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Research Article

Solo living in the process of transitioning to adulthood in Europe: The role of socioeconomic background

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Solo living in the process of transitioning to adulthood in Europe: The role of socioeconomic background

Jana Klímová Chaloupková¹

Abstract

BACKGROUND

In recent decades, patterns of transition to adulthood have undergone substantial changes, including an increase in people living solo after leaving the parental home. However, the extent to which solo living after leaving the parental home is a transitory state, quickly followed by union formation, or a relatively long-term state in the pathways to adulthood, and how long-term solo living is socially stratified are all questions that remain unanswered.

OBJECTIVE

To fill this gap, this study focuses on home-leaving pathways that have unfolded over a 5-year period after leaving home. It explores the association between socioeconomic background (parental education) and the long-term, solo-living, home-leaving pathways of young men and women across 29 European countries.

METHODS

Using European Social Survey Round 9 (2018) data, this study applies a competing trajectory analysis, which combines sequence analysis to identify home-leaving patterns with event history analysis, in order to analyse their association with parental education.

RESULTS

The occurrence of solo-living pathways varies considerably across Europe: both short-term and long-term solo-living pathways are the highest in Northern Europe. Long-term solo-living pathways are associated with being in education and with high levels of individual and parental education. The effect of parental education does not differ systematically across European countries and does not differ between genders.

CONTRIBUTION

This study contributes to the understanding of the social stratification of the transition to adulthood across European countries by differentiating between transitory and longer-term solo-living, home-leaving pathways.

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1. Introduction

In recent decades, a growing body of research has shown that transition to adulthood has become more gradual and complex and that pathways with delayed family formation have become dominant across cohorts (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; for literature reviews, see Buchmann and Kriesi 2011; Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007; Hofäcker and Chaloupková 2014; Lesnard et al. 2016; Potârcă, Mills, and Lesnard 2013). Leaving the parental home and union formation have become decoupled, and the proportion of young adults living independently has increased (van den Berg and Verbakel 2022; Billari and Liefbroer 2010).

The shift towards more complex family life courses is thought to be associated with ideational change towards increasing individualisation and gender role equality, as well as with rising economic uncertainty, which is most pronounced among young adults from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Blossfeld et al. 2005; Lesthaeghe 2010; Zimmermann and Konietzka 2018). The postponement of union and family formation has also been associated with educational expansion and more time spent in education (Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer 2019; Brons, Liefbroer, and Ganzeboom 2017; Mooyaart, Liefbroer, and Billari 2021; Potârcă, Mills, and Lesnard 2013; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017; Sironi, Barban, and Impicciatore 2015). Despite these common trends, Europe shows persistent and substantial cross-national differences in the ages and destinations of those leaving the parental home (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007; Lesnard et al. 2016; Van Winkle 2018; Zimmermann and Konietzka 2018).

Although considerable scholarly attention has been paid to patterns of transition to adulthood and to leaving the parental home as a single event (Aassve et al. 2002; Billari, Philipov, and Baizan 2001; Iacovou 2010; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017), less is known about the extent to which solo living after leaving the parental home is either a transitory state, quickly followed by union formation, or becomes a relatively long-term state in pathways to adulthood. Only recently, using European Social Survey (ESS) data on individuals born between 1930 and 1989, van den Berg and Verbakel (2022) have shown that despite an increase in the proportion of young adults living solo after leaving home in Europe, particularly women, the duration of solo living has not increased significantly across cohorts. Rather surprisingly, the shortest average duration of solo living is found in the Nordic countries, which does not fit into the usual theorising and suggests an increased level of individualisation in these countries (van den Berg and Verbakel 2022).

Furthermore, questions remain about predictors of solo living after leaving home and its duration. Nonetheless, a rich body of research suggests that trajectories to adulthood are socially stratified and that the link between parental education and patterns

of leaving home and union formation differs by country context (Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer 2019; Mooyaart, Liefbroer, and Billari 2021; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017; Sironi, Barban, and Impicciatore 2015; Zimmermann and Konietzka 2018).

Therefore, using data from the ESS Round 9 (2018), this study aims to explore how the experience of solo living (living without a partner²) is integrated into life courses in the transition to adulthood and how this experience is related to young adults' socioeconomic background. For this purpose, this study follows a holistic trajectory-based research perspective by examining home-leaving pathways; that is, parental status and the succession of different spells of partnership in the several years after leaving the parental home. In particular, this study contributes to research on the stratification of transition to adulthood by examining linkages between parental socioeconomic status (SES) and solo-living, home-leaving pathways among young men and women across 29 European countries.

This study extends previous research in several ways. In contrast to previous trajectory-based studies of the transition to adulthood, which combine trajectories with the experience of solo living and unmarried cohabitation to form broad clusters such as 'modern and independent' and 'late transitions and independence' (Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007; Lesnard et al. 2016; Schwanitz 2017), this study focuses directly on the process of leaving home in order to shed light on the incidence of long-term, solo-living, home-leaving pathways across Europe.

Studying home-leaving pathways allows simultaneously taking into account the occurrence and duration of solo living after leaving the parental home. This is important for at least two reasons. First, focusing only on the destinations of those leaving the parental home might overestimate the incidence of solo living, which is considered a long-term living arrangement. Previous research, mostly qualitative, has shown a heterogeneity of solo living experiences among young adults in terms of their future plans and views on union formation (Jamieson and Simpson 2013; Molgat and Vézina 2008; Poortman and Liefbroer 2010). In some cases, union formation is already anticipated at the time of leaving the parental home and leaving the parental home is part of the process of unmarried cohabitation formation, which is often a more fluid and gradual process than marriage (Manning and Smock 2004).

Second, examining only the duration might conceal the fact that in contexts where both long-term and transitory solo living are widespread (and unmarried cohabitation is

² In this paper, 'left to live without a partner', 'left to live independently', and 'left to live solo' or 'solo living' are used interchangeably. They point to a residential autonomy from parents and the absence of a co-residential partnership. However, individuals living solo might have non-residential ('living-apart-together') or dating partnerships.

common), the average duration of living in singlehood might be shorter than in contexts where leaving the parental home to live solo is less common and more selective.

The fact that first union formation and leaving home do not co-occur demonstrates a certain de-synchronisation of the organisation of the life course – that is, leaving home, union formation, and entry into parenthood. By distinguishing between transitory and more long-term solo-living, home-leaving pathways, this study contributes to the understanding of changes in the processes of life-course differentiation and (de)standardisation in the process of transition to adulthood. Life-course differentiation denotes a process whereby life courses are characterised by an increasing number of distinct states (Brückner and Mayer 2005; Van Winkle 2018). While the process of life-course differentiation entailing the diffusion of unmarried cohabitation – that is, its increasing occurrence and increasing permanency, finally becoming a majority behaviour – has gained considerable attention (Di Giulio, Impicciatore, and Sironi 2019; Heuveline and Timberlake 2004; Hiekel, Liefbroer, and Poortman 2014; Sobotka and Toulemon 2008), solo living after leaving the parental home and its duration have been less explored (van den Berg and Verbakel 2022). However, the increase in solo living as a relatively long-term arrangement in young adulthood might have important social outcomes and reinforce changes towards less gendered roles in work and private life (Arnett 2004; Bartošová Kvapilová and Fučík 2017; van den Berg and Verbakel 2022; Cunningham et al. 2005; Jamieson and Simpson 2013).

Finally, this study extends previous research by applying an innovative methodological approach, competing trajectories analysis (CTA), which combines the theoretical and methodological framework of sequence analysis with event history analysis (Piccarreta and Studer 2019; Studer, Liefbroer, and Mooyaart 2018). Instead of focusing on the single event of leaving home, sequence analysis allows considering the ‘process outcomes’ of leaving home and identifying common pathways within a multitude of trajectories. As young adulthood is ‘demographically dense’ (Rindfuss 1991), a 5-year period is long enough to distinguish between transitory and relatively long-term solo-living, home-leaving pathways (see also Section 3.1). In the next step, event history models are estimated, with the resulting typical pathways as competing risks. Using CTA has several advantages over other standard sequence analysis approaches. First, CTA enables capturing differences in both the timing of the home-leaving process and the sequencing of related events in a more prolonged period and thus accounting for a medium-term conception of changes in a life course (Piccarreta and Studer 2019; Studer, Liefbroer, and Mooyaart 2018). Therefore, it also allows reflecting on various temporal interdependencies of individual actions, such as path dependency and anticipation processes, and directly assessing interdependencies across different life domains, such as educational enrolment, by using time-varying covariates. Finally, it can

be applied to censored sequences – that is, to individuals who have not left their parental homes (Piccarreta and Studer 2019; Studer, Liefbroer, and Mooyaart 2018).

2. Theoretical background and hypotheses

There are various reasons why the occurrence and timing of major demographic transitions in young adulthood are strongly stratified. According to Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer (2019), this occurs through three interconnected processes: stratified socialisation, stratified agency, and stratified opportunity.

First, regarding stratified socialisation, young adults with higher SES are more likely to be socialised with values of self-actualisation and autonomy and to have higher educational aspirations than those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. This makes them more likely to focus on pursuing higher education and professional careers in the early stages of young adulthood, to have stronger intentions of leaving the parental home, to prefer residential autonomy rather than union formation, and to postpone family commitments (Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer 2019). Postponement of family commitments is also associated with normative expectations of the incompatibility of the pursuit of education with union and family formation (Blossfeld and Huinink 1991).

Solo living in the transition to adulthood might be well suited to the search for identity and experimentation in various life domains in the process of transitioning to adulthood and the postponement of long-term commitments. Therefore, it is often viewed as typical for students and young, highly educated professionals (Jamieson and Simpson 2013; Klinenberg 2013). This is partly in line with the concept of ‘emerging adulthood’ elaborated in developmental psychology, which posits that in post-industrial countries, a new life stage in the transition to adulthood, characterised by identity exploration, instability, and self-focus, has developed between adolescence and the adoption of stable adult roles (Arnett 2004). Nevertheless, questions have been raised regarding the universality of emerging adulthood as a developmental stage among individuals with different SES (Côté 2014; Hendry and Kloep 2010; Mitchell and Syed 2015).

Second, stratified agency refers to the ability to translate intentions into actual behaviour. Young adults with higher SES might have higher planning skills and might rely more on parental support to realise their plans (Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer 2019).

Finally, stratified opportunity refers to the fact that young adults from families with low SES and high SES face different opportunities and constraints in terms of family structure, housing, and educational and career options that often lead to different timing of family-related events and different family pathways (Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer 2019). Structural constraints, such as longer duration of education and higher opportunity costs for combining career and family, might contribute to young adults from high SES

families postponing family formation events and having a higher propensity to follow long-term solo-living pathways.

Previous studies suggest that individuals with higher education and higher parental SES are more likely to postpone union formation and to leave the parental home to live without a partner, though to a certain extent these links vary by country (Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer 2019; Brons, Liefbroer, and Ganzeboom 2017; Furstenberg 2008; Mooyaart, Liefbroer, and Billari 2021; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017). By contrast, young adults with poor economic conditions might stay in the parental home and postpone independent living (Iacovou 2010). Therefore, the first hypothesis (H1) is formulated:

H1: Young adults from high socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to follow solo-living pathways than those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

2.1 Variation in home-leaving pathways across Europe

The association between solo living and socioeconomic background might differ by country. Previous research has demonstrated the persistence of cross-national differences in the transition to adulthood across Europe (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007; Van Winkle 2018; Zimmermann and Konietzka 2018). Therefore, the effect of socioeconomic background might vary across countries based on institutional, welfare system, and cultural contexts, forming sets of opportunities and constraints that respectively facilitate or impede young adults' transitions (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Iacovou 2010; Reher 1998; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017). Concerning the normative context of the transition to adulthood, Reher's (1998) distinction between the weak family ties and family systems typical of Northern and Western Europe, which emphasise individual autonomy, and the strong family ties and systems of Southern Europe, is particularly vital (Esteve et al. 2020).

In Northern Europe, normative expectations emphasise young people's autonomy and promote equal gender roles (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Reher 1998). Leaving home is viewed as the most important marker of adulthood; the age norms for leaving the parental home are the lowest, and young adults have high intentions to leave home (Aassve, Arpino, and Billari 2013; Schwanitz, Rampazzo, and Vitali 2021; Spéder, Murinkó, and Settersten 2014). In terms of structural opportunities, universal welfare state support and housing market conditions enable young adults to leave the parental home early and to live independently before entering a partnership union (van den Berg and Verbakel 2022; Billari and Liefbroer 2010). However, in Northern European countries unmarried cohabitation is also widespread; thus, solo living might be more

easily transformed into unmarried cohabitation than in contexts where unmarried cohabitation is less common and solo living is more selective. These conditions might thus be favourable for both long-term and short-term solo living.

In this context the parental education gradient in leaving home might be weaker because universal welfare state support and housing market conditions and normative expectations of young adults' autonomy enable those from different socioeconomic backgrounds to leave their parental homes more easily (Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017). This expectation is in line with the second demographic transition (SDT) theory, which proposes that the highly educated are trendsetters for new living arrangements that gradually diffuse across society. This suggests that the link between socioeconomic background and home-leaving pathways should be weaker in Northern European countries that are more advanced in the SDT process.

By contrast, in Southern Europe young adults tend to leave home at a later age, leaving home to live without a partner is less common, and family transitions are viewed as more salient for adult status than in Western and Northern Europe (Aassve, Arpino, and Billari 2013; van den Berg and Verbakel 2022; Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Schwanitz, Rampazzo, and Vitali 2021; Spéder, Murinkó, and Settersten 2014). Furthermore, traditional gender roles within couples, as well as strong family ties and structural conditions of the housing market and the welfare system, make leaving home relatively difficult for young adults.

Similarly, in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), both structural conditions and cultural values of relatively high reliance on intergenerational relations and high age deadlines of leaving home form rather unfavourable conditions for leaving independently (Aassve, Arpino, and Billari 2013; Schwanitz, Rampazzo, and Vitali 2021; Spéder, Murinkó, and Settersten 2014). There is also rather strong support for the breadwinner model and a relatively weak emphasis on young adults' individual autonomy. Before the fall of communism in the 1990s, in CEE countries leaving the parental home was linked to universal early marriage. However, in recent decades, cohabitation has increasingly replaced marriage as the dominant form of first union, and childbearing and entry into marriage have been increasingly postponed (Sobotka and Toulemon 2008).

Therefore, in Southern Europe and CEE countries, where opportunity structures make leaving the parental home relatively difficult and the norms support interdependence of family members, a relatively lower occurrence of the long-term solo-living pathway and a weaker effect of parental education on leaving home to live without a partner are expected in comparison to Western European countries. This corroborates research findings that the parental education gradient for leaving home to live solo is weaker in Eastern and Southern European countries compared to Western European countries (Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017). This is also in line with the finding

that in Italy, higher parental education is linked to a more prolonged stay in the parental home; that is, postponement of union and family formation, especially among men (Mooyaart, Liefbroer, and Billari 2021; Sironi, Barban, and Impicciatore 2015).

In Western European countries, both normative and structural contexts encourage a relatively early exit from the parental home, and leaving it to live solo is relatively widespread and socially accepted. However, the young adult's autonomy is an important but somewhat less dominant cultural value in Western European countries than in Northern Europe, and in some Western European countries, such as Austria and Germany, traditional gender roles in the family remain strong (Aassve, Arpino, and Billari 2013; Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017).

***H2:** Differences between young adults with higher parental education and young adults with lower parental education in terms of taking the solo-living pathway are expected to be more pronounced in Western European countries than in Southern Europe, Northern Europe, and Central and Eastern Europe.*

2.2 Gender differences in the effect of parental education

Women's educational expansion, their increased earning capacity, and changes in gender roles in the family contribute to diminishing gender differences in the transition to adulthood. However, some differences in the timing and occurrence of family-related transitions still exist. Women face the transition to family formation earlier than men, are less likely to leave the parental home to live solo, and live solo for a shorter duration (van den Berg and Verbakel 2022; Iacovou 2010; Winkler-Dworak and Toulemon 2007). Previous studies' findings suggest that the effect of parental education on home-leaving pathways might differ between countries, especially in contexts where traditional gender roles in the family still prevail (Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Brons, Liefbroer, and Ganzeboom 2021; Sironi, Barban, and Impicciatore 2015; Wiik 2009). Therefore, in contexts with a lower degree of gender equality, parental preference for postponing union formation might be stronger for daughters than for sons because women are expected to have more responsibility for childcare, and premature union and family formation would have greater life-course outcomes (Wiik 2009). Using data from the Netherlands, the effect of parental education level on leaving home to live with a partner has been found to be stronger for women than for men (Blaauboer and Mulder 2010). By contrast, using data from Norway, where the gender equality level is higher, the effect of parental resources has been found to be similar for both genders (Wiik 2009). Sironi, Barban, and Impicciatore (2015) find that in the United States the role of parental socioeconomic background in influencing the trajectories of the transition to adulthood is similar for both

genders, while in Italy, where gender roles in the family are more traditional, this differs between genders (Sironi, Barban, and Impicciatore 2015).

H3: The gender difference in the effect of parental education is stronger in Southern Europe and Central and Eastern Europe than in Northern and Western Europe.

3. Data

This study draws on retrospective histories of leaving the parental home and first family-related transitions from the module The Timing of Life: The Organisation of the Life Course in Europe, in ESS Round 9,³ which was fielded in 2018. The ESS is an academically driven cross-national survey that implements high-quality methodological standards, including strict random probability sampling (The ESS Data Archive 2020). These data allow extending the analyses to more recent cohorts across different regions of Europe. In total, ESS 9 data were collected in 29 European countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czechia, Germany, Denmark, Estonia, Spain, Finland, France, the United Kingdom, Croatia, Hungary, Switzerland, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Lithuania, Latvia, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Serbia, Sweden, Slovenia, and Slovakia.

The data were limited to individuals aged 20 to 75 years (born 1945–1998). The minimum age of 20 years was set to ensure that all individuals were observed for at least 5 years. In total, 2,921 cases were dropped (7% of the surveyed population in the included age cohorts) because of missing information on home-leaving and other family-related transitions, because respondents reported that these events occurred before they reached the age of 15, or because they were unrealistic or outliers (Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017). Individuals who had missing information on parental or individual education and on economic activity were also excluded. This yielded a final sample of 14,018 men and 15,808 women, who were observed over 96,665 and 102,648 person years respectively. The main descriptive statistics of the final analytical sample are shown in Table 1. The sequence analysis of home-leaving pathways was restricted to individuals who left the parental home and were observed for 5 years after leaving home (N = 24,743). Individuals who had not left the parental home (N = 3,422) and those who had not been observed for 5 years after leaving home (N = 1,661) were included as censored observations in discrete-time models (see Section 3.3).

³ ESS Round 9: European Social Survey Round 9 Data (2018). Data file edition 3.1. NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC. doi:10.21338/NSD-ESS9-2018.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of the sample

	Men		Women		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Whole sample	14,018	49.7	15,808	50.3	29,826	100.0
Completed education						
Low	1,497	16.0	1,387	13.6	2,884	14.8
Medium	8,514	55.6	9,165	54.3	17,679	55.0
High	4,007	28.4	5,256	32.1	9,263	30.3
Parental education						
Low	4,842	39.0	5,439	38.7	10,281	38.8
Medium	6,466	41.5	7,360	42.5	13,826	42.0
High	2,710	19.6	3,009	18.8	5,719	19.2
Birth cohort						
1945–1954	2,364	12.9	2,595	13.2	4,959	13.1
1955–1964	2,902	17.8	3,357	19.0	6,259	18.4
1965–1974	2,957	22.2	3,316	21.5	6,273	21.8
1975–1998	5,795	47.1	6,540	46.2	12,335	46.7
Country						
Austria	770	2.0	886	2.1	1,656	2.1
Belgium	550	2.4	551	2.4	1,101	2.4
Bulgaria	503	1.3	614	1.5	1,117	1.4
Cyprus	222	0.2	248	0.2	470	0.2
Czechia	734	2.6	942	2.5	1,676	2.5
Germany	786	18.5	745	18.3	1,531	18.4
Denmark	470	1.1	423	1.1	893	1.1
Estonia	605	0.3	720	0.3	1,325	0.3
Spain	453	8.8	393	8.2	846	8.5
Finland	564	1.2	609	1.3	1,173	1.3
France	521	11.9	593	12.6	1,114	12.2
United Kingdom	561	13.3	663	12.6	1,224	13.0
Croatia	508	0.9	655	0.8	1,163	0.9
Hungary	453	2.0	584	2.1	1,037	2.1
Switzerland	493	1.9	487	1.9	980	1.9
Ireland	601	1.0	761	1.1	1,362	1.0
Iceland	201	0.1	225	0.1	426	0.1
Italy	643	10.1	645	9.9	1,288	10.0
Lithuania	353	0.6	785	0.7	1,138	0.7
Latvia	162	0.3	317	0.4	479	0.4
Montenegro	416	0.1	410	0.1	826	0.1
Netherlands	502	3.5	492	3.4	994	3.5
Norway	510	1.2	394	1.0	904	1.1
Poland	426	7.8	453	8.0	879	7.9
Portugal	196	1.4	285	1.7	481	1.5
Serbia	569	1.5	585	1.5	1,154	1.5
Sweden	509	2.3	495	2.1	1,004	2.2
Slovenia	398	0.5	454	0.5	852	0.5
Slovakia	339	1.2	394	1.3	733	1.3

Source: ESS 9 (own calculations).

Note: *Unweighted N, otherwise anweights are used.

3.1 Dependent variable: Home-leaving pathways

The home-leaving pathways that unfolded over the 5-year period after leaving the parental home were reconstructed based on information on the year after first departing from the parental home for 2 months,⁴ and when the first unmarried cohabitation,

⁴ Living separately means living in separate accommodation (i.e., with a separate entrance). It includes students who live separately for two months or more, even if they return to live with their parents occasionally.

marriage, and childbearing occurred.⁵ These distinguished 6 possible states (3x2), indicating whether an individual at a given age was living solo (had left the parental home and had not started living with a partner in the same year or before) (S), living with a partner in unmarried cohabitation (P), married (M), and had or did not have a child (C). Instead of examining only the partnership status, this enables exploring the de-synchronisation of leaving the parental home, union, and family formation. It should be noted that solo living after leaving the parental home is the period between leaving home and starting a first coresidential partnership. The ESS data do not provide information on reverse transitions, such as a return to the parental home or union dissolution.⁶

The choice of the 5-year observation period was made for both methodological and substantial reasons (see also Di Giulio, Impicciatore, and Sironi 2019; Studer, Liefbroer, and Mooyaart 2018). This study argues that the 5-year observation window is sufficient to capture the process of leaving home, including relatively long-term solo living in young adulthood, as solo living before first union formation lasts up to 3 years for about half of young individuals in Europe (van den Berg and Verbakel 2022), and there is relative age congruity between the median ages of leaving home and first union formation (Billari and Liefbroer 2010). It is also appropriate for the concept of medium-length term changes in life courses. If the observation window were longer it would be problematic to assume that factors at the start of the pathway affect both the timing of the start of the home-leaving process and subsequent trajectories (Studer, Liefbroer, and Mooyaart 2018).

3.2 Independent and control variables

‘Parental education’ was used as a measure of socioeconomic background (Mooyaart, Liefbroer, and Billari 2021; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017). In contrast to the participants’ own educational attainment, which is itself part of the transition to adulthood, parental SES is temporally and logically an antecedent to events in the transition to adulthood (Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer 2019). Based on the highest

⁵ As ESS data records only the year when the transitions occurred, if both transitions occurred in the same year a shorter spell of solo living before union formation might be underestimated. By contrast, when the transitions took place over a period of several months but in different calendar years the length of solo living before union formation may be overestimated by up to one year. Nonetheless, these biases are expected to be relatively small and the extent of underestimation similar for the different cohorts and countries.

⁶ Given that the ESS data cover only the first events, they are appropriate for the study of solo living in the pathways out of the home. However, expanding the period of the observation window would shift the focus to trajectories in young adulthood. It may be argued that these might cover not only ‘never partnered’ but also singles with an experience of union dissolution. This would require more detailed information about the partnership history (i.e., about union dissolutions and repartnering).

educational level of at least one parent, three categories of parental education were distinguished: (1) low education, (2) medium education, and (3) high education.

The time-varying variable ‘individual education’ was constructed on the basis of information on the respondent’s completed level of education and on the number of years of education. This variable has four categories: (1) in education, (2) low education (ES-ISCED I–II), (3) medium education (ES-ISCED III–IV), and (4) high education (ES-ISCED V1–V2).

The discrete-time event history models controlled for economic activity, birth cohort, and country. The models also included the duration variable ‘age’ as a third-degree polynomial transformation. The time-varying binary variable ‘economic activity’ indicates whether an individual has had job experience, working 20 hours per week for at least 3 months at a given age. Four ‘birth cohorts’ were distinguished: 1945–1954, 1955–1964, 1965–1974, and 1975–1998. Although previous research has documented the importance of the family of origin in shaping the home-leaving process (van den Berg, Kalmijn, and Leopold 2018; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017), the ESS data do not contain information on the number of siblings or on parental divorce to make it possible to control for it.

3.3 Analytical approach: a competing trajectories analysis

This study used Competing Trajectory Analysis, which combines sequence analysis with discrete-time event history models. This method is appropriate for the analysis of relatively short sub-sequences and allows handling the issue with time-varying covariates and censored observations (Studer, Liefbroer, and Mooyaart 2018).

First, sequence analysis methods were applied to identify a limited number of home-leaving patterns (Aisenbrey and Fasang 2010).⁷ Because the duration of the spells is of primary importance, pairwise dissimilarities between each pair of sequences were computed using an optimal matching algorithm with constant substitution costs of 2 and insertion/deletion costs equal to 1, which accounted for differences in the time spent in successive distinct states (Studer and Ritschard 2016). This parameterisation was used by Jalovaara and Fasang (2017) and Studer, Liefbroer, and Mooyaart (2018). For clustering, the partitioning-around-medoid (PAM) algorithm was applied, which assigns sequences to clusters based on the dissimilarity to their medoids – that is, representative sequences that have the smallest dissimilarity to the other sequences of the cluster to which they belong (Kaufman and Rousseuw 1990; Studer 2013). A four-cluster solution that indicated reasonably well-defined clusters with high between-group distances and

⁷ Sequence analyses were performed using the TraMineR package for R (Gabadinho et al. 2011) and WeightedCluster for sequence clustering (Studer 2013).

strong within-group homogeneity (average silhouette width = 0.60) was selected based on theoretical validation and a comparison of the clusters' cut-off criteria (Aisenbrey and Fasang 2010; Studer 2013). For the cluster analysis, for each gender the data were merged to compare the same clusters between genders. Robustness checks with separate cluster analyses for both genders yielded similar results (not shown here).

Discrete-time event history models were applied to examine the risks of following different home-leaving pathways versus remaining in the parental home (i.e., multinomial logistic regressions of person–year data). These models allow considering different home-leaving pathways as competing risks and allow explanatory variables to have various associations with home-leaving pathways. The probability modelled in the multinomial logit model is the conditional probability of individuals leaving their parental home through a specific home-leaving pathway versus remaining in their parental homes at age t , given that they have not left their parental homes before t . The process time started at age 15 and ended at age 35 because events occurring before or after those ages are considered outliers (Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017). If individuals had not yet left the parental home or the whole home-leaving pathway had not been observed, they were treated as censored at time $c = L - 5$, where L denotes the length of the observed sequence because after this time it is not possible to observe a full sub-sequence of the 5-year length (Studer, Liefbroer, and Mooyaart 2018). The standard errors of the models were corrected for the clustering of period–person combinations.

As the factors affecting the home-leaving pathways might vary by gender and given gender differences in the timing of leaving home and the destinations after leaving it (Iacovou 2010; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017), the discrete-time models were estimated separately by gender. Nevertheless, a merged model for both genders was also estimated to test whether the impact of parental education differed between men and women and across countries. Model 1 included parental education, time-varying covariates for individual education and experiences with economic activity, birth cohort, a set of dummies to control for country fixed effects, and age (as a third-degree polynomial transformation). To test whether the effect of parental education differed by country, Model 2 added interaction terms between country dummies and parental education.

4. Results

4.1 Home-leaving pathways

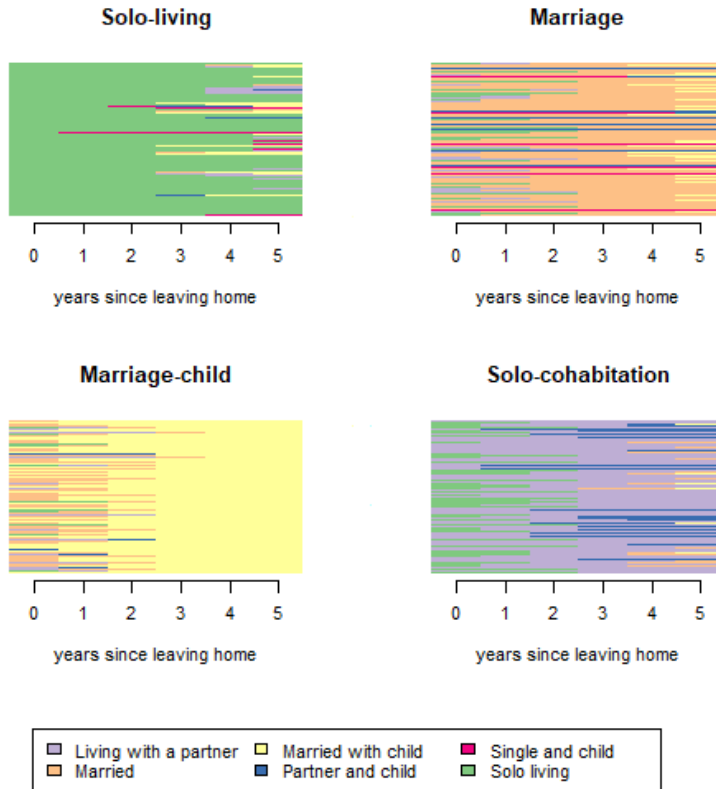
Sequence analysis identified four typical home-leaving patterns during the 5-year period after leaving the parental home. Figure 1 presents the sequence index plots that visualise, for each case within the cluster, individual longitudinal succession of states, as well as the duration spent in each successive state over the 5 years after leaving the parental home. Additionally, Table 1 displays the distribution of home-leaving patterns for both genders and shows the most typical (medoid) sequences for each pathway. To highlight the occurrence of transitory solo-living pathways, Table 1 also presents the proportions of individuals who left the parental home to live solo across the four home-leaving pathways. The present typology is consistent with that of Studer, Liefbroer, and Mooyaart (2018), who studied trajectories of transition to adulthood in the Netherlands.

First, the long-term ‘solo-living’ pathway comprises individuals who left to live independently and stayed single (i.e., not in a cohabiting relationship) and childless for (most of) the subsequent 5 years (see the medoid trajectory in Table 1). Men followed this pathway more often (41.9%) than women (30.5%). In total, the long-term solo-living pathway was followed by 71.1% of men and 64.6% of women who left the parental home to live without a partner.

The ‘marriage’ pathway comprises those who married (12.3% of men and 14.9% of women) either directly after leaving the parental home or after a short period of unmarried cohabitation. The ‘marriage–child’ pathway, which includes marriage and childbearing within a 5-year period, was more common among women (31.3%) than men (22.0%). Approximately 5% and 8% of young adults who left the parental home to live solo followed the ‘marriage’ and the ‘marriage–child’ pathways, respectively (see the last two columns in Table 1).

Finally, the ‘solo-cohabitation’ pathway was taken by about 24 % of young adults. Although the typical solo-cohabitation pathway includes an episode of living independently for 1 year (see the method trajectory in Table 1), this cluster also includes individuals who left the parental home to directly live in unmarried cohabitation. In total, the solo-cohabitation pathway was taken by 18.0% of men and 20.3% of women who left home to live solo. As this episode of singlehood is usually brief, cohabitation might already be anticipated at the time of leaving the parental home, or leaving home may facilitate union formation.

Figure 1: Sequence index plot: The types of home-leaving pathways



Source: ESS 9 (own calculations).

Note: For all cases in each type, these plots show individual longitudinal succession of states, as well as the duration spent in each successive state within a 5-year period after leaving the parental home. Home-leaving pathway types are identified by the partitioning-around-medoid algorithm based on pairwise dissimilarities between sequences computed using an optimal matching algorithm (substitution costs = 2, insertion/deletion costs = 1).

Table 1: Distribution of home-leaving pathways and proportions of those who left the parental home without a partner across pathways, by gender

Home-leaving pathway and its typical (medoid) sequence*	Percentage of total that left home without a partner				
	All (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)	Men	Women
Solo living (S,6)**	35.9	41.9	30.5	71.1	64.6
Marriage (M,6)	13.6	12.3	14.9	5.5	7.5
Marriage-child (M,1) (MC,5)	26.8	22.0	31.3	5.4	7.6
Solo-cohabitation (S,1) (P,5)	23.6	23.9	23.4	18.0	20.3

Source: ESS 9 (own calculations). *Medoid, that is, the most representative sequence of the cluster, ** denotes the sequence of states and the number of years in a given state (max. 6). S – solo living (left the parental home and did not start to live with a partner in the same year or before). P – living with a partner in unmarried cohabitation. M – married. MC – married and has a child. For example, S,6 means living solo during the whole period under study. N = 24,743.

4.2 Discrete-time models

4.2.1 Parental education and home-leaving pathways

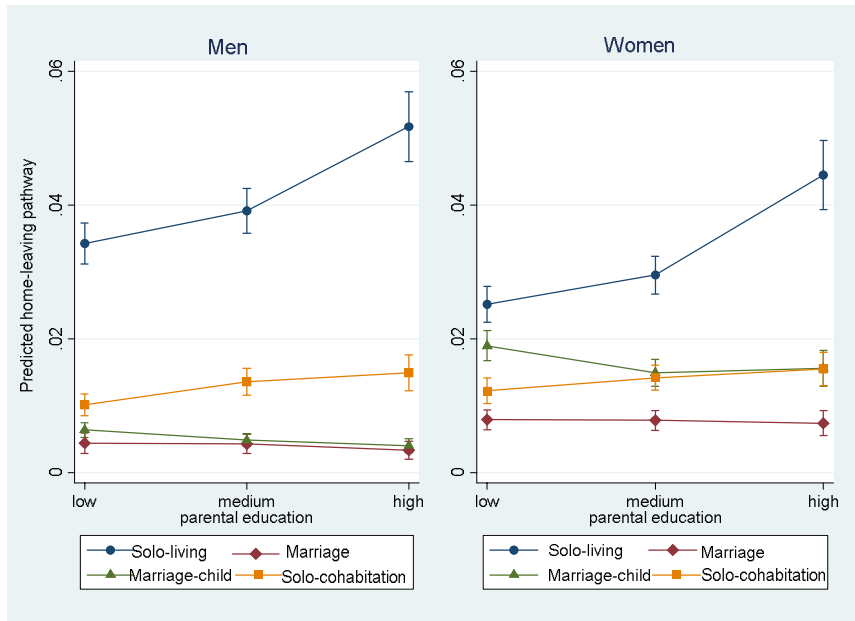
To address the main research question of this study – How is parental SES associated with the long-term solo-living, home-leaving pathway? – discrete-time event history models were estimated separately by gender. Figure 2 displays the predicted marginal effects of parental education on the different home-leaving pathways taken by men and women, estimated using Model 1. The full results of Model 1 for men and women are shown in Table A-1 in the Appendix.

Figure 2 confirms that even if individual educational level and educational enrolment are controlled for, compared with having parents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, having highly educated parents increases the likelihood of young adults taking the long-term solo-living pathway over staying in the parental home (for men, $b = 0.43$, $p < 0.001$; for women, $b = 0.59$, $p < 0.001$, Table A-1).⁸ These findings thus confirm H1: that, overall, young adults from high socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to follow solo-living pathways. Furthermore, young adults with highly educated parents are

⁸ However, it is important to note that parental education had a non-zero indirect effect on the type of home-leaving pathway via individual education and educational enrolment, as young individuals from higher socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to study longer and attain higher education. In an additional analysis (not shown), Model 1 was compared to the model estimated without individual education and educational enrolment. By adding individual education and enrolment, the marginal effects of parental education on taking the solo-living pathway decreased by about 7% for men and 10% for women. The correlation between individual education and parental education measured by Cramér's V was 0.229 for men versus 0.213 for women.

more likely to pursue the solo-cohabitation pathway than stay in the parental home compared to young adults from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (for men, $b = 0.41$, $p < 0.001$; for women, this association was weaker, $b = 0.26$, $p = 0.01$; Table A-1). By contrast, the association between parental socioeconomic class and home-leaving pathways including marriage and family formation was negative.

Figure 2: Predicted marginal effects of home-leaving pathways by parental education and gender, 95% confidence intervals



Source: ESS 9 (own calculation). Note: Estimated from discrete-time multinomial logistic regression (Model 1, Table A-1, Appendix). Base category: Staying in the parental home.

Furthermore, the solo-living, home-leaving pathway was associated with educational enrolment and having a high individual education. For young men and women, being students increased the likelihood of taking the solo-living pathway (for men, $b = 0.39$, $p = 0.001$; for women, $b = 0.69$, $p < 0.001$). Moreover, continuing education decreased the likelihood of young men and women taking the pathways that include marriage and childbirth, suggesting incompatibility between the student role and family formation. Overall, having a high education increased the likelihood of both men and women leaving home through the solo-living pathway (for men, $b = 0.30$, $p = 0.04$, for women, $b = 0.69$, $p < 0.001$) and of men taking the marriage pathway, while it

decreased the likelihood of women taking the marriage–child pathway compared to their less-educated counterparts (Table A-1, Appendix).

4.2.2 Variation in home-leaving pathways across European countries

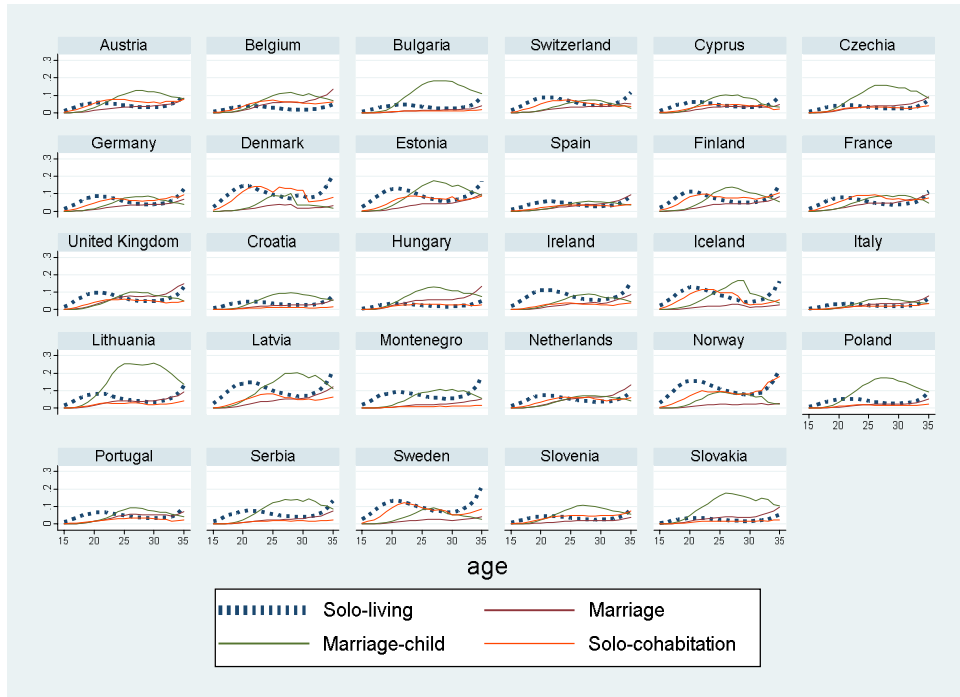
Before exploring the question of whether the association between socioeconomic background and the long-term solo-living, home-leaving pathway varies across European countries, the variation in home-leaving pathways across European countries is first discussed. Figure 3 and Figure 4 present the predicted probability of following specific home-leaving pathways across European countries for men and women, respectively, estimated from Model 1 (Table A-1, Appendix). Note that these figures show some differences among women and men in the timing and intensity of pursuing the solo-living pathway.

Overall, Figure 3 and Figure 4 show substantive cross-national differences in the occurrence of solo-living pathways in European countries (displayed by the dotted lines). Young adults in Northern European countries – Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Iceland, and also Latvia – have the highest likelihood of experiencing long-term solo-living pathways. In these countries young adults leave the parental home relatively early and have a high propensity to follow the pathways that include short-term solo living and unmarried cohabitation. By contrast, young adults in Southern Europe and Central and Eastern Europe are less likely to stay living solo. In these countries young adults have a high propensity to take the pathways that include marriage.

In Western European countries the likelihood of young adults following the solo-living pathway differs: it is higher in the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Netherlands, and France but much lower in Belgium, Germany, and Austria, where the likelihood of remaining living alone in the long term is somewhat lower.

In line with the finding that the average duration of solo living has not increased across cohorts (van den Berg and Verbakel 2022), Model 1 shows that overall the likelihood of the youngest cohort of women pursuing the long-term solo-living, home-leaving pathway has increased only slightly compared to women born before 1954, while this is not the case for men (for women, $b = 0.27$, $p = 0.003$; for men, $b = 0.12$, $p = 0.123$). By contrast, there is a pronounced increase in the solo–cohabitation pathway (for men, $b = 1.39$, $p < 0.001$; for women, $b = 1.84$, $p < 0.001$) and a decrease in home-leaving pathways that include marriage among both young men and women across cohorts, in line with the assumptions of the SDT (see Table A-1, Appendix).

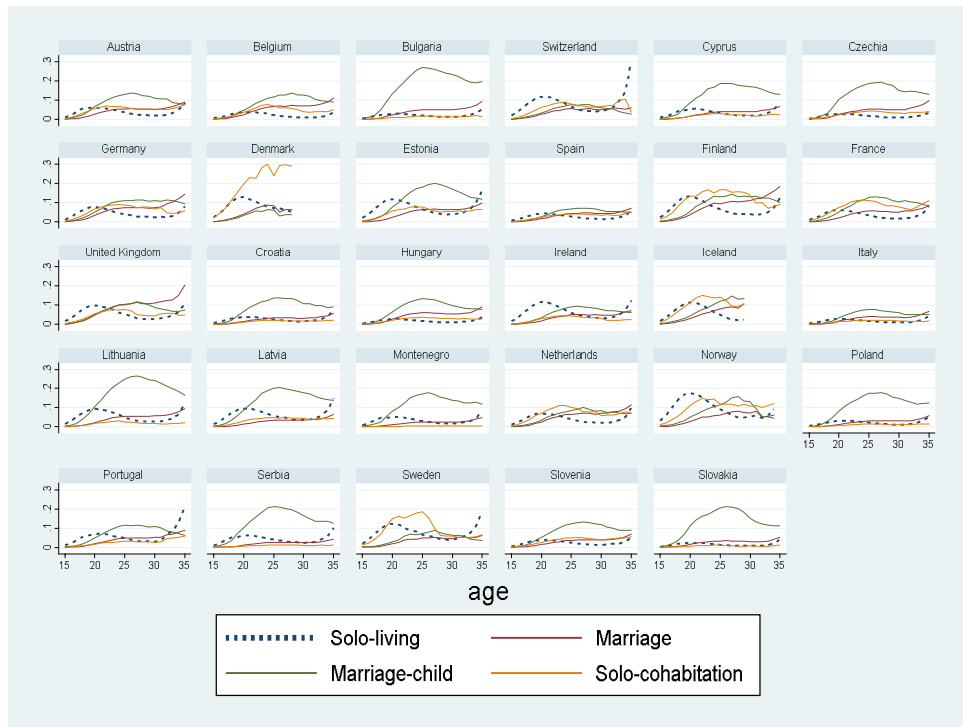
Figure 3: Predicted probability of following different home-leaving pathways among men across European countries



Source: ESS 9 (own calculation).

Note: Estimated from discrete-time multinomial logistic regression (Model 1, Table A-1, Appendix). Base category: Staying in the parental home.

Figure 4: Predicted probability of following different home-leaving pathways among women across European countries



Source: ESS 9 (own calculation).

Note: Estimated from discrete-time multinomial logistic regression (Model 1, Table A-1, Appendix). Base category: Staying in the parental home. The maximum ages when women in Denmark and Iceland leave home are 28 and 29, respectively.

4.2.3 Does the effect of parental education vary across European countries?

To gauge whether the effects of parental education differ across European countries, as predicted in H2, Model 2 included the interaction effects of parental education with country dummy variables (for full results, see Table A-2, Appendix). Overall, the findings do not confirm the variation expected in H2 in the effect of socioeconomic background on the long-term solo-living pathway across European countries, and Model 2 does not fit the data much better than Model 1 without interactions (see the model fit indicators in Table A-2). As shown in Table A-2, the confidence intervals for almost all interaction effects for parental education and the country dummies intersect with 0. It was

expected that the differences between higher-educated young adults and lower-educated young adults would be more pronounced in Western European countries than in Southern Europe, Northern Europe, and Central and Eastern Europe. However, among men, the positive interaction effect of high parental education on leaving home to live solo is found only in the Netherlands. Contrary to the expectation in H2, among women the positive interaction effect of high parental education on taking the solo-living pathway is found in Italy, Cyprus, and France. Moreover, in Sweden, Iceland, and Latvia the interaction effect of high parental education on taking the solo-living pathway is negative, indicating that women from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to stay living independently than their counterparts from high socioeconomic backgrounds. Interestingly, the findings from Model 2 show that in Sweden both men and women from high socioeconomic backgrounds are also less likely to leave the parental home and take the solo-cohabitation pathway than their counterparts from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Table A-2).

4.2.4 Does the effect of parental education vary by gender?

Finally, this study addresses the question of whether the effect of parental background on following the home-leaving pathway differs by gender and whether this effect varies across European countries. For this purpose, a merged model for both genders was estimated (results not shown). The findings confirm that men have a higher likelihood of following the solo-living pathway than women. Furthermore, an interaction between gender, parental education, and country context was tested to determine whether the association between them varied by country. Overall, the results indicate no support for the assumption of gender differences in the effect of parental education on following a relatively long-term solo-living pathway. Thus, the findings do not support the expectation that due to stronger support for traditional gender roles in the family there is a stronger gender gradient in the effect of parental background in the countries of Southern Europe and Central and Eastern Europe compared to Northern and Western Europe, and therefore H3 is not confirmed.

5. Conclusion and discussion

Leaving the parental home to live solo is an increasingly common experience in young adulthood. This study focuses on pathways over the 5-year period after leaving the parental home to explore the association between pursuing a long-term solo-living, home-

leaving pathway and the socioeconomic background of young adult men and women in 29 European countries, born between 1945 and 1998, using ESS Round 9.

This study's findings confirm the persistence of gender differences in the long-term solo-living pathway, which is taken much more often by men than women. This study also confirms that for both young men and women, following the long-term solo-living pathway is associated with continuing education, a higher level of education, and a high socioeconomic background. These findings corroborate the view of solo living as a stage in the transition to adulthood that is linked to work and education and is typical for students and young, highly educated professionals (Klinenberg 2013). These findings are also in line with previous studies' findings that higher parental SES is associated with the postponement of union and family formation (Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer 2019; Mooyaart, Liefbroer, and Billari 2021; Schwanitz, Mulder, and Toulemon 2017; Sironi, Barban, and Impicciatore 2015).

Across European countries, this study finds no support for variation in the effect of socioeconomic background on following the long-term solo-living pathway, despite considerable differences in the occurrence. It was hypothesised that the differences between young adults from higher- and lower-educated social backgrounds would be more pronounced in Western European countries than in South Europe, Northern Europe, and Central and Eastern Europe. However, these expectations are not systematically supported. A stronger educational gradient is found in only two countries in Western Europe and is also observed in two countries in Southern Europe (Italy and Cyprus). Moreover, among women in Nordic countries, high parental education has a negative effect on taking both the solo-living and solo-cohabitation pathways, indicating that in this context where young adults leave home early and relatively easily, young women from more advantaged backgrounds tend to postpone leaving the parental home compared to those from less advantaged backgrounds.

In addition, the present findings do not support the assumption of gender differences in the effect of parental education on following a relatively long-term solo-living pathway. Therefore, there is no support for the expectation that in contexts with a lower degree of gender equality the parents' preference for the postponement of union formation are stronger for their daughters than for their sons, compared to contexts where the gender equality level is higher. The findings are consistent with those of Billari, Hiekel, and Liefbroer (2019), who argue that the stratification processes in the transition to adulthood – stratified socialisation, stratified agency, and stratified opportunity – affect both genders equally and do not vary systematically across country contexts.

Finally, this study shows the importance of focusing simultaneously on the occurrence and duration of singlehood in young adulthood when studying the variation in home-leaving patterns across European countries. The findings on the occurrence of long-term solo-living pathways across Europe corroborate persistent cross-national

differences in the transition to adulthood across broader regions in Europe with different socioeconomic, institutional, and normative settings (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007; Van Winkle 2018; Zimmermann and Konietzka 2018). Despite the fact that the average duration of singlehood after leaving the parental home is shortest in Nordic countries (van den Berg and Verbakel 2022), the present findings show that the occurrence of the solo-living pathway is the most widespread in these countries. This is because young adults in the Nordic countries are more likely to follow both the short-term solo-living pathway, followed by union formation, and the long-term solo-living pathway. The institutional and normative settings in Northern Europe emphasise individual autonomy and leaving the parental home early (Aassve, Arpino, and Billari 2013; Reher 1998; Spéder, Murinkó, and Settersten 2014), which is in line with the perception of young adulthood in terms of identity exploration (Arnett 2004; Klinenberg 2013).

In contrast to Northern Europe and most of Western Europe, long-term solo-living pathways are less common in Southern and Central and Eastern Europe. Nonetheless, long-term solo-living pathways are less widespread in Western European countries such as Belgium, Germany, and Austria, which might indicate that solo living is a transitory state, quickly followed by union formation. This suggests that countries' institutional and cultural contexts might differ not only in how they facilitate leaving home to live solo and its timing but also in the extent to which independent living after leaving the parental home facilitates unmarried cohabitation. Further research on cross-national differences might include specific country-level variables reflecting socioeconomic, institutional, and normative settings. Further studies are needed to explore how the experience of solo living in young adulthood affects various dimensions of the life course later in life.

This study has some limitations. First, as it only focuses on the first events in the transition to adulthood, the heterogeneity of home-leaving trajectories might be underestimated. For example, the solo-living pathway can include non-resident partnership relationships or returns to the parental home. Future research should focus on solo living in young adulthood, which reflects not only the postponement of union formation but also trends in union dissolution. Second, the present analyses rely on retrospective data, which might encounter problems with recall errors, especially among older respondents (Perelli-Harris, Kreyenfeld, and Kubisch 2010). However, the ESS data focus only on first events and thus might have a lower underreporting bias than whole partnership histories. Moreover, some of the cross-national differences in leaving-the-parental-home pathways might be due to different perceptions of the event among students studying in other places but regularly going home on weekends.

Nevertheless, the present findings show the importance of exploring home leaving from a life-course perspective as a process by differentiating between pathways in which solo-living is a transitory state quickly followed by union formation, and long-term solo-

living, home-leaving pathways. Even though solo living during the five years after young adults move away from the parental home may not be considered long enough to form a life-course stage in the transition to adulthood, it might present its 'minimal test'. Distinguishing between transitory and long-term solo-living is important for understanding changes in the processes of life-course differentiation and (de)standardisation in the process of the transition to adulthood. The present findings also contribute to research on the social stratification of the transition to adulthood by showing that young adults from more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to follow long-term solo paths.

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Appendix

Table A-1: Model 1. Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression of the transition out of the parental home through different home-leaving pathways (main effects); logistic coefficients and 95% confidence intervals

	Men			Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Individual education (ref. low)	0.39 (0.17 - 0.60)	-0.09 (-0.52 - 0.35)	-0.65 (-0.94 - -0.36)	0.30 (-0.04 - 0.63)	0.69 (0.40 - 0.99)	-0.95 (-1.17 - -0.73)	0.05 (-0.27 - 0.37)
Medium	0.001	0.689	0.000	0.080	0.000	0.000	0.761
	0.00	0.26	-0.16	0.20	0.15	0.22	-0.33
	(-0.22 - 0.22)	(-0.05 - 0.57)	(-0.39 - 0.08)	(-0.13 - 0.53)	(-0.16 - 0.45)	(-0.09 - 0.53)	(-0.53 - -0.12)
High	0.997	0.098	0.185	0.230	0.344	0.166	0.541
	0.30	0.69	0.06	0.21	0.69	0.29	-0.32
	(0.01 - 0.60)	(0.32 - 1.07)	(-0.22 - 0.33)	(-0.17 - 0.59)	(0.33 - 1.05)	(-0.07 - 0.65)	(-0.57 - -0.06)
Parental education (ref. low)	0.044	0.000	0.698	0.290	0.000	0.114	0.162
Medium	0.14	-0.02	-0.27	0.30	0.16	-0.01	0.15
	(0.01 - 0.27)	(-0.24 - 0.20)	(-0.45 - -0.09)	(0.11 - 0.49)	(0.01 - 0.31)	(-0.22 - 0.20)	(-0.39 - -0.08)
High	0.035	0.873	0.004	0.002	0.033	0.932	0.099
	0.43	-0.25	-0.44	0.41	0.59	-0.05	0.26
	(0.29 - 0.58)	(-0.57 - 0.07)	(-0.70 - -0.18)	(0.18 - 0.64)	(0.43 - 0.76)	(-0.32 - 0.22)	(-0.37 - 0.01)
Economic activity (ref. yes)	0.000	0.124	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.725	0.01
No	-0.34	-1.05	-0.95	-1.26	-0.38	-0.7	-1.02
	(-0.46 - -0.22)	(-1.33 - -0.77)	(-1.18 - -0.73)	(-1.44 - -1.07)	(-0.51 - -0.26)	(-0.89 - -0.51)	(-1.19 - -0.86)
	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Table A-1: (Continued)

Birth cohort (ref. 1945–1954)	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
1955–1964	0.03 (-0.14 - 0.20)	-0.21 (-0.46 - 0.04)	-0.17 (-0.35 - 0.02)	0.56 (0.25 - 0.87)	0.17 (-0.02 - 0.36)	0.06 (-0.18 - 0.31)	-0.01 (-0.18 - 0.16)	0.85 (0.50 - 1.20)
1965–1974	0.723 0.03	0.097 -0.64	0.072 -0.76	0.000 0.74	0.08 -0.03	0.613 -0.23	0.905 -0.4	0.000 1.27
1975–1998	0.730 0.12	0.000 -0.69	0.000 -0.96	0.000 1.39	0.726 0.27	0.057 -0.35	0.000 -0.71	0.000 1.84
Country	0.123 -0.51	0.000 0.59	0.000 -0.12	0.000 -0.00	0.003 -0.76	0.005 0.31	0.000 0.00	0.000 -0.11
Belgium	0.000 -0.22	0.004 -0.92	0.424 0.23	0.988 -1.56	0.000 -0.74	0.103 -0.04	0.971 0.81	0.422 -1.36
Bulgaria	0.172 0.42	0.007 0.02	0.162 -0.63	0.000 0.01	0.000 0.69	0.844 0.15	0.000 -0.5	0.000 0.23
Switzerland	0.000 0.14	0.939 0.21	0.000 -0.06	0.935 -0.24	0.000 -0.18	0.472 -0.19	0.001 0.48	0.111 -0.95
Cyprus	0.394 -0.34	0.502 0.26	0.721 0.46	0.315 -0.95	0.32 -0.88	0.499 0.01	0.004 0.57	0.000 -0.66
Czechia	0.006 0.006	0.195 0.195	0.001 0.001	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000	0.954 0.954	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000

Table A-1: (Continued)

Country	Men			Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Germany	0.23	-0.01	-0.38	0.06	0.4	0.03	0.27
	(0.01 - 0.44)	(-0.42 - 0.41)	(-0.71 - -0.05)	(-0.17 - 0.28)	(0.03 - 0.76)	(-0.25 - 0.31)	(0.01 - 0.52)
Denmark	0.040	0.969	0.025	0.606	0.032	0.858	0.04
	0.89	0.25	-0.23	0.69	1.04	-0.04	1.74
Estonia	(0.65 - 1.13)	(-0.48 - 0.98)	(-0.77 - 0.32)	(0.42 - 0.96)	(0.44 - 1.65)	(-0.64 - 0.56)	(1.45 - 2.02)
	0.000	0.504	0.419	0.000	0.001	0.893	0.000
Spain	0.84	0.32	0.37	0.6	0.22	0.43	0.35
	(0.62 - 1.07)	(-0.16 - 0.80)	(0.03 - 0.71)	(0.36 - 0.83)	(-0.20 - 0.64)	(0.17 - 0.69)	(0.06 - 0.64)
Finland	0.000	0.195	0.032	0.000	0.304	0.001	0.017
	-0.11	0.05	-1.00	-0.5	-0.19	-0.72	-0.69
France	(-0.37 - 0.15)	(-0.39 - 0.48)	(-1.35 - -0.65)	(-0.80 - -0.19)	(-0.60 - 0.22)	(-1.01 - -0.43)	(-1.00 - -0.38)
	0.408	0.836	0.000	0.001	0.369	0.000	0.000
UK	0.66	0.20	-0.20	0.74	0.78	0.24	1.29
	(0.44 - 0.89)	(-0.30 - 0.71)	(-0.56 - 0.16)	(0.51 - 0.98)	(0.34 - 1.22)	(-0.09 - 0.58)	(1.03 - 1.56)
Denmark	0.000	0.429	0.278	0.000	0.000	0.155	0.000
	0.33	0.54	-0.24	0.35	0.09	-0.06	0.66
UK	(0.08 - 0.57)	(0.08 - 1.01)	(-0.61 - 0.13)	(0.05 - 0.64)	(-0.34 - 0.53)	(-0.34 - 0.21)	(0.39 - 0.93)
	0.009	0.021	0.200	0.906	0.677	0.648	0.000
Germany	0.53	0.95	-0.31	0.43	0.8	-0.25	0.15
	(0.30 - 0.77)	(0.54 - 1.36)	(-0.68 - 0.05)	(0.19 - 0.66)	(0.43 - 1.17)	(-0.54 - 0.04)	(-0.13 - 0.43)
	0.000	0.000	0.091	0.000	0.000	0.085	0.285

Table A-1: (Continued)

Country	Men			Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Croatia	-0.21	-0.32	-0.30	-1.83	-0.48	0.14	-1.26
	(-0.49 - 0.07)	(-0.81 - 0.17)	(-0.59 - 0.00)	(-2.30 - -1.36)	(-0.77 - -0.20)	(-0.91 - -0.09)	(-1.64 - -0.89)
Hungary	0.136	0.201	0.052	0.000	0.001	0.235	0.000
	-0.52	0.56	0.13	-0.99	-0.96	0.10	-0.97
	(-0.81 - -0.23)	(0.17 - 0.96)	(-0.15 - -0.42)	(-1.34 - -0.63)	(-1.26 - -0.67)	(0.31 - 0.42)	(-1.28 - -0.67)
Ireland	0.000	0.006	0.362	0.000	0.000	0.373	0.000
	0.65	0.20	-0.41	-0.47	0.51	-0.4	-0.39
	(0.43 - 0.88)	(-0.28 - -0.68)	(-0.75 - -0.06)	(-0.81 - -0.13)	(0.28 - 0.74)	(-0.67 - -0.13)	(-0.69 - -0.09)
Iceland	0.000	0.411	0.022	0.007	0.000	0.004	0.012
	0.74	0.17	0.34	0.72	0.35	0.32	0.84
	(0.43 - 1.04)	(-0.73 - -1.06)	(-0.17 - -0.84)	(0.35 - 1.10)	(0.02 - 0.69)	(0.17 - 1.33)	(0.48 - 1.21)
Italy	0.000	0.713	0.194	0.000	0.039	0.176	0.000
	-0.50	-0.02	-0.79	-1.05	-0.75	-0.37	-1.17
	(-0.77 - -0.24)	(-0.41 - -0.37)	(-1.07 - -0.50)	(-1.38 - -0.73)	(-1.03 - -0.47)	(-0.84 - -0.38)	(-1.49 - -0.84)
Lithuania	0.000	0.909	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	0.53	0.43	0.80	-0.58	0.47	0.63	-0.72
	(0.21 - 0.85)	(-0.22 - 1.09)	(0.41 - 1.19)	(-1.18 - -0.01)	(0.22 - 0.72)	(0.36 - 0.91)	(-1.13 - -0.30)
Latvia	0.001	0.196	0.000	0.053	0.000	0.000	0.001
	0.98	0.57	0.63	0.05	0.37	0.47	-0.24
	(0.64 - 1.33)	(-0.25 - -1.40)	(0.07 - 1.18)	(-0.49 - -0.60)	(0.05 - 0.69)	(0.11 - 0.83)	(-0.70 - 0.22)
Montenegro	0.000	0.175	0.027	0.847	0.025	0.01	0.315
	0.63	-0.23	-0.01	-1.60	-0.04	0.48	-2.57
	(0.31 - 0.95)	(-0.95 - -0.49)	(-0.45 - -0.43)	(-2.41 - -0.79)	(-0.35 - 0.28)	(-1.19 - -0.05)	(-3.37 - -1.78)
	0.000	0.536	0.961	0.000	0.820	0.000	0.000

Table A-1: (Continued)

Country	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Netherlands	0.20	0.50	-0.75	-0.01	0.01	0.19	-0.57	0.47
	(-0.03 - 0.43)	(0.10 - 0.91)	(-1.10 - -0.39)	(-0.30 - 0.28)	(-0.24 - 0.26)	(-0.21 - 0.58)	(-0.86 - -0.28)	(0.20 - 0.73)
Norway	0.094	0.015	0.000	0.950	0.942	0.350	0.000	0.001
	1.08	0.01	0.21	0.68	1.02	0.69	0.38	1.11
Poland	(0.85 - 1.30)	(-0.65 - 0.67)	(-0.18 - 0.59)	(0.37 - 0.98)	(0.77 - 1.27)	(0.15 - 1.24)	(-0.05 - 0.81)	(0.78 - 1.43)
	0.000	0.975	0.297	0.000	0.000	0.013	0.081	0.000
Poland	-0.09	-0.47	0.09	-1.40	-0.77	-0.64	0.23	-1.92
	(-0.38 - 0.20)	(-1.02 - 0.08)	(-0.23 - 0.41)	(-1.90 - -0.91)	(-1.09 - -0.44)	(-1.08 - -0.19)	(-0.01 - 0.47)	(-2.44 - -1.40)
Portugal	0.542	0.094	0.592	0.000	0.000	0.005	0.060	0.000
	0.20	0.74	-0.10	-0.60	0.14	0.08	0.01	-0.83
Portugal	(-0.15 - 0.54)	(0.20 - 1.29)	(-0.61 - 0.41)	(-1.06 - -0.13)	(-0.17 - 0.45)	(-0.41 - 0.58)	(-0.29 - 0.31)	(-1.25 - -0.42)
	0.268	0.008	0.698	0.012	0.371	0.747	0.940	0.000
Serbia	0.37	-0.18	0.14	-1.15	0.11	-0.61	0.71	-1.67
	(0.10 - 0.64)	(-0.73 - 0.38)	(-0.19 - 0.47)	(-1.60 - -0.70)	(-0.16 - 0.38)	(-1.10 - -0.13)	(0.47 - 0.95)	(-2.19 - -1.15)
Sweden	0.007	0.535	0.413	0.000	0.42	0.013	0.000	0.000
	0.92	-0.23	-0.42	0.95	0.61	0.11	-0.35	1.27
Sweden	(0.70 - 1.14)	(-0.88 - 0.41)	(-0.84 - -0.01)	(0.67 - 1.23)	(0.37 - 0.86)	(-0.41 - 0.63)	(-0.72 - 0.02)	(0.99 - 1.55)
	0.000	0.483	0.047	0.000	0.000	0.681	0.060	0.000

Table A-1: (Continued)

	Men			Women				
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Country								
Slovenia	-0.28 (-0.57 - 0.00)	-0.78 (-1.32 - -0.24)	-0.21 (-0.51 - 0.08)	-0.52 (-0.82 - -0.22)	-0.58 (-0.88 - -0.28)	-0.43 (-0.84 - -0.01)	0.04 (-0.21 - 0.29)	-0.51 (-0.83 - -0.20)
Slovakia	0.054 (-0.88 - -0.17)	0.004 (-0.26 - 0.80)	0.159 (0.22 - 0.85)	0.001 (-2.15 - -0.96)	0.000 (-1.39 - -0.62)	0.044 (-0.88 - 0.10)	0.752 (0.34 - 0.85)	0.001 (-2.45 - -1.09)
Constant	-42.03 (-47.76 - -36.31)	-48.67 (-65.97 - -31.37)	-39.55 (-48.28 - -30.82)	-39.17 (-47.36 - -30.99)	-51.12 (-57.59 - -44.65)	-47.57 (-57.42 - -37.72)	-35.14 (-41.73 - -28.54)	-39.6 (-46.85 - -32.34)
BIC	74736.15	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
					78446.7			

Source: ESS 9 (own calculations). Note: Base category: Staying in the parental home; Logistic coefficients, 95% confidence intervals in second row, p-values in third row; controlled for age (third-degree polynomial transformation); BIC – Bayesian information criterion; Number of observations: 96,665 (men); 102,648 (women).

Table A-2: Model 2. Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression of the transition out of the parental home through different home-leaving pathways (main effects and interactions)

	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Individual education (ref. low)	0.39 (0.17 - 0.62)	-0.09 (-0.53 - 0.35)	-0.67 (-0.96 - -0.38)	0.31 (-0.02 - 0.64)	0.69 (0.39 - 0.99)	-0.30 (-0.63 - 0.03)	-0.95 (-1.17 - -0.74)	0.04 (-0.29 - 0.37)
Medium	0.001 (-0.22 - 0.23)	0.691 (-0.05 - 0.58)	0.000 (-0.41 - 0.07)	0.066 (-0.11 - 0.54)	0.000 (-0.16 - 0.45)	0.077 (-0.12 - 0.49)	0.000 (-0.53 - -0.15)	0.809 (-0.41 - 0.22)
High	0.975 (0.03 - 0.62)	0.101 (0.26 - 1.04)	0.161 (-0.24 - 0.33)	0.198 (-0.17 - 0.59)	0.344 (0.33 - 1.06)	0.239 (-0.11 - 0.60)	0.001 (-0.57 - -0.08)	0.544 (-0.14 - 0.59)
Parental education (ref. low)	0.33 (0.03 - 0.62)	0.65 (0.26 - 1.04)	0.05 (-0.24 - 0.33)	0.21 (-0.17 - 0.59)	0.70 (0.33 - 1.06)	0.25 (-0.11 - 0.60)	-0.33 (-0.57 - -0.08)	0.22 (-0.14 - 0.59)
Medium	0.030 (-0.46 - 0.38)	0.001 (-0.31 - 1.13)	0.755 (-0.98 - 0.03)	0.281 (0.03 - 1.28)	0.000 (-0.51 - 0.41)	0.176 (-0.64 - 0.63)	0.009 (-0.69 - 0.03)	0.228 (-0.04 - 1.03)
High	0.844 (-0.43 - 0.68)	0.261 (-2.39 - 0.24)	0.066 (-1.50 - 0.42)	0.041 (-0.03 - 1.54)	0.831 (-0.28 - 0.84)	0.993 (-0.90 - 1.43)	0.072 (-1.50 - 0.21)	0.072 (0.05 - 1.43)
Economic activity (ref. yes)	0.12 (-0.45 - -0.21)	-1.07 (-1.33 - -0.77)	-0.54 (-1.18 - -0.73)	0.75 (-1.45 - -1.08)	0.28 (-0.52 - -0.26)	0.27 (-0.89 - -0.51)	-0.65 (-0.74 - -0.48)	0.74 (-1.19 - -0.87)
No	0.664 (-0.45 - -0.21)	0.109 (-1.33 - -0.77)	0.270 (-1.18 - -0.73)	0.060 (-1.45 - -1.08)	0.323 (-0.52 - -0.26)	0.653 (-0.89 - -0.51)	0.137 (-0.74 - -0.48)	0.035 (-1.19 - -0.87)
1955-1964	0.000 (-0.13 - 0.21)	0.000 (-0.47 - 0.04)	0.000 (-0.35 - 0.01)	0.000 (0.27 - 0.88)	0.000 (0.00 - 0.39)	0.000 (-0.19 - 0.30)	0.000 (-0.17 - 0.16)	0.000 (0.53 - 1.22)
1965-1974	0.655 (-0.13 - 0.20)	0.105 (-0.64 - -0.36)	0.069 (-0.95 - -0.56)	0.000 (0.44 - 1.05)	0.046 (-0.19 - 0.19)	0.669 (-0.50 - -0.02)	0.923 (-0.57 - -0.23)	0.000 (0.96 - 1.63)
1975-1998	0.667 (-0.02 - 0.29)	0.000 (-0.97 - -0.44)	0.000 (-1.18 - -0.75)	0.000 (1.12 - 1.69)	0.996 (0.14 - 0.50)	0.035 (-0.61 - -0.11)	0.000 (-0.90 - -0.53)	0.000 (1.55 - 2.19)
	0.14 (0.083)	-0.71 (0.000)	-0.97 (0.000)	1.40 (0.000)	0.32 (0.000)	-0.36 (0.005)	-0.72 (0.000)	1.87 (0.000)

Table A-2: (Continued)

Country	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Belgium	-0.65 (-1.15 - -0.14)	0.74 (0.01 - 1.46)	-0.37 (-0.88 - 0.14)	0.25 (-0.45 - 0.96)	-1.04 (-1.63 - -0.44)	0.17 (-0.50 - 0.83)	-0.27 (-0.67 - 0.13)	-0.01 (-0.63 - 0.61)
Bulgaria	0.012 (-0.91 - 0.22)	0.047 (-2.35 - 0.13)	0.152 (-0.53 - 0.62)	0.479 (-2.89 - 0.06)	0.001 (-1.19 - 0.01)	0.623 (-0.60 - 0.83)	0.192 (0.24 - 1.05)	0.978 (-2.30 - -0.14)
Switzerland	-0.34 (-0.91 - 0.22)	-1.11 (-2.35 - 0.13)	0.04 (-0.53 - 0.62)	-1.41 (-2.89 - 0.06)	-0.60 (-1.19 - 0.01)	0.12 (-0.60 - 0.83)	0.64 (0.24 - 1.05)	-1.22 (-2.30 - -0.14)
	0.232	0.080	0.883	0.060	0.046	0.749	0.002	0.027
	0.36 (-0.11 - 0.84)	0.27 (-0.59 - 1.12)	-0.69 (-1.22 - -0.15)	-0.15 (-0.90 - 0.61)	0.58 (0.08 - 1.09)	0.54 (-0.16 - 1.24)	-0.49 (-0.96 - 0.02)	0.09 (-0.59 - 0.77)
	0.137	0.541	0.013	0.706	0.024	0.132	0.039	0.793
Cyprus	0.14	0.36	0.04	-0.26	-1.00	-0.10	0.40	-1.66
	0.597 (-0.37 - 0.64)	0.446 (-0.56 - 1.28)	0.872 (-0.48 - 0.56)	0.555 (-1.13 - 0.61)	0.007 (-1.72 - -0.28)	0.809 (-0.93 - 0.73)	0.091 (-0.06 - 0.86)	0.009 (-2.90 - -0.41)
Czechia	-0.35 (-1.21 - -0.50)	-1.24 (-3.37 - 0.90)	0.49 (-0.17 - 1.15)	-1.51 (-3.11 - 0.09)	-1.03 (-1.94 - -0.13)	0.60 (-0.28 - 1.49)	0.46 (-0.05 - 0.97)	-12.99 (-13.68 - -12.30)
	0.418	0.256	0.143	0.065	0.024	0.183	0.076	0.000
Germany	-0.01 (-0.58 - 0.55)	0.10 (-0.83 - 1.03)	-0.45 (-1.22 - 0.33)	-0.11 (-1.10 - 0.88)	0.02 (-0.77 - 0.80)	-0.08 (-1.23 - 1.06)	-0.14 (-1.19 - 0.92)	0.66 (-0.25 - 1.57)
	0.966	0.828	0.258	0.828	0.970	0.885	0.800	0.154
Denmark	0.68 (0.19 - 1.17)	0.53 (-0.79 - 1.84)	-0.46 (-1.32 - 0.39)	1.17 (0.35 - 1.99)	0.80 (0.10 - 1.50)	1.63 (0.70 - 2.55)	0.01 (-0.91 - 0.94)	2.56 (1.83 - 3.28)
	0.006	0.432	0.290	0.005	0.025	0.001	0.976	0.000
Estonia	1.26 (0.79 - 1.73)	0.17 (-0.84 - 1.18)	-0.05 (-0.68 - 0.58)	0.39 (-0.44 - 1.22)	0.78 (0.26 - 1.29)	0.14 (-0.63 - 0.91)	0.15 (-0.30 - 0.59)	0.16 (-0.65 - 0.96)
	0.000	0.742	0.881	0.358	0.003	0.720	0.523	0.700
Spain	-0.31 (-0.73 - 0.11)	0.36 (-0.33 - 1.06)	-1.16 (-1.67 - -0.65)	-0.31 (-0.95 - 0.34)	-0.80 (-1.31 - -0.28)	-0.11 (-0.72 - 0.51)	-0.82 (-1.18 - -0.46)	-0.40 (-0.96 - 0.16)
	0.143	0.306	0.000	0.349	0.002	0.737	0.000	0.157

Table A-2: (Continued)

Country	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Finland	0.50 (0.08 - 0.92)	0.14 (-0.72 - 0.99)	-0.59 (-1.15 - -0.04)	0.75 (0.06 - 1.43)	1.09 (0.60 - 1.58)	1.01 (0.21 - 1.81)	0.51 (-0.02 - 1.03)	1.96 (1.35 - 2.56)
France	0.020 0.17 (-0.27 - 0.62)	0.753 0.88 (0.12 - 1.63)	0.037 -0.27 (-0.83 - 0.29)	0.033 0.54 (-0.14 - 1.23)	0.000 -0.53 (-1.06 - 0.00)	0.013 -0.07 (-0.74 - 0.60)	0.058 -0.19 (-0.58 - 0.21)	0.000 0.96 (0.38 - 1.53)
UK	0.447 0.19 (-0.25 - 0.63)	0.022 1.31 (0.59 - 2.02)	0.343 -0.41 (-0.98 - 0.16)	0.121 0.62 (-0.05 - 1.30)	0.051 0.38 (-0.09 - 0.85)	0.829 0.85 (0.25 - 1.46)	0.350 -0.25 (-0.63 - 0.13)	0.001 0.44 (-0.14 - 1.01)
Croatia	0.392 -0.10 (-0.58 - 0.38)	0.000 -0.12 (-1.02 - 0.79)	0.156 -0.66 (-1.19 - -0.13)	0.071 -2.05 (-3.19 - -0.92)	0.115 -0.29 (-0.87 - 0.28)	0.006 -0.32 (-1.16 - 0.52)	0.196 0.17 (0.24 - 0.57)	0.134 -0.25 (-1.03 - 0.53)
Hungary	0.684 -0.86 (-1.51 - -0.21)	0.799 0.44 (-0.42 - 1.30)	0.015 0.03 (-0.52 - 0.59)	0.000 -0.64 (-1.57 - 0.29)	0.318 -0.96 (-1.80 - -0.12)	0.455 0.12 (-0.67 - 0.91)	0.417 0.08 (-0.34 - 0.51)	0.532 -0.57 (-1.46 - 0.31)
Ireland	0.010 0.47 (0.05 - 0.88)	0.313 0.39 (-0.41 - 1.19)	0.903 -0.47 (-1.00 - 0.06)	0.177 0.13 (-0.57 - 0.82)	0.025 0.31 (-0.14 - 0.76)	0.763 -0.08 (-0.74 - 0.57)	0.704 -0.50 (-0.87 - -0.12)	0.203 -0.25 (-0.85 - 0.36)
Iceland	0.030 1.05 (0.51 - 1.60)	0.340 -1.03 (-3.15 - 1.09)	0.080 0.29 (-0.52 - 1.09)	0.719 1.81 (1.03 - 2.59)	0.177 1.45 (0.74 - 2.15)	0.806 1.71 (0.72 - 2.71)	0.010 0.19 (-1.09 - 1.47)	0.421 1.79 (0.81 - 2.76)
Italy	0.000 -0.71 (-1.13 - -0.28)	0.341 0.11 (-0.56 - 0.78)	0.486 -0.91 (-1.39 - -0.44)	0.000 -0.88 (-1.54 - -0.21)	0.000 -1.15 (-1.64 - -0.66)	0.001 -0.26 (-0.83 - 0.32)	0.774 -0.69 (-1.01 - -0.37)	0.000 -1.01 (-1.60 - -0.43)
Lithuania	0.001 0.49 (-0.03 - 1.01)	0.750 0.60 (-0.33 - 1.53)	0.000 0.32 (-0.28 - 0.93)	0.010 -0.61 (-1.98 - 0.75)	0.000 0.67 (0.19 - 1.15)	0.385 0.23 (-0.50 - 0.97)	0.000 0.38 (-0.02 - 0.79)	0.001 -0.55 (-1.55 - 0.45)
Latvia	0.063 1.33 (0.69 - 1.98)	0.205 -0.05 (-1.78 - 1.67)	0.293 0.65 (-0.33 - 1.63)	0.377 0.83 (-0.24 - 1.90)	0.006 0.72 (0.14 - 1.31)	0.529 -0.19 (-1.23 - 0.84)	0.064 0.38 (-0.20 - 0.96)	0.281 -1.04 (-2.55 - 0.48)
	0.000	0.952	0.191	0.129	0.015	0.713	0.201	0.181

Table A-2: (Continued)

Country	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Montenegro	0.75 (0.25 - 1.25)	0.53 (-0.52 - 1.59)	-0.64 (-1.33 - 0.06)	-14.16 (-14.91 - -13.40)	-0.19 (-0.89 - 0.52)	-0.28 (-1.45 - 0.88)	0.27 (-0.16 - 0.70)	-2.58 (-4.61 - -0.54)
Netherlands	0.003 -0.18 (-0.61 - 0.24)	0.320 0.66 (-0.03 - 1.36)	0.073 -1.06 (-1.61 - -0.52)	0.000 0.35 (-0.29 - 0.99)	0.601 -0.29 (-0.78 - 0.19)	0.631 0.29 (-0.33 - 0.91)	0.217 -0.80 (-1.18 - -0.42)	0.013 0.86 (0.33 - 1.40)
Norway	0.395 0.92 (0.46 - 1.38)	0.062 0.43 (-0.68 - 1.54)	0.000 0.02 (-0.65 - 0.70)	0.280 1.27 (0.54 - 2.01)	0.235 1.07 (0.46 - 1.68)	0.362 0.21 (-0.98 - 1.39)	0.000 0.36 (-0.39 - 1.12)	0.002 1.29 (0.49 - 2.10)
Poland	0.000 0.03 (-0.42 - 0.48)	0.448 -0.43 (-1.32 - 0.47)	0.952 -0.08 (-0.59 - 0.43)	0.001 -1.42 (-2.37 - -0.47)	0.001 -0.87 (-1.41 - -0.34)	0.734 -0.68 (-1.38 - 0.02)	0.345 0.13 (-0.21 - 0.47)	0.002 -1.72 (-2.61 - -0.83)
Portugal	0.895 -0.03 (-0.54 - 0.49)	0.350 1.08 (0.30 - 1.86)	0.749 -0.27 (-0.94 - 0.40)	0.003 -0.41 (-1.21 - 0.39)	0.001 -0.11 (-0.63 - 0.41)	0.057 0.21 (-0.48 - 0.90)	0.460 -0.08 (-0.46 - 0.31)	0.000 -0.51 (-1.16 - 0.14)
Serbia	0.918 0.49 (0.00 - 0.98)	0.007 -0.59 (-1.72 - 0.54)	0.434 -0.11 (-0.68 - 0.46)	0.313 -1.81 (-3.16 - -0.47)	0.687 0.37 (-0.16 - 0.91)	0.552 0.12 (-0.63 - 0.87)	0.700 0.71 (0.31 - 1.11)	0.123 -1.09 (-2.23 - 0.05)
Sweden	0.048 0.79 (0.38 - 1.21)	0.308 0.07 (-0.92 - 1.05)	0.705 -0.50 (-1.12 - 0.12)	0.008 1.74 (1.05 - 2.42)	0.171 0.90 (0.40 - 1.40)	0.756 0.52 (-0.33 - 1.37)	0.000 -0.06 (-0.63 - 0.50)	0.060 2.52 (1.90 - 3.14)
Slovenia	0.000 -0.16 (-0.71 - 0.39)	0.896 -0.61 (-1.63 - 0.41)	0.115 -0.56 (-1.12 - -0.01)	0.000 -0.09 (-0.84 - 0.66)	0.000 -0.51 (-1.15 - 0.14)	0.229 -0.83 (-1.75 - 0.09)	0.829 0.05 (-0.38 - 0.49)	0.000 -0.52 (-1.32 - 0.28)
Slovakia	0.567 -0.25 (-0.92 - 0.42)	0.245 0.46 (-0.60 - 1.52)	0.047 0.67 (0.01 - 1.34)	0.805 -1.28 (-3.40 - 0.85)	0.123 -0.88 (-1.58 - -0.17)	0.078 -0.24 (-1.13 - 0.65)	0.807 0.44 (-0.00 - 0.88)	0.202 -0.86 (-2.22 - 0.50)
	0.461	0.397	0.048	0.239	0.015	0.604	0.050	0.215

Table A-2: (Continued)

Parental education * country	Men					Women				
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-coh.
Med.* Belgium	0.21 (-0.44 - 0.85)	-0.18 (-1.09 - 0.73)	0.43 (-0.22 - 1.08)	-0.26 (-1.06 - 0.54)	-0.55 (-1.44 - 0.33)	0.38 (-0.45 - 1.21)	0.64 (0.10 - 1.18)	-0.04 (-0.76 - 0.68)		
Med.* Bulgaria	0.536 (-0.62 - 0.82)	0.09 (-1.40 - 1.58)	0.38 (-0.32 - 1.09)	0.527 (-1.85 - 1.46)	0.219 (-1.14 - 0.44)	0.372 (-1.21 - 0.67)	0.021 (-0.19 - 0.84)	0.915 (-1.02 - 1.44)		
Med.* Switzerland	0.787 (-0.48 - 0.63)	0.902 (-1.50 - 0.55)	0.289 (-0.61 - 0.77)	0.816 (-0.52 - 1.11)	0.380 (-0.42 - 0.74)	0.573 (-1.49 - 0.29)	0.212 (-0.71 - 0.57)	0.739 (-0.60 - 0.92)		
Med.* Cyprus	0.790 (-1.07 - 0.38)	0.360 (-1.56 - 1.04)	0.811 (-1.50 - 0.20)	0.482 (-1.38 - 0.88)	0.591 (0.07 - 1.86)	0.185 (-1.41 - 0.97)	0.836 (-0.68 - 0.72)	0.684 (-0.34 - 2.48)		
Med.* Czechia	0.353 (-0.76 - 1.05)	0.695 (-0.69 - 3.67)	0.135 (-0.62 - 0.82)	0.664 (-1.16 - 2.11)	0.035 (-0.78 - 1.14)	0.716 (-1.61 - 0.35)	0.949 (-0.46 - 0.70)	0.138 (11.61 - 13.14)		
Med.* Germany	0.747 (-0.40 - 0.85)	0.180 (-1.32 - 0.77)	0.788 (-0.77 - 0.95)	0.572 (-1.06 - 1.02)	0.710 (-0.82 - 0.85)	0.210 (-0.62 - 1.82)	0.685 (-0.91 - 1.29)	0.000 (-1.39 - 0.52)		
Med.* Denmark	0.22 (-0.27 - 0.91)	-0.28 (-2.35 - 1.10)	0.09 (-0.43 - 1.90)	-0.02 (-1.12 - 0.76)	0.01 (-0.88 - 0.70)	0.60 (-1.96 - 0.65)	0.19 (-1.23 - 1.32)	-0.43 (-1.55 - 0.06)		
Med.* Estonia	0.484 (-1.05 - 0.06)	0.605 (-1.27 - 1.10)	0.844 (-0.21 - 1.32)	0.969 (-1.15 - 0.67)	0.974 (-0.59 - 0.60)	0.335 (-0.82 - 1.06)	0.735 (-0.09 - 1.06)	0.374 (-0.67 - 1.10)		
Med.* Spain	0.43 (-0.25 - 1.12)	-0.74 (-2.01 - 0.53)	0.20 (-0.80 - 1.20)	-1.54 (-2.76 - 0.31)	0.45 (-0.32 - 1.22)	-0.80 (-2.15 - 0.56)	0.10 (-0.89 - 1.09)	-0.37 (-1.22 - 0.49)		
Med.* Finland	0.213 (-0.28 - 0.76)	0.252 (-1.30 - 0.99)	0.694 (-0.16 - 1.73)	0.014 (-0.95 - 0.62)	0.249 (-0.97 - 0.19)	0.249 (-1.22 - 0.77)	0.841 (-1.14 - 0.34)	0.401 (-1.29 - 0.10)		
Med.* France	0.24 (-0.28 - 0.62)	-0.15 (-1.74 - 0.35)	0.94 (-1.00 - 0.72)	-0.17 (-1.07 - 0.50)	-0.39 (-0.03 - 1.24)	-0.22 (-0.34 - 1.45)	-0.40 (-0.49 - 0.73)	-0.59 (-0.92 - 0.42)		
	0.363 (-0.52 - 0.62)	0.791 (-1.74 - 0.35)	0.019 (-1.00 - 0.72)	0.676 (-1.07 - 0.50)	0.191 (-0.03 - 1.24)	0.658 (-0.34 - 1.45)	0.295 (-0.49 - 0.73)	0.095 (-0.92 - 0.42)		
	0.05 (-0.52 - 0.62)	-0.70 (-1.74 - 0.35)	-0.14 (-1.00 - 0.72)	-0.29 (-1.07 - 0.50)	0.61 (-0.03 - 1.24)	0.56 (-0.34 - 1.45)	0.12 (-0.49 - 0.73)	-0.25 (-0.92 - 0.42)		
	0.855	0.192	0.751	0.477	0.063	0.221	0.693	0.465		

Table A-2: (Continued)

Parental education * country	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Med.*UK	0.52 (-0.04 - 1.08)	-0.75 (-1.70 - 0.19)	0.31 (-0.51 - 1.12)	-0.62 (-1.43 - 0.18)	-0.11 (-0.71 - 0.49)	-0.17 (-0.97 - 0.64)	-0.36 (-1.07 - 0.34)	-0.40 (-1.09 - 0.29)
Med.*Croatia	0.069 -0.23	0.119 -0.38	0.459 0.70	0.127 0.38	0.711 -0.10	0.684 -0.18	0.313 0.01	0.260 -1.36
Med.*Hungary	0.463 0.35	0.493 0.01	0.033 0.16	0.558 -0.37	0.778 0.08	0.717 -0.02	0.961 0.08	0.003 -0.36
Med.*Ireland	0.355 0.21	0.988 -0.51	0.626 -0.50	0.471 -0.72	0.863 0.36	0.962 0.29	0.774 0.13	0.464 -0.08
Med.*Iceland	0.429 -0.40	0.366 1.55	0.236 -0.02	0.092 -1.31	0.195 -1.00	0.499 -0.95	0.647 0.14	0.828 -0.95
Med.*Italy	0.264 0.14	0.198 -0.01	0.969 0.22	0.008 0.14	0.020 0.82	0.144 -0.33	0.845 -0.00	0.098 -0.07
Med.*Lithuania	0.654 -0.15	0.980 -0.37	0.515 0.86	0.717 -0.38	0.055 -0.45	0.422 -0.43	0.985 0.44	0.847 -0.53
Med.*Latvia	0.669 -0.52	0.608 0.67	0.039 0.17	0.651 -0.86	0.135 -0.21	0.372 -0.42	0.138 0.22	0.367 0.96
Med.*Montenegro	0.220 -0.09	0.513 -1.18	0.797 1.22	0.204 12.52	0.578 0.16	0.559 -0.51	0.587 0.21	0.250 0.19
Med.*Netherlands	0.788 0.32	0.116 -0.25	0.005 0.84	0.000 0.000	0.690 0.47	0.447 -0.47	0.453 0.28	0.869 -0.37
	0.275	0.612	0.030	0.267	0.155	0.355	0.468	0.296

Table A-2: (Continued)

Parental education* country	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
Med.*Norway	0.29 (-0.26 - 0.84)	-0.71 (-2.16 - -0.74)	0.28 (-0.58 - 1.14)	-0.84 (-1.70 - -0.03)	0.07 (-0.63 - 0.78)	1.05 (-0.30 - 2.41)	0.07 (-0.92 - 1.05)	-0.12 (-1.06 - 0.81)
Med.*Poland	0.299 -0.63 (-1.38 - 0.12)	0.338 -0.56 (-1.95 - -0.82)	0.525 0.15 (-0.59 - 0.90)	0.059 0.20 (-1.00 - 1.39)	0.837 0.32 (-0.41 - 1.04)	0.128 -0.02 (-1.00 - 0.95)	0.896 0.04 (-0.47 - 0.55)	0.796 -0.71 (-2.05 - 0.63)
Med.*Portugal	0.099 0.30 (-0.57 - 1.16)	0.425 -1.38 (-3.22 - -0.47)	0.687 0.71 (-0.42 - 1.85)	0.748 0.06 (-1.07 - 1.20)	0.390 0.38 (-0.40 - 1.16)	0.962 -0.02 (-1.34 - 1.29)	0.884 0.32 (-0.40 - 1.04)	0.302 0.07 (-0.96 - 1.10)
Med.*Serbia	0.500 -0.12 (-0.72 - 0.48)	0.143 0.61 (-0.69 - 1.92)	0.219 0.48 (-0.23 - 1.19)	0.916 0.61 (-0.85 - 2.07)	0.340 -0.33 (-0.96 - 0.31)	0.972 -0.92 (-1.93 - 0.08)	0.383 0.06 (-0.44 - 0.57)	0.893 -0.81 (-2.15 - 0.53)
Med.*Sweden	0.701 0.23 (-0.29 - 0.75)	0.356 -0.57 (-2.01 - -0.87)	0.183 0.09 (-0.86 - 1.04)	0.414 -0.92 (-1.69 - -0.15)	0.312 0.00 (-0.59 - 0.59)	0.072 -0.74 (-1.89 - 0.42)	0.803 -0.34 (-1.14 - 0.46)	0.237 -1.62 (-2.34 - -0.90)
Med.*Slovenia	0.379 -0.31 (-0.97 - 0.35)	0.440 -0.34 (-1.54 - -0.87)	0.847 0.55 (-0.10 - 1.20)	0.019 -0.66 (-1.50 - -0.17)	0.998 -0.09 (-0.84 - 0.66)	0.211 0.56 (-0.48 - 1.60)	0.410 -0.04 (-0.58 - 0.50)	0.000 0.06 (-0.82 - 0.94)
Med.*Slovakia	0.362 -0.42 (-1.22 - 0.39)	0.584 -0.51 (-1.76 - -0.73)	0.097 -0.12 (-0.88 - 0.64)	0.120 -0.70 (-2.97 - 1.56)	0.813 -0.07 (-0.93 - 0.80)	0.288 -0.10 (-1.17 - 0.97)	0.873 0.24 (-0.30 - 0.78)	0.892 -1.16 (-2.77 - 0.45)
High*Belgium	0.310 0.17 (-0.57 - 0.90)	0.421 0.89 (-0.57 - 2.35)	0.764 0.39 (-0.67 - 1.45)	0.542 -0.27 (-1.19 - 0.66)	0.879 0.70 (-0.05 - 1.45)	0.858 -0.09 (-1.37 - 1.18)	0.380 0.55 (-0.40 - 1.50)	0.158 -0.20 (-1.03 - 0.63)
High*Bulgaria	0.652 0.25 (-0.63 - 1.13)	0.231 1.73 (-0.43 - 3.89)	0.469 -0.07 (-1.23 - 1.09)	0.568 -0.07 (-2.03 - 1.88)	0.066 -0.06 (-0.95 - 0.84)	0.886 -0.35 (-1.80 - 1.09)	0.259 0.24 (-0.75 - 1.24)	0.636 -1.73 (-4.06 - 0.60)
High*Switzerland	0.580 0 (-0.70 - 0.71)	0.117 0.99 (-0.62 - 2.61)	0.904 -0.12 (-1.46 - 1.21)	0.942 -0.07 (-1.12 - 0.98)	0.900 0.04 (-0.68 - 0.76)	0.630 -0.73 (-2.32 - 0.87)	0.632 0.25 (-0.99 - 1.49)	0.145 0.37 (-0.55 - 1.30)
	0.989	0.228	0.859	0.893	0.915	0.372	0.695	0.430

Table A-2: (Continued)

Parental education * country	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
High*Cyprus	0.39 (-0.46 - 1.24)	1.17 (-1.07 - 3.42)	-13.59 (-14.95 - -12.22)	1.19 (-0.08 - 2.46)	1.39 (0.36 - 2.43)	-0.28 (-2.36 - 1.79)	0.48 (-0.73 - 1.70)	0.79 (-0.99 - 2.57)
High*Czechia	0.367 (-0.41 - 1.45)	1.73 (-0.90 - 4.35)	0.000 (-1.59 - 0.73)	0.067 (-0.99 - 2.46)	0.008 (-0.83 - 1.27)	0.790 (-2.39 - 0.50)	0.436 (-0.50 - 1.47)	0.386 (11.10 - 13.01)
High*Germany	0.437 (-0.30 - 1.18)	0.197 (-0.83 - 2.56)	0.465 (-1.07 - 1.59)	0.403 (-1.16 - 1.19)	0.684 (-0.65 - 1.17)	0.200 (-1.78 - 1.59)	0.332 (-0.93 - 1.86)	0.000 (-1.61 - 0.55)
High*Denmark	0.248 (-0.44 - 0.94)	0.318 (-1.02 - 2.95)	0.703 (-2.83 - 0.90)	0.976 (-1.18 - 0.86)	0.577 (-1.00 - 0.69)	0.914 (-3.06 - 0.19)	0.516 (-2.09 - 2.00)	0.337 (-2.36 - -0.49)
High*Estonia	0.480 (-0.56 - 1.23)	0.338 (-0.08 - 3.45)	0.310 (-0.41 - 1.93)	0.755 (-1.08 - 1.01)	0.723 (-1.21 - 0.18)	0.084 (-1.50 - 1.35)	0.962 (-0.40 - 1.59)	0.003 (-0.85 - 1.13)
High*Spain	0.104 (-0.44 - 0.95)	0.040 (-1.23 - 1.89)	0.201 (-0.92 - 1.61)	0.944 (-1.38 - 0.55)	0.147 (-0.25 - 1.28)	0.916 (-1.54 - 1.14)	0.241 (-0.51 - 1.50)	0.786 (-1.22 - 0.52)
High*Finland	0.476 (-0.50 - 0.81)	0.681 (0.54 - 3.91)	0.594 (-2.13 - 1.66)	0.397 (-0.98 - 0.84)	0.188 (-1.26 - 0.08)	0.769 (-2.19 - 0.72)	0.335 (-1.84 - 0.63)	0.429 (-2.06 - -0.40)
High*France	0.642 (-0.29 - 1.10)	0.010 (-1.13 - 2.53)	0.810 (-1.47 - 1.31)	0.873 (-0.91 - 1.10)	0.085 (0.19 - 1.68)	0.325 (-2.02 - 1.43)	0.333 (-0.35 - 1.71)	0.004 (-1.51 - 0.20)
High*UK	0.256 (-0.18 - 1.15)	0.454 (-0.96 - 2.14)	0.909 (-1.77 - 0.94)	0.848 (-1.94 - 0.03)	0.014 (-0.48 - 0.83)	0.739 (-1.41 - 1.27)	0.194 (-0.52 - 1.76)	0.133 (-1.14 - 0.55)
High*Croatia	0.156 (-0.27 - 1.10)	0.456 (-1.03 - 2.77)	0.549 (-1.00 - 1.30)	0.056 (-1.46 - 1.71)	0.597 (-1.65 - 0.13)	0.918 (-2.12 - 0.90)	0.286 (-1.13 - 0.87)	0.495 (-2.26 - 0.06)
	0.520	0.369	0.802	0.878	0.094	0.428	0.797	0.063

Table A-2: (Continued)

Parental education * country	Men				Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-coh.
High*Hungary	0.55 (-0.44 - 1.54)	1.30 (-0.44 - 3.03)	0.05 (-1.17 - 1.28)	-0.51 (-1.99 - 0.97)	-0.19 (-1.24 - 0.86)	-0.42 (-1.87 - 1.02)	0.05 (-0.99 - 1.09)	-0.86 (-2.02 - 0.29)
High*Ireland	0.273 (-0.39 - 0.98)	1.42 (-0.20 - 3.04)	0.92 (-0.32 - 2.15)	0.498 (-2.13 - 0.17)	0.727 (-0.57 - 0.77)	0.565 (-1.70 - 1.14)	0.927 (-0.73 - 1.43)	0.144 (-1.02 - 0.77)
High*Iceland	0.403 (-0.49 - 0.35)	0.086 (-1.01 - 5.31)	0.146 (-1.35 - 1.64)	0.096 (-2.60 - 0.48)	0.770 (-2.67 - 0.78)	0.700 (-4.50 - -0.45)	0.524 (-1.00 - 2.36)	0.787 (-2.55 - -0.24)
High*Italy	0.255 (-0.17 - 1.33)	1.02 (-0.55 - 2.58)	0.847 (-1.53 - 0.98)	0.004 (-2.34 - 0.50)	0.000 (0.08 - 1.69)	0.016 (-2.36 - 0.95)	0.426 (-0.51 - 1.52)	0.018 (-0.76 - 1.35)
High*Lithuania	0.39 (-0.53 - 1.31)	1.42 (-1.05 - 3.88)	1.02 (-0.54 - 2.58)	1.13 (-0.55 - 2.82)	-0.40 (-1.11 - 0.32)	-0.04 (-1.63 - 1.55)	0.82 (-0.30 - 1.95)	0.46 (-0.79 - 1.72)
High*Latvia	0.404 (-1.36 - 0.52)	0.260 (-0.94 - 4.50)	0.200 (-2.27 - 0.89)	0.186 (-2.48 - 0.44)	0.279 (-2.30 - -0.40)	0.960 (-2.82 - 1.30)	0.151 (-0.96 - 1.45)	0.468 (-0.98 - 2.50)
High*Montenegro	0.379 (-0.54 - 0.46)	0.201 (-3.55 - 1.54)	0.392 (-1.79 - 1.76)	0.170 (11.44 - 14.76)	0.005 (-0.79 - 1.29)	0.468 (-2.41 - 1.76)	0.689 (-0.02 - 2.06)	0.391 (-13.75 - -9.38)
High*Netherlands	0.286 (0.22 - 1.52)	0.439 (-0.33 - 2.70)	0.983 (-0.59 - 1.94)	0.000 (-1.35 - 0.50)	0.636 (-0.24 - 1.11)	0.760 (-1.67 - 0.94)	0.056 (0.08 - 2.14)	0.000 (-1.59 - 0.01)
High*Norway	0.09 (-0.57 - 0.76)	0.46 (-1.69 - 2.61)	0.36 (-0.97 - 1.69)	-0.59 (-1.55 - 0.38)	0.208 (-0.91 - 0.60)	0.584 (-2.05 - 1.63)	0.035 (-1.14 - 1.46)	0.052 (-1.37 - 0.62)
High*Poland	0.784 (-1.25 - 0.45)	0.675 (0.42 - 3.63)	0.596 (-0.55 - 1.67)	0.232 (-1.22 - 1.64)	0.690 (-1.46 - 0.53)	0.826 (-1.18 - 1.78)	0.808 (-0.24 - 1.75)	0.465 (-1.01 - 1.61)
	0.359	0.013	0.322	0.770	0.362	0.693	0.136	0.661

Table A-2: (Continued)

Parental education * country	Men			Women			
	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	Solo-living	Marriage	Marriage-child	
High*Portugal	0.41 (-0.50 - 1.33)	1.02 (-0.81 - 2.85)	-13.71 (-15.09 - -12.34)	-0.08 (-1.35 - 1.20)	-1.19 (-2.97 - -0.59)	0.21 (-0.92 - 1.33)	-1.08 (-2.27 - -0.11)
High*Serbia	0.376 (-0.51 - 0.28)	0.273 (-0.92 - 3.24)	0.00 (-1.16 - 1.25)	0.906 (-0.50 - 2.72)	0.190 (-3.43 - -1.07)	0.719 (-1.18 - -0.79)	0.077 (-1.98 - 1.05)
High*Sweden	0.207 (-0.56 - 0.71)	0.276 (-1.25 - 2.95)	0.938 (-1.38 - 1.56)	0.175 (-2.03 - -0.16)	0.004 (-2.14 - 1.01)	0.694 (-1.62 - -0.82)	0.549 (-2.43 - -0.75)
High*Slovenia	0.817 (-0.72 - 0.99)	0.429 (-1.68 - 3.39)	0.903 (-1.28 - 1.51)	0.022 (-0.88 - 1.18)	0.481 (-1.37 - 1.85)	0.519 (-1.02 - 1.24)	0.000 (-1.27 - 0.97)
High*Slovakia	0.761 (-1.26 - 0.97)	0.508 (-0.32 - 3.36)	0.874 (-1.97 - 0.72)	0.774 (-1.91 - 2.82)	0.769 (-3.30 - 1.26)	0.882 (-1.07 - 1.29)	0.791 (-2.65 - 1.39)
Constant	-0.14 (-47.60 - -36.10)	0.105 (-66.13 - -31.57)	-0.62 (-48.05 - -30.57)	0.45 (-47.48 - -31.09)	-1.02 (-57.08 - -37.34)	0.11 (-41.66 - -28.45)	-0.63 (-47.13 - -32.66)
BIC	0.000 77056.51	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
							80754.45

Source: ESS 9 (own calculations). Note: Base category: Staying in the parental home; Logistic coefficients, 95% confidence intervals in second row, p-values in third row; controlled for age (third-degree polynomial transformation); BIC – Bayesian information criterion; Number of observations: 96,665 (men); 102,648 (women).