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Marriage as the most important factor for leaving parental home in Poland. Mixed patterns in the transition country.

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Abstract

Leaving the parental home is an important event in a life of the individual; it is a component of a wider set of events described as transition to adulthood. The fact of making a decision concerning leaving the parental home is mainly connected to starting a family, marriage, continuing education, and also initiation of economic activity.

Based on sociological and demographic theories, the objective of the presented paper is the analysis on the process of leaving parental home in Poland, in particular, a description of the most typical path linking the fact of leaving home with the process of unions' formation. The paper containing diagnosis of the reasons determining this process in the context of changes related to socio-economic transition and transformation of demographic processes in Poland. In the part devoted to practical aspects, the proposed models enable analysing and describing the pattern of the process, not only before but also after the change of the political and economic system. The applied analytical methods allow measurement and assessment of the changing value system in the Polish society. Simultaneously there was made an attempt at finding answers to the following questions:

- to what extent it is still obligatory the "old" pattern of behaviours (with a particular consideration of the influence of parents' environment on the children' decision), and

- how significant role play gaining value factors such as: education, cultural and economic changes (including the status on the labour market and housing situation).

The main thesis of the presented paper is: social and economic changes of the transition period significantly influenced attitudes and behaviours concerning time and circumstances of leaving of the parental home of successive generations because of union formation. There are presented prerequisites determining the decision-making process concerning leaving the parental home, including: demographic (with particular attention paid to family and its internal relationships), as well as socio-economic.

Introduction

Taking into consideration the changing socio-economic situation, new challenges and expectations, as well as increasing awareness of the challenges, the pattern of leaving of the parental home, and in particular its changes, seem to be particularly significant over the long-term perspectives. The collapse of socialism significantly changed the situation of people entering the adult life, who faced various new challenges and difficulties mainly related to the economic sphere of life such as: instability of the beginning of market economy and corresponding instability of the labour market, growing unemployment or problems on the housing market that significantly hindered independence (fig.1.-5.).

General uncertainty was the main reason for the postponement of the decision concerning starting a family, which in Poland was the main reason for leaving of the parental home¹. Whereas on the other hand, political changes had awakened expectations of the society that resulted in the general growth of life aspirations in both spheres: economic and social. Easier access to education, its popularization on the over-secondary level, new opportunities and offers on the labour market, in particular a larger range of offers in the services sector, comprised sufficient incentives to not postponing a decision of leaving the parental home and gaining independence.

Leaving the parental home may be analysed both: as a process and as an event. The description of an event limits the analysis to the time aspect. Understanding leaving of the parental home as a process, the stage of gaining independence (transition into adulthood²) allows modelling circumstances that accompany it. Specifying a precise definition of an event and persons potentially threatened with experiencing one are of key importance for interpretation and comparability of the results. International institutions such as United Nations and European Union define “young people”³ based on particular age groups. As “young people” are considered persons between 15-th and 24-th year of age. The suggested and universally applied solution concerning the definition of “young people” is determination of a group exposed to the risk of experiencing the event and the event itself, respectively to the carried out analysis and specifics of a phenomenon and conditions related to the available data and national characteristics. In the presented study, for the sake of the carried out analysis, as persons exposed to the risk of experiencing the event “leaving parental home ” were assumed respondents at the age between 15-th and 35-th ears old. The concept of “leaving parental home” is defined as moving out from the parental household and living outside it without a break for at least half a year. This definition does not take into account the source of maintenance after leaving home. Moreover, it is important to make assumption concerning the approach

¹ See: A.C. Liefbroer, E. Frątczak, *The family formation process in Poland during the early years of the socio-economic transition: evidence from the Polish Family and Fertility Survey 1991*, *Studia Demograficzne* 1-2 (123-124), 1996, p. 41.

² *Transition to adulthood* describes a series of events in the course of the individual's life cycle: leaving the parental home, entering the labour market, getting married, having offspring.

³ As the *youth* are meant persons exposed to the risk of leaving the parental home, experiencing events life cycle characteristic for the period of transition to adulthood, getting independent.

to and interpretation of leaving parental home in the context of risk or a chance for the individual to start independent life. In the presented study, leaving the parental home will be perceived as the chance that is accompanied by diverse circumstances facilitating or hindering the moment of making decision to leave the parental home in order to set up a family.

Review of the selected theories

Leaving the parental home may be perceived as an event experienced by the individual, however, it should be pointed out that from the point of view of the researcher on social behaviours, much more interesting is presentation of this phenomenon as a process and focusing on the attendant circumstances. In the context of demographic events, the time and circumstances of leaving of the parental home are inseparably connected with union and family formation (cohabitation, marriage, birth of the first child). In a broader context, the process of transition to adulthood should be perceived from the point of view of basic demographic characteristics, the process of participation in the education and in the labour market, as well as characteristics of the newly created household, including the partner.

Rational choice theory

The process of leaving of the parental home may be analysed in two aspects: economic (rational choice theory), which assumes that a human is the individual characterised with independence and freedom of choice; while the other sociological concept perceives life decision as a part of the system of norms and restrictions. Leaving the parental home accompany diverse circumstances, the strand of which constitutes the background of the decision making process. James Coleman shows the power of the rational choice perspective with application in social sciences⁴.

This theory differs from other theories mainly because it assumes rationality of made decisions. Among possible variants there is always chosen the option that will ensure maximal satisfaction. The rational choice theory is above all a normative theory, i.e. a theory defining what actions should be taken in order to obtain a particular goal. However, contrary to the ethical theories, it does not indicate goals, concentrating instead on means that are appropriate on the way leading to the achievement of a given variant. Moreover, it may be presumed that there do exist some patterns, which the individual will submit to after their realization. In this case, there is no explanation or evaluation, but anticipation that a particular action will follow the adequate set of circumstances.⁵

⁴ See: J. Coleman, *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure., 1988, p. 95.

⁵ See: „Anarchia, altruizm i kooperacja społeczna. Filozoficzne podstawy koncepcji Public Choice” available on the website: <http://www.uni.wroc.pl/~turowski/choice.htm>

Making a decision concerning leaving of the parental home is closely connected to the rational choice theory, as it is the process aiming at maximisation of individual utility function with regard to limitations in a form of the arisen circumstances and available transfers. From the economic point of view, limitations and incentives of leaving parental home may be considered as profits and costs. It is not possible to discuss in a sensible way decision-making if we forget about the actions that accompany it and its effects in particular. The costs from the perspective of a person leaving the parental home in its simplest and intuitive context are economic limitations, in other words financial the individual's possibility to maintain independently. Generally, economic limitations are understood as the total of available financial and material means. Assuming that the individuals know their preferences and limitations in a form of the current and future (planned) financial situation, they are able to choose the best for them variants. Understood in such context process leaving of the parental home may be analysed as congruent with the rational choice theory.

Social capital

It is not without the reason, that such a significant role is ascribed to the available means and the reflections concerning the nature of the process of making a decision concerning leaving the parental home. Usually, leaving the parental home is connected with establishing a new household. One should bear in mind, that the costs of living will grow relatively as compared to the situation of living in the parental home. It is the main explanation why budgetary limitations, even supplemented with private and public transfers, play the key role in the process of emancipation eventually constituting the main barrier. Unlike other demographic events, such as concluding a marriage, or having a child, leaving the parental home should be regarded from the point of view of two resources: possessed by the individual and provided by parents (alternatively, the support from the state institutions may be also considered). Some people say that in the process of getting independent more important are the family resources than the individual's potential, as the most often to the risk of leaving of the parental home are exposed young people who have relatively small own resources at their disposal, particularly financial ones, therefore material help of the parents is indispensable.

The social capital theory categorises the mentioned resources and describes conditions of their availability to the individuals. Capital is defined as investment of the resources on the market z with the expected rate of return. Theoretical fundamentals of social capital base on the following statement: people making decision are not isolated; they have strong ties to their environment⁶. Decision of leaving or staying in the parental home results from diverse family preferences, e.g. regarding organization of home life. Therefore, assuming that the level of satisfaction of the needs concerning independence depends on the

⁶ See: C. Bühler, E. Frątczak, *Social capital and fertility intentions: the case of Poland*, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Boston, 2004, p. 9-11.

available resources, not only material ones, two kinds of them may be specified: individual, such as education or the level of income and family related.

Leaving of the parental home may be also analysed from the point of view of the union formation process. Michael and Tuma⁷ carried out studies on leaving of the parental home with assumptions concerning the influence of individual and parental factors as well as costs of early marriage.

The Authors not only discuss the impact of the accessibility of the set of resources, but also consider realization of its lacking as a strong incentive to make a decision to leave the parental home. Young people from the families that are not able to ensure them a desired start in life may treat lack of available resources as motivation to more intensive search for alternative solutions allowing sooner independence. Marriage and having children is sometimes perceived as such alternative.

*Altruism*⁸

The concept of altruism will be presented in two aspects: the primary one - Becker's and the extended one - Wolff's. Becker⁹ states that family members have mutual altruistic feelings and this is the key factor that helps to explain many aspects of family behaviour.

People pursue maximisation of their utility function. However, this generalisation cannot justify transfers made by parents on behalf of adult children in the hope that the children would take care of parents at old age, as well as bequeathing legacies and inheritances, or exchanging other services within family. The behaviour of such kind is caused by three basic mechanisms. Firstly, within the framework of the so-called pure altruism model, parents' utility is increased by the child's utility that leads to transfers from parents to children. In the second extended approach to the model, altruism is not pure because parents expect children to behave in a particular way: strategic considerations and exchange of goods come into play, because parents' and children's income become endogenous. Thirdly, in non-altruistic environment characterised with imperfect credit market, transfers on behalf of children and parents at the old age constitute an equivalent of the agreement of reciprocity and comprise investment towards the period of old age. Families undertake broad and long-term obligations: coming into the world as a child requiring care, then everyone becomes a parent, and finally (maybe) a grandfather or a grandmother also requiring care. Moreover, there is no market substitute of the goods and services exchanged within family. These determinants explain the reason that social networks may be developed over time and space; and why

⁷ See: R.T. Michael, N.B. Tuma, *Entry into marriage and parenthood by young men and women. The influence of family background*, Demography, Volume 22, No. 4, 1985, 541-543.

⁸ The concept of altruism described on the basis of: A. Laferrère, F.C. Wolff, *Microeconomic models of family transfers*, [in:] p.C. Kolm, J. Mercier Ythier (eds), *Handbook on the Economics of Giving, Altruism and Reciprocity*, North-Holland, Elsevier, vol. 2, p. 889-969.

⁹ See: G.S. Becker, *The theory of Social Interactions*, The Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 82, No. 6, 1974, p. 1064.

these transfers change, but do not vanish despite developing the system of market or public insurance and why their replacement may bring the result reverse than the intended one.

Socio-economic background of the process

The labour market and unemployment

The status of economic activity and the level of obtained income are indicators that from the economic point of view characterise the individual's potential. On the other hand, the aspect of work is extremely significant, also from the macroeconomic perspective, as the situation on the labour market significantly influences socio-economic development and improvement of the economic situation.

Uncertainty in respect to the labour market significantly influences undertaken decisions. Persons who are able to predict what is going to happen in the future or who know what they may expect in the future, are able to better assess their chances and risks and are more willing to risk changes. A good indicator, measurably describing the level of uncertainty is the unemployment level. Before 1989 in Poland, unemployment officially did not exist, while there was the problem of the labour force oversupply, which resulted from the centrally planned economy functioning (fig.4.). Free market economy made the situation real and led to unemployment on the large scale. There was also a change in the employment structure following restructuring of some sectors, in which the new technology was replacing the old one. The situation of the dilapidated public sector was very difficult; however, the private sector started emerging slowly, which was gradually although not very efficiently absorbing the excessive labour force¹⁰.

During the first two years of the transition period (1990-1991) the number of the unemployed increased by about 1 million, reaching 2.2 million at the end of 1991, which comprised 11.8% of the total number of the economically active. In the successive years, unemployment was still growing although at a slightly slower pace. Until July 1994, it reached the level of 16.9%, which reflected the restructuring process. Employment in the private sector exceeded 60% of the total demand for labour.

The first positive effects of the transition process became visible after 1994. Unemployment rate became decreasing systematically. In the middle of 1998, unemployment rate reached a record-breaking low level of 9,5%, never observed before (since the beginning of transition) and later. After the period of accelerated economic growth, beginning from the second half of 1998, the situation on the labour market was becoming less and less favourable.

In the years 2003-2004 unemployment rate reached its culmination point exceeding 20% (3.7 million unemployed persons) and it began gradually decreasing. Without the shadow of a doubt, the accession of

¹⁰ See: D. Stala, E. Frątczak, Government Population Council, Bulletin 52, 2007, p. 128-132.

Poland to the European Union and gaining access to the legal western, labour markets, which over the last years resulted in a huge wave of economic migration particularly involving young people, had an impact on the improvement of the labour market situation (fig.2.).

Education system in the period of transition

Education plays a significant role in demographic behaviours, particularly in respect to the individual's life cycle. Most events, such as starting family and parenthood, usually begin after completing education. Educational process establishes age related norms due to the differences in duration of compulsory education and the length of the course of typical educational paths. Viewed through the economic lenses, educational attainments constitute the key factor determining human capital and have a significant impact on success viewed in the economic context, the structure of employment and relationships and distribution of responsibilities in family. In Poland, similarly to many other countries, the growing interest in the further non-compulsory education has been observed for many years. Educational attainments comprise the indicator of differences between the individuals within the range of many aspects: it may be the measure of talents, possibilities related to income, social status, as well as the individual's autonomy; i.e. independence from partners, also probably general social norms ¹¹.

After the year 1990, beside the already existing universities, the private tertiary schools were beginning to launch, which resulted in a huge increase in the number of tertiary students in Poland (fig.1.). Since the beginning of the nineties, tertiary education has been undergoing significant transformations. Currently, education is treated as investment that may ensure satisfying salary and perspectives of professional development, also decreasing risk of unemployment and increasing social prestige. In the academic year 2005/2006 in all types of tertiary schools were educated 1953.8 thousand students (including 10092 foreigners), i.e. by 1.4% more than the previous year, while compared to the academic year 1990/1991, the number of students increased by 1550.0 thousand persons (384%).

¹¹ See: J. Hoem, G. Neyer, G. Andersson, *Childlessness and educational attainment among Swedish women born in 1955-59*, MPIDR Working Paper WP 2005-014, 2005, p. 2-3.

Union formation in Poland

For many years, starting a family has been in Poland the main reason for leaving the parental home. The concept of union formation refers to a marriage and still marginal, albeit of increasing significance, cohabitation. According to the data of the National Census on Population and Housing, cohabitation constitutes 2% of the total number of unions. In the Western Europe countries this form of the family organization is much more popular.

As regard the issue of unions' formation, notice should be taken at the observed trends: the number of newly contracted marriages during the period of transition in Poland and the mean age at the moment of concluding the first marriage (fig.6.,12.-13.).

Poland, similarly to other East-European countries belonged to the eastern marriage pattern. Marriage in the western part of Europe characterised late conclusion and lower universality of this form of union. On the contrary, in Eastern Europe, marriages were concluded early and absolutely dominated as a form of the union. The mean age of marriage concluding by women from eastern countries before transition amounted to 23 years.

In 1989 in Poland were concluded 255.7 thousand marriages, which means 6.7 marriages per 1000 citizens. The similar number of marriages per 1000 persons was observed in 1960 and it was the lowest result after the WW II. The total share of the first marriages in 1989 amounted to 0.85 for men and 0.9 for women. The mean age of entering the marital union in 1989 was 25.1 years among men and 22.8 years among women¹².

In 1989, over 50% of the brides and almost a half of the grooms were aged 20-24. Large discrepancies were observed between men and women in age groups: 15-19 and 25-29 years. In the younger group dominated women, whose number was 4 times higher than the number of men, while in a group of newlywed aged between 25 and 29 years men exceeded the number of women twice.

Over the dozen or so years, the age of the newlywed has decidedly grown. At the beginning of the nineties, over a half of men concluding marriages did not reach the age of 25 years, while in 2006 – only 27%. The respective share among women decreased from 73% to 48%.

In 2006, the share of this group (age 25-29 years) among the newlywed amounted to 44% (at the beginning of the nineties over 48% of men concluded their marriage at the age 20-24 years, currently about 26%). The brides remained in the age group 20-24 years, but in the period of the last 16 years its share declined from 51% to 42% on behalf of the age 25-29 years (an increase of this group's share was from 13.5% to over 34%). The mean age of women getting married (age median) amounted to 25 years in 2006, as compared to less than 23 years at the beginning of the nineties, whereas among men increased by

¹² See: http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbr/gus/PUBL_Sytuacja_demograficzna_2007.pdf, GUS, 2007, p. 5-7.

about 1.5 year - to 27 lat. The newlyweds in urban areas are by about 1.5 year older than those who live in rural areas.

The total number of marriages at the beginning of the nineties became rapidly decreasing, a setback took place in the second half of the decade (1996-1999), when a slight growth was observed (by 7,8%). After systemic transition, the number marriages decreased by about 25% during the first ten years.

In addition, at the end of the nineties, the cohort of demographic boom began entering the marital age, while simultaneously the lowest figures of the concluded marriages were observed in that period. The changes were followed by the increasing during the period of transition number of divorces, to such extent that beginning from 1995, the number of divorces started exceeding the number of concluded marriages (fig.7.).

The phenomenon characteristic for the period of transition was the increase the number of one-person households. 85% men and 90% women below 50-th year of age had already been in marital union in 1989. These figures allow classifying Poland among the countries characterised with a high percentage of persons staying in the marriages. In the nineties, there was observed a decline in this indicator (fig.8.). At the beginning of the 21st century, for women, as well as for men, nuptiality indicators had already dropped below 60%; this drop was higher among women than among men. It leads to conclusion that marriage began losing importance in the Polish society. After 2004, the institution of marriage began its revival. The number of marriages per 1000 persons started increasing, which reflects entering the age typical for marriage concluding of numerous generations of demographic boom.

It is estimated that in 2007 were registered almost 249 thousand marriages – by over 22 thousand more than the year before. Marriage rate (per 1000 population) increased by 0.6 point to the level of 6.5‰. Beginning from 2003, there has been observed a growth in the number of new marriages.

The frequency of marriage concluding is slightly lower in the urban areas. Invariably, among the newly contracted unions, about 86% constitute first marriages, i.e. of single women with single men. Ecclesiastical marriages, i.e. concluded in Church and simultaneously registered in the Register Offices, comprise about 70% of the legally contracted unions¹³.

The characteristic feature of marriages in Poland is their homogeneity. In 1989, 45.6% of the newlywed belonged to the same age group, while more than a half (53.4%) had the same level of education. At the beginning of the 21st century, the homogeneity was even higher: 48.7% of new marriages were concluded between the partners belonging to the same age group, while 70% had the same level of education.

¹³ See: http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/PUBL_Sytuacja_demograficzna_2007.pdf, GUS 2007, s. 5

Research hypotheses

Theoretical considerations concerning the process of leaving the parental home and the review of the situation socio-economic in Poland lead to formulation of the following research hypotheses:

1. The pattern of leaving parental home is different among women and men.
2. Decisions and process of leaving parental home are varied in respect to the reason. Changing patterns of union formation, particular marriage as the most typical reason for leaving the parental home, determined by socio-cultural and economic factors.
3. Young people possessing a substantial resource of social capital similarly to the individuals least equipped with social capital leave home earlier than others. The extreme (at opposite ends) positions held in social hierarchy have a similar impact on decisions concerning leaving the parental home although motivation for action in particular groups is different.
4. Availability of intergenerational transfers, both material and non-material, determines making a decision to leave parental home:
 - a) transferable material resources of the parents positively influence leaving parental home, i.e. the more resources the parents are able to transfer the more probable is leaving home by the child,
 - b) transferable non-material resources positively influence leaving parental home due to continuing education or starting work.

The applied methods

The analyses of the process of transition to adulthood and leaving parental home in the literature consider three aspects: economic, demographic and sociological. Such distinction derives from the fact that each approach uses slightly different research methodology. Because of this, the analyses rarely present an interdisciplinary approach. The concept of the presented study is the reason that the main interests are targeted at demographic approach including in the analysis the elements of economic and sociological nature.

A demographic approach to the studies on the process of transition to adulthood traditionally concentrates on correlations on the micro or macro level. There are few studies presenting the approach combining factors influencing the process of getting independent on both: the individual and aggregated level. Despite the commitment of scientific communities and improving quality of data for retrospective surveys, there are still sought for the best methods of surveying and analysing the phenomenon

complexity. The future may become international panel surveys, which not only allow comparisons, but also enable dynamic monitoring of changes and quality control of the obtained results.

Basically, in demographic analyses are used two groups of methods: multidimensional statistical analysis (the correspondence analysis - van der Heijden 1987¹⁴, data mining – Billari and others 2007¹⁵) allowing aggregation according to connections between characteristics and methods based on hazard calculation, particularly with regards to time dependent transition (the events history analysis and logistic regression).

The precise or comprehensive description of the process of transition to adulthood is complex, as it consists of the sequence of events, which succession and duration are changing, moreover they are quite often mutually exclusive. In most cases when the analysed phenomenon is changing over time, there are used methods of events history analysis, which seem to be most appropriate for surveying a transition from the exit state to the state of destination, in the presented study, in particular, will be applied the proportional hazards models. Three Cox's regression models describing the patterns of leaving parental home because of marriage were estimated: first one is general for both sexes, second and third try to reveal sex differences in the perception of the determinants and independence level sufficient for marriage.

The process of transition to adulthood is often described in the studies through the set of indicators, which are to characterise particular events in the most thorough possible way, however the practice shows that it is not a set nonetheless.

Definition of censoring

In the models of the leaving parental home pattern including the respondent's sex, the event was defined as the fact of leaving the parental home (indication of the date of leaving the parental home). Moreover, the time of exposition to risk of the event occurrence was determined as the period between 15-th and 35-th year of age. On the basis of the date of leaving the parental home was calculated the time between the 15-th year of age and the moment of the event occurrence. As the censored observations were assumed those, in case of which the event had not happened by the date of the survey and those in case of which the event took place after the 35-th year of age.

¹⁴ See: P.G.M. van der Heijden, *Correspondence analysis of longitudinal categorical data*, Leiden: DSWO Press, 1987, p. 271.

¹⁵ See: A. Aassve, F.C. Billari, R. Piccarreta, *Strings of Adulthood: Analyzing work-family trajectories using sequence analysis*, European Journal of Population, 2007, s. 369-388.

The sources of data¹⁶

The presented study made use of the results of the survey “Evaluation of the changes in attitudes and reproductive behaviours of the young and middle aged generations of female and male Poles and their consequences to the process of family, union and household formation and dissolution” carried out in January 2006 by the Institute of Statistics and Demography of the WSE. The Polish Retrospective Surveys 2001 and 2006 are projects allowing analysing changes realized during the period of transition and reconstruction of the respondents’ four careers: educational, occupational, migratory and family; there was examined the range of contacts and intergenerational transfers; For the first time, the issue of norms values attitudes and behaviours was surveyed on such a large scale. The retrospective surveys of such kind serve the analysis on phenomena, events and processes based on the concept life cycle of the individual’s and family z with the use of the broad apparatus of methods and models within the scope of events history analysis.

The Polish Retrospective Survey 2006, used in the study, carried out in January 2006, was a voluntary, questionnaire sample survey on private households, carried out with the use of the direct interview of the interviewer with the respondent. The survey unit was a household (questionnaire A) each adult person (aged 18–54 years on the day of the survey). The survey was carried out on the sample of 1053 households and 1534 persons members of the households living in towns.

As the explanatory variables will be used the following characteristics:

- the age at the time of leaving the parental home.

The gathered data allow one-month precision.

- a) demographic determinants
- b) social and human capital indicators, economic situation determinants, intergenerational transfers
- c) variables geographic and contextual
- d) variables characterising a partner and economic situation of the new household.

The basic objective of the study is recognition of the patterns of leaving the parental home in respect to the reason for making a decision concerning independence, particularly if the reason for leaving the parental home was marriage. The union formation is the main reason for leaving the parental home in many countries (e.g. Billari¹⁷, Baizán¹⁸, Kowalska¹⁹). In some Western-European societies only the sixties and the seventies brought forth the change in behaviours. Leaving home and marriage ceased to be correlated in time, however in Poland such change was not observed yet until the beginning of the nineties.

¹⁶ Information concerning Polish retrospective Survey come from: E. Frątczak, U. Gach, M. Pęczkowski, K. Sienkiewicz, *The changes of the reproductive behaviors in Poland and their consequences on the process family, union, household formation and dissolution – Polish retrospective Survey 2006*, SGH, Warszawa 2008.

¹⁷ See: P. Baizán, *Leaving in home in Spain: an exploration of underlying factors*, MPIDR 2001, p.1-3.

¹⁸ See: Billari F.C., D. Philipov, P. Baizán, *Leaving home in Europe: the experience of cohorts born around 1960*, International Journal of Population Geography, Volume 7, Issue 5, 2001, p. 339.

¹⁹ See: I. Kowalska, W. Wróblewska, *Transitions to adulthood in Poland*, [in:] M. Corijn, E. Klijzing, *Transitions to adulthood in Europe*, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001, p. 257-277.

The results

Women leave parental home earlier than men (fig.14.). Moreover, by the about 30-th year of age, over 75% of women have already left their parental home. Compared to the results of the previous survey panel²⁰, the results indicate that there are observed significant changes in the pattern of leaving home by the respondents. Postponement of the decision concerning independence corresponds with a delay of the decision concerning starting a family. Simultaneously, particularly among the youngest cohorts there is observed a growing significance of marriage as the reason for leaving parental home. There are significant differences in distribution of the risk of leaving parental home according to reason (fig.15.). The relatively highest probability of leaving the parental home at the young age (by about 22-nd year of age) characterise persons who leave parental home because of the union and education. Getting married accelerates process leaving the parental home to a highest degree (fig.16.). After about 22-nd year of age the of probability of leaving the parental home decidedly drops on behalf of other reasons. Work is the reason in case of which is observed intensification of leaving the parental home at the relatively older age. Postponement of the decision is caused by the increased involvement in improvement of qualifications and the structure of the education system on the higher level that ends at about 25-th year of age.

The analysis results show that marriage as the reason for leaving the parental home is mainly determined by socio-economic status of the family, cultural and social status of the young people during their adolescence and situation of partners forming a union. Leaving the parental home following marriage is characterised with changing patterns of the union formation and the factors determining them. There is not observed a significant influence of the non-material indicators and non-transferable material resources; however, transferable resources seem to be significant. Moreover, economic activity and participation in education, as well as the characteristic of a new household are of the key significance.

The time of leaving the parental home and the respondents' age diversify significantly the pattern of leaving the parental home because of a marriage. Men got married on average at 24.5 years old, while women at the age of about 22 years. The mean age of leaving home because of marriages among men in respect to birth cohorts stays constant. However, the younger are the respondents, the wider is the variance interval (range). While, the mean age and diversification decreased insignificantly among women. It is difficult to draw conclusions concerning the youngest cohort, as most of these respondents have not left the parental home yet; they also have not got married. A significant percentage of the youngest respondents left home because of education. Participation in education causes postponement of a decision about marriage if it does not enforces leaving home. Moreover, the younger are respondents, the higher compared to the oldest birth cohort is probability of leaving home because of marriage. It shows that despite adversary reasons for leaving the parental home, marriage is becoming more

²⁰ See: E. Frątczak, M. Pęczkowski, *The changes of the reproductive behaviors in Poland and their consequences on the process family, union, household formation and dissolution – Polish retrospective Survey 2001*, SGH, Warszawa 2002.

significant. It follows the economic obstacles to independence of one-person households. If there are no additional circumstances enforcing and facilitating moving out from the parental home, the respondents delay this decision until the moment when they are able to share the costs of independence with a partner. Changing patterns of leaving the parental home are also confirmed by taken into account in the analysis calendar time of leaving the parental home. Over the course of time, there may be observed relatively, as compared to the situation before transition, increasing problems with gaining independence, also in case of such reason for leaving the parental home as marriage.

Economic factors play the evidently significant role in the decision-making process concerning marriage. The significant role in determination of the pattern of transition into adulthood plays the place of the respondent's growing up. In case of persons coming from large and medium towns, who have access to education in their place of residence, greater opportunities to find a job and benefits of the parents' support, only marriage constitutes a sufficient reason for leaving the parental home. In general, compared to them persons who grew up in small towns and rural areas had to face difficulties and become independent before the formation of the permanent union. However, in case of men coming from small towns, it may be observed that they are more inclined to stay at home until finding a partner. Moreover, probability of leaving the parental home because of marriage is higher in case of being provided for by a third party (family). Work, studying, or even being provided for by the partner at the time of the union formation does not speed the decision concerning its legalization. The fact of being economically active at the time of leaving the parental home is significant. Nevertheless, it is a sufficient incentive only when it allows maintaining oneself independently and emancipation from the parents; it does not cause though, mainly because of low earnings of young people, speeding up the decision about marriage and the following leaving parental home. 86% men and 62% women were economically active at the time of marriage. However, activity itself does not guarantee security. Young people often have to depend on their family support in the initial phase of the union. Moreover, housing conditions available to the newly established households also have a significant role. If the economic situation of a newlywed couple allows them to live together, separately without the parents' support, it is the significant catalyst of a decision about leaving the parental home. If they do not have such possibility and have to depend on aid provided by family and friends, then the decision about leaving home because of marriage is postponed. Men in particular really value financial status and opportunities to guarantee quality of life to the new couple. If the union also means the necessity to change the place of residence and move far away from family, then young men are less eager to make decision concerning o marriages and moving out from home.

In case of men, the significant turned out the variable religion identifying the impact of socio-cultural factors. Men treat marriage as a form of realization of socio-cultural norms and rules in the society where 3.5% of citizens declare that religion is not important for them, whereas 76%, states that it is important or very important, which is confirmed by the direction of correlation described by the value of hazard rate. Notwithstanding, the attachment to religious values itself does not play the key role.

Conclusions

The exploratory approach towards the analysis allowed a diagnosis of the main determinants of the decision concerning leaving parental home.

The main thesis of the presented study, which was mentioned in the introduction, is the following statement: social and economic changes in the period of transition significantly influenced attitudes and behaviours of successive generations concerning time and circumstances of leaving the parental home.

Analysing the situation on the labour market and influence of economic activity on decisions about leaving parental home, regardless of the reason, one should take into consideration the specifics of dynamically changing conditions and opportunities. On the one hand, market economy improved the standard of life. On the other hand, though, it caused difficulties that resulted in several changes of attitudes and behaviours of young people. Pursuing the better standard of life does not convert into earlier independence; instead, it enforces several adaptive behaviours. Greater opportunities are followed by greater difficulties.

A delay of marriage timing and insignificant changes in the share of this reason, both due to the respondents' age and the calendar time of moving out, suggest that there actually is observed a growing influence of the significance of marriage as the reason for leaving the parental home, albeit it is expressing difficulties with leaving home because of other reasons. Marriage is the autonomic reason for leaving parental home, perceived as the final variant. Moreover, the obtained result of modelling the pattern of leaving parental home indicates that socio-cultural and economic factors make the key impact in respect to the reason for making the final decision about moving out, particularly in case of the union formation.

Various attitudes and behaviours are observed among the respondents who grew up and still live in urban areas and those who migrated to towns. Mainly the barriers of material character cause this difference. The risk of leaving the parental home because of the union according to the category of location during adolescence concerns mainly the respondents growing up in large and medium size towns.

Transferable material resources of the parents have a positive impact on leaving the parental home, i.e. the more resources parents are able to transfer, the more probable is the event that the child leaves home because of marriage, whereas the non-material resources have the opposite impact.

Among the respondents who as the reason for leaving home declared the union (relationship), the most important role in making this decision played determinants of economic character, namely with whom the respondent is going to live after leaving the parents' home and the respondent's economic activity at the moment of leaving parental home .

The analysis on the patterns of leaving parental home by women indicates general modest of women as regard gaining independence. In order for women to make such decision There has to occur a combination of favourable circumstances or the situation absolutely demands moving out from home. The dominant role play economic factors and accessibility of the family material resources, on the support of which women depend their final decision. Models show that most often the deciding moment is starting a family, which is additionally postponed. Women seek opportunities that will not require their actual leaving parental home, which is far from meaning that they would resign from education and economic activity. The contemporary financial situation of women and their position on the labour market constitute a barrier to gaining independence; nevertheless, they do not depend in this respect on the partner's means. Lack of significance of the variables of socials and family related nature indicates that women are less susceptible to the patterns observed in their parental home. Whereas, it is the family socio-economic status that determines the opportunities of gaining independence available for the respondents.

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APPENDIX I

Table 1. Description of variables used in models

Variable	Category	Coding of variable's categories		
Father's education level	higher	0	0	0
	secondary	1	0	0
	vocational	0	1	0
	basic	0	0	1
Mother's education level	higher	0	0	0
	secondary	1	0	0
	vocational	0	1	0
	basic	0	0	1
Type of respondents family	other	1		
	intact, biological	0		
Place of residence until 15 years old	city 500 thousand and over	1	0	0
	100-500 thousand	0	0	0
	20-100 thousand	0	1	0
	rural	0	0	1
Economic activity of mother until respondent was 15 years old	never worked	1	0	
	was working less than half time	0	1	
	was working more than half time	0	0	
Economic activity of father until respondent was 15 years old	father was dead	1	0	
	was not working	0	1	
	was working	0	0	
Living arrangements after leaving home	alone	1	0	0
	partner	0	1	0
	family, friends	0	0	0
	others	0	0	1
Place of residence after leaving home	other than parents	1		
	the same area as parents	0		
Economic activity at leaving home	working	1		
	not working	0		
Education enrolment at leaving home	enroled in education	1		
	not enroled	0		
Birth cohort	48 years and over	0	0	0
	38-47 years	1	0	0
	28-37 years	0	1	0
	18-27 years	0	0	1
Attitude to religion	very important	1	0	
	important	0	1	
	not important	0	0	
Calendar period of LH	before 1980	0	0	0
	1981-1990	1	0	0
	1991-2000	0	1	0
	after 2000	0	0	1
General respondent's life situation on the day relationship started	employed	0	0	0
	studying	1	0	0
	partner	0	1	0
	maintained	0	0	1
General partner's life situation on the day relationship started	employed	1	0	
	studying	0	1	
	mantained	0	0	
Main source of respondent's maintenance at the time relationship started	work	1		
	support	0		
Main source of partner's maintenance at the time relationship started	work	1		
	support	0		
Education level of the respondent at the beginning of relationship	higher	1	0	
	secondary	0	1	
	vocational and basic	0	0	
Education level of the partner at the beginning of relationship	higher	1	0	
	secondary	0	1	
	vocational and basic	0	0	
Number of siblings	0	0	0	0
	1	1	0	0
	2	0	1	0
	3 or more	0	0	1

Reference categories are bold

APPENDIX II

Figure 1. Economic activity of the population and higher education enrolment in selected years

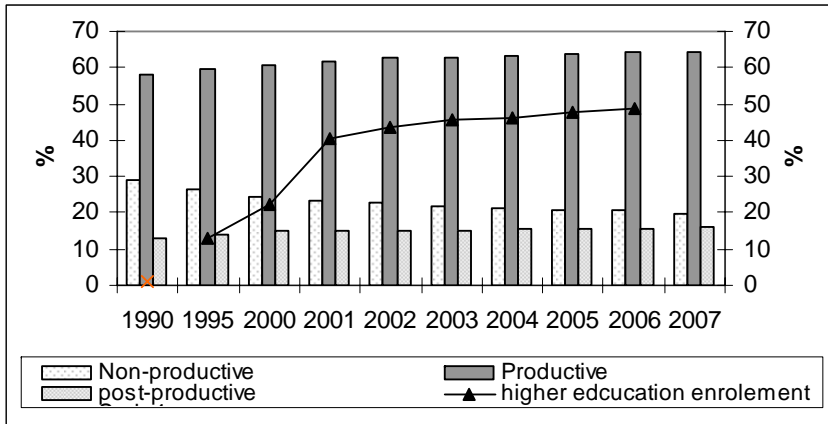


Figure 2. External migration of the population in selected years

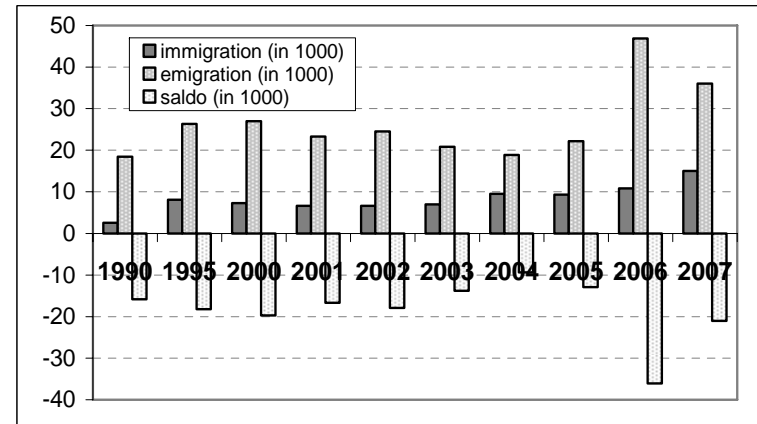


Figure 3. Price and rent a flat indecies in selected years

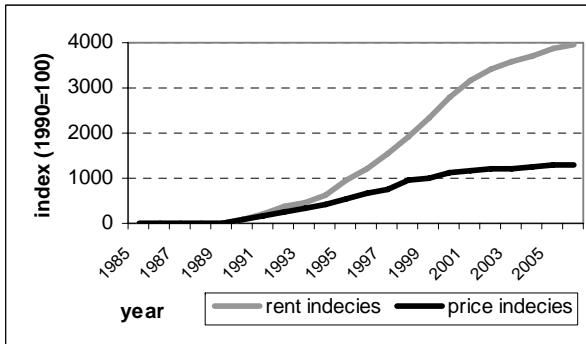


Figure 4. Unemployment rates in selected years

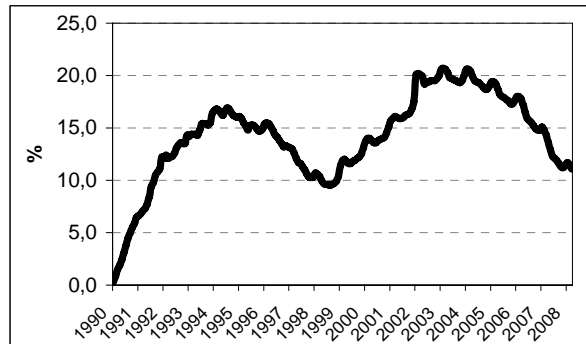


Figure 5. Number of flats released and a price for 1 m2 in selected years

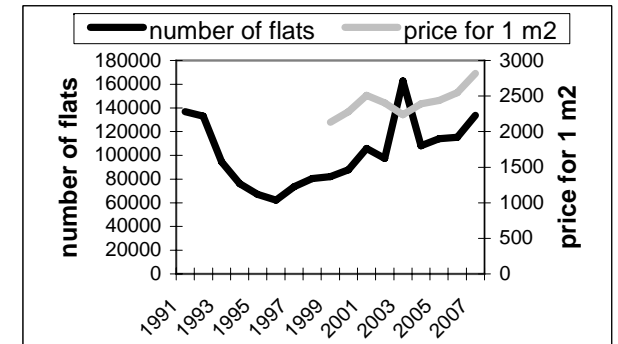


Figure 6. Distribution of marriages by sex and age in selected years

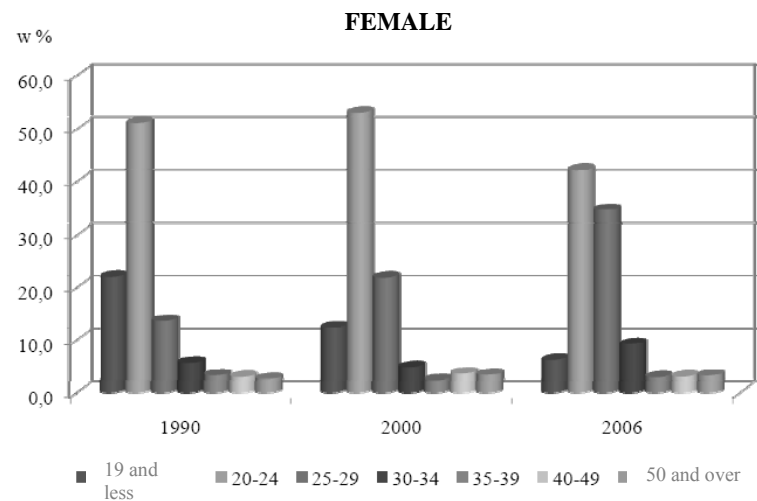
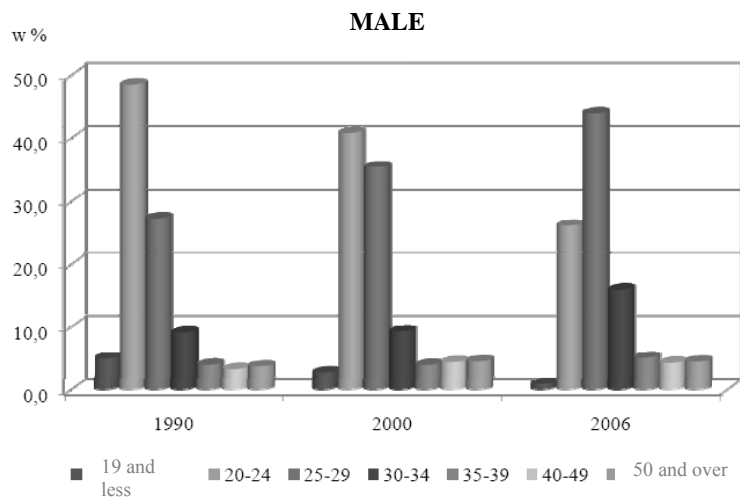


Figure 7. Number of divorces by the reason of union disruption in selected years (in 1000)

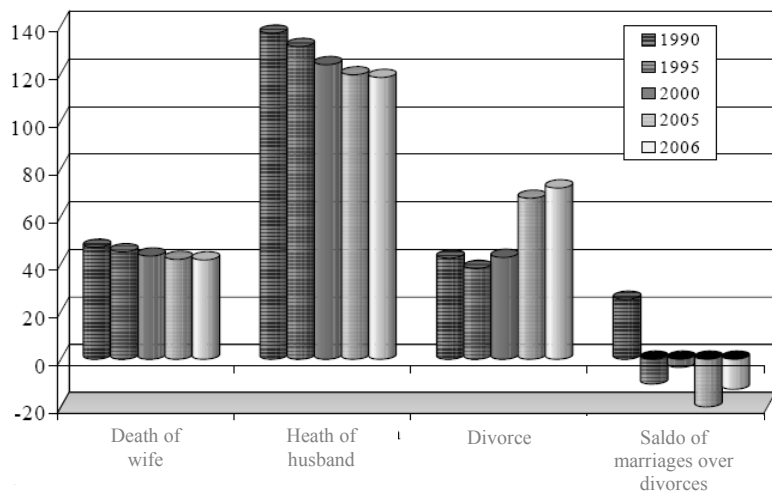


Figure 8. Number of marriages and divorces in selected years (in 1000)

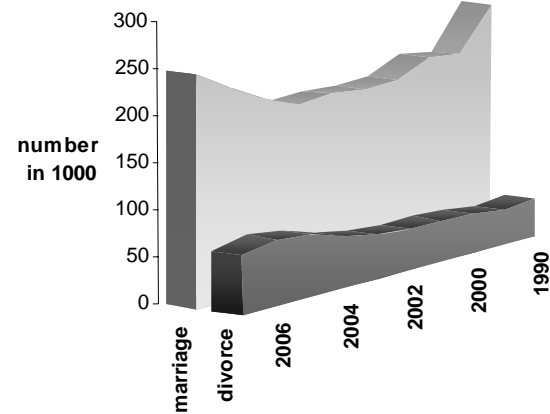
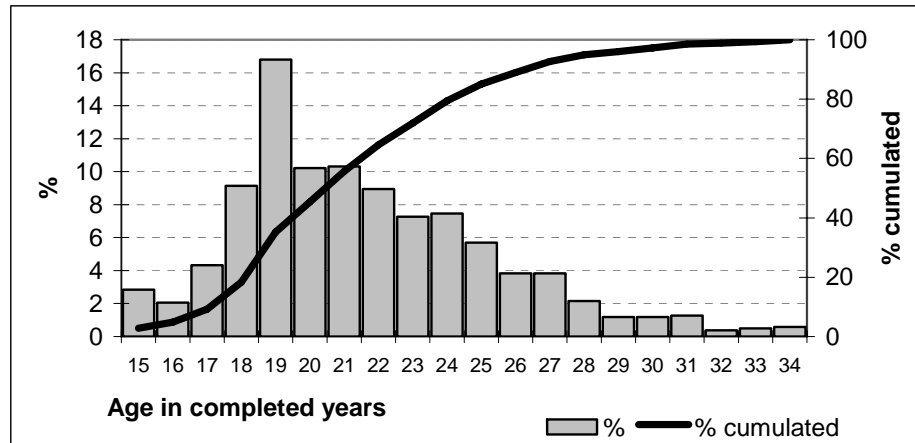
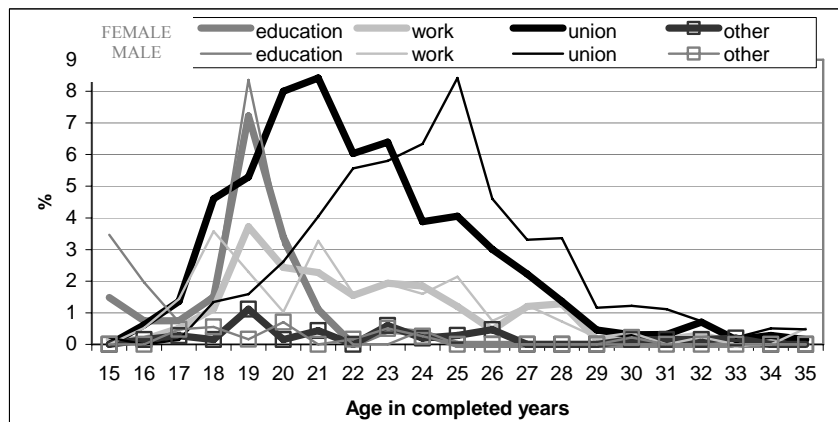


Figure 9. Age distribution of people leaving parental home



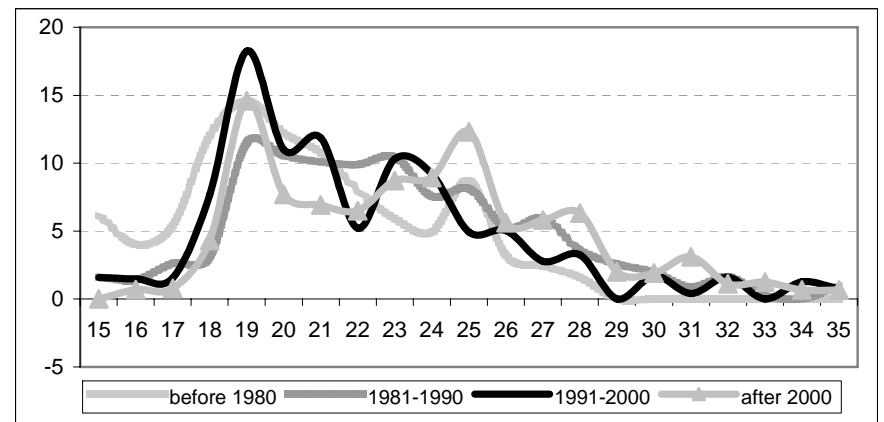
Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

Figure 10. Age distribution of people leaving parental home by reason



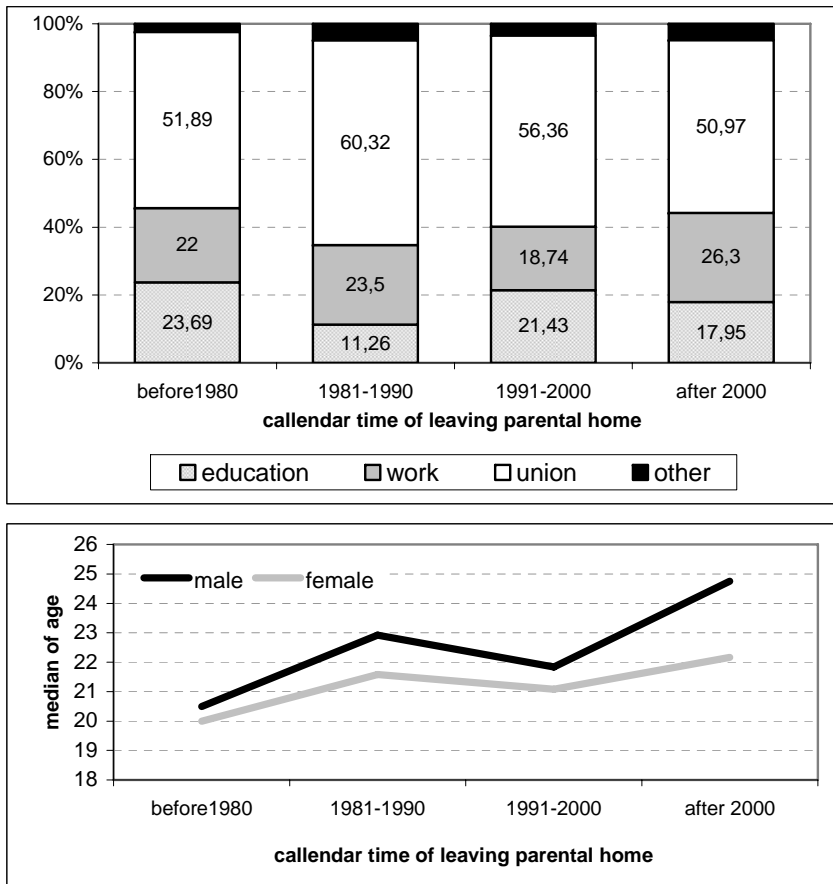
Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

Figure 11. Age distribution of people leaving parental home by time period of leaving home



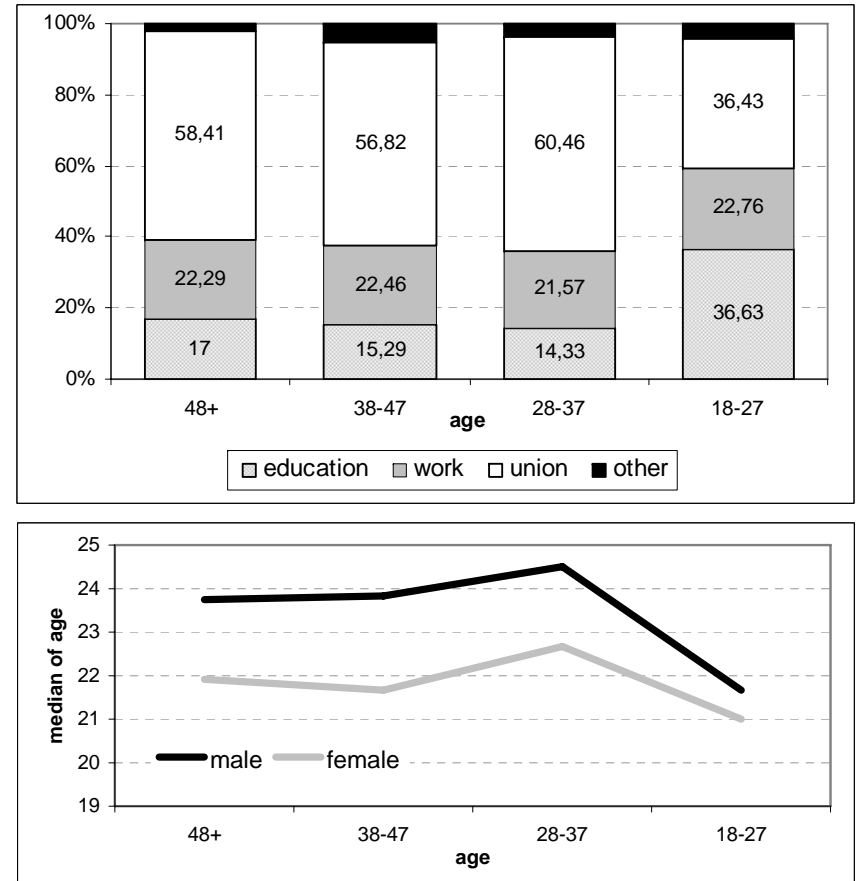
Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

Figure 12. Distribution of people leaving parental home by time period of leaving home by reason and median age of leaving parental home by sex



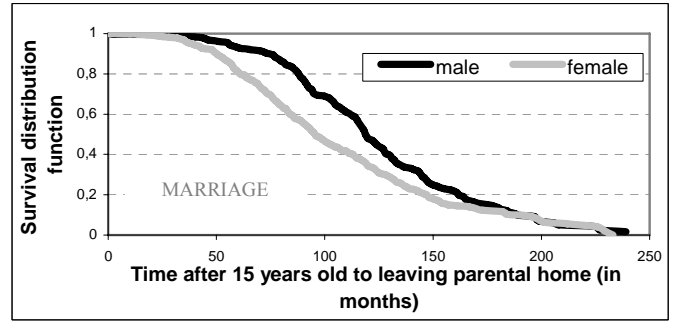
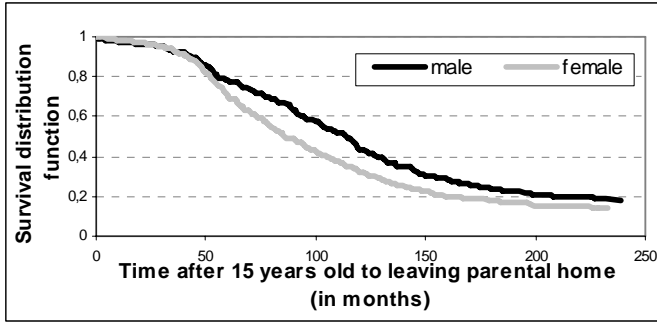
Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

Figure 13. Age group distribution of people leaving parental home by reasons and median age of leaving parental home by sex



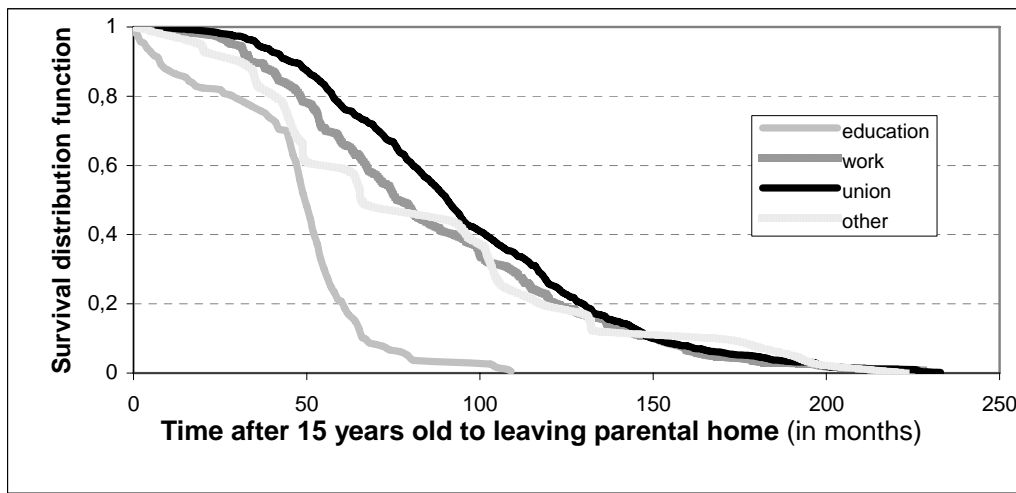
Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

Figure 14. Survival distribution function of people leaving parental home: all reasons and because of marriage by sex



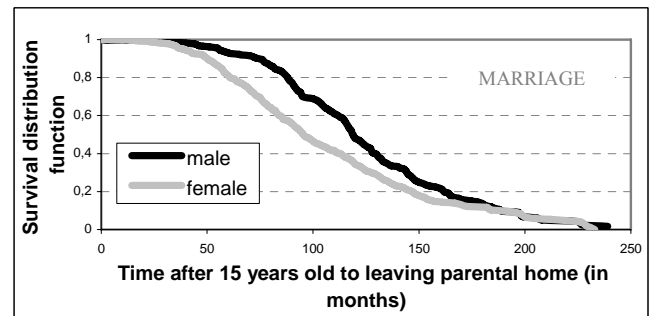
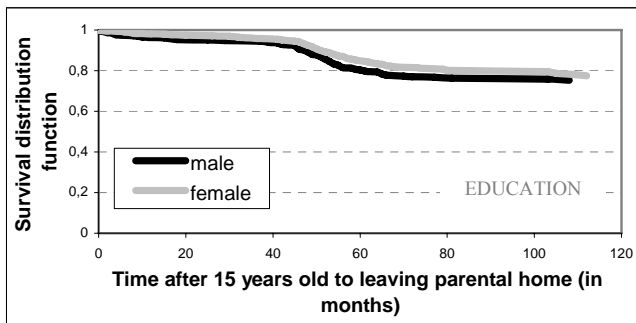
Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

Figure 15. Survival distribution function of people leaving parental home by reason



Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

Figure 16. Survival distribution function of people leaving parental home by reason (as compared to the alternative reason)



Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

Figure 17. Survival distribution function of people leaving parental home because of marriage by place of residence until 15 years old

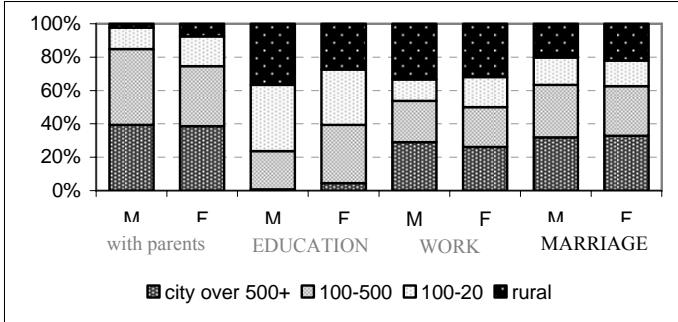
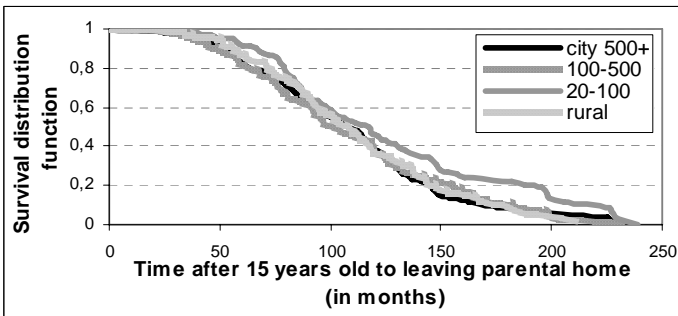
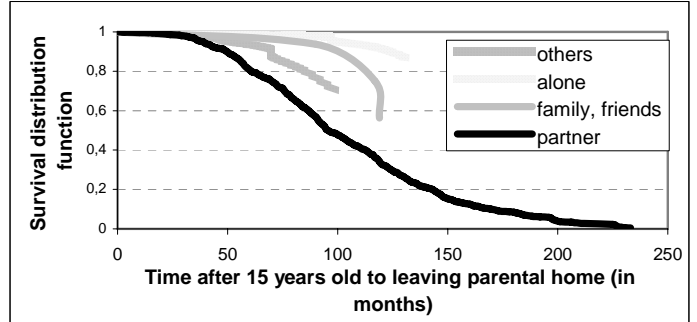
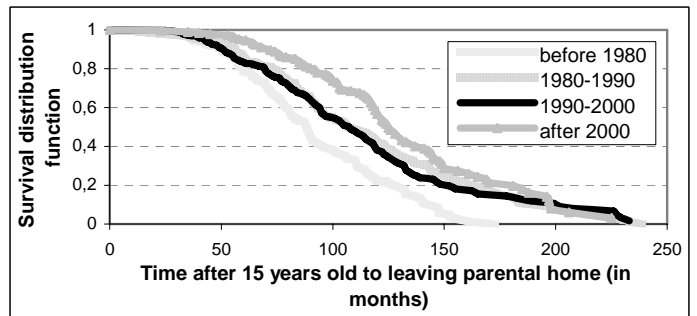


Figure 18. Survival distribution function of people leaving parental home because of marriage by leaving arrangements after leaving home and calendar time of leaving home

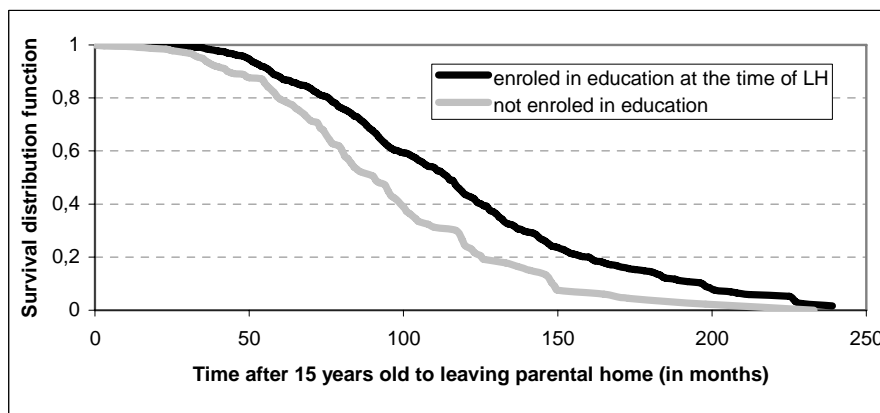


Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006



Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

Figure 19. Survival distribution function of people leaving parental home because of marriage by education enrolment status at the moment of leaving home



Source: Own calculations based on Polish Retrospective Survey 2006

APPENDIX III

Table 2. Summary statistics for the age of leaving parental home by sex and reason

sex	reason of leaving parental home	N	mean	std. dev.	lower quartile	Median	upper quartile
male	education	83	18,47	2,34	16,50	19,00	19,67
	work	93	21,98	4,77	18,50	21,17	24,58
	union	194	24,46	4,21	22,33	24,42	26,42
	other	12	20,78	4,20	17,92	20,42	22,92
female	education	109	19,11	1,73	18,42	19,25	20,08
	work	136	22,39	3,36	19,50	21,58	24,42
	union	358	22,19	3,10	19,75	21,67	24,25
	other	29	22,71	4,32	18,92	21,58	24,92

Table 3. Summary statistics for the age of leaving parental home because of marriage by sex and birth cohort

sex	birth cohort	N	mean	std. dev.	lower quartile	Median	upper quartile
male	48 and over	44	24,58	4,74	22,33	24,58	26,42
	38-47	59	24,54	4,29	22,25	23,83	26,08
	28-37	71	24,60	4,11	21,83	24,58	27,08
	18-27	20	23,18	2,90	21,00	23,67	25,33
female	48 and over	117	22,82	3,35	20,25	22,33	25,17
	38-47	92	22,22	3,33	19,50	21,33	23,75
	28-37	102	21,90	2,85	19,83	21,50	23,92
	18-27	47	21,22	2,15	19,33	21,00	23,08

Table 4. Summary statistics for the age of leaving parental home by sex, reason and economic activity

economic activity at leaving parental home	reasons of leaving parental home				total
	education	work	union	other	
male					
activ	0.38	11.50	45.07	0.38	57.34
non-activ	20.26	12.31	7.45	2.64	42.66
total	20.64	23.81	52.52	3.03	100.00
missing data=234					
female					
activ	0.66	10.05	35.59	2.19	48.49
non-activ	16.27	10.96	21.99	2.29	51.51
total	16.93	21.01	57.58	4.48	100.00
missing data=167					

Table 5. Results for the Cox model of leaving parental home (male and female)

TOTAL			
Variable	category	Pr > chi sq	Hazard ratio
living arrangements after LH	alone	0.5272	0.613
living arrangements after LH	partner	0.0002*	11.570
living arrangements after LH	other	0.1630	2.763
living arrangements after LH	<i>friends or parents</i>		
birth cohort	38-47 years	<.0001*	5.799
birth cohort	28-37 years	<.0001*	48.680
birth cohort	18-27 years	<.0001*	232.586
birth cohort	<i>48 years and over</i>		
calendar period of LH	1981-1990	<.0001*	0.157
calendar period of LH	1991-2000	<.0001*	0.019
calendar period of LH	after 2000	<.0001*	0.003
calendar period of LH	<i>1980 and before</i>		
economic activity at LH	activ	<.0001*	0.540
economic activity at LH	<i>not working</i>		
place of residence until 15 years old	500 thous. and over	0.8419	1.025
place of residence until 15 years old	100-20 thous.	0.0234*	0.710
place of residence until 15 years old	rural	0.0160*	0.713
place of residence until 15 years old	<i>500-100 thous.</i>		
education enrolment	enroled	0.0137*	0.724
education enrolment	<i>finished</i>		
economic status of resp before marriage	working	0.2489	0.879
economic status of resp before marriage	studying	0.9067	1.068
economic status of resp before marriage	maintained by partner	0.0151*	1.609
economic status of resp before marriage	<i>maintained by others</i>		
(-2 log L)		4535.616	
C2 (Pr>chi sq)		316.2471	<.0001
N		755	

* results significant at $\alpha=0,05$

Table 6. Results for the Cox model of leaving parental home (female)

FEMALE			
Variable	category	Pr > chi sq	Hazard ratio
living arrangements after LH	alone	0.9787	0.000
living arrangements after LH	friends and family	0.9873	0.000
living arrangements after LH	other	0.0019*	0.172
living arrangements after LH	<i>partner</i>		
birth cohort	38-47 years	<.0001*	9.108
birth cohort	28-37 years	<.0001*	106.774
birth cohort	18-27 years	<.0001*	539.891
birth cohort	<i>48 years and over</i>		
calendar period of LH	1981-1990	<.0001*	0.110
calendar period of LH	1991-2000	<.0001*	0.011
calendar period of LH	after 2000	<.0001*	0.002
calendar period of LH	<i>1980 and before</i>		
economic activity at LH	activ	0.0061*	0.628
economic activity at LH	<i>not working</i>		
place of residence until 15 years old	500 thous. and over	0.8775	1.028
place of residence until 15 years old	100-20 thous.	<.0001*	0.394
place of residence until 15 years old	rural	0.8530	1.039
place of residence until 15 years old	<i>500-100 thous.</i>		
education enrolment	enroled	0.0003*	0.513
education enrolment	<i>finished</i>		
(-2 log L)		1714.317	
C2 (Pr>chi sq)		161.7820	<.0001
N		423	

* results significant at $\alpha=0,05$

Table 7. Results for the Cox model of leaving parental home (male)

MALE			
Variable	category	Pr > chi sq	Hazard ratio
living arrangements after LH	alone	0.0307*	0.126
living arrangements after LH	partner	0.4535	1.886
living arrangements after LH	other	0.6824	0.680
living arrangements after LH	<i>friends or parents</i>		
birth cohort	38-47 years	0.0002*	3.740
birth cohort	28-37 years	<.0001*	26.122
birth cohort	18-27 years	<.0001*	257.264
birth cohort	<i>48 years and over</i>		
calendar period of LH	1981-1990	<.0001*	0.152
calendar period of LH	1991-2000	<.0001*	0.024
calendar period of LH	after 2000	<.0001*	0.002
calendar period of LH	<i>1980 and before</i>		
economic activity at LH	activ	0.0017	0.482
economic activity at LH	<i>not working</i>		
place of residence until 15 years old	500 thous. And over	0.9129	1.021
place of residence until 15 years old	100-20 thous.	0.0577	1.590
place of residence until 15 years old	rural	0.0040	0.449
place of residence until 15 years old	<i>500-100 thous.</i>		
education_mother	secondary	0.0023	3.445
education_mother	vocational	0.5107	1.301
education_mother	basic	0.0148	2.510
education_mother	<i>higher</i>		
place of residence after LH	the same as parents	0.0257	1.610
place of residence after LH	<i>different than parents</i>		
attitude to religion	very important	0.0033	0.528
attitude to religion	rather important	0.0009	0.524
attitude to religion	<i>unimportant</i>		
(-2 log L)		1661.712	
C2 (Pr>chi sq)		171.3104	<.0001
N		263	

* results significant at $\alpha=0,05$