What Are the Intentions to Leave the Parental Home Composed Of? Using the Gender and Generation Survey to Compare Intentions Across Europe

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Abstract

Comparative research has shown great cross-national differences in the age at leaving home across Europe. To shed new light on why the age at leaving home differs so markedly, we study leaving home intentions and their drivers from a comparative perspective. This helps addressing whether or not cross-national differences depend on personal preferences (measured as attitudes), normative pressure (measured as subjective norms), or structural barriers (measured as perceived behavioural control). We use data on 12 European countries from the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey, restricting the analysis to young adults (aged 18 – 34) who had never left the parental home for at least three months after age 16 (N = 10,457). We employ multi-group factor analysis and binary logistic regression models to (1) compare the distribution of estimated means, variances, and correlations of attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control (towards leaving home) and to (2) analyse the interactions between these three latent factors and country, sex, and age. Initial analyses lend support to a North–West / South–East divide among young adults vis-à-vis leaving home intentions, and to a fairly large variation in the estimated means of attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control (towards leaving home) across the 12 countries. Our analyses also overall confirm the relevance of these three factors as drivers for young adults' intentions to leave the parental home – even when controlled for a host of socio-demographic variables and after having included different interactions (with country, sex, and age).

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1. Introduction

The share of young adults living with their parents varies greatly across Europe, being highest in Southern European countries and lowest in Scandinavia (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Aassve et al. 2013). Cross-national differences in patterns of co-residence between young adults and their parents have been explained, both theoretically and empirically, in terms of structural and cultural factors which can help or impede young people to leave the parental home (Furstenberg 2010; Buchmann and Kriesi 2011). Structural factors include labour and housing markets and educational systems, welfare provision, tax system and access to credit. Cultural factors have historical roots and are linked to the strength of family ties and intergenerational relations, prevailing social norms and stage of ideational change (Billari 2004).

Previous studies have evaluated the association between structural and/or cultural factors and the living arrangements of young people at the time of survey in multi-country (see, e.g., Aassve et al. 2002; Mandic 2008; Iacovou 2010) and single-country studies (see e.g., Vitali 2010; Stone et al. 2011). Less is known about the *decision-making process* leading young adults to leave the parental home for the first time. Following Gauthier (2007), we adopt a more inclusive conceptual framework which extends established family demographic research on key events in the transition to adulthood to the cross-national study of young adults' underlying motivations about leaving home behavior. We assume intentions to be "proximate determinants", i.e. the best predictors, of behaviours (Ajzen 1991) and investigate the process leading to the formation of the intention to leave the parental home, beyond the actual behaviour linked to a change in living arrangements. So far, only a few existing contributions have attempted to study the home-leaving decision process focusing on the drivers of behaviours, most of them with a single-country focus (Billari and Liefbroer 2007; Ferrari et al

2014; Tosi 2017; but cf. Billari et al 2019). We start filling this research gap with a wide-ranging multi-country study on home-leaving intentions and their determinants. By studying intentions to leave the parental home, we can unravel the mechanisms at play at the time when the intention is formed and we can unpack its drivers. This exercise can help us to shed new light on why patterns of home leaving differ so markedly across Europe.

Drawing on the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975; Ajzen 1991) and using rich information on factors shaping the home-leaving decision-making process from the Generations and Gender Study (Gauthier et al. 2018) for 12 countries, we formulate hypotheses regarding young people's intentions to live independently from parents and on the drivers leading to the formation of such intentions. We focus on three sets of factors which TPB assumes are responsible for the formation of intentions regarding a particular behaviour, in our case leaving the parental home: i) attitudes towards the behaviour, i.e. an evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages linked to the behaviour; ii) subjective norms, i.e. the perceived approval/disapproval of significant others regarding the specific behaviour; iii) perceived behavioural control, i.e. the perceived presence of obstacles and opportunities impeding or facilitating the specific behaviour. We ask the following research questions:

1. How do leaving home intentions vary across European countries?

2. Do young adults report different levels of i) attitudes; ii) subjective norms; iii) perceived behavioural control towards leaving the parental home across countries? And if so, in which countries is each factor most/least important?

3. Are there country, sex, and age differences in terms of how the factors, i) attitudes; ii) subjective norms; iii) perceived behavioural control, are related to the formation of intentions to leave the parental home?

2. Background and Hypotheses

We apply the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975; Ajzen 1991) as a theoretical framework on the individual level to gain insight into leaving home intention formation. Because we are specifically interested in how leaving home intention formation then unfolds cross-nationally, we complement this framework with assumptions about the structural conditions in different European countries.

The TPB details individual's decision-making as a two-stage process – intention formation and subsequent realization – and has been widely applied to gain insight into variety of behaviors including demographic behaviors (Ajzen & Klobas, 2013; Billari, Philipov, and Testa, 2009; Dommermuth, Klobas, and Lappegård, 2011; Dommermuth and Klüsener, 2018; Gauthier, Emery, and Bartova, 2016; Mencarini, Vignoli, and Gottard, 2015; Wiik and Bernhardt, 2019). Importantly, the TPB explicates how individuals become motivated (i.e. form an intention) and develop a plan to engage in a specific behavior. Regarding intention formation the TPB specifically posits that the intention to engage in a specific behaviour depends on three main factors: i) attitudes towards the behaviour, i.e. an evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages linked to the behaviour; ii) subjective norms, i.e. the perceived approval/disapproval of significant others regarding the specific behaviour; iii) perceived behavioural control, i.e. the perceived presence of obstacles and opportunities impeding or facilitating the specific behavior and the extent to which a behavior can then be performed

successfully. Other influences – termed background factors within the TPB model – are assumed to be only indirectly linked to intention through attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control.

It is noteworthy that while the TPB points to a variety of potential background factors that may be important for intention formation – among them age, sex, education, income, ethnicity, or past experiences, for example – it does not theorize about how proximate determinants themselves originate (Ajzen 2011, p. 1123). We can envisage two ways in which background factors give rise to proximate determinants: First, background factors establish a set of opportunities and constraints within which young adults (can) act (i.e., leave the parental home); they likely are a key component in young adults' evaluations about the advantages and disadvantages, as well as the feasibility of leaving home. Second, background factors may determine normative expectations and frames of reference to which young adults are exposed and which also guide young adults' reasoning about anticipated consequences of leaving home versus staying, for example. To some extent the likely mechanism behind background factors then is socialization or social modeling (Keijer et al 2018). As Fishbein and Ajzen (2010) and other authors (Iacovou and Tavares 2011; Liefbroer 2009) have pointed out, though, gaining new information concerning opportunities and constraints or changes in personal or structural circumstances can trigger changes in proximate determinants and, in turn, intentions.

Empirical support for the TPB has been established in fertility (see, e.g., Schoen et al. 1999; Billari, Philipov, and Testa, 2009; Ajzen and Klobas 2013; Dommermuth, Klobas, and Lappegård, 2011; Mencarini et al. 2015), partnership (e.g., Wiik and Bernhardt, 2019), employment (Gauthier, Emery, and Bartova, 2016), and migration research (e.g., Dommermuth

and Klüsener, 2018). For what concerns the first transition out of the parental home, Billari and Liefbroer (2007) document that subjective norms, attitudes and perceived behavioural control are, to some degree, associated with the probability to leave the parental home in their study of Dutch youth. Similar results are obtained by Ferrari et al. (2014) and Tosi (2017) on Italian data. With the exceptions of Ferrari et al. (2014) and Billari et al. (2019), who studied the connection between leaving home intentions and subsequent realisation, there has been scant attention to intention formation and cross-national differences in leaving home intentions and their proximate determinants.

When comparing attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control between young people in different countries, we expect to find differences in the order of importance of each proximate determinant, depending on the country of residence. As such, we are conceptualizing country of residence as a background factor within the TPB framework. Of course, a central tenet of cross-national demographic research has long been that structural and cultural factors located at the country level are main drivers of observed differences in intergenerational co-residence and the transition to adulthood (for a detailed review see: Buchmann and Kriesi 2011). If we accept, however, that intentions are indeed key determinants of behavior, cross-national differences in intention formation are much more useful for understanding variation in patterns of co-residence between young adults and their parents and challenges in the transition to adulthood – as Manning et al. (2014) noted, intention taps perceived desirability of a behavior much better than behavior itself, because behavior may not get realized due to constraints whereas intention may stay the same.

In our study we include the 12 GGS countries for which data on home-leaving intentions and at least two factors linked to the home-leaving decision are being asked in Wave 1: Austria, Belgium**,** Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Norway, Romania, Russia. Young people in such countries differ considerably in their age at leaving the parental home: a "latest-late" exit from the parental home is a peculiarity of the South of Europe, followed by Eastern and Western European countries, whereas an "earliest-early" residential independence in the North of Europe (Billari and Liefbroer 2010). We expect that youth in Italy and in the Eastern European countries, where difficulties in entering the labour, housing or credit market are more pronounced than elsewhere in Europe, will report lower values of perceived behavioural control compared to peers in other countries. We also expect Italian and Eastern European youth to report high values of subjective norms, compared to youth in Norway or Western Europe, because such societies are still more traditional. Indeed, to use Billari and Liefbroer's words (2007: 184-185), "in a traditional society in which social control and authority are still very important, one would expect a very strong impact of norms and networks on behaviour. In a modern, individualizing society, in contrast, one would expect an increasing importance attached to individual beliefs about the advantages and disadvantages of leaving home and a reduction in the importance attached to norms". Instead, we expect youth in Norway followed by Western Europe, to report high values of attitudes towards leaving home, because independence and freedom are valued more in contexts which are at an advanced stage of ideational change predicted by the Second Demographic Transition (Billari 2004).

Furthermore, we expect that perceived behavioural control and subjective norms will have a paramount role in shaping intentions to leave home for youth from Italy and Eastern

Europe, whereas we expect attitudes to be more important for youth in Norway and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe.

3. Data and Methods

3.1 Sample

Our analyses are based on data from the first wave of the Generations and Gender Surveys (GGS) (https://www.ggp-i.org/; Gauthier et al. 2018) for 12 countries (the data for Italy comes from the original Italian GGS component 'Famiglia e Soggetti Sociali'). We selected only those respondents aged 18–34 without missing values on our main variable of interest, i.e. intention to live separately from parents in the next three years, and who have never lived separately from parents for at least three months after age 16. Note that apart from the 3,482 observations who do not fulfill these criteria, we also had to drop Estonia, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Sweden from the analysis sample, where the variable measuring intentions to leave home was not included, as well as Poland, where only one TPB measure was included. This leaves us with a final sample size of 10,457.

3.2 Measurement

To measure the latent factors (i) attitudes toward living separately from the parents, (ii) subjective norms and (iii) perceived behavioural control, we select a subset of items from the original battery of questions in the GGS. (Table A1 in the Appendix reports the original battery of questions and their respective availability across all countries included in the first wave of GGS). In particular, for measuring attitudes, we focus on three survey items strictly related to the freedom one gains when living separately from parents, i.e. possibility to do what you want, sexual life, joy and satisfaction you get from life. Results from a factor analysis run on the original six items (including also "your employment opportunities"; "your financial situation";

"what people around you think of you") confirm the existence of only one clear latent factor measuring attitudes towards independence linked to leaving the parental home (not shown but available from the authors). Hence, effectively, our measure of attitudes is solely focused on the potential advantages that one would expect from leaving the parental home. In the original TPB framework, instead, the measure of attitudes takes into account both advantages and disadvantages linked to the event so, in our case, the obvious disadvantage is the deterioration of one's financial situation upon living the parental home. For measuring subjective norms, we exclude the item "your children think that you should live separately from your parents" which is inappropriate for our analyses, given the age range of our sample (18-34; Table 2). For measuring perceived behavioural control, we include three items focusing on structural factors impeding the transition out of the parental home, i.e., financial situation, work and housing conditions. Again, results from a factor analysis run on the original six items (including also "your health", "your parent's health", and "you having a partner") confirm the existence of only one clear latent factor measuring structural barriers (not shown but available from the authors).

Each of the three latent factors' underlying items are re-coded in such a way that higher scores indicate potential reasons for living separately from parents, in particular they indicate:

i. more positive attitudes toward leaving home. Respondents, who score high on the items measuring attitudes, agree that living separately from parents gives them the possibility to do what they want, to have a sexual life and to get joy and satisfaction from life. In other words, respondents who score high do expect to be better off if they were to leave the parental home; they do expect that living separately from parents would improve their freedom.

ii. stronger norms to live separately from parents. Respondents, who score high on the items measuring social norms, agree that friends, parents and most other relatives think they should live separately from parents. In other words, they perceive pressure from others to leave the parental home.

iii. more perceived behavioral control over the decision to live separately from parents. Respondents, who score high on the items measuring perceived behavioural control, agree that the decision to start or not to start living separately from parents does not depend (much) on their financial situation, work, or housing conditions. In other words, they do not perceive that the decision to leave the parental home depends on structural barriers.

The GGS' TPB operationalisation and question wording, along with mean item scores for the pooled sample, are shown in Table 1.

3.3 Methods

We use multi-group factor analysis to compare the distribution of estimated means, variances and correlations of the three latent factors (i.e. attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control), which are measured by the multiple items in Table 1, between the 12 countries (Asparouhov and Muthén, 2014). Differently from the standard (single-group) factor analysis, multi-group factor analysis allows us to estimate and compare means, variances or covariances of the three latent factors *between* countries, rather than obtaining a single mean for the pooled sample of countries. This means that with this tool we can compare whether and how attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control related to living separately from parents differ across the population of young people in different countries.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics of GGS items used for the analyses, pooled sample

Latent Factor	Survey question	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Attitudes: Living separately from parents does not improve your freedom	If you were to start live separately from your parents during the next 3 years, do you think this would be better or worse for ...					
	the possibility to do what you want	3.46	0.84	1 (much worse)	5 (much better)	10,039
	your sexual life	3.58	0.72	1 (much worse)	5 (much better)	9,940
	the joy and satisfaction you get from life	3.36	0.77	1 (much worse)	5 (much better)	10,012
Subjective Norms: No pressure from others to live separately from parents	Most of your friends think it is about time for you to live separately from parents	2.77	1.15	1 (strongly disagree)	5 (strongly agree)	9,933
	Your parents think that it is about time for you to live separately from parents ª	2.49	1.14	1 (strongly disagree)	5 (strongly agree)	10,051
	Most of your other relatives think that it is about time for you to live separately from parents ª	2.53	1.10	1 (strongly disagree)	5 (strongly agree)	9,863
Perceived Behavioural Control: Structural barriers to living separately from parents	How much would the decision on whether to start or not to start to live separately from your parents during the next 3 years depend on …?					
	your financial situation	2.40	1.10	1 (a great deal)	4 (not at all)	10,232
	your work	2.70	1.13	1 (a great deal)	4 (not at all)	9,550
	your housing conditions	2.56	1.10	1 (a great deal)	4 (not at all)	10,178

Source: GGS Wave 1 (2002 - 2013). Own calculations.

Note: Scales for Norway originally ranged from 0 to 10 for all items and were rescaled accordingly. ª The Italian 'Famiglia e Soggetti Sociali' omits the item "other relatives" and asks about mothers' and fathers' opinions separately, which we used for the factor construction.

The model with three factors $\eta_1, \eta_2,$ and η_3 which are jointly normally distributed among individuals in each country *g* = 1, ..., *G* is formulated as follows.

With means (1)

$$E(\eta_1) = \kappa_1^{(g)}, E(\eta_2) = \kappa_2^{(g)}, \text{ and } E(\eta_3) = \kappa_3^{(g)}$$

variances (2)

$$var(\eta_1) = \varphi_1^{(g)}, var(\eta_2) = \varphi_2^{(g)}, \text{ and } var(\eta_3) = \varphi_3^{(g)}$$

and covariances (3)

$$cov(\eta_1, \eta_2) = \varphi_{12}^{(g)}, cov(\eta_1, \eta_3) = \varphi_{13}^{(g)}, \text{ and } cov(\eta_2, \eta_3) = \varphi_{23}^{(g)}.$$

The full invariance measurement model was chosen for practical purposes and builds on the GGS' cross-nationally comparable, theory-driven questionnaire (i.e. variables are measured in the same way and on the same scale across countries). It allows us to benchmark the estimated means of the three latent factors between the countries. For the results presented in Figure 3, Bulgaria (1) is the reference group with fixed factor means $\kappa_1^{(1)}$, $\kappa_2^{(1)}$, and $\kappa_3^{(1)}$ at 0 and factor variances $\varphi_1^{(1)}$, $\varphi_2^{(1)}$, and $\varphi_3^{(1)}$ at 1. The factor covariances $\varphi_{12}^{(g)}$, $\varphi_{13}^{(g)}$, and $\varphi_{23}^{(g)}$ are freely estimated in all countries.

When performing the multi-group factor analysis, we choose Bulgaria as the reference country because its scores on the three latent factors are fairly close to the overall mean. We made comparisons between different benchmark-countries (i.e., Austria, Norway, and Italy) by re-estimating the model with different reference categories. The results are, overall, similar to

those presented in Figure 3 and available from the authors upon request. For Bulgaria, the factor means are fixed at 0 and the factor variances at 1.

In a second step of analysis, we run logistic regression models to analyse the interactions between the three latent factors (attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control) and country, sex, and age. Our dependent variable is a dichotomous outcome taking value 1 if the respondent probably or definitely intends to live separately from his/her parents within the next 3 years, and 0 if he/she probably or definitely does not intend to. We thus assume more formally that Υ_i has a binomial distribution

$$\Upsilon_i \sim \mathrm{B}(n_i, \pi_i)$$

with binomial denominator n_i and probability π_i. Given individual data, $n_i = 1$ for all i. The logit of the underlying probability π_i then is a linear function of the predictors

$$logit(\pi_i) = x_i^{'}\beta$$

where x_i is a vector of covariates and β is a vector of regression coefficients.

Our main explanatory variables of interest are attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control, country (Austria, Belgium**,** Bulgaria -ref.-, Czech Republic, France, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Norway, Romania, Russia), sex (1 = male), and age. Other controls included in the model are: age squared, whether respondent has own children (= 1), partnership status (single -ref.-, non-co-residing partner, co-residing partner, married), education (low, medium -ref.-, high), employment status (employed/ self-employed -ref.-, student/ in training, unemployed, inactive), whether respondent or his/her parents are limited in everyday activity (= 1), number of siblings (0 -ref.-, 1, 2 or more), and whether at least one

parent has high educational attainment (= 1). We use the GGS' sample weights to adjust for sampling design in our analyses (Fokkema et al. 2016). Table 2 presents additional descriptive statistics, computed on the pooled sample of 12 countries, of the variables used in the subsequent analyses.

4. Results

4.1 A Cross-national Comparison of Intention to Leave the Parental Home

Table 2 reports a description of our sample, highlighting cross-national differences in intergenerational co-residence. The proportion of young adults aged 18–34 living with their parents ranges from 12.8% in Germany to over 40% in Italy, Bulgaria, and Georgia. Across countries, a majority of co-residing young adults are single with no children, but particularly among Eastern European countries the shares of those already married or with at least one child are higher than in the sample as a whole (7.1% and 9.2%, respectively). Also, less than 20% of young adults in the parental home are unemployed or inactive; this pattern is noticeably different in Bulgaria, Georgia, and France, where higher shares of co-residing are unemployed. For cross-country differences between those employed and those still studying or in training, there are less clear patterns. There are no other obvious socioeconomic or social background patterns at the country level. The differences in intention to leave the parental home across the different countries in the analysis sample are illustrated in Figure 1 and seem to follow a North–West / South–East gradient: The proportion of young adults intending to leave home is highest in Norway and lowest in the Czech Republic and Georgia. It is also interesting to note the variability in leaving home intentions among broader European regions (compare, for example, Lithuanian young adults, who intend to leave home, to other young Eastern Europeans).

Table 2 Descriptive statistics of the sample (12 countries)

	All countries		NO	AT	BE	DE	FR	BG	CZ	GE	LT	RO	RU	IT
Sample size: Young adults living with parents	10 457		349	671	585	255	374	1 754	1 204	1 392	763	965	692	1 453
% of overall sample	36.3		12.9	34.9	34.6	12.8	24.2	43.5	38.5	56.2	28.2	39.0	35.1	55.8
Intention to leave home †														
Yes	46.8		85.3	55.8	55.6	64.6	64.9	40.7	37.0	34.8	48.6	44.0	45.6	43.6
No	53.2		14.7	44.2	44.4	35.4	35.1	59.3	63.0	65.2	51.4	56.0	54.4	56.4
Sex														
Male	58.5		58.6	61.8	60.3	59.6	56.3	59.0	58.8	59.5	50.5	66.4	49.7	57.7
Female	41.5		41.4	38.2	39.7	40.4	43.7	41.0	41.2	40.5	49.5	33.6	50.3	42.3
Children														
0	90.8		97.9	96.5	98.6	96.7	98.8	85.3	94.3	81.4	89.9	87.8	76.6	99.9
1 or more	9.2		2.1	3.5	1.4	3.3	1.2	14.7	5.7	18.6	10.1	12.2	23.4	0.1
Partnership status														
Single	65.6		60.4	52.8	52.7	67.6	60.4	68.3	68.3	76.6	75.7	67.5	50.5	67.2
Non-cohabiting partner	24.1		36.9	42.5	44.8	30.5	36.8	15.7	25.0	1.8	13.9	17.7	27.2	32.8
Cohabiting partner	3.2		0.8	1.9	1.9	0.5	1.1	5.7	3.1	8.4	2.6	2.3	5.2	0.0
Married	7.1		1.9	2.8	0.6	1.4	1.7	10.2	3.6	13.2	7.8	12.5	17.2	0.0
Median age	22		20	21	22	20	20	23	21	23	20	23	22	24
Education														
Low	26.8		72.8	20.3	17.4	10.4	20.9	27.7	38.1	11.3	29.4	26.9	15.2	34.9
Medium	59.2		23.9	71.4	56.5	69.9	62.9	60.9	55.9	63.7	62.7	64.3	51.1	56.3
High	14.0		3.2	8.3	26.2	19.6	16.3	11.4	6.0	25.0	7.9	8.7	33.7	8.8
Employment status														
Employed/ self-employed	42.9		48.5	64.9	41.0	32.8	24.2	47.8	37.2	29.7	29.0	54.3	51.7	43.8
Unemployed	15.4		3.2	4.9	11.3	6.1	19.9	23.3	8.7	36.7	6.0	11.0	11.2	16.7
Student / In training	37.9		43.5	27.8	47.2	59.9	53.2	25.5	52.5	27.5	63.5	27.9	31.2	36.3
Inactive	3.8		4.8	2.5	0.5	1.3	2.7	3.3	1.6	6.2	1.5	6.8	5.9	3.2

Table 2 cont.

	All countries		NO	AT	BE	DE	FR	BG	CZ	GE	LT	RO	RU	IT
Limited in everyday activity														
Yes	2.5		4.5	1.6	4.0	0.6	5.7	2.7	3.7	2.7	0.4	2.1	1.5	1.7
No	97.5		95.5	98.4	96.0	99.4	94.3	97.3	96.3	97.3	99.6	97.9	98.5	98.3
Number of siblings														
0	16.6		4.9	11.7	13.4	21.9	8.0	18.0	21.4	10.8	32.4	20.1	19.2	13.2
1	50.0		38.0	42.5	40.0	47.8	35.2	63.4	57.0	47.1	49.0	44.0	55.2	55.2
2 or more	33.4		57.1	45.8	46.7	30.3	56.8	18.6	21.6	42.1	18.5	35.9	25.7	31.6
Parents' high education														
Yes	44.2		54.4	45.0	71.5	30.4	43.8	47.4	58.2	50.9	57.6	36.6	56.5	11.2
No	55.8		45.6	55.0	28.5	69.6	56.2	52.6	41.8	49.1	42.4	63.4	43.5	88.8
Parents limited in everyday activity														
Yes	6.0		4.3	1.7	8.4	0.8	3.1	5.9	8.1	4.7	2.5	20.2	4.4	0.1
No	94.0		95.7	98.3	91.6	99.2	96.9	94.1	91.9	95.3	97.5	79.8	95.6	99.9

Source: GGS Wave 1 (2002 - 2013). Own calculations.

Note: Unweighted N and weighted %. † We collapsed the GGS response categories *definitely yes* and *probably yes* and *definitely no* and *probably no*, respectively.

Figure 1 Young adults' leaving home intentions, pooled sample

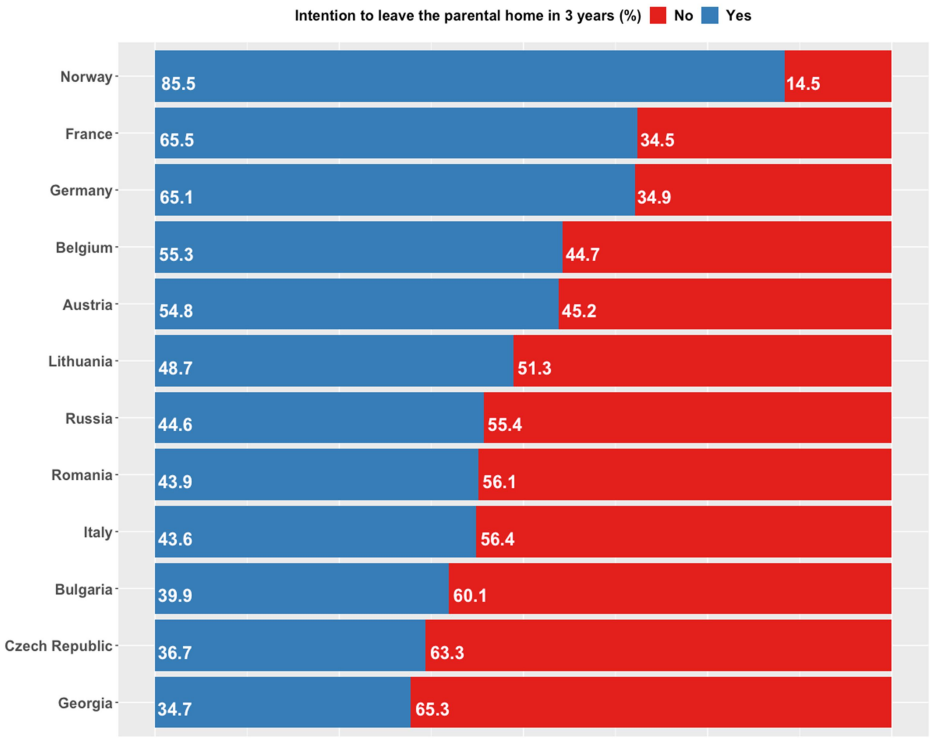


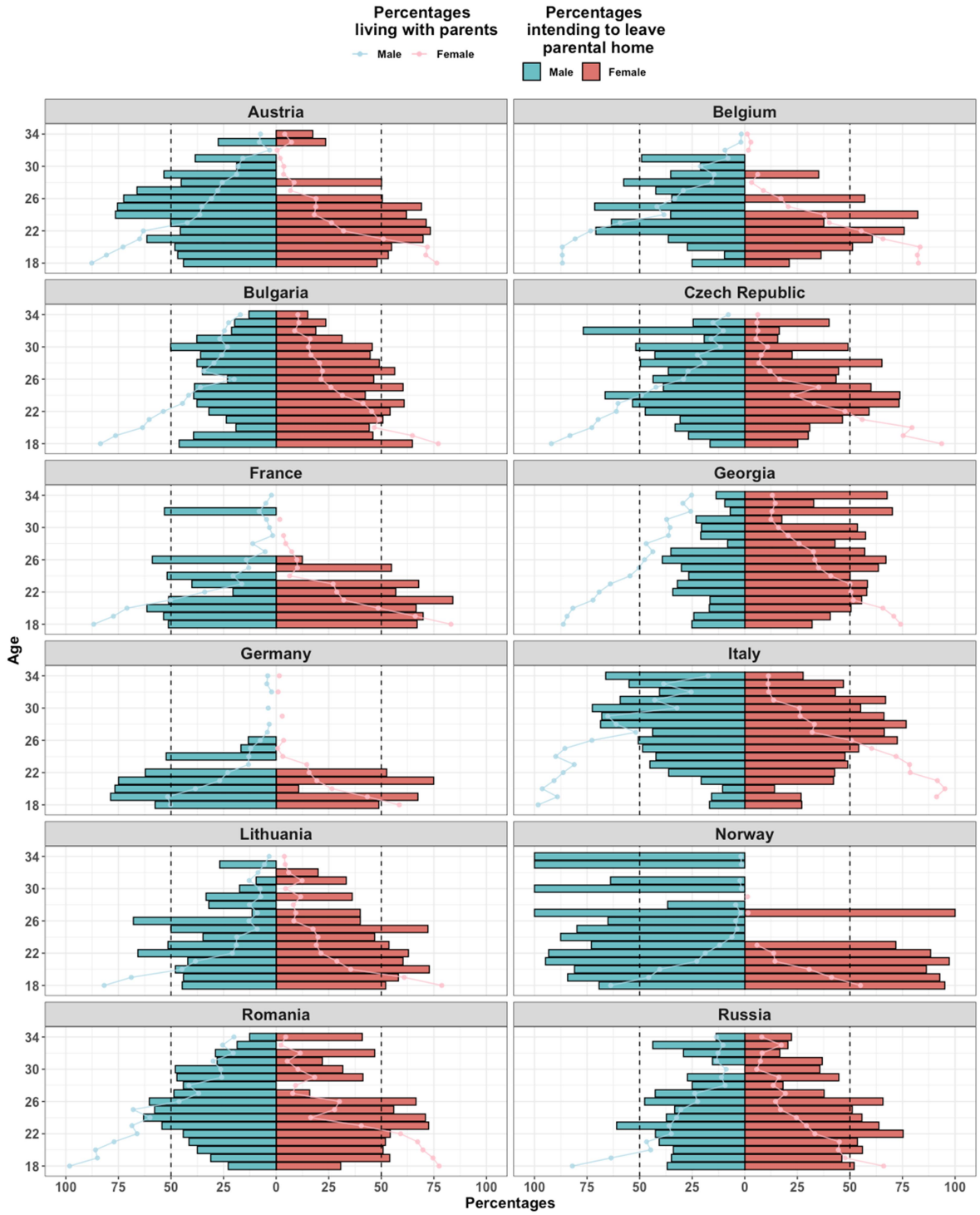
Figure 2 shows the weighted age, sex, and intention distribution of young adults by country. The population pyramids allow us to compare the share of young adults still living in the parental home (by age and sex, and across countries) with the share of stated intentions to leave the parental home. First, it is clear that leaving home for both men and women and across countries is an age-graded process. The distribution of young men and women living in the parental home (as indicated by the red and blue dotted lines) resembles a triangle with a broad base and narrow top. Put differently, the share of young men and women living with their parents is highest in the younger age groups and, after age 25, generally decreases. There are, however, not quite unexpected country differences: In Norway, Germany, and France the share of young adults living with parents is lowest with less than 15% after age 25 and less than 5% after age 30, in Austria, Belgium, and the Czech Republic the share is intermediate with about or

more than 20% after age 25, and in Italy, Georgia, and Romania the share is still as high as 30-50% after age 25 and between 12-25% after age 30. Second, home-leaving intentions are also age-graded – but only in some countries. If there was a "perfect" age gradient, we would expect the distribution of home-leaving intentions to resemble an upside-down triangle with a narrow base and broad top. This is somewhat the case in Italy, and to a lesser extent, in Romania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and Belgium. It means that the share of young men and women with home-leaving intentions is highest in the older age groups. In those countries where home-leaving is accelerated and lower shares of young adults live with their parents (i.e., Norway, Germany, and France), however, there is no clear age gradient in home-leaving intentions. A majority of young men and women across all age groups has the intention to leave the parental home. Third, there are differences between men and women. Compared to men, women have lower share of living with parents but higher shares of home-leaving intentions. This pattern is relatively stable across countries, Germany and Norway being the exceptions.

4.2 Attitudes, Subjective Norms, and Perceived Behavioral Control

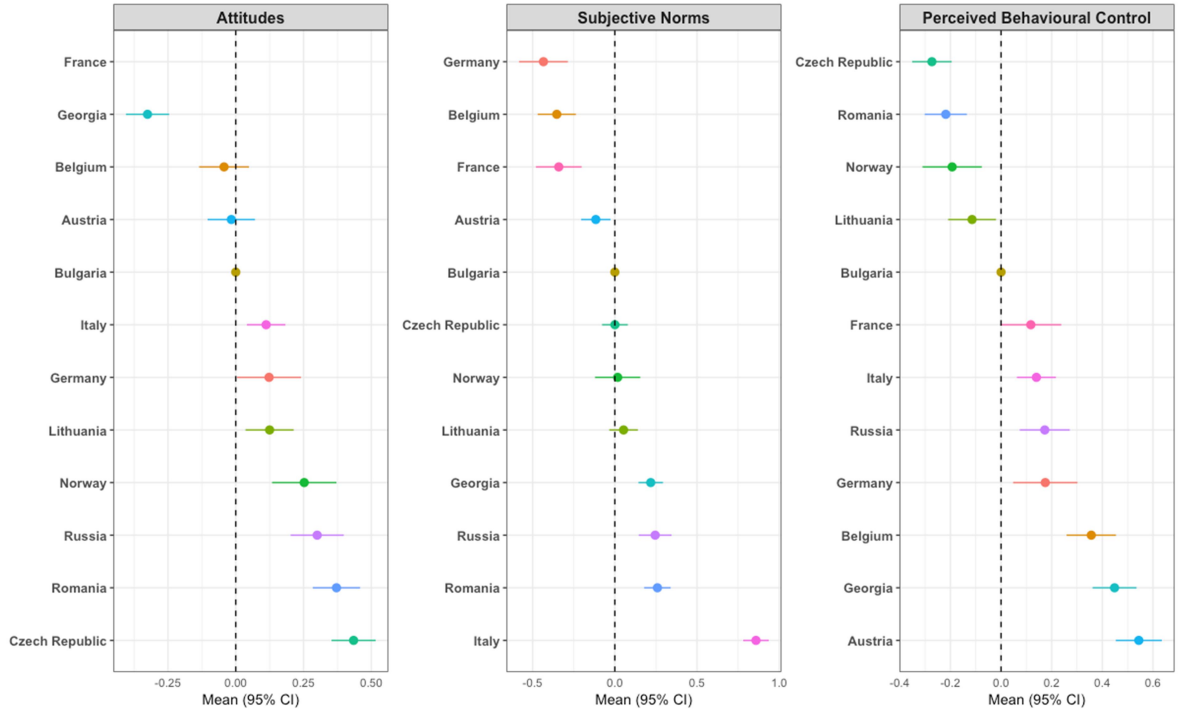
Estimated means of the three factors from the multi-group factor analysis are shown in Figure 3 for each country. There is fairly large variation in the estimated means of the three factors (see Figure 3) across the different countries in the sample, especially for subjective norms. Here, the difference between the highest and the lowest means is around 1 unit, or around one individual-level standard deviation of the factor. This means that young adults generally score higher in those countries where the average values of the three factors are the highest, compared to their counterparts in countries where the values are the lowest. The standard errors in the estimated means are fairly small, so that most of the differences between

Figure 2 Population pyramids



country-means appear to be statistically significant. Overall and as expected, there are also fairly clear geographical patterns in the levels of means, although with exceptions to a clear-cut North–West / South–East gradient.

Figure 3 Multi-group factor analysis



Attitudes towards living separately from parents represent the factor with the lowest variability across countries. In most countries, young adults are likely to express positive attitudes towards living separately from parents. Attitudes are strongest in Norway, followed by Russia, Romania, Czech Republic and Belgium - compared to Bulgaria as the reference. In these countries, respondents are likely to report that they expect positive benefits when leaving the parental home. At the other extreme we find Georgia, where attitudes are significantly weaker than in any other country. Here, respondents are least likely to report positive benefits associated with leaving the parental home. Italy and Austria show weak and similar estimated means in attitudes to that of Bulgaria. In all, this only partially confirms our expectations.

Levels of subjective norms towards living separately from parents are least strong in Germany and strongest in Italy. Apart from Norway, where the estimated means in subjective norms are very similar to those Bulgaria (as the reference), the other countries exhibit a clearer North–West / South–East gradient where young adults in Italy and most of the Eastern European countries seem to experience more pressure to leave the parental home than their counterparts in the other countries. This is in line with our expectations. Finally, levels of perceived behavioral control over the decision to live separately from the parents are highest in Austria (i.e. young adults have most control), a country in the sample with a stable institutional context for youth education and employment, and lowest in the Czech Republic (i.e. young adults have least control), a country in the sample characterised by low levels of public spending on youth education and employment and social assistance (Thévenon 2015). Although there are some exceptions - particularly Norway, Italy, and Georgia - the cross-country pattern supports our expectation that young adults in the Eastern European countries tend to express lower levels of perceived behavioural control.

4.3 Proximate Determinants of Leaving Home Intentions

In Tables 3, 4, and 5 we present the results from three logistic regression models to examine effects on intention to leave home separately for each latent factor. These models include control variables along with attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control and their respective interactions with country, sex, and age. Attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control are consistently and significantly relevant in explaining young

Table 3 Logistic regressions predicting intentions to leave home, Attitudes

	Model 4a			Model 4b			Model 4b		
	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig
Attitudes	1.62	0.11	***	1.42	0.07	***	0.61	0.27	*
Country (ref. Bulgaria)									
Russia	1.41	0.75		-0.22	0.12		-0.23	0.12	*
Georgia	-0.10	0.56		-0.03	0.09		-0.03	0.09	
Germany	-0.27	1.71		1.19	0.19	***	1.17	0.19	***
France	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Italy	1.92	0.62	**	-0.19	0.10		-0.20	0.10	
Romania	0.32	0.64		-0.14	0.10		-0.15	0.10	
Norway	2.64	1.24	*	2.37	0.19	***	2.33	0.19	***
Austria	-1.05	0.87		0.41	0.11	***	0.41	0.11	***
Belgium	-2.12	0.93	*	0.29	0.11	**	0.27	0.11	*
Lithuania	0.62	0.73		0.56	0.11	***	0.56	0.11	***
Czech Republic	0.47	0.61		-0.54	0.09	***	-0.53	0.09	***
Age	0.65	0.08	***	0.65	0.08	***	0.50	0.09	***
Age (sq)	-0.01	0.00	***	-0.01	0.00	***	-0.01	0.00	***
Sex (ref. Female)									
Male	-0.53	0.05	***	-0.95	0.34	**	-0.52	0.05	***
Children (ref. 0)									
1 or more	-0.79	0.13	***	-0.79	0.13	***	-0.79	0.13	***
Partnership status (ref. Single)									
Non-cohabiting partner	0.86	0.07	***	0.85	0.07	***	0.85	0.07	***
Cohabiting partner	0.48	0.14	**	0.46	0.14	**	0.46	0.14	**
Married	0.18	0.14		0.18	0.14		0.18	0.14	
Education (ref. Medium)									
Low	-0.08	0.07		-0.06	0.07		-0.06	0.07	
High	0.41	0.08	***	0.42	0.08	***	0.43	0.08	***
Employment status (ref. Employed/ self-employed)									
Inactive	-0.11	0.15		-0.11	0.15		-0.10	0.15	
Student / In training	-0.27	0.07	***	-0.27	0.07	***	-0.26	0.07	***
Unemployed	-0.01	0.08		0.00	0.08		0.00	0.08	
Limited in everyday activity (ref. No)									
Yes	-0.07	0.18		-0.08	0.18		-0.08	0.18	
Number of siblings (ref. 0)									
1	0.24	0.07	**	0.23	0.07	**	0.23	0.07	**
2 or more	0.38	0.08	***	0.38	0.08	***	0.38	0.08	***
At least one parent with high education (ref. No)									
Yes	0.20	0.06	**	0.20	0.06	***	0.21	0.06	***

Table 3 cont.

	Model 4a			Model 4b			Model 4b		
	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig
Parents limited in everyday activity (ref. No)									
Yes	-0.10	0.10		-0.09	0.10		-0.09	0.10	
Interactions									
Country * Attitudes									
Russia	-0.45	0.21	*						
Georgia	0.03	0.16							
Germany	0.44	0.52							
France	--	--	--						
Italy	-0.60	0.18	**						
Romania	-0.13	0.18							
Norway	-0.07	0.37							
Austria	0.44	0.26							
Belgium	0.72	0.28	**						
Lithuania	-0.02	0.21							
Czech Republic	-0.28	0.17							
Sex * Attitudes				0.12	0.10				
Age * Attitudes							0.04	0.01	**
Constant	-14.2	1.04	***	-13.5	0.99	***	-10.49	1.40	***
F	43.88			54.69			54.69		
df	38			29			29		
N	9,914			9,914			9,914		

Source: GGS Wave 1 (2002 - 2013). Own calculations.
Note: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. TPB items for *Attitudes* were not included in the French GGS.

adults' intentions to leave the parental home, even when controlled for a host of socio-demographic variables and after having included different interactions (see models 4a, 4b, and 4c in Tables 3 and 4). Both attitudes and subjective norms matter in the expected direction. Perceived behavioural control, however, is somewhat unexpected in its directionality: The main effect is negative - i.e., the higher the perceived behavioural control, the less certain become intentions - even when controlling for a host of socio-demographic variables and including either an interaction with country or sex (see models 4a and 4b in Table 5). If we include the

Table 4 Logistic regressions predicting intentions to leave home, Subjective norms

	Model 4a			Model 4b			Model 4b		
	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig
Subjective norms	0.75	0.06	***	0.87	0.04	***	0.21	0.17	
Country (ref. Bulgaria)									
Russia	-0.31	0.34		-0.29	0.12	*	-0.31	0.12	**
Georgia	-1.76	0.31	***	-0.45	0.09	***	-0.45	0.09	***
Germany	0.93	0.48		1.36	0.20	***	1.31	0.19	***
France	1.23	0.32	***	1.23	0.16	***	1.16	0.16	***
Italy	-2.09	0.45	***	-0.86	0.11	***	-0.89	0.11	***
Romania	-1.26	0.37	**	-0.02	0.10		-0.03	0.10	
Norway	1.90	0.43	***	2.34	0.19	***	2.30	0.19	***
Austria	0.52	0.32		0.48	0.12	***	0.47	0.12	***
Belgium	-0.12	0.28		0.57	0.12	***	0.53	0.12	***
Lithuania	0.21	0.31		0.40	0.11	***	0.39	0.11	***
Czech Republic	-0.95	0.31	**	-0.25	0.10	*	-0.26	0.10	**
Age	0.38	0.08	***	0.38	0.08	***	0.36	0.08	***
Age (sq)	-0.01	0.00	***	-0.01	0.00	***	-0.01	0.00	***
Sex (ref. Female)									
Male	-0.45	0.05	***	-0.80	0.16	***	-0.45	0.05	***
Children (ref. 0)									
1 or more	-0.85	0.13	***	-0.84	0.13	***	-0.84	0.13	***
Partnership status (ref. Single)									
Non-cohabiting partner	0.90	0.07	***	0.91	0.07	***	0.90	0.07	***
Cohabiting partner	0.38	0.14	**	0.35	0.14	*	0.37	0.15	*
Married	0.11	0.13		0.07	0.13		0.07	0.14	
Education (ref. Medium)									
Low	-0.12	0.07		-0.13	0.07		-0.13	0.07	
High	0.38	0.08	***	0.38	0.08	***	0.38	0.09	***
Employment status (ref. Employed/ self-employed)									
Inactive	-0.22	0.15		-0.19	0.15		-0.18	0.15	
Student / In training	-0.06	0.07		-0.08	0.07		-0.09	0.07	
Unemployed	-0.02	0.08		-0.02	0.08		-0.02	0.08	
Limited in everyday activity (ref. No)									
Yes	0.00	0.19		-0.02	0.19		-0.02	0.19	
Number of siblings (ref. 0)									
1	0.22	0.07	**	0.23	0.07	**	0.22	0.07	**
2 or more	0.30	0.08	***	0.32	0.08	***	0.31	0.08	***
At least one parent with high education (ref. No)									
Yes	0.20	0.06	***	0.20	0.06	***	0.20	0.06	***

Table 4 cont.

	Model 4a			Model 4b			Model 4b		
	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig
Parents limited in everyday activity (ref. No)									
Yes	-0.04	0.11		-0.04	0.10		-0.03	0.11	
Interactions									
Country * Subjective norms									
Russia	0.03	0.12							
Georgia	0.48	0.11	***						
Germany	0.16	0.24							
France	-0.08	0.14							
Italy	0.41	0.14	**						
Romania	0.46	0.13	***						
Norway	0.16	0.19							
Austria	-0.04	0.13							
Belgium	0.30	0.13	*						
Lithuania	0.07	0.12							
Czech Republic	0.28	0.11	*						
Sex * Subjective norms				0.13	0.06				
Age * Subjective norms							0.03	0.01	***
Constant	-6.75	0.99	***	-6.98	0.97	***	-5.99	1.03	***
F	40.06			50.8			50.8		
df	40			30			30		
N	9,647			9,647			9,647		

Source: GGS Wave 1 (2002 - 2013). Own calculations.
Note: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

interaction of perceived behavioural control and age, the main effect is in the expected direction (b= 0.45, p<0.01).

Table 5 Logistic regressions predicting intentions to leave home, Perceived behavioural control

	Model 4a			Model 4b			Model 4b		
	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig
Perceived behavioural control	-0.18	0.06	**	-0.03	0.04		0.45	0.14	**
Country (ref. Bulgaria)									
Russia	-0.12	0.33		0.14	0.11		0.14	0.11	
Georgia	-0.13	0.23		-0.21	0.09	*	-0.20	0.09	*
Germany	1.46	0.67	*	1.09	0.19	***	1.07	0.19	***
France	0.62	0.44		0.92	0.15	***	0.91	0.15	***
Italy	-0.23	0.28		-0.13	0.10		-0.14	0.10	
Romania	0.48	0.26		0.23	0.09	*	0.23	0.09	*
Norway	0.87	0.48		2.10	0.18	***	2.09	0.18	***
Austria	0.71	0.40		0.37	0.11	**	0.35	0.11	**
Belgium	-0.56	0.35		0.22	0.11	*	0.20	0.11	
Lithuania	-0.01	0.28		0.62	0.11	***	0.63	0.11	***
Czech Republic	-0.79	0.27	**	-0.15	0.09		-0.14	0.09	
Age	0.62	0.07	***	0.62	0.07	***	0.67	0.07	***
Age (sq)	-0.01	0.00	***	-0.01	0.00	***	-0.01	0.00	***
Sex (ref. Female)									
Male	-0.53	0.05	***	-0.11	0.15		-0.52	0.05	***
Children (ref. 0)									
1 or more	-0.88	0.13	***	-0.87	0.13	***	-0.89	0.13	***
Partnership status (ref. Single)									
Non-cohabiting partner	0.97	0.06	***	0.97	0.06	***	0.97	0.06	***
Cohabiting partner	0.21	0.14		0.22	0.14		0.21	0.14	
Married	0.04	0.13		0.06	0.13		0.07	0.13	
Education (ref. Medium)									
Low	-0.05	0.07		-0.06	0.07		-0.05	0.07	
High	0.33	0.08	***	0.33	0.08	***	0.33	0.08	***
Employment status (ref. Employed/ self-employed)									
Inactive	-0.26	0.15		-0.26	0.15		-0.24	0.15	
Student / In training	-0.24	0.07	**	-0.24	0.07	**	-0.24	0.07	**
Unemployed	0.03	0.08		0.02	0.08		0.02	0.08	
Limited in everyday activity (ref. No)									
Yes	-0.28	0.17		-0.30	0.17		-0.28	0.17	
Number of siblings (ref. 0)									
1	0.25	0.07	***	0.25	0.07	***	0.25	0.07	***
2 or more	0.38	0.08	***	0.39	0.08	***	0.39	0.08	***
At least one parent with high education (ref. No)									
Yes	0.21	0.05	***	0.22	0.05	***	0.22	0.05	***

Table 5 cont.

	Model 4a			Model 4b			Model 4b		
	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig	B	SE	sig
Parents limited in everyday activity (ref. No)									
Yes	-0.04	0.10		-0.02	0.10		-0.03	0.10	
Interactions									
Country * Perceived behavioural control									
Russia	0.10	0.12							
Georgia	-0.02	0.08							
Germany	-0.13	0.24							
France	0.12	0.16							
Italy	0.04	0.10							
Romania	-0.11	0.10							
Norway	0.54	0.21	*						
Austria	-0.11	0.13							
Belgium	0.28	0.12	*						
Lithuania	0.26	0.11	*						
Czech Republic	0.27	0.11	*						
Sex * Perceived behavioural control				-0.16	0.05	**			
Age * Perceived behavioural control							-0.02	0.01	***
Constant	-7.72	0.93	***	-8.14	0.92	***	-9.25	0.97	***
F	25.17			32.94			33.34		
df	40			30			30		
N	9,472			9,472			9,472		

Source: GGS Wave 1 (2002 - 2013). Own calculations.
Note: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

For a more substantive interpretation of the country, sex, and age differences in the effect of attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural, let us turn to the adjusted predictions plotted in Figures 4 to 6. The adjusted predictions show how the marginal effects of attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control vary by country, sex, and age, respectively. It is clear that, contrary to our expectations, both attitudes and subjective norms play a role for intention formation – across countries and between men and women. Overall,

subjective norms, however, are a slightly more important factor. Across countries, this pattern holds, but especially in Norway and the Western European countries perceiving (even low or moderate) pressure from significant others to leave the parental home is crucial for young adults' intention to leave. Similarly, young women's intention formation relates to perceiving (even low or moderate) pressure from significant others more than young men's.

Figure 4 Adjusted predictions of proximate determinants by country

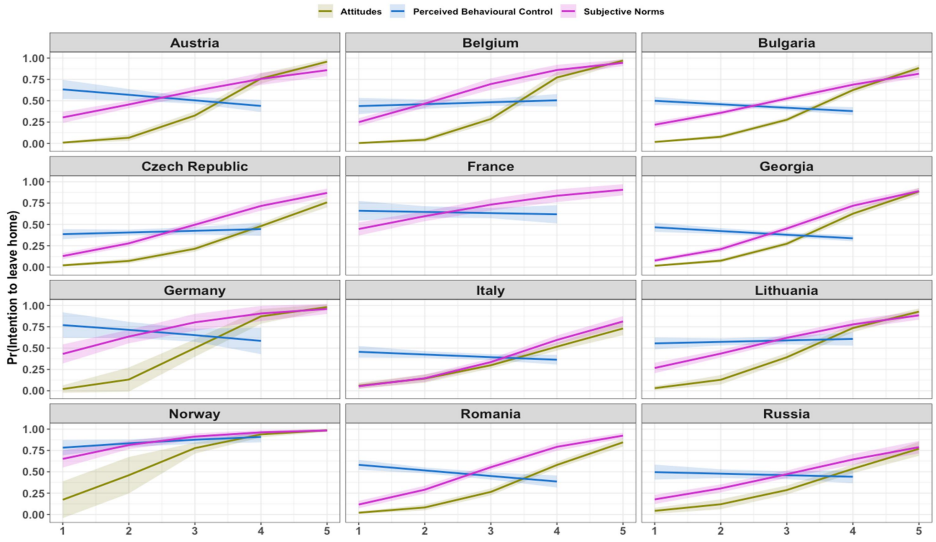
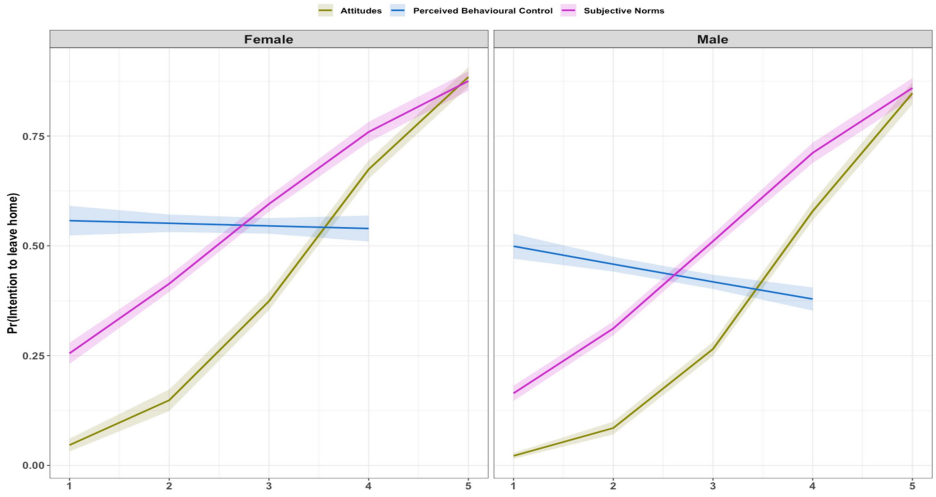
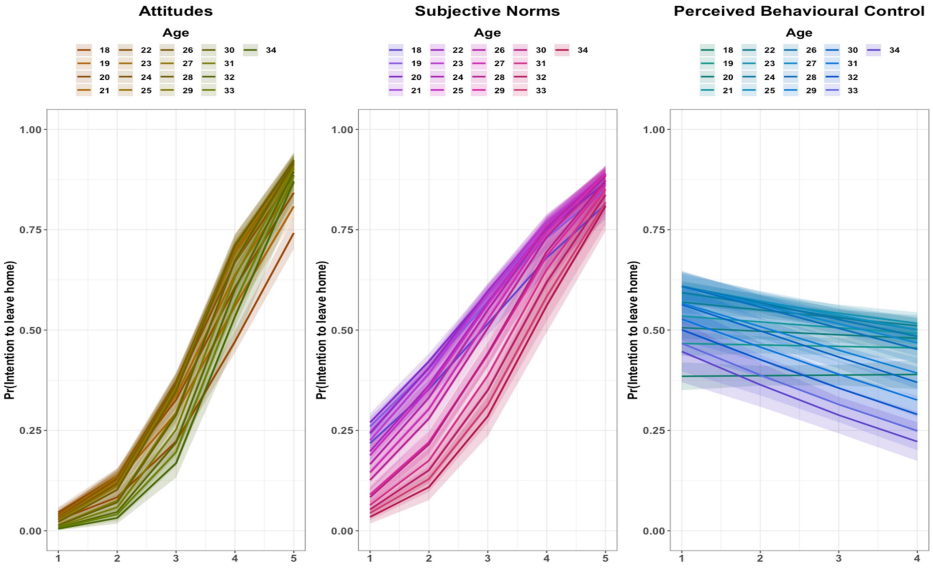


Figure 5 Adjusted predictions of proximate determinants by sex



Regarding differences by age, the adjusted predictions furthermore show that the effect of attitudes and subjective norms is age graded – with increasing age both become less important as predictors for intention formation. However, the spread across age groups is larger for subjective norms than for attitudes and the differences between age groups in attitudes and subjective norms play out on opposing sides of the factor spectrum. This indicates firstly that age differences in attitudes are, overall, slightly smaller than for subjective norms. Secondly, this indicates that age differences in attitudes are more pronounced for young people who report high values of attitudes but that age differences in subjective norms are less pronounced for young people who report high values of subjective norms.

Figure 6 Adjusted predictions of proximate determinants by age



In a final step, we regressed all three latent factors simultaneously on intention to leave the parental home, while also including control variables. The results are shown in Table 6. We see that while attitudes and subjective norms are useful, simultaneously, in the study of leaving home intentions, perceived behavioural control is not. If perceived behavioural control is

included with the other TPB factors, it has no significant effect (b= 0.03, p>0.05). When we compare the relative magnitude of the effects of attitudes (b= 1.24, p<0.001) and subjective norms (b= 0.81, p<0.001), the dominating factor is attitudes which has a larger coefficient.

Table 6 Logistic regression predicting intentions to leave home, all factors included simultaneously

	Model 1		
	B	SE	sig
Attitudes	1.24	0.06	***
Subjective norms	0.81	0.04	***
Perceived behavioral control	0.03	0.03	
Country (ref. Bulgaria)			
Russia	-0.38	0.14	**
Georgia	-0.20	0.10	
Germany	1.63	0.21	***
Italy	-0.76	0.12	***
Romania	-0.10	0.11	
Norway	2.55	0.21	***
Austria	0.61	0.13	***
Belgium	0.73	0.13	***
Lithuania	0.47	0.13	***
Czech Republic	-0.38	0.11	**
Age	0.47	0.09	***
Age (sq)	-0.01	0.00	***
Sex (ref. Female)			
Male	-0.47	0.06	***
Children (ref. 0)			
1 or more	-0.70	0.14	***
Partnership status (ref. Single)			
Non-cohabiting partner	0.83	0.08	***
Cohabiting partner	0.37	0.16	*
Married	0.01	0.15	
Education (ref. Medium)			
Low	-0.09	0.08	
High	0.41	0.09	***
Employment status (ref. Employed/ self-employed)			
Inactive	0.02	0.17	
Student / In training	-0.11	0.08	
Unemployed	0.01	0.09	

Table 6 cont.

	Model 1		
	B	SE	sig
Limited in everyday activity (ref. No)			
Yes	-0.04	0.21	
Number of siblings (ref. 0)			
1	0.17	0.08	*
2 or more	0.26	0.09	**
At least one parent with high education (ref. No)			
Yes	0.25	0.06	***
Parents limited in everyday activity (ref. No)			
Yes	-0.18	0.12	
Constant	-12.7	1.14	***
F	52.96		
df	30		
N	8,468		

Source: GGS Wave 1 (2002 - 2013). Own calculations.
Note: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to comparatively examine young adults' home-leaving intentions and the drivers behind them, using data from the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) in 12 European countries and drawing on the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) as a theoretical framework, in order to better understand the decision-making process preceding the first move out of the parental home. In particular, we were interested in cross-national patterns and differences, because young adults' decision-making and intention formation are embedded in the wider socio-cultural and institutional country context. Our analyses have shown that the formation of intention to leave home appears to differ across different individual and national contexts and have answered a series of questions.

First, leaving home intentions vary across countries. The age-sex-country patterns emerging from our analysis indicate that young adults in the Western and Northern European

countries more often express an intention to leave the parental home than their counterparts in Italy, Georgia, Russia, or Eastern European countries. Interestingly, home-leaving intentions in the former countries appear not to be less age-graded than in the latter countries. We know from prior research that life course transitions, such as leaving the parental home, are typically made at certain ages, partly because of socio-cultural norms but also because of age-graded institutional structures (e.g., Aaassve et al. 2013; Liefbroer and Billari 2010). That particularly young adults in Norway, France, and Germany across the age range 18-34 consistently express an intention to leave the parental home is in line with the argument that societies in North-Western Europe are more individualistic, with a greater emphasis on privacy and/ or autonomy (Reher 1998).

Second, the results from our multi-group factor analyses indicate that young adults report different levels of proximate determinants (i.e., attitudes, subjective norms; and perceived behavioural control). For attitudes cross-country variability is lowest, indicating that young adults are relatively similar in expecting to be better off once they leave the parental home – the exception being Georgia. For subjective norms cross-country variability more clearly follows a North–West / South–East gradient – where, in line with our expectations, young adults in Italy and most of the Eastern European countries seem to experience more pressure to leave the parental home than their peers. For perceived behavioural control our expectations that young adults in the Eastern European countries tend to perceive more structural barriers are generally met. This is in line with prior research documenting strong differences in the welfare mix and institutional support for young people (Thévenon 2015).

Third, the results from our regression analysis indicate that both attitudes and subjective norms play an important role for intention formation, whereas perceived behavioural control does not. Furthermore, there are interesting country and age differences in how important attitudes and subjective norms are for the intention formation vis-à-vis leaving home. On the one hand, subjective norms are crucial for young adults' intention to leave the parental home, but this is even more pronounced in Norway and the Western European countries. Again, this is in line with the notion of a historically stronger emphasis on autonomy and individualism in these countries (Reher 1998; Liefbroer & Billari 2010) – at the same time, however, 'country' subsumes a complex mix of structural, institutional, economic, and cultural settings and we encourage future research to disentangle their impact on proximate determinants and subsequently intention formation. On the other hand, attitudes and subjective norms become less important as predictors for intention formation with age. This could be due to either change over the life course or a discrepancy between people of different ages. We leave it to future research to examine whether these differences represent mostly age or cohort changes.

The results regarding perceived behavioral control were overall surprising and, while we cannot categorically exclude measurement error of this TPB component as the questions ask about how much the decision to leave home depends on a given factor and not if young people have control over a factor (see for a similar argument Ajzen & Klobas 2013), they could be related to leaving home being a reversible event. Compared to other key events in the transition to adulthood (i.e. getting married or having the first child) it is much more easily re-examined and reversed and in such cases parents are wont to step in, and provide help and a "safety net"

(Swartz 2009). If true, this could explain why perceived behavioral control is not important for leaving home for the first time, although it is for other demographic decision-making.

In closing, our findings underscore the salience of systematic and cross-nationally comparative study of leaving home intentions as a key to understanding contemporary decision-making vis-à-vis first exit moves from the parental home, and that the distinction between attitudes, norms and perceived behavioural control is a promising strategy for future research. We therefore propose that demographic research on the transition to adulthood puts a stronger focus on young people's motivations underlying the first exit from the parental home. GGS represent a unique source of data for studying the transition out of the parental home for young adults in Europe. Respondents who are still living with their parents are asked about their intentions to live separately from parents in the next three years, as well as about attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behaviour control related to the decision to live independently. At present, 12 countries allow to study whether intentions reported in the first wave are realized in a follow-up panel (see e.g. Ferrari et al., 2014; Billari et al 2019) – with prospective new rounds of the GGS 2020 this approach can be generalized to even more countries and other types of demographic decisions. By widening the analytical focus, we could gain a more nuanced understanding of the transition to adulthood and its key markers.

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