

Co–residence among migrant and Dutch young adults: the family influence disentangled

Abstract

This study examines the impact of the parental family on living arrangements of migrant and Dutch young adults. The first aim of the study was to identify patterns of co-residence among migrant and Dutch young adults. Second aim was to ascertain how family influences the prevalence of co-residence. We studied how and to what extent migrant background, family ties and, socio-economic characteristics of the family influence the likelihood of living in the parental home. The sample consisted of 1,678 young adults aged between 15 to 30 years, from 847 families with five different ethnic backgrounds. Results show that the likelihood of co-residence compared to Dutch is higher for Moroccan youngsters only. Rather than an ethnic factor we find that family ties and socio-economic family background have a substantial influence on living arrangements of young adults. These effects are found to be comparable for levels of co-residence among migrant and Dutch young adults.

Keywords: co-residence, leaving home, migrant families, parent-child relation, young adults

INTRODUCTION

Despite a great deal of research on leaving home of young adults, previous research has paid little attention to the living arrangements of *migrant* youngsters, even though a considerable and increasing share of youngsters, both in the Netherlands as well as in other western countries, is growing up in families with a migrant origin (Alders, Harmsen & Hooghiemstra ,2001; Nauck, 1990; *author citation*). The future generation of youngsters includes many who have (parents with) a migrant background, raising questions on intergenerational continuity and change. Migrant youngsters' parents grew up in countries with traditions and norms regarding co-residence that differ from those of native young people. Migrants from non-western countries are thought to have stronger family bonds, feel stronger intergenerational

obligations, and have less autonomy regarding the occurrence and timing of important life transitions (Nauck, 1990; Kagitcibasi, 1996; Reher, 1998). It is often thought that migrant parents transmit these culturally determined preferences to their children who are expected to follow the cultural scripts even when they themselves encounter different opportunities and traditions in the country of residence. Despite the growing attention on ethnic differences in co-residence patterns in North-American studies (Boyd 2000; Burr & Mutchler 1993; Glick & Van Hook, 2002; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1989; Mitchell, Wister, & Gee, 2004), insights in the mechanisms that may cause ethnic differences in living arrangements are limited. The first aim of the paper is therefore to achieve a more complete understanding of ethnic differentials in co-residence. In what follows, we go beyond the simple division by ethnic origin and elaborate on key family features that may influence living arrangements of young adults and potentially explain differentials by ethnic origin. More specifically, we question whether there is an ethnic component in patterns of co-residence connected to cultural and normative factors, or whether differences between ethnic groups are mainly attributable to differences in socio-economic resources of the family.

Furthermore, in previous studies limited attention has been paid to the role of the family in the choice to stay in or leave the parental home. The choice to co-reside in or leave the parental home is a key decision in the lives of both young adults and their parents. For parents this transition is a crucial stage in their children's lives, not the least while leaving the parental home is interwoven with many other domains of young adults' lives like educational enrollment, labor force participation and reproductive behavior (Barber, Axinn & Thornton, 2002; Hogan 1986). So parents can be expected to attach significance to the living arrangement of their children. Given the centrality of the relationship with parents in the lives of young adults, the parental family will be of importance for preferences and behavior young adults develop (Nauck & Suckow, 2003; Mitchell et al., 2004; Shaw, 2003; Younnis & Smollar, 1985). The second aim of this paper is to shed light on the influence of the parental family on co-residence of young people. We study how and to what extent (migrant) parents, including the specific family bonds and norms, influence co-residence of (migrant) young adults.

During the last decades, the living arrangements of young adults in industrialized countries have changed considerably. Longer periods of education, an increase in unmarried cohabitation and delay of

childbearing are just some of these developments. Besides structural and economic causes, these changes are explained by shifts in norms and attitudes (Inglehart, 1997; Lesthaeghe, 2002; Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986; Marini, 1984). Nevertheless, despite this emphasis on changed norms and attitudes, relatively few studies have focused on the impact of parental family norms and attitudes on home-leaving choices of young adults (for exceptions, see: Axinn & Thornton, 1993; Baanders, 1998; Liefbroer & De Jong Gierveld, 1993; Waite, Kobrin-Goldscheider, & Witsberger, 1986). In our study we thus question how and to what extent the family is of importance regarding co-residence and whether family factors affect co-residence among migrant and Dutch youngsters differently.

We exploit data on co-residence from a representative sample of families living in the Netherlands. We focus on young adults aged 15-30 years from five ethnic groups: Dutch, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. The selection of the four migrant groups is based on the fact that youngsters from these groups constitute a significant proportion of the migrant population in the Netherlands. Of the approximately 1.5 million non-western migrants in the Netherlands, 66% belongs to one of these four migrant groups. The age composition of these migrant groups is rather young (more than half of them are under the age of 30) and their share in the total group of young adults in the Netherlands is expected to rise in the coming years (Statline, 2005). Furthermore, the four migrant groups cover a diverse migration history, demographic background, and socio-economic position in Dutch society. The data we use offer the unique opportunity to assess living arrangements of young adults and connecting them to the characteristics of the parental family. We expand on previous work by explicitly including the role played by parental norms and attitudes concerning family relations. This allows disentangling the impact of the ethnic, normative and socio-economic context of the parental home (Lesthaeghe, 1998 & 2002; Mitchell, Wister, & Gee, 2004).

BACKGROUND ON LEAVING HOME AND MIGRANT GROUPS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Patterns of leaving home and co-residence with parents in the Netherlands, as well as in other industrialized countries, have changed considerably during the past decades. Whereas up until the 1960s,

leaving home and marriage often coincided, today most young adults live by themselves or cohabit with their partner for a certain period (Liefbroer, 1999). The current mean age at leaving home in the Netherlands is around 22 years and the mean age at first marriage is 28.9 years for women (Statline, 2005). As far as data are available for migrant youngsters in the Netherlands, living arrangement patterns seem to differ between groups (Garssen, De Beer, Cuyvers & De Jong, 2001). Despite the growing variability in migrant origins in the Netherlands, a substantial part of young adult migrants has a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean background.

Nowadays, the majority of young Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands are children of the generation of (predominantly male) migrant workers who were recruited in the 1960s and early 1970s to carry out mostly unskilled labour in the Netherlands. The families of these migrants came to the Netherlands in the 1980s and 1990s, and even today many Turks and Moroccans find a partner in their countries of origin (*author citation*). The immigrants from these countries brought their own traditions with them in terms of living arrangements. Turkish and Moroccan societies are traditionally patrilineal and men and women largely live separate lives. Direct marriage is the norm, which is traditionally instigated by the parents and arranged by the two families. According to the tradition, sons continue to live with their parents after they marry, and daughters move in with their stepfamilies. Marriage is therefore a way of perpetuating family cohesion and patriarchal family ties (Bolt, 2001; Pels & Nijsten, 2003; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001).

Although these traditional (marriage) patterns are susceptible to change, in Turkey and Morocco as well as in the countries of settlement after migration, co-residence with parents or relatives is very common and marriage is still the dominant living arrangement (Bolt, 2001; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981; Yacef, 1994). Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands marry at a younger age than Dutch young adults: the mean age at first marriage for women in the two migrant groups is 23 and 24 years respectively for the 1995-1999 period (*author citation*). The mean age at leaving home is, according to Statistics Netherlands data from 2000, around 20 years (Alders et al., 2001). Recent research among Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands also shows that the preferred ages for a woman to leave the parental home is around 21 years (*author citation*).

The migration history of Surinamese and Antilleans is predominantly influenced by Dutch colonial history. Surinam is a former colony of the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles are still part of the

Kingdom of the Netherlands. Traditionally, migrants from these countries came to the Netherlands for educational purposes. Furthermore, a substantial number of Surinamese migrated to the Netherlands around independence of Surinam in 1975. Up to 1980, they could settle down in the Netherlands easily without residence permits because of their Dutch nationality. The latter still applies to migrants from the Netherlands Antilles.

In Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, women play a central role in family relations and traditions. This is also referred to as the matrifocal ‘Caribbean family system’ (Shaw, 2003). Women are often the head of household as their (male) partners are not, or only partly present. This very often results in extended households of mothers and daughters living together. Data on the age at leaving home (Alders et al., 2001) indicate that 50% of the Surinamese and Antilleans are not living in the parental home at age 21–22, which is in line with recent figures on the preferred age for home-leaving among these groups (*author citation*). In Caribbean countries, marriage does not play a central role in the living arrangements of young adults, and unmarried cohabitation is very common (Shaw, 2003). In the Netherlands, too, we find that only a small percentage of women from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles marry. Those who do so, marry relatively late (29 and 30 years respectively in the period 1995–1999; *author citation*).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

Young adults’ choices regarding co-residence with parents are assumed to be related to resources and constraints the young adult encounters in the parental home (De Jong Gierveld, Liefbroer & Beekink, 1991). We distinguish between cultural expectations, socio-demographic and economic resources available in the parental family. Migrant specific preferences, parental role-modeling, and the importance attached to family ties are cultural resources that may influence leaving home of young adults. We compare these to the socio-economic resources in the youngsters’ parental home. We include socio-demographic and economic family characteristics in our study in order to assess the relative importance of different opportunities and constraints. Differences in patterns of co-residence between migrant and Dutch youngsters may at least in part be accounted for by differences in socio-demographic and economic background.

Migrant background, preferences and role–modeling

The parental family forms the normative environment in which choices like co–residence are made (Astone, Nathanson, Schoen, & Kim, 1999). An important feature of the family in this respect is its ethnic origin and the culturally defined expectations it may bring along. Being part of an ethnic family may become particularly important as a source of orientation and support in a new society after migration (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, & Goldscheider, 2004; Pyke, 2003). The migrant family can be expected to attach importance to continuation of specific ethnic norms with regard to living arrangements because these decisions affect not only the individual but also the family. Studies in several countries report for example a continuation of demographic behavior reflecting the traditions in the migrants' countries of origin (Boyd, 2000; Hofferth, 1984; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993; Tang, 1997; *author citation*). Migrant origin may thus be of major influence on the living arrangements of young adults with a migrant background. Because in the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean tradition co-residence with parents has great importance, we can expect this to be reflected in the actual living arrangements of young adults. For migrant young adults, also those who are in a (married or unmarried) partner relationship, it is quite common to co–reside with parents (in–law) (Bernhardt, Goldscheider, Goldscheider, & Bjerén, 2005; De Vos 1995). Many Dutch young adults, however, move out of the parental home to live on their own or with a partner (either in a married or unmarried union). In the Netherlands it is rather uncommon for young adults to co–reside in the parental home when they are in a long–term partner relationship. Compared to their Dutch compatriots migrant youngsters can thus be expected to postpone leaving the parental home resulting in prolonged co–residence with their parents.

Hypothesis 1 Young adults with a migrant background are more likely to live in the parental home than Dutch young adults.

Another normative aspect of the family background is the existence of different expectations regarding co–residence for girls and boys. Previous studies found that women in general leave the parental home at younger ages than men (Van Hekken, de Mey, & Schulze, 1997; Nave Herz, 1997; Cordon, 1997; Murphy & Wang, 1998). Cordon (1997; *author citation*) find that these gender differences in the timing of

home-leaving are more pronounced in Mediterranean countries than in Northern Europe. Other studies also report larger differences in home-leaving patterns between men and women and link this to the level of group orientation and the importance attached to e.g. family honor (Boyd, 2000; Goldscheider et al., 2004; Koç, 2005; De Vos, 1989). Among the four migrant groups in our study, in particular the Moroccan and Turkish, tradition prescribes that a woman leaves the parental home only when she starts living with her husband's family after marriage. Rules regarding the honor of the family result in clearer prescriptions for women than for men (Lievens, 2000). When girls live on their own, out of sight of the direct family, this could lead to gossiping and put the family reputation at risk (Bernhardt et al., 2005). Men remain in the parental home longer because they are supposed to provide financial support to parents in old age. We therefore expect to find more pronounced gender differences in co-residence among Turks and Moroccans compared to the Surinamese, Antilleans and Dutch. Beside the main effect of gender, we thus formulate an additional hypothesis on the interaction between migrant origin and gender.

Hypothesis 2' Female young adults are more likely to live outside the parental home than male young adults.

Hypothesis 2'' Turkish and Moroccan women are more likely to live outside the parental home than is the case for Surinamese, Antillean and Dutch women.

Extensive literature shows the importance of parental role-modeling on a range of child's behaviors (Barber, Axinn, & Thornton, 2002; Barber, 2001; Bandura, 1977). This role-modeling may result in intergenerational continuation of living arrangement patterns (Murphy & Wang, 1998). Therefore, the age at which parents left the parental home can function as a focus point for the child. We expect that the parent's age at leaving home is positively related to the child's likelihood of co-residence.

Hypothesis 3 Young adults whose parents left home at a relatively late age themselves, are more likely to co-reside in the parental home than those young adults whose parents left home at a relatively young age.

Family ties

The family can be expected to be of significant importance on major life course choices that affect not only the individual but also the group, as is the case for living arrangements (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002;

Goldscheider et al., 2004; Lesthaeghe, 2002). Studies on value orientations regarding the family and typologies of family relations often distinguish between individualistic family and collectivistic family oriented societies (Inglehart et al, 1997; Nauck, 1990; Kagitcibasi, 1996; Mitchell et al., 2004; Reher, 1998; Todd, 1985). Like many western industrialized countries, the Netherlands is characterized as a typical individualistic society with “weak” family ties (Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986; Reher, 1998). This implies that the individual will give high priority to individual autonomy in decision making (Baanders, 1998; Pyke, 2003). Furthermore, these more individualistic orientated societies will attach importance to egalitarian relations between generations. In societies with this type of family relations, children move out of the parental home in order to live independently (alone or with a partner) from their parents. Parents encourage this step as an important phase in life, emphasizing the increase in independence—this being typical of choices of young adults’ living arrangements in a society with generally weak family ties. In these weak family societies, the state and other formal institutions take over the responsibility to care for older family members who are in need, resulting in less necessity for family support and co-residence (Reher, 1998).

In societies with “strong” family ties, on the other hand, the predominant weight is on the family. Intergenerational relationships are strong, strictly defined and normative controlled (Kuijsten, 1999; Reher, 1998). This applies to a range of societies worldwide, amongst others Turkey/Morocco and Surinam/Antilles. In these societies, great importance is attached to (intergenerational) kin ties and extended family loyalties. This is for example reflected in the obligation to support (elderly) family members (in case of need) which results in a prolonged co-residence of adult children in order to support their parents (Fuligini & Pedersen, 2002; Nauck & Suckow, 2003; Reher, 1998). The obligation to take care of older family members in these strong family societies results from the fact that older family members are perceived to be very important in the continuation of the family line and honor. Traditionally these older family members, as well as men, have a prominent say in major decisions (Nauck & Suckow, 2003; Pyke, 2003).

Based on this reasoning we expect that differences in the strength of family ties result in different co-residential behavior of young adults. In general, we expect that children from families with strong ties will more often co-reside in the parental home compared to those from weak tie families. Because

cross-national studies indicate that differences in family ties run along ethnic origin, this implies that family ties may account for the possible differences in co-residence between migrants and Dutch.

Hypothesis 4 Young adults whose parents attach more importance to family ties (reflected in current family relations, and attitudes concerning family support and egalitarian family relations) are more likely to live in the parental home than young adults whose parents attach less importance to family ties.

Socio-demographic and economic family resources

An extensive body of research among natives links socio-demographic and economic characteristics as push or pull factors to co-residence in the parental home (De Jong Gierveld et. al, 1991; Berrington & Murphy, 1994; Murphy & Wang, 1998). A range of studies find that socio-demographic family characteristics influence the extent of co-residence in the parental home. Young adults from (intact) two-parent families are found to stay in the parental home longer than those from disrupted families. Apparently two-parent families have more material and non-material resources resulting in prolonged co-residence with the parents (Aquilino, 1990; Buck & Scott, 1993; Kiernan, 1992; Ravanera, Rajulton, & Burch, 2002). The size of the parental family, indicated by the number of children, is also associated with the probability of leaving home. Literature shows that having many siblings reduces the propensity to co-reside with parents, possibly as a result of competition over parental resources (De Jong-Gierveld et al., 1991; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1989; Mitchell et al., 2004; Murphy & Wang, 1998; Wister & Burch, 1989). In addition, educational level is associated with co-residence in the parental home: children of higher educated parents are more likely to leave home earlier in order to pursue secondary education or for reasons connected to individual autonomy (Baanders, 1998; Goldscheider et al., 2004; Kerckhoff & Macrea, 1992; Murphy & Wang, 1998; Van Hekken, et al., 1997; Van Hoorn, 2001).

Hypothesis 5 Young adults growing up in (a) a two parent family, those with (b) fewer siblings and those with (c) lower educated parents, are more likely to reside in the parental home than those from disrupted families, with more siblings or higher educated parents.

The literature furthermore relates economic resources like household income, housing situation and place of residence to co-residence with parents. Findings on the way in which household income influences

living arrangements are, however, indecisive (Iacovou, 2001). Some studies find that higher income results in earlier home-leaving (Avery and Goldscheider, 1992; Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1985), whereas others report a prolonged co-residence among those from more well to do families (Laferrère, 2004; Van Hekken, et al., 1997). Because of the tight housing market for young adults in the Netherlands and the economic advantage of pooling resources, it is likely that economic constraints will keep young adults in the parental home (Bolt, 2001). Only those young adults whose parents have more financial resources will be able to afford independent housing outside the parental home. Previous research, furthermore, associates the housing situation and the crowdedness in the parental home with decisions on co-residence. It suggests that having a suitable dwelling is an important prerequisite for co-residence (Aquilino, 1990; Bolt, 2001; Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1985; Laferrère, 2004). Parents' ability to house children may be reflected in their home-owner status: parents who own a house may have better possibilities to house their children which results in a prolonged co-residence with parents (De Jong Gierveld et al., 1991; Murphy & Wang, 1998). Earlier studies also link the place of residence of parents to the propensity of co-residence of children. Young adults whose parents live in smaller towns and cities are found to have a higher propensity to live in the parental home than those in larger cities. Availability of cheap housing in larger cities may provide youngsters the opportunity to leave the parental home (Bolt, 2001; De Vos, 1989; Van Hekken et al., 1997; Ravanera et al., 2002).

Hypothesis 6 Young adults whose parents have (a) a low income, (b) are home-owners and (c) live in smaller towns, are more likely to live in the parental home than young adults whose parents have high incomes, rented accommodation and live in larger towns.

DATA AND METHODS

Data and sample characteristics

We analyzed data from the main and migrant samples of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (Wave 1, NKPS, 2002/2003, NKPS-SPVA, 2002). The NKPS main sample is a national representative sample of about 8,000 Dutch respondents (Dykstra, Kalmijn, Knijn, Komter, Liefbroer, & Mulder, 2005). An

additional migrant sample, drawn from 13 Dutch cities in which half of the migrants from the four migrant groups live, resulted in additional data on 1,400 migrants with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean origin (Groeneveld & Weijers–Martens, 2003; NKPS-SPVA, 2002). The topics covered in the main and the migrant questionnaires are highly equivalent, and therewith provide data that make meaningful comparisons possible. The NKPS provides the first unique data that allow comparing co–residence and the influence of the parental family on co–residence between different migrant groups and Dutch.

The NKPS has an overall response rate of 47% for main sample respondents (Dykstra et al., 2005; Groeneveld & Weijers–Martens, 2003). The response rate among migrants was comparable to that of Dutch, ranging from 40.4% among Surinamese to 52.3% among Turks (Dykstra et al., 2005).

The NKPS includes information on a primary respondent (anchor) and multiple kin members (in or outside the same household). We select anchor respondents who had at least one child aged between 15 and 30 years at the time of interview. Furthermore, to achieve greater comparability, we confine the analyses to Dutch living in one of the 13 cities as used in the migrant sample. However, we carried out analyses in order to test for differences between Dutch respondents with children in the eligible age range living in these 13 cities compared to the total group of Dutch respondents in the NKPS with children in the eligible age range. The groups are found to be highly comparable and significant differences are only found for the number of children, homeownership, current family ties, and importance attached to family support.¹

Analyses require that information is available on whether the child lives in or outside the parental household. Data on the responding (anchor) parent and all children (that meet the above-mentioned criteria), as reported by the parent, are included in the analyses. After selection, the data include 305 Dutch, 149 Turkish, 117 Moroccan, 172 Surinamese and 104 Antillean families. We have information on a total of 1678 children within these 847 families.

The respondents (parents) were on average 49.5 years old, respondents with a Turkish background being the youngest ($M = 47.1$) and those with a Dutch background being the oldest ($M = 51.8$). There were more mothers than fathers included (57% versus 43%) in the total sample. However, in the Turkish and Moroccan group the majority of the respondents are men (52% and 55% respectively). Female respondents

are overrepresented in the other three groups and most pronounced among Surinamese and Dutch (67% and 61% respectively).

Measures

Dependent variables

The dependent variable in the analyses concerns, the co-residential status of the child. This is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the child lives in- (= 1) or outside (= 0) the parental home.

Independent variables

Descriptive information on the independent variables is presented in Table 1. The independent variables are introduced in the same order as they are included in the models. The correlation matrix of the independent variables does not reveal problems of multicollinearity.

Migrant background, preferences and role-modeling

Migrant background. The migrant background of the respondent (parent) is defined according to his/her country of birth and that of the parents. Respondents born abroad or with at least one parent born abroad were defined as migrants and assigned to one of the four migrant groups. For each group, a separate dummy variable was created to compare them to the Dutch.

Sex. A dichotomous variable indicating the sex of the child (men are the reference group).

Parental age at leaving home. Migrant respondents were asked “at what age did you leave the parental home for the first time?” Respondents from the NKPS main sample were asked to indicate the year of first leaving home. In order to make responses comparable responses from the NKPS are recoded into age at leaving home by subtracting the year of leaving home from the year of interview. This results in a continuous variable on parental age at first leaving home.

Family ties

Family relations. Respondents were asked what characteristics apply to the relationships within their family. We selected three items on which respondents reported (on a five point likert scale) whether they agreed with: “bonds within my family are strong”, “we keep each other informed regarding important

¹ Further information can be requested from the first author.

events in the family”, and “there are often quarrels in my family” (reverse coded). We calculate the level of agreement by adding scores on each of the three items and dividing it by three. This results in a measure on actual family ties that ranges from 1) weak to 5) strong family ties. The scale has an overall reliability of $\alpha = .68$ and ranges from $\alpha = .50$ for Antilleans to $\alpha = .73$ among Dutch. Given the fact that the scale is based on three items only these α 's indicate sufficient reliability across the different ethnic groups.

Family support attitude. This scale consists of seven items on the (relative) importance of the family with respect to practical and emotional support. Included items are for example: “you should always be able to count on your family”, “if you have worries your family should help”, and “children should take care of their sick parents”. Item responses were again given on a five point likert scale from 1) totally agree to 5) totally disagree. The answers on the items are summed and divided by seven. The measure thus codes the respondents' value towards family support from 1) family is unimportant to 5) family is important in providing emotional and practical support. The overall reliability of this scale is $\alpha = .82$. Also among separate groups this scale shows good reliability (lowest for Turks $\alpha = .72$ and highest for Moroccans and Surinamese both $\alpha = .82$).

Egalitarian orientation. This scale refers to the extent of egalitarian orientation in both intergenerational as well as gender relations. Respondents were asked whether they agree with statements like “the man should take major decisions”, “education is more important for boys”, and “older family members should be dominant in decisions”. Again a five point likert scale was used for each item to measure the respondents agreement (1 (totally agree) to 5 (totally disagree)). The individual scale score is calculated by summing the responses on the eight items and dividing by eight. This results in a scale ranging from 1) egalitarian orientation to 5) patrifocal orientation. We find an overall reliability of $\alpha = .77$. The reliability of the scale for each separate group is good and is found to be highest for Dutch ($\alpha = .78$) and lowest for Moroccans ($\alpha = .56$).

Socio–demographic and economic family resources

We notice that the socio–economic characteristics of the parents are documented at the time of the interview. Ideally, this information should be gathered during the socialization period up to the moment when the residential state of the child changes. Nevertheless, we assume that (most) indicators used here do

not change dramatically over the period between the time the child reached age 15 and the moment of survey. All indicators used refer to the status of the parents.

Family structure. Respondents (parents) who are married at the time of interview are compared with those who have a different marital status (divorced, widowed or never married). The latter are the reference group in the analyses.

Family size. Respondents (parents) were asked for the total number of (own or adopted) children they have had in their life. The absolute reported number of children is included in the analyses. Only a small number of respondents indicated to have 7 children or more; the latter are thus grouped at the level of 7 children.

Parental educational level. The educational level of the responding parent is the indicated highest level completed with a certificate. Because this produces a substantial number of missing among migrants, we take the highest educational level enrolled in (either with or without a certificate) for these respondents. Among migrants the education enrolment can have been in the country of origin or the Netherlands. The indicated levels are recoded in three categories 1) low (e.g. primary education, lower vocational), 2) medium (e.g. medium general secondary, intermediate vocational), and 3) high (e.g. upper general secondary, higher vocational).

Parental income level. Respondents were asked to indicate their own net monthly income (from work or social benefits). This information was combined with the partners' income in order to calculate the total net household income per month. In case the respondent refused to give the exact amount, the income could be indicated in fixed categories. All information on household income is then recoded into five categories 1) € 950 or less, 2) € 950 - < € 1350, 3) €1350 - < € 1950, 4) €1950 - < € 2950 and, 5) more than € 2950. Missing values (17% of total sample) are replaced by the median category of the ethnic group. A separate dummy variable indicating income is missing was included to check for differences. No dissimilarity was found between those who did and did not report their income.

Parental home-ownership. Respondents are asked whether they or their partner owned the house they live in. A dichotomous variable indicates the home-ownership status of parents, with parents who do not own the dwelling they live in as the reference category.

Parental place of residence. Those parents who live in one of the four major cities in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) are compared with those who live in one of the other nine sampled cities spread all over the country (reference category).

Control variable

Age. Because previous studies clearly showed that the older the young adult is, the more likely he or she is not co-residing in the parental home (see e.g. Boyd, 1998). The child's age in years as reported by the parent (anchor) at the time of interview is included as a continuous variable ranging from 15 to 30 years.

–Table 1 about here –

Method

We start with a descriptive analysis of the level of co-residence of young adults in the parental home by migrant group and age group. An overview of children living in and outside the parental home per migrant group is provided and differences in mean group numbers are tested using posthoc multi-group comparisons (LSD). Our analyses are necessarily confined to the child's co-residential status at the time of interview because no data are available on the age at leaving home, thus not allowing hazard analyses.

The extent to which the parental family influences the co-residence propensities of young adults is estimated by applying a multilevel sibling design. The children in our study are nested within specific households. Children (level 1) are nested within families (level 2) with specific family features. The family characteristics (like migrant origin, family ties and parental preferences), are the same for all children of one family, while child's sex and age, may differ among siblings. Because children share the same context at the family level, data are non-independent: observations within a family tend to be more similar than between families (Snijders & Bosker, 2002). A multi-level approach is most suited for data with this characteristic because it takes the dependency of the measurements of children within households into account (see also Murphy & Wang, 1998). Because our dependent variable is dichotomous we estimate (multi-level) logit models (using STATA).

The analyses are carried out in several steps. First, empty models (without covariates) were estimated to predict the significance of family-level characteristics. Then age (control) and sex are entered (model 2). In

Model 3, the influence of the migrant origin is estimated. Finally two additional models are estimated by stepwise inclusion of predictor variables at the family level (model 4 and 5). These same analyses were, furthermore, rerun to check for current partnership status of the child.

RESULTS

Co-residence with parents among migrant and Dutch young adults

For a first impression of the living arrangements among young adults with a migrant and Dutch origin, Table 2 provides an overview of the number of (15–30 year old) children living in- and outside the parental home. The total group of parents has on average 1.48 in- and 1.58 children living outside the parental household. Table 2 shows that the largest (absolute) number of children living both in and outside the parental home are found among Moroccans ($M = 2.74$ and $M = 2.31$ respectively). Dutch parents report the smallest number of children living in the parental home as well as outside of their household ($M = 0.94$ and $M = 1.30$ respectively). The other groups hold an intermediate position in between these two extremes.

These absolute numbers reflect the differences in total number of children as found among the five groups. Moroccan women have for example noticeably higher fertility rates than Dutch women. Therefore, Table 2 (last column) includes the proportion of children living in the household compared to the total number of children (in the age range 15 to 30 years) the parent has. We find the largest proportion of children in the parental home among Turks and Moroccans (59% and 58% respectively). The lowest percentage of co-residence with parents is found among Dutch. Although the first absolute numbers suggested clear differences between each of the groups, when taking the total number of children into account, we find a dichotomy between the five groups. Based on the relative proportion of children living in the household (last column Table 2), significant differences in co-residence are found between Turks and Moroccans on the one hand and Surinamese, Antilleans and Dutch on the other.

–Table 2 about here –

Based on ideas of culturally determined preferences regarding co-residence we expected that migrant young adults are more likely to live at the parental home (H1). Figure 1 shows for selected age groups and

per (migrant) group the percentage of young adults living in the parental home. Despite some deviations at specific ages it is clear that the overall pattern is quite similar for all (migrant) groups. Among teenagers, by far the majority of young adults reside with their parents (ranging from 73% among Antilleans to 85% for Turks). This percentage decreases by age for all groups and the strongest decline of young adults leaving in the parental home is between the age groups 15-19 and 20-24 years. This is particularly the case among Turks, of which many leave the parental home between 19 and 22 years (not in Figure). Among Dutch we find that a second wave of young adults leave home between 23 and 25. After age 25 only small proportions of young adults live in the parental home, ranging from seven percent of Antillean youngsters to 14 per cent among Moroccans.

– Figure 1 about here –

Family influences on co-residence

The results of the multilevel logit models for the probability of co-residing with the parents are shown in Table 3. To gain insight into the family-level effect on co-residence we start by estimating an empty model (Model 1). The random effect is found to be significant, which indicates a strong cluster effect of co-residence for children from the same family. The intra-class correlation coefficient (not shown in the table) is relatively high, which implies that a substantial proportion of the variance in co-residence is the result of family differences: In this empty model, 43% of the variance is attributable to the family (not in Table). Additional analyses per migrant group (not in Table) reveal that among Dutch, Turks and Antilleans around two fifth (41%, 44% and 37% respectively) of the variance is explained by the families. Among Moroccans this is 54 per cent whereas among Surinamese 27 per cent is found to be attributable to family variation. These findings show that family background is overall a fundamental factor in understanding co-residence.

In the second step (Model 2, Table 3) we include sex of the child and age (control variable). In line with hypothesis 2' being a woman significantly reduces the chance of living in the parental home. Age has the expected effect as well: young adults who are older are less likely to live in the parental home than their younger compatriots.

In the third Model (Table 3) we include migrant background. Contrary to our hypothesis (H1) we do not find a higher likelihood of co-residence with parents among migrants compared to Dutch young adults. The already described effects of age and gender do not change by including the youngsters' migrant origin.

Model 4 (Table 3) shows the results of including preferences, role-modeling and family ties in the parental home. We see that our third hypothesis on parental role-modeling is not confirmed by the analyses. The age at which the parent left the parental home her-/himself does not have a direct effect on the likelihood of co-residence. Family ties are, however, related to the chances of co-residence. First of all the actual strength of family relations is linked to the likelihood of co-residence. Children whose parents report stronger ties in the extended family are more likely to live in the parental home (H4). Second, the extent to which parents value egalitarian family relations has a significant effect on co-residence, though the direction is contrary to what we expected (H4). Children of parents who attach more importance to patrilocality are less likely to co-reside. Family support attitude, finally, seems unrelated to co-residence of young adults with their parents.

In the last model (5, Table 3) socio-economic characteristics of the family are included. Family structure, number of siblings and educational level of the parents are, in line with hypothesis 5, all found to affect co-residence of young adults. Young adults who grow up in a two-parent family, have fewer siblings and have lower educated parents are more likely to co-reside with parents. Although we did not find a main effect of migrant background in the previous models, after taking the number of siblings into account we find that a Moroccan background affects the likelihood of living in the parental home. In line with hypothesis 1, we find that young adults who have a Moroccan background are more likely to live with their parents.

Two of the socio-economic characteristics of the family, referring to housing, have the expected effect. Children of home-owners are more likely to live in the parental home whereas those whose parents live in one of the four largest cities of the Netherlands are less likely to co-reside in the parental home (H6).

After entering all main effects, we explored the interaction effect between gender * migrant background in a separate model. Contrary to our hypotheses (2") we did not find any significant effects: we do not find that Turkish and Moroccan girls are less likely to live at the parental home compared to girls with a different (migrant) origin. The same procedure was followed for interactions between family relations and

migrant background, family support value and migrant background, egalitarian orientation and migrant background, and age and migrant background. None of these interactions were found to be statistically significant. We also explored the significance of the birth order of the child, which did not lead to any effects on the likelihood of co-residence.

Analyses were rerun per migrant group separately to study the effect of migrant generation on the likelihood of co-residence with parents. Among each of the four migrant groups a substantial portion of the young adults is born in the Netherlands (second generation) and ranges from 31% among Antilleans to 59% among Turks. Nevertheless, for none of the groups migrant generation had an effect on the likelihood of co-residence.

In order to check whether the current partnership status affects co-residence, we carried out additional analyses in which the child's partnership status is included (not in Table). In the data the current marital status of a maximum of two randomly selected children per household were known. A selection of the children (either living in- or outside the parental home) for whom the marital status is known results in a subsample of 1058 children nested in 703 families (similarly distributed over the migrant groups as mentioned before). Effects as found in the final model (Table 3) remain overall the same. In addition, we find that Dutch and Surinamese young adults who are in a (un-)married relationship are much less likely to live in the parental home than those who are single. For young adults with a Turkish, Moroccan or Antillean origin co-residence is not affected by their marital status. This finding is in line with what is known on co-residence among Turks and Moroccans: even after marriage children often remain in the parental home.

– Table 3 about here –

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study has examined the influence of family characteristics on co-residence of Dutch and migrant young adults. Taking migrant background and parental norms into account allowed for a more thorough analysis of how and to what extent family characteristics affect living arrangements of young adults. In general, parental attitudes towards family ties are found to be important determinants of co-residence

among young adults. Not including these parental characteristics may result in an underestimation of the effect the parental family on living arrangement choices of young adults.

Though our descriptive results indicated differences in co-residence between migrant and Dutch young adults (in line with H1), multivariate analyses showed that these differences are basically deducible to a different age and gender composition of the groups. When controlled for socio-economic family background, only Moroccans reside significantly more often in the parental home than is the case for Dutch young adults. Contrary to expectations on ethnic differences (H1) all other groups do not differ from Dutch when it comes to co-residence. The fact that Moroccans are more likely to co-reside with parents than Dutch, seems to be mainly related to the larger family size of Moroccan families. When controlled for the larger number of siblings (which reduces the chances of co-residence) we find that Moroccans do co-reside with their parents more often than their Dutch compatriots. The positive effect that Moroccan origin has on co-residence thus seems to be suppressed by their larger family size. This finding underlines the importance of including socio-demographic characteristics of the family when studying living arrangements of young adults.

Furthermore, our finding that Moroccan young adults are more likely to live in the parental home may indicate that they postpone the transition to marriage. Other (alternative) living arrangements before marriage, like unmarried cohabitation, and living on ones own may still be not acceptable within the Moroccan community, resulting in prolonged residence in the parental home. Marriage at a young age apparently still is the norm in the Turkish group (see e.g. Statistics Netherlands, 2005; *author citation*).

As mentioned before, the norms and attitudes of parents are found to affect young adults' co-residence with parents. Children from parents who report stronger family relations stay in the parental home longer than those with weaker ties. Apparently current family relations indicate the closeness of the family network which is an important family feature making the young adult stay in the parental home. The egalitarian orientation of parents was found to have an effect which is contrary to our hypothesis: holding a more egalitarian perception of intergenerational and gender relations leads to prolonged residence in the parental home. This suggests that the parental attitude towards egalitarian relationships is may be indicative for the parent-child relationship quality. Having a better relationship and more individual freedom may

keep children in the parental home longer. Unfortunately, our (migrant) data do not include sufficient information on the parent–child relationship quality to test this. It would however, be very interesting to see how the influence of relationship quality compares to parental and cultural norms with respect to co–residence.

Family support attitude was not found to influence co–residence of young adults in our study, although in the migrants’ countries of origin children are expected to co–residence with parent to provide support to the family. Our finding suggest that this type of parental support expectations are not so important in a society like the Netherlands, where most practical services to the sick and elderly are provided by the welfare state. One should, however, bear in mind that family support here refers to the parental attitude and does not necessarily reflect the family support obligations felt by the children. The children’s sense of family obligation could very well have an influence on their choice to co–reside in or leave the parental home. Unfortunately, our data do not allow for this type of analysis. Future research should put effort in measuring both parent’s and child’s attitudes, particularly among migrant groups.

Contrary to the general assumption that having a migrant background may reinforce the strong family ties of the countries of origin, we do not find any significant interaction effects between the parental norms and migrant background. The implications of parental preferences on living arrangements of young adults thus seem to be highly comparable among both migrants and Dutch. The choice of leaving the parental home appears to be surrounded by the norms and expectations of parents and the embeddedness in the parental home. In future research, closer attention to the composition and closeness of the family network could shed light on the way in which group norms on living arrangements function within specific groups.

As in previous studies, women have been found to be much more likely to live outside the parental home than men. It is nevertheless striking that our hypothesis on the stronger gender effect among Turks and Moroccans is not corroborated by the results. The findings suggest that there is no difference in the ‘genderedness’ of living arrangement between groups. This does, however, not automatically imply that there are no gender differences between the groups. Although girls in general, for example, live in the parental home less often than boys, the reason for home–leaving can be very different among ethnic groups. Given the importance attached to marriage among Turks and Moroccans it is likely that they will leave

home for marriage whereas Dutch girls may leave home to live independently. In our study we had only limited individual information on the young adult's characteristics. To assess the relative importance of family and individual characteristics of migrant young adults it would be worthwhile to include for example the reason for leaving home in future studies.

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TABLE 1. DESCRIPTION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES BY (MIGRANT) GROUP, MEAN AND (SD)

| Independent variables | Range | Turks | Moroccans | Surinamese | Antilleans | Dutch |
|--|-------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Preferences and role-modeling</i> | | (n = 149) | (n = 117) | (n = 172) | (n = 104) | (n = 305) |
| Family relations (1= weak – 5 = strong) | 1-5 | 4.34 (0.55) | 4.18 (0.60) | 4.13 (0.72) | 3.98 (0.67) | 3.61 (0.78) |
| Family support attitude (1= unimp.- 5=important) | 1-5 | 4.09 (0.52) | 4.36 (0.52) | 3.55 (0.79) | 3.52 (0.58) | 3.18 (0.55) |
| Egalitarian orientation (1 = egalitarian – 5=patrifocal) | 1-5 | 3.34 (0.66) | 3.29 (0.54) | 2.71 (0.72) | 2.69 (0.57) | 2.32 (0.44) |
| Parent age at leaving home | 12-62 | 21.4 (5.62) | 22.1 (7.08) | 20.5 (4.73) | 21.6 (4.69) | 21.1 (3.74) |
| <i>Socio-demographic and economic resources</i> | | | | | | |
| Family structure | 0-1 | 0.83 (0.38) | 0.86 (0.35) | 0.35 (0.47) | 0.27 (0.45) | 0.63 (0.48) |
| Family size | 1-7 | 3.41 (1.30) | 5.32 (2.47) | 3.00 (1.80) | 3.07 (1.45) | 2.28 (1.01) |
| Parental educational level | 1-3 | 1.24 (0.56) | 1.17 (0.50) | 1.82 (0.68) | 1.73 (0.76) | 2.10 (0.82) |
| Parental income level | 1-5 | 2.28 (0.99) | 1.92 (0.60) | 2.75 (1.11) | 2.26 (1.25) | 3.30 (1.44) |
| Parental home-ownership | 0-1 | 0.32 (0.47) | 0.43 (0.49) | 0.55 (0.49) | 0.22 (0.42) | 0.69 (0.46) |
| Parents live in larger city | 0-1 | 0.76 (0.43) | 0.78 (0.42) | 0.73 (0.45) | 0.58 (0.49) | 0.49 (0.50) |
| | | (n = 315) | (n = 338) | (n = 317) | (n = 200) | (n = 508) |
| Child's sex | 0-1 | 0.48 (0.50) | 0.49 (0.50) | 0.51 (0.50) | 0.51 (0.50) | 0.50 (0.50) |
| Child's age | 15-30 | 21.4 (4.26) | 21.4 (4.57) | 22.3 (4.75) | 22.2 (4.71) | 22.6 (4.68) |

Source: NKPS 2002/2003

TABLE 2. MEANS OF (ABSOLUTE) NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN AND OUTSIDE THE PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD, BY (MIGRANT) GROUP

| | Number of children in parental home | | | Number of children outside parental home | | | Proportion of all children living in parental |
|------------|--|-----------|--------------|---|-----------|--------------|--|
| | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>range</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>Range</i> | |
| Turks | 1.85 _a | 1.39 | 0-6 | 1.50 _{a,c,d} | 1.65 | 0-7 | 0.59 _a |
| Moroccans | 2.74 _b | 2.11 | 0-9 | 2.31 _b | 2.67 | 0-9 | 0.58 _{a,c} |
| Surinamese | 1.31 _c | 1.20 | 0-5 | 1.62 _{a,c} | 1.81 | 0-9 | 0.48 _{b,c} |
| Antilleans | 1.39 _c | 1.27 | 0-5 | 1.67 _{a,c} | 1.68 | 0-8 | 0.49 _{a,b,c} |
| Dutch | 0.94 _d | 1.09 | 0-5 | 1.29 _{a,d} | 1.18 | 0-7 | 0.42 _{b,c} |

Note: Means in the same column that do not share subscripts differ at $p < .05$ in the LSD comparison

Source: NKPS 2002/2003

TABLE 3. MULTILEVEL LOGIT MODELS FOR CO-RESIDENCE WITH PARENTS

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Intercept | -0.24** | 16.87*** | 16.91*** | 16.20*** | 16.48*** |
| Age | | -1.07*** | -1.08*** | -1.10*** | -1.10*** |
| Age ² | | 0.01** | 0.01** | 0.14** | 0.01** |
| Gender | | -0.61*** | -0.61*** | -0.62*** | -0.61*** |
| Turkish | | | 0.00 | 0.26 | 0.44 |
| Moroccan | | | 0.24 | 0.59 | 1.15** |
| Surinamese | | | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.53 |
| Antillean | | | -0.33 | -0.29 | 0.36 |
| Parent age at leaving home | | | | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Family relations | | | | 0.39** | 0.38** |
| Family support attitude | | | | -0.19 | -0.09 |
| Egalitarian orientation | | | | -0.35* | -0.54** |
| Family structure | | | | | 0.86*** |
| Family size | | | | | -0.26*** |
| Parental educational level | | | | | -0.37* |
| Parental income level | | | | | 0.01 |
| Parental home-ownership | | | | | 0.37~ |
| Parents live in larger city | | | | | -0.53* |
| σ (se) | 1.57 (0.13) | 1.67 (0.12) | 1.67 (0.12) | 1.66 (0.12) | 1.47 (0.11) |
| Log-likelihood | -1096.44 | -760.43 | -759.27 | -753.58 | -721.03 |

Source: NKPS 2002/2003

~ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

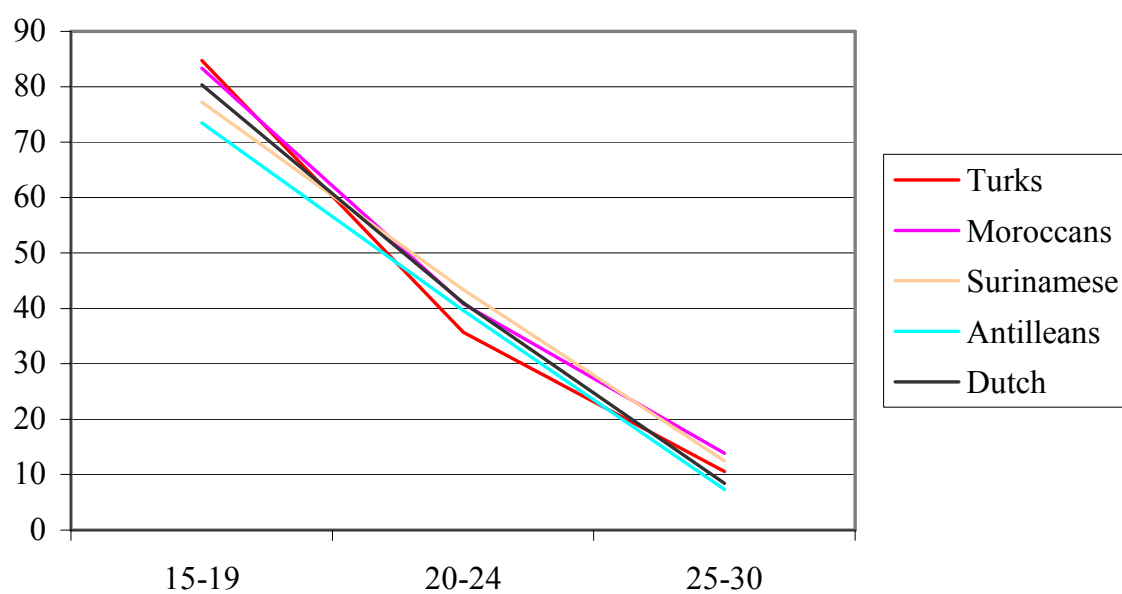


FIGURE 1. PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG ADULTS LIVING AT THE PARENTAL HOME, BY AGE AND PER (MIGRANT) GROUP

Source: NKPS 2002/2003