LIVES
Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research

FNSNF
Swiss National Science Foundation

Rossignon, F., M. Studer, J.-A. Gauthier, & J.-M. Le Goff (2016)

Childhood family structure and home-leaving A combination of survival and sequence analyses

in G. Ritschard & M. Studer (eds), Proceedings of the International Conference on Sequence Analysis and Related Methods, Lausanne, June 8-10, 2016, pp 383-427.

UNIVERSITÉ DE GENÈVE

FONDATION POUR L'UNIVERSITÉ DE LAUSANNE

UNIVERSITÉ DE GENÈVE
GENEVA SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIL | Université de Lausanne
Institut des sciences sociales

Childhood co-residence structures and home-leaving

A combination of survival and sequence analyses

Florence Rossignon (1), Matthias Studer (2), Jacques-Antoine Gauthier (1) and Jean-Marie Le Goff (1)

(1) NCCR LIVES, University of Lausanne

(2) NCCR LIVES, University of Geneva

Abstract The aim of this study is to examine whether the co-residence structures in which young adults grew up is likely to affect their propensity of leaving the parental home. The empirical research was based on the LIVES Cohort study, a panel survey that started in autumn 2013 in Switzerland. Two longitudinal statistical methods were used as complementary approaches. First, sequence and cluster analyses were conducted to identify typical trajectories of childhood co-residence structure. Second, event history analysis was used to estimate whether these aforementioned structures influence home-leaving. Analyses show that it is not only the occurrence of an event that increases the risk of experiencing another event, but also the order in which various states occurred. What is more, it seems that two features have a significant influence on the departure from the parental home, which are the co-residence structures and the arrival or departure of siblings from the parental home.

1 Introduction

According to Marini (1984), the transition from youth to adulthood may be marked by several interlinked events which induce a movement from economic dependence to economic independence. Likewise, it has also been stated that it might be marked by the departure from the family of origin to found one's own family. Five major transitions are generally enumerated as the main markers of adulthood: leaving school, entering the labour force, leaving the parental home, marrying and becoming a parent (Modell, Furstenberg, & Hershberg, 1976). Thereby, the transition to adulthood can be seen as "*a series of ordered stages through which an individual passes in his or her life and which are associated from one stage to the next with age*" (Hogan & Astone, 1986, p. 110). However, the aim of this article is not to study the transition to adulthood as a set of experiences and statuses changes, but to focus on one of them: leaving the parental home.

The recent and rapid increase in divorces and remarriages has led to a growing complexity of the household's composition (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998). Indeed, new co-residence structures have emerged in the past few decades, such as stepfamilies and single-parent households. As a result, there are a growing number of children who do no longer grow up in a home with their two biological parents. According to the aforementioned researchers, these increasingly common co-residence patterns are likely to affect the ways in which the parents invest in their children and, thus, the parents-children relations. Consequently, the aim of this paper is to examine whether the previously mentioned changing co-residence structures, that are likely to affect the roles and statuses of numerous family members, may influence the decisions children make when they become adults, such as leaving the family of origin. Leaving the parental home can be considered as a prerequisite to achieve other life transitions, such as getting married and becoming a parent (Mulder, 2009). In this way, this analysis aims to give an illustration of the importance of the co-residence structure prevailing during childhood as a sig-

nificant determinant of the transition toward stable and successful work and family trajectories (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998). Until now a significant number of studies have examined the impact of having ever experienced a parental disruption during childhood or of having ever lived with a stepparent on the probability of leaving home (Holdsworth, 2000; Bernhardt, Gähler, & Goldscheider, 2005). Other studies also focused on the co-residence structure into which a young adult lived in a specific moment of his/her life, often at the time of the youth's final home-leaving (Mitchell et al., 1989; Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010). In this way, even though many sociological theories assert that age at leaving home might be linked with the whole individual trajectory preceding that moment, only few studies have developed methodological framework able to examine this perspective. At least two reasons can be cited. First, only few studies collected detailed life history records of the co-residence structures during childhood, making it difficult to tackle this issue (Aquilino, 1991; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998; Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). Second, we lack a proper method to estimate the influence of the previous co-residence trajectories on age at leaving the parental home. Hence, the aim of this paper is twofold. On a sociological level, we aim to provide a better understanding on how co-residence trajectories influence the probability of leaving home. On a methodological level, we propose a new framework to estimate this influence.

What is more, it has been reported that the transition to adulthood has become late (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010). According to Galland (1996), the norm regarding the age at the entry into adulthood has been altered. Indeed, a norm of precocity has given way to a norm of delay. Nothing anymore induces young people to hasten their departure from the parental home. As a consequence, we could wonder who are the young adults who decide or who are forced to become independent and to assume the responsibilities that go along with adulthood. In other words, another aim of this paper is to identify the factors that lead to an early departure from the parental home and to examine whether lone-parenthood or stepparenthood contribute to an early emancipation.

The structure of this paper is as follows. In section 1, we start by a detailed review of the literature on the links between the childhood co-residence structures on the one hand and the departure from the parental home on the other hand. Section 2 describes our dataset and the measures we use. We then turn in section 3 to the presentation of our methodological framework. In section 4, we apply our methodological framework to the study of the effect of the past co-residence trajectories on the risk of leaving home. Finally, section 5 summarizes and discusses our findings.

2 Conceptual framework

2.1 Why study the departure from the parental home?

In the past few decades, a growing number of researchers have devoted particular attention to the departure from the parental home. Some of the reasons for this growing devotion are that the departure from the parental home is likely to have significant consequences for important areas of policy, such as the demand for housing (Ermisch & Di Salvo, 1997) and the risk of poverty among young people (Iacovou & Aassve, 2007). Furthermore, leaving home is one of the main and, very often, one of the first components of the transition to adulthood (Schizzerotto & Lucchini, 2004). As a consequence, it has been stated that "*both the destination and the timing of young people's home-leaving are likely to be crucial in determining later life opportunities*" (Buck & Scott, 1993, p. 863). Indeed, there is a common belief according to which age norms define the appropriate timing at which major life events should occur (Billari & Liefbroer, 2007). They also provide guidance and regulations throughout the life course of individuals (Heckhausen, 1999). Nevertheless, Aassve, Arpino and Billari (2013) have demonstrated that differences in age norms exist both between and within countries. Divergences in terms of earnings, employment rates, education system,

state welfare system and social norms can be cited to explain this heterogeneity. As a result, in each country, there is a distinct definition of when it is too early or too late to leave home, even though some variations can also be observed within each society. In this way, there is some evidence that the home-leaving patterns which do not respect the age norms are likely to have negative impact on the professional and co-residence trajectories of young adults that will, in turn, threaten their subsequent success and stability (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998). As an illustration, it has been shown that leaving home too early is likely to reduce education aspirations and attainments (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993). This could stem from the fact that young adults who leave home before the end of high school tend to forgo education for work (Mitchell, Wister, & Burch, 1989). Conversely, leaving the parental home at a later age might delay marriage and childbearing (Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010). Regarding women, a higher age at first birth may have a negative influence on the total number of children, but it might also affect birth weights and birth defects (*Ibid*.). Concerning men, a protracted transition to adulthood might also have negative consequences on the household's division of labour. This could be explained by the fact that the little experience of sharing household chores with a partner they have accumulated over the years might negatively impact their wives' labour supply, career and fertility; in particular in countries where the child care services are less widespread and/or more expensive (Brodmann, Esping-Andersen, & Güell, 2007). For instance, a recent study has demonstrated that husbands from Southern Europe participate less equally to housework tasks and that this excessive burden on women is strongly associated with lower fertility rates (Rosina, 2005).

2.2 Leaving the parental home in Switzerland

Even though leaving home is considered in many countries as one of the main life events that define the concept of adulthood (Billari & Liefbroer, 2007), it has been shown that its process may vary from one country to another. For this reason, it is

necessary to take into account the specific national context into which the present study has been conducted.

In Switzerland, leaving home tends to occur early and it often happens simultaneously with the first integration into the labour market (Thomsin, Le Goff, & Sauvain-Dugerdil, 2004). For example, Schumacher, Spoorenberg and Forney (2006) have indicated that, in Switzerland, the median age at home-leaving for the cohort born in 1976-1987 is equal to 23. This situation has to be seen in the light of the Swiss education system, which, as in Germany, is a largely apprenticeship-based system of education (Thomsin et al., 2004). In Switzerland, almost 70 per cent of every cohort of students who achieves a compulsory education enters a vocational education and training program (Meyer, 2003). This later is also known as the *"dual education system"*. While the apprentice spends most of his/her time working for an approved company, he/she attends a vocational school for 1-2 days per week. As the apprentice is simultaneously studying and working, he/she receives a salary (though it is modest). Also, the professional stabilisation of the young apprentices is quite quickly attained. Indeed, young adults enter such an education at age 15. As the vast majority of such vocational trainings lasts 3 or 4 years, many of them can fully enter the labour market from the age of 18, or even 15 if one considers the apprenticeship as integration into the labour market. Furthermore, it has been shown that unmarried cohabitation has progressively emerged as the most frequent form of living arrangements (Thomsin et al., 2004). Consequently, the Swiss model of leaving appears as a combination of two other European models as defined by Cavalli and Galland (1993). On the one hand, it shares similitudes with the Northern model, which is characterized by an extension of the extra-marital life. On the other hand, the Swiss model is close to the British system, which is marked by a precocious entry into the labour force and by the extension of the unmarried cohabitation without children.

Nonetheless, we have to keep in mind that leaving home does not necessarily lead to a neglect of family ties and to a lack of parental care (Zorlu & Mulder, 2011).

Indeed, geographic distances are rather small in Switzerland, even more so for the migrant population who tend to be concentrated in large urban centres. Consequently, living away from home, but at a small distance, enables young adults to escape from the daily parental surveillance, but, at the same time, it also allows them to benefit regularly from parental support.

2.3 Childhood coresidence structures and leaving home

There are some reasons to believe that the co-residence structures tend to expose young individuals to different options regarding family formation, because they provide different social and economic resources that can have an influence on the transition to adulthood (Sandefur, Eggerling-Boeck, & Park, 2008). As an illustration, a significant number of studies have demonstrated that the co-residence structures in which young people grew up has a significant influence on the propensity of young adults to leave home (Mitchell et al., 1989; Aquilino, 1991). Indeed, the decision to leave home cannot be understood as an individual choice, rather as the result from the characteristics of the co-residence structures in which the person grew up (Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). Based on an analysis of the literature, several co-residence structures can be distinguished.

First and foremost, even though the number of divorces has experienced a strong increase in Switzerland over the past 40 years (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2015)[1], growing up with two biological parents is still the most common form of living arrangements. As reported by many social researchers, closer family bonds and the physical presence of both biological parents often induce a delayed departure from the parental home (Mitchell et al., 1989; Aquilino, 1991; Mitchell, 1994; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998). As such, young adults who spent most of their childhood in such co-residence structures are expected to be among the last to leave home.

Secondly, the single-parent household can be considered as an alternative form of co-residence structures ensuing mainly from the increase in divorces. In this situation, the custodial parent (in many cases the mother) often has to increase his/her activity rate in order to compensate for the economic loss that generally results from divorce (Acock & Demo, 1994). As a consequence, the time he/she spends with his/her child/ren is reduced and this/these latter is/are likely to suffer from a lack of support and attention. This deteriorated co-residence environment can reduce the attractiveness of prolonging one's stay in the parental home. The parental disruption may also lead the individual to think of him/herself as an independent unit from the family. Therefore, it might hasten his/her transition to adulthood. What is more, it is commonly agreed that one of the major difficulties encountered by those families are financial. It is thus not surprising that young people who grow up in this environment are by far the most economically disadvantaged. As a result, a significant number of studies conducted in many countries consistently show that children of divorced parents leave home at a younger age than those from intact families (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998; Cherlin, Kiernan, & Chase-Lansdale, 1995; Juang, Silbereisen, & Wiesner, 1999; Holdsworth, 2000; Bernhardt, Gähler, & Goldscheider, 2005). Nonetheless, as stated by Mitchell et al. (1989), this ascertainment is more linked to the family socio-economic status than to the absence of one of the parental figures. Indeed, the presence at home of young adults can be considered as a financial burden for the lone parent. Thus, their departure from the parental home might reduce this strain (Mitchell, 1994). Regarding young adults who have grown up in a single-parent household from birth, Aquilino (1991) has demonstrated that their likelihood of leaving home does not differ from that of those who have grown up in an intact household. Consequently, in addition to the type of co-residence structures, we could assume that the stability of the co-residence structures during childhood also has an impact on the timing of home-leaving.

[1] The divorce rate has, though, been slightly decreasing since 2005.

9

Thirdly, children who have been raised in a stepparent household are more likely to leave home sooner than their counterparts who have grown up with a lone-parent or with both of their parents (Mitchell et al., 1989; Aquilino, 1991; Kiernan, 1992; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998). Having to welcome a new parental figure and often step-siblings and/or half-siblings into one's home may make young adults feel that leaving home would lead to an enhancement of their situation in comparison to remaining at home (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998). As an illustration, they might not tolerate having to share the attention, love and material support that once were theirs with complete strangers. Accordingly, severe conflicts and disagreements within stepfamilies have been enumerated as playing a significant role in early nest-leaving (Gähler & Bernhardt, 2000; Gossens, 2001). Likewise, having stepchildren has been enumerated as one of the major sources of marital instability for remarried couples (White & Booth, 1985). As such, stepparents might be strongly motivated to push their children toward early independence.

Fourthly, there might be some circumstances in which both intact and non-intact families may no longer be able to maintain their household. In such situations, both children and parents might seek shelter in someone else's household, in most cases into the house of the grandparents (Aquilino, 1991). This type of co-residence structure is often referred to as "*extended family*". Therefore, as having to move back with relatives is most of the time the result from financial difficulties, it might push children to establish earlier an independent household.

To summarise, we could say that the differences in dynamics related to staying or leaving home between young adults from intact and dissolved families can be the result of divergences regarding economic factors and quality of relations. However, it might also be linked to parental investment. Indeed, concerning single-parent households, sociologists and developmental psychologists have shown that divorce is likely to reduce parental skills and time investments. This

can stem from the fact that, because single-parents tend to experience more stress, their capacity to support and nurture their children may diminish (Furstenberg & Kiernan, 2001). Regarding stepfamilies, although they may seem more similar to intact families in terms of monetary resources and availability of two parental figures, there is some evidence that parents in stepfamilies devote less time to their children and to their children's activities than parent from intact households (Morrison, Moore, Blumenthal, Coiro, & Middleton, 1994). Moreover, it has been shown that stepchildren tend to receive less parental support for the pursuit of their higher education (Zvoch, 1999). This lower level of parental investment may be the result of ambiguity regarding parental role and kinship obligations (Morrison et al., 1994). The absence of biological bonds between stepchildren and stepparents could explain the lower level of emotional support from stepparents. Conversely, *"parents who wed and remain together have greater material resources from the start, have more human capital, are better able to collaborate, are more likely to be embedded in a system of social support, and probably have greater cognitive and social skills as well"* (Furstenberg & Kiernan, 2001, p. 448). As a consequence, intact families are better able to keep their children longer at home. This can be considered as a mechanism to afford higher education, to pursue low paying or no-paying internships that boost their children's capital in the labour market, or to save for a stronger launch when young adults leave home. It can also be seen as a way for middle-class families to support their children while they explore options.

2.4 Other explaining factors

Even though the impact of the co-residence structures on leaving home has been repeatedly demonstrated, it is also known that nest-leaving is associated with other variables, such as sex, labour force participation, geographical location, ethnic origin, socio-economic background, educational level and presence of siblings in the household. As a consequence, these factors need to be integrated into a model

which studies the relationships between the co-residence structures and the departure from the parental home.

Firstly, there is some evidence that sex has a significant discriminating influence on the departure from the parental home (Thomsin et al., 2004). Indeed, it has been shown that women leave home at an earlier age than men. For example, Billari, Philipov and Baizán (2001) have shown that while the median age at first home-leaving for women is equal to 19.2 in Switzerland, that of men is slightly higher (21.5). This observation can result from the fact that, in agreement with Mitchell (1994, p. 666), *"the socialisation process may perpetuate and reproduce traditional behaviours for each sex, so that some women place a greater value on family life than young men and marry at an earlier age"*. In this way, the difference in age at first home-leaving by sex can be without any doubt explained by the difference in age at first marriage (Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010). Another reason for which women leave home at an earlier age might be that leaving home is a good means to escape the closer surveillance and control that weigh on them when they are still living at home.

Furthermore, as far as the co-residence structures is concerned, it has been shown that the stepfamily effect has a divergent influence on home-leaving according to sex. For instance, having an involved stepfather can be considered as a benefit for young boys, whereas stepdaughters encounter much more difficulties when their stepfathers attempts to get involved in child-rearing (Aquilino, 1991; Buck & Scott, 1993; Cooney & Mortimer, 1999). In other words, while daughters seem to adjust better to a family environment where divorced mother do not remarry, sons tend to benefit from the acquisition of a stepfather. Lastly, there is some evidence that living in an extended family[2] has only an effect on women (Aquilino, 1991). Thus, while young girls from extended family structure are expected to leave home at an earlier age, we make the assumption that boys will not be affected by

this household's environment. To summarise, young women who have either grown up with two biological parents, in a stepparent household or in an extended family are expected to leave home at an earlier age than boys. Nonetheless, the opposite effect is presumed in a single-parent household.

Second, if one assumes that leaving home requires at least a minimum amount of financial resources, economic independence may be seen as a significant prerequisite for moving out of the parental home (Nilsson & Strandh, 1999; Aassve, Billari, & Ongaro, 2001; Jacob & Kleinert, 2008; Couppié & Gasquet, 2009). Nonetheless, obtaining employment might also cause the departure from the parental home (Couppié & Gasquet, 2009). Indeed, if a young adult finds employment in a different city than the one in which he/she is currently living, he/she will have to move out in order to live closer to his/her work place. Alternatively, people residing in isolated areas may also be forced to move out from the parental home in order to access better work opportunities.

Thirdly, residential location is also a determining factor for home-leaving because of its influence on the availability of educational and work opportunities, and housing markets (Mitchell, 1994; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 1999). Consequently, as mentioned beforehand, people living in isolated areas may be forced to move out from their hometown in order to benefit from better job and education opportunities. They are, thus, more likely to leave the parental home at an earlier age.

Fourthly, the ethnic origin of young adults is also expected to have a significant effect on their propensity to leave home. Indeed, as asserted by Giuliano (2007), the second-generation immigrants are more likely to follow the patterns of leaving home that are dominant in the home country of their parents than those who are typical of their host country, independently of their economic and educational

[2] As a reminder, an extended family is a household that goes beyond the nuclear family. It is often composed of grandparents, aunts, uncles or cousins, all living

13

backgrounds. As a result, it has been shown that children of Italian and Spanish migrants tend to leave home later than children of Swiss natives (Bolzman, 2007). According to a certain number of studies conducted in Switzerland, two factors can explain the behaviour of these specific national communities. Firstly, a delayed departure from the parental home may be due to a lack of economic resources. Indeed, as a significant number of families from a migratory background belong to lower classes, they often cannot afford to pay several rents at the same time. Secondly, it has been demonstrated that the values conveyed by the parents tend to vary according to the country in which they were raised. For instance, there is some evidence that, in migrant families, the departure from home is only considered when children acquire economic independence and are, thus, able to found their own household (Bolzman, Fibbi, & Vial, 2003). This requirement probably stems from the first argument which is that these families cannot afford to pay simultaneously several rents. These aforementioned observations corroborate the model developed by Reher (1998) on family ties. He makes a distinction between a Nordic family system with weak ties, where the individual and individual values have priority over everything else, and a Southern family system with strong ties, in which the family group dominates the individual. According to Granovetter (1973, p. 1361), *"the strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding) and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie"*. Consequently, the definition of the Nordic family system as a system with weak ties does not mean that there are no relationships among family members, but that they are less strong than in the Southern family system. Indeed, at a general level, family ties are one of the strongest social ties, though some cultural variations can exist. What is more, as demonstrated by the study of Luetzelberger (2014) on high-educated students in Italy and Germany, Reher's family is just as topical as ever. Concerning the population hailing from the Balkan Peninsula, Mandic (2008) shows that people from Eastern Europe present home-leaving patterns that are quite similar to

---

under the same roof.

their Southern peers, even though they leave the parental home at a slightly higher age than the latter. As a consequence, we make the assumption that the propensity to leave home will diverge according to the ethnic origin of young adults, even if they grew up in the same country. Nonetheless, I suppose that the main distinctions will be found between the Swiss natives and the second-generation immigrants from Southern or Eastern Europe, with the latter slightly less likely to leave the parental home than their Southern peers. The rest of the population from a Northern European and Northern American background will probably not significantly differ from their native counterparts as their cultural systems are not very dissimilar.

Fifthly, there is some evidence that having a tertiary education is positively associated with the probability of still living at home, both for daughters and sons (Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010). Nonetheless, it could also be assumed that young adults who pursue a higher education might be more likely to leave home, because institutions of higher education are mainly concentrated in urban centres (Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002; Bernhardt et al., 2005).

Lastly, it has been shown that the number of siblings living in the same household is likely to affect the probability of young adults leaving the parental home (Mitchell et al., 1989; Aquilino, 1991; Gierveld, Liefbroer, & Beekink, 1991; Avery et al., 1992 ; Buck & Scott, 1993). This may be explained by the fact that individuals who grow up with a large number of siblings have a higher risk of feeling "overcrowded" in their parental home and of suffering from a lack of physical space for privacy. For this reason, they have a higher likelihood to leave home than individuals who grow up alone or with a limited number of siblings. First-born children have a higher likelihood of leaving home at an earlier age than any other children, except if they are only children (Bianchi, 1987). Indeed, Holdsworth (2000) has also shown that only children tend to stay longer at home in order to take care of their parents.

15

3 Methodology

3.1 Data

The analyses used data from the LIVES Cohort Study[3], a panel survey whose first wave was conducted from mid-October 2013 to the end of June 2014 (Elcheroth & Antal, 2013). The sample was composed of 1691 respondents, among which 415 were Swiss and 1276 were from a foreign background. Various criteria had to be fulfilled in order to be eligible, such as being a Swiss resident and being aged 15-24 on January 1st 2013. Also, respondents had to have begun attending a Swiss school before the age of 10. Regarding people of foreign origin, only those whose parents were born in a foreign country and arrived in Switzerland after the age of 18 were taken into consideration. What is more, whether naturalized or not, the second-generation immigrants were over-represented and a particular attention was paid to offspring of low- or middle-skilled migrants who mainly hailed from Southern Europe or from the Balkan Peninsula. The aim of this study is to follow those people over at least ten years in order to study their transition to adulthood.

The sampling process of this survey was very similar to to the respondent-driven sampling, meaning that an initial randomly chosen sample serves as a primary contact to assess a particular type of population (Heckathorn, 1997). In a respondent-driven sampling, the initial subjects are asked to provide the names of a specific number of individuals who fulfil the research criteria. Then, these individuals are approached and asked whether they want to participate in the study. Each person who agrees is asked to give a fixed number of supplementary names. This procedure continues for as many stages as desired. This method is often used to contact hidden populations who are hard to reach, such as drug addicts. Accordingly, the sampling process of the Cohort study can be divided in two stages. First-

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

ly, the first sampling stage was very similar to a random sampling with unequal probabilities. The use of unequal probability in sampling was first suggested by (Hansen & Hurwitz, 1943). The aim of this method is to randomly select individuals, though the probabilities of selection of each stratum are unequal. Concerning the LIVES Cohort survey, the Federal Statistical Office selected around 4000 people from the Swiss Federal Resident Registration[4]. Then, from these latter, a random sampling with unequal probability of respondent selection was generated which means that the second-generation immigrants were more likely to be selected. In order to be more likely to reach this type of population, the selection process depended on various criteria. Indeed, individuals who met those criteria had a higher probability of being part of the survey. First, people who held the nationality of one of the following countries - Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Spain, Italy, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Portugal, Serbia and Turkey – or who were born in one of these aforementioned countries were eight times more likely to be selected. The resident permit was also a selection criterion. Indeed, it was assumed that a holder of a B or C resident permit was more likely to be a second-generation immigrant than someone who had the Swiss nationality and had, thus, eight times more chances of being selected in the sample. Lastly, the people residing in one of the thirty Spatial Mobility (SM) regions[5] with the highest percentage of foreign-born residents - such as Lausanne, Geneva, Lugano etc. – were two times more likely to be selected in the sample. The second stage was very similar to a random snowball sampling {Citation}. During this stage, the selected respondents had to indicate the name of the people with whom they remembered having had a conversation at least once a week for the last three months. At first, four potentially eligible individuals were randomly selected from the network of each respondent, though second-generation immigrants were four times more likely to be selected than other eligible members. Secondly, the same procedure was applied with the

[4] Einwohnerkontrolle

exception that only two potentially eligible members were randomly selected from the network of each respondent. In the final step, respondents transmitted the contact information of the selected individuals.

3.2 Methods

Over the past few years, the life course research has known a great development leading to many methodological improvements in longitudinal data analysis (Aisenbrey & Fasang, 2010). These developments can be classified in two broad classes of methods.

First, event history analysis is a probabilistic approach that focuses on the study of events and discrete transitions. The main aims are to analyse the distribution of the timing of the occurrence of an event and to examine the influence of different factors, time-varying or not and related to the respondents or to the context in which they live, on this distribution (Aalen, Borgan, & Gjessing, 2008; Mills, 2011; Allison, 2014). In our case, the event under study is the departure from the parental home.

A second set of methods based on sequence analysis allows studying life trajectories in a holistic perspective. Among several advantages, this approach takes into account much more complex dynamics than a single change of status would (i.e., transition or event). This is a very useful innovation because these dynamics are often nonlinear, disordered, reversible, long-lasting and complex (Martin, Schoon, & Ross, 2008) and they should, thus, be studied in continuity. Accordingly, sequence analysis analyses the timing, duration, order and reversibility of states changes (*Ibid*.). Sequence analysis was initially developed by molecular biologists

[5] Switzerland is divided into 106 so-called spatial mobility (SM) regions elaborated on the basis of commuter flows. For more information about these analytical regions, please refer to (Martin, Dessemontet, & Joye, 2005)

whose aim was to compare DNA and protein sequences and to determine distance between two DNA strands (Kruskal, 1983). Andrew Abbott (1983) re-applied it in social sciences for his work on the careers of musicians. This method functions by comparing sequences of states, such as states of living arrangements, and by identifying typical patterns among them (Abbott, 1995). Sequence analysis is divided in three steps. First, sequences of states are created. Second, a pairwise distance matrix describing how different each sequence is from the others is formed. Finally, the closest sequences are gathered into clusters and the resulting clustering can be used as a dependent or an independent variable (*Ibid*.). Sequence and clusters analyses can be conducted with the TraMineR package (Gabadinho, Ritschard, Mueller, & Studer, 2011), a library for sequence analysis in R.

To sum up, both approaches have undeniably divergent objectives. Indeed, while event history analysis predicts life course transitions, sequence analysis aims to compare individuals and to emphasize their resemblances. Likewise, the first approach studies the probabilistic risk of the occurrence of an event, whereas the second one concentrates on the distance between individual trajectories. However, we wish to develop a combination of both approaches in order to study how complex past trajectories influence the probability of leaving home. This combination functions as follows. We used a discrete-time representation of our yearly data[6]. For each individual *i* at each time point *t (from age 0 to the end of the observation period)*, we reconstructed the past co-residence trajectories from age 0 until year *t-1*. These trajectories can therefore be interpreted as trajectories until all possible present times. We thereby have *t* trajectories for each individual that are of varying length. In order to include these past trajectories in our subsequent analysis, they are clustered into ideal types of past trajectories. These clusters are time-specific, meaning that an individual classified into a given cluster at age 10 may belong to another one at age 18. The aim is here to construct a time-varying co-

[6] This is coherent with our data collection method, but also with sequences analysis, which uses a discrete-time representation.

variate representing typical trajectories of past co-residence structures and to test their effect on the chance/risk of leaving the parental home, using a discrete-time event analysis framework. This strategy prevents us from many common problems resulting from the combination of these two sets of methods. Indeed, using sequences of states to explain the occurrence of an event can appear problematic if the time frame of the sequence analysis overlaps that of the event history analysis. We cannot estimate the probability of an individual leaving the parental home by taking into account changes in the co-residence structures that occur later in life.

3.3 Operationalization

Dependent variable: Departure from the parental home

As postulated by Holdsworth (2000, p. 201), "*the process of leaving home is viewed as an integral part of establishing economic and emotional independence from the parental home*". As a consequence, as long as the respondents were living with a member of their family of origin (siblings excepted), this situation was defined as "dependent". On the other hand, the co-residency with siblings, children, partner or friends was considered as "independent". In this way, we assumed that the financial dependence from one's parents ends when one leaves the parental home. In this way, a spouse who was cohabiting with his or her partner, but who was not working, was, nonetheless, considered as economically independent. Also, there could be some situations in which students were living by their own for education purposes, even though they were still economically supported by their parents. Indeed, we did not have any information on the financial support provided by parents to their children. As a consequence, some of the respondents could have been considered as economically independent even though they were not completely. Nevertheless, even if the parents often continue to support their children when they leave home to get a higher education, a significant number of students work besides their studies (Mileti, Plomb, & Henchoz, 2015). It has also been stated that living away from the parents can constitute a symbolic independ-

ence, even though frequent return trips may be needed to refuel financially and emotionally before moving out again (Corijn, 2001). As such, the departure from the parental home to pursue higher education could be considered as a transitional period toward economic independence. We created a variable "status", equal to zero when the event had not yet occurred and to 1 when it had. All the episodes following the occurrence of the event have been removed from the database because we were only interested in the first departure from the parental home. As a consequence, the aim of this contribution is to show how independent factors affect the likelihood of leaving the parental home for the first time rather than staying at home. The assumption was made that the individuals enter the risk period of experiencing the event at the age of 15. As a result, two departures from the parental home were not taken into account in the analyses. Consequently, during the observation period, 147 people experienced the event studied. This means that only 9% of the sample had already established an independent household at the time of survey. This low value could come from the fact that the respondents are very young. Indeed, the median age of the sample is equal to 19. It is maybe due to the fact that young adults still living at their parental home were easier to contact and had therefore a higher propensity to participate to the study. We also have to remember that the second-generation immigrants are overrepresented in the sample and that they are more likely to leave home at a later age than the Swiss natives.

Independent variable: Childhood co-residence structures

According to Martinson and Wu (1992), a significant number of studies of childhood co-residence structures are based on "snapshots" which only focus on a particular age, most often age 14. In our case, the LIVES Cohort study collected very detailed life history records of the composition of the respondents' co-residence structure at each age. Accordingly, the previously introduced methodological framework was applied to the data. Eight groups of typical trajectories of co-residence structures were constructed (Cf. Figure 1). The following clustering procedure was used. In order to emphasize the importance of the ordering of states

within the trajectories, we used the optimal matching on the distinct states sequences (states sequences without timing information). Then, two groups representing specific cases were manually constructed: a whole trajectory spent with both parents either with or without siblings. Each category represents respectively 40.5 per cent and 4.1 per cent of the sample. Even though the last group is not very frequent in the data, the decision was made to keep it as being an only child is expected to have a significant influence on the risk of leaving the parental home. The co-residence structure with both parents and siblings was also emphasized because it is the most frequent co-residence structure in the sample. For the clustering procedure, a partitioning method, which divides the database into a predefined number of groups, was used. To do so, the PAM ("Partitioning Around Medoids") algorithm was selected. Its aim is to obtain the best partitioning for a data set into a predefined number *k* of groups (Studer, 2013). In other words, the objective of this algorithm is to identify the *k* best representatives of groups, called "medoids". The medoids can be defined as the observation of a group that has the smallest weighed sum of distances from the other observations of this group. As a consequence, this algorithm seeks to minimize the weighted sum of distances from the medoid. The measures of the quality of a partition help in choosing the best partition among a set of possibilities. As a consequence, according to the "ASW"[7] index, a solution into six groups seemed the best (Cf. Annexes, Table 1). Therefore, the final clustering is divided into eight clusters.

1. Both parents & siblings (40.5%) – As its name indicates, this cluster designates people who grew up with their both parents and siblings. This category was used as the category of reference in the logit regression.

2. Both parents (4.1%)– This category concerns individuals who spent all the observation time with their both parents without any siblings.

[7] Average Silhouette Width is based on the coherence of assignments of an observation to a given group. High coherence indicates high between-group distances and strong within-group homogeneity (Kaufman & Rousseeuw, 2005)

3. Late departure of siblings (3.1%)- This category is characterised by young adults who lived the departure of their (probably older) siblings. Thus, they are certainly younger children.
4. Early arrival of siblings (28.7%) – This group is composed of oldest children who experienced the arrival of younger siblings during their teens.
5. Both parents to one parent (with siblings) (10.4%) – This group is characterised by individuals who went from a bi-parental to a lone-parent household, in both cases in the presence of siblings.
6. Early arrival of siblings & parental separation (6.2%) – This cluster is characterised by older siblings who experienced the arrival of younger siblings during their teens. A parental disruption occurred subsequently.
7. One parent to both parent (with siblings) (2.5%) – Individuals belonging to this group started their life by living with one parent only and siblings. The second parent joined the household later.
8. Both parent to one parent (without siblings) (4.5%) – These young adults are only children who experienced the parental disruption of their parents.

One of the main problems of the life history calendar used in this survey is that it did not enable us to distinguish the extended family from the stepparent household. What was known is that the respondents, at a certain point in time, were living with one of their parents and other relatives, but the nature of the family ties between those relatives and the respondents were unknown. This could be a grandparent, an aunt or any other family members, but it could also be a stepparent. Also, as few people lived with only one parent and other relatives or with one parent, siblings and other relatives (respectively 0.009% and 2.4% of the observations), those aforementioned situations were defined as living with one parent in the first case and as living with one parent and siblings in the second case.

23

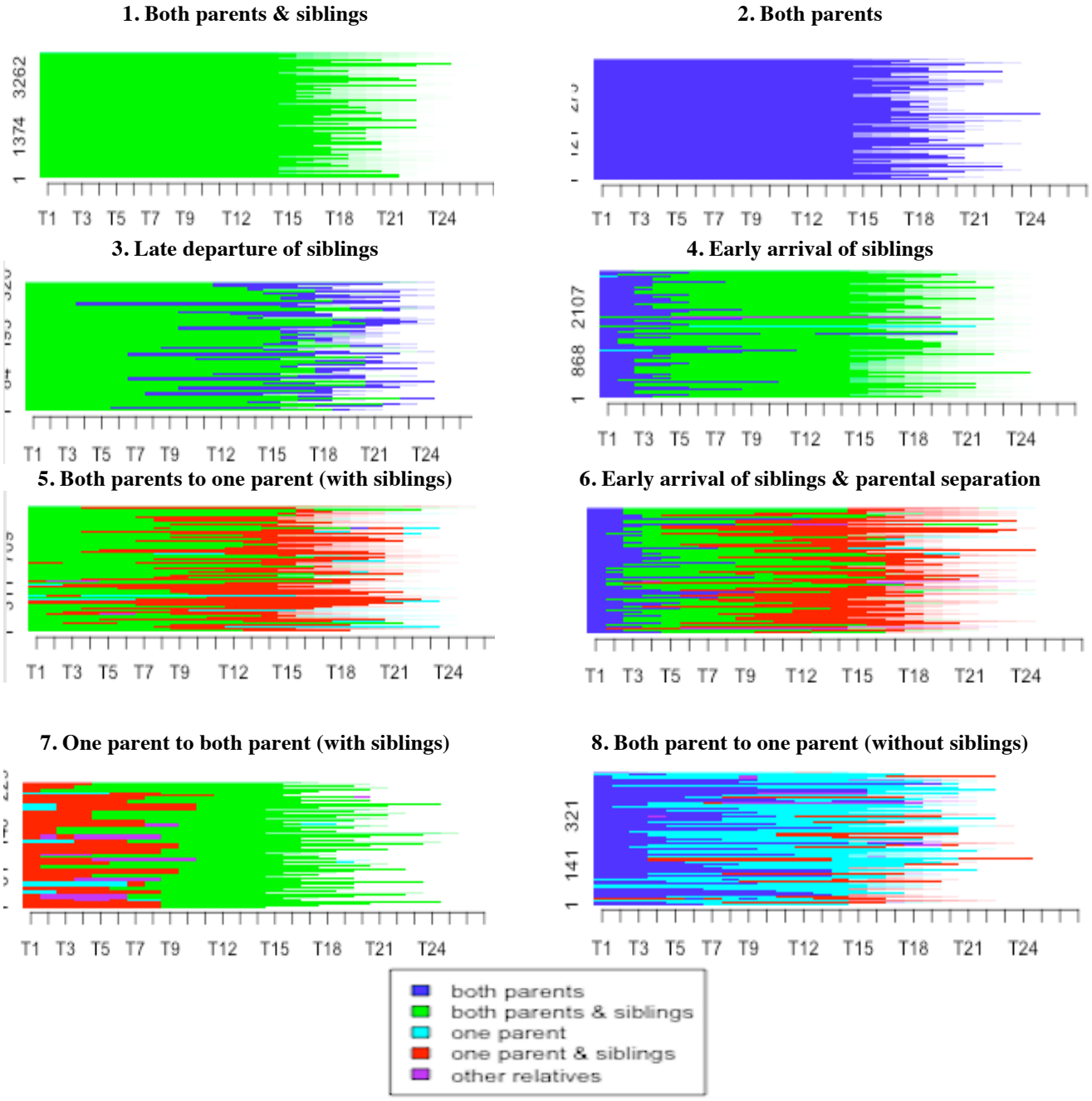

Fig. 1: Clusters of trajectories of past co-residence structures.

Control variables

Some control variables were introduced in the model as their influence on home-leaving had been demonstrated in previous researches.

First, *age* was included in the model, since people are expected to be more likely to leave home as they grow older. A variable indicating the elapsed number of years since the beginning of the risk period was first created. Nonetheless, when event history data are in the form of a discrete-time process and the dependent variable is binary, it is necessary to account for duration dependence (Box-Steffensmeier & Jones, 2004). In other words, it is important to take into consideration the fact that the conditional probability of experiencing the event is likely to vary over time or age. For this reason, a variable representing the *natural logarithm of age* has been included in the model.

Second, it has been asserted that the timing of home-leaving is likely to diverge according to sex. Thus, se*x* was added to the analyses and men were defined as the category of reference.

Third, it has been shown that the *ethnic origin* of young adults is likely to have an impact on the choices they make regarding their transition to adulthood. Thereby, a categorical variable regarding their ethnic origin was created. In order to distinguish the Swiss natives from the second-generation immigrants, we referred to the place of birth of their parents. In some research conducted by the National Institute of Demographic Studies (INED) and the Centre for Studies and Research on Qualifications (CEREQ), the respondents were considered as second-generation immigrants if at least one of their parents was not born in the host country (Santelli, 2004). We also decided to use this definition and the origin country of the foreign parents was used as the benchmark to define the ethnic origin of the respondents. Concerning mixed unions, namely marriages between people with different national origins (Swiss not included), we always emphasized the native

25

country of the mother. Indeed, it has been previously shown that, among the population from a foreign background, the departure from the parental home is more an issue of socialisation than a lack of opportunities. As the role of socialisation is principally endorsed by the mother, we only considered her native country in case of mixed unions. In some circumstances, the information about the country of birth of the parents was missing. In this case, the ethnic origin was deduced from the respondent's first nationality. As it was a self-assessed nationality, if "Swiss" was mentioned as the first nationality, we verified that the respondent did not mention a second foreign nationality. If he or she had, the respondent was considered as a second-generation immigrant and his or her foreign nationality was used to assess his or her ethnic origin. Five categories were created: Switzerland, Eastern Europe, South-western Europe, North-western Europe and Northern America, and other continents.

Besides, it has been shown that *the labour market integration* may act as an incentive to leave home. For this reason, we added to the model a dummy variable coded 0 when the respondents were out of the labour market and 1 after their first integration into the labour market. The apprenticeship was considered as an entry into the labour market.

Furthermore, the Cohort study provided information concerning the different trainings achieved over the years. Thus, *education trajectories* have been reconstructed and added to the analyses. Accordingly, respondents could have attended one or some of the following education programs: compulsory education (category of reference), a 10th year or an au pair/residential language courses, an apprenticeship, a professional formation, a higher secondary education, a higher professional education and training, a university or a university of applied sciences. The 10th year, or bridge-year courses, refers to all transitory offers that are provided for young people with educational deficits at the end of compulsory education (Swiss Media Institute for Education and Culture, 2011d). The aim is to support young adults in their decisions regarding their career prospects, to ease their integration

into the labour market or to prepare them for vocational education and training (VET) or to schools offering general upper-secondary education. The apprenticeship concerns two types of training: a two-years vocational and training VET programme with Federal VET Certificate and a three- or four-year VET programme with Federal VET Diploma (*Ibid*.). The professional formation designates a Federal Vocational Baccalaureate programme leading to a Federal Vocational Baccalaureate Certificate. This latter may be seen as an extended general education to supplement the three- or four-year VET programme for adolescents with higher learning performance. It can be completed either during the three- or four-year VET or by attending a corresponding educational institution. As a consequence, bridge-year courses, apprenticeships and professional formations have been gathered into one group entitled "vocational education and training". Furthermore, the higher secondary education refers to baccalaureate schools that prepare students for further education at tertiary level, namely at a university (Swiss Media Institute for Education and Culture, 2011a). They can be matura schools or gymnasiums that prepare young adults for the university or general training schools that give access to universities of applied sciences or universities of teacher education. Accordingly, higher secondary education and general training schools have been gathered into the same category titled "higher secondary education". Lastly, higher professional education and training (HPET), and universities and universities of applied sciences have been gathered into one group: tertiary education. HPET is a Swiss speciality. It is a type of tertiary education, but it provides programmes for demanding occupational fields and leadership positions (Swiss Media Institute for Education and Culture, 2011b). On the other hand, universities and universities of applied sciences are the traditional academic institutions for higher education. While studies at the university have a scientific approach, university of applied sciences supplement the university education with professionally-oriented programmes (Swiss Media Institute for Education and Culture, 2011c).

In addition, as it has been previously postulated, people living in or close to a big urban centre benefit from greater educational and work opportunities and are,

thus, less likely to leave home than people living in rural municipalities. Therefore, we created a variable indicating the *place of residence* of the respondents at age 14. This factor is composed of 6 modalities: big centres (category of reference), middle and big centres, periurban and metropolitan centres, periurban and pendular municipalities, tourist municipalities, and outlying municipalities. This classification results from the typology of municipalities in 22 categories developed by Martin, Dessemontet and Joye (2005) The recoding of this typology is presented in Table 2 in the appendix. The classification developed by the aforementioned researchers is based on a model centre-periphery, meaning that the municipalities are classified in different categories according to their belonging to a metropolitan agglomeration, to a non-metropolitan agglomeration or to a rural municipality. The other criteria used to construct this typology are variables related to employment, structure of buildings, wealth, tourism, structure of the population and centrality. Concerning the sample, there were also a small number of people who were living abroad when they were 14 years old (n=5). Because this number was very small, these cases have been recoded as missing.

Likewise, in the section regarding the description of the sample, it has been reported that second-generation immigrants have been over-represented in this survey and that, for this reason, the selection process was based on various criteria such as the place of birth, the nationality, the residence permit, the place of residence and the size of social network. As a result, in order to avoid biases in the analyses, the inclusion of these factors was a necessary step. Nonetheless, almost all these criteria designated the situation of respondents at the time of the survey, namely in 2013. However, most of the people who left the parental home did it before 2013 and, methodologically speaking, one cannot explain the probability of an event occurring by factors that refers to a subsequent time period. As a consequence, only the variables that referred to the time period preceding the beginning of the risk period have been kept, namely the place of birth. Indeed, the nationality, the residence permit, the place of residence and the network size are all time-varying variables that can change over time. Moreover, nationality is already par-

tially taken into account in the analyses through the ethnic origin variable. Accordingly, a variable indicating the place of birth of respondents has been created and divided in two modalities: over-represented places of birth and under-represented places of birth. The first modality designated individuals who were born in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Spain, Italy, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Portugal, Serbia or Turkey because they had a higher probability of being selected in the sample. All other given answers have been gathered into the second modality.

Moreover, it could be asserted that the previously presented childhood co-residence structures mainly measure a distinction between the intact families and the disrupted households. Accordingly, it might be reasonable to think that a variable recording the *occurrence of parental disruption* could give the same result, though by using a much easier variable to construct and to interpret. For this reason, we constructed a time-varying variable that indicated at each age whether the respondents had experiences a parental disruption. More precisely, it was coded 0 if the parents were still together and 1 in case of marital disruption.

Lastly, we mentioned in the theoretical section that the presence of siblings in the household might have an influence on young adults' risk of leaving home. This information is taken into account in the independent variable. Nonetheless, the information recorded in the previously mentioned variable is more complete since we do not only record the presence or absence of siblings in the household, but we also examine whether the arrival of younger siblings or the departure of siblings from the parental home affect those who are still living at home. As such, in order to demonstrate the higher value of constructing childhood co-residence structures, we created a variable simply recording the presence or the absence of siblings and compared its results with those obtained with the independent variable.

29

4 Results

In order to test the previously presented hypotheses, logit regressions were run in order to estimate the impact of past co-residence structures on the probability of leaving the parental home (Cf. Table 1). Four models were built. The aim was to progressively add factors from the theoretically most central variable to the control variables in order to better understand their separate effects. Thus, only the variable regarding the childhood co-residence structures and the age were selected in the first model. Then, all the control variables were introduced in the second model. The third model was completed by the variables measuring the occurrence of parental disruption and the presence of siblings. In the last model, the independent variable was removed. The aim was to examine the effects of the "divorce" and "siblings" variables without including the "childhood co-residence structures" variable.

What is more, we only selected the individuals for whom we had information in every variable. As such, the number of individuals was equal to 1637. It means that 52 respondents had missing data in at least one of the variables that were included in the models. Likewise, 147 individuals out of 1637 left the parental home over the observation period. As it can be noticed, the education variable was not included in the table presented below. The reason is that its inclusion led to the exclusion of 607 additional individuals from the database. What is more, preliminary analyses have shown that education does not have a strong impact on the different pathways out of the parental home (Cf. Annexes, Table 3). For example, only pursuing a tertiary education increases the odds of leaving home and this effect is only significant at the 0.1 level.

The analyses show that young adults who only grew up with their both parents only are as likely to leave home as those who spent their childhood with their both parents and siblings. Conversely, it appears that staying in the parental home after

the departure of their siblings increases the probability of leaving home. Regarding older children who experienced the birth of younger siblings during their teens, it seems that their likelihood of leaving home is higher than that of young adults who grew up with their both parents and siblings from birth. Besides, there is some evidence that having experienced a parental separation – in the absence of siblings – leads to a higher risk of leaving home. Similarly, when parental disruption occurs in the presence of siblings, it also increases the odds of leaving the parental home, though the increase is smaller than in the previous case. What is more, it seems that older children are less affected by parental separation. As an illustration, even though being the oldest sibling and having experienced divorce positively influence the departure from the parental home, this effect is only significant at the 0.1 level in the second model. Lastly, the results show that young individuals who started by living in a lone-parenthood with siblings before moving to a biparental household are as likely to leave home as those who spent their entire childhood in a biparental household.

What is more, we can see that, even after the inclusion of the variables measuring the occurrence of divorce and the presence of siblings in the third model, the effects of the childhood co-residence structures are still statistically significant, though being the oldest child and having experienced a parental disruption do no longer increase the risk of leaving the parental home. Concerning the variable recording the occurrence of divorce, its effect is not statistically significant (whether included with the childhood co-residence structures or not). As far as siblings are concerned, it seems that their presence in the household foster the departure from the parental home. However, this ascertainment is only true for the third model, where all the variables were included.

Regarding control variable, consistent with what was assumed, young adults seem to be more likely to found their own household as they grow older. Conversely, men's and women's risk of leaving home surprisingly do not differ. In addition, the outcomes show that the departure from the parental home is significantly in-

fluenced by the ethnic origin. For instance, it has been demonstrated that second-generation immigrants from the Balkan Peninsula or from Southern European have lower odds of leaving home than their Swiss counterparts. As for second-generation immigrants from North-western Europe, they have a higher tendency to leave the parental home than their Swiss counterparts. Furthermore, as expected, the integration into the labour market increases the probability of leaving the parental home. Lastly, regarding the place of residence, although residing in an outlying municipality or in a periurban and pendular municipality (in the third model) during childhood seems to increase the odds of leaving home, this effect is only significant at the 0.1 level.

Lastly, the Akaike information criterion (AIC)[8] and the Bayesian information criterion (BIC)[9] can be used to compare the quality of each model. They are a measure of the relative quality of statistical models for a given set of data. Given a collection of models for the data, these criteria estimate the quality of each model, relative to each of the other models. They thus provide a means for model selection. They offer an estimation of the trade-off between the goodness of fit of the model and its complexity. Concerning the BIC, Raftery (1995) asserts that, when calculating the BIC for event history data, N can refer to tree different notions: the number of observations (person-period), the number of individuals or the number of events. They suggest using the last option, which is the last conservative. This last option is also coherent with the calculation of the BIC in the case of survival continuous time models (i.e. Cox models) in which N represents the number of observed events. Accordingly, we can see that, according to the both criteria, the best one is the third model, namely the model which is the most complete. However, the differences between the second and the third model are very small.

[8] AIC= 2k – 2ln(L), where k represents the number of parameters and -2ln(L) is equal to the deviance

[9] BIC = -2ln(L) + ln(N)*k, where L is the likelihood, -2ln(L) is equal to the deviance, ln is the logarithm and k represents the number of parameters (i.e. coefficients).

Table 1. Logit models predicting probability of first home-leaving

	Covariates	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
		Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.
Intercept		-10.59	0.75	***	-11.61	1.02	***	-12.87	1.19	***	-10.77	1.00	***
Co-residence structures	Both parents & siblings (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Both parents	0.27	0.76		0.20	0.79		1.18	0.92				
	Late departure of siblings	1.52	0.42	***	1.28	0.44	**	2.27	0.64	***			
	Early arrival of siblings	0.67	0.34	*	0.78	0.35	*	0.81	0.35	*			
	Both parents to one parent (without siblings)	1.96	0.45	***	1.86	0.50	***	2.14	0.61	***			
	Early arrival of siblings & parental separation	0.62	0.47		0.91	0.49	+	0.78	0.68				
	One parent to both parents (with siblings)	0.33	1.06		1.36	1.12		1.44	1.13				
	Both parents to one parent (with siblings)	1.12	0.36	**	1.36	0.38	***	1.61	0.39	***			
Age (ln)		3.45	0.36	***	3.55	0.40	***	3.63	0.40	***	3.65	0.40	***
Sex	Men (ref.)				-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Women				0.31	0.24		0.34	0.25		0.22	0.24	
Ethnic origin	Switzerland (ref.)				-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Eastern Europe				-1.06	0.41	**	-1.11	0.41	**	-1.15	0.40	**
	South-western Europe				-0.89	0.40	*	-0.85	0.40	*	-0.95	0.40	*
	North-western Europe & northern America				1.25	0.41	**	1.26	0.41	**	1.22	0.41	**
	Other continents				0.24	0.38		0.18	0.38		0.49	0.37	
Labour market integration					0.69	0.29	*	0.72	0.29	*	0.55	0.30	+
Place of residence	Big centres (ref.)				-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Periurban & metropolitan centres				0.35	0.48		0.33	0.48		0.47	0.47	
	Touristic municipalities				0.45	0.65		0.51	0.64		0.54	0.63	
	Middle & little centres				0.32	0.31		0.32	0.31		0.40	0.31	
	Periurban & pendular municipalities				0.72	0.46		0.79	0.47	+	0.52	0.46	
	Outlying municipalities				0.65	0.37	+	0.64	0.37	+	0.63	0.37	+
Place of birth	Overrepresented places of birth (ref.)				-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Underrepresented places of birth				0.12	0.44		0.17	0.47		0.54	0.63	
Divorce								0.20	0.53		0.53	0.33	
Siblings	No siblings (ref.)							-	-		-	-	
	Siblings							1.03	0.47	*	-0.06	0.29	
Nb obs.	8796												
Nb ind.	1637												
Nb events	147												
Deviance			652.2			606.8			601.16			627.8	
AIC			670.2			648.8			647.2			659.8	
BIC			669.6			652.3			651.0			662.5	

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

4 Discussion

The main results show that punctual events of the past life history (such as the occurrence of divorce and the arrival of siblings etc.) do not play a strong role on the departure from the parental home. Conversely, there are some reasons to believe that childhood co-residence patterns influence the ways in which young adults leave the parental home. More precisely, it is rather the ways in which various states occur, as well as their sequencing, which has an effect on home-leaving. For instance, it seems that two features have a significant and strong impact on the departure from the parental home, which are the childhood co-residence structures and the siblings.

Regarding the co-residence structures, it has been demonstrated that having spent some years in a lone-parent household has a positive impact on the risk of leaving home. It does not seem to matter much if it occurred in the presence of siblings or not, as both situations lead to an increase in the likelihood of leaving home. Though, we can see that, in the case of parental separation, the presence of other siblings tends to buffer the propensity to leave the parental home. This might also come from the fact that, in general, divorce occurs earlier in couples with only children. As a consequence, we could say that the influence of non-normative changes in the co-residence configurations tends to vary according to the timing of its onset. What is more, there is some evidence that, in households of more than one child, oldest children are less affected by divorce than younger children. Lastly, the outcomes show that there are no significant differences in the risk of leaving the parental home between young adults who grew up in a biparental household and those who experienced the re-partnering of their parents at a later age, in both cases in the presence of siblings. This could stem from the fact that both groups reach the same destination state; namely a household with two parents. Thereby, we could assume that this shift cancels out the negative effect of the non-standard co-residency structure.

Concerning siblings, it appeared that what matters is not only whether or not young adults grew up with other siblings, but also their birth order. Indeed, it has

been shown that only children have the same probability of leaving home than children who grew up with siblings, though our hypothesis was that only children tend to stay longer at home in order to take care of their parents (Bianchi, 1987; Holdsworth, 2000). As a result, the opposite result could indicate that taking of their parents is no longer a necessary requirement. What is more, it might be possible that parents invest more in their children's future when they are only children and this may foster their departure from the parental home. Second, contrarily to what would have been expected, it seems that the departure from the parental home of siblings (most probably older siblings) incites the other siblings – who stayed at home - to leave home. Indeed, it could have been assumed that young individuals who attended the departure of their siblings would be less likely to leave home than those who are still living with their both parents and siblings, because they do no longer have to share space, parental attention and support with other siblings. On the contrary, it seems that young individuals look upon their siblings and are very likely to reproduce their behaviours. This could also be an age effect. Indeed, young adults with siblings who have already left home are more likely to have reached the ages in which the departure from the parental home is the most frequent. Finally, in consonance with the previous assumptions, oldest children who spent their first years as only children before the birth of younger siblings are more likely to leave home than youngest children. The reason is that they might have encountered difficulties in sharing the attention, love and support that was once only theirs. They may also be more likely to suffer from a lack of physical space for privacy, as they used to live alone with their parents before the arrival of their siblings.

As a consequence, as leaving home very early might have significant consequences on later life opportunities, the findings draw attention to the fact that the past household structure is a significant determinant of the transition toward a stable and successful work and family trajectory.

In addition, in concordance with our expectations, most of the control variables have an influence on the event studied. First of all, in accordance with the hypoth-

eses, the probability of leaving home increases with age. Nevertheless, contrarily to what was expected, women have the same risk of leaving home than their male counterparts. It thus indicates that socialisation processes do no longer seem to contribute to the reproduction of traditional behaviours for each sex. In other words, this might mean that young women do not necessarily place a greater value on family life than young men. Moreover, the ethnic origin of young adults was expected to have a significant effect on their propensity to leave home. More precisely, while second-generation immigrants from Eastern or Southern Europe were expected to leave home at an older age, no different in the age at leaving home was supposed between second-generation from North-western Europe and Swiss natives. The present outcomes partially confirm these assumptions. As an illustration, while it is true that second-generation immigrants from Eastern or Southern Europe are less likely to leave home than Swiss natives, it nonetheless has been demonstrated that second-generation immigrants from North-western Europe or Northern America have higher odds of leaving home than Swiss natives. Besides, in accordance with the hypotheses, economic independence leads to a greater likelihood of leaving the parental home. Likewise, the results also showed that residing in an outlying municipality increases the likelihood of leaving home, even though this effect is really small. This result may be explained by the fact that, although most of the institutions of higher education are concentrated in some Swiss agglomerations (e.g. Zurich, Geneva, Basel, Bern and Lausanne) and, as mentioned beforehand, commuting between the place of residence and these metropolitan areas has become easier and quicker for young individuals thanks to the development of railroad and road networks (Viry et al., 2009). Also, as Switzerland is a small country, the distances between cities are not too big. As a result, tough some young adults who want to pursue higher education might be forced to move out from their parental home, this proportion is likely to be more limited in Switzerland than in other European countries.

Limitations of the study and further contributions

One relative weakness of this study is that it did not enable us to integrate variables regarding the socioeconomic status of the respondent's family, because this information will only be asked in the second wave of the Cohort study. However, the higher probability of children from lone-parent families of leaving home could stem from the fact that those families often encounter financial difficulties and that this situation is positively related to the tendency of children to leave home (Bianchi, 1987). As a consequence, a further contribution of this study will be to integrate those variables into our analysis as soon as they are available.

Another weakness of our study is that the link between the household structure and the departure from the parental home may be explained by another factor, which is the quality of relations within the household. Indeed, the higher probability of children from stepfamilies leaving home could come from the fact that conflicts and disagreements are more frequent in this household environment (Gähler & Bernhardt, 2000). Unfortunately, there is no variable in the survey that might enable us to verify this assumption. As a result, longitudinal data supplemented with more detailed qualitative accounts of the quality of family relations might provide useful information that could fill the gap.

Lastly, as previously mentioned, the sample used for the present study was quite young. As a result, a small number of respondents had already left the parental home at the end of the observation period. Accordingly, it is possible that the results previously presented might concerned principally the early departure from the parental home. A further contribution would be to apply the same methodological framework to an older sample in order to verify whether the present outcomes can be generalised to other populations.

To conclude, the results obtained with the combination of survival analysis and sequence analysis provided results that would not have been obtained if each method had been used separately. Nonetheless, the proposed framework may have a much broader field of application. As a consequence, further investigations have

37

to be conducted in order to examine whether other life course events or transitions are influence by past trajectories. For instance, this methodological framework could allow us to study how previous professional trajectories are linked with the risk of dying.

References

Aassve, A., Arpino, B., & Billari, F. C. (2013) Age norms on leaving home: Multilevel evidence from the European Social Survey. *Environment and Planning A*. **45**(2), 383–401.

Aassve, A., Billari, F. C., & Ongaro, F. (2001) The impact of income and employment status on leaving home: evidence from the Italian ECHP sample. *Labour*. **15**(3), 501–529.

Abbott, A. (1983) Sequences of social events: Concepts and methods for the analysis of order in social processes. *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*. **16**(4), 129–147.

Abbott, A. (1995) Sequence analysis: new methods for old ideas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, **21**, 93–113.

Acock, A. C., & Demo, D. H. (1994) *Family diversity and well-being*. California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Aquilino, W. S. (1991) Family structure and home-leaving: A further specification of the relationship. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. **53**(4), 999–1010.

Avery, R., Goldscheider, F., & Speare, A. (1992) Feathered nest/gilded cage: Parental income and leaving home in the transition to adulthood. *Demography*. **29**(3), 375–388.

Bernhardt, E., Gähler, M., & Goldscheider, F. (2005) Childhood family structure and routes out of the parental home in Sweden. *Acta Sociologica*. **48**(2), 99–115.

Bianchi, S. M. (1987) Living at home: Young adults' living arrangements in the 1980s. Presented at the Annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago.

Billari, F. C., & Liefbroer, A. C. (2007) Should I stay or should I go? The impact of age norms on leaving home. *Demography*. **44**(1), 181–198.

Billari, F. C., & Liefbroer, A. C. (2010) Towards a new pattern of transition to adulthood? *Advances in Life Course Research*. **15**(2), 59–75.

Billari, F. C., Philipov, D., & Baizán, P. (2001) Leaving home in Europe: The experience of cohorts born around 1960. *International Journal of Population Geography*, **7**(5), 339–356.

Blaauboer, M., & Mulder, C. H. (2010) Gender differences in the impact of family background on leaving the parental home. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. **25**(1), 53–71.

Bolzman, C. (2007) Familles espagnoles et italiennes en Suisse et transition vers la vie adulte. *Enfances, Familles, Générations*. (6).

Bolzman, C., Fibbi, R., & Vial, M. (2003) Que sont-ils devenus? Le processus d'insertion des adultes issus de la migration. In H. R. Wicker H.R., R. Fibbi & W. Haug (eds), *Les migrations et la Suisse: résultats du Programme national de recherche "Migrations et relations interculturelles"*, pages 434–459, Zürich: Seismo.

Box-Steffensmeier, J. M., & Jones, B. S. (2004) *Event history modeling: A guide for social scientists*. Cambridge University Press.

Brodmann, S., Esping-Andersen, G., & Güell, M. (2007) When fertility is bargained: Second births in Denmark and Spain. *European Sociological Review*. **23**(5), 599–613.

Buck, N., & Scott, J. (1993) She's leaving home: But why? An analysis of young people leaving the parental home. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. **55**(4), 863–874.

Cavalli, A., & Galland, O. (1993) *L'allongement de la jeunesse en Europe*. Arles: Actes Sud.

Cherlin, A. J., Kiernan, K. E., & Chase-Lansdale, P. L. (1995) Parental divorce in childhood and demographic outcomes in young adulthood. *Demography*. **32**(3), 299–318.

Chiuri, M. C., & Del Boca, D. (2010) Home-leaving decisions of daughters and sons. *Review of Economics of the Household*. **8**(3), 393–408.

Cooney, T. M., & Mortimer, J. T. (1999) Family structure differences in the timing of leaving home: Exploring mediating factors. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*. **9**(4), 367–393.

Corijn, M. (2001) Transitions to adulthood in Europe: Sociodemographic factors. In M. Corijn & E. Klijzing (eds), *Transition to adulthood in Europe*, pages 1-25, Netherlands: Springer.

Couppié, T., & Gasquet, C. (2009) Insertion professionnelle et départ du domicile parental: une relation complexe. In C. Perez, S. Divay, J-L. Outin, T. Couppié, J-F. Giret, Y. Grelet & P. Werquin (eds), *Les cheminements longs: données, métodes et apports pour les analyses du marché du travail*, pages 227–258, Marseille: Céreq.

Elcheroth, G., & Antal, E. (2013) *Echantillon de cohorte LIVES. Première vague* (pp. 1–7). Lausanne: University of Lausanne.

Ermisch, J., & Di Salvo, P. (1997) The economic determinants of young people's household formation. *Economica*. **64**(256), 627–644.

Furstenberg, F. F., & Kiernan, K. E. (2001) Delayed parental divorce: How much do children benefit? *Journal of Marriage and Family*. **63**(2), 446–457.

Gähler, M., & Bernhardt, E. (2000) The impact of parental divorce, family reconstitution, and family conflict on nest-leaving in Sweden (pp. 6–8). Presented at the Workshop on Leaving Home–a European Focus, Max Planck Institut für Bevölkerungsforschung, Rostock.

Galland, O. (1996) L'entrée dans la vie adulte en France. Bilan et perspectives sociologiques. *Sociologie et Sociétés*. **28**(1), 37–46.

Gierveld, J. D. J., Liefbroer, A. C., & Beekink, E. (1991) The effect of parental resources on patterns of leaving home among young adults in the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review*. **7**(1), 55–71.

Giuliano, P. (2007) Living arrangements in western europe: Does cultural origin matter? *Journal of the European Economic Association*. **5**(5), 927–952.

Goldscheider, F., & Goldscheider, C. (1993) Whose nest? A two-generational view of leaving home during the 1980s. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. **55**(4), 851–862.

Goldscheider, F. K., & Goldscheider, C. (1998) The effects of childhood family structure on leaving and returning home. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. **60**(3), 745–756.

Gossens, L. (2001) Transition to adulthood: Developmental factors. In M. Corijn & E. Klijzing (eds), *Transition to adulthood*, pages 27–42, Netherlands: Springer.

Granovetter, M. S. (1973) The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*. **78**(6), 1360–1380.

Hansen, M. H., & Hurwitz, W. N. (1943) On the theory of sampling from finite populations. *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*. **14**(4), 333–362.

Heckathorn, D. D. (1997) Respondent-driven sampling: a new approach to the study of hidden populations. *Social Problems*. **44**(2), 174–199.

Heckhausen, J. (1999) *Developmental regulation in adulthood. Age-normative and sociostructural constraints as adaptive challenges*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hogan, D. P., & Astone, N. M. (1986) The transition to adulthood. *Annual Review of Sociology*.

12, 109–130.

Holdsworth, C. (2000) Leaving home in Britain and Spain. *European Sociological Review*. **16**(2), 201–222.

Iacovou, M., & Aassve, A. (2007) *Youth poverty in Europe*. York, UK: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Jacob, M., & Kleinert, C. (2008) Does unemployment help or hinder becoming independent? The role of employment status for leaving the parental home. *European Sociological Review*. **24**(2), 141–153.

Juang, L. P., Silbereisen, R. K., & Wiesner, M. (1999) Predictors of leaving home in young adults raised in Germany: A replication of a 1991 study. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. **61**(2), 505–515.

Kaufman, L., & Rousseeuw, P. J. (2005) *Finding groups in data: an introduction to cluster analysis*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Kiernan, K. E. (1992) The impact of family disruption in childhood on transitions made in young adult life. *Population Studies*. **46**(2), 213–234.

Kruskal, J. B. (1983) An overview of sequence comparison. In D. Sankoff & J. B. Kruskal (eds), *Time wraps, string edits, and macromolecules-The theory and practice of sequence comparison*, pages 1–44, Ontario: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Luetzelberger, T. (2014) Independence or interdependence: Norms of leaving home in Italy and Germany. *European Societies*. **16**(1), 28–47.

Mandic, S. (2008) Home-leaving and its structural determinants in Western and Eastern Europe: An exploratory study. *Housing Studies*. **23**(4), 615–637.

Marini, M. M. (1984) The order of events in the transition to adulthood. *Sociology of Education*. **57**(2), 63–84.

Martin, P., Schoon, I., & Ross, A. (2008) Beyond transitions: Applying optimal matching analysis to life course research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. **11**(3), 179–199.

Martin, S., Dessemontet, P., & Joye, D. (2005) *Les niveaux géographiques de la Suisse*. Neuchâtel: Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

Martinson, B. C., & Wu, L. L. (1992) Parent Histories Patterns of Change in Early Life. *Journal of Family Issues*. **13**(3), 351–377.

Meyer, T. (2003) When being smart is not enough: institutional and social access barriers to upper secondary education and their consequences on successful labour market entry. The case of Switzerland. Presented at the "Competencies and Careers" of the European Research Network on Transitions in Youth (TIY), Funchal, Madeira. Retrieved from http://www.coreched.ch/publikationen/meyer.pdf

Mileti, F. P., Plomb, F., & Henchoz, C. (2015) De la socialisation financière à l'autonomie économique: processus d'acquisition des compétences et des représentations liées à l'argent auprès d'étudiants vivant en Suisse. *Pensée Plurielle*. **37**(3), 53–65.

Mitchell, B. A. (1994) Family structure and leaving the nest: A social resource perspective. *Sociological Perspectives*. **37**(4), 651–671.

Mitchell, B. A., Wister, A. V., & Burch, T. K. (1989) The family environment and leaving the parental home. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. **51**(3), 605–613.

Modell, J., Furstenberg, F., & Hershberg, T. (1976) Social change and transitions to adulthood in

historical perspective. *Journal of Family History*. **1**(1), 7–32.

Morrison, D. R., Moore, K. A., Blumenthal, C., Coiro, M. J., & Middleton, S. (1994) *Parent-Child Relationships and Investments of Parental Time in Children: Are Children in Stepfamilies at a Disadvantage?*. Washington DC: Child Trends, Inc.

Mulder, C. H. (2009) Leaving the parental home in young adulthood. In A. Furlong (eds), *Handbook of youth and young adulthood: new perspectives and agendas*, pages 203–210, New York: Routledge.

Mulder, C. H., & Hooimeijer, P. (1999) Residential relocations in the life course. In L. van Wissen & P. Dykstra, *Population issues: An interdisciplinary focus*, pages 159–186, New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Mulder, C. H., & Hooimeijer, P. (2002) Leaving home in the Netherlands: Timing and first housing. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. **17**(3), 237–268.

Nilsson, K., & Strandh, M. (1999) Nest leaving in Sweden: The importance of early educational and labor market careers. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. **61**(4), 1068–1079.

Raftery, A. E. (1995) Bayesian model selection in social research. *Sociological Methodology*. **25**, 111–164.

Reher, D. S. (1998) Family ties in Western Europe: persistent contrasts. *Population and Development Review*. **24**(2), 203–234.

Rosina, A. (2005) Family formation and fertility in Italy. In G. Dalla Zuanna & G.A. Micheli (eds), *Strong Family and Low Fertility: A Paradox? New perspectives in interpreting contemporary family and reproductive behaviour*, pages 23–43, Netherlands: Springer.

Sandefur, G. D., Eggerling-Boeck, J., & Park, H. (2008) Off to a good start? Postsecondary education and early adult life. In Jr. R. A. Settersten, Jr. F. F. Furstenberg & R. G. Rumbaut (eds), *On the frontier of adulthood: Theory, research and public policy*, pages 292–319, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Santelli, E. (2004) De la «deuxième génération» aux descendants d'immigrés maghrébins. Apports, heurts et malheurs d'une approche en termes de génération. *Temporalités. Revue de Sciences Sociales et Humaines*. (2), 29–43.

Schizzerotto, A., & Lucchini, M. (2004) Transitions to Adulthood. In R. Berthoud & M. Iacovou (eds), *Social Europe: Living standards and welfare states*, pages 46–68, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Schumacher, R., Spoorenberg, T., & Forney, Y. (2006) Déstandardisation, différenciation régionale et changements générationnels. Départ du foyer parental et modes de vie en Suisse au XXe siècle. *European Journal of Population/Revue Européenne de Démographie*. **22**(2), 153–177.

Studer, M. (2013) WeightedCluster Library Manual: A practical guide to creating typologies of trajectories in the social sciences with R. *LIVES Working Papers*, (24). http://doi.org/10.12682/lives.2296-1658.2013.24

Swiss Federal Statistical Office. (2015) Components of population change – Data, indicators - Divorces and divortiality. Retrieved April 20, 2015, from http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/06/blank/key/06.html

Swiss Media Institute for Education and Culture (2011a) Baccalaureate schools. Retrieved November 13, 2015, from http://swisseducation.educa.ch/en/baccalaureate-schools

Swiss Media Institute for Education and Culture (2011b) Higher professional education and

training. Retrieved November 13, 2015, from http://swisseducation.educa.ch/en/higher-professional-education-and-training

Swiss Media Institute for Education and Culture (2011c) Institutions for higher education. Retrieved November 13, 2015, from http://swisseducation.educa.ch/en/institutions-higher-education

Swiss Media Institute for Education and Culture (2011d) Vocational education and training in Switzerland. Retrieved November 13, 2015, from http://swisseducation.educa.ch/en/vocational-education-and-training-0

Thomsin, L., Le Goff, J.-M., & Sauvain-Dugerdil, C. (2004) Genre et étapes du passage à la vie adulte en Suisse. *Espace Populations Sociétés*. *Space Populations Societies*. **11**(1), 81–96.

White, L. K., & Booth, A. (1985) The quality and stability of remarriages: The role of stepchildren. *American Sociological Review*. **50**(5), 689–698.

Zorlu, A., & Mulder, C. H. (2011) Ethnic differences in leaving home: Timing and pathways. *Demography*. **48**(1), 49–72.

Zvoch, K. (1999) Family type and investment in education: A comparison of genetic and stepparent families. *Evolution and Human Behavior*. **20**(6), 453–464.

Annexes

Table 1. Measures of quality of different partitions

	PBS	HG	HGSD	ASW	ASWw	CH	R0.242	CHsq	R2sq	HC
Cluster 2	0.41	0.64	0.58	0.50	0.50	1722.03	0.24	2376.86	0.30	0.23
Cluster 3	0.56	0.80	0.73	0.56	0.56	1718.57	0.38	2627.01	0.49	0.11
Cluster 4	0.61	0.83	0.78	0.59	0.59	1769.22	0.49	2494.38	0.57	0.09
Cluster 5	0.60	0.83	0.79	0.61	0.61	2014.69	0.59	2608.70	0.65	0.12
Cluster 6	0.66	0.92	0.89	0.69	0.69	2301.24	0.67	3116.81	0.74	0.06
Cluster 7	0.68	0.94	0.91	0.71	0.71	2290.66	0.71	3341.62	0.78	0.04
Cluster 8	0.69	0.96	0.93	0.74	0.74	2262.54	0.74	3303.17	0.81	0.03
Cluster 9	0.69	0.96	0.94	0.76	0.76	2229.23	0.76	3332.85	0.83	0.03
Cluster 10	0.69	0.97	0.94	0.77	0.77	2179.48	0.78	3272.93	0.84	0.02

Table 2. Recoding of the variable "place of residence" according to the typology of municipalities of Martin, Dessemontet and Joye (2005)

	Typology of municipalities	**Recoding**
1	Big centres	Big centres
9	Employment municipalities from metropolitan regions	
10	Suburban municipalities from metropolitan regions	
11	Periurban municipalities from metropolitan regions	Periurban & metropolitan centres
5	High-income municipalities	
6	Toursitic municipalities	Touristic municipalities
7	Semi-touristic municipalities	
8	Municipalities with collective institutions	
2	Middle centres	Middle & little centres
3	Small centres	
12	Employment municipalities from non-metropolitan regions	
13	Suburban municipalities from non-metropolitan regions	
14	Periurban municipalities from non-metropolitan regions	Periurban & pendular municipalities
15	Pendular municipalities of allochtons	
16	Pendural municipalities of autochtons	
4	Centre of peripheral regions	Outyling municipalities
17	Industrial and tertiary municipalities	
18	Industrial municipalities	
19	Agro-industrial municipalities	
20	Agro-tertiary municipalities	
21	Agricultural municipalities	
22	Municipalities in strong demographic decline	

45

Table 3. Logit models predicting probability of first home-leaving, controlled for education

	Covariates	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
		Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig.
Intercept		-10.59	0.75	***	-11.47	1.17	***	-12.67	1.32	***	-10.41	1.15	***
Household structure	Both parents & siblings (ref.)	-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Both parents	0.27	0.76		0.29	0.80		1.23	0.92				
	Late departure of siblings	1.52	0.42	***	1.32	0.44	**	2.29	0.64	***			
	Early arrival of siblings	0.67	0.34	*	0.78	0.35	*	0.81	0.36	*			
	Both parents to one parent (without siblings)	1.96	0.45	***	1.90	0.50	***	2.12	0.61	***			
	Early arrival of siblings & parental separation	0.62	0.47		0.97	0.49	*	0.79	0.68				
	One parent to both parents (with siblings)	0.33	1.06		1.46	1.12		1.54	1.13				
	Both parents to one parent (with siblings)	1.12	0.36	**	1.39	0.38	***	1.62	0.92	***			
Age (ln)		3.45	0.36	***	2.99	0.45	***	3.09	0.45	***	3.11	0.45	***
Sex	Men (ref.)				-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Women				0.34	0.25		0.38	0.25		0.22	0.24	
Ethnic origin	Switzerland (ref.)				-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Eastern Europe				-1.03	0.41	*	-1.06	0.42	*	-1.15	0.40	**
	South-western Europe				-0.89	0.42	*	-0.83	0.42	*	-0.95	0.40	*
	North-western Europe & northern America				1.23	0.42	**	1.26	0.42	**	1.22	0.41	**
	Other continents				0.34	0.39		0.31	0.39		0.49	0.37	
Labour market integration					0.62	0.30	*	0.65	0.30	*	0.55	0.30	+
Education	Compulsory education (ref.)				-	-		-	-		-	-	
	VET				1.01	0.77		0.92	0.77		0.93	0.77	
	Higher secondary education				0.21	0.84		0.14	0.84		0.03	0.83	
	Tertiary education				1.34	0.81	+	1.27	0.81		1.17	0.81	
Residency	Big centres (ref.)				-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Periurban & metropolitan centres				0.48	0.48		0.48	0.49		0.47	0.47	
	Touristic municipalities				0.38	0.66		0.47	0.65		0.54	0.63	
	Middle & little centres				0.33	0.31		0.33	0.32		0.40	0.31	
	Periurban & pendular municipalities				0.69	0.48		0.75	0.47		0.52	0.46	
	Outlying municipalities				0.66	0.38	+	0.66	0.38	+	0.63	0.37	+
Place of birth	Overrepresented places of birth (ref.)				-	-		-	-		-	-	
	Underrepresented places of birth				0.08	0.44		0.12	0.45		0.54	0.63	
Divorce								0.24	0.53		0.60	0.34	+
Siblings	No siblings (ref.)							-	-		-	-	
	Siblings							1.01	0.47	*	-0.11	0.29	
Nb obs.	5362												
Nb ind.	1025												
Nb events	85												
Deviance		652.2			598.79			593.42			619.98		
AIC		670.2			646.79			645.42			657.98		
BIC		669.56			645.09			643.58			660.50		