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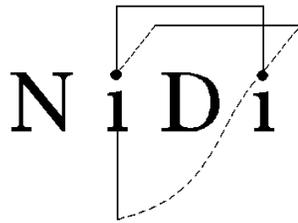
Leaving home among migrant-descent and Dutch young adults: parent-child  
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*Abstract.* This study examines the influence of relations with parents and peers on home-leaving behavior among migrant-descent and Dutch young adults. Data come from the TIES survey including the Turkish ( $n = 493$ ) and Moroccan ( $n = 486$ ) second generation as well as a native comparison group ( $n = 506$ ) in the Netherlands. Competing risks models are applied to distinguish between leaving home for different reasons. Results indicate that Dutch young adults mainly leave home at relative young ages to attend further education, while in particular women of the Turkish second generation are more likely to postpone leaving home until marriage. Among the second generation, we find that having close friends outside one's own ethnic group decreases the chance of leaving home for union formation. Conflicts with parents accelerate the process of leaving home for women of all origin groups, though only in order to gain independence.

**Keywords:** conflict, leaving parental home, peers, second generation, the Netherlands

Leaving the parental home is a major event in the life course which involves essential changes for young people and their parents. For children in Western societies, moving out of the parental home is part of the process of becoming an independent adult. It is closely linked to other key events in the transition to adulthood, such as union formation and entry into the labor market or higher education (Billari, Philipov, & Baizan, 2001; Goldscheider, Thornton, & Young-DeMarco, 1993). When and why young people leave home has therefore been studied extensively (Aquilino, 1991; Bernhardt, Gähler, & Goldscheider, 2005; Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). Much of this research suggests that home-leaving behavior depends on the opportunities and constraints of the environment that the young adult faces. These can be socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the parental home (Aquilino, 1991; Murphy & Wang, 1998), as well as institutional factors, such as the situation on the labor and housing market (Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002). Apart from these opportunities and constraints, leaving home is also a function of the preferences of young adults and their parents (De Jong Gierveld, Liefbroer, & Beekink, 1991; Billari & Liefbroer, 2007), which can vary significantly across cultural contexts (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007).

Despite these numerous studies on the leaving-home process of young adults, research that pays attention to patterns of leaving home among children from migrant families in Europe is still limited (see Bolt, 2002; De Valk & Billari, 2007; Zorlu & Mulder, 2011 for exceptions). This lack of attention is unfortunate as a large and growing share of the European population consists of migrants and their descendants. Children of migrants are in a special situation in which they have to balance between the norms and values of their parents on the one hand and those of the society in which they grow up on the other (Foner, 1997). Many European countries, including the Netherlands, have experienced considerable demographic changes over the last decades, which have been labelled 'the second demographic transition' (SDT) (Van de Kaa, 1987). These shifts have resulted, among others, in a relative young age at leaving the parental home and alternative family arrangements, like unmarried cohabitation, have become common (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010). In Turkey and Morocco, two major countries of origin of migrants in the Netherlands, the SDT has not evolved to the same extent as is the case for north western Europe and the transition to adulthood still follows more traditional paths (Nauck, 2002).

In this study, we examine variation in home-leaving behavior among Turkish and Moroccan second-generation and Dutch young adults in the Netherlands. Earlier studies on ethnic differences in leaving home have mainly focused on the role of intergenerational

transmission of norms and values along with other parental resources to explain differences between migrants and non-migrants (e.g., de Valk & Billari, 2007; Zorlu & Mulder, 2011). This does, however, not capture the awkward position of migrant children between two cultures. A clash in norms and values between generations may become in particular obvious in migrant families and therewith contributing to intergenerational conflict (Giguere, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010). Therefore, we expand the earlier studied family influences to the role of conflicts between the young adults and their parents as an additionally important determinant for leaving home. Furthermore, studies have pointed to the fact that relations in young adults' lives go beyond parents and predominantly include friends and peers (Arnett, 1995; Prinstein & Dodge, 2008). The main goal of this paper is therefore to study into more detail how young adults' choices regarding leaving home are affected by different sources of socialization, with (perhaps conflict-ridden) parent-child relationships on the one hand and peer relations on the other. This translates into the following research question: To what extent do relations with parents and peers influence the home-leaving behavior of Turkish and Moroccan second-generation and Dutch young adults?

To address our research question, we use data from the TIES (The Integration of the European Second Generation) survey. These data contain detailed information on the process of leaving home, as well as relations with parents and peers among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation and their native counterparts, allowing for a comparison across and within groups. We specify competing risks models for men and women separately to distinguish between leaving home to (a) start living with a partner, (b) gain independence, or (c) enter the labor market or higher education, while taken the timing of the move into account.

## BACKGROUND

The population of the Netherlands nowadays includes a substantial number of migrants (referred to as first generation, i.e., those who are born outside the Netherlands) and their descendants (the second generation, i.e., those who are born in the Netherlands with at least one, but very often two parents who are born elsewhere). Together they account for almost 20% of the current population of the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands, 2012). Slightly more than half of the migrant population has a non-Western background, the other half are migrants from Western origin like other European countries and north America (Statistics Netherlands, 2012). The group with a non-Western background counts 1.1 million first generation and 860,000 second-generation migrants. Four main origin groups predominate

the Dutch population of migrant origin. Turks constitute the largest group followed by Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans, including respectively 196,000, 195,000, 163,000 and 61,000 people of the second generation (Statistics Netherlands, 2012). All other origin groups are considerably smaller and cover a very heterogeneous population in terms of migration history and time of residence in the Netherlands (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007).

The Turkish and Moroccan second generation are the children of the predominantly male migrant workers who came to the Netherlands in the 1960s and early 1970s. Since these migrants were recruited to carry out unskilled labor, they were mainly low educated and originated from the rural areas of their origin countries. In the Netherlands, they often settled in the big cities to work in factories, shipyards or the cleaning industry. These migrants who were recruited under 'guest workers programs', were expected to stay temporarily and return to their origin countries. Hence, social and integration policies, such as language acquisition initiatives, were not enacted. Nevertheless, many of these migrants did not return, but arranged for their families to join them in the Netherlands instead (Bolt, 2002). Due to the economic recession in the 1980s, many first-generation migrants from Turkey and Morocco became unemployed and therewith dependent on state-provided benefits.

In the past decade, the children of these labor migrants have come to the age of making the transition to adulthood, implying that it is only recently possible to study their position in Dutch society. Existing studies across countries in Europe have found that, although the position of the second generation is improving, most of them still are affected by the low socio-economic position of their parents (Heath, Rethon, & Kilpi, 2008). In the Netherlands, it is found that the Turkish and Moroccan second generation compared to children of native Dutch parents, achieve lower educational levels and are more likely to drop out without a diploma (Van der Werfhorst & Van Tubergen, 2007). Furthermore, they are in a disadvantaged position on the labor market, due to their lower educational credentials, but also as a result of discrimination on the labor market (Heath et al., 2008). Finally, the Turkish and Moroccan second generation also differ from the majority population in terms of religion. Whereas the Netherlands was traditionally a predominantly Christian country and is one of the most secular countries in Western Europe nowadays, the majority of the Turkish and Moroccan population adheres to Islam (Phalet & Van Praag, 2004).

## THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

### *Parent-child relations: Socialization*

According to socialization theory (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986), parents transmit their norms and values to their children by means of normative standards and parental role modelling (Arnett, 1995). Although preferences of parents are not always consonant with those held by their children, previous studies have shown that parental timing preferences regarding family-life transitions are strongly in line with the preferences (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007) and behavior (Billari & Liefbroer, 2007) of their children.

Since the parents of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation arrived in the Netherlands as adults, they have been socialized primarily in their countries of origin. As a consequence, the expectations towards the behavior of their children are likely to be mainly drawn from their socialization country context (Arnett, 1995). In Turkish and Moroccan society, the family takes central stage and life-course decisions are thought to affect not only the individual but also the family (Kagitcibasi, 2005; Nauck, 2002). Direct marriage at relative young ages is the predominant norm in these societies. Traditionally, marriage was arranged between the parents of the two families involved, making partner choice less of an individual romantic decision and more a collective family-life transition. According to the patrilineal tradition and intergenerational support norms, a married couple doubles up in the parental home of the husband, rather than setting up a separate household (Koc, 2007; Bolt, 2002). Only after the birth of a first child, the couple usually moves out of the parental home of the husband (Koc, 2007). These cultural patterns brought from the migrants' countries of origin may of course change as a part of the assimilation process (Glick & Bean, 1997). Previous studies, however, have found little support for signs of assimilation of parents (e.g., language proficiency) and family arrangements of their children (Blank & Torrecilha, 1998; Pérez, 1994).

In the Netherlands, by contrast, a more individualistic orientation in the transition to adulthood prevails (Lesthaeghe, 2002) which is in line with an often noted increase in individual autonomy in life course decision making in many Western societies over the past decades (Van de Kaa, 1987). A separate youth phase after puberty has emerged, in which young adults have more freedom of movement and experiment with relationships before engaging in more serious long term commitments. This has resulted in a postponement of major life transitions. In particular events that are hard to reverse and that have far-reaching consequences, such as marriage and parenthood, are postponed (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010).

Marriage is therefore often preceded by living alone or with an unmarried partner (Jansen & Liefbroer, 2001). Moving out of the parental home, on the other hand, can be perceived as an expression of individual autonomy and independence. Hence, in many western European societies, transitions out of the parental home are experienced at relative young ages. Based on these theoretical considerations we formulate the following hypothesis: Compared to Dutch young adults, the Turkish and Moroccan second generation are (a) more likely to leave the parental home to start living with a partner, in particular in a married union, and (b) less likely to leave the parental home for independence, (c) school or work (Hypothesis 1).

Leaving-home patterns are not only expected to differ between origin groups, but also by gender. Numerous studies have found that women leave the parental home at younger ages and more often with a partner than men. This pattern is found among both natives (Aquilino, 1991; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002) and those with a migrant background (De Valk & Billari, 2007). The difference between men and women, however, may not be equal among ethnic groups. As stated, in Turkey and Morocco men often continue to live in the parental home for a while after they marry, whereas women move in with their partner's family after marriage (Bolt, 2002; Koc, 2007). Furthermore, Turkish and Moroccan women face stronger normative prescriptions for the appropriate timing of important life transitions than men (Bolt, 2002). Bernhardt et al. (2005b) note that daughters that are living alone are a threat to the family's reputation in Turkish society. Therefore, we may expect to find greater gender differences among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation than among the Dutch. This leads to the following hypotheses: Men are less likely to leave the parental home to start living with a partner than women (Hypothesis 2a).

The expected gender difference is more pronounced among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation than among the native Dutch (Hypothesis 2b).

#### *Parent-child relations: Conflict*

Previous research suggests that intergenerational conflict speeds up the process of leaving home (Lou, Lalone, & Giguère, 2012; Bernhardt et al., 2005), while a warm and caring family atmosphere may lead to postponement of moving out of the parental home (De Jong Gierveld et al., 1991). Other studies have also reported that young adults from disrupted families move out earlier, at least partly because of friction in the parent-child relation (Aquilino, 1991; Kiernan, 1992). In addition, a lower quality of the relationship between the young adults' parents has also been shown to result in younger ages of leaving the parental

home (Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). Existing research thus suggests that intergenerational relations, also indicated by conflict, may determine moving out of the parental home. Nevertheless, leaving home for further education or employment elsewhere is, more or less independently from other factors, often related to practical reasons like the distance between the parental home and the place of education or work (De Jong Gierveld et al., 1991). We therefore expect that parent-child conflicts do not have a similar effect on leaving home for any reason, but may in particular influence the more flexible pathways out of the parental house. This leads to the following hypothesis: Young adults with a higher frequency of conflict with their parents are more likely to leave the parental home to start living with a partner or to gain independence rather than for work/study reasons (Hypothesis 3a).

Intergenerational conflicts are in particular likely when the social and cultural norms prescribed by parents are not consonant with the young adult's personal views and desires (Giguère et al., 2010). This potential for intergenerational frictions is higher among children of immigrants, as they may feel to be caught between the cultural norms of mainstream society and those set out by their parents (Lou et al., 2012; Arnett, 1995). Socialization through the media, school, and peers may conflict with socialization through the family. Thus, we expect that second-generation young adults are more likely to have conflicts with their parents (Hypothesis 3b).

If the above arguments hold, the difference between second generation and Dutch young adults with regard to leaving home to gain independence would be opposite to what we expected by Hypothesis 1 (see also Zorlu & Mulder, 2011). The second generation is more likely to experience conflicts between the socialization promoted by different sources, which should increase the likelihood of leaving home to gain independence. This means that the difference between second-generation and Dutch young adults is *suppressed* by intergenerational conflict and should become (more) clear after controlling for the frequency of parent-child conflicts. This leads to the following hypothesis: The lower likelihood of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation to leave home to gain independence is suppressed by higher levels of conflict in migrant families (Hypothesis 3c).

### *Peer relations*

Children are not solely embraced within the environment of the family, but are also exposed other sources of socialization, such as peer relations (Prinstein & Dodge, 2008). The influence of peers can be expected to be mainly a consequence of role modelling, because

people seek approval of age-peers. Young adults use their peers as a point of reference to mirror their behavior (social learning). Because the influence of the peer network mainly works through role-modelling, both close friends as well as more distant acquaintances, like peers in school may be important (Huschek, De Valk, & Liefbroer, 2011). Nevertheless, close friends may be most influential as a result of the emotional investment in and closeness of these relationships (Kohler, 1997). We thus argue that peers, just like parents, may influence young adults' choices regarding leaving the parental home, albeit in a different way.

In contrast to the family network, the peer network may also include people from other origin groups (Huschek et al., 2011). Peers may in this regard even have a more important role for the children of immigrants who are born and raised in a society in which their parents were not socialized. In addition, the number of Dutch respondents with non-coethnic friends was found to be limited in our data. Hence, we study the influence of peers on home-leaving behavior only among second-generation young adults. The Turkish and Moroccan second generation are potentially exposed to alternative attitudes and behavior through contact with age-peers outside of their own ethnic community. In contrast, connections with people who share one's origin group increase the orientation towards the cultural expectations of the own origin group. Given the key importance of union formation in leaving home for those of Turkish and Moroccan origin compared to Dutch where gaining independence is more crucial, we expect that reasons for leaving home dependent on the availability of non-coethnic ties. Our final set of hypotheses is therefore that Turkish and Moroccan second-generation young adults with more non-coethnic ties are (a) less likely to leave the parental home to start living with a partner, and (b) more likely to leave the parental home for independence, (c) school or work (Hypothesis 4).

## METHOD

### *Data*

We test our hypotheses with data from the TIES survey. This is a cross-sectional survey conducted in eight European countries, on about 10,000 respondents that were interviewed between 2007 and 2008. Many questions are retrospective and cover information on key transitions in the life course. The TIES sample consists of second-generation young adults (18-35 years) of Turkish, Moroccan and ex-Yugoslavian origin and a majority group of young adults for comparison. The Dutch data include respondents of Turkish ( $n = 499$ ), Moroccan ( $n = 487$ ) and Dutch ( $n = 509$ ) origin. These respondents were selected from

Amsterdam and Rotterdam, based on population registers that include all legal residents in a municipality. The two municipalities were chosen because these are the main urban concentration areas of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation, for which the survey aims to be representative. The choice for these two cities, however, leads to some bias in our results. Because Amsterdam and Rotterdam are university cities, many particularly Dutch young adults will have moved to these cities to go to university. The proportion of Dutch young adults who have left home to get an education is therefore likely to be higher than in the Netherlands as a whole.

The overall response rate was 30% for the Turkish, 25% for the Moroccan, and 37% for the Dutch group, which reflects the rather low levels of participation in survey research in the Netherlands, in particular in large cities. In order to check for potential selective nonresponse, Huschek et al. (2011) compared the survey data against the population registers of Amsterdam and Rotterdam on age, gender, and marital status. Selectivity was found to be limited and only small differences were observed regarding gender: the proportion women is slightly higher in the survey data. In addition, it was found that the educational level of the TIES respondents was very similar to that of comparable sub-samples in other Dutch migrant surveys (Huschek et al., 2011).

### *Measures*

*Dependent variable.* Respondents were asked how old they were when they left the parental home for the *first* time, which is measured in years. Those who were still living with their parents at the time of the interview are censored at that age. We excluded a small number of respondents ( $n = 10$ ) who had left the parental home before age 15, since these respondents did most likely not leave on their own initiative, resulting in observed leaving-home ages ranging from 16 to 30 years old. The dependent variable measures the different reasons for leaving the parental home. Four reasons for leaving home are distinguished: (a) *start living with a partner*, (b) *gaining independence*, (c) *education or employment elsewhere*, and (d) *other reasons*. Living with a partner is further distinguished into marriage and cohabitation in our descriptive analyses. Note that estimates for the group that leaves home for other reasons are not presented in the tables, because this is a potentially heterogeneous group covering many types of leaving home. The results did not suggest a clear pattern and thus are hard to interpret.

*Independent variables.* In order to ascertain causality, all independent variables are either time-constant or refer to the period when the respondent was still living in the parental home. Descriptive information on the independent variables is provided in Table 1.

*Origin.* The migrant background of the young adult is defined according to the birth country of the parents. Respondents are categorized as second generation if at least one of their parents was born in Turkey or Morocco. As the number of young adults with only one Turkish/Moroccan parent is extremely limited in our sample ( $n = 35$ ), we do not distinguish between one or two foreign-born parents (cf. Zorlu & Mulder, 2011).

*Gender.* Male or female, with female as reference group.

*Conflict with parents.* Respondents indicated the frequency of conflict with their parents when they were 17 years old. Excluding those who left home before age 17 ( $n = 17$ ) did not change the estimates and are therefore included in the analyses. Conflicts were reported on eight different topics, like study, friends, love affairs and religion. Answering categories were: 1 = *never*, 2 = *sometimes*, 3 = *often*. The eight items have a good internal consistency among all origin groups (overall Cronbach's  $\alpha = .89$ ). We use the mean score of the sum of these eight items and divide the variable into three categories using the 33rd and 67th percentiles. The categorical division was used because the scores on the conflict variable are skewed towards low values, implying that respondents tend to report low levels of conflict with their parents. This replicates the approach followed in previous studies (e.g., Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). A separate category was added for those who did not remember the frequency of conflict with their parents.

Peer effects are studied for the second generation in the second multivariate part of our study. Composition of the peer group is measured by two variables. Although different constructions of the variables were explored the most optimal definitions were used and reported here.

*Proportion of non-coethnic friends.* Respondents were asked for the ethnic background of their three best friends during the period that they attended secondary school. We divided the number of friends with a different ethnic background over the total number of friends. This index was converted into dummy variables ranging from 1 = *no coethnic*, 2 = *a third coethnic*, 3 = *two thirds coethnic*, to 4 = *all coethnic friends*. Those who did not report the ethnic background of their friends are coded separately as missing.

*Ethnic school composition.* This variable measures the proportion of Dutch students in the secondary school as indicated by the respondent. Answering categories are 1 = *almost no*

*Dutch*, 2 = up to 25%, 3 = up to 50%, 4 = up to 75%, and 5 = almost all Dutch students. We include a squared term of this variable to control for non-linearity.

[Table 1 here]

All our analyses control for several socio-demographic characteristics of the young adults that were found to influence home-leaving behavior in previous studies.

*Cohort*. We include a dummy variable for two 10-year birth cohorts: 1970-79 and 1980-89. The oldest cohort (1970-79) is used as the reference category.

*(Parental) educational level*. The educational level of the young adults is measured as the highest completed level of secondary education. Respondents were also asked to indicate the highest level of education that their father and mother had completed. Both the educational level of the respondent and that of the respondents' parents is divided into three categories: 1 = low, 2 = medium, and 3 = high. In addition, we include a dummy variable for the respondents that did not know the educational level of their father or mother.

*Mother had a paid job*. A dichotomous variable (0 = no, 1 = yes) that indicates whether the mother of the respondent had a paid job when the young adult was 15 years old.

*Religiosity*. This variable indicates whether the young adult was raised according to a certain religion and if so, whether he/she attended religious lessons as a child. This results into three categories 1 = not religious, 2 = religious, and 3 = religious and lessons. Those who were not raised according to a religion are used as the reference category. We include a separate dummy variable for those who did not answer on both these questions.

*Number of siblings*. We use a more fine grained measure than most previous studies and distinguish between the number of older and the number of younger siblings. These measures are included as continuous variables in our analyses. Both are grouped at the level of four siblings, because only a small number of respondents indicated to have more than four younger or older siblings.

*Intact family*. This is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent's parents stayed together at least until the moment of leaving home (0 = no, 1 = yes).

### *Method*

Young adults in our analyses have five alternative livings arrangements: (a) continue to live with their parents, or leave home to (b) start living with a partner, (c) gain independence, (d)

for school or work, or (e) for other reasons. We use a discrete-time duration model with competing risks, in order to cover both timing and reasons for leaving home simultaneously. Person-year files with records for each individual for each year under the risk of leaving home for age 15 to age 30 are constructed before applying multinomial logistic regression, treating the four reasons of leaving home as competing risks. The dependent variables are the relative risks of having left the parental home for any of the four reasons in a year, given that the person stayed at the parental home in the year before. Once a person has left the parental home, he/she is excluded from the risk set. The analysis is censored for those who are still living with their parents at the time of the interview.

In the first part of the analyses, we compare Dutch to second-generation young adults and conduct analyses by gender, because previous research has shown different patterns of leaving home along with different effects of family background characteristics for men and women (Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). We use a stepwise approach in which the first model introduces all background characteristics and in the second model the level of conflict between parent and child is added. In the second part of our multivariate analyses, we exclude the Dutch to test our hypotheses on the influence of peer-group ethnic composition on leaving-home patterns for the Turkish and Moroccan second generation. Since separate gender-specific models showed similar effects of peer-group composition for men and women, only pooled results are presented.

## RESULTS

### *Descriptive results*

We start with an overview of the timing of leaving the parental home of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation and Dutch young adults. Figure 1 shows the proportion young adults living in the parental home between the ages of 15 and 30 by origin group and gender. Overall, men are more likely to postpone leaving the parental home in all three ethnic groups, which is in line with previous studies (De Valk & Billari, 2007). Dutch women leave the parental home at youngest ages, followed by Dutch men. Women of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation take a middle position when it comes to the timing of leaving home, in which Moroccan women move out slightly earlier than Turkish women. Turkish men move out slowest and only start to leave the parental home in substantial numbers after age 20. After that age Turkish and Moroccan men follow a rather similar pattern up to age 25.

From there, the share of Turkish living in the parental home continuous to decline more rapidly than is the case for Moroccan men.

Gender differences in the timing of leaving home are not more pronounced among the second generation than they are for the Dutch. At age 20, the difference in the proportion men and women that have left the parental home is about 15% among both the Turkish second generation and the Dutch and even smaller among the Moroccan second generation. Its only after age 25 when the difference between men and women is becoming larger among the second generation than is the case for the Dutch (who in large majority have left the parental home by those ages).

[Figure 1 here]

The second aspect we were interested in were the reasons for leaving home which are presented by origin and gender in Figure 2. This figure captures both those who have left and those who have stayed in the parental home up to the moment of interview (censored respondents). By and large the second generation is more likely to still live with their parents than is the case for Dutch young adults. It is most pronounced for Moroccan men of whom about 46% still lives with their parents. This might be related to postponed of leaving home, but it can also be the result of the younger age composition of the group. In our multivariate analyses we can shed further light on this.

For those who have left the parental home, we find substantial differences in leaving home for union formation across the origin groups. In line with our hypothesis (H1a) we find that those Dutch young adults who have left the parental home to start living with a partner, predominantly do to live with an unmarried partner. The pattern is reversed for the Turkish and Moroccan second generation: leaving home to start living with a partner usually goes hand in hand with marriage. Direct marriages from the parental home are most frequent among women of the Turkish second generation (36%). Although we find large differences between the second generation and the Dutch in the *type* of union for leaving home, differences in leaving home for union formation in *general* are smaller. Only Turkish women seem more likely to leave home with a partner than is the case for Dutch women.

In contrast to our first hypothesis, we find that the proportion young adults mentioning independence as their primary reason for leaving home is the same among all ethnic groups. It could well be that this is associated with the frequency of conflict between

the young adults and their parents (H3). In order to test this hypothesis we first of all checked whether there is a higher frequency of conflict within migrant families (not in Figure). Second-generation Turks are indeed more likely to experience conflicts with their parents than the Dutch ( $T = 4.46$  and  $p < .01$ ) but we do not find significant differences in frequency of intergenerational conflict between the Moroccan second generation and the Dutch. The role of intergenerational conflict will be further explored in the multivariate analyses.

Furthermore, Figure 2 reveals that Dutch young adults leave the parental home more often to attend education or for work than the Turkish and Moroccan second generation. About 45% of the Dutch (men and women) left home for school or work purposes, compared to about 15% of the Moroccans (men and women) and Turkish men and even lower shares of Turkish women. Additional analyses (not in Figure) show that, the majority of those who leave for this reason do for reasons of education; 95% of the Dutch and 91% of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation, making leaving home for work related reasons rather uncommon among all origin groups.

Finally, we find important gender differences in the various reasons for leaving the parental home. In line with our expectations (H2a), women leave home more often to start living with a (un)married partner than men among all groups. We furthermore hypothesized this difference to be larger among the second generation (H2b). The gender difference in leaving home for union formation is rather limited among the Moroccan second generation, but gender differences are much more pronounced among the Turkish second generation. Almost 45% of the Turkish women leaves home to live with a partner, compared to about 15% of Turkish men. Turkish men seem more likely to have left home for school or work than their female counterparts, while this difference is small among Moroccan and Dutch young adults.

[Figure 2 here]

### *The role of parents and peers*

The results of the competing risks models of leaving the parental home for the various reasons are presented in Table 2. Since our event of interest is leaving the parental home, we use remaining in the parental home as the reference category. We combined leaving home for marriage and cohabitation into one category (union formation) in our multivariate analyses because of small cell sizes across groups (see Figure 2). The first model in Table 2 presents the estimates for by origin group and the control variables and in model two the frequency of

conflict between the young adults and their parents is added. Analyses were carried out for men and women separately and the left pane of the Table shows the findings for men whereas the right pane presents the findings for women.

[Table 2 here]

For men, we find no significant differences between the Turkish second generation and Dutch in the likelihood of having left the parental home for union formation (Table 2 left pane, model 1). Contrary to our hypothesis (H1a), Moroccan men are even significantly *less* likely to have left the parental to live with a partner than Dutch men. Reason-specific survival curves (not shown) suggest that this difference mainly relates to the fact that Moroccan men postpone leaving home for marriage and cohabitation. Our hypotheses (1b, 1c) that second-generation men are less likely to leave home to gain independence and for educational and work purposes than Dutch men are corroborated by the findings.

We additionally hypothesized that these differences between origin groups may be suppressed by higher levels of parent-child conflict among the second generation (H3); we expected that a higher frequency of parent-child conflict would increase the risk of leaving home to gain independence. Our descriptive findings suggest that intergenerational conflicts are more likely to occur among the Turkish second generation than among the Dutch. Hence, differences between the Dutch and the Turkish second generation in the risk of leaving home to gain independence should be larger after controlling for the frequency of conflict with parents. In model 2 (Table 2) where the frequency of parent-child conflict is introduced, we do not find a significant relation between conflict and leaving home for any reason among men. In addition and contrasting our hypothesis, the found differences between second-generation and Dutch men do not change when we take the frequency of conflict between young adults and their parents into account. We thus find no support for hypothesis 3 among men.

The results for women (second pane Table 2) clearly differ from those among men when it comes to leaving home for union formation. Women of the Turkish second generation have a significant higher likelihood of leaving home to start living with a partner than Dutch women, which is in line with our hypothesis (H1a). The estimate for Moroccan women is in the same (expected) direction, but does not reach significance. With regard to leaving home to gain independence, women of both the Turkish and Moroccan second

generation are less likely to mention this as the primary reason for their move out of the parental home supporting hypothesis 1b. In line with findings for men, also Moroccan and in particular Turkish second-generation women are significantly less likely to leave home for school or work than the Dutch.

Once more, intergenerational conflict seems only of limited importance for leaving the parental home among women too and has a significant positive effect only when it comes to moves out of the house for independence (Table 2, model 2). However, the estimates contrasting the origin groups hardly change when taking conflict into account. Thus again, we find no support for parent-child conflicts to be associated with differences in home-leaving behavior of the second generation and Dutch (H3).

All in all, the results for men are only partly in line with Hypothesis 1. Turkish and Moroccan men are less likely to leave home for any reason than Dutch men. This pattern confirms the fact that the Turkish and Moroccan second generation are more likely to postpone leaving the parental home (see Figures 1 and 2). The results for women, however, are strongly in line with our first hypothesis. In particular women of the Turkish second generation are more traditional in their home-leaving behavior than Dutch women. Additional analyses on the full sample of men and women (not in table), suggest that women have a significant greater likelihood to leave the parental home for union formation than men, which is in line with Hypothesis 2a. We found no support for the hypothesis (H2b) that gender difference are more pronounced among the second generation however.

The next step of our analyses focused on the role of peers on home-leaving behavior among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation (Table 3). We hypothesized (H4) that second-generation Turks and Moroccans with more social ties outside their own ethnic group would be less likely to leave home for union formation and more likely to leave home for independence, school, or work. Our results indicate that a higher proportion of non-coethnic friends is indeed associated with a lower likelihood to leave the parental home for union formation among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation (cf. Huschek et al., 2011). Although the estimates of the effects of the close friends are in the expected direction also for leaving home for independence, school or work they do not reach significance. Furthermore, we study the relevance of more distant acquaintances - measured through the percentage native students at one's secondary school - on leaving home. The percentage native students in secondary school is only significantly related to leaving home for school or work. The estimates suggest a U-shaped relationship: those who attended a school with almost no Dutch

students and with many Dutch students are more likely to leave home for school or work than those who went to a school with some Dutch students, a finding that concurs with Van Houtte and Stevens (2010).

[Table 3 here]

Finally, although most of our control variables have effects in line with previous studies, some of these variables warrant discussion (see Tables 2 and 3). First of all, there is a strong positive effect of young adults' age on leaving home for any reason and a negative effect of the squared term. This means that from age 15 on, the risk of leaving home increases sharply and becomes weaker at older ages. Among both men and women, we find that these effects are the strongest for leaving home for further education or work, meaning that those who leave for this reason do so at younger ages than those who leave home for other reasons. Second, young adults who were raised according to a certain religion are less likely to have left the parental home for union formation. This is in contrast with other European studies that suggest that religious people are more traditional in their home-leaving behaviour and thus have a preference for leaving home for marriage (Rusconi, 2004). At the same time, the lower likelihood of leaving home for union formation among religious people is observed in previous studies in the Netherlands as well (Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). We obtained similar results after excluding those who had left home for cohabitation. This implies that these results are not due to the fact that marriage and cohabitation are grouped in the analyses, while religious people may object to non-marital cohabitation. Furthermore, it is interesting to see that having more younger siblings increases the risk of leaving home, while the effect of older siblings is negligible. This could be explained by the fact that most older siblings will already have left the parental home and thus older siblings do not decrease levels of space and privacy in the parental home anymore. Finally, we find that among women, living in an intact two-parent family decreases the risk of leaving home to gain independence, but this effect is no longer significant when we take parent-child conflicts into account (Table 2, model 2). This finding corroborates with previous research suggesting that young adults from disrupted families leave home at younger ages because of frictions in parent-child relations (Aquilino, 1991; Kiernan, 1992). In light with our finding this might be even more the case for women than men as was also suggested by Blauboer and Mulder (2010).

## DISCUSSION

This study examined the influence of parent-child and peer relations on leaving-home patterns of Turkish and Moroccan second generation and Dutch young adults. We applied competing risks models to distinguish between different reasons of having left the parental home. Hypotheses were formulated on (a) differences between second generation and Dutch young adults, (b) gender differentials, (c) the role of conflict, and (d) the role of peers.

Our descriptive analyses indicated that the Turkish and Moroccan second generation are more likely to postpone leaving the parental home than the Dutch. With regard to the reasons for leaving home, leaving home for further education is the primary reason among the Dutch, regardless of gender. Men of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation most often mention independence as the primary reason for moving out, while their female counterparts mainly leave home for union formation. Leaving home for union formation usually goes hand in hand with marriage among both men and women of the second generation. Among the Dutch, by contrast, direct marriages from the parental home are extremely uncommon. Nevertheless, a substantial share of Dutch young adults does leave home to start living with an unmarried partner, so union formation remains an important pathway of leaving the parental home.

Although we find large differences in the *type* of union for leaving home, the multivariate analyses showed, contrary to expectations on ethnic differences (H1), that Turkish men do not differ from Dutch men when it comes to leaving home for union formation in *general*. Moroccan men are even less likely to leave home for this reason, which seems to be related to the fact that they postpone union formation. Turkish women are more likely to leave home to enter a union than Dutch women, while there is no difference between Moroccan and Dutch women in this respect. Furthermore, we found in line with our expectations that both men and women of the second generation were significantly less likely to leave home for further education or work than the Dutch. In particular Turkish women are unlikely to move out for this reason. We find a similar pattern, though weaker effects, with regard to leaving home to gain independence. Earlier work also suggests that the Turkish community differs more from the native group than is the case for the Moroccans. This has been attributed to the close social relation in the Turkish community potentially facilitating a stronger value transmission in intergenerational relations (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). Although Turkish women are more traditional in their home-leaving behavior than their male

counterparts, we find no support for our hypothesis (H2) that gender differences are more pronounced among the second generation.

We further hypothesized that conflicts between young adults and their parents increase the likelihood of leaving home, in particular for reasons of independence and union formation (H3). We found indeed that women who have more conflicts with their parents are more likely to leave home to gain independence. Among men, however, we did not find a significant effect of parent-child conflicts on leaving home for any reason. This finding concurs with Blaauboer and Mulder (2010), who find that the effect of parental relationship quality is stronger for women than for men. The fact that we already find such a clear result with a general retrospective measure of conflict, shows the potential crucial role that relations in the parental home play for choices of moving out of the parental house among young adults irrespective of origin. Future studies should aim to better capture parent-child relations and conflicts, as well as its characteristics over the life course to explore its association better and pinpoint potentially vulnerable young adults.

Furthermore we hypothesized that conflicts are more likely in migrant families, implying that parent-child conflicts may be associated with differences between second-generation and Dutch young adults. The results showed, however, that the frequency of parent-child conflicts hardly affected differences between the second-generation and Dutch young adults. Hence, parent-child conflicts cannot explain the relative high number of second-generation young adults indicating independence as the primary reason for leaving home. The reason for this might be that gaining independence captures a whole set of different reasons for the second generation than it does for Dutch young adults. Furthermore, our measure at hand here is rather crude and reported retrospectively by the young adult. More detailed information measured at the moment of leaving the parental home could shed further light on the different reasons for moving out.

Finally, we studied the effects of peers and hypothesized that second-generation young adults with more peer contacts outside their own ethnic community, would be less likely to demonstrate traditional home-leaving behavior (H4). We found that second-generation young adults with more friends outside of their own ethnic group, were indeed less likely to leave the parental home for union formation. This result is in line with findings by Huschek et al. (2011), who observed that second-generation Turks and Moroccans with more non-coethnic friends, were more likely to postpone union formation and marriage, as well as to have a non-coethnic partner. Despite the fact that we find a clear association, we

are uncertain about the direction of the effect: we do not know whether young adults' behavior changed because of their friends, or whether they selected their friends because of their attitudes and behavior.

The wider network of acquaintances - measured through the ethnic composition of the secondary school - seemed only relevant when it comes to leaving home for further education or work. Young adults who attended a school where children of migrants were neither a small minority nor a large majority, are less likely to leave home for school or work. This U-shaped relationship was also found by Van Houtte and Stevens (2010) who showed that immigrant students in schools with a low or high ethnic concentration tend to aspire to finish high school and move to higher education more than those attending medium concentration schools. Our findings in this regard also show the relevance of the wider peer network for future life paths of the second generation. Interaction with peers in the public domain, like schoolmates, may therefore also be relevant for choices in the private domain. Too often both spheres in the lives of young adults are studied separately, whereas they clearly interact with each other and probably even more so in the case of the second generation.

Despite the fact that our data shed some unique light on the role of conflicts in families and the role of peers for the Turkish and Moroccan second generation, the data also do have limitations. The fact that our data includes only young adults who were living in Amsterdam or Rotterdam at the time of the interview has two implications. First, Amsterdam and Rotterdam are two major student cities in the Netherlands. Therefore, the proportion of in particular Dutch young adults that have left the parental home for further education, is higher than it is for the Netherlands as a whole, resulting in a selective higher educated comparison group. Comparing our data to those from a representative family formation survey (De Graaf & Loozen, 2006) we find that 40% of Dutch men and 34% of Dutch women leave the parental home for school or work whereas this refers to 54% and 49% respectively in our data. Although overall our findings match those of the earlier study, the fact that we have an overrepresentation of higher educated Dutch in our data may result in an overestimation of differences between second-generation and Dutch young adults. Second, Amsterdam and Rotterdam are the main concentration areas of Turkish and Moroccan migrants (Statistics Netherlands, 2012). This implies that many of them will have stayed close to the parental home. When geographical distances are small, the young adult and the parents can maintain their collectivistic family ties, albeit in a weaker form.

Some of our findings seem at odds with the findings of Zorlu and Mulder (2011) based on the Dutch population registers. Zorlu and Mulder take the position of the young adult after having left the parental home as included in the population register and distinguish between (a) living with a partner, (b) living independently (alone), and (c) living with others. In our study we rely on the reason for the move as reported by the young adult, which is an essential difference. First of all, leaving home to attend further education appeared to be the most common reason for leaving home Dutch young adults. This reason does, however, not specify an actual living arrangement after having left the parental home. The same applies to leaving home in order to gain independence: those who have left for independence in our analyses may also include those who have left the parental home for union formation, but who perceive this move predominantly as gaining independence. Finally, many Turkish and Moroccan couples live with family, friends, or coethnics during the first years of their joint housing careers (Bolt, 2002). In particular women who leave the parental home to start living with their partner may move in the parental home of their stepfamily. These types of moves are not recorded as leaving home with a partner in the population registers. In sum, our study is complementary to that of Zorlu and Mulder in the sense that we measure why young adults leave the parental home, rather than what living arrangements occur after the move.

The starting assumption that social networks of the young adult, over and beyond the parental socio-economic situation, are important to include when looking at patterns of leaving home were clearly shown in our study. Relations with parents and in particular peers are a fruitful line of research to pursue in the future. This applies for young adults in general but may be even more relevant for children of immigrant origin. More advanced insight in the composition, role and influence of the peer network on second-generation young adults may shed additional light on vulnerable phases in their lives as well as on how they balance between expectations from different significant others.

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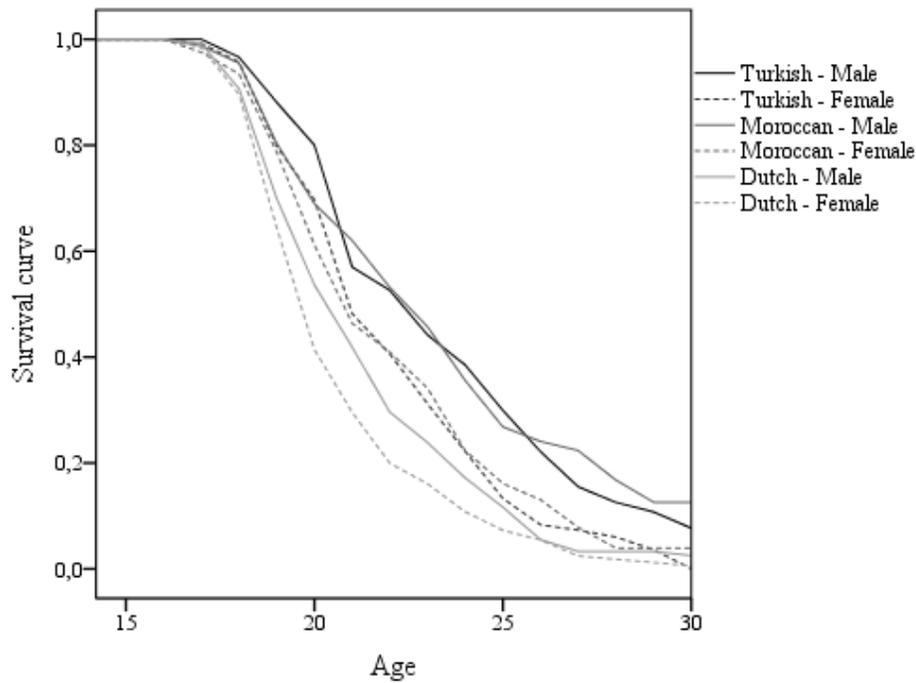
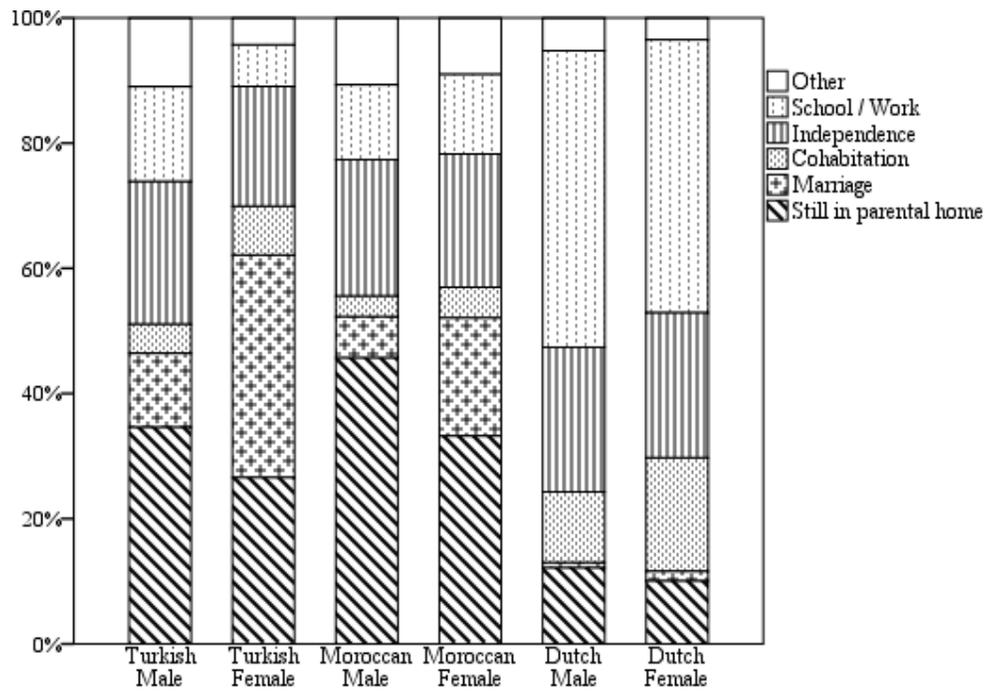
Figure 1. *Survival Curve for Living in The Parental Home, by Origin Group and Gender*Figure 2. *Reasons for Leaving Home, by Origin Group and Gender*

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics for Independent Variables*

	Turkish ( <i>n</i> = 493)		Moroccan ( <i>n</i> = 486)		Dutch ( <i>n</i> = 506)	
	Mean	<i>SD</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>
Male	0.48		0.50		0.49	
Conflict with parents (1 = <i>low</i> , 3 = <i>high</i> )	2.14	0.83	1.97	0.82	2.04	0.80
Missing	0.14		0.15		0.07	
Proportion non-coethnic friends						
0.00	0.28		0.20			
0.33	0.17		0.18			
0.67	0.24		0.29			
1.00	0.16		0.17			
Missing	0.14		0.16			
Percentage native students	2.80	1.12	2.78	1.04		
Cohort						
1970-1979	0.27		0.18		0.51	
1980-1989	0.73		0.82		0.49	
Educational level						
Low	0.34		0.33		0.17	
Medium	0.40		0.42		0.23	
High	0.26		0.25		0.59	
Parental educational level						
Low	0.54		0.57		0.16	
Medium	0.25		0.21		0.31	
High	0.11		0.10		0.50	
Missing	0.10		0.13		0.03	
Mother had paid job (1 = <i>yes</i> )	0.23		0.15		0.54	
Religiosity						
Not religious	0.11		0.07		0.56	
Religious	0.16		0.25		0.20	
Religious + lessons	0.61		0.54		0.19	
Missing	0.12		0.14		0.06	
# Younger siblings (0-4)	1.37	1.17	2.12	1.40	0.74	0.87
# Older siblings (0-4)	1.41	1.37	2.12	1.56	0.84	0.96
Intact family (1 = <i>yes</i> )	0.84		0.87		0.76	

*Note:* Standard deviations not reported for dichotomous variables.

*Source:* TIES (2007), the Netherlands

Table 2. *Competing Risks Models by Gender, Relative Risk Ratios*

	Men						Women					
	Partner		Independence		School / Work		Partner		Independence		School / Work	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Origin group												
Dutch (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Turkish	0.76	0.74	0.65†	0.62†	0.36**	0.36**	1.90*	1.91*	0.47**	0.46**	0.17***	0.17***
Moroccan	0.40*	0.39*	0.59†	0.58†	0.37**	0.38**	1.15	1.15	0.54†	0.56†	0.35**	0.35**
Age at leaving home	3.21***	3.20***	1.97***	1.96***	3.94***	3.93***	2.20***	2.20***	2.01***	2.01***	4.76***	4.78***
Age at leaving home sq.	0.94***	0.94***	0.96***	0.96***	0.89***	0.89***	0.96***	0.96***	0.96***	0.96***	0.87***	0.87***
Cohort (ref. oldest)	1.00	0.98	1.04	1.02	0.86	0.86	0.73†	0.73†	0.97	0.99	0.59**	0.60**
Educational level												
Low (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Medium	1.69†	1.72†	1.05	1.06	3.55**	3.61**	0.78	0.78	1.38	1.41	1.49	1.50
High	0.87	0.87	1.23	1.23	8.89**	9.14**	0.58**	0.58**	0.92	0.94	3.11***	3.13***
Parental educational level												
Low (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Medium	0.73	0.71	1.03	0.99	1.30	1.31	1.03	1.03	0.91	0.90	0.80	0.80
High	1.55	1.50	1.50	1.44	2.93**	2.93**	0.92	0.92	1.17	1.09	2.69***	2.68***
Mother had paid job	0.98	0.97	0.96	0.95	0.89	0.88	1.23	1.24	0.98	0.97	0.93	0.92
Religiosity												
Not religious (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Religious	0.75	0.76	1.36	1.40	1.56†	1.49†	0.40**	0.40**	1.15	1.07	1.16	1.14
Religious + lessons	0.86	0.87	1.10	1.14	1.44†	1.36	0.51**	0.51*	1.04	0.99	1.46	1.46
# Younger siblings	1.36**	1.37**	1.24**	1.25**	1.04	1.05	1.21**	1.21**	1.10	1.09	0.95	0.95
# Older siblings	1.07	1.06	1.14†	1.14†	1.07	1.06	1.04	1.04	1.04	1.02	1.08	1.07
Intact family	1.08	1.10	0.57*	0.58*	1.06	1.11	1.24	1.22	0.69†	0.73	1.07	1.08
Conflict with parents		1.17		1.19		1.08		0.99		1.25*		1.02
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	Model 1: .13		Model 2: .14		Model 1: .13		Model 2: .13					
Log likelihood	Model 1: -1,898.5		Model 2: -1,891.5		Model 1: -2,069.3		Model 2: -2,065.9					
No. of observations	N person-years 4,143; N persons 727						N person-years 3,844; N persons 758					

*Note:* Results for 'other reasons' and missing categories are not reported

*Source:* TIES (2007), the Netherlands

† $p < .10$ . \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 3. *Competing Risks Models Among Turkish and Moroccan Second Generation Young Adults, Relative Risk Ratios*

	Partner	Independence	School / Work
Proportion non-coethnic friends			
0.00 (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00
0.33	0.77	0.97	0.85
0.67	0.62*	1.10	1.05
1.00	0.51**	1.29	1.34
Percentage native students	0.64	0.73	0.42*
Percentage native students squared	1.10	1.04	1.16*
Male	0.25***	0.97	1.25
Turkish (ref. Moroccan)	1.78**	0.90	0.72
Age at leaving home	2.57***	1.98***	2.30***
Age at leaving home squared	0.95***	0.96***	0.93***
Cohort (ref. oldest)	0.73†	0.79	0.89
Educational level			
Low (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Medium	1.01	1.25	2.10*
High	0.77	1.08	3.48***
Parental educational level			
Low (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Medium	0.99	1.15	0.94
High	1.62†	1.35	1.72†
Mother had paid job	0.91	0.75	1.02
Religiosity			
Not religious (ref)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Religious	0.39**	0.90	1.46
Religious + lessons	0.47**	0.92	1.49
# Younger siblings	1.25***	1.15*	0.98
# Older siblings	1.08	1.05	1.06
Intact family	1.82*	0.76	0.95
Conflict with parents	0.99	1.24*	1.09
Pseudo $R^2$	.10		
Log likelihood	-2,519.3		
No. of observations	N person-years 5,493; N persons 979		

*Note:* Results for 'other reasons' and missing categories are not reported

*Source:* TIES (2007), the Netherlands

† $p < .10$ . \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

This study examines the influence of relations with parents and peers on home-leaving behavior among migrant-descent and Dutch young adults. Data come from the TIES survey including the Turkish ( $n = 493$ ) and Moroccan ( $n = 486$ ) second generation as well as a native comparison group ( $n = 506$ ) in the Netherlands. Competing risks models are applied to distinguish between leaving home for different reasons. Results indicate that Dutch young adults mainly leave home at relative young ages to attend further education, while in particular women of the Turkish second generation are more likely to postpone leaving home until marriage. Among the second generation, we find that having close friends outside one's own ethnic group decreases the chance of leaving home for union formation. Conflicts with parents accelerate the process of leaving home for women of all origin groups, though only in order to gain independence.

The Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) is an institute for the scientific study of population. NIDI research aims to contribute to the description, analysis and explanation of demographic trends in the past, present and future, both on a national and an international scale. The determinants and social consequences of these trends are also studied.

NIDI is a research institute of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW).

