The youth emancipation in Spain: a socio-demographic analysis

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ABSTRACT
This article presents a critical discussion of the socio-demographic factors which determine leaving parental home and provides new empirical evidence of gendered differences in leaving the parental home in Spain. The study is based on a subsample of young people 19 to 29 years old included in the Youth 2012 survey, which was carried out in Spain by the Youth Institute. Our findings address the importance of employment status, having a partner, and the labour situation to leave home among men. The most important factor affecting early residential leaving home among women seems to be the partnership (marriage or cohabitation), while employment status does not appear to be significant. Economic support from parents is negatively correlated with the odds of being living out of the parental home for both men and women.

Introduction

Youth transitions have received attention from many researchers seeking to explain the diverse tendencies observed in Europe (Billari, 2004; Billari & Liebbröker, 2010; Brückner & Mayer, 2005). Most researchers concur that transitions depend on both structural determinants and individual situations and factors (Elder & Shanahan, 2006; Heinz, 1999; Molgat, 2007). The studies show that age is a strong determinant in leaving parental home and young women are more likely than young men to leave the parental home. These findings are well documented in the literature. However, relatively few studies focused specifically on factors associated with leaving parental home by gender, although most analyzes the effect of gender is estimated and discussed (Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010; Okano, 2009; Van de Velde, 2008).

Southern European countries have often been described for common similarities in patterns of transition to adulthood. Indeed, the Mediterranean cluster of countries has been identified by specific transition to adulthood (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Gal, 2010; Jones, 1995; Tagliabue, Lanz, & Beyers, 2014; Vogel, 2002; Walther, 2006). In Southern Europe, transitional pathways are characterized by postponement leaving parental home (‘latest-late pathway’) (Billari, 2004), by family protection (Calzada & Brooks, 2013; Leon & Migliavaca, 2013; Reher, 1998) and by connections resulting in a sequence of marriage and parenthood, especially for females (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Garcia & Merino, 2006; Iacovou, 2010). The gender dimension becomes significant in this debate when evidence indicates that young women leave the family home earlier than men in all European countries analyzed (Bendit, 2009; Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010). The explanation of this phenomenon has given rise to some controversy regarding individual and structural factors that explain differences in leaving home by gender. There is some evidence that
the association between family formation, education, employment, family support and leaving parental home has different implications for men and women but there is no consensus about the causes of this social fact (Arnett, 2004; Côté & Bynner, 2008; Kiernan, 2001; Molgat, 2007; Wyn, Cuervo, Crofts, & Woodman, 2017; Young, 1987).

The main objective of this paper is to study the interrelationship of the decision to leave family home with employment, education, family formation and family support in Spain by gender because predictors and correlates of the residential patterns by gender are unexplored in Spain. The basic question of this research is how these factors affect residential autonomy by gender in Spain. Thus, we argue that family formation (cohabitation and marriage), employment, education and family support drive in different way for young women and men. Our analytical strategy introduces new contributions to the literature and methodology about the leaving parental home in the southern European countries.

**Literature review**

Numerous studies have shown that the trajectories of young women in transition to adult life are more heterogeneous than those of men. In fact, job situation and the residential and economic independence of young women are connected to family factors linked to family changes (cleavages) and to maternity (Robette, 2010). According to Miret and Melo (2010) and Vitali (2010), female youth transitions could be described as more complex than those of males, based on evidence that points to female residential independence being linked more to the family life cycle than to labor factors, particularly in Spain. Numerous studies highlight late leaving home as a feature of Mediterranean countries from the sociological and demographical perspective, but this has not been comprehensively analyzed introducing the gender perspective (Ayllón, 2015). In fact, is well known about how youth leaving home can be understood in regards to job training, employment, family support or the formation of couples in Spain (Baizán, 2001; Casal, 2004; Jurado, 2001; Miret & Cabré, 2005; Requena, 2006) but we know less about factors associated with the early leaving home of women as compared to men. These differences have been explained in the literature as a function of gender and cultural familism in line with the findings of previous studies, specially with respect to the value that women present on family norms, marital attitudes and gender roles (Calzada & Brooks, 2013; Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010; Gere & Helwig, 2012; Ogletree, 2014). Other studies have analyzed the effects of the attitudes of young people (in particular gender attitudes) in their transitions from studies to work or from their parents' households to their own households (Bermúdez-Lobera, 2014; Cinamon, 2006; Coppola, 2004). According to Wyn et al. (2017, p. 502), there is a 'mystery in broad day-light' does not explained about that women's investment in education does no offer the same returns in the workplace and family formation as men's.

Late residential independence has been particularly evident in Spain since 1982 (Holdsworth, 2005; Miret, 2010; Requena, 2006). However since the year 2000 the age of leaving home and formation of new households has decreased slightly, which has affected males and females differently (Miret, 2010). In 1976, men tended to be four years older than women when forming a marriage couple; in 2011 the difference was reduced to two years, though women still left home earlier. According to the most recent data from the EU-SILC, males were 29.4 years old on average, and females were 27.4. Miret and Cabré (2005) attribute this to the fact that in Spain forming a new household is associated with couple formation that generally involves marriage, so the difference in male and female leaving home is related to gender differences in age at first marriage. This could offer a convincing explanation for early residential independence among women, but fails to explain the economic and labor status of men and women who leave home and form a new household. By applying multifactor analysis to data from the European Labour Survey, Minguez (2012) found an especially significant link in Spain between couple formation and leaving home, particularly for unemployed women. This led to the hypothesis that, when contemplating leaving home, employment status may affect males and females differently in Spain. According to Jurado (2001) unemployed or inactive emancipated women tended to go from dependence on their parents to dependence on their husbands, but the tendency may have reversed since that time. Thus, literature highlights the importance of forming a family (cohabitation or marriage)
and uncertain employment as a key factors to take into account in the explanation of residential autonomy of young women (Ayllón, 2009; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1993; Liefbroer & Toulemon, 2010; Miret, 2010; Vitali, 2010).

According to Dominguez (2007) the unemployment in Spain and Italy increases the odds of independence of young women through cohabitation, pointing to the possible fact that the economic and labor situation of young women lead to the cohabitation as an alternative and flexible form of independence from parents. The findings of Winkler and Toulemon (2007) in line with the arguments of Goldscheider and Waite (1986) show that employment has a stronger impact on the marriage intensities of men than on that of women. In a similar fashion, Mínguez (2012) suggests that job insecurity and greater unemployment may increase early leaving home among women in order to form a couple. Nevertheless, this result can be indicating a ‘transference’ of economic and residential dependence from the parents to the partner. According to Castro-Martin, Dominguez-Folgueras, and Martin-Garcia (2008), despite the rapid advancements towards gender equality, this result suggests that women's employment conditions are not as relevant as their partners' when it comes to setting up a new household. Ulle (2010) presents the relevance of gender culture as a factor of inequality in the process of transition to adulthood, so gender differences in family formation trajectories, show that their choices are not free and individualised. There are numerous studies documenting that young men likely experience different residential mobility patterns than young women due to gendered family formation and leaving home (Clark, 2018; Desmond, 2012), generating inequality processes inequality. Thus, it is important to analyze the residential transitions of young people paying attention to the gender.

These studies indicate that in Spain employment status as a predictor of residential independence may affect each gender differently. From this, we propose that stable employment will have more influence on the residential independence of males than on females. Comparative studies find that employment increases residential independence probabilities (Kuhar & Reiter, 2014), but having a job is not sufficient for leaving home in Southern Europe (Cinalli & Giugni, 2013; Le Blanc & François, 2006). Other factors intervene that are associated with economic dependence or independence, such as the welfare regime (Lanz & Tagliabue, 2007), precarious labor market conditions (Dolado, 2015), family values and solidarity (Calzada & Brooks, 2013; Reher, 1998). According to previous studies these factors may act differently for young men and women in Southern European countries.

On the other hand, previous research provides evidence that interfamilial transfers of money between generations influence the residential independence of young people (Albertini & Kohli, 2012; Berry, 2008; Brandt, Haberkern, & Szydlik, 2009; Kohli, Albertini, & Vogel, 2007; Leopold, 2012). In Southern Europe, parents support their children mainly through co-residence, and they give little economic support beyond the support in the home. In the Nordic countries, in contrast, parent-child co-residence is non-normative. According to Brandt (2012), the likelihood of intergenerational economic help from parents to young people is highest in Northern Europe compared to the Mediterranean countries. Researches have found a cluster for the southern European countries (Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal) characterized by late residential emancipation, limited youth policies and relevance of family as protection network through the co-residence with parents (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Chevalier, 2015; Leopold, 2012; Manacorda & Moretti, 2006; Poggio, 2008; Walther, Stauber, & Pohl, 2009). Family solidarity remains a key societal pillar in Southern European countries, where weak welfare policies give rise to a shared sentiment of dependence and group belonging that negatively affects autonomy (Van de Velde, 2008). In more generous welfare states, public policies have favored individualization; independence is a value shared by parents and children and financed by the parents (Brandt & Deindl, 2013). Research also indicates that the impact of transferable parental resources differs by gender. According to Mulder and Hooimeijer (2002), for example, in the Netherlands parental finances only affect male independence. Similar results have been encountered by Aassve, Billari, Mazzuco, and Ongaro (2002) for several European countries, but do not seem conclusive in the Mediterranean countries (Kuhar & Reiter, 2014); they only identify that women leave home earlier and men stay at home when there are sufficient economic resources to do so (Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010).
Finally note that the economic context of crisis may have influenced on the transitional pathways of Spanish young people. This is not the object of our study, but it should be noted that high youth unemployment, lack of credit and the impoverishment of families has prompted many young people to seek alternative forms of residential emancipation through emigration and alternative housing as sharing a flat with friends or renting a room (Aassve, Bruno, & Billari, 2013; Mulder, 2009; Minguez, 2016; Lee & Painter, 2013; Serracant, 2015). Although we have no studies that analyze this phenomenon disaggregated by sex, the Youth Institute of Spain (INJUVE) estimates more than 218,000 Spanish youths emigrated between 2009 and 2013, most of them moving to the United Kingdom (105,000) and Germany (25,000), countries that received 85% of the young emigrants in that period, a departure triggered in most cases by the need to find work (Youth Institute, 2014).

Based on these considerations, our hypotheses can be summarized as:

H1: Economic independence and having a job increase the odds of being living out of the parental home among young men and less between among women.

H2: Forming a couple through marriage or cohabitation increase the odds of early female residential independence more than that of males.

H3: Family economic support might be a secondary factor in Spanish youth residential independence for young women and men, since family support is provided by parents through living together as an example of intergenerational solidarity.

**Data and methodology**

Surveys available in Spain for the proposed objectives are generally scarce and include few variables. For this reason, we have used the most recent Spanish Youth Survey from the year 2012, which includes a large number of variables that fit our objectives and make it possible to develop a model of youth residential independence using a broad range of indicators: social class, relationship (cohabitation or married), employment, level of education, educational level of parents, economic dependence, parental financial support. In this analysis, we refer only to factors that have shown some predictive capacity regarding male and female residential emancipation. The 2012 Youth Survey was elaborated by the Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Sanidad e Igualdad through Youth Institute from a sample of 5000 youth aged 15 to 29. We selected a sub-sample of 3944 youth aged 19 to 29, of which 51.3% (2022) were male and 48.7% were female (1922). For a confidence level of 95.5%, with a simple random sampling and estimation categories equally probable \(p = q = 50\%\), the sampling error is \(\pm 1.41\%\). The sampling was conducted multistage, stratified by proportional allocation, in a first stage, according to updated population data by regions and types of habitat. The sample was stratified according to regions and municipalities based on the Population Census of Spain.\(^1\) In conceptual and methodological terms, the survey followed in the tradition of Spanish youth surveys since 1985. The questionnaire has a hundred questions. It covered a broad range of themes including education, employment, family situation, economic conditions, participation and social inclusion, health and wellbeing, culture and leisure, sexuality, expectations.\(^2\)

**Variables and measures**

Of the total sample of 3944 young people (19–29 years old), 57.2% (2218) were living with their parents or guardians, 30.1% (1164) were living in a home of their own, 9.8% (382) were sharing a flat, 1.2% were living with their in-laws, and 1.8% were living in the homes of other people. From these data, the dichotomous (yes/no) living with their parents variable was created and defined as the dependent variable of the statistical analysis. This confirms a relationship between the variables and gender as a significant factor \(p < .001 \chi^2 = 14.55; 1 \text{ df}; p = .000\) affecting youth leaving home from the parental home. From this result regression models were defined for each gender.
Based on the objectives described earlier, we selected a series of independent variables related to sociodemographic variables (nationality, educational level, labor status, time unemployed, temporary or permanent work, monthly household income, marital status, parenthood (children, no children). Our analysis also included measures for living as a couple (cohabitation) or being married, educational level of the father and mother, social class (high middle-high, middle, middle-low, low), religious affiliation, economic support from parents, economic dependence (none, low, high, total). We have introduced these independent variables into the regression model in order to analyze their predictive capacity for youth leaving home by gender. Although independent variables marital status and partnership status have been the most common way to emancipate in Spain and therefore they could be considered as endogenous variables, however previous studies show that the way of leaving home is changing. These previous findings have motivated the introduction of these variables in the explanatory model (Ayllón, 2015; Domínguez & Castro Martín, 2008, 2013; Mulder, 2009). In any case it be should noted the possible existence of endogeneities, for example the presence of partner would be correlated with the leaving home. Therefore, the findings should be interpreted as descriptive rather than causal effects.

Results

Descriptive statistics about young people living with parents by sex are presented in Figure 1. The graphic illustrates differences in the family dependency tendencies of men and women since 2004. All years analyzed show a greater percentage of men living with parents in Spain. The gap between genders fell below 10% in 2012 but remains far above European countries such as Finland, the prototype of early leaving home and gender equality (Helve, Leccardi, & Kovacheva, 2011; Oinonen, 2008). In Spain a high proportion of young people remain home until 30 years old.

Individual-level data will allow a more extensive discussion of the main hypotheses about leaving parental home by gender. Here we will approach the factors that have had an impact on leaving parental home differences by gender. The empirical analysis involved two steps. First, we explored the relationship between each independent variable and our binary dependent variable of living in the parental household or not. Second, in order to identify the effects of each independent variable, we calculated a binary logistic regression model where we included only the predictive variables by sex. As a result, the coefficients of regressions for males are summarized in Table 2. This analysis provided insight about the significant variables (p < .05) in predicting that males aged 19 to 29 would not live with their parents. The other non-significant variables that were discarded because they did not have sufficient explanatory power were: amount of time unemployed, educational level of father and mother, social class and religious affiliation (see Table 1). There are not previous findings in Spain to corroborate

![Figure 1](image-url). Young people living with parents by gender Spain (2004–2013).
these trends. In this regard, the results obtained for the case of Slovenia are similar to ours (Kuhar & Reiter, 2014). Employment, age, economic independence, having a partner and children are significant variables to predict leaving parental home.

Table 2 shows the results of the multiple logistic regression for men, with all independent variables entered simultaneously into the model. The results show that the following variables were not statistically significant (p > .05): having children, nationality, educational level, type of work, age and monthly income. Thus the five significant predictors included in the model, from greatest to least, were: economic support of parents, civil status, economic dependence, cohabitation and employment status. Table 2 includes the correlations between the dependent variable and independent variables for men aged 19 to 29. As expected, the odds of becoming emancipated was greater among young men who were married (3.7 times more likely than for singles). Though the probability of being living out of the parental home was almost double (1.84) when men indicated being part of a couple, marriage was still the most frequent option leading to leaving home. The data also revealed an association between leaving home and economic independence that was weaker than other variables in the model (the odds of being living out of the parental home was 2 times greater when economic dependence was low). Finally, and contrary to prior research, the odds of being living out of the parental home among employed males

Table 1. Results of logistic regression: significance coefficients for the dependent variable (not living in the household of parents): Men.

| Predictor (reference category) | N   | Category                  | B    | E.T. (B) | Wald | p-sig | OR  | IC 95% of OR |
|-------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|------|----------|------|-------|-----|--------------|
| Age                           | 1984| For each year             | .167 | .016     | 111.74 | .000**| 1.18| 1.15–1.22    |
| Nationality (Spanish)         | 1941| Not Spanish               | .567 | .154     | 13.61  | .000**| 1.76| 1.30–2.38    |
| Completed education (tertiary)| 1967| Primary                   | .322 | .254     | 1.61   | .204**| 1   | –            |
| Employment status (unemployed)| 1958| Secondary                 | −.203| .111     | 4.26   | .039* | .80 | .64–.99      |
|                               |     | Employed                  | .471 | .093     | 25.47  | .000**| 1.60| 1.33–1.92    |
| Time unemployed (<1 year)     | 211 | >1 year                   | .210 | .297     | .50    | .480**| 1   | –            |
| Type of work (eventual)       | 1127| Fixed                     | .415 | .124     | 11.27  | .011**| 1.52| 1.19–1.93    |
| Average monthly income of household (>3000€) | 1519| ≤1000 €                   | .657 | .175     | 14.08  | .000**| 1.93| 1.37–2.72    |
|                               |     | 1000–2000 €               | .339 | .133     | 6.49   | .011* | 1.40| 1.08–1.82    |
|                               |     | 2000–3000 €               | .087 | .148     | .35    | .555**| 1   | –            |
| Economic dependence (total)   | 1983| Any                       | 1.776| .152     | 137.08 | .000**| 5.91| 4.39–7.95    |
|                               |     | Low                       | 1.260| .153     | 67.76  | .000**| 3.52| 2.61–4.76    |
|                               |     | High                      | .086 | .162     | .28    | .539**| 1   | –            |
| Family economic support (yes) | 1386| No                        | 2.169| .163     | 176.75 | .000**| 8.75| 6.35–12.04   |
| Partnership status (without partner) | 1892| With partner              | 1.866| .110     | 287.52 | .000**| 6.46| 5.21–8.02    |
| Marital status (single)       | 1917| Married                   | 2.314| .124     | 346.43 | .000**| 10.12| 7.93–12.91  |
|                               |     | Divorced                  | .483 | .364     | 1.75   | .185**| 1   | –            |
| Parenthood (no children)      | 1973| Has children              | 1.799| .187     | 92.47  | .000**| 6.04| 4.19–8.72    |
| Parental completed education father (primary) | 1863| Secundary                 | −.139| .114     | 1.48   | .224**| 1   | –            |
| Parental completed education mother (primary) | 1873| Tertiary                  | .138 | .117     | 1.38   | .241**| 1   | –            |
|                               |     | Secundary                 | −.078| .108     | .52    | .470**| 1   | –            |
| Social class (low/low)         | 1984| Medium high/ high         | .122 | .126     | .93    | .335**| 1   | –            |
|                               |     | Media                     | .061 | .113     | .29    | .592**| 1   | –            |
| Religious definition (No believer) | 1900| Believer                  | −.125| .096     | .19    | .882**| 1   | –            |

Source: Own elaboration from Encuesta del Instituto De La Juventud Injuve (2013).

*Significant to 5% (p < .05); **Highly significant to 1% (p < .01).
Table 2. Multiple logistic regression model. Dependent variable (not living in the household of parent). Multivariate model for men (N = 1279).

| Included variables (reference category) | Category | B     | E.T. (B) | Wald  | p-sig   | OR    | IC 95% of OR |
|----------------------------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|---------|-------|--------------|
| Family economic support (Yes)           | No       | 1.398 | .204     | 47.12 | .000**  | 4.05  | 2.72–6.03    |
| Marital status (single)                 | Married  | 1.319 | .221     | 35.72 | .000**  | 3.74  | 2.43–5.77    |
|                                        | Divorced | −1.040| .675     | 2.38  | .123NS  | 1     | –            |
| Economic dependence (total)†            | Low      | .671  | .195     | 11.79 | .001**  | 1.96  | 1.33–2.87    |
|                                        | High     | −.079 | .189     | .17   | .676NS  | 1     | –            |
| Partnership (without partner)           | With partner | .611 | .206     | 8.82  | .003**  | 1.84  | 1.23–2.76    |
| Employment status (unemployed)          | Employed | .347  | .157     | 4.89  | .027*   | 1.41  | 1.04–1.92    |
|                                        | Constant population | −1.983| .197     | 101.66| .000**  | –     | –            |

| Excluded variables                      | B     | Wald  | p-sig   |
|-----------------------------------------|-------|-------|---------|
| Children (no)                           | .074  | .03   | .871NS  |
| Nationality (spanish)                   | −.365 | .56   | .456NS  |
| Completed education (tertiary)          | −.234 | .83   | .361NS  |
| Type of work (eventual)                 |       |       |         |
| Age                                     | .029  | 1.00  | .318NS  |
| Average monthly income of household (>3000€) |       |       | .162NS  |

Summary of the final model

- Omnibus test model significance: $\chi^2 = 354.23; p = .000**$
- Test Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness adjustment: $\chi^2 = 9.10; p = .168^N$
- Adjust $R^2$ Nagelkerke: 0.342
- Overall correct classification rate: 80.8 (S = 51.5; E = 93.7)

Source: Own elaboration from Encuesta del Instituto de La Juventud Injuve (2013).

^NS: No significant (p > .05).

*Significant to 5% (p < .05); **Highly significant to 1% (p < .01); †In multivariate analysis, there are 0 cases in the category Economic dependence = Any.
was found to be 1.4 times higher than among unemployed males. Men are especially less likely to leave home for living with partner (marriage or cohabitation) before to get economic independence and be employed. This highlights how leaving home interacts with gendered experiences of autonomy and independence (Robette, 2010).

Table 3 present results from regression for women The findings show that the variables age, nationality, employment status, type of work, economic dependence, economic support from parents, cohabitation and having children were clearly ($p < .001$), even more than in the male analysis.

In Table 4, the results of the multiple regression analysis are shown for women. Once the statistically non-significant ($p > .05$) variables were discarded (nationality, educational level of the mother, having children, type of work, age, employment status, social class and monthly income), the multivariate analysis showed four significant predictors, ordered here from greater to lesser predictive capacity: civil status, economic support from parents, cohabitation and economic dependence. Table 4 shows that results for women were similar to those of men but with some differences that should be explained. Like their male counterparts, the odds of being living out of the parental home increased among women who were married (5.8 times higher than single women) or in a relationship (2.3 times higher than single women). This introduces the nuance that cohabitation seems to be a greater predictor of leaving

![Image: Table 3. Results of logistic regression: significance coefficients for the dependent variable (not living in the household of parents): Women.](image-url)

Source: Own elaboration from Encuesta del Instituto De La Juventud Injuve (2013).

$^a$No significant ($p > .05$).

*Significant to 5% ($p < .05$); **Highly significant to 1% ($p < .01$).
Table 4. Multiple logistic regression model. Dependent variable (not living in the household of parent). Multivariate model for women (N = 1399).

| Included variables (reference category) | Category       | B    | E.T. (B) | Wald  | p-sig | OR   | IC 95% of OR |
|----------------------------------------|----------------|------|----------|-------|-------|------|-------------|
| Marital status (single)                | Married        | 1.754| .226     | 60.42 | .000**| 5.78 | 3.71–9.00   |
|                                        | Divorced       | .428 | .638     | .45   | .502   | 1    | –           |
| Family economic support (Yes)          | No             | 1.517| .205     | 54.78 | .000**| 4.56 | 3.05–6.81   |
| Partnership status (without partner)   | With partner   | .823 | .209     | 15.49 | .000**| 2.28 | 1.51–3.43   |
| Economic dependence (total)†           | Low            | .618 | .195     | 10.03 | .002**| 1.85 | 1.26–2.72   |
|                                        | High           | .101 | .179     | .32   | .570   | 1    | –           |
| Constant population                    |                | –1.882| .142    | 175.04| .000**|

Excluded variables

| B    | Wald  | p-sig |
|------|-------|-------|
| Nationality (spanish)                  | .168  | .11   | .742   |
| Completed education mother (primary)   | .92   | .630  |
| Children (no)                          | .205  | .40   | .529   |
| Type or work (eventual)                | .222  | .59   | .444   |
| Age                                     | .041  | 1.68  | .195   |
| Employment status (unemployed)         | .041  | 1.70  | .193   |
| Social class (medium low/low)           | 5.60  | .061  |
| Average monthly income of household (>3000€) | 7.64  | .054  |

Summary of the final model

- Omnibus test model significance: $\chi^2 = 679.98; p = .000**$
- Test Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness adjustment: $\chi^2 = 10.48; p = .063^\text{NS}$
- Adjust R$^2$ Nagelkerke: .520
- Overall correct classification rate: 83.2 ($S = 70.5; E = 91.7$)

Source: Own elaboration from Encuesta del Instituto De La Juventud Injuve (2013).

*No significant ($p > .05$).

**Significant to 5% ($p < .05$); **Highly significant to 1% ($p < .01$); †In multivariate analysis, there are 0 cases in the category Economic dependence = Any.
home for women than for men, though marriage remains the main factor. There were no substantively differences with men in regard to economic support from parents and economic independence. In fact, the main predictive variables in explaining leaving home were ‘low economic independence’ (1.8 times greater odds of being living out of the parental home), ‘not receiving economic support from parents’ (4.6 times more likely to emancipate), and entering a relationship. Compared to men, it is significant that the work status of women had no effect on residential independence. This might indicate that for young women employment is not as important as forming a couple when it comes to residential emancipation. With respect to our initial hypotheses, the main predictors of leaving home among women were (in order of significance): being married, not receiving economic support from parents, cohabitation and economic independence. In contrast with men, being employed was not significant.

**Discussion of results and conclusions**

The diversity of pathways to adulthood by gender has been the subject of interest in the international scientific community (Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010; Seiffge-Krenke, 2013; Stone, Berrington, & Falkingham, 2014) due to family and work changes that young people face, but in Spain there are few studies on this subject. Studies on youth transitions have highlighted that institutional arrangements in different national contexts affect entry into the gender role and identities of the young people (Côté & Bynner, 2008; Bynner, 2012).

With regard to our first hypothesis, surprisingly, employment status and educational level were not main factors in leaving the parental home. In other words, having a job did not constitute a sufficient condition for residential emancipation in Southern Europe (Cordón, 1997; Lanz & Tagliabue, 2007). However, the results of the study reveal that while employment slightly increases the odds of male leaving home (−1.41), it appears to have no significant correlation with female. This new and relevant finding indirectly shows that economic independence is an emancipation requirement for men but not for women in Spain, suggesting that a certain percentage of women leave home earlier to form a couple and then become economically dependent.

Further studies are needed to identify the sociodemographic profile of this group of women who declare themselves economically dependent. Our results corroborate that employment is relatively significant for men. These findings for Spain constitute an empirical discovery that residential independence in Southern Europe is still partially linked to normative expectations that reproduce gender inequality through the symbolic and normative expectations of forming a family.

At the same time, the regression analysis indicated that economic independence was a key factor in residential emancipation, mainly among men. These results might indirectly indicate that couple formation is more important for female residential independence than employment or economic independence. These results confirm the traditional path to female residential independence through forming a couple but indicate that it is no longer overwhelmingly through marriage and now includes the alternative of cohabitation. For men, however, employment and full economic independence are key predictors of leaving home and possibly linked to a normative expectation of becoming the main breadwinner in a new household. These findings fit with prior research on the importance of marriage and employment as traditional pathways of establishing residential independence for young men (Domínguez & Castro Martín, 2008). Another relevant finding among males was that the odds of being living out of the parental home was 4 times higher when they received no economic support from their parents. In contrast with Northern European countries, economic support from parents is not a determinant for leaving home in Southern Europe (Albertini & Kohli, 2012; Kohli et al., 2007).

According to Widmer and Ritschar (2014) working conditions determine the transition to adulthood for men and women differently because expectations about family roles are also different. Men associate the family role with full-time work and women with the flexibility to balance family and work. Further research is needed on employment and its connection to residential independence and couple formation, in light of normative expectations and desired family model by gender (Cinalli & Giugni, 2013). On the other hand, economic situation, educational level of the parents and social class were
not significant in explaining male or female leaving home in Spain. These results confirm research done in Slovenia (Kuhar & Reiter, 2014).

The relevance of couples (marriage/cohabitation as a predictor for leaving home) highlight the importance of classical youth transition indicators (Domínguez & Castro Martín, 2013; Kuhar & Reiter, 2014), mainly in the case of women. According to Miret (2015) the familiar pattern of emancipation through the couple has remained constant in Spain since 1999, as well as the age difference between partners. This would explain the earlier emancipation of women. However this analysis does not provide data on the type of relationship (married or cohabiting) and association with other variables such as employment status.

Our second hypothesis regarding the formation of couples seems to have become an emerging predictor in explaining the earlier leaving home of women compared to men in Spain. One possible explanation for that is the trend of late marriage in Spain (Billari, Castiglioni, Castro Martin, Michielin, & Ongaro, 2002; Castro-Martin, 2015). According to Castro-Martin (2015), the average age at first marriage has risen nearly 8 years from 1980 to 2012, from 23.9 to 31.7 years for women and from 26.2 to 33.8 among men. The results of the regression analysis confirm that the odds of female leaving home through couple formation is greater than among men due to that age difference in the formation of the couple. Although the couple continues to be the main way to independence, women advance that moment as the main route of residential independence (Domínguez, 2007; Dominguez & Castro Martín, 2008; Meil Landwerlin, 2003; Miret, 2010) but it is not clearly identified if through marriage or cohabitation.

As in other European countries, in Spain cohabitation is becoming an alternative to traditional female paths to achieving residential autonomy, greater freedom and individualization, which are key factors in the second demographic transition (Domínguez & Castro Martín, 2013; Perelli-Harris, 2014).

In relation to the last hypothesis regarding economic support by parents, prior studies have shown that this type of assistance affects each gender differently and is most favorable for males (Aassve et al., 2002; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 2002). However, the results are fairly contradictory in Mediterranean countries (Kohli et al., 2007). Our analysis shows that family economic support seems to have the same impact on emancipation among men as among women. In fact, the lower the level of economic support offered by parents, the greater the odds of being living out of the parental home. These results coincide with comparative data found in Kohli et al. (2007) and Brandt and Deindl (2013) suggesting that inter-generational family solidarity is based on co-residence and time transfer rather than financial support favoring residential autonomy, as occurs in Northern Europe. This might be explained by the familialist cultural model of the welfare regime in Southern Europe, where males are expected to attain economic independence in order to form a family and become the main breadwinners (Baxter, 2005; Domínguez & Castro Martín, 2008). This explanation is unclear for women, but might be hypothesized as the result of parental expectations for daughters to form a family when they complete their studies. According to Zacarés, Serra, and Torres (2015), the findings for Spain suggest gender plays a certain role in the conception of autonomy. In the case of young men, economic independence is seen both by parents and children as a requirement for residential independence. Families offer support by providing a place to reside, thus fostering late leaving home as youth wait for optimal economic conditions to establish residential independence. In the case of women, parents and young women value independence and thus help their daughters to stay home until they finish their studies but also considered important for women to adapt to norm compliance and family Capacities (Gere & Helwig, 2012).

We can conclude that there are inequality mechanisms through culture gender in the transition to adulthood in the experiences and individual choice of leaving home and form a family. Further research should attempt to replicate these findings in other countries. Likewise, comparative cross-national empirical analysis is needed to interpret the contradictions associated with gender differences in residential independence patterns and norms. A better understanding of leaving parental home by gender is necessary if we expect to design effective policies to avoid gender inequalities. This type of studies is needed to identify these patterns and understand how these relationship are culturally produced.
Notes

1. Access to methodology of survey: [http://www.injuve.es/sites/default/files/2013/26/publicaciones/Metodologia%20Encuesta%20de%20Juventud%20UE2012.pdf](http://www.injuve.es/sites/default/files/2013/26/publicaciones/Metodologia%20Encuesta%20de%20Juventud%20UE2012.pdf).
2. Access to questionnaire survey: [http://www.injuve.es/sites/default/files/2013/26/publicaciones/CuestionarioIJE2012.pdf](http://www.injuve.es/sites/default/files/2013/26/publicaciones/CuestionarioIJE2012.pdf).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

This work was supported by the research project on ‘The father involvement and child well-being in Spain’ [grant number CSO2015-69439-R] publicly financed under the Spanish Research Agency.

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