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Leaving Home of Migrant and Dutch Young Adults: Parent-Child and Peer Relations¹

Tom Kleinepier*
Helga A.G. de Valk*

INTRODUCTION

Leaving the parental home is a major event in the life course which involves essential changes for young adults and their parents. For children in Western societies, moving out of the parental home is part of the process of becoming an independent adult. It is closely linked to other key events in the transition to adulthood, such as union formation and entry into the labor market or higher education (Blaauboer and Mulder, 2010). When and why young people leave home has therefore been studied extensively (Ayllón, 2015; Bernhardt et al., 2005; Billari et al., 2001; South and Lei, 2015; Zorlu and van Gaalen, 2016). The existing literature suggests that home-leaving behavior depends on the opportunities and constraints of the environment that the young adult faces. This refers to the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the parental home (Murphy and Wang, 1998; South and Lei, 2015), as well as institutional factors, such as conditions on the labor and housing market (Ayllón, 2015; Lennartz et al., 2016). In addition, leaving home is also a function of the preferences of young adults and their parents, which are found to vary across cultural groups (Aassve et al., 2013; de Valk and Liefbroer, 2007a).

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Despite these numerous studies on the leaving-home process of young adults, research that pays attention to patterns of leaving home among children from migrant families in Europe is still limited (see de Valk and Billari, 2007; Kleinepier and de Valk, 2016; Nielsen, 2015; Zorlu and Mulder, 2011; Zorlu and van Gaalen, 2016 for exceptions). This lack of attention is unfortunate as a large and growing share of the European population consists of immigrants and their descendants (Eurostat, 2011). Children of immigrants are in a special situation in which they have to balance between the norms and values of their parents and those of the society in which they grow up. Nevertheless, previous studies on ethnic differences in leaving home have mainly focused on the role of intergenerational transmission of norms and values along with parental resources to explain differences between migrants and non-migrants (de Valk and Billari, 2007; Lei and South, 2016). This does not capture the specific position of migrant children between two cultures for whom a clash in cultures between generations may become in particular obvious and potentially result in intergenerational conflict (Giguère et al., 2010).

In this study, we examine variation in home-leaving behavior among Turkish and Moroccan second-generation and native Dutch young adults. We expand on earlier studied family influences by including the role of conflicts between the young adults and their parents as a determinant for leaving home. Furthermore, although many studies have emphasized the important (socializing) role of friends and peers in young adults' lives (Huschek et al., 2010, 2011; van Zantvliet and Kalmijn, 2013), the role of peers for home-leaving behavior has been neglected in research so far. The second goal of this paper, therefore, is to study how peer relations, in addition to the role of parents, affect young adults' home leaving choices. The following research question guides our work: *To what extent do relations with parents and peers influence the process of leaving home among Turkish and Moroccan second generation and native Dutch young adults?*

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

BACKGROUND

In Dutch statistics, the population with a migrant background is defined as people with at least one parent born abroad, separated out into those who were born abroad (first generation) and those who were born in the Netherlands (second generation). Together, the first and second generation account for more than a fifth of the current population of the Netherlands of 17 million inhabitants. Slightly more than half of the population with a migrant background is of non-Western origin, the other half is originating from Western countries such as North America and other European countries (Statistics Netherlands,

2016). Four main groups predominate the population of non-Western origin: Moroccans constitute the largest second-generation group followed by Turks, Surinamese and Antilleans, including respectively 217,000, 207,000, 171,000 and 69,000 individuals (Statistics Netherlands, 2016). All other origin groups are considerably smaller and cover a heterogeneous population in terms of migration history and time of residence in the Netherlands.

The Turkish and Moroccan second generation are the children of the predominantly male migrant workers who came to the Netherlands in the 1960s and early 1970s. Because they were recruited to carry out unskilled labor, they were mainly low educated and originated from the rural areas of their origin countries (van Mol and de Valk, 2016). These migrants who were recruited under so-called 'guest worker programs', were expected to stay temporarily and return to their origin countries. However, many of these migrants did not return, but arranged for their families to join them in the Netherlands instead. Due to the economic crises in the 1970s and 1980s, many Turkish and Moroccan immigrants became unemployed and therewith dependent on state-provided benefits.

Although the socioeconomic position of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation is generally better than that of the first generation, many of them are still affected by the disadvantaged position of their parents (Heath et al., 2008). More specifically, the Turkish and Moroccan second generation achieve lower educational levels, are more likely to be unemployed, and tend to have lower incomes than the native Dutch (Kleinepieter & de Valk, 2016; van der Vliet et al., 2014). The Turkish and Moroccan second generation also differ from the majority population in terms of religion. Whereas the Netherlands was traditionally a predominantly Christian country and is one of the most secular countries in Western Europe nowadays, the vast majority of the Turkish and Moroccan population adheres to Islam (Güngör et al., 2011).

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

Parent-Child Relations: Socialization

According to socialization theory, parents transmit their norms and values to their children by means of normative standards and parental role modelling (Glass et al., 1986). Because the first-generation Turks and Moroccans arrived in the Netherlands as adults, they have been socialized primarily in their countries of origin. Consequently, the expectations towards the behavior of their children are likely to be mainly drawn from their country of origin context. In Turkish and Moroccan society, the family takes central stage and life-course decisions are thought to affect not only the individual, but also the family (Kagitçibasi, 2005; Nauck, 2002). Direct marriage at relatively young ages is the norm in these societies (Koç, 2007). Traditionally, marriage was arranged between the parents of the two families involved, making partner choice less of an individual romantic decision and more a collective family transition. According to the patrilineal tradition and intergenerational support norms, a married couple first lives in the parental home of the husband; only after the birth of a first child, the couple usually sets up a separate household (Koç, 2007).

In the Netherlands, a more individualistic orientation in the transition to adulthood prevails, resulting in greater autonomy in life course decision-making (Lesthaeghe, 2010). A separate youth phase after puberty has emerged, in which young adults have more freedom of movement and experiment with relationships before engaging in more serious long-term commitments. This has led to a postponement of major life transitions, in particular events that are hard to reverse and have far-reaching consequences, viz. marriage and parenthood (Billari and Liefbroer, 2010). Marriage is therefore often preceded by a period of living alone or with an unmarried partner (Kleinepiers and de Valk, 2016). Leaving home, in this context, can be seen as an expression of independence. Hence, in many Western societies, transitions out of the parental home are experienced at relatively young ages (Aassve et al., 2013). These theoretical considerations result in the first set of hypotheses: *Hypothesis 1: Compared to native Dutch young adults, the Turkish and Moroccan second generation are (a) more likely to leave the parental home to start living with a partner, in particular in a married union, and (b) less likely to leave the parental home for independence, (c) school or work.*

Leaving-home patterns are not only expected to differ between origin groups, but also by gender. Numerous studies have found that women leave the parental home at younger ages and more often with a partner than is the case for men. This pattern is found among both natives (Ayllón, 2015; Blaauboer and Mulder, 2010) and those with a migrant background (de Valk and Billari, 2007; Zorlu and van Gaalen, 2016). The difference between men and women, however, may not be the same for all ethnic groups. As stated, in Turkey and Morocco, men often continue to live in the parental home after they marry, whereas women move in with their partner's family after marriage (Koç, 2007). Furthermore, Turkish and Moroccan women face stronger normative prescriptions regarding family life transitions than men, *as particularly women* may put the family's reputation and honor at risk through disapproved actions (Merz et al., 2009; Phalet and Schönpflug, 2001). Therefore, we expect to find greater gender differences among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation than among the native Dutch. This results in the following two hypotheses: *Hypothesis 2a: Men are less likely to leave the parental home to start living with a partner than women. Hypothesis 2b: The expected gender difference is more pronounced among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation than among the native Dutch.*

Parent-Child Relations: Assimilation and Conflict

Another line of reasoning found in the migration literature, however, suggests smaller ethnic differences in leaving home than argued above. In contrast to the emphasis on the migrant's country of origin, adaptation and assimilation theories stress the importance of the destination country; immigrants would adjust to their new surroundings after longer residence and over generations for two main reasons. First, according to neoclassical economic models, this process is the result of the *opportunities and constraints* the individual (migrant) faces in the destination country (Esser, 2008). The process of leaving the parental home, in particular, is strongly related to practical and contextual factors, such as economic constraints, geographical proximity of educational institutions, housing opportunities, and labor market conditions (Mulder and Hooimeijer, 2002). Previous studies have indeed shown that differences in the age at leaving home across Europe are related to differences in welfare

state regimes and unemployment rates (Ayllón, 2015; Lennartz et al., 2016). The relatively affordable and available social rented housing in the Netherlands, in combination with welfare-state benefits (e.g., housing allowances), might thus help young adults at least financially to gain residential independence. We may therefore expect that the leaving-home behavior of migrant children in the Netherlands differs from the patterns in their parents' countries of origin.

Secondly, classical assimilation theory (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964) states that immigrants gradually take over the *norms and values* prevalent in the destination country, including those in the family domain. It has been argued, however, that the internalization of cultural norms may take multiple generations to complete (Milewski, 2010). Indeed, previous research has found evidence that the norms of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation have started to resemble those of the native Dutch. More specifically, a very considerable share (between 30-50 percent) of Turkish and Moroccan adolescents has been found to prefer a period of premarital cohabitation over direct marriage (de Valk and Liefbroer, 2007b), which is in sharp contrast with the union formation practices of their parents. Although these preferences may not directly translate into actual behavior (Billari and Liefbroer, 2007), it highlights the potential influence of the destination country in shaping migrant children's family behavior.

There are thus clear reasons to expect that children of immigrants will not automatically behave according to the patterns dominant in their parents' countries of origin. Particularly the norms and preferences of the second generation appear to be different from those held by their parents. Previous research suggests that a large discrepancy in cultural norms between children and their parents is likely to result in intergenerational tensions and conflicts due to a clash in cultures and lack of understanding (Kwak, 2003). This potential for parent-child conflict is expected to be higher among children of immigrants, as they have to balance between the cultural norms of mainstream society and those set out by their parents (Giguère et al., 2010; Lou et al., 2012). Thus, we formulate the following hypothesis: *Hypothesis 3a: Turkish and Moroccan second-generation young adults are more likely to experience conflicts with their parents than the native Dutch.*

Previous research has indicated that intergenerational conflict accelerates the process of leaving home (Lou et al., 2012; Bernhardt et al., 2005), whereas more warm and caring family relations may lead to postponement of moving out of the parental home (Blaauboer and Mulder, 2010; de Jong Gierveld et al., 1991). At the same time, family relations are arguably less important in case the young adult leaves home for education or employment elsewhere, which is usually related to more practical reasons such as the distance between the parental home and the place of education or work (de Jong Gierveld et al., 1991). We therefore expect that parent-child conflicts are particularly relevant with regard to leaving home with a partner or for independence, and hence we hypothesize: *Hypothesis 3b: Young adults who experience more conflicts with their parents are more likely to leave the parental home to start living with a partner or in order to gain independence.*

According to the above line of reasoning, the difference between the second generation and native Dutch young adults with regard to leaving home to gain independence would be opposite to what we expected by Hypothesis 1b. If the second generation is more likely to experience conflicts with their parents, they should in turn also be more likely to leave the parental home to gain independence. This means that the difference between second-generation and native Dutch young adults is suppressed by intergenerational conflict. In other words, ethnic group differences in leaving home to gain independence may change direction after taking the frequency of parent-child conflicts into account. This leads to the following hypothesis: *Hypothesis 3c: The lower likelihood to leave the parental home to gain independence for the Turkish and Moroccan second generation compared to the native Dutch is suppressed by higher levels of conflict in immigrant families.*

Peer Relations

Young people are, apart from the family, also exposed to other sources of socialization, e.g., schools, the media, and peers. In fact, previous research has shown that the influence of peers strongly increases during adolescence, while parental influence weakens during this period (Prinstein and Dodge, 2008). Young adults often seek approval of their norms and values by age-peers. Furthermore, peers are used as a point of reference to mirror one's own behavior and may serve as an example to be imitated. It has been argued that both distant acquaintances and one's most intimate friends are important. As regards distant acquaintances, previous research suggests that interactions with peers at school and in the neighborhood may affect a variety of outcomes, such as school achievement, language acquisition, and patterns of union formation (Hushek et al., 2011; Sykes and Musterd, 2011; van Zantvliet and Kalmijn, 2013). Nevertheless, close friends have generally been found to be more influential, presumably as a result of the emotional investment in and closeness of these relationships (Hushek et al., 2010, 2011; Kohler, 1997).

In contrast to the largely coethnic family network of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in the Netherlands, their peer network has been found to include people from different ethnic origin groups (Hushek et al., 2011). Particularly non-coethnic ties may provide alternative cultural values and contrasting ways of thinking which, in turn, may affect family behavior in the transition to adulthood. Indeed, previous research indicates that Turkish young adults with more friends outside their own ethnic group are more similar to the native Dutch population with regard to multiple aspects of union formation, such as the timing of the first union, the type of union (cohabitation vs. marriage), and the ethnic background of the partner (Hushek et al., 2011). Moreover, the authors showed that the ethnic composition of the young adult's secondary school was related to the timing of the first union, highlighting the influence of more distant acquaintances (Hushek et al., 2011). Based on the above, we come to our final set of hypotheses: *Hypothesis 4: Turkish and Moroccan second-generation young adults with more non-coethnic ties are (a) less likely to leave the parental home to start living with a partner, and (b) more likely to leave the parental home for independence, (c) or school/work.* Given the key relevance of non-coethnic ties for the children of immigrants in particular and the fact that the number of

native Dutch young adults with non-coethnic ties was very limited, we test this last set of hypotheses for the young adults of the second generation only.

DATA AND METHOD

For this study, we make use data from the TIES (The Integration of the European Second generation) project. This is a cross-sectional survey conducted in eight European countries and includes about 10,000 respondents that were interviewed in the period 2007/2008. The TIES sample consists of second-generation young adults (18-35 years old at time of interview) of Turkish, Moroccan, and ex-Yugoslavian origin and a majority group of young adults for comparison. The survey covers information on multiple life domains, such as educational, labor market, and family transitions including retrospective questions about these events. The Dutch dataset includes respondents of the Turkish ($n = 499$), Moroccan ($n = 487$), and native Dutch ($n = 509$) origin.

The respondents in the Netherlands were sampled from Amsterdam and Rotterdam, based on population registers that include all legal residents in the country. The two municipalities were chosen because these are the main urban concentration areas of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation, for which the survey aims to be representative. We should, however, be careful when making comparisons with the native Dutch. Amsterdam and Rotterdam are university cities, meaning that particularly native Dutch young adults may have moved from the parental home towards these cities to attend higher education. The proportion leaving home for education is thus likely to be higher than is the case for the Netherlands as a whole.

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

Measures

Patterns of leaving home. Respondents were asked how old they were when they left the parental home for the first time, which is measured in years. Those who were still living with their parents at the time of the interview are censored at that age. The dependent variable measures the different reasons for leaving the parental home. Four reasons for leaving home, reported by the young adult as being the most important reason, are distinguished: (a) start living with a partner, (b) gaining independence, (c) education or employment elsewhere, and (d) other reasons. Starting to live with a partner is further distinguished into marriage and cohabitation in our descriptive analysis. The results regarding home-leaving for 'other

reasons' are not presented throughout the paper because this category potentially covers many types of leaving home. The results are therefore difficult, if not impossible, to interpret.

Ethnic origin of the young adults was defined according to their birth country and that of their parents. A person is classified as second-generation Turkish or Moroccan if he/she was born in the Netherlands and has at least one parent who was born in Turkey or Morocco, respectively. We do not distinguish between respondents with one or two foreign-born parents, because the number of respondents with one foreign-born parent is very limited in our sample ($n = 35$). Those with both parents born in the Netherlands are classified as native Dutch, irrespective of their own birth country. *Gender* is a dummy variable with female as the reference group.

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

Proportion of non-coethnic friends. Respondents were asked for the ethnic background of their three best friends during the period that they attended secondary school. We divided the number of friends with a different ethnic background over the total number of friends. This index was converted into dummy variables ranging from 1 = no coethnic, 2 = a third coethnic, 3 = two thirds coethnic, to 4 = all coethnic friends. Those who did not report the ethnic background of their friends are coded separately as missing. *Ethnic school composition* is based on the proportion of Dutch students in the secondary school as indicated by the respondent. Answering categories are 1 = almost no Dutch, 2 = up to 25%, 3 = up to 50%, 4 = up to 75%, and 5 = almost all Dutch students. In addition, we include a squared term of this variable to control for non-linearity.

Finally, we control for several socio-demographic characteristics of the young adults that were found to influence home-leaving behavior in previous studies. *Age* is a time-varying variable and its effect represents the baseline hazard (see next section). We include a squared term of age to address non-linearity. *Birth cohort* is accounted for with a dummy variable separating two birth cohorts: 1970-79 and 1980-89. The oldest cohort (1970-79) is used as the reference category. *Educational level* is based on the highest completed level of secondary education, which is divided into three categories: 1 = low (pre-vocational education), 2 = medium (general secondary education), and 3 = high (pre-university education). *Parental educational level* is measured using respondents' reports of the highest completed level of either of both parents. Again, we divide the variable into three categories:

1 = low (no education, primary education only, or lower secondary education), 2 = medium (upper secondary education or lower tertiary education), and 3 = high (higher tertiary education). We include a dummy variable for the respondents that did not know the educational level of their father and mother. *Mother had a paid job* is a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the mother had a paid job when the young adult was 15 years old (0 = no, 1 = yes). *Religiosity* measures whether the young adult was raised according to a certain religion and if so, whether he/she attended religious lessons as a child.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for independent variables

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

Note: Standard deviations not reported for dichotomous variables.

Source: TIES (2007), the Netherlands.

This results into three categories 1 = not religious, 2 = religious, and 3 = religious and lessons. We include a dummy variable for those who did not answer on these questions. *Number of siblings*. We use a more fine-grained measure than previous studies and distinguish between the number of older and the number of younger siblings. These measures are included as continuous variables in our analyses. Both variables are grouped at the level of four or more siblings. *Intact family* is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent's parents stayed together at least until the moment of leaving home or censoring (0 = no, 1 = yes).

Method

We use discrete time event history models with competing risks in order to cover both timing and reasons for leaving home simultaneously. Specifically, we construct person-year files with records for each individual for each year under the risk of leaving home for age 15 to age 30 and subsequently apply multinomial logistic regression, treating the four reasons of leaving home as competing risks. The dependent variables are the relative risks of having left the parental home for any of the four reasons in a year, given that the respondent stayed at the parental home in the year before. Repeated spells were not considered, once a person has left the parental home, he/she is excluded from the risk set. The baseline hazard is specified as a function of age and age squared to capture potential non-linearity. The analysis is censored for those who are still living with their parents at the time of the interview.

We start the analysis with descriptive results. The subsequent multivariate analysis is divided into two parts. In the first part, we compare native Dutch to Turkish and Moroccan second-generation young adults and conduct separate analyses by gender, because previous research has shown different patterns of leaving home along with different effects of family background characteristics for men and women (Blaauboer and Mulder, 2010). We use a stepwise approach in which the first model introduces background characteristics and in the second model the level of conflict between the respondent and his/her parents is added. In the second part of our multivariate analysis, we exclude the native Dutch in order to test our hypotheses on the influence of peer-group ethnic composition on leaving-home patterns for the Turkish and Moroccan second generation. Because separate gender-specific models showed similar effects of peer-group composition, only pooled results are presented.

RESULTS

Descriptive Analyses

We start with an overview of ethnic differences in the timing of leaving the parental home. Figure 1 shows the proportion young adults living in the parental home between the ages of 15 and 30 by origin group. We find that men are more likely to postpone leaving the parental home than women in all three ethnic groups. Native Dutch women leave the parental home at youngest ages, followed by native Dutch men. Women of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation take a middle position, where Moroccan women move out slightly earlier than Turkish women. Turkish men leave home latest and in substantial numbers move out only

after age 20. From that age onwards, Turkish and Moroccan men follow a rather similar pattern up to age 25, after which the share of Turkish men living in the parental home continues to decline more rapidly than is the case for Moroccan men.

The survival curves do not suggest more pronounced gender differences in the timing of leaving home for the Turkish and Moroccan second generation than is the case for the native Dutch young adults. As can be seen in Figure 1, the difference in the proportion men and women that have left the parental home by age 20 is about 15 percent among both the Turkish second generation and the native Dutch and even smaller among the Moroccan second generation. It is only after age 25 when the difference between men and women becomes larger among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation than among the native Dutch. However, native Dutch young adults have in large majority already left the parental home by those ages.

Figure 1. Survival curve for living in the parental home, by origin group and gender

The percentual distributions of the different reasons for leaving the parental home by ethnic origin group and gender are presented in Figure 2. Both the reasons for those who have left, as well as the percentage of those who have stayed in the parental home up to the moment of interview (censored respondents) are included here. By and large, the second generation is more likely to be living with their parents at the moment of the interview than is the case for native Dutch young adults. It is most pronounced for Moroccan men of whom about 46 percent lives with their parents at the time of the interview. There are two explanations for this. First, it is related to postponement of home-leaving among Turkish and Moroccan youth

(Figure 1). Second, it is the result of the younger age composition of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in the survey.

For those who have left the parental home, we find that native Dutch young adults leaving home with a partner, predominantly do so with an unmarried partner. In line with Hypothesis 1a, this pattern is reversed for the Turkish and Moroccan second generation where leaving the parental home with a partner usually goes hand in hand with marriage. Direct marriages from the parental home are most frequent among women of the Turkish second generation (36 percent). Although we find clear differences between the second generation and the native Dutch in the type of union for leaving home, differences in leaving home for union formation in general (including both cohabitation and marriage) are smaller. Only Turkish women are more likely to leave home to start living with a partner than is the case for native Dutch women.

In contrast to Hypothesis 1b, we find that the proportion young adults mentioning independence as their primary reason for leaving home is the same among all ethnic groups. It could well be that this is associated with the frequency of conflict between the young adults and their parents (Hypothesis 3). In order to test this hypothesis, we first of all checked whether there is a higher frequency of conflict within migrant families. The results indicate that second-generation Turks are indeed more likely to experience parent-child conflict than the native Dutch ($T = 4.46$ and $p < .01$), but there is no significant difference between the Moroccan second generation and the native Dutch in this regard. The role of conflict will be further explored in the multivariate analyses. Furthermore, in line with Hypothesis 1c, native Dutch young adults leave the parental home more often to attend education or for work than the Turkish and Moroccan second generation. About 45 percent of the native Dutch (men and women) left home for school or work purposes, compared to about 15 percent of the Moroccans (men and women) and Turkish men and even lower shares of Turkish women. Additional analyses (not shown) indicate that the majority of those who leave for this reason do so to pursue education, with more than 90 percent among all groups.

Finally, there are important gender differences in the various reasons for leaving the parental home. In line with Hypothesis 2a, we find that women leave the parental home more often to start living with a (un)married partner than men among all groups. We furthermore hypothesized this difference to be larger among the second generation (Hypothesis 2b). Gender differences are indeed much more pronounced among the Turkish second generation than among the native Dutch. About 45 percent of the Turkish women left home in order to live with a partner, compared to about 15 percent of Turkish men. In contrast to our expectations, however, gender differences in leaving home for union formation are relatively similar among the native Dutch and the Moroccan second generation.

Multivariate Analyses

The results of the competing risks models of leaving the parental home are presented in Table 2. Because our event of interest is the reason for leaving the parental home, living in the parental home is the reference category. Leaving home for marriage and cohabitation are

combined into one category (union formation) in our multivariate analyses, due to small cell sizes across groups (see Figure 2). Model I in Table 2 presents the estimates for origin group and the control variables. In Model II, the frequency of conflict between the young adult and their parents is added to the equation.

Figure 2. Reasons for leaving home, by origin group and gender

Our findings suggest that among men, there is no significant difference between the Turkish second generation and native Dutch in the likelihood of leaving home for union formation (Table 2, Model I). Contrary to Hypothesis 1a, Moroccan men are even significantly less likely to have left the parental home for union formation. Reason-specific survival curves (not shown) suggest that this difference mainly relates to the fact that Moroccan men postpone leaving home for marriage and cohabitation. In line with Hypotheses 1b and 1c, second-generation men are less likely to leave home to gain independence and for educational/work purposes than native Dutch men, although differences regarding independence are only weakly significant ($p < 0.10$). Hypothesis 3 stated that differences between origin groups may be suppressed by higher levels of parent-child conflict among the second generation. However, for men we do not find a significant relation between conflict and leaving home for any reason (Table 2, Model II). In addition, and contrasting our hypothesis, the differences between second-generation and native Dutch men do not change when we take the frequency of conflict into account. We thus find no support for Hypothesis 3 among men.

The results for women clearly differ from those of men. Women of the Turkish second generation have a significantly higher likelihood of leaving home to start living with a partner than Dutch women, which is in line with Hypothesis 1a. The parameter estimate for Moroccan women is in the same direction, but is not statistically significant. With regard to leaving home to gain independence, women of both the Turkish and Moroccan second generation are less likely to mention this as the primary reason for their move out of the parental home, supporting Hypothesis 1b. In line with Hypothesis 1c, Turkish and Moroccan second-generation women are also significantly less likely to leave home for school/work than native Dutch women. Also for women, intergenerational conflict seems only of limited importance for leaving the parental home and has a significant positive effect only when it comes to leaving home in order to gain independence (Table 2, Model II). The estimates contrasting the origin groups hardly change when taking conflict into account. Thus, also among women, we find no support for Hypothesis 3 that parent-child conflicts are associated with ethnic differences in leaving the parental home to gain independence. Additional analyses interacting conflict with origin group (not shown but available on request) were performed among both genders to examine whether the impact of conflict on the decision to leave home varied by ethnic origin. However, these interaction terms were not significant.

All in all, the results for men are only partly in line with Hypothesis 1. We only found substantial ethnic differences with regard to leaving the parental home for school/work. The results for women, however, are strongly in line with our first hypothesis. Particularly women of the Turkish second generation are more traditional in their home-leaving behavior than native Dutch women. Additional analyses on the full sample of men and women (not shown but available on request), suggest that women have a significant greater likelihood to leave the parental home for union formation than men, which is in line with Hypothesis 2a. We found no support for the Hypothesis 2b that gender differences are more pronounced among the second generation, however.

We next hypothesized (Hypothesis 4) that second-generation Turks and Moroccans with more social ties outside their own ethnic group would be less likely to leave home for union formation and more likely to leave home for independence, school, or work. The results in Table 3 indicate that a higher proportion of non-coethnic close friends is indeed associated with a lower likelihood to leave the parental home for union formation among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation. Although the estimates of close friends are in the expected direction also for leaving home for independence and school/work, they are not statistically significant. Furthermore, we study the relevance of more distant acquaintances—measured through the percentage native students at one's secondary school—on leaving home. These acquaintances are only significantly related to leaving home for school/work, where the estimates suggest a U-shaped relationship. Those who attended a school with almost no Dutch students or with many Dutch students are more likely to leave home for school than those who attended a school where the number Dutch and non-Dutch students was equally distributed.

Table 2. Competing risks models of reasons for leaving home by gender, relative risk ratios

[illegible]

Table 3. Competing risks models among Turkish and Moroccan second-generation young adults, relative risk ratios

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

Note: Parameter estimates for 'other reasons' and missing categories are not reported.

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

Source: TIES (2007), the Netherlands.

Whereas most of our control variables in Tables 2 and 3 have effects in line with previous studies, three of them warrant discussion. First, young adults who were raised according to a certain religion are less likely to have left the parental home for union formation. This is in contrast with other European studies suggesting that religious people are more traditional in their home-leaving behavior and, thus, more frequently leave home for marriage (Rusconi, 2004). However, our finding is in line with what was observed in previous research in the Netherlands (Blaauboer and Mulder, 2010). Second, we find that having more younger siblings increases the probability of leaving home, whereas the effect of older siblings is negligible. This could be explained by the fact that older siblings may more often have already left home and do thus not affect levels of space and privacy anymore. Third and lastly, we find among women that living in an intact two-parent family decreases the risk of leaving home to gain independence, but this effect is no longer significant when we take parent-child conflicts into account (Table 2, Model II). This corroborates previous research showing that youth from disrupted families leave home earlier because of frictions in parent-child relations (Aquilino, 1991).

DISCUSSION

This study examined the influence of parent-child and peer relations on patterns of leaving home among young adults of Turkish, Moroccan, and native Dutch origin. We applied discrete-time event history models with competing risks to account for the timing of leaving the parental home for three reasons, viz. (a) to live with a partner, (b) to gain independence, and (c) to enter the labor market or higher education. Data came from The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES) survey, for which respondents were sampled in 2007/2008 from Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the two major cities in the Netherlands.

Our descriptive analysis highlighted one of the most striking differences between the origin groups, namely the type of union chosen at the time of leaving home. Specifically, whereas direct marriage from the parental home was very rare among the native Dutch, leaving home for union formation usually went hand in hand with marriage among Turkish and Moroccan young adults, particularly among Turkish women. Those with a Turkish background were in this regard found to differ stronger from the native Dutch than Moroccans. This difference has been related to lower levels of family loyalty, group cohesion, and parental involvement in partner choice within the Moroccan community (Güngör et al., 2011; Phalet and Schönpflug, 2001). Our findings thus highlight that grouping migrants and their children into a few broad cultural or racial groups—which is still rather common practice in the existing migration literature—can mask important differences between origins and potentially result in drawing incorrect conclusions. This may ultimately also affect policy-making and implementation.

Although we found strong ethnic differences in the type of union, the multivariate analyses showed that differences between the origin groups are relatively small when it comes to leaving home for union formation in general (including both cohabitation and marriage). This indicates that union formation is an important pathway of leaving the parental home for all ethnic origin groups, particularly for women. We furthermore found that young adults of

the Turkish and Moroccan second generation were much less likely to have left the parental home in order to enter the labor market or higher education. Especially Turkish second-generation women were unlikely to move out of the parental home for these reasons. This suggests that cultural norms regarding early marriage among women—frequently leading to early childbearing as well—may hinder educational achievement and entering the labor market. Nevertheless, in the academic and public debate regarding the social and economic integration of immigrants and their descendants, the role of family tends to be largely overlooked. Our study shows that the socioeconomic position of ethnic minorities can only be understood and addressed when developing a better understanding of their family behavior.

Furthermore, we found that young adults of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation were less likely than the native Dutch to leave the parental home in order to gain independence, yet differences were relatively small and only borderline significant for men. We examined whether the slightly lower likelihood of the second generation to leave home for independence was suppressed by their higher propensity to experience conflicts with their parents. This hypothesis was not supported. Although we found that parent-child conflict increased the likelihood of leaving home for independence among women, including this variable in a stepwise regression model did not alter the coefficients associated with ethnic origin. Among men, we did not find a significant effect of conflict on leaving home at all. This gender difference may be explained by the role of women as kinkeepers in the family, possibly making them more responsive to family conflict (Kalmijn, 2013). The fact that conflict did not suppress ethnic differences in leaving home for independence may be related to both methodological and substantive reasons. First, methodologically, our indicator of conflict is retrospectively reported, which may have biased the results. Second, substantively, an alternative explanation is that there is simply no association between conflict and ethnic differences in leaving home, suggesting that other explanations should be sought for the relatively high share of migrant youth leaving home for independence. Recent research indicates that Turkish and Moroccan youth often experience improved housing quality and privacy if they leave home, while native Dutch youth generally experience a downward move (Zorlu and van Gaalen, 2016). This suggests that ‘independence’ as a reason for home-leaving may have a different meaning for second-generation young adults than for the native Dutch. Finally, the tendency of Turkish and Moroccan youth to leave home for independence can also be regarded as an indication of their adaptation and/or assimilation into Dutch society.

A key innovation of our study was that we examined how peer relations affect patterns of leaving home among Turkish and Moroccan youth. We found that those with more close friends outside their own ethnic group were less likely to leave home for union formation. It is important to note, however, that our cross-sectional data do not allow us to make any causal claims. Specially, although we measure the ethnic composition of the young adults’ friendship network in the period prior to leaving home, it remains unclear whether young adults with specific norms and values were more likely to form friendships with members outside their own ethnic group, or whether non-coethnic friendships changed the young adult’s norms and subsequent behavior. Furthermore, our measure regarding the young

adult's friendship network refers to close friends only. It could well be that the young adults' wider friendship networks have a more heterogeneous ethnic composition.

In order to account for this, we included the ethnic composition of the young adult's secondary school as an additional indicator of peer relations. Clearly, however, this is a much broader measure than one's self-identified friendship network. This may particularly be the case when the school is large and spacious. Smaller schools may promote a stronger sense of community among students and may thus matter more for socialization and peer influences. Unfortunately, we could not control for school size in our analysis, but it is a potentially interesting area for future research. In spite of the limitations of our measure, our findings showed that young adults who attended a school where ethnic minorities were neither a small minority nor a large majority were less likely to leave home for school or work. This U-shaped relationship was also found by van Houtte and Stevens (2010), who showed that immigrant students in schools with a low or high ethnic concentration tend to aspire to finish high school and move to higher education more than those attending medium concentration schools. These findings provide food for thought for both future research and policy makers alike. ***In terms of policy decision-making, our results suggest that ethnic segregation of places where peers meet and interact, such as schools and neighborhoods, is not solely a negative phenomenon.*** Put differently, while in the policy discourse cultural and ethnic mixing is generally thought to facilitate integration processes, our findings indicate that the link between ethnic segregation and integration may be more complex than previously thought. In terms of future research and data collection, our study calls for a wider inclusion of peer network information in the study of young adults' behavior.

Finally, we discuss two issues related to the representativeness of the data used. First, the respondents in the TIES survey were sampled in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, which both are large university cities with extensive student populations. The proportion young adults that has left the parental home to attend higher education in these cities is thus higher than in the Netherlands as a whole. Specifically, using a nationally representative sample of young adults in the Netherlands, it was found that respectively 39 and 34 percent of native Dutch men and women had left home for school or work (de Graaf and Loozen, 2006), as compared to 54 and 48 percent of men and women respectively in our data. The overrepresentation of students in our data is likely to be lower among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation than among native Dutch: Turks and Moroccans are much more concentrated in the large cities in the Netherlands, implying that less of them had to leave the parental home to live close to higher education institutions. The urban concentration of ethnic minorities makes the selection of an appropriate 'native' comparison group a rather complicated matter. Whereas the sampling of young adults in Amsterdam and Rotterdam likely leads to an overrepresentation of particularly native Dutch students in our data, comparisons based on nationally representative samples tend to ignore the fact that young adults (of which many of migrant origin) living in large cities, face different obstacles and opportunities than those in a small town in a rural area (Lessard-Phillips et al., 2015). Thus, it is important to be aware of how the way in which the native comparison group is defined influences one's research findings. A second issue related to representativeness of the data is that the TIES survey was conducted in 2007, meaning that our findings refer to the pre-recession period. Although the

impact of the economic crisis on youth unemployment was not as pronounced in the Netherlands as for example in Southern Europe (Ayllón, 2015), recent research still showed a convergence in the timing of leaving home between migrant and native Dutch youth over the recession period (Stoeldraijer, 2014). Future research may examine whether the economic crisis has affected reasons for leaving home as well and how this potentially relates to ethnic differences in returning home (Lei and South, 2016).

In sum, this study has three main conclusions. First, our findings highlighted that lumping various immigrant groups together in a single cultural or racial category should be avoided if possible, considering that the influence of the parental family differs across groups that are otherwise similar in many respects. Second, while previous research has speculated that ethnic differences in leaving home may be related to a higher frequency of intergenerational conflicts in migrant families (Zorlu and Mulder, 2011), we found no support for this conjecture. Finally, we showed that relationships with peers are important for patterns of leaving home of Turkish and Moroccan youth. More advanced insight in the composition, role, and influence of the peer network on second-generation young adults may shed additional light on vulnerable phases in their lives as well as on how they balance between expectations from different significant others.

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