalised the dependent variable not as a dummy but as a categorical variable with three modes. Moreover, preliminary versions of this paper (Bertolini et al., 2017) showed a key role played by marriage in determining the

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<sup>2</sup> Wirth H. 2016. *EU-SILC Data Structure and Documentation*. GESIS Training Course on EU-SILC (November 28-30, 2016, Mannheim, Germany).

<sup>3</sup> Due to the structure of data, we are not able to identify previous housing history of the individuals. Left censoring excludes information on possible previous episodes of independent living of the subject (e.g. due to education) and possible returns home. Thus we are not able to differentiate between first-time leavers and nest-returners

<sup>4</sup> In 2015, the estimated average age of young people leaving the parental household in Italy was 30.1, against 26.1 in EU28 (Eurostat 2017, online code yth\_demo\_030, <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>)



likelihood of exiting the parental home. Thus, in order to include the presence of a partner in the outcome variable, we redefined the operationalisation of exit from the parental home by dividing the exit with a partner (partner is a household member) and exit with no partner (partner is not a household member), in addition to the case of no-exit.

The information about living with parents (or not) is recorded in EU-SILC on a yearly basis, together with other time-varying covariates. This organisation of the dependent variable, required adopting a person-period scheme with a number of rows per each individual equal to the number of years in which he/she was followed (e.g. if the subject was censored, the panel expired and the subject did not make the transition, the subject had 4 rows; if the subject made the transition in the second year, he/she would have two rows in the dataset. Once the event occurred, the subject exited from the risk set and was no longer observable).

The independent variables included in the models are:

- *Labour market situation*: a categorical variable, which combined information about occupational status and type of contract in 5 modes:
  - employed with permanent contract
  - employed with temporary contract
  - employed with missing information on contract<sup>5</sup>
  - unemployed
  - inactive (includes students and inactive individuals<sup>6</sup>)
- *geographical area of residence*: a dichotomous variable equal to 1 if the individual lives in the South of Italy and equal to 0 if the individual lives in the North-Centre regions<sup>7</sup>. For individuals who made the transition out of the parental home, the information on the area of residence is only available for the year preceding the event, we are not able to track whether the individual changed region when exiting the parental household (because household ID changes).
- *period of entry into the survey*: a categorical variable indicating the period in which the individual started to be followed (namely, the wave when he/she first appeared). The three categories are:
  - pre-crisis period for individuals who entered the survey between 2004-2006
  - during the crisis period for individuals who entered the survey in 2007-2009
  - post-crisis period for individuals who entered the survey in 2010-2011
- *parental background*: a categorical variable as a proxy for the social status of the family of origin. This to test whether a higher social status (or at least higher cultural

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<sup>5</sup> Due to the high number of missing values in the variable PL140 we decided to create a separate category in order to control for those missing and did not lose sample size.

<sup>6</sup> The small sample size does not allow us to differentiate pure inactive individuals and students in two groups. Although heterogeneous, this category refers to the official ILO and Eurostat definitions of inactive people, which includes students, pensioners and housewives or –men.

<sup>7</sup> We also took into consideration 3-mode variables which separated the North, Centre and South. However, results are very similar and thus opted for the dummy variable.



resources) may help (or retain) youth in making the transition to autonomous living. A higher social status may indeed support youth leaving home with economical resources.

The control variables are:

- *level of education*: a categorical variable with 3 modes indicating the highest level of education attained
  - lower secondary (or less) education
  - upper secondary
  - tertiary education
- *age*: a categorical variable grouping into 3 modes the age range of the sample:
  - young (16-24)
  - young adults (25-34)
  - adults (35-40)<sup>8</sup>
- *time to event*: a categorical variable to control for left censoring, which proxies the duration component of the model. Following (Lersch and Dewilde, 2015), we considered the end of education as the starting point for all individuals, and operationalised the variable in six categories, each made up of four-year intervals. Since EU-SILC did not provide information on the exact year when the individual left education, we built on previous work done in this respect (Rokicka et al., 2015), imputed the typical age of end of education for Italy and computed the years since the individual left education.

Descriptive statistics of the sample are presented in tables A.1 and A.2.

## Method

The method used for the empirical section was Event History Analysis, with models for discrete-time data (Bernardi, 2006; Box-Steffensmeier and Jones, 2004; Mills, 2011).

Event history discrete time models estimated the hazard rate, which is defined as the probability that an event occurs at a particular time  $t$ , conditional on the fact that the event did not occur before  $t$ . The survival function expressed the probability that an event did not occur before time  $t$  (Mills 2011, p. 181).

Thus, the hazard function is expressed as follows:

$$h(t) = \Pr(T = t \mid T \geq t)$$

where  $T$  is the event time.

The survival function is represented as:

$$\hat{S}(t) = \Pr(T > t \mid T \geq t) = 1 - h(t)$$

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<sup>8</sup> We also tested the hypothesis with a continuous variable for age, with very similar results.



When the dependent variable is binary and the time intervals are discrete (e.g. one-year interval) the recommended model was logit regression (Bernardi 2006). However, as we were in presence of competing risks, by which the event could have occurred for a number of reasons, namely the dependent variable was operationalised into three different outcomes, we applied an extension of the logistic regression, which is the multinomial logistic regression (Corbetta et al., 2014). With multinomial logistic regression, we estimated the risk/opportunity of experiencing one of the three outcomes, conditional on a set of one or more independent variables. As for logistic regression, this risk/opportunity was represented as a set of probabilities ranging from 0 to 1.

In our case, the baseline category was '*no exit*' and the comparison was carried out in the paper as follows:

- a) exit without partner (outcome 2) vs. no exit (outcome 1)
- b) exit with partner (outcome 3) vs. no exit (outcome 1)

Finally, observations in a dataset organised according to a person-period scheme, could not be considered independent among them, but were clustered based on the id of the unit of analysis. Although this issue was quite debated, with some authors recommending adjusting standard errors on the basis of clustered id (Bernardi 2006), and some others (Allison 1982; Mills 2011) ignoring the problem, we finally opted to use robust standard error clustered on individuals.

## Results

### Descriptive statistics

As a first step, we present here some descriptive statistics of the event under analysis (dependent variable) and characteristics (independent and covariates) of the individuals who made the transition at the time of the event (Tables 1 and 2).

In total, in the sample and time range available, we were able to observe 980 exits from the parental home (namely, no longer have their father or mother as part of their household), of which 506 occurred with a partner, 474 with no partner. According to the descriptive statistics in Table 2, it seemed that exit from the parental home without a partner tended to occur more frequently among individuals who were employed (with almost no differences depending on the type of contract); among adult individuals in the age range of 35-40, and among those with tertiary education. Similarly, the exit from the parental home with a partner (no matter whether married or in a consensual union), tended to be more frequent among employed individuals (slightly higher for permanent contracts), among individuals with higher education and in the pre-crisis period. On the other hand, differences based on gender and geographical areas looked very limited.



**Table 1** Number of events in the sample

	No.	%
no exit	9,490	90.6
exit with no partner	474	
exit with partner	506	
total exit	980	9.4
total individuals	10,470	100

Source: own calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal database (UDB 2007-2014)





**Table 2** Descriptive statistics of characteristics associated to the event (at time  $t_{event}$ )

	exit no partner			exit with partner		
	No.	sample	%	No.	sample	%
<i>LM status and contract</i>						
employed with permanent contract	221	2,500	8.8	251	2,500	10
employed with temporary contract	75	954	7.9	79	954	8.3
employed (missing info on contract)	53	733	7.2	65	733	8.9
unemployed	55	1,537	3.6	45	1,537	2.9
inactive	70	4,746	1.5	66	4,746	1.4
Total	474	10,470	4.5	506	10,470	4.8
<i>geographical area</i>						
North & Centre	311	6,338	4.9	304	6,338	4.8
South & Islands	154	4,116	3.7	192	4,116	4.7
missing	9	16	56.3	10	16	62.5
Total	474	10,470	4.5	506	10,470	4.8
<i>period of entry</i>						
pre-crisis (entry 2007/2009)	232	4,618	5	279	4,618	6
crisis (entry 2010/2012)	172	3,829	4.5	183	3,829	4.8
post-crisis (entry 2013/2014)	70	2,023	3.5	44	2,023	2.2
Total	474	10,470	4.5	506	10,470	4.8
<i>parental background</i>						
at most lower secondary	220	4,843	4.5	279	4,843	5.8
upper secondary	175	4,249	4.1	179	4,249	4.2
tertiary	79	1,372	5.8	48	1,372	3.5
missing	0	6	0		6	0
Total	474	10,470	4.5	506	10,470	4.8
<i>Control variables</i>						
<i>Gender</i>						
male	257	5,721	4.5	240	5,721	4.2
female	217	4,749	4.6	266	4,749	5.6
Total	474	10,470	4.5	506	10,470	4.8
<i>Age</i>						
young (17-24)	88	5,540	1.6	48	5,540	0.9
young adults (25-34)	267	3,831	7	355	3,831	9.3
adults (35-40)	119	1,099	10.8	103	1,099	9.4
Total	474	10,470	4.5	506	10,470	4.8
<i>Education</i>						
at most lower secondary	97	3,680	2.6	124	3,680	3.4
upper secondary	258	5,571	4.6	275	5,571	4.9
tertiary	119	1,162	10.2	107	1,162	9.2
Total	474	10,470	4.5	506	10,470	4.8

Source: own calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal database (UDB 2007-2014)



## Regression models

In order to highlight the different patterns of exit that might emerge for men and women, we ran separate gender-specific discrete-time EHA models (Table 3).

The estimates of the multinomial logit regression confirmed preliminary results from descriptive statistics and clarified better the factors associated to patterns of exit without a partner and exit with a partner.

### Exit with no partner (vs. no exit)

Keeping in mind that our baseline comparison group was the case of no exit from the parental home, estimates for **men** (model 1) showed that our variable of main interest, labour market condition, played a relevant role. Indeed, being unemployed significantly reduced the chances of leaving the parental home without a partner (vs. not exiting home) (HP1). However, no difference was observable with respect to the type of contract, whether permanent or temporary. The category of inactive men (which included students and people not employed and not looking for job) also showed a lower risk of exiting the parental home (compared to men employed with a permanent contract). Regarding the interaction between geographical area and education, HP2 was not confirmed: having tertiary education and living in the South did not provide significantly higher chances of a higher relative risk of exiting home alone, net of labour market status, compared to those with peers living in the North. On the contrary, individuals with low to medium education in both the North and the South had a lower chance of exiting compared to those highly educated in the North. The negative effect of the crisis hypothesised could be observed (HP3). Stated better, being observed in the period following the economic crisis (since 2013 on), net of labour market status, has significantly reduced the chances of exit alone for men, compared to those who started to be observed in the period 2007-2009.

In line with what is hypothesised in HP4, a high parental background (at least in terms of cultural resources, proxied by tertiary education), net of labour market status, was associated to a higher relative log odd of exiting the parental home with no partner (vs. non-exit). Lastly, the variable introduced to model duration provided a pattern of increasing relative risk of exiting the parental home alone as years since the end of education increased.

Estimates for **women** (model 2), did not differ much from the men model: our variable of main interest was confirmed as relevant: being unemployed was significantly associated to a reduced relative log odd of exiting the parental home for women as well (HP1). Having a temporary contract did not result as being significantly different from a permanent one, and inactive women (which included pure inactive and students), just as for men, showed a significant lower risk of exit. The association with education and geographical areas resembled the results from the model of men, also here women



with a high educational title, living in the South of Italy (net of labour market status, did not have a higher log odd of exiting the parental home alone compared to their peers in the North (HP2). The effect of the period of entry into the survey and, in particular, a potential negative effect of being observed in the period after the crisis, net of the labour market status, was not statistically significant (HP3). Finally, as observed for men, a higher parental background in terms of cultural resources was positively associated to a higher relative log odd of exiting home alone (vs. non-exit) (HP4). Lastly, contrary to what was observed for men, there seemed to be an increasing relative risk of exiting the parental home for women who left education more than >20 years ago (compared to recent school leavers, 0-4 years).

#### Exit with a partner (vs. non-exit)

Estimates for **men** (model 1), showed again that our main interest variable played a significant role, also in the relative risk of exiting the parental home with a partner. Indeed, being unemployed was significantly and negatively associated to the risk of exiting home with a partner (compared to non-exit) (HP1). As for the previous outcome, having a temporary contract did not significantly differ from having a permanent contract in determining the risk of exit, and being a student or inactive decreased significantly the relative risk of exit.

With respect to education and geographical areas, the relative chances of exiting the parental home with a partner (vs. non-exit), net of labour market situation, did not differ across the geographical area (highly educated in the South did not have a significantly different risk), but the divide seemed to run along the level of education, for the North only: indeed, low-medium educated in the North had a lower risk of exiting compared to highly educated peers (HP2). As for the previous transition, there was a significant negative effect of the post-crisis period for men, which implied that, controlling for the labour market status, being observed in the period after the crisis (since 2013 on) reduced the relative risk of exiting the parental home with a partner (compared to those observed in the pre-crisis period 2007-2009) (HP3). Unlike previous models, the educational background of the family of origin did not exert any significant effect on the relative risk of exiting the parental home with a partner (HP4). Finally, time-dependence was also observed, with a positive and significant (turning slightly significant at 90% confidence interval for the categories 15+ years) association between years since end of education and exit with a partner. The model for **women** (model 2), did not differ substantially from the men model. The negative association with labour market exclusion was confirmed for women (HP1), as well as the non-statistically significant difference between temporary and permanent contract, and the reduced risk of exit for inactive women. The interaction between the level of education and geographical area did not differ from the men model, with low-medium educated women in the North having a lower chance of exiting compared to highly educated peers (HP2).



Contrary to the previous transition, a negative association with being observed in the post-crisis period was statistically significant (HP3) but, as for men, parental background did not seem to matter in shaping the relative risk of exiting the parental home (HP4). Lastly, contrary to the previous transition, the exit with a partner for women was significantly time-sensitive, since the relative risk of exit with a partner was higher as the years since the end of education increased.

As far as differences between the two outcomes of exit alone and exit with a partner were considered, Figure A.1 in the appendix plotted the average marginal effects of main variables of interest for Model 1 (men). It can be noticed that the average marginal effect of each variable did not significantly differ across models, with the exception of the post-crisis category, which is significant only for the case of exit with partner and the high educational level of parents, which is significant in case of individual exit only (average marginal effects of the two models can also be compared in Table A.3).

### Average Marginal Effects

In order to make the interpretation of coefficient easier and to compare the two models for women and men, we plotted some of the average marginal effects of the main variables of interest and summarised them in Table A.3 in the appendix.

Figure 1 plotted the average marginal effects for the specific subsample of men and women who were unemployed and inactive (vs. employed individuals with a permanent contract) and for the two possible outcomes (exit without and with a partner). The overlapping confidence intervals showed that the unemployment gaps were not significantly different for men and women, or between the two outcomes considered. For the same specific subsample of men and women who were unemployed and inactive (vs. employed individuals with permanent contract) Figure 2 plotted the average marginal effects on their chances of individual exit (with no partner) before (2007-2009, left panel) and after (2013-2014, right panel) the economic crisis. It showed that in both periods, there were no gender differences, namely unemployed men and women did not have a significantly different average marginal effect of making the transition out of the parental home, as the confidence intervals overlapped. The same subsample was considered in Figure 3, but with respect to the transition with a partner. Here again, the average marginal effects were not significantly different between genders but, for men, they did differ across periods (a negative but smaller marginal effect in the post-crisis period compared to the pre-crisis). This might have been due to the fact that in the post-crisis period the chances of exit with a partner decreased for all individuals, employed people included, and thus the relative distance between employed and unemployed individuals decreased, although preserving a significant difference.



**Table 3** Summary of findings from multinomial regression model

	<b>M (alone)</b>	<b>M (partner)</b>	<b>F (alone)</b>	<b>F (partner)</b>
HP1: LM exclusion (unemployment)	-	-	-	-
HP2: mobility for employment/study	ns	ns	ns	ns
HP3: economic crisis	-	-	ns	-
HP4: parental background	+	ns	+	ns
Duration (years since end of education)	+	+	+	+

Source: own elaboration



**Table 4** Multinomial Logit regression coefficients, separate models for men and women

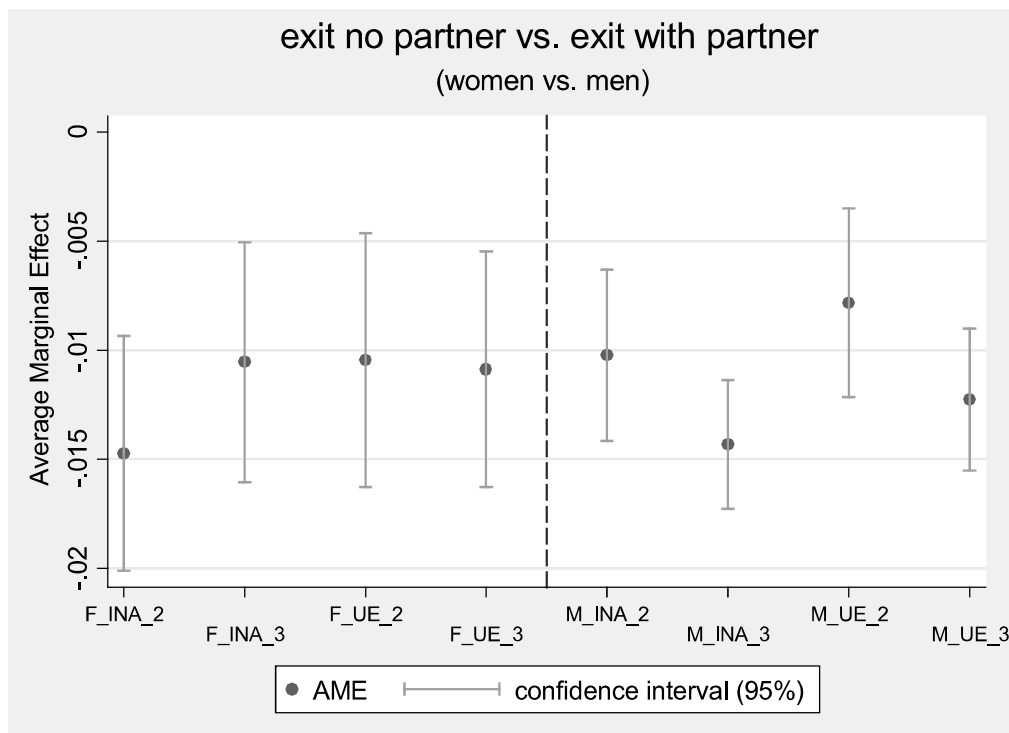
	(1) Men	(2) Women
<b>no exit</b>	ref	ref
<b>exit with no partner</b>		
LM status (ref= employed & permanent)		
employed & temporary	-0.248	0.0167
employed & missing	-0.272	-0.399
unemployed	-0.701**	-0.790**
inactive	-1.058**	-1.421**
education & geo (ref= high & North)		
low-medium & North	-0.431+	-0.459*
low-medium & South	-0.570*	-0.440+
high & South	0.463	0.0381
crisis (ref= pre-crisis)		
during	0.0124	-0.125
after	-0.348+	-0.308
parental background (ref= low education)		
upper secondary	0.266+	0.111
tertiary	0.642**	0.622**
years since end education (ref 0-4 years)		
5-9	0.314	0.227
10-14	0.507+	0.370
15-19	0.843*	0.562
20-24	0.748+	1.085*
25-29	0.737	1.258*
age (ref= 17-24 years old)		
25-34	0.451*	0.484*
35-43	0.591+	-0.00585
<b>exit with partner</b>		
LM status (ref= employed & permanent)		
employed & temporary	0.0357	-0.211
employed & missing	-0.127	-0.190
unemployed	-1.554**	-0.800**
inactive	-2.474**	-0.771**
education & geo (ref= high & North)		
low-medium & North	-0.510*	-0.524*
low-medium & South	-0.235	-0.229
high & South	0.0645	-0.0174
crisis (ref= pre-crisis)		
during	-0.133	-0.191
after	-0.909**	-0.907**
parental background (ref= low education)		
upper secondary	0.109	-0.0241
tertiary	0.109	-0.145
years since end education (ref 0-4 years)		
5-9	0.764*	0.757**
10-14	0.928**	1.080**
15-19	0.688+	0.912**
20-24	0.853+	1.347**
25-29	0.963+	1.340*
age (ref= 17-24 years old)		
25-34	1.404**	1.115**
35-43	1.056*	0.650+
Observations	22266	18347
R2	0.0827	0.0769

Note: + p < 0.10, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01

Source: own calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal database (UDB 2007-2014)



**Figure 1** Average Marginal Effect by LM status, gender and outcome



Legend: F=female; M=male; UE= unemployed; INA=inactive; \_2= exit no partner; \_3= exit with partner.  
Source: own calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal database (UDB 2007-2014)



Figure 2 Average marginal effect of exit no partner, by LM status, gender and period

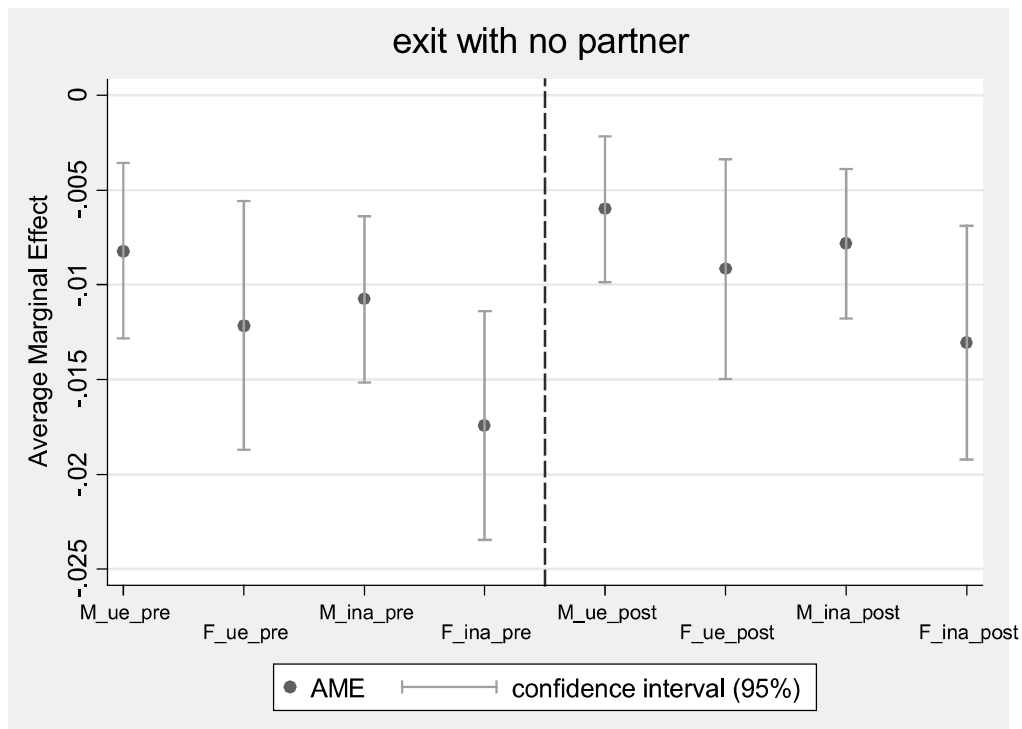
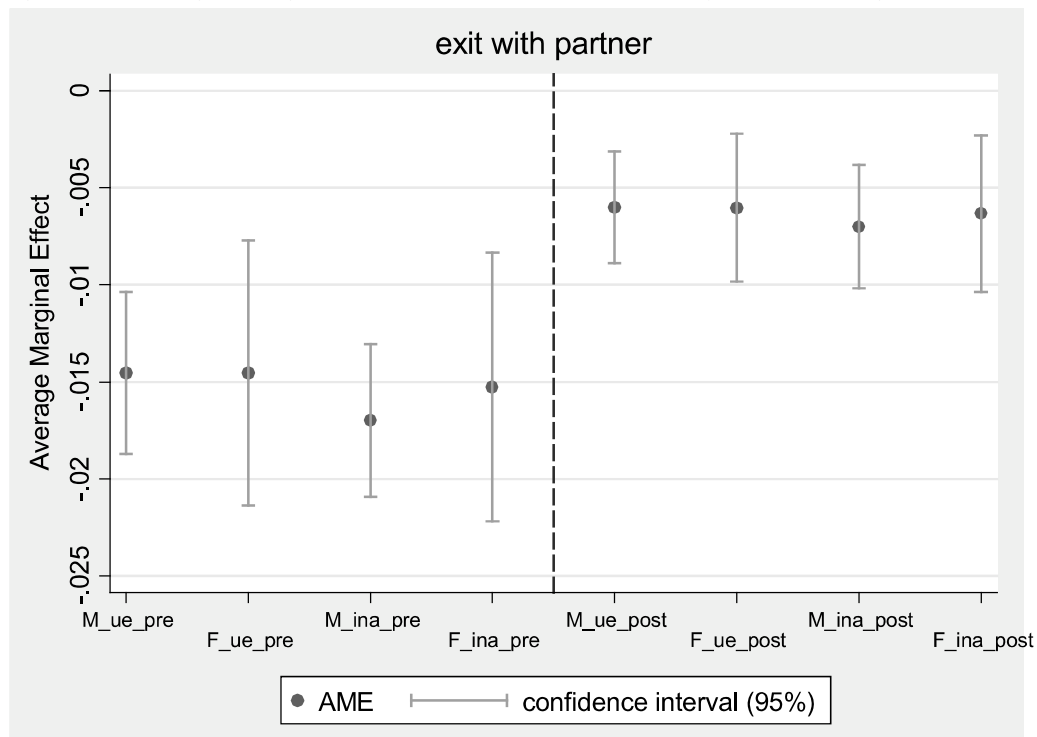


Figure 3 Average marginal effect of exit with partner, by LM status, gender and period



Legend for both figures: F=female; M=male; UE= unemployed; INA=inactive; pre=pre-crisis (entry 2007-2009); post=post-crisis (entry 2013-14).

Source: own calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal database (UDB 2007-2014)





## Conclusions

In this paper, we analysed whether, and to what extent, the labour market situation of young Italians affected their chances of exiting the parental home, considering a medium-term horizon. The paper also aimed to test whether contextual factors, such as the occurrence of the economic crisis of 2008, and family-related characteristics, such as the educational level of parents, might also have played a role in shaping the chances of exiting the parental home. We used longitudinal data and applied discrete-time model for estimating the hazard rate of leaving the parental home for a sample of Italian individuals in the age range of 16 to 40 who, at the beginning of the observation period, were living with their parents. We ran separate models for men and women, but the estimates showed that the patterns of exit did not diverge substantially across gender.

The main hypothesis of a negative effect of labour market exclusion (HP1) was supported by all our models, and was robust and consistent across genders (both men and women) and across transitions, with the condition of unemployment impacting negatively both on individual exit and exit with a partner. Moreover, the condition of inactivity emerged as negatively associated to exit from the parental home. Although it might have been driven by a common reason of lack of resources, as for unemployed people, it might assume slightly different meanings for people who were in education (students) and truly inactive people (not employed and not looking for job). However, in all models, objective insecurity, proxied by having a temporary contract, did not play any statistically significant role. This could be explained by the fact that having a temporary contract was becoming very normal for the new generations of young people and after a certain age, they left the parental house even if in a precarious position.

The higher mobility for employment or study reasons hypothesised for individuals with tertiary education in the South (HP2) was not supported: indeed, for both men and women, net of their labour market status, highly educated people in the South did not have a significantly higher chance of exiting the parental home. On the contrary, only a very slight disadvantage of low- to medium-educated people in the North could be observed, suggesting a running divide across educational attainment in the North.

Moreover, being observed in the post-crisis period (HP3), net of the labour market status, significantly reduced (although to a little extent) the likelihood of exiting the parental home with a partner, compared to those observed in the pre-crisis period (both men and women), but did not play a significant effect in case of individual exit. This provided support for our hypothesis of declining chances of exit for youth because of a (persistent) deteriorated economic context.

The fourth hypothesis, assuming a positive role played by parents with higher cultural (and potentially material) resources in supporting the exit of children from the parental home (HP4) was also confirmed. However, it was interesting to note that this was confirmed for individual transition only: here children of parents with tertiary education



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had a higher relative propensity to exit (vs. non-exit). Therefore, it seemed that attitudes towards a more open/responsible education were positively associated to the process of leaving the family of origin.



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## Appendix

**Table A.1** Sample size by EU-SILC wave

EU-SILC wave	individuals	
	No.	%
2007 (2004/07)	1,629	15.6
2008 (2005/08)	1,537	14.7
2009 (2006/09)	1,452	13.9
2010 (2007/10)	1,531	14.6
2011 (2008/11)	1,261	12.0
2012 (2009/12)	1,037	9.9
2013 (2010/13)	880	8.4
2014 (2011/14)	1,143	10.9
Total	10,470	100

Source: own calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal database (UDB 2007-2014)

**Table A.2** Descriptive statistics of sample size at the beginning of the observation ( $t_0$ )

Independent variables	No.	%	Control variables	No.	%
<i>gender</i>			<i>age</i>		
female	4,749	45.4	young (17-24)	5,540	52.9
<i>LM status and contract</i>			young adults (25-34)	3,831	36.6
employed with permanent contract	2,500	23.9	adults (35-40)	1,099	10.5
employed with temporary contract	954	9.1	Total	10,470	100
employed (missing info on contract)	733	7	Age (mean)	Std. Dev.	Median
unemployed	1,537	14.7		25.2	6.2
inactive	4,746	45.3	<i>education</i>		
Total	10,470	100	at most lower secondary	3,680	35.2
<i>area of residence</i>			upper secondary	5,571	53.2
South&Islands	4,116	39.4	tertiary	1,162	11.1
<i>period of entry</i>			Total	10,470	100
entry pre-crisis (2004-09)	4,618	44.1	<i>time to event (years since left education)</i>		
entry during crisis (2007-2009)	3,829	36.6	0-4	4,695	44.8
entry post-crisis (2010-2011)	2,023	19.3	5-9	2,749	26.3
Total	10,470	100	10-14	1,435	13.7
<i>parental background</i>			15-19	885	8.5
at most lower secondary	4,843	46.3	20-24	514	4.9
upper secondary	4,249	40.6	25-29	135	1.3
tertiary	1,372	13.1	missing	57	0.5
missing	6	0.1	Total	10,470	100
Total	10,470	100	partner is a household member (while living with parents)		
			no	10,284	98.3
			yes	179	1.7
			missing	7	0.1
			Total	10,470	100

Source: own calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal database (UDB 2007-2014)



**Table A.3** Average Marginal Effects for discrete time model (multinomial logit in Tab. 4)

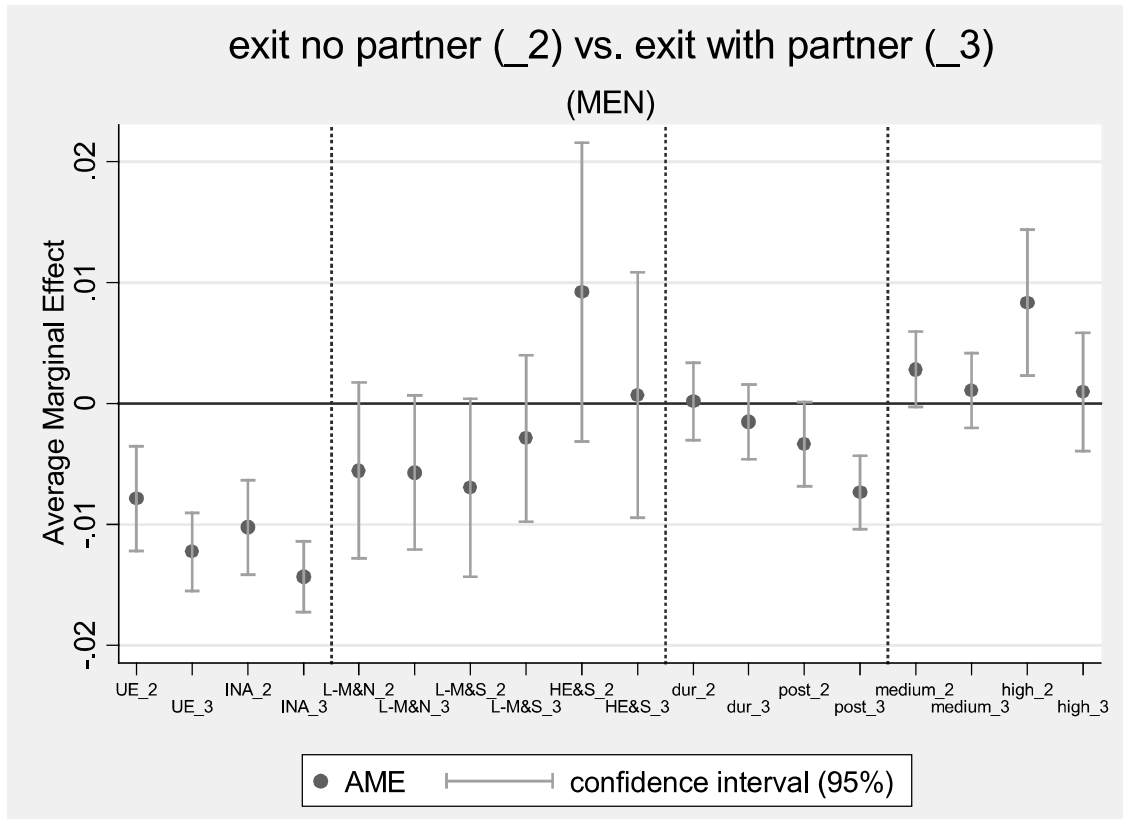
	<b>MEN</b>	<b>WOMEN</b>
<b>exit no partner (outcome 2)</b>		
LM status (ref= employed & permanent)		
employed with temporary contract	-0.00345	0.000421
employed (missing info on contract)	-0.00371	-0.00629
unemployed	-0.00783***	-0.0105**
inactive	-0.0102***	-0.0147**
education & geo (ref= high & North)		
low-medium & North	-0.00553	-0.00555+
low-medium & South	-0.00695	-0.00543
high & South	0.00922	0.000602
crisis (ref= pre)		
during	0.000177	-0.00140
post	-0.00337	-0.00312
parental background (ref= at most lower secondary)		
upper secondary	0.00284	0.00117
tertiary	0.00835**	0.00848**
Observations	22266	18347
<b>exit with partner (outcome 3)</b>		
LM status (ref= employed & permanent)		
employed with temporary contract	0.000628	-0.00377
employed (missing info on contract)	-0.00177	-0.00328
unemployed	-0.0123**	-0.0109**
inactive	-0.0143**	-0.0106**
education & geo (ref= high & North)		
low-medium & North	-0.00571+	-0.00752*
low-medium & South	-0.00288	-0.00365
high & South	0.000714	-0.000337
crisis (ref= pre)		
during	-0.00152	-0.00285
post	-0.00734**	-0.00997**
parental background (ref= at most lower secondary)		
upper secondary	0.00108	-0.000365
tertiary	0.000976	-0.00209
Observations	22266	18347

Note: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Source: own calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal database (UDB 2007-2014)



Figure A.1 Average Marginal Effect for exit no partner vs. exit with partner (Model 1)



Legend: UE=unemployed; INA=inactive; L-M&N=low-medium education & North-Center; L-M&S= low-medium education & South; HE&N=high education & North-Center; HE&S=high education & South; dur= during the crisis; post= post crisis; medium= highest educational level of parents is upper secondary education; high=highest educational level of parents is higher education.

Source: own elaboration based on EU-SILC longitudinal database (UDB 2007-2014)