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Leaving Parental Homes In Canada: An Examination Of Gender, Family And Culture

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Leaving Parental Homes in Canada:
An Examination of Gender, Family and Culture

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation first explores a theoretical synthesis for the home-leaving of young adults in Canada. It proposes that home-leaving decisions are made at the family level, instead of at the individual level. While young adults may base their considerations concerning their living arrangements primarily on their own self-interest, parents are more likely to consider not only their own interests but also the best interests of their children. Young adults from social groups with different levels of familism will also have different patterns of home-leaving.

The analysis involves the life table and the proportional hazards models, as well as logistic regression, using data from the 1990 General Social Survey of Canada. After identifying as many covariates as possible as of the time of the event (home-leaving), this research found that gender, family structure, culture, and financial considerations are important predictors of home-leaving. While women still leave home earlier than men, their reasons for leaving home are becoming quite similar to those of men in recent cohorts. Children from non-traditional, non-intact families are likely to leave home early than other children. On the other hand, children from more traditional ethnic and religious groups tend to leave home later. Young adults, especially young men are more likely to live apart from parents if they have

achieved financial independence.

This research also points to several data needs for the study of home-leaving in Canada. First, more information concerning young adults, their parents and the family structure is needed as of the time of young adults' home-leaving. Second, data must allow the linkage between this information and young adults' pathways for exiting parental homes. Third, community level variables need to be included in data collection.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Leaving the family home is a very important event in the lives of young adults, and in the lives of their parents. Until recently, it was an event regarded simply as a correlate of other important advances that take place during the transition from childhood to adulthood. These other advances include, among others, the completion of one's education, entry into labor force, marriage, and establishment of an independent household. While these events, especially marriage, have received a great deal of academic attention, only limited interest has been shown in the phenomenon of home-leaving itself. With recent changes in the home-leaving pattern, especially the weakened linkage between leaving home and marriage, it has become a legitimate research topic in its own right, although often still regarded in association with or in comparison to, other life events of this period.

According to many commentators (e.g., Modell, Furstenburg and Hershberg, 1976), the transition from childhood to adulthood can be quite conflict-ridden, problematic, and stressful. Development from childhood to maturity by its very definition involves a multitude of changes. There are numerous challenges that must be met, and growth into maturity demands a high degree of adaptation by all young people. They must complete their education and find a job. At some point they will leave the parental home, for a variety of reasons,

not the least important one being to get married and establish a household of their own. It will become necessary to achieve both emotional and financial independence. A critical and unavoidable factor in achieving this independence is the rather brief time frame in which to accomplish it. Moreover, young adults can expect to find no precise social timetables that may enable them to routinely or automatically facilitate these transitions. With rapid social changes taking place in a heterogeneous society, different social norms are present among different social groups. Young people brought up in this kind of heterogeneous society are exposed to norms, beliefs and values that are very often in conflict. Confusion and ambiguity contribute to the feelings of alienation and other difficulties that young adults experience during this period of transition.

Whereas earlier in this century leaving home was associated primarily with getting married, this is no longer the case. Now, young adults are leaving in greater numbers for other reasons as well - to get an education, to seek employment, or simply to become independent. Whereas young adults used to move from the household of origin directly to the household of procreation, now there is a long interim period when young adults are living as unattached individuals. This trend has important implications for both young adults and society in general.

In an article on the nonfamily living of young adults,

Waite, Goldscheider and Witsberger (1986) commented on the erosion of family values through nonfamily living by young adults. Having experienced independent living, young adults have developed skills and interests in areas other than the establishment of a family and the raising of children. The authors regarded this phenomenon of the increasing prevalence of premarital independent living as "a further extension of the changes accompanying modernization that have resulted in a decline in the centrality of the family" (p.541).

It is interesting at this point to take note of a study done on living arrangements of young people in the nineteenth century in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. In this historical study, Katz (1975) provided a vivid account of how young people often came to live with other "surrogate" families after they left their own parental homes. Young women often worked as servants in these families while young men lived as boarders and worked elsewhere.

However, the relationship between these young people and the "surrogate" families was not simply an econo.ic one. Rather, they became for all intents and purposes a member of the family. The surrogate "parents" had the responsibility of moral supervision over these young people. This kind of arrangement precluded many of the potential problems (such as young people's rebellion against their parents) that might have arisen had the young people continued living in their own family homes and received direct supervision from their own

parents. Young adults might be more receptive to supervision by someone other than their own parents during this period of identity formation and the transition from dependence to independence. Living outside the parental homes might also have provided the young people with an excitingly different, more varied environment.

Living arrangements of young people in Canada nowadays bear no resemblance to the example in the nineteenth century Hamilton, Ontario. The changing pattern of home-leaving of young adults is only a part of the irreversible process of modernization. It is hardly deniable that modernization has brought about dramatic changes in the society, especially a great improvement in the living standard of the majority of people. It has also allowed freedom and self-determination for more and more groups of people. An illustration would be the gradual extension of voting rights from the gentry class (in the case of England), to all adult men, and then to all adult women (Burch, 1992). The modernization process has also drastically changed and is continuing to change the traditional sex roles where women were mainly confined within the family and to the tasks of meeting the needs of their husbands and children. Women are now increasingly involved in higher education and labor force activities.

Nevertheless, the modernization process has also brought new issues which a society must address. From a demographic point of view, they include the rising ages at marriage,

increasing proportion of the non-married, below replacement level of fertility, increasing rate of divorce, sizable proportion of children expected to live in a one-parent family at least at some point in their lives. The changing pattern of home-leaving is another new situation to which a society must adapt. If the socialization of young people into family oriented values is weakened by increasing premarital independent living, should a society provide alternative means to increase this kind of socialization? If supervision and control of young adults during their extended period of nonfamily living after leaving parental homes are no longer provided by either their families of origin or "surrogate" families, are other forms of supervision and control required? If the traditional family values have been based upon unequal gender roles and division of labor, how can a society eliminate this inequality while ensuring survival in terms of adequate levels of fertility?

Besides meeting its own survival needs, a society must also be prepared to meet a variety of needs that young adults experience during their transitional stage. For example, can a society provide the appropriate housing required by young adults as they increasingly seek to live away from the family homes? Within the North American context, how can the society solve the problem that one of the most impoverished groups is that of young unattached individuals and of families headed by young adults?

Apart from young adults themselves, the other group most directly affected by their home-leaving is, of course, that of parents. For parents, depending on the birth order of the child, home-leaving may mean fewer children living at home - the advent of the "empty nest" stage in their lives. This may necessitate varying degrees of adjustment both as parents and as spouses. In the past, parents did not have to face a long period in their lives with little to occupy themselves after all their children left home. With a smaller number of children, born mainly before the parents are 35, a new stage in the life cycles of parents has set in: the "empty nest" stage. Relieved from taking care of the daily needs of children, parents suddenly find that they have to redefine their roles, in which spousal relations must assume a more prominent position.

More recently, parents are having to deal with the problem of young adults leaving home at a later age (the so-called "cluttered nest"). As a generation who left their own parental homes at a comparatively young age, parents in the present day are having to adjust to a situation in which their children are staying at home longer than they, the parents, did. Moreover, home-leaving is seldom a clear-cut situation for any family. Some children leave home once and that is the end of it. Others leave and return several times. It is obvious that both the process and the aftermath of children leaving home are important in parents' lives.

In sum, the home-leaving of young adults is a significant life event, with important ramifications for the young adults, their parents, and the society at large. With this realization, home-leaving is beginning to receive increasing attention from researchers. In the U.S., Bianchi (1987) and Aquilino (1990) studied the roles that family environment and parental characteristics play when young adults leave home. White and Edwards (1990) examined the effects of children's home-leaving on the well-being and marital happiness of parents. Goldscheider and Davanzo (1986) and Davanzo and Goldscheider (1990) examined the complicated issues of semiautonomous living and the return of offspring to parental homes. Waite et al. (1986) also examined the relationship between nonfamily living and the erosion of traditional family orientation among young adults. In Australia, Young (1987) examined the various reasons why young people leave the parental home, as well as the effect children's home-leaving has on the well-being and marital stability of their parents.

The phenomenon of home-leaving has been less researched here in Canada than it is either in the United States or in Australia. There are significant studies, however. Boyd and Pryor (1989) documented the differences between never-married young adults who are still living with parents, and those who have left parental homes. Mitchell et al. (1990) studied the effects of family environment and parental characteristics on home-leaving of young adults. Ravanera et al. (1993b)

specifically examined cohort differences during the transition to important life events that occur after home-leaving - first marriage, first birth, first marital dissolution, etc., until empty-nesting.

Part of the reason that research on home-leaving in Canada has lagged behind that in the U.S. and Australia is a lack of appropriate data. The recently released 1990 General Social Survey (GSS) of Canada (Cycle 5, on Family and Friends) provides a unique opportunity to bridge this gap. This dissertation will utilize this data set.

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyze the determinants of the timing, and to a lesser extent, the reasons for home leaving. Literature will be reviewed in Chapter 2. We will elaborate a theoretical model which draws upon existing theoretical literature on home-leaving, and at the same time, takes inspiration from a number of other research areas in demography, including fertility, marriage, and migration.

Chapter 3 will examine the 1990 GSS data and the available variables in detail. Proceeding from this information and the theoretical model in Chapter 2, we will construct hypotheses that can be tested using the GSS data. We will formulate hypotheses that take into account not only the respondents' own characteristics, but also the pertinent characteristics of parents and the family structures.

Chapter 4 will present an analysis of the incidence,

timing, and spread of home-leaving of young adults from a cohort perspective. The reasons for leaving the parental home will also be analyzed by gender and cohort.

With regard to the main tasks of the dissertation, the analysis of factors which may influence the timing of home-leaving, there are two sets of data that can be derived from the 1990 GSS Survey. The first set of data links the variable "age at which <u>each of the respondent's children</u> left home" (those children who are still living with the respondent at the time of the survey are considered censored) to the background characteristics of the respondent and the child, such as the respondent's gender, ethnicity, nativity, region of residence, total number of children, marital status when a given child left home, as well as age, gender, birth order and type of child (step, adopted, or natural). With regard to this set of data, all the variables are either reported (or inferred) for the <u>time of the event (when the child left home)</u> or can be assumed to remain relatively stable (or the same) between the time a child leaves home and the time of the survey. For example, respondents' marital status can be inferred for the time of event. Respondents' ethnicity, nativity, and type of respondents' children (step, adopted, or natural) will not change between the time of the event and the time of the survey. Respondents' region of residence, education level, total number of children, and birth orders of respondents' children can be assumed to remain relatively

stable between the time of the event and the time of the survey. These variables can therefore be used to predict the time when children leave home. Given the problem of right censoring (that is, children still living at home by the time of the survey) with the variable "age at home-leaving of the child," hazards modelling is a technique far superior to ordinary regression. Chapter 5, therefore, will examine how the various characteristics of the respondent and the child can influence the timing of home-leaving.

The second set of data links the dummy variable "whether the <u>respondent</u> has left home," and the variable "the age at which the <u>respondent</u> left home" (those who are still living with parents at the time of the survey are considered censored), to characteristics of the respondents, such as their age, gender, marital status, ethnicity, nativity, religiosity, school attendance, employment status, income level, education level, and region of residence.

However, unlike the first set of data, most of the characteristics and activities of the respondents are measured as of <u>the time of the survey</u>, rather than as of <u>the time of the event (when they left home)</u>. It is also not possible for us to infer respondents' characteristics or activities at the time of their home-leaving based on the current GSS data. Further, for most respondents, we cannot assume that their characteristics and activities have not changed from the time of their home-leaving to the time of the survey.

For people aged between 15 and 30 at the time of the survey, however, the time elapsed between their home-leaving and the survey is relatively brief. Therefore, their characteristics would not have changed too much between these two time points. Hence, it is possible for us to ask the question whether respondents with given characteristics and activity status are more likely to live with parents than other respondents at the time of the survey. In Chapter 6, logistic regression will be employed to answer this question. Further justification for the selection of this procedure will be provided in that chapter.

And lastly, Chapter 7 will summarize findings made by this dissertation. It will also provide a discussion of the deficiencies of this dissertation and some directions for future research on home-leaving.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Compared to marriage, fertility and migration, home-leaving is a relatively new topic which has just recently attracted the attention of demographers and sociologists. Empirically, patterns with regard to a few selected variables (e.g., those related to young adults' activity statuses, parental characteristics and family structures) are beginning to emerge. However, there is a significant lack of reasoned theories on home-leaving. In this chapter, I will review theoretical literature not only on home-leaving directly, but also on a number of other research areas in demography, including migration, marriage entry, fertility decline. The purpose of reviewing other areas is to identify concepts and postulates which can be borrowed in the construction of a theory on home-leaving.

1. Theoretical Models of Migration

1.1. Lee's (1969) migration model: the push and pull framework

The similarity between home-leaving and migration is that they are both human actions that involve moving from one residence to another. In fact, home-leaving can be regarded as a special type of migration, defined in the broad sense of change of residence. Seen in this light, some of the theorizing about migration can be borrowed in the case of

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home-leaving.

According to Lee (1969:285), the factors determining people's decision of migration can be grouped into four categories: "(1) factors associated with the area of origin; (2) factors associated with the area of destination; (3) intervening factors; (4) personal factors." Those factors concerning origin and destination may be economic, social, political, or even climatic. However, Lee argued that simple addition and substraction of plus and minus factors in the origin and destination will not determine an individual's final migration decision. The relative advantages in the destination have to be substantial enough to overcome both human inertia and any obstacles which may intervene.

Lee also recognized that it is perceived, rather than actual, factors at origin and destination that determine the decisions to migrate. It is recognized that the decision process includes one's personal awareness and sensitivities about opportunities that may exist elsewhere. These in turn are determined by personal contacts and sources of information which may not be readily available to all individuals.

Drawing upon Lee's migration model, it might also be possible to compile a list of factors concerning parental home (origin) and the outside world (destination). These factors may also be regarded as either positive or negative, or advantages versus disadvantages of either living in the parental home or outside of it. Young adults' decisions

regarding living in the parental homes or leaving will be determined by their subjective evaluation of the factors associated with parental homes and the outside world. These factors will not only be economic, but also social and psychological. In their subjective evaluations, young adults will not only compare the economic advantages and disadvantages of living at their parental homes, but will also think about their relationships with their parents, the normative expectations of the general society and the norms of their subcultures, regarding the most opportune time to leave the parental home. They also need to think about the emotional aspects of living with parents versus other living arrangements. Further, depending on their ages, their subjective evaluations of these various factors may also change.

1.2. Family migration theories

It should be pointed out that Lee's model is essentially individualistic in nature, i.e., the decision of the individual to migrate or not is mostly based on a subjective evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of the place of origin vis-a-vis those of a potential destination.

In this perspective, family ties involve only psychic costs and benefits for the individual. The works by Mincer (1978) and Schaeffer (1987) extended the individualistic migration model to a family migration model. Instead of

looking at the individual as the sole decision maker, the family migration model by Schaeffer (1987) and Mincer (1978) regards the family as a unit. The family will choose a location which yields the highest discounted return for the whole family. This location may not be the same one chosen by an individual family member without strong family ties.

Borrowing from Mincer (1978) and Schaffer's (1987) family migration model, it might be argued that home-leaving decisions should not be regarded as a decision arrived at by an individual young adult, based solely on their subjective evaluation of the pros and cons of living at home as opposed to living away from other family members. Instead, it should be regarded as a joint decision between the young adult and the other family members, especially the parents. This is not to deny, however, that parents and young adults may have different considerations with regard to coresidence decisions. We will further explore this issue later in this chapter.

2. Literature on Marriage Entry

Besides migration theory, another source of literature that can be borrowed in studying home-leaving is the extensive literature on the entry into married state. As a synthesis to previous theories (e.g., Becker, 1974; Dixon, 1971), Burch (1990: 2) argued for the inclusion of the following factors in his marriage model: "1) individual motivation for marriage; 2) social pressure to marry (or not); 3) eligibility for

marriage, or personal attractiveness as a partner; 4) the supply of eligible mates and search effectiveness." What interests us here are the first two factors. The individual motivation for marriage is the individual's willingness or attitude towards searching for a potential marriage partner and entering into marriage. It involves the subjective evaluation of the consequences of entering into marriage. The social pressure (or the lack of it) involves the societal norms and values concerning the entry into the married state and the individual's evaluation of these norms and beliefs, as well as the extent to which he/she is willing to abide by these norms and beliefs.

In Burch's (1990) model, the idea of motivation results essentially from the economic and social-emotional cost benefit analysis between the married state and the single state. It is therefore, similar to the concepts of push and pull factors in Lee's (1967) model on migration, which we have already argued as being useful in the construction of a theory on home-leaving.

Another concept which can be borrowed in the construction of a theory on home-leaving is the social pressure or societal norms surrounding the marriage decisions. Just as the motivation toward the married state may involve the component of social norms, the motivation of either leaving or remaining in the parental home may also involve a normative component. Veevers, Gee, and Wister (1994) have found some evidence of

the existence of norms about home-leaving. They found that around 70% of young adults and 60% of parents provided an ideal age for home-leaving. Between 80% and 90% of both parents and young adults provided the boundaries of age at home-leaving, i.e., youngest and oldest ages at home-leaving.

We may also appreciate the importance of the supply side of a coresidential living arrangement through Burch's model on marriage entry. Just as there is a need to examine the supply of potential mates, there is also a need to examine the supply side of coresidential and separate residential arrangements. For the coresidential relationship to continue, we need to have both the young adults continuing to demand such arrangements, as well as parents continuing to supply such arrangements. Similarly, establishing separate residence requires that appropriate housing facilities be available. Hill and Hill's (1976) model on home-leaving dealt most explicitly with the issue of the supply side of the living arrangement.

3. Hill and Hill's (1976) Model on Home-Leaving

Hill and Hill (1976) used the term "splitting off" to denote young adults leaving parental homes to form independent households, either as married partners or as single adults. Young adults leaving parental homes either to live in college or university dormitories or to live in military barracks, i.e., semiautonomous arrangements, do not fall under this

category.

Generally speaking, both young adults and their parents expect that they will eventually leave parental households to form their independent households. However, the timing of this split-off is determined by a host of factors, especially young adults' willingness to stay (demand for the current living arrangement) and other family members' (especially parents') willingness to have them stay (supply). Hill and Hill (1976) argued that supply and demand are both affected by a price factor, the extent to which the young adult "can carry his own weight" around the house, in financial and other terms.

More precisely, this price variable can be termed the net transfer value from other family members (especially parents) to young adults. It is the extent to which the young adults' stay is subsidized by other family members (especially parents), taking into account both housework and marketwork. This net transfer variable represents the equilibrium at which the current living arrangement will be maintained. For example, if at one point, the desire of a young adult to stay is greater than the desire of parents to let him/her stay, then the young adult must rectify the situation by increasing his/her share of housework or marketwork. On the other hand, if the desire of parents to have their child stay is greater than the desire of a young adult himself/herself to stay, then the net transfer from parents to the young adult must be increased.

4. The Roles of Parents and Children Concerning Coresidence Decisions

Hill and Hill's (1976) model may be criticized as having primarily considered only economic factors, without giving adequate attention to social and psychological factors (Burch, 1993). As a result of this drawback, Hill and Hill (1976) were unable to explain some of their own empirical findings. For example, their theory will lead one to expect that a child with higher personal income will experience a higher level of parental willingness to supply coresidence since that child is more able to carry his/her own weight around the house. However, their empirical finding is that parents' willingness to have a child stay is negatively, rather than positively, associated with the child's personal income. Overall, their empirical model built upon the theory explained a quite low proportion of the variance in the independent variable, indicating that this model fits poorly. This leads one to suspect that their assumption about parents and young adults concerning young adults' living arrangement may be mistaken.

In their model, they have assumed that parents and children are equally self-interested economically in their considerations surrounding coresidence. Parents are assumed to be less willing to provide coresidence to a child who is less able to carry his/her weight, regardless of circumstances. Children are assumed to be less willing to stay at parental homes if there is less net transfer from parents to

themselves. The argument here is that parents may consider not only their own interests, but also those of their children regarding coresidence. In the following, we will review literature in support of this alternative assumption.

In his theory on fertility decline, Caldwell (1982) argued that changes in the direction of wealth flows between parents and children resulted in the decline of fertility across societies in history. He argued that in modern societies, with emotional nucleation and the decline in the significance of kinship, parents are increasingly able to indulge their children with all kinds of benefits. The wealth flows are from parents to children. Indeed, Caldwell (1982) argued that people in modern societies are economically better off not to have any children. Childlessness did not become prevalent because of social or psychological reasons, rather than economic reasons.

Applying Caldwell's (1982) theory to the context of home-leaving, it may be argued that children in modern societies (boys especially until recently) are encouraged to obtain a good education and establish a successful career. They are encouraged in particular to consider mainly their own self-interests in their choices of living arrangements. In other words, they are encouraged to make these decisions based on what is best for their own education and careers. On the other hand, parents are usually encouraged to help their children meet education and career needs. If it is best for their

children, parents will allow their children to continue living at home, at the expense of their own privacy and resources. Conversely, if it is best for their children to leave home in pursuance of educational and employment opportunities, parents may be willing to use their own resources to help their children establish a separate living quarter.

Evidences supporting the above assumptions have been found in several research studies on living arrangements. Aquilino (1990) and Ward, Logan, and Spitze (1992) have all found that coresidence arrangements at all ages are mainly shaped by the needs of children. This is especially true for the coresidence taking place in parental homes (Aquilino, 1990). Miner and Uhlenberg (1994) found that even among parents in later life, proximity of children is not affected by parental needs, but more by children's needs (e.g., low income of children).

5. Familism and Parent-Child Coresidence

Although it is reasonable to assume that most parents will consider not only their own needs but also their children's needs concerning parent-child coresidence, parental altruism may be curtailed under various circumstances. Parental altruism is especially likely to be decreased in family settings where there is a reduced level of familism. These family settings may include stepfamilies, families with cohabiting, divorced or separated parents.

The concept which unifies these various types of situations is the level of familism. Familism is a value or belief system which regards family roles and family relations as the central part of people's lives. It involves a general orientation towards these roles and relations (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1993). Until recently, the decline of family is often conceptualized in terms of the decline of family roles and relations in the extended family setting, including the reduced level of residential complexity and authority of the elderly kin vis a vis the younger persons.

However, in the recent past, the decline in the family can be mainly conceptualized in the decline of family roles and relations within the nuclear family setting, in the sense that marital and parental roles have become less important in people's lives. Increasingly, people are choosing to delay marriage and childbearing, even foregoing them altogether. People are also increasingly choosing separation and divorce over staying together in troubled marriages. Larger numbers of people are choosing to cohabit without formal marriage and the associated commitment to their marital partners. Overall, people are spending less years of their lives in family settings. All of these point to a recent decline in the second dimension of familism, i.e., the decline in the importance of nuclear family roles and relations.

The reduced level of familism may be argued to be closely associated to the reduced level of altruism of parents towards

their children. For example, a reduced level of familism may exist in families with stepparents, cohabiting parents, divorced and separated parents. Researchers have found that cohabiting couples are more willing to end their spousal relations than married couples (Cherlin, 1992). They are less committed to their spousal relations. Separation and divorce, through bringing spousal relations to an end, have implied the disappearance of an important component of family life. Lesser emotional ties between stepchildren and their parents, and the higher risk of divorce among these parents, also demonstrate the more tenuous nature of these reconstituted families. These examples suggest that members of different kinds of families do attach different levels of importance to family roles and relations. Although we do not have a direct measure on familism in our current data, it is possible to construct one or more questions tapping this issue of familism. For example, we can ask people the extent to which they agree or disagree that a spousal relationship should end if either partner is no longer satisfied with the relationship. We can also ask people the extent to which they agree or disagree that one should let one's career suffer if it helps improve spousal relations. With the answers to these questions, it is possible to construct a single variable of levels of familism.

A reduced level of parental altruism towards their children may also be argued to exist in the various family settings we described above. Stepparents may not be as willing

to sacrifice their own interests for the sake of their stepchildren as would natural parents for the sake of their natural children. Parents in a cohabiting relationship may be more individualistic in their outlooks towards life and less committed to not only spousal relations but also parent-child relations. Therefore, they may also be less altruistic towards their children. Similarly, parents who have experienced divorce or separation may regard family relations as less central to their lives and become less altruistic towards their children.

6. Theory on Home-Leaving: A Synthesis

Based on this review of literature, we are now ready to propose a theory on young adults' home-leaving. Drawing on the examples of the home-leaving model by Hill and Hill (1976) and the family migration models by Mincer (1978) and Schaeffer (1987), it can be argued that home-leaving is not simply a decision made at the individual level. Rather, it is a decision made at the family level, involving both young adults and their parents.

However, young adults and their parents may not be the same kind of actors. Parents have largely been encouraged to be altruistic towards their children, but children themselves are more likely to be encouraged to be self-interested. As far as the parent-child coresidence decision is concerned, parents are normatively required to consider not only their self-

interests, but also the interests of their children. If it is best for their children, parents will allow their children to continue living at home, at the expense of their own privacy and resources. On the other hand, if it is best for their children to leave home in pursuance of educational and employment opportunities, parents may be willing to use their own resources to help their children establish separate living quarters.

There may be a number of predictions stemming from this postulate. First, children who are in financial difficulties as indicated by unemployment or low income will be more likely to live with parents. Second, children who have experienced marital disruptions are also likely to move back to parental households for the emotional and/or economic support. Third, in association with age norms, younger children are more likely to live with parents even though this is costly in time and money for the parents.

Young adults, on the other hand, can be assumed to be mainly self-interested in their considerations concerning coresidence with parents. They are acting within the cost-benefit framework and making home-leaving decisions based on a comparison between the advantages and disadvantages of living with parents versus living on their own.

There may also be several predictions stemming from this postulate. First, children from families with a higher standard of living will leave home later as it is more

comfortable for them to live at parental homes. Second, children from communities with fewer educational and employment opportunities will leave home earlier in pursuit of opportunities elsewhere. Third, children who enjoy a higher level of freedom and autonomy at the parental home will leave home later as there is less of a need for them to leave home in order to attain freedom and autonomy.

Not all parents will be equally altruistic towards their children. Parental altruism is especially likely to be reduced in settings with a reduced level of familism. This reduced level of familism may be found in families with stepparents, cohabiting, divorced or separated parents. The prediction is that children from these families will leave home earlier.

On the other hand, there are groups who place a heavier emphasis on traditional values of family cohesion and commitment, and demonstrate a higher level of familism. Immigrants and people of Asian and Southern European ethnic background have been documented as being more likely to emphasize traditional family values and family roles and relations (e.g., Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1993; Boyd and Pryor, 1989). It may therefore be expected that young people belonging to these groups are more likely to leave home later and more for marriage.

A different but related argument is that children of first generation Canadians are leaving home later because these parents are better able to "manage" their investments in

their children. That is, parents in these cultures have more power over their children and often exercise this power to hold their chidren home longer so that these children can at least partly repay the investments made by their parents.

Religion and religiosity generally reinforce familism in the sense of encouraging marriage and children. Close involvement in a religious group through frequent attendance of religious services may indicate a higher level of commitment to traditional family values. Therefore, it is predicted that people with more religious upbringing are less likely to leave home early.

In summary, our theory on home-leaving is characterized by multiple decision makers and a greater emphasis on the socio-structural, cultural-normative, and psychological variables, besides the economic factors. It recognizes the importance of both young adults themselves and their parents in the decision making process. Basically, in order for the coresidence arrangement to continue, there must be a demand on the part of young adults to continue living with their parents as well as willingness of parents to continue supplying coresidence. However, while young adults may be argued to base their considerations primarily on their self-interests, parents are more likely to consider the interests of both themselves and their children. A reduced level of familism may curtail parental altruism concerning coresidence with their children. On the other hand, some cultural groups may

demonstrate a higher level of familism and therefore hold their young adults at parental homes longer.

In the above, we have mentioned some factors which may affect parents' as well as young adults' considerations concerning coresidence. In the following, we plan to conduct a more thorough literature review of empirical research on factors which may influence parents' and young adults' considerations and therefore affect the timing of young adults' home-leaving.

7. Empirical Studies on Home-Leaving

In this section, we will divide factors to be reviewed into two groups. The first group includes factors which affect both parents' and young adults' considerations regarding coresidence. The second group includes factors which only have an impact on young adults' considerations on whether or not to live with their parents.

7.1. Factors which will affect bo'h parents' and young adults' considerations regarding coresidence

7.1.1. Young adults' gender

Various researchers have documented that daughters leave home earlier than sons (see e.g. Aquilino, 1991; Young, 1974; Ravanera et al., 1992). Ravanera et al. (1992) cited four types of reasons which have been used by researchers to

explain this gender difference. First, girls may mature earlier than boys, both physiologically and psychologically. Second, women usually marry men older than themselves. Third, it is still felt that men are the main breadwinners in the family and therefore may require longer periods of socialization and training. Fourth, girls are usually required to perform more household duties in the parental home than boys, and may therefore have less incentive to stay at parental homes.

With regard to parents, we might speculate that economically, parents may be more willing to have their daughters stay at home longer than boys since the former usually perform more household duties. Furthermore, in a society which stresses the value of independence more strongly in the case of boys than in the case of girls, it may be that parents are more willing to support residential independence of their sons.

In practice, however, it is an undeniable fact that girls do leave home earlier than boys and it seems that factors contributing to the lesser demand for coresidence among girls have outweighed factors contributing to the greater willingness of parents to supply coresidence to their daughters. In the remainder of this section, further differences between the two genders will be highlighted as occasions arise.

7.1.2. Age of young adults

Clearly, age affects both the demand by young adults for coresidence and their parents' considerations. Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) argued that the passage of time itself involves an increase in young adults' personal resources. As individuals age, they become more independent, emotionally more mature, and are more able to perform a variety of life skills, all of which are advantageous to independent living. Because of these advantages, the demand for coresidence is usually reduced.

In order to examine this hypothesis, Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) studied the effects of changes in the roles and statuses versus passage of time per se on young adults' home-leaving. These changes in roles and statuses include becoming a married person, becoming a single parent, joining the military, attending school full time, and working full time. They found that changes in the roles and statuses only account for one third of the decline in young adults' coresidence with parents. It was therefore argued that life skills learned by young adults with the passage of time itself may also have an impact on whether young adults continue living with parents or not.

However, Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) noted that this finding may also suggest that the passage of time could involve the normative expectations of home-leaving, which would increase with age. This is echoed by Hill and Hill

(1976) who argued that social norms discourage older young adults from remaining at parental homes while encouraging younger ones to stay. Veevers, Gee, and Wister (1994) have found some empirical evidence that age norms concerning home-leaving indeed exist. For example, in their study, around 70% of young adults and 60% of parents provided an ideal age for home-leaving. Between 80% and 90% of both parents and young adults provided the boundaries of age at home-leaving, i.e., the youngest and the oldest ages at home-leaving.

Hill and Hill (1976) also investigated the influence of age from another perspective. They argued that age, being positively related to employment opportunities, would affect the demand for coresidence with parents. Employers are much more willing to give more responsible, lucrative jobs to older, more settled young adults than to younger, less settled young adults. Therefore, there will be less demand for coresidence by older children since they are more likely to have an income source.

Parents are likely to encourage their offsprings who have passed the socially prescribed upper bound of home-leaving ages to establish independent living and to let their children who are below the lower bound stay at home. Note that although we do not have direct measurements of parental altruism in our data, the effects of several variables may be interpreted as associated with this concept. For example, the fact that parents are more willing to let their younger offsprings to

stay home may be regarded as one indication of parental altruism towards their children since children of younger ages are likely to require more parental resources, both in money and time.

7.1.3. Marital status of young adults

In their study of the effects of changes in the roles and statuses on the timing of young adults' leaving home, Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1985) found that marriage has the greatest influence on living arrangements. Among the young adults they studied, married parents and married non-parents are both much less likely to live with their own parents. Among nonparents, those whose marriages have ended are less likely to live with their own parents than single never married young adults, but are more likely to coreside with their parents than those whose marriages are still intact. This suggests that some of these young adults whose marriages have ended may have returned to live with their own parents. In general, it is rare for married young adults to continue living with their parents, except in some extremely difficult situations, such as a period of unemployment or underemployment, or disruptions in their marriages. Young married adults may use their parental homes as a safety net in emergencies, but not as a long term strategy to obtain education or other human resources. Social norms prescribe that, once married, young adults should assume

responsibilities for themselves, instead of continuing to rely on their parents to provide residence. However, in times of emergencies, parents may not object to providing temporary coresidence since their children are in genuine need of financial and/or emotional support.

7.1.4. Lone parent status of young adults

Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1985) and DaVanzo and Goldscheider (1990) found that male single parents are much less likely to coreside with their own parents than male single non-parents. On the other hand, it was found that female single parents were more likely than female single non-parents to be coresiding with their own parents. The suggestion is that female single parents are much more likely to return to their parental homes in order to take advantage of childcare that can be provided by their parents. On the other hand, male single parents are more likely to associate parenthood with adulthood and be more reluctant to return to a dependent status in the parental home. It is probably the case that family assistance occurs more along the female line, that is, female children are more likely to seek family assistance and mothers are usually the ones who provide assistance. Different responses of sons and daughters who become single parents also bear evidence to dissimilar resources and socialization of male and female children; the former are more likely to have higher incomes and are more

strongly encouraged to become independent once they are adults. It should also be pointed out that since the number of male single parents is much smaller than the number of female single parents, these above interpretations should be regarded as tentative.

7.1.5. Birth order of children

Birth order of children affects young adults' demand and parents' attitude to coresidence. Young (1987: 66-67) found that middle children tend to leave home earlier than either the eldest or the youngest, even after controlling for the number of siblings. Middle child's departure from home may be facilitated by the example set by the first-born, coupled with less pressure by parents to remain at home, pressure which is usually exerted on the youngest child. Alternatively, Young (1987) postulated that receiving less parental attention than either the eldest or the youngest child may enable a middle child to develop a higher sense of independence and prompt him/her to look for relationships outside of the family.

Parents seem to be least willing to allow their only daughter to leave home, at least not until she is married. Parents may be particularly protective of their only daughter and prefer that she remain at home until such time that she is married to a suitable partner. Thus, Young (1987) found that female lone children leave the parental home later than other female children.

7.1.6. Parental divorce and single parent families

After controlling for socio-economic status of the family, Aquilino (1991), Mitchell et al. (1989), and Bianchi (1987) found that children growing up in single-parent families leave home earlier than children growing up in intact families.

There may be many difficulties encountered by single-parent families. First, a large number of single-parent families, especially those headed by single mothers, live in poverty. Research has shown this to be partly responsible for high proportions of young people from single parent families dropping out of high school, marrying during their teen years, becoming single parents or experiencing marital disruptions of their own (McLanahan, 1985). However, McLanahan (1985) found that lower income in these families accounts for only half of these negative developments. She speculated that the rest may be explained by inadequate discipline imposed on children by single mothers, reinforced by the negative influences prevalent in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods in which these single parent families often live. Because of the difficulties experienced by these single parent families, children growing up in them may be less enthusiastic about continuing to live with their single parents. At the same time, single parents themselves may look forward to earlier departure of their children, alleviating the heavy burdens of parenting. These two considerations result in higher proportions of young

people leaving early from single families.

However, the effect of single-parent structure may be less than that of step-parent family structure (Mitchell et al., 1989). Comparing relationships between parents and children in different family structures, several researchers have described the relationship between single parents and their children as being a more positive one than that between step-parents and step-children. Adolescent children living with single mothers ten years after parental divorce report close and amicable relations with their custodial mothers, in spite of economic hardship and emotional deprivation (Wallerstein and Corbin, 1986). Children living with single mothers display a greater sense of maturity, and responsibility and internal locus of control, and they take on more responsibility for management of the household. They also tend to have more equal relations with their mothers than children in two-parent families (Demo and Acock, 1988).

Further, Hetherington (1987) has found evidence that boys and girls react differently to the living environment shared with single parents after their parents are divorced. Six years after the divorce, adolescent daughters are well adjusted and have positive relations with their unmarried mothers. The adjustment of sons on the other hand is much less satisfactory. Boys living with single mothers tend to have aggressive, impulsive, and noncompliant behaviors. Patterson (1982) has labelled the difficult relations between single

mothers and sons after parental divorce as "coercive cycles." Angry, depressed, and overburdened single mothers often respond to distressed sons' difficult behaviors with scolding and irritation. This may in turn aggravate sons' aggressive and noncompliant behaviors. Based on these considerations, it is reasonable to expect that boys in single parent families are on the lookout for the first opportunity to leave their parental homes. At the same time, single mothers may welcome the prospects of their sons leaving home since there will be fewer difficulties in family relations. However, Aquilino's (1991) study failed to support the hypothesis that the effect of single-parent family structure on the timing of home-leaving is stronger for boys than for girls.

7.1.7. Step-parent families

The impact of step-parent family structure on the timing of home-leaving is probably the most familiar topic of research on non-intact family situations. Compared to children who live with two biological parents through their childhood years, children living with step-parents leave home earlier (Aquilino, 1990, 1991; Bianchi, 1987; Kiernan, 1992).

Cherlin (1992: 84) argued that the family relations in step-parent families are more complex and less "institutionalized" than the family relations in intact families. Consider the situation of a remarried couple who not only have children from their current marriage, but also have

children from their previous marriages living with them. If we look at this family from the mother's perspective, the family comprises her current husband, her children by her current husband, her children by her previous husband(s), and children of her current husband from his previous marriage(s). It is apparent that the family relations in this family are much more complex than family relations in families having two parents and only their natural children.

Moreover, Cherlin (1992) argued that our society is geared towards first marriages and there exist very few "institutionalized" guidelines in dealing with the complex family relations in reconstituted families. As an example, there is no general rule whether a stepchild should call a stepfather "Dad" or whether he should address him by his first name. These and other problems are left to step-family members themselves to solve as they define their roles and relationships. In this situation, confusion and conflict arise easily.

The presence of step-children seems to be a major source of marital instability for remarried couples. The complex, less institutionalized nature of family relations in stepparent families may have contributed to the fact that step-parents and step-children report less intimacy than parents and children in intact families (Furstenburg, 1987). Additionally, remarried couples with step-children experience higher divorce rates and report lower levels of satisfaction

with marriage and family life (White and Booth, 1985). The more difficult family relations in step-children families act as incentives for step-children to leave the parental home as soon as possible. Likewise, parents in step-parent families may be highly motivated to encourage their step-children to leave early. In fact, step-parents and step-children both have higher expectations for premarital residential independence (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1989).

The effects of a step-parent environment on the timing of home-leaving may not be the same for male and female children. Relationships between step-daughters and step-fathers tend to be more problematic than between step-sons and step-fathers. Hetherington (1987) speculated that girls are more likely to regard a stepfather as an intruder who has come between herself and her mother. Boys on the other hand, who have been engaged in "coercive cycles" in families headed by single mothers, may benefit from a stepfather entering the families. It might be expected therefore that the step-father effect on the timing of home-leaving is more pronounced in the case of step-daughters than in the case of step-sons. That is, step-daughters leave home much earlier than daughters living with two biological parents, whereas the difference between step-sons and sons living with two biological parents is less significant.

Hetherington (1987) also argued that the role of a stepmother may be more difficult than that of a stepfather.

This is due to the fact that noncustodial mothers are much more likely to maintain close contacts with their children than noncustodial fathers. It is therefore difficult for stepmothers to establish a workable role. Further, father custody is more apt to take place in cases when there are more serious emotional problems with the natural mother, who may feel that custody of her children is too difficult. It is possible that children in these cases may also experience increased psychological problems, further contributing to difficulties in family relations in father-stepmother families (Zill, 1988).

Based on these considerations, we can hypothesize that children from father-stepmother families will leave home sooner than children from mother-stepfather families. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that there are fewer father-stepmother families than mother-stepfather families (Cherlin, 1992: 86).

7.1.8. Adopted children

Research on home-leaving of adopted children is relatively underdeveloped when compared to that of children from step-parent households. Bachrach (1983) argues that even though many children experienced complicated living conditions before adoption, they live in more stable relationships with adoptive parents after adoption than children in other kinds of non-intact families. One can assume, therefore, that the

structure of families with adopted children is probably closer to that of intact families than to that of step-parent families.

With respect to home-leaving, however, Aquilino (1991: 14) found that adopted children have the highest probability of leaving home prior to age 19 compared to children from all other intact or non-intact families. Admitting his surprise at this finding, he offers a socio-psychological explanation. Following Brodzinsky (1990), he argues that even though most children are adopted when they are infants, many experience the loss of biological parents once they are old enough to comprehend it. Grieving for lost biological parents not only destabilizes the relationship with the adoptive parents, but also encourages children to try to develop new identities. This results in adopted children seeking early residential independence from their adoptive parents.

Although the adoptive parents comprise a selected group of parents highly devoted to children, the teen years when youngsters are in the process of developing their identity are generally periods of increased strain on the relationships between children and their adoptive parents. Parents are also likely to feel that they should respect decisions made by their adoptive children and therefore may be less likely to actively protest the decision of their adopted children to leave home.

7.1.9. Cohabitation of parents

Cohabiting parents may be characterized by greater individualism. Studies have shown that marriages following cohabitation have higher rates of dissolution than marriages not preceded by cohabitation (e.g., Booth and Johnson, 1988; Balakrishnan et al., 1987; Bennett et al., 1988). Cherlin (1992) argues that people who cohabit may probably take the view that a relationship should end if either partner is dissatisfied. This individualistic ethic may also carry over to the relationship with their children and they may be more likely to dissolve a coresidence relationship if the relationship is no longer satisfactory, or if they feel it is time for their children to move on. Likewise, children raised by these parents may also have a more individualistic outlook and be more likely to seek early residential independence from these parents. Either of these attitudes may lead to the early departure of young adults whose parents are cohabiting.

7.1.10. Widowed parents

Widowed parents are more likely in need of emotional and physical support from their children. These parents will probably want their children to remain at home longer. Children of widowed parents may also form closer emotional bonds with parents and be sympathetic to the problems experienced by widowed parents. Therefore, they may also be more willing to stay with their widowed parents longer. This

may be regarded as an exception to the general assumption that children are essentially self-interested in their residential arrangement decisions.

Using the historical data on Preston, England at the initial stage of industrialization, Anderson (1971) found that children of widowed parents did indeed stay at home longer. Moreover, children of widows appeared to stay at home even longer than children of widowers. It may be interpreted that traditionally, women have been considered more dependent; before the death of their husbands, they were considered dependent first on their own parents, then on their husbands. With the death of their husbands, responsibility for their emotional and physical support may have fallen upon the shoulders of the children.

To take this a step further, we can argue that traditionally, family assistance has occurred more often along the female line. That is, it has come to be the responsibility of women in the family to take care of other family members. Daughters therefore may be expected to support their widowed parents much more than sons. We might expect that daughters of widowed parents may stay at home longer compared to daughters with two living parents, while the differences among sons will be smaller.

7.1.11. Cultural background

According to Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989), the

increasing prevalence of young adults becoming residentially independent before marriage is an indication of a more general trend of people shifting their preferences from companionship to privacy. The increasing numbers of lone parents and the elderly who live alone as further indications of this general trend. And yet, it is possible to find segments of the population in which more traditional values concerning family relationships and adult coresidence are still highly cherished. These segments include primarily people from more traditional racial, ethnic, and religious groups. Both children and parents from these groups are more likely to associate home-leaving closely with marriage. Children brought up in these families may be more willing to wait until they are married before leaving home, and parents in these families may be more willing to provide coresidence to their unmarried children compared to parents from less traditional racial/ethnic, and religious groups. As the average age at home-leaving for marriage is later than the average age at home-leaving for other reasons, traditional predispositions of young adults and their parents will lend themselves to home-leaving taking place at higher ages.

Various authors have documented the impact of such cultural variables as race, ethnicity, use of foreign languages (as a proxy for strong non-North-American, non-Anglo-Saxon cultural influences), and parents' place of birth on the timing of home-leaving. Young black and hispanic adults

in the United States are less likely to leave the parental home than white adults (Bianchi, 1987). Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) found that children from more traditional ethnic and religious groups, such as Asian-Americans, Catholics, and Jews, are more likely to leave home later not only because of their later age at marriage, but because of the higher proportion leaving for marriage compared to other reasons.

In Canada, Boyd and Pryor (1989) found that the percentage of young adults living with parents is highest among those who list Greek, Portuguese, Italian, and Chinese as their mother tongues. Young (1987) also found that in Australia young adults whose mothers were born in Southern Europe are older on average when they leave home, compared to young adults whose mothers were born in Australia and elsewhere. Using a measure of the frequency of attendance at religious services, Young (1987) found that young adults who are more religious are more likely to leave home later, and more likely for the purpose of marriage. Religious teachings seem to reinforce the value that one should leave the parental home at the time of marriage.

7.1.12. Parental education

More educated parents and their children are exposed more to modern values and ideas of individualism (Goldscheider and Davanzo, 1989). These parents may be less willing to continue

providing coresidence to their children over a certain age. Likewise, it is likely that children from these families are more willing to leave parental homes to become independent. These processes lead to early departures of young adults from the homes of educated parents.

It is also possible that children of more educated parents are more likely to pursue postsecondary education. Having had more education themselves, these parents may willingly agree to send their children to live on or near campus in order to experience the full benefits of college life. Thus children of more educated parents may have a younger average age at their first departures from parental homes. However, because a large proportion of young adults who leave home to get an education return to their parental homes after the completion of that education, the education level of their parents may not appear to have a discernible impact on the timing of their children's final departure from home.

Empirical findings on the effects of parental education on the timing of children's home-leaving seem to be consistent with the above interpretation. After looking at the data on _first_ departures of young adults from parental homes, Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) found that a higher proportion of children of more educated parents are living away from home. However, examining the _final_ departures of young adults from parental homes, Mitchell et al. (1989) found that there was no significant relationship between parental education and

the timing of children's home leaving.

7.1.13. Fathers' occupations and unemployment status

In Australia, Young (1987) found that daughters whose fathers are unemployed are more likely to leave home for marriage or because of family conflict; sons are more likely to leave for job opportunities. Overall, these young adults are less likely to leave for study or travel than other young adults whose fathers are employed.

Young (1987) also found that daughters whose fathers are in unskilled professions are more likely to leave home for marriage whereas sons are more likely to leave for employment or because of family conflict. Overall, these young adults are more likely to leave home early.

It is reasonable to argue that since these families have less amenities or less comfortable living arrangements, their children will seek the first opportunity to leave parental homes. Girls from these families are more likely to use marriage or cohabitation as a means to leave parental homes, whereas boys are more likely to seek early employment in order to leave.

7.1.14. Parental income and wealth

Higher parental income and wealth may have two conflicting effects on the timing of young adults' home leaving. On the one hand, affluence may be positively related

to parents' willingness to provide coresidence since these parents are better able to provide it, even if their children are not contributing to the family economy (Hill and Hill, 1976). Further, affluence also implies a more comfortable living at parental homes which may lure young adults to stay home longer. On the other hand, parental financial affluence can be used to facilitate independent living by young adults (Goldscheider and DaVanzo, 1989). The overall effect of parental income and wealth on the timing of children's home-leaving is therefore unclear.

Empirically, Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) found that higher family income contributes to earlier home-leaving of young adults from parental homes. However, Bia..chi (1987) found that children from more affluent homes leave home later. It is clear that further research is necessary on the impact of parental income and wealth on the timing of young adults' home-leaving.

7.1.15. Student status of young adults

Using the 1981 Canadian census data, Boyd and Pryor (1989) found that full time students are more likely to be staying with their parents than other young adults. The interpretation is that full time students may be in greater financial need and find that living with parents is a more feasible living arrangement while they are pursuing their education.

Contrary to the findings of Boyd and Pryor, using data from the U.S. National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) found that among males, there is a correlation between full-time student status and a higher probability of nest-leaving. Among females, the association of full time student status with the timing of home-leaving is non-significant.

Thus, the relationship between full-time student status and the timing of home-leaving is far from clear. Theoretically, it may be argued that there are two conflicting forces that influence the timing of home-leaving of young adults who are full time students. On the one hand, full time student status may make it more necessary to live closer to campus. This may imply living away from parental homes. On the other hand, students may be more economically dependent and therefore more likely to live at home to reduce costs. Further research is necessary to establish a clear pattern of full-time student status and the timing of home leaving.

It is possible that young adults with their own resources or access to transferable parental resources are more likely to live apart from parents while being full-time students. Therefore, it may be interesting to study the interaction effect between full-time student status and personal resources of young adults, and the interaction effect between full-time student status and parental income. As will be seen later, the residential location of parents can also play a role in terms

of its proximity to post-secondary educational facilities.

As for the gender difference found in Goldscheider and DaVanzo's (1989) study, it may be argued that parents may view the necessity of postsecondary education differently for their sons and daughters, as a result of the prevailing gender role differentiation in society. Parents may regard a good education for their sons from a prestigious college or university as more essential and more important than for their daughters. Parents may therefore be more willing to send their sons away to those prestigious colleges and universities outside of their own community, even if this means a larger financial commitment on their part. It is also possible that parents regard complete immersion into university or college life and the ensuing independence from parents as more important for their sons than for their daughters. These considerations lead us to expect a significant early departure of sons who are full time students but not of daughters.

7.1.16. Young adults' personal income and unemployment status

Hill and Hill (1976) argued that a young adult's own income will affect both parental willingness to supply and the young adult's demand for coresidence. In terms of demand, an income of their own provides young adults with both the financial resources and the self-confidence to establish independent living. In terms of supply, an income of their own makes young adults less of a burden on parents and therefore

makes parents more willing to continue having them stay at home.

However, Hill and Hill (1976) found that, contrary to their expectations, a young male adult's own income was significantly but negatively related to his parents' willingness to continue supplying him residence. Admitting their surprise, the researchers speculated that parents may be willing to provide coresidence if they perceive that their sons are to be in need of such assistance. Once their sons demonstrate the ability to successfully strike out on their own, parents may be much less willing to continue providing such help.

In contrast, young female adults own income was found to be insignificantly associated with parental willingness to continue supplying coresidence. This gender dissimilarity may be yet another indication of the different gender socialization, i.e., independence is encouraged to a greater extent in the case of sons than in the case of daughters.

Young (1987) also found that across all ages, and especially among males, higher proportions of young adults who had never been unemployed were living apart from their parents than those who had been unemployed. Those who had been unemployed in the past were also more likely to return to the parental home. Among females, however, those who have been unemployed in the past were only slightly more likely to be still living with their parents than those who had never been

unemployed. We may again attribute this gender difference to the greater importance placed on independence in the case of sons. Another slightly different explanation is the lower incompatibility between unemployment and marriage among females. Females have been encouraged in our society to achieve financial security and residential independence from parents through marriage rather than through employment. Therefore, even if they are not employed, they can still leave parental homes through marriage.

Young (1987) also found that among males aged between 20 and 24, about 50 percent of those who were still financially dependent had left home; the figure for those who had achieved financial independence was 75 percent. Among females aged between 20 and 24, about 52 percent of those who were still financially dependent had left home, the comparable figure for those who had achieved financial independence was 83 percent. It may be argued therefore that financially dependent young adults are more likely to demand coresidence with their parents. Further, parents may be more willing to provide financially dependent young adults with coresidence as they feel their children are in need of such help. However, Young (1987) also pointed out that a large proportion of those who were still financially dependent had also left home, indicating that parents might have used their own resources to help their children establish separate living arrangements.

7.1.17. Full time work of young adults

Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) found that young adults who had held full-time work were significantly more likely to leave parental homes early, even after controlling for their personal income. It was interpreted that these young adults, having held full time work, might have developed the resources, self-confidence and abilities which would enable them to establish independent living more successfully. Parents would also more likely support the home-leaving decisions of these children since they had demonstrated satisfactorily their ability to strike out on their own.

7.2. Factors which will only affect young adults' demand for coresidence

7.2.1. Number of siblings

Many researchers have used the number of siblings as a proxy for the level of competition for family resources such as privacy, time, emotional nurturing, material goods and services (e.g. Bianchi, 1987; Aquilino, 1991; Goldscheider and DaVanzo, 1989). Children from larger families presumably have less amount of family resources available. This reduces the attraction of living in the parental home and therefore leads to their earlier departure. Young (1987), Bianchi (1987), Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) and Aquilino (1991) have all found that, all other things equal, children with more

siblings do indeed leave home earlier than children with fewer siblings.

Young (1987) documented some gender differences as well: a lower proportion of sons from larger families leave for marriage and a higher proportion leave for job opportunities. In addition, since the average age at leaving the parental home for reasons other than marriage is usually lower, sons from larger families tend to leave at a younger age. A large proportion of daughters from larger families leave earlier for marriage than those from smaller families (with a one year difference of median age at home-leaving between the two). Following Easterlin's (1978) argument that financial difficulties may lead young men to postpone their marriages, it may be speculated that sons from larger families are usually less financially prepared to get married, either through a lack of personal resources or transferable parental resources. With more children, parents may not be able to help each child financially as much as parents with fewer children. This results in lower proportions of sons from larger families leaving parental homes for marriage, but higher proportions leaving for employment. Daughters from larger families, in contrast, may regard marriage as a way of solving their financial problems.

7.2.2. Household services

Young (1987) found that young adults whose mothers had

worked when they were in secondary school were more likely to leave home early. It may be interpreted that mothers who work when their children are in secondary school probably provide fewer household services to young adults. Since the advantages of living at home are reduced in such an environment, young adults will consider leaving home early.

Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) argued that parental resources may not be equally available to all family members. In particular, daughters are usually expected to perform more household duties than sons. Therefore, they may not receive as much domestic services from parents as sons and may have less of an incentive to remain in parental homes.

7.2.3. Location of parental homes

Educational and employment opportunities in the community of parental home may influence young adults' demand for coresidence with parents. If the parental home is located in an area where plenty of educational and employment opportunities are within easy commuting distance, young adults may be willing to stay longer at the parental home. On the other hand, if the parental home is located in an area with very few educational and employment opportunities nearby, then young adults may be forced to leave early in order to pursue these opportunities.

Hill and Hill (1976) looked at two variables while attempting to measure the employment opportunities in the

region where the parental home is located. First is the local unemployment level, which they argue may affect young adults' willingness to continue living in parental homes in two opposite directions. On the one hand, unemployment may deter young adults from leaving parental homes because it is cheaper for them to live there. On the other hand, high unemployment in the area may also induce those who are looking for jobs to migrate to other regions, and therefore may lead to their departure from the family home. Hill and Hill (1976) argued that, a priori, it is difficult to predict which of these influences will have the greater impact. They found that the county unemployment level was negatively related to the willingness of young adults to continue living in parental homes. It would thus seem that access to employment opportunities is a very important consideration of young adults when they decide whether to continue living in the communities of their parental homes.

The second variable used by Hill and Hill (1976) relates to the concentration of jobs in the area of parental homes. Using the number of people per square mile as a proxy for the concentration of jobs, they hypothesized that the concentration of jobs in the area of parental homes should be positively related to young adults' willingness to continue living in parental homes. Their empirical data seems to have supported such a hypothesis.

Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) also found that the age

of young adults' home leaving is positively related to the size of the city in which the parental home is located. That is, children whose parental homes are located in bigger cities leave home at an older age on average. Assuming that city size is positively related to educational and employment opportunities in the region, they suggested that considerations about educational and employment opportunities in the area of parental homes may be much more important in the decision of home-leaving than was previously thought.

7.2.4. The supply of alternative housing

Another factor which may affect young adults' demand for coresidence may be the supply of alternative housing suitable to the needs of young adults. In the U.S., Haurin, Hendershott and Kim (1993) found that rental costs were important to both the decision to leave the parental household and the decision to live with others versus living alone. Higher rental costs led to a lower likelihood of residing outside the parental household and a higher probability of living with others rather than alone.

7.2.5. Autonomy and freedom

One of the disadvantages of living in the parental homes is the limitations in personal freedom and autonomy. Young adults living in parental homes have to subject themselves to varying degrees of parental supervision and control. They may

not be as free as they would like to decide how their time will be spent, what kinds of friends they may have, how their money may be spent, etc. These kinds of restrictions on their personal autonomy and freedom may be powerful incentives for young adults to leave the parental home.

Many researchers have noted the increased age at which young adults leave home over the last decade or so (see e.g., Heer et al., 1985; Boyd and Pryor, 1989). They attribute this new trend in the timing of home-leaving in part to the economic difficulties experienced by recent cohorts of young adults. With rising economic difficulties, young adults of recent cohorts have more financial difficulties when they are attempting to set themselves up to live independently. Economic considerations then contribute to a delay in home-leaving.

It is also possible, however, to argue that, compared to previous cohorts of young adults, recent cohorts have been able to enjoy much more personal freedom and autonomy while living in the parental home. As an example, many enjoy the freedom to bring their friends of the other sex and even have sexual intimacy in the house. The passage of time has seen a decrease in parental authority over children, and an increase in freedom and autonomy for the children. Recent cohorts of young adults may therefore have less incentives to leave parental homes.

8. Summary of Theory and Empirical Findings on Home-leaving

Like many other family decisions, home-leaving of young adults can be regarded as a decision at the family level, rather than simply at the individual level. Both parents' and young adults' considerations are important in shaping the final outcome concerning young adults' living arrangements.

We may assume that young adults' decision is determined essentially by a subjective comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of living at parental homes versus living on their own. A comfortable, spacious parental home with many amenities and household services by mothers will induce young adults to live there longer. Conversely, a lack of educational and employment opportunities in the area of parental homes, restrictions on freedom and autonomy in parental homes, or difficult family relations may act as incentives for young adults to become residentially independent.

However, in order to realize their home-leaving plans, young adults must possess the requisite human and financial resources. This is why young adults of older ages, with higher personal or parental income, and those who have never been unemployed or have worked full time are more likely to be living apart from parents.

Parents are assumed to base their considerations of their children's living arrangement not only on their own self-interest, but also on the best interests of their children. They may be less willing to have their children stay once

these children have reached a certain socially prescribed age of home-leaving, or assumed certain roles commonly associated with adulthood (e.g., marriage), or demonstrated their ability to become independent (e.g., higher personal income, full time work). However, they may be willing to provide coresidence to their children in other situations, even if it means extra strain on their own resources. They may be willing to supply emotional and economic support in the form of coresidence to their children in difficult situations, such as disruptions of marriages, unemployment or lower income, single parenthood, etc. If it seems to be in the best interest of their children, parents may also be willing to use their own resources to help their children live away from the family home.

However, parental altruism towards their children may be curtailed in various situations. These include families with stepparents, cohabiting, divorced or separated parents, where there is likely a reduced level of familism. Children from these families are likely to leave home early. A higher level of familism may be found in traditional racial/ethnic, religious groups where traditional family values, role and relations are emphasized. Young adults from these cultural background are likely to leave home later, possibly not until marriage.

Chapter 3   Data, Methodology and Hypotheses

This chapter examines the 1990 GSS data of Canada in relation to the theoretical model of home-leaving reviewed in the last chapter. The purpose is to bring out the strengths as well as the deficiencies of the 1990 GSS data on the topic of home-leaving. Hypotheses that can be tested by employing this data set are also presented in this chapter.

1. The 1990 GSS Data of Canada - A Brief Overview

The 1990 General Social Survey (GSS) is the fifth cycle of the GSS data collection conducted in Canada. The first cycle of GSS data gathering began in 1985. An annual cycle takes place thereafter.

GSS has two objectives: (1) "to gather data on social trends in order to monitor changes in Canadian society over time; and (2) to provide information on specific policy issues of current or emerging interest" (Statistics Canada, 1990: 5). The target population of the GSS includes all people 15 and over residing in Canada, except those in the Yukon and Northwest Territories and those who reside full-time in institutions. The surveys have been conducted by telephone only. As a result, households without telephones have been excluded, but these comprise less than 2 percent of the total households in Canada.

The GSS has utilized complex stratification designs in

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collection procedures (primarily province-based), and sampling rates vary quite significantly from one province to another. Therefore, Statistics Canada (1990: 25) cautions against the release of any analysis without appropriate use of the weight variable provided by the GSS data.

Each cycle of the GSS comprises three segments: core, focus and classification. The core section is designed to meet the first objective of the GSS: gathering data on social trends in order to monitor changes in Canadian society over time. Further, this section rotates through five themes: health; time use; personal risk; work and education; and the family. The focus section is designed to meet the second objective of providing information on specific policy issues of current or emerging interest. The classification section provides socioeconomic, demographic and other background information on the respondents.

The 1990 General Social Survey (Cycle 5) focuses on family and friends. Interviews were conducted between January and March, 1990, and the sample size was 13,495. In this survey, respondents answered a variety of questions concerning their family, friends and relationships.

2. 1990 GSS data and home-leaving

It is especially valuable to the current analysis that the 1990 GSS asked questions on the home-leaving experience of the respondents as well as their children. As far as the

respondents themselves were concerned, the questionnaire asked whether they were living with their parents at the time of the survey. Those who were no longer living with either parent were asked how old they were when they last lived with a parent, as well as their reasons for moving. Respondents were also asked whether any child of theirs was living in their household, and if not, at what age the child last left home.

It is therefore possible to obtain two sets of data relevant to the study of home-leaving from the 1990 GSS. First, the respondents' own home-leaving experiences can be linked to their own socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Second, we can link the home-leaving experiences of the respondents' children to their demographic and socio-economic characteristics, as well as to those of the respondents.

The creation of data for analyzing respondents' home-leaving (simplified as respondents' data set hereafter) is straight-forward. Our main interest in the home-leaving phenomenon lies in its relationship to the transition from childhood to adulthood. A respondent should be at least 15 years old when he/she left home in order to reasonably make choices regarding decisions about independent living. Therefore, a tiny proportion of respondents who left home before age 15 are excluded.

The creation of data for analyzing the home-leaving behavior of respondents' children (simplified as children's

data set hereafter), on the other hand, is not so simple. In the 1990 GSS data, the total number of children of all respondents is 25,697. Children below the age of 15 at the time of survey and those who had left home before age 15 were excluded from the analysis on the same criterion mentioned above. The total number of children eligible for analysis is 15,330.

Instead of selecting all eligible children as described above, it is also possible to *randomly select* one child in a family from among those eligible. In a random selection procedure, in order to compensate for the differing probabilities of selection of children from families of different sizes, an appropriate weight factor should be introduced into the analysis. This weight is the number of children in the family divided by the average number of children in the sample.

These two procedures (using all eligible children or only a randomly selected subsample) each has advantages and disadvantages. The first will generate a larger sample, which can be very important for the stability of estimates, especially if separate cohort analyses are desirable. A serious bias, however, can be introduced if all children are used for analysis, since children from the same family would bring in the same parental characteristics. Being aware of this, we have used a model in which all but three variables (region, parental education levels, and parental nativity and

ethnicity) will assume distinct values for children from the same family.

The second procedure (using only a sub-sample) does not involve this problem since only one child is selected from a family. However, it creates a sample smaller than that from the first procedure.

At the analysis stage of this study, it was found that an analysis based on a randomly selected subsample of all eligible children is almost identical to that based on all eligible children. Space limitations do not allow presentation of both results in this study. Since the total number of children is only 15,330, even when all eligible children are selected, and since extra care has been taken to include variables which can assume distinct values for children from the same family, this study reports the results from the larger sample of all eligible children.

3. Variables and Measurements

3.1. Dependent variables

3.1.1. Children's data set

For children's data set, the dependent variable which will be used is the age at which a given child left the parental home. It is derived from a GSS question "How old was...your first (second,...) child when he/she last left home?" The reason that we can use this variable as dependent variable is that the GSS has collected retrospective

information on other background variables, such as marital histories of respondents. This will enable us to infer the marital status of respondents when their children left home (event). Several other background variables concerning respondents and their children can be assumed to be time-invariant or at least the same between the time of children's home-leaving and the time of the survey. These variables include respondents' gender, race/ethnicity, education levels, their children's gender, etc. The nature of other background variables described above enables us to employ them and analyze the age of home-leaving of respondents' children.

One potential problem with this dependent variable is that of right censoring, i.e., how to interpret those cases where children were still residing in respondents' households at the time of the survey. As we will demonstrate later on, the technique to be used - proportional hazards modelling - is especially designed to deal with this problem of right censoring.

3.1.2. Respondents' data set

For respondents' data set, the dependent variable is whether a respondent was living with his/her parent(s) at the time of the survey. We have used a differ it dependent variable for respondents' data set as compared to children's data set as a result of constraints with potential independent variables in respondent's data set. More specifically, most of

respondents' characteristics and role status were measured as of the time of the survey rather than as of the time when respondents left home. Therefore, it is inappropriate to use this information to analyze the timing of respondents' home-leaving, events happened before the time of the survey.

On the other hand, it is more reasonable to use this information to analyze whether a respondent was living with parents since all of these variables were measured as of the time of the survey. For example, we can examine whether respondents who were students at the time of the survey were more likely to live with parents than non-students, controlling for other relevant variables. Likewise, we can examine whether respondents who were divorced at the time of the survey were mor' likely to live with their parents compared to respondents who were married at the time of the survey. As our focus is on the transition from childhood to adulthood and the associated residential separation from parents, we have decided to limit our analyses to respondents aged between 15 and 30 at the time of the su vey.

3.1.3. Problems with the dependent variables in the 1990 GSS data

One problem with the 1990 GSS data concerns the wording on the timing of home-leaving. Concerning children's home-leaving, the GSS asked "How old was...your first (second,... child when he/she last left home?" Though the question was

intended to determine the timing of children's permanent departure, some respondents might not have understood the question in the way intended by the survey and might have reported children who had left temporarily as having left home permanently. Particularly, in the case of children of the youngest cohort, it is quite possible that they would return to the parental home again, even though at the time of the survey their parents considered (and reported) their separate living arrangements as permanent. Therefore, especially among the youngest cohort, their home-leaving may not be their last departure from parental homes. Caution should be exercised when comparing their home-leaving experience with that of previous cohorts.

Another problem lies in the retrospective nature of the GSL data. Information on respondents' ages and reasons of home-leaving and respondents' marital histories is collected retrospectively. As is well understood, there are several potential problems with retrospective data. First, there may be recall errors in the ages and reasons of respondents' home-leaving, in respondents' marital histories, as well as in the ages of their children's home-leaving. Second, data were only collected for people who were still living in Canada at the time of the survey. People who had died or emigrated are excluded from the study. These recall errors and selection biases may have an impact on the quality of data.

At another level, while it is justifiable to study the

permanent (or final) departure from parental homes in this dissertation since our main concern lies in the transition from childhood to adulthood, it is certainly as important to study first departures and returns if our main concern lies in the detailed process of this transitional period and changes in parent-child relations accompanying each departure and return. Unfortunately, the 1990 GSS data do not permit us to conduct analysis on first departures and returns to the parental homes.

3.2. Independent variables and hypotheses

3.2.1. Children's data set

Each independent variable is associated with one or more hypotheses concerning the timing of children's home-leaving. Therefore, we will also list relevant hypotheses immediately following each variable. Substantively, we will group these variables and hypotheses into two categories: those which will affect both young adults' and their parents' considerations regarding coresidence, and those which will only affect young adults' considerations. The presentation that follows will note any special considerations for each of the independent variables, then list the hypotheses that involve this variable. The more extensive discussion of the relevant theoretical considerations has been presented in the previous chapter.

3.2.1.1. Variables affecting both young adults' and their parents' considerations and the associated hypotheses

Gender of children. This is a dichotomous variable: 1 = female, 2 = male. It is time-invariant.

Hypothesis 1: Other things being equal, female children leave parental homes earlier than male children.

Types of children. Types of children is measured in three discrete categories: 1 = step children, 2 = adopted children, 3 = natural children. It can be assumed to be the same between the time of the event and the time of the survey. Some respondents might have become stepparents of adult children who had never lived with them. However, it is our belief that parents in these situations were likely to respond to the question "When did this child leave home?" as being unapplicable. Therefore, these children will be excluded from the present study and not affect the estimates for the current variable.

Another potential problem with this variable is that a child living in a family where one parent is the stepparent and another is the natural parent will be reported as a natural child if the respondent happens to be the natural child. Therefore, the proportions of stepchildren among all chilren as reported by this study will likely be

underestimating the true proportions of stepchildren. However, as far as the main hypothesis concerning the difference in the timing of home-leaving between stepchildren and natural children, the tests provided in this study will be conservative tests. In other words, if we find that stepchildren do leave home earlier than natural children, we may place even more confidence in the present situation than in the case when all children living in stepparent families are reported as stepchildren.

Hypothesis 2: Other things being equal, step-children leave parental homes earlier than natural children.

Hypothesis 3: Other things being equal, adopted children leave parental homes earlier than natural children.

Interaction between gender of children and stepchild status. This is an interaction between two variables: stepchild status, and gender of children which has been discussed above. Stepchild status is a variable with two categories: 1 = stepchild, 2 = biological child. This interaction variable will be first used in children's data generated from answers by male respondents (fathers), and then used in children's data generated from answers by female respondents (mothers). The first analysis will allow us to examine whether stepfather effects will be different among boys and girls. The second analysis will inform us about

possible differences of stepmother effects among male and female children.

Hypothesis 4: Other things being equal, stepfather family structure will exert a greater influence in the case of female children and is more likely to result in early departures of female children than is the case with male children.

Hypothesis 5: Other things being equal, stepmother family structure will have different impact on the timing of home-leaving among boys and girls.

Gender of stepparents. This is a variable composed of four categories: 1 = stepfather of a child, 2 = stepmother of a child, 3 = biological father of a child, 4 = biological mother of a child. This variable is constructed to explore whether the stepmother effect will be stronger than the stepfather effect on children's home-leaving.

Hypothesis 6: Other things being equal, stepmother family structure will have a greater influence on children's home-leaving than stepfather family structure and is more likely to result in children leaving early.

Birth order and number of children. Birth order and number of children is measured in six discrete categories: 1 = elder child in a family of two children, 2 = younger child

in a family of two children, 3 = eldest child in a family of three or more children, 4 = middle child in a family of three or more children, 5 = youngest child in a family of three or more children, 6 = lone child.

We have combined the variables of birth order of a given child and the number of children in a family to create a single variable of birth order and number of children. The reason for this is that it is difficult to enter these two variables as separate variables in a single analysis and study their effects. For example, it will be difficult to study the difference between a lone child and a child with more siblings when the lone child is also considered a first-born in the variable of the birth order of a child. Combining these two variables will enable us to study the difference between children of different birth orders, as well as children with different number of siblings simultaneously. Birth order of a given child and number of children in a family can be assumed to be the same between the time when a given child left home and the time of the survey.

Hypothesis 7: Other things being equal, children with more siblings will leave home earlier than children with fewer or no siblings.

Hypothesis 8: Other things being equal, among families with three or more children, middle children leave home earlier than the eldest and the youngest children.

Interaction between gender of children and lone child
status. Lone child status comprises two categories: 1 = lone
child, 2 = a child with one or more sibling. Lone child status
can be assumed to be the same between the time of the event
and the time of the survey. The purpose of this interaction
variable is to explore whether parents are more protective of
a daughter who happens to be the only child and hold her at
home longer.

Hypothesis 9: Other things being equal, lone child status will
exert a greater influence in the case of female children, and
is more likely to result in later departures from parental
homes among female children than among male children.

Respondents' marital status at the time of the event. It
is inferred by comparing the timing of important events in the
marital histories of respondents with the timing of their
children's home-leaving. It is measured in six discrete
categories: 1 = never married and not cohabiting, 2 =
cohabiting, 3 = separated, 4 = divorced, 5 = widowed, and 6 =
married and living with spouse.

Hypothesis 10: Other things being equal, children whose
parents are cohabiting, separated, divorced, or whose parents
have never married nor cohabited leave home earlier than
children whose parents are married and living together.

Hypothesis 11: Other things being equal, children whose parents are widowed leave home later than children whose parents are married and living together.

Interaction between gender of children and respondents' single mother status at the time of the event. This variable will only be used in children's data generated from the answers given by female respondents (mothers). Single mother status comprises two categories: single mothers, mothers living with spouses (either married or cohabiting). It is inferred as of the time when a given child left home. Single mothers include mothers who had never married and not cohabiting, or who had divorced or separated and not living with common-law partners when a given child left home (or at the time of the survey if the child was still living with the mother). This interaction variable will enable us to study whether single mother family structure will have more impact on boys than girls and more likely to result in boys leaving home early.

Hypothesis 12: Other things being equal, single mother status has a greater effect on boys than girls and is more likely to result in early departures of boys than girls.

Interaction between gender of children and respondents' single father status at the time of the event. This variable

will only be used in children's data generated from answers given by male respondents (fathers). Single father status comprises two categories: single fathers, fathers living with their spouses (either married or cohabiting). It is inferred as of the time when a given child left home. Single fathers include fathers who had never married and not cohabiting, or who had divorced or separated and not living with common-law partners when a given child left home (or at the time of the survey if the child was still living with the father). This variable will permit the examination of possible differential single father effects between boys and girls.

Hypothesis 13: Other things being equal, single father family structure will have a different impact on the home-leaving pattern of boys and girls.

Interaction between gender of children and respondents' widowhood status at the time of the event. Respondents' widowhood status comprises of two categories: 1 = widowed, 2 = not widowed. The interaction of this variable with gender of children will allow us to examine whether parents' widowed status will have more impact on the timing of female children's home-leaving.

Hypothesis 14: Other things being equal, having a widowed parent will have a greater impact on the home-leaving of

daughters than sons and is more likely to result in the later departures of daughters.

Gender of widowed parents. This variable is divided into four categories: 1 = widows, 2 = widowers, 3 = non-widowed-mothers, 4 = non-widowed-fathers. It is measured as of the time of the event. It will allow us to examine whether the widow effect is greater than the widower effect on children's home-leaving.

Hypothesis 15: Other things being equal, children who are living with widows are more likely to leave home later than children who are living with widowers.

Respondents' nativity and ethnicity. This variable is me sured in three discrete categories: 1 = non-European immigrants; 2 = European immigrants; and 3 = Canadian-born. It is the same between the time of the event and the time of the survey.

Hypothesis 16: Other things being equal, children whose parents are non-European immigrants will leave home later than children whose parents are European immigrants, who will in turn leave home later than children whose parents are Canadian-born.

Respondents' attendance at religious services at the time of the survey. This variable is measured in two categories: 1 = once or more per week, 2 = less or not at all. It is measured as of the time of the survey. However, for children aged between 15 and 30 in 1990, the time elapsed between their home-leaving (if already happened) and the survey is relatively brief. We can therefore assume that parental religiosity had not changed too much between these two time points. Hence, this variable will be used in the analysis of home-leaving patterns of children aged between 15 and 30 in 1990.

Hypothesis 17: Other things being equal, children whose parents attend religious services one or more times per week leave parental homes later than children whose parents either do not attend religious services at all or attend them less frequently.

Respondents' education levels at the time of the survey. This variable is measured in four discrete categories: 1 = Bachelor's degree and above, 2 = Other post-secondary-school diplomas, 3 = secondary school graduation certificate, with or without some post-secondary-school education, and 4 = lower than secondary school graduation. This variable can be deemed unchanged from the time when respondents' children left home to the time of the survey, except in a small number of cases

where respondents pursued higher education and improved their education levels between these two time points. Therefore, this variable will be used in the analyses of all cohorts of children.

Hypothesis 18: Other things being equal, children whose parents have different levels of education will have different timing of home-leaving.

Respondents' total household income at the time of the survey. This variable is divided into four categories: 1 = less than $20,000 annually (low income), 2 = between $20,000 and $59,999 (inclusive) annually (medium income), 3 = more than $60,000 annually 'high income), and 4 = income not stated or omitted (coefficient for this category will not be interpreted). This variable is measured as of the time of the survey. Since it is a fact that for older cohorts of children (those who aged 30 and over in 1990), parents' total household income reported at the time of the survey might have little resemblance to the income when a given child left home, we have decided to include this variable only in the analysis of children aged 15 and 30 at the time of the survey in 1990.

Hypothesis 19: Other things being equal, children from families with different levels of household income will have different timing of home-leaving.

<u>Fathers' total income at the time of the survey</u>. This variable is also divided into four categories: 1 = less than $20,000 annually (low income); 2 = between $20,000 and $39,999 (inclusive) annually (medium income); 3 = more than $40,000 (high income); and 4 = income not stated or omitted (coefficient for this category will not be interpreted). This variable is measured as of the time of the survey. Just like parents' total household income, this variable will only be included in the analysis of children aged 15 and 30 in 1990.

As males are still more likely to be the main breadwinners in the family, it is decided that only the effect of <u>fathers' total income</u> will be analyzed. The effect of mothers' total income will not be analyzed.

Hypothesis 20: Other things being equal, children whose fathers have different levels of income will have different timing of home-leaving.

<u>Fathers' occupation at the time of the survey</u>. This variable is measured in two discrete categories: 1 = professional occupations, and 2 = non-professional occupations. It is measured as of the time of the survey. It will be restricted to the analysis of data of the youngest cohort of children (aged between 15 and 30 in 1990) generated from the responses of male respondents.

Hypothesis 21: Other things being equal, children whose fathers are in professional occupations will leave home later than children whose fathers are in non-professional occupations.

Fathers' unemployment status at the time of the survey. This variable is measured in three categories: 1 = unemployed, 2 = employed, and 3 = not in the labour force. It is measured as of the time of the survey. It will be restricted to the analysis of data of the youngest cohort of children generated from the responses of male respondents.

Hypothesis 22: Other things being equal, children whose fathers are unemployed will leave home earlier than children whose fathers are employed.

3.2.1.2. Variables and hypotheses concerning only young adults' demand for coresidence

Mothers' total annual number of hours in the labour force measured for the year of the survey. This variable is measured in three discrete categories: 1 = 0 hours (no outside work); 2 = between 1 and 2079 hours (inclusive) (part-time outside work); and 3 = 2080 or more hours (full-time outside work). It is measured for the year ending on the survey date. As we are interested primarily in whether the timing of children's home-

leaving will be influenced by the amount of household services provided by mothers with different levels of outside employment, it is decided that mothers' (not fathers') total number of hours in the labour force will be analyzed. The analysis of this variable will be restricted to the data of the youngest cohort of children (aged between 15 and 30 in 1990) generated by the responses of female respondents.

Hypothesis 23: Other things being equal, children whose mothers spend more time working outside of the home will leave earlier than those whose mothers work fewer hours or not at all.

Cohort of children. Children are divided into three birth cohorts: 1 = those born before 1945 or aged over 45 in 1990, 2 = those born between 1945 and 1959 inclusive or aged between 31 and 45 inclusive in 1990, 3 = those born between 1960 and 1975 inclusive or aged between 15 and 30 inclusive in 1990.

Hypothesis 24: Other things being equal, children of the youngest cohort leave home later than children of earlier cohorts.

Region. This variable is measured in five discrete categories: 1 = the Maritimes and Newfoundland, 2 = Quebec, 3 = Ontario, 4 = the Prairies, 5 = British Columbia.

Hypothesis 25: Other things being equal, young adults of the Prairie provinces and British Columbia will leave home earlier than those of other regions in Canada.

3.2.2. Variables in respondents' data set and hypotheses concerning both young adults' and their parents' considerations about coresidence

Respondents' age at the time of the survey. This variable is divided into the following groups: 1 = 15 and 16, 2 = 17 and 18, 3 = 19 and 20, 4 = 21 and 22, 5 = 23 and 24, 6 = 25 and 26, 7 = 27 and 28, 8 = 29 and 30.

Hypothesis 26: Other things being equal, older respondents are more likely to live apart from parents than younger respondents.

Respondents' gender. As in the set of data on children, the gender variable is also a dichotomous variable here: 1 = female, 2 = male.

Hypothesis 27: Other things being equal, female young adults are more likely to live apart from parents than male young adults.

Respondents' marital status at the time of the survey.

This variable is measured in five discrete categories: 1 = married, 2 = cohabiting, 3 = separated, divorced, or widowed, and 4 = single and never married.

Hypothesis 28: Other things being equal, young adults who are married or cohabiting are more likely to live apart from their parents than those who are separated, divorced, or widowed. The latter in turn are more likely to live apart from their parents than respondents who are single and never married.

Respondents' home language. This is a dichotomous variable: 1 = English, French or both, 2 = Other languages.

Hypothesis 29: Other things being equal, young adults whose home languages are languages other than English or French are less likely to live apart from their parents than those whose home languages are English, French, or both.

Respondents' nativity. This is a dichotomous variable: 1 = immigrant, 2 = Canadian-born.

Hypothesis 30: Other things being equal, immigrant young adults are less likely to live apart from their parents than Canadian-born young adults.

Respondents' ethnicity. This is also a dichotomous

variable: 1 = non-European, 2 = European.

Hypothesis 31: Other things being equal, young adults of non-European ethni background are less likely to live apart from their parents than those of European ethnic background.

Respondents' attendance at religious services at the time of the survey. This variable is measured in two categories: 1 = once or more per week, 2 = less or not at all.

Hypothesis 32: Other things being equal, young adults who attend religious services once or more per week are less likely to live apart from parents than those who do not attend or attend less frequently.

Respondents' student status at the time of the survey. This variable is measured in three discrete categories: 1 = full time student, 2 = part time student, and 3 = non-student.

Hypothesis 33: Other things being equal, young adults who are full time students, part time students, non-students have different likelihood of living apart from parents.

Full or part time working status of respondents at the time of the survey. This variable is measured in three discrete categories: 1 = Full time work (40 hours or more per

week), 2 = part time work (1 to 39 hours per week), and 3 = not working (0 hours).

Hypothesis 34: Other things being equal, young adults who are working full time are more likely to live apart from their parents than those who are working part time. The latter are in turn more likely to live apart from parents than those who are not working.

Respondents' unemployment status at the time of the survey. This variable is divided into three categories: 1 = unemployed, 2 = employed, 3 = not in the labor force.

Hypothesis 35: Young adults who are unemployed are less likely to live apart from parents than those who are employed.

Financial independence of respondents at the time of the survey. This is a dichotomous variable: 1 = having achieved financial independence (with an annual personal income of $10,000 or more), 2 = not having achieved financial independence (with no personal income or an annual personal income of under $10,000).

Hypothesis 36: Other things being equal, young adults who have achieved financial independence are more likely to live apart from parents than those who have not achieved financial

independence.

4. Methodology

The two main statistical techniques which will be used for the analyses of children's and respondents' data sets are proportional hazards regression and logistic regression respectively. The choice of these two techniques is mainly determined by the nature of the variables to be analyzed. With regard to children's data set, we have information on the age at which the child left the parental home (the dependent variable). We also have a number of other variables concerning parental family structure, parental and children's characteristics, which can be inferred as of the time of the child's home-leaving, or which can be assumed to remain relatively stable (or the same) between the time a child left home and the time of the survey. Given that the dependent variable is a continuous variable with the problem of right censoring, and given the fact that the values of many independent variables can be estimated for the time of the event, proportional hazards regression seems to be the ideal statistical technique of analysis.

On the other hand, with respect to respondents' data set, though we also have the age at which respondents left their own parental homes, the nature of the independent variables is much more restrictive. All the independent variables of interest are measured as of the time of survey. Nor is it

possible to infer the values of these variables for the time when the respondent left home, with the possible exception of one or two variables. These limitations preclude the possibility of using these variables to study the age at which respondents left their parental homes.

However, when we restrict our analysis to respondents who were between the ages of 15 and 30 at the time of the survey, it is possible to examine whether people with certain characteristics or activity status were more likely to live apart from parents (i.e., having left parental homes) than others at the time of the survey. The dependent variable is dichotomous: whether or not respondents were living with their parents at the time of the survey. The majority of the independent variables of interest are categorical variables. Therefore, logistic regression seems to be the appropriate statistical procedure. In the following two sections, we will discuss the assumptions and interpretations of proportional hazards and logistic regression techniques respectively.

4.1. Proportional hazards regression

The 1990 GSS data provide the life histories of respondents and their children, including in particular the timing of children's home-leaving. These life histories however are only complete up to the time of the survey. Those respondents or respondents' children who have not experienced the event of interest are censored. The survival methods, life

table techniques in particular, are capable of making adjustments for the effects of censoring by including those people who are censored at the time of the survey, as well as those who have completed the event of interest (home-leaving in this case) in the analysis.

In the next chapter, we will be utilizing primarily the LIFE TABLE REGRESSION procedure (together with CROSSTABULATION procedure) in SAS, to provide some descriptive statistics on home-leaving. More specifically, we will employ LIFE TABLE REGRESSION to 1) estimate the tempo of home-leaving across cohorts of people, 2) estimate the spread of home-leaving among different cohorts, and 3) compute the cumulative proportions of home-leaving at each age for different cohorts.

Although life table techniques are the preferred method for handling retrospective data with censored cases, they are unable to estimate simultaneously the effects of many covariates on the timing of the event of interest. Theoretically, it is possible to divide respondents into several groups with given demographic and socio-economic characteristics, and perform separate life table analyses for each. In practice, the sample size is quickly reduced with the large number of the possible combinations of different demographic, socio-economic categories. This will cause the estimates to become unstable. Moreover, with many possible combinations of categories, it becomes very difficult to compare estimates across groups.

Fortunately, we are able to take advantage of the proportional hazards modelling. Combined in this one technique are the advantages of both life table techniques and regression techniques. Ordinary life table techniques are not capable of dealing with the problem of heterogeneity in the population. On the other hand, ordinary regression techniques cannot deal with the problem of censoring. The proportional hazards modelling - first developed by Cox (1972) - has successfully combined these two techniques so that the issues of heterogeneity and censoring can both be handled.

Proportional hazards regression can be expressed by the following formula:

$$H(t/Z_i) = H_0(t) * exp(B_i Z_i)$$

where $H(t/Z_i)$ is the instantaneous hazard rate for a given individual i at duration t. $H_0(t)$ is an unknown underlying hazard function of duration (t) and stands for the hazard rate associated with a covariate vector of $Z=0$. B_i is a vector of unknown regression coefficients (Hopkins, 1990: 679).

One crucial assumption of proportional hazards regression is the "proportionality" assumption. It states that a ratio of the hazard functions of two individuals is constant throughout a specific period of observation. It can be expressed as:

$$\frac{H(t/Z_i)}{H(t/Z_j)} = \frac{H_0(t)*\exp(Z_i'B)}{H_0(t)*\exp(Z_j'B)} = \exp[(Z_i-Z_j)'B]$$

The above equation reveals that proportional hazards regression carries with it the fundamental assumption that the ratio of hazard functions of two individuals is independent of time and is only dependent on the differences in the time-invariant characteristics of the two individuals.

As with multiple regression, proportional hazards regression provides for a significance test of the overall model and for the parameter estimates. A coefficient greater than one indicates that those individuals with this attribute have a greater risk of experiencing the event of interest than the reference group. It can also be interpreted that individuals with this attribute will more likely experience the event of interest (in our case, leaving parental homes) earlier than those in the reference group.

Finally, a remark concerning the use of weight variable is in order. The GSS data have unequal sampling weights which must be used for analysis. Unfortunately, many of the available computer packages like BMDP and SAS do not permit the use of weights in the proportional hazards analysis. The latest version of PROPORTIONAL HAZARDS REGRESSION (PHREG) procedure in SAS allows the use of frequency counts in lieu of weights. In our analysis, the weights of respondents have been

attached to selected children.

The original purpose of these weights is to enable researchers to determine the number of cases in the population that each case in the sample will represent. Using these weights therefore inflates the sample size and decreases the magnitude of the standard errors of estimates. To correct this problem, we have multiplied the standard errors generated from the computer output with the square root of the inflation factor. The Chi-square estimate for the whole model is calculated by dividing the result from the computer output by the inflation factor. This is essentially the same as attaching to children the weights of respondents divided by the mean value of weights (as suggested by the Statistics Canada Manual, 1991). The reason that we did not adopt this suggestion is that the PHREG procedure in SAS does not accept fraction weights. The implication is that any case with an original weight less than half the mean value of weights will be excluded from the analyses, which will amount to an unacceptable level of precision loss. A mathematical proof for the above procedure has been developed by Professor Fernando Rajulton and is provided in Appendix I of this dissertation.

4.2. Logistic regression

With reference to the respondents' data, the dependent variable of home-leaving status is dichotomized into those having left the parental home and those still living with a

parent. The dichotomous nature of this variable suggests that logistic regression should be the proper statistical procedure in this study. Ordinary multiple regression techniques are not appropriate in the case of a dichotomous dependent variable since the distribution of the error terms will not approximate a normal distribution. Further, if we employ ordinary multiple regressions, $\hat{y}$ (the estimate for the dichotomous dependent variable) can actually exceed the range of y (the dichotomous dependent variable), i.e., beyond the range between 0 and 1.

In a logistic regression model, a large number of independent variables can be simultaneously entered into the equation. In matrix terms, the general logistic model is given by

$$L=\log(P/1-P)=XB$$

where **L** is the natural logarithm of the odds between the probabilities of scoring positive and negative on the dependent variable; **P** is the probability $(0<=P<=1)$ of scoring positive on the dependent variable; and **XB** is the function indicating the relation between the probabilities and the independent variables.

As with multiple regression, logistic regression provides a test of the overall model and a test of the parameter estimates. An odds coefficient greater than one indicates that those segments of the population with this parameter have a

greater chance of scoring positive in the outcome variable than the average. The relative weights of each of these estimates are directly comparable since they are all based on the comparison with the grand mean for the group. An individual parameter test of significance is also available with the Chi-Square goodness-of-fit statistic.

It is important to note that with logistic regression, the overall Chi-Square statistic tests for the difference between the specified model and the fully saturated model. The fully saturated model includes all interaction terms and the main effects of the independent variables. This statistic, however, does not indicate whether the variables in the model themselves are the most appropriate ones in explaining the variance in the dependent variable. One way to determine whether or not the model has a good explanatory power is to calculate the percentage of variance in the dependent variable explained by the model, again, using a variation of the Chi-Square statistic.

The present analysis uses LOGISTIC REGRESSION procedure in SAS. Unlike PHREG procedure in SAS, LOGISTIC REGRESSION does accept weight variables in its modelling. Therefore, we will adopt the advice given by Statistics Canada as to the best way of dealing with the weight variable in the GSS data. More specifically, we will create a new weight variable by dividing the weight of each case in the GSS sample by the average weight of cases included in a particular analysis.

Following the introduction of this new weight variable, the estimates of coefficients, errors, as well as significance levels for the estimates and the whole model can be generalized directly back to the target population of the GSS survey.

5. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter deals with the issues of data, methods, and hypotheses before presenting the results in the following chapters. In this chapter, we have presented the features of the Canadian GSS data in general and the 1990 Cycle in particular. More specifically, we highlighted the strengths and deficiencies of the GSS data for the study of home-leaving. The 1990 GSS data enable us to link the respondents' children's timing of home-leaving to a variety of background information concerning these children, to variables concerning survey respondents and to family structures. We are also able to compare the differences in the characteristics and activity statuses of respondents aged between 15 and 30 who are living in parental homes with those who have left.

Unfortunately, the characteristics and activity statuses of respondents at the time when they left parental homes cannot be estimated. Another deficiency in the 1990 GSS data is that it is impossible to link the reasons for leaving home and the subsequent living arrangements to valuable background information about respondents' children, as these reasons and

the subsequent living arrangements were not collected for the respondents' children.

Based on the literature review in Chapter 2 and the variables available from the 1990 GSS, we constructed a number of testable hypotheses. We also discussed the major statistical techniques which will be employed in this study. They include life table analysis, proportional hazards analysis, and logistic regression. We discussed the applicability, assumptions, as well as interpretations of results of these techniques.

Chapter 4 Descriptive Analysis of Home-Leaving

In this chapter, we will present an analysis of the incidence, timing, and spread of home-leaving of young adults from a cohort perspective. Ravanera et al. (1993) have already provided these descriptive statistics, using the respondents' data set derived from the 1990 GSS data. In this chapter, we will make use of both the respondents' and the children's data sets to analyze the incidence, timing, and spread of home-leaving. The objectives are twofold: to provide these descriptive statistics of home-leaving, which are useful in and of themselves; and to examine whether the same pattern of home-leaving across gender and over cohorts will be derived from the two sets of data. The procedure we will use to complete these analyses is LIFE TABLE REGRESSION in SAS, a type of survival analysis.

We will also use crosstabulation techniques to analyze reasons for home-leaving across gender and cohorts. As the variable "reasons for home-leaving" only exists in the respondents' data set, this analysis will necessarily be restricted to that data set.

1. Incidence of Home-Leaving

Table 4.1 provides the weighted number of cases, the percentages who have left home, and the median ages at home-leaving for men and women of different cohorts, using the

Table 4.1: Weighted number of cases (N), percentage who have left home and median age at home-leaving by cohort and by gender, respondents' data set - 1990 GSS Canada

Birth Cohort	(Ages in 1990)	N	Men Percent Left	Median	N	Women Percent Left	Median
1911-15	(75-79)	228	100.00	25.05	423	100.00	22.99
1916-20	(70-74)	341	100.00	22.78	512	99.95	22.30
1921-25	(65-69)	480	99.30	22.65	671	99.24	21.33
1926-30	(60-64)	316	97.56	22.57	341	97.31	20.65
1931-35	(55-59)	320	98.76	21.69	330	97.04	20.61
1936-40	(50-54)	276	95.58	21.35	368	98.14	20.36
1941-45	(45-49)	364	95.97	21.56	422	95.12	20.40
1946-50	(40-44)	504	92.34	21.47	537	95.55	20.21
1951-55	(35-39)	632	97.01	21.10	705	94.70	20.12
1956-60	(30-34)	687	92.57	21.47	940	93.06	19.86
1961-65	(25-29)	709	80.94	22.45	859	90.43	20.65
1966-70	(20-24)	498	41.31	23.71	621	61.73	21.21
1971-75	(15-19)	435	6.30	--	445	11.92	--

Table 4.2: Weighted number of cases (N), percentage who have left home and median age at home-leaving by cohort and by gender, children's data set - 1990 GSS Canada

Birth Cohort	(Ages in 1990)	Men			Women		
		N	Percent Left	Median	N	Percent Left	Median
1931-35	(55-59)	200	99.02	20.74	203	98.04	20.10
1936-40	(50-54)	379	92.53	21.92	344	95.57	20.15
1941-45	(45-49)	704	96.59	21.18	689	97.43	20.57
1946-50	(40-44)	1114	97.08	21.30	1048	98.94	20.19
1951-55	(35-39)	1208	93.09	21.27	1226	95.83	20.30
1956-60	(30-34)	1261	95.17	21.60	1224	94.41	20.43
1961-65	(25-29)	1183	81.61	22.95	1170	91.29	20.88
1966-70	(20-24)	886	50.42	22.56	877	58.92	21.47
1971-75	(15-19)	699	10.34	--	686	13.74	--

respondents' data set. Table 4.2 provides the same statistics, using the children's data set.

As shown in Table 4.1, the percentages of men who left home ranged from 100 percent in the 1911-15 and 1916-20 birth cohorts, to 6 percent in the 1971-75 birth cohort. The percentages of women who left home ranged from 100 percent in the 1911-15 birth cohort to 12 percent in the 1971-1975 birth cohort. It should be pointed out that the statistic that 100 percent of respondents of the earliest one or two birth cohorts having left parental homes is slightly misleading. As constrained by the GSS data, we are unable to distinguish people who have left parental homes and people whose parents have died but who continued to live within parental homes. Although younger cohorts may also include people whose parents have died but who have never left the parental homes, this becomes more probable in older cohorts of repondents as their parents are more likely of advanced ages and more likely to subject to mortality.

Among the youngest cohorts, more women have left home than men. For example, 12 percent of women left home compared to 6 percent of men in the 1971-75 birth cohort (aged between 15 and 19 in 1990). In the 1966-70 birth cohort (aged between 20 and 24 in 1990), 62 percent of women left home compared to 41 percent of men. In the 1961-65 birth cohort (aged between 25 and 29 in 1990), 90 percent of women left home compared to 81 percent of men. These differences indicate that women, on

average, leave home earlier in their lives than men. Table 4.1 also suggests that the process of home-leaving may be completed earlier among women than men. The process of home-leaving seems to be completed between ages 25 and 29 for women, whereas it appears that men do not complete the process until sometime between the ages 30 and 34. If we look at the median ages in Table 4.1, it is clear that women leave parental homes 1 or 2 years younger than men.

The fact that women on average leave parental homes earlier than men has been documented by several researchers (e.g. Aquilino, 1991; Young, 1974; Ravanera et al., 1992). Ravanera et al (1992) grouped researchers' explanations into four categories. Women usually marry men several years their senior. Since there remains a considerable link between the timing of home-leaving and marriage, the younger age when women get married may have partly contributed to their younger median age at home-leaving. The relationship between home-leaving and marriage will be shown in Table 4.7, which indicates that one-third to one-half of the respondents in the 1990 GSS survey have cited marriage as their reason for leaving parental homes.

Secondly, girls are usually expected to perform more household tasks in the parental households than boys. Therefore, there may be less incentive for them to stay at home. It has been argued as well that men are still considered the primary breadwinner in the family and may therefore

require longer periods of training and socialization. Finally, it has been argued that girls mature faster than boys both physically and psychologically.

However, as shown in Table 4.1, by ages 30 and 34 (the 1956-60 birth cohort), th.2 differences between men and women in the proportions having left home have disappeared. For both men and women of this birth cohort, the proportion of people who have left home stands at 93 percent. Therefore, even though women leave home at a younger age than men, and even though they as a whole complete the process of leaving home earlier than men, eventually men leave home in proportions equal to those of women.

Table 4.1 also shows that the majority of home-leaving takes place between ages 20 and 30 (birth cohorts 1966-70 and 1761-65). If we regard people of different birth cohorts in 1990 as a synthetic cohort who have progressed through different age levels (from ages 15-19 to 75-79), it may be observed that merely 6 and 12 percent of men and women respectively have left home between ages 15 and 19. When they have entered age group 25 to 29, 80 and 90 percent of men and women respectively have left home.

These patterns suggest that home-leaving is an event experienced by young adults mainly in their transitional years from childhood to adulthood. It usually occurs about the same time as other important events during this transition, such as the commencement of post-secondary education or completion of

education, marriage, start of a job, etc. It may also be observed that home-leaving is an almost universal event, a rite of passage that essentially all persons will undergo at some point in their lives.

2. Median Ages of Home-Leaving

Table 4.1 provides the median ages of home-leaving for men and women born between 1911 and 1970. With regard to the youngest birth cohort (1971-75), since less than half of the men and women have left home in 1990, estimates for the median ages cannot be provided. With regard to the interpretations with the oldest cohorts, we should bear in mind that there is no data previous to the 1911-15 birth cohort. Therefore, we are unable to ascertain whether the home-leaving ages for this birth cohort have been stable, increasing, or decreasing compared to the previous birth cohort. Hence, our interpretations concerning the trend concerning this cohort and the following one or two cohorts should be regarded as tentative.

For males there is a marked drop in the median age of home-leaving from the 1911-15 birth cohort to the 1916-20 birth cohort. The median age decreased from 25.05 to 22.78 between these two birth cohorts. The next two birth cohorts experienced a gradual decrease in the median age of home-leaving. Between the 1926-30 and the 1931-35 birth cohorts, there is another large decrease in the median age of home-

leaving from 22.57 to 21.69. The median age of home-leaving decreased gradually thereafter until the 1951-55 birth cohort. Starting from the 1956-60 birth cohort, the median age began to increase. The most significant increase occurred in the 1961-65 birth cohort, in which the median age of home-leaving increased by almost a full year from the previous birth cohort. Another large increase occurred in the next birth cohort, in which the median age increased from 22.45 to 23.71.

The 1916-20 birth cohort was at home-leaving ages during the mid-1930's. It is possible that their home-leaving pattern was greatly affected by the deepening of the Great Depression. Many of the young men probably had to leave parental homes in order to reduce financial pressures on the parental household. This is further indicated by the fact that the proportion who left home for jobs reached the highest level among this cohort of men (see Table 4.7).

The median age at home-leaving for the next cohort of men (born between 1921 and 1925) remained low. Their home-leaving patterns may have been affected by the onset of the Second World War. Many young men might have left home at a young age to enlist in the armed forces. This is partly demonstrated by the rise in the numbers of men in this birth cohort reporting leaving for "other reasons" (a residual category which included enlisting in the armed forces) in Table 4.7.

The effects of the Great Depression and the Second World War on the pattern of home-leaving may not be restricted to

only these two cohorts. It is possible that these two events and the resulting younger home-leaving ages may have changed the social norms surrounding the appropriate ages of home-leaving permanently (Ravanera et al., 1992: 15-16). As Ravanera et al. (1992) observed, for many years since the Great Depression and the Second World War, the median ages at home-leaving have not changed very dramatically, with the possible exception of the two youngest birth cohorts in Table 4.1. Commenting on the marriage pattern in the United States, Modell et al. (1978: 143-144. remarked, "During the war and in the post-war period, the timing of marriage and its relationship to other transitions altered markedly. Once in place, the post-war pattern itself was surprisingly persistent.... Perhaps, half a generation of youth thus were cut loose from traditional timing criteria, long enough for the criteria themselves to shift." It seems that this observation applies to home-leaving in Canada as well. The Great Depression and the Second World War were two events which drastically changed the pattern of home-leaving of young people. These changes occurred over a long enough period so that leaving home at a younger age had become a norm. Young people continued to leave at younger ages, even though the Great Depression and the Second World War had come to an end.

Of course, the continuing decline in the median ages in home-leaving until the birth cohorts of 1951-55 may also be partly attributed to the post-war economic boom. As an

indication, it may be noted that there is another significant drop in the median ages of home-leaving from the 1926-30 to the 1931-35 birth cohort. The 1931-35 birth cohort grew to the home-leaving age during the early 1950s, the start of the post-war economic boom and increased affluence. Whereas the Great Depression and the Second World War made the younger age at home-leaving more acceptable, the economic boom and affluence following the Second World War made younger home-leaving age more practicable for many young men.

Another factor which may have contributed to the continuing low age at home-leaving for the birth cohorts who grew up during the mid-to-late 60s and early 70s was the social revolution that occurred during this period. Young people were breaking away from tradition, breaking free from tight parental control, and flouting existing social regulations and rules of behaviour. This resulted partly in an increase in the numbers of individuals who left home at younger ages in the 1946-50 and the 1951-55 birth cohorts.

The median ages at home-leaving among men reached its lowest level among the 1951-55 birth cohort. As Ravanera et al. (1992) put it, there was no single event which can explain why this cohort of men experienced the lowest median age at home-leaving. This cohort of young people may have benefitted the most from the sustained economic boom that followed the Second World War. The social revolution which took place during their growing years might have also been a contributing

factor.

Of course, another way to explain why the home-leaving age bottomed in the 1951-55 birth cohort is to examine the factors that contributed to the rise in the succeeding cohort. The median age at home-leaving increased from 21.10 among the 1951-55 birth cohort to 21.47 among the 1956-60 birth cohort. The 1956-60 birth cohort grew to home-leaving age during the mid-to-late 70s. The first major economic recession since the Second World War might have resulted in economic difficulties among this cohort of young men and raised the age for leaving home.

The increase in the median ages at home-leaving among the 1956-60 birth cohort was only a beginning. It was followed by large increases among the 1961-65 and the 1966-70 birth cohorts. For males the median ages increased by about a year in each of these cohorts. These changes might be explained by the economic recession of the early 1980s and the continuing economic difficulties and high unemployment experienced by young people since then. The labor market has seen vast changes since the early 1970s. There are fewer secure and well-paying career jobs available for young men than there were for their predecessors. As a result, greater numbers of young people are finding it necessary to continue living with their parents for financial reasons.

Furthermore, the social revolution of the late 60s and early 70s has changed the intergenerational relationships

within the family. Where before, parents exercised tight moral control over their children, since the 1980s they are more tolerant of the attitudes and behaviour of their children living at home. Young people no longer must leave the parental home to indulge in sexual intimacy. Lifestyles and the outlook of parents and their young adult children are becoming more similar, so that less conflict will result because of differences in these areas. The generation gap seems to be disappearing. For young people growing up since the 1980s this newfound freedom within the parental home may have greatly reduced the urge to leave home as soon as possible.

Findings as to the effect of the Great Depression and the Second World War may also be applied to women. The median ages at home-leaving declined rapidly for the birth cohorts of 1916-20, 1921-25, and 1926-30, who grew up during the period of the Great Depression and the Second World War. These two events may have fundamentally changed the home-leaving pattern among women so that the median ages at home-leaving since the birth cohort of 1926-30 has been quite stable, perhaps until the two youngest birth cohorts (see Table 4.1). For women too the effects of the Great Depression and the Second World War on the age at home-leaving may have developed over such a sufficiently long period that a new norm of leaving home at a younger age has been established.

As well, findings regarding the increase in the median ages at home-leaving among the youngest birth cohorts of males

may also be applicable to the increase in the median ages in the youngest two birth cohorts of women. The economic difficulties faced by young people of the most recent cohorts and the reduced parental control at home may both have contributed to this increase.

Overall however, it may be pointed out that the changes among women took place more gradually. First, instead of a single big drop from the 1911-15 to the 1916-20 birth cohorts, the median age at home-leaving experienced three significant decreases in three succeeding birth cohorts from the 1916-20 to the 1926-30 birth cohorts. Thereafter, the median ages decreased very gradually and bottomed out in the 1956-60 birth cohort. In the 1961-65 and 1966-70 birth cohorts, even though women also experienced significant increases in their median ages at home-leaving, the increases are less pronounced than among men.

Until recently, women were very much encouraged to find a husband in order to achieve financial security. Even at the present time, men are more likely to be the main breadwinner in the family. On the other hand, men have been encouraged to get a steady job in order to have a family. The result is that unemployment or underemployment are less incompatible with marriage for women than for men. Generally, the age at marriage among women is less sensitive to economic ups and downs in a society. As marriage remains the most important reason why women leave home, it acts as a stabilizing force on

the age at home-leaving. This may be partly responsible for the fact that the changes in the median age at home-leaving among women have been more gradual than they have been among men. The observation that unemployment is less influential on the age at home-leaving among women than among men has also been documented by Hill and Hill (1976).

3. Proportions Left Home by Selected Ages

Table 4.3 provides the proportions of male and female respondents who left home at selected ages. For the most part, this reveals the same pattern as the median ages in Table 4.1. Among men, large increases in the proportions who left home by age 23 and by age 28 in the birth cohort of 1916-20 coincide with the marked drop in the median age in the same cohort. Significant increases in the proportions of males who left home by ages 18, 23, and 28 in the 1931-35 birth cohort corresponds to another notable decrease in the median age at home-leaving in the same cohort. The bottoming out of the

Table 4.3: Proportion left home by gender and cohort at selected ages, respondents' data set - 1990 GSS Canada

	Birth Cohort (Ages in 1990)											
	1911 -15	1916 -20	1921 -25	1926 -30	1931 -35	1936 -40	1941 -45	1946 -50	1951 -55	1956 -60	1961 -65	1966 -70
	(75 -79)	(70 -74)	(65 -69)	(60 -64)	(55 -59)	(50 -54)	(45 -49)	(40 -44)	(35 -39)	(30 -34)	(25 -29)	(20 -24)
Men												
Proportion Left by Age 18	0.13	0.08	0.13	0.18	0.22	0.13	0.17	0.15	0.14	0.14	0.11	0.09
Proportion Left by Age 23	0.38	0.52	0.52	0.53	0.60	0.64	0.62	0.63	0.67	0.61	0.54	0.45
Proportion Left by Age 28	0.62	0.73	0.76	0.79	0.88	0.85	0.86	0.85	0.88	0.86	0.84	--
Women												
Proportion Left by Age 18	0.14	0.10	0.13	0.2:	0.17	0.18	0.16	0.17	0.18	0.19	0.15	0.13
Proportion Left by Age 23	0.50	0.57	0.61	0.65	0.69	0.72	0.72	0.78	0.74	0.74	0.68	0.66
Proportion Left by Age 28	0.72	0.80	0.84	0.82	0.88	0.91	0.89	0.91	0.88	0.89	0.92	--

median age in the 1951-55 birth cohort is echoed by the highest proportion who left home by ages 23 and 28. Similarly, the lower proportions who left home by ages 18 and 23 in the most recent cohorts indicate the same trend as the increases in the median ages in the same cohorts.

Among women the changes are once again more gradual, as with median ages. The proportions who left home by age 23 experienced a steady but very gradual increase from the earliest up to the 1946-50 birth cohort. The more noticeable changes seem to have taken place in the two youngest cohorts. There are significant decreases in the proportions of women who left home by ages 18 and 23 in these two cohorts. These changes correspond with the increases in the median ages of home-leaving in these two cohorts.

Apart from revealing the same trend in the timing of home-leaving as the median ages in Table 4.1, Table 4.3 seems to suggest that among the oldest birth cohorts, high proportions of people had not left their parental homes by age 28. This might have contributed in part to their higher median ages at home-leaving. On the other hand, even though the youngest two or three cohorts have experienced increases in the median ages of home-leaving, they left in almost equally high proportions by age 28 as those cohorts of people immediately preceding them. Overall, it might be suggested that since the 1931-35 birth cohort, the proportions who left by age 28 are quite invariant for both men and women.

The difference between the earlier cohorts and the cohorts since 1931-35 in the proportions still staying with parents after age 28 may reflect the changing levels of nuptiality, as well as the shifting preferences from companionship to privacy (Goldscheider and DaVanzo, 1989). Non-marriage rates, especially among females have dropped from the last century and earlier this century to more recent times, especially after the Second World War. As Gee (1978) pointed out, female nuptiality in Canada has undergone a transition from low levels that are historically characteristic of western European populations, to relatively high levels during the period 1851 to 1971. A large proportion of this non-married population had perhaps continued to live with their parents. This might have partly contributed to the high proportions of people still living with parents after age 28 among the earliest cohorts in Table 4.3.

The shifting preference over time from companionship to privacy may have also contributed to the changing proportions of young people still living with parents past age 28 across cohorts. It may be the case that non-married young people in the earlier birth cohorts were more likely to stay with parents than non-married young people in more recent cohorts. The young people of more recent times are choosing privacy over companionship. The same may be said of their parents. This interpretation is partly supported by increasingly higher proportions of people across cohorts giving "independence" as

their reason for leaving the parental homes (see Table 4.7).
The greater facilities for living alone, especially in terms
of household amenities, are probably also playing a role.

Tables 4.2 and 4.4 provide the same descriptive
statistics as Table 4.1 and 4.3, respectively, except that
they are based on the children's data set. Only children who
were born after 1931 are presented in Table 4.2 and 4.4. The
number of children who were born before 1931 are so few that
estimates for the survival analysis become unreliable. There
are 92 male and 77 female children born between 1926 and 1930,
23 male and 36 female children born between 1921 and 1925, and
only one female and no male children born between 1916-20.
This is because only respondents aged 80 and over in 1990 are
likely to report children born before 1931 (aged 60 and over
in 1990). Only a tiny percentage of respondents are aged 80
and over, and this will in turn reduce the number of children
reported as born before 1931.

Lacking the oldest five cohorts of Tables 4.1 and 4.3,
Tables 4.2 and 4.4 are unable to indicate to us the changing
pattern of age at home-leaving for the earlier cohorts.
However, they do show that for both male and female children,
there have been significant delays in the median ages (Table
4.2) at home-leaving since the birth cohort of 1961-65.
Moreover, Table 4.4 reveals that since the 1961-65 birth
cohort, more and more young people over the age of 23 are
staying with parents. By age 28, nevertheless, equally high

Table 4.4: Proportion left home by gender and cohort at selected ages, children's data set - 1990 GSS Canada

	Birth Cohort (Ages in 1990)							
	1931-35 (55-59)	1936-40 (50-54)	1941-45 (45-49)	1946-50 (40-44)	1951-55 (35-39)	1956-60 (30-34)	1961-65 (25-29)	1966-70 (20-24)
	Men							
Proportion Left by Age 18	0.13	0.09	0.12	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.06	0.06
Proportion Left by Age 23	0.74	0.59	0.71	0.68	0.67	0.63	0.50	0.56
Proportion Left by Age 28	0.90	0.86	0.91	0.92	0.88	0.87	0.84	--
	Women							
Proportion Left by Age 18	0.18	0.13	0.10	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.09	0.08
Proportion Left by Age 23	0.81	0.82	0.79	0.82	0.80	0.77	0.70	0.64
Proportion Left by Age 28	0.96	0.93	0.95	0.96	0.92	0.92	0.94	--

proportions of these young people have left home, compared to their predecessors. Therefore, apart from occasional differences in the absolute values between Tables 4.1 and 4.2 and between Tables 4.3 and 4.4, analyses from children's data set yield similar patterns in the changes across cohorts compared to analyses from respondents' data set.

4. Spread of Home-Leaving

Table 4.5 provides the interquartile range of age at home-leaving for men and women of different birth cohorts. In the sections of Table 4.5 regarding men and women respectively, the first row shows the age at which 25 percent of people of a given cohort have left home. The second row shows the age at which 75 percent of people of a given cohort have left home. The third row shows the spread of ages (or age differences) between the age when the initial 25 percent of people and the age when 75 percent of people of a given cohort have left home.

Table 4.5 shows that the ages at home-leaving had a wider spread in the oldest birth cohorts of people. For both men and women there are large decreases in the spread between the birth cohorts of the years 1911-15 and 1916-20. Tnis seems to be primarily due to the large decreases in the ages at which 75 percent of men and women have left home in the 1916-20 birth cohort compared to the 1911-15 birth cohort. Subsequently, the spread decreased more gradually until it

Table 4.5: Interquartile range of age at home-leaving, by gender and cohort, respondents' data set - 1990 GSS Canada

	Birth Cohort (Ages in 1990)											
	1911 -15	1916 -20	1921 -25	1926 -30	1931 -35	1936 -40	1941 -45	1946 -50	1951 -55	1956 -60	1961 -65	1966 -70
	(75 -79)	(70 -74)	(65 -69)	(60 -64)	(55 -59)	(50 -54)	(45 -49)	(40 -44)	(35 -39)	(30 -34)	(25 -29)	(20 -24)
Men												
25th %tile	20.52	20.24	19.35	19.01	18.63	19.01	18.90	19.06	18.73	18.84	19.30	20.08
75th %tile	30.87	28.32	27.73	26.75	25.22	25.11	24.98	25.04	24.08	25.29	25.66	--
Spread	10.35	8.08	8.38	7.74	6.59	6.10	6.08	5.98	5.35	6.45	6.36	--
Women												
25th %tile	18.91	19.84	18.94	18.33	18.49	18.44	18.45	18.39	18.40	18.30	18.55	18.55
75th %tile	29.39	26.41	25.18	25.21	23.94	23.53	23.53	22.46	23.27	23.14	24.10	--
Spread	10.48	6.57	6.24	6.88	5.45	5.09	5.08	4.07	4.87	4.84	5.55	--

bottomed out among the 1951-55 birth cohort for men and the 1956-60 birth cohort for women. Since then, among the youngest birth cohorts, the spread has begun to grow wider again. It might also be pointed out that over all, women have a smaller spread in the ages of home-leaving in each cohort compared to men. In other words, women tend to leave in more concentrated age brackets than men.

Table 4.6 presents the interquartile range of home-leaving of males and females of different birth cohorts, based on the children's data set. It is more difficult to decipher the declining trends in the spread in earlier birth cohorts, partly due to the fact that the four oldest birth cohorts cannot be included here. It does, however, suggest there have been increases in the spread of ages at home-leaving by the more recent cohorts. This is consistent with the pattern suggested in Table 4.5 based on respondents' data set.

As Ravanera et al. (1992) suggested, the factors which influenced the pattern of change in the median ages at home-leaving may have also influenced the changes in the spread of the age at home-leaving over the cohorts. Social changes, however, may be more important factors in the influence of the spread than economic ones. Earlier in this century, and certainly in the last century, people found themselves under much stronger familial control and must assume greater responsibilities in the family. Young people were expected to delay leaving the parental home and contribute to the family

Table 4.6: Interquartile range of age at home-leaving, by gender and cohort, children's data set - 1990 GSS Canada

| | Birth Cohort (Ages in 1990) | | | | | | | |
	1931-35 (55-59)	1936-40 (50-54)	1941-45 (45-49)	1946-50 (40-44)	1951-55 (35-39)	1956-60 (30-34)	1961-65 (25-29)	1966-70 (20-24)
	Men							
25th %tile	18.71	19.20	18.84	19.42	19.19	19.14	19.88	20.13
75th %tile	23.13	25.13	23.57	24.08	24.25	25.16	25.96	--
Spread	4.42	5.93	4.73	4.66	5.06	6.02	6.02	--
	Women							
25th %tile	18.35	18.54	18.83	18.62	18.64	18.69	18.82	19.17
75th %tile	21.97	21.85	22.60	22.11	22.41	22.71	23.69	--
Spread	3.62	3.31	3.77	3.49	3.77	4.02	4.87	--

economy. Further, those who did not get married were expected to assume the responsibilities of living with and taking care of elderly parents. Increasingly, and especially after the Second World War, economic prosperity and the introduction of a variety of social security measures reduced individual obligations for the care of family members. Greater availability of institutional care for their family members has afforded younger people increased freedom, making it possible for them to leave parental homes at younger ages. This is reflected in the fact that the ages at which the great majority (75%) of young people left home decreased from 30.87 in the 1911-15 birth cohort to 24.08 in the 1951-55 birth cohort among men; and from 29.39 in the 1911-15 birth cohort to 22.46 in the 1946-50 birth cohort among women.

On the other hand, the narrowing spread of ages at home-leaving over these cohorts may be explained by the introduction of various measures that have made the transition from childhood to adulthood more regulated over the years, as pointed out by Ravanera et al. (1992). Social institutions increasingly regulated the ages of drinking, driving, voting, entering and leaving schools. By regulating these events associated with age at home-leaving, these social institutions have at the same time regulated home-leaving ages and made the distribution more uniform.

The increase in the spread of age at home-leaving in the two most recent birth cohorts of men and the most recent birth

cohort of women in Table 4.5 may reflect the weakening of the connection between home-leaving and other life events in the transition period from childhood to adulthood. Whereas young people used to leave home for reasons of marriage or employment, among the recent cohorts, much greater numbers are leaving for "independence" (see Table 4.7). This weakening of the connection between home-leaving and other events may have resulted in increased variability in the age at home-leaving among recent cohorts.

It is also possible that those factors we discussed earlier - those that increased the median ages at home-leaving among the youngest cohorts - have also increased the spread of the age at home-leaving. Economic difficulties experienced by the youngest cohorts might have resulted in their delaying marriage, and therefore the age at which the majority (75%) of them leave the parental home. It may also be the case that increased freedom at home for the youngest cohorts has made early leaving less attractive for the majority.

5. Reasons for home-leaving

Table 4.7 provides the reasons for home-leaving by men and women of different cohorts. As the 1990 GSS did not collect information on the reasons why respondents' children left home, only the reasons of respondents themselves can be analyzed here. It should be pointed out that, whereas all the previous tables in this chapter are constructed through

survival analysis, Table 4.7 is the result of crosstabulation analysis. While the former technique can effectively include the censored cases (i.e. people who are still living with their parents at the time of survey) in the analysis, the latter essentially treats all the censored cases as missing. In other words, analyses are only conducted on people who have already left the parental home at the time of the survey.

The exclusion of people who have not left parental homes may create few problems for the older cohorts as most people in these cohorts have left home. There may be, however, more problems in the youngest cohorts as approximately 50 percent of men and 40 percent of women in the 1966-70 birth cohort, and close to 90 percent of men and women in the 1971-75 birth cohort, are still living with their parents at the time of survey in 1990. Further, departures from the parental home in these two youngest cohorts may not be final. They may return to the parental home and leave again after the survey date, despite the fact that their parents considered their departures permanent. The reasons for these departures may not be the same as the reasons for their final departures. Based on these considerations, we have decided to restrict our analyses of reasons for home-leaving to people born before 1965.

5.1. Marriage

As can be seen from Table 4.7, for both men and women,

Table 4.7: Reasons for leaving home, by gender and cohort, respondents' data set - 1990 GSS Canada

Reasons	Birth Cohort (Ages in 1990)										
	1911 -15 (75 -79)	1916 -20 (70 -74)	1921 -25 (65 -69)	1926 -30 (60 -64)	1931 -35 (55 -59)	1936 -40 (50 -54)	1941 -45 (45 -49)	1946 -50 (40 -44)	1951 -5£ (35 -39)	1956 -60 (30 -34)	1961 -65 (25 -29)
Men											
Marriage	35.9	28.9	3'.3	35.2	39.9	42.6	40.0	36.2	29.2	20.8	23.0
Job	31.5	36.8	26.8	28.6	27.7	23.5	26.5	18.2	22.6	21.6	18.0
School	2.5	4.1	2.6	5.1	6.1	8.3	10.5	14.2	14.9	11.5	15.6
Independence	7.3	7.8	10.8	7.3	12.1	10.7	11.5	18.4	25.0	35.8	33.4
Other	22.7	22.4	29.4	23.8	14.1	14.9	11.5	12.9	8.3	10.2	10.0
Women											
Marriage	51.2	56.9	52.7	53.2	59.2	53.9	56.7	48.8	43.2	40.2	33.1
Job	21.9	21.7	23.2	19.4	15.4	18.7	12.9	14.8	13.7	12.5	9.6
School	4.3	3.8	3.8	6.8	5.4	6.4	13.6	13.7	15.3	12.5	15.9
Independence	2.8	2.3	3.8	4.4	8.5	7.6	6.0	13.2	20.0	25.4	31.4
Other	19.8	15.3	16.5	16.2	11.5	13.3	10.8	9.6	7.9	9.3	10.0

the proportion who gave marriage as the reason for leaving parental homes has remained high and steady until the birth cohort of 1941-45. For men, the proportion reached the highest level of 42.6 for the birtn cohort of 1936-40. For women, the proportion reached the highest level of 59.2 for the birth cohort of 1931-35. In addition, for both men and women, the proportion who reported marriage as the reason for leaving the parental home has declined significantly in the last four birth cohorts. These changes in the proportions of men and women citing marriage as the reason for home-leaving may be part anc arcel of other changes in family and marriage. These other changes include rising divorce rates, an increasing number of single parent families, declining fertility, and increasing numbers of couples who are childless. Just as marriage becomes less central in people's lives in general, it becomes less important as a reason for leaving home.

Across all cohorts, more women cite marriage as the reason for leaving parental homes than men. This reflects the fact that marriage has remained a more important and central event in the lives of young women than it has in the lives of young men. There has been more encouragement for women to dedicate themselves to marriage and family. However, it should be pointed out that the differences between men and women in the proportions reporting marriage as the reason for leaving home were greatly reduced among the youngest cohort. The changing role of women in the society is resulting in their

lives revolving less around family and marriage and more around employment and other activities that were traditionally the domain of men.

Apart from these general patterns, it may be pointed out that compared to the cohorts of men before and after, men who were born in the cohorts of 1916-20 and 1921-25 reported a lower proportion of home-leaving due to marriage. This might have been caused by the economic difficulties and financial impracticality of marriage among these cohorts of young men who grew up during the Great Depression. This pattern of decline does not show up among the same cohorts of women. This reinforces our interpretation, in the section on the more gradual changes in the median ages at home-leaving among women across cohorts, regarding the lower incompatibility between marriage and unemployment among women. These findings are also consistent with Easterlin's (1978) postulates as to the positive relationship between employment, income and marriage among men, but the lack of, or attenuated relationship of such kind among women.

5.2. Employment

Across the cohorts, for both men and women, the importance of employment has also declined as a reason for leaving parental homes. This may partly reflect the increasing affluence of society and the lesser need for young people to leave home specifically for the purpose of seeking employment.

Also, more men proportionally cited jobs as their reason for leaving parental homes than women. This reflects the fact that in our society, men are much more encouraged than women to establish themselves financially by having steady and well-paying jobs.

Among men, the proportion who cited jobs as their reason for leaving home was much higher among the two oldest birth cohorts of 1911-15 and 1916-20, than among the following cohorts. These two cohorts grew up to the home-leaving ages during the Great Depression. Many of them probably had to leave home for employment in order to lessen the financial pressures on the parental household. It is quite possible that many of them could not find work in their home communities and found it necessary to move farther away to find employment.

5.3. Schooling

Across cohorts both men and women report schooling as a more important reason for leaving the parental home. The increases were significant especially in the birth cohort of 1946-50 among men, and the birth cohort of 1941-45 among women. This coincides with the expansion of post-secondary education during the 60s in Canada.

5.4. Independence

Perhaps the most dramatic change is the increase in the proportion of men and women who report leaving home simply to

become independent. For men, the proportion increased from 7.3 among the 1911-15 birth cohort, to 35.8 among the 1961-65 birth cohort. For women, the proportion increased from 2.8 among the 1911-15 birth cohort, to 31.4 among the 1961-65 birth cohort. The increases are significant especially since the 1946-50 birth cohort. By the 1956-60 birth cohort, desire for independence has overtaken marriage as the most important reason for leaving home among men. Among women, the increases in each of the four recent birth cohorts as shown in Table 4.7 are so large and steady that among the youngest cohort, the desire for independence is almost as important a reason for leaving home as it is among men.

The increasing proportion of people who report "desire for independence" as their reason for leaving home reflects society's move from familism to individualism, from placing a value on companionship to placing value on privacy. At this juncture, it might also be added that among the most recent cohorts, gender differences vis-a-vis reasons for leaving home have declined. As reflected in Table 4.7, figures for both genders are converging, in terms of men and women reporting similar proportions of reasons for leaving home. This seems to reflect a number of fundamental changes taking place in gender roles and gender relationships in the past two decades. The social roles of men and women are becoming increasingly similar. Gender, as a social differentiation, has been diminishing and continues to do so.

5.5. Other reasons

The proportion of people who reported other reasons for leaving home has declined over the cohorts. For men, the proportion reached the highest level of 29.4 among the 1921-25 birth cohorts. This may reflect in part the fact that many young men of this birth cohort left home to join the armed forces during the Second World War.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the above interpretations of the reasons for home-leaving assume that people's responses to the question are unaffected by the prevailing norms and attitudes of the time. As Ravanera et al. (1992) pointed out, these changes in reasons may also be a function of what people think are appropriate reasons for leaving home. Socially acceptable reasons may replace more truthful but less glamorous reasons. Furthermore, people may not even be aware that they have made this kind of replacement. However, this problem may be not very serious in the GSS data since all respondents reported their reasons for home-leaving retrospectively in 1990. Older respondents, having been exposed to social changes after they left home, may no longer subscribe to the same social norms nor exhibit the attitudes they did when they left home. Therefore, the shifting norms over time will not have a big impact on people's answers.

6. Summary

Through analysis of the changes over cohorts in the proportions, median ages, spread, and reasons for home-leaving, this chapter has attempted to explain the impact of important social events and other more gradual social changes on the pattern of home-leaving. The most important social events for the cohorts under study are the Great Depression and the Second World War. These two events changed not only the timing of home-leaving by young people who grew up during those years, but the social norms surrounding the timing of home-leaving, so that succeeding generations of young people started leaving home at younger ages.

The post-WWII economic boom which lasted until the early 1970s has also contributed to young adults leaving home at increasingly younger ages. The fact that the age at home-leaving reached its lowest level among those who became young adults in the late 60s and early 70s might also be attributable to the drastic social changes initiated by themselves. A breaking-away from traditions of all kinds, challenges to existing social norms, and defiance of parental power and control - all these are factors which led these young adults to leave home at younger ages during these years.

The economic recessions since the mid-70s that continue into the 80s and the 90s have made independent living less feasible among the young adults during these years. At the same time, reduced parental control and increased freedom at home has reduced the urge of young adults to leave as soon as

opportunities arise. These changes have resulted in a rise in the median age at which young adults leave home.

The spread of the home-leaving process has experienced steady decline until the most recent cohorts. The reason may be the increased institutional regulations imposed by society and therefore the more uniform life experiences for young adults of similar ages.

"Marriage" declined in importance as a reason for home-leaving, while "independence" gained in importance. This pattern coincides with the declining centrality of marriage and family in the society over time. It reflects the general shift from familism to individualism.

Gender differences in the timing and reasons for leaving home reflect the different societal expectations for men and women. While men have been encouraged to establish themselves financially through secure occupations, women have been encouraged to seek their financial security by marrying an appropriate male partner. Therefore, women have been more likely to leave home to get married, while men have been more likely to leave home to seek employment.

In most recent cohorts, however, this gender difference is changing. Home-leaving patterns of men and women are beginning to converge. This reflects the changing gender roles of women, and their increasing involvement in social activities other than those associated with family and marriage. The change towards equalization in the home-leaving

pattern between men and women may reflect the change towards equalization of gender roles in our society in general.

These analyses of the changes in the home-leaving patterns over cohorts demonstrate the power of cohort analysis in identifying important social events and social changes over time, and their impact on specific issues of interest. As Ryder (1965: 845) noted, "each cohort has a distinctive composition and character reflecting the circumstances of its unique origination and history."

Chapter 5

Proportional Hazards Analyses of Children's Data Set

In this chapter, hypotheses concerning the children's data set will be tested, employing proportional hazards regression procedure in SAS. These hypotheses are divided into two categories: those concerning both young adults' demand for coresidence and parents' considerations, and those concerning young adults' demand for coresidence only.

The dependent variable is the age at which respondents' children left home, which is determined by both young adults' demand for coresidence and parents' considerations. Other independent variables determine the timing of children's home-leaving through influencing both parents' and young adult's considerations.

Independent variables related to the hypotheses concerning both children's and parents' considerations include: gender of children, type and number of children, birth order of children, interaction between children's gender and lone child status, parents' marital status at the time of a given child's home-leaving (event), interaction between children's gender and respondents' single parent status at the time of event, interaction between children's gender and respondents' widow status at the time of the event, interaction between respondents' gender and widow status, respondents' education levels, respondents' income,

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respondents' total household income, respondents' nativity and ethnicity, respondents' attendance at religious services, male respondents' (fathers') occupation, male respondents' (fathers') unemployment status.

Independent variables related to the hypotheses concerning only children's demand for coresidence with their parents include mothers' outside employment level, changes in the autonomy and freedom in parental homes (which is likely to be partially captured by cohort effects among children), and region of residence.

1. Testing Hypotheses Concerning both Children's and Parents' Considerations

1.1. Gender of children

Gender of children has been documented by previous researchers as a central predictor on the age at home-leaving. In order to fully capture the influence of gender on the timing of children's home-leaving, it is entered as a control variable (Model 5.1 in Table 5.1), and we will also conduct separate analyses for male and female children (Model 5.2 and Model 5.3 in Table 5.1). We will also examine interaction effects between gender of children and other independent variables, employing formal interaction tests.

All three models in Table 5.1 are significant at the .0001 level. In Model 5.1, gender of children stands out as

the variable with the highest significance level, as shown by the largest quotient (16.127) between the beta coefficient and the standard error (s.e.). With male children as the reference category (shown by the sign "+"), an estimate of 0.3048 is obtained for female children. This estimate is significantly different from zero (the coefficient for the reference category of male children as assigned by the computer) at the .001 level. This suggests that a female child has a 1.3563 (= $e^{0.3048}$) or 36 percent higher relative likelihood of home-leaving at a given age than does a male child of otherwise similar characteristics. This finding corroborates much previous research (e.g., Aquilino, 1991; Young, 1974; Ravanera et al., 1992).

1.2. Types of children

As shown in Table 5.1, in the total sample, an estimate of 0.2750 is obtained for step-children. This implies that step-children have a 1.3165 (= $e^{0.2750}$) or 32 percent higher likelihood of home-leaving than the parents' biological children. It seems that the stepfamily situation has a more pronounced effect on stepsons than on stepdaughters: separate analyses of male and female children (Model 5.2 and Model 5.3 in Table 5.1) show that the estimate obtained for stepsons is twice that for stepdaughters.

It is also possible that mother-stepfather family structure may have a different impact on the timing of

Table 5.1: Results of proportional hazards analyses of risks of home-leaving of children, total sample of children (Model 5.1), male children only (Model 5.2), female children only (Model 5.3) - 1990 GSS Canada

Variables	Model 5.1 Total Sample		Model 5.2 Male Children		Model 5.3 Female Children	
	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)
Concerning both Parents' and Young adults' Considerations about Coresidence						
Gender of Children						
Female	49.0	0.3048**** (0.0189) (16.127)				
Male+	51.0					
Types of Children						
Step	3.6	0.2750**** (0.0511) (5.3816)	3.5	0.4092**** (0.0743) (5.5074)	3.6	0.2072*** (0.0706) (2.9348)
Adopted	2.3	0.3468**** (0.0650) (5.3354)	2.2	0.3384**** (0.0954) (3.5472)	2.4	0.3374**** (0.0893) (3.7783)
Natural+	94.1		94.3		94.0	
Order and Number of Children						
Elder in 2 Children	11.0	0.0728 (0.0616) (1.1818)	11.3	-0.0206 (0.0830) (0.2482)	10.8	0.1886** (0.0923) (2.0433)
Younger in 2 Children	9.2	0.0367 (0.0638) (0.5752)	9.0	0.0796 (0.0868) (0.9171)	9.4	0.0421 (0.0949) (0.4436)
Eldest in 3+ Children	18.5	0.2406**** (0.0571) (4.2137)	18.7	0.1988*** (0.0770) (2.5818)	18.3	0.3077**** (0.0863) (0.5655)
Middle in 3+ Children	16.1	0.2456**** (0.0590) (4.1627)	15.8	0.1904** (0.0800) (2.3800)	16.5	0.3172**** (0.0886) (3.5801)
Youngest in 3+ Children	41.4	0.3339**** (0.0552) (6.0489)	41.0	0.2335*** (0.0739) (3.1597)	41.7	0.4409**** (0.0837) (5.2676)
Lone Child	3.8		4.2		3.3	
Parent's Marital Status						
Never Married and Not Cohabiting	1.4	0.2019** (0.0807) (2.5019)	1.3	0.2653** (0.1196) (2.2182)	1.5	0.1608 (0.1099) (1.4631)
Cohabiting	0.4	0.9920**** (0.1269) (7.8172)	0.4	1.1382**** (0.1860) (6.1194)	0.5	0.8822**** (0.173?) (5.0759)
Separated	3.2	0.3607**** (0.0548) (6.5821)	3.3	0.4016**** (0.0758) (5.2982)	3.1	0.3075**** (0.0792) (3.8826)
Divcr?ed	4.6	0.1653**** (0.0469) (3.5245)	4.5	0.2208**** (0.0672) (3.5827)	4.7	0.1282* (0.0661) (1.9395)
Widowen	4.8	-0.6623**** (0.0447) (14.817)	5.0	-0.6495**** (0.0622) (10.442)	4.7	-0.6597**** (0.0639) (10.324)
Married and Living with Spouse	8ɔ.6		85.5		85.5	
Parental Education						
University	9.2	-0.0699*	8.9	-0.0210	9.5	-0.1118**

		(0.0357)		(0.0517)		(0.0497)
		(1.9580)		(0.4062)		(2.2495)
College	15.2	-0.0223	15.9	0.0650	14.6	-0.0974**
		(0.0289)		(0.0407)		(0.0411)
		(0.7716)		(1.5971)		(2.3698)
Secondary School	25.4	0.0163	25.4	0.0680**	25.3	-0.0337
		(0.0237)		(0.0339)		(0.0334)
		(0.6878)		(2.0059)		(1.0090)
Less than Secondary+	50.2		49.8		50.6	
Parental Nativity/Ethnicity						
Non-European Immigrant	3.1	-0.6638****	3.0	-0.7026****	3.2	-0.6151****
		(0.0717)		(0.1075)		(0.0964)
		(9.2580)		(6.5358)		(6.3807)
European Immigrant	16.0	-0.2751****	16.0	-0.2839****	16.0	-0.2661****
		(0.0276)		(0.0392)		(0.0389)
		(9.9674)		(7.2423)		(6.8406)
Native-born+	80.9		81.0		80.8	

Concerning Young Adult's Demand for Coresidence only

Cohort of Children						
Youngest	54.2	-0.2860****	54.5	-0.3230****	53.9	-0.2594****
		(0.0322)		(0.0464)		(0.0448)
		(8.8820)		(6.9612)		(5.7902)
Middle	36.6	-0.0188	36.4	-0.0353	36.8	-0.0115
		(0.0308)		(0.0438)		(0.0433)
		(0.6104)		(0.8059)		(0.2656)
Oldest+	9.2		9.1		9.3	
Region						
Quebec	27.0	-0.1184***	26.6	-0.1467***	27.5	-0.1051**
		(0.0360)		(0.0513)		(0.0504)
		(3.2889)		(2.8596)		(2.0853)
Ontario	36.5	-0.0151	37.1	-0 0149	35.9	-0.0243
		(0.0355)		(0.0502)		(0.0501)
		(0.4254)		(0.2968)		(0.4850)
Prairies	16.6	0.3095****	16.6	0.2360****	16.6	0.3700****
		(0.0387)		(0.0551)		(0.0546)
		(7.9974)		(4.2831)		(6.7766)
British Columbia	10.7	0.2405****	10.5	0.2877****	10.8	0.1950***
		(0.0428)		(0.0615)		(0.0598)
		(5.6192)		(4.6780)		(3.2609)
Maritimes+	9.2		9.2		9.2	

+ Reference categories

Two-tailed t-test significance level: * p=.10, ** p=.05, *** p=.01, **** p=.001

Model 5.1: N = 15330, Censored = 25.73%, Model χ^2 = 1406.54, d.f = 24, P-Value = 0.0001.

Model 5.2: N = 7749, Censored = 28.09%, Model χ^2 = 586.97, d.f = 23, P-Value = 0.0001.

Model 5.3: N = 7581, Censored = 23.27%, Model χ^2 = 621.00, d.f = 23, P-Value = 0.0001.

stepchildren's home-leaving than father-stepmother family structure. Focusing on mother-stepfather families, Hetherington (1987) found that the stepfather effect is more pronounced among stepdaughters than among stepsons. To capture the interaction between parents' and children's gender in step-families, we have also provided separate analyses on children generated from responses of male respondents (fathers) and those from responses of female respondents (mothers).

These analyses are provided in Table 5.2 and Table 5.3. Model 5.4 in Table 5.2. provides analyses on all children generated from the responses of father respondents. Model 5.5 provides analyses on male children generated from responses of father respondents. Model 5.6 provides analyses on female children generated from responses of father respondents. Model 5.7 to Model 5.9 in Table 5.3 provide the same analyses for children generated from the responses of mother respondents. All of these models are statistically significant at a level of .0001.

Model 5.5 in Table 5.2. shows that male children living with stepfathers have a 61% higher relative risk (= $e^{0.4740}$) of leaving home than male children living with their biological fathers. On the other hand, there is no significant stepfather effect among female children (as shown in Model 5.6). This finding calls into question Hetherington's (1987) theory concerning the greater stepfather effect among stepdaughters

Table 5.2: Results of proportional hazards analyses of risks of home-leaving of children, both male and female children generated from responses of male respondents (fathers) (Model 5.4), male children of male respondents only (Model 5.5), female children of male respondents only (Model 5.6) - 1990 GSS Canada

Variables	Model 5.4 Male and Female		Model 5.5 Male Children		Model 5.6 Female Children	
	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)
Concerning both Parents' and Young Adults' Considerations about Coresidence						
Gender of Children						
Female	47.9	0.3063**** (0.0314) (9.7548)				
Male+	52.1					
Types of Children						
Step	4.9	0.2648**** (0.0778) (3.4036)	4.4	0.4740**** (0.1175) (4.0340)	5.5	0.1473 (0.1059) (1.3909)
Adopted	2.7	0.2998*** (0.0988) (3.0344)	2.5	0.2714* (0.1529) (1.7750)	3.0	0.3403** (0.1326) (2.5664)
Natural+	92.4		93.1		91.5	
Order and Number of Children						
Elder in 2 Children	11.7	0.1753* (0.0980) (1.7888)	12.2	0.1442 (0.1358) (1.0619)	11.2	0.2491* (0.1454) (1.7132)
Younger in 2 Children	9.7	0.1590 (0.1016) (1.5650)	9.4	0.2172 (0.1434) (1.5146)	10.0	0.1375 (0.1481) (0.9284)
Eldest in 3+ Children	19.3	0.3371**** (0.0913) (3.6922)	18.8	0.3570*** (0.1278) (2.7934)	19.8	0.3494*** (0.1342) (2.6036)
Middle in 3+ Children	15.8	0.3129*** (0.0956) (3.2730)	15.9	0.3615*** (0.1338) (2.7018)	15.7	0.2981** (0.1398) (2.1323)
Youngest in 3+ Children	39.5	0.4446**** (0.0885) (5.0237)	39.6	0.4089**** (0.1235) (3.3109)	39.3	0.4942**** (0.1302) (3.7957)
Lone Child	4.0		4.1		4.0	
Parents' Marital Status						
Never Married and Not Cohabiting	1.6	0.2263* (0.1261) (1.7946)	1.3	0.4142** (0.2063) (2.0078)	1.9	0.1176 (0.1621) (0.7225)
Cohabiting	0.3	0.5956** (0.2454) (2.4271)	0.3	0.6960* (0.3620) (1.9227)	0.4	0.5173 (0.3397) (1.5242)
Separated	3.1	0.5996**** (0.0881) (6.8059)	3.1	0.6358**** (0.1207) (5.2676)	3.0	0.5461**** (0.1318) (4.1434)
Divorced	3.8	0.4963**** (0.0818) (6.0672)	3.7	0.4340**** (0.1195) (3.6318)	4.0	0.5382**** (0.1151) (4.6759)
Widowed	1.7	-0.5880**** (0.1300) (4.5231)	1.8	-0.6787**** (0.1931) (3.5148)	1.5	-0.4918*** (0.1800) (2.7322)
Married and Living with Spouse	89.5		89.8		89.2	
Parental Education						
University	12.0	-0.1015*	11.2	-0.0008	12.9	-0.1792***

	Model 5.4		Model 5.5		Model 5.6	
		(0.0526)		(0.0765)		(0.0745)
		(1.9297)		(0.0105)		(2.4054)
College	17.3	-0.0588	18.9	0.0554	15.6	-0.1584**
		(0.0450)		(0.0629)		(0.0665)
		(1.3067)		(0.8808)		(2.3820)
Secondary School	23.2	-0.0377	22.3	-0.0325	24.2	-0.0416
		(0.0407)		(0.0593)		(0.0573)
		(0.9263)		(0.5481)		(0.7260)
Less than Secondary+	47.5		47.6		47.3	
Parental Nativity/Ethnicity						
Non-European Immigrant	4.4	-0.4979****	3.9	-0.5275****	4.9	-0.4652****
		(0.0905)		(0.1378)		(0.1227)
		(5.5017)		(3.8280)		(3.7914)
European Immigrant	16.3	-0.2604****	16.7	-0.2348****	15.8	-0.2911****
		(0.0458)		(0.0657)		(0.0657)
		(5.6856)		(3.5738)		(4.4307)
Native-born+	79.3		79.4		79.3	

Concerning Young Adults'
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	Model 5.4		Model 5.5		Model 5.6	
Cohort of Children						
Youngest	61.6	-0.3422****	63.1	-0.3524****	59.9	-0.3276****
		(0.0597)		(0.0852)		(0.0860)
		(5.7320)		(4.1362)		(3.8093)
Middle	32.3	-0.0881	30.7	-0.0746	34.0	-0.0971
		(0.0593)		(0.0844)		(0.0856)
		(1.4857)		(0.8839)		(1.1343)
Oldest+	6.1		6.2		6.1	
Region						
Quebec	26.9	-0.1740***	27.2	-0.1927**	26.5	-0.1610*
		(0.0609)		(0.0856)		(0.0884)
		(2.8571)		(2.2512)		(1.8213)
Ontario	37.4	0.0089	37.9	-0.0629	36.8	0.0739
		(0.0601)		(0.0848)		(0.0868)
		(0.1481)		(0.7417)		(0.8514)
Prairies	16.8	0.3424****	16.2	0.1856**	17.4	0.4894****
		(0.0652)		(0.0928)		(0.0932)
		(5.2515)		(2.0000)		(5.2511)
British Columbia	10.1	0.3707****	9.9	0.3200***	10.4	0.4109****
		(0.0727)		(0.1051)		(0.1031)
		(5.0990)		(3.0447)		(3.9855)
Maritimes+	8.8		8.8		8.9	

+ Reference categories
Two-tailed t-test significance level: * p=.10, ** p=.05, *** p=.01, **** p=.001
Model 5.4: N = 5850, Censored = 29.21%, Model χ^2 = 525.23, d.f = 24, P-Value = 0.0001.
Model 5.5: N = 3002, Censored = 32.78%, Model χ^2 = 211.73, d.f = 23, P-Value = 0.0001.
Model 5.6: N = 2848, Censored = 25.32%, Model χ^2 = 215.18, d.f = 23, P-Value = 0.0001.

Table 5.3: Results of proportional hazards analyses of risks of home-leaving of children, both male and female children generated from responses of female respondents (mothers) (Model 5.7), male children of female respondents only (Model 5.8), female children of female respondents only (Model 5.9) - 1990 GSS Canada

Variables	Model 5.7 Male and Female %	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)	Model 5.8 Male Children %	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)	Model 5.9 Female Children %	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)
Concerning Parents' and Children's Considerations about Coresidence						
Gender of Children						
Female	49.8	0.3057**** (0.0236) (12.953)				
Male+	50.2					
Types of Children						
Step	2.6	0.2785**** (0.0689) (4.0421)	2.8	0.3581**** (0.0970) (3.6918)	2.3	0.2707*** (0.0989) (2.7371)
Adopted	2.0	0.3931**** (0.0878) (4.4772)	2.0	0.4283**** (0.1225) (3.4963)	1.9	0.3196** (0.1268) (2.5205)
Natural+	95.4		95.2		95.8	
Order and Number of Children						
Elder in 2 Children	10.6	-0.014 (0.0795) (0.1836)	10.7	-0.1543 (0.1054) (1.4639)	10.5	0.1672 (0.1232) (1.3571)
Younger in 2 Children	8.9	-0.0576 (0.0820) (0.7024)	8.7	-0.0457 (0.1090) (0.4193)	9.0	0.0037 (0.1264) (0.0293)
Eldest in 3+ Children	17.9	0.1564** (0.0737) (2.1221)	18.6	0.0526 (0.0963) (0.5462)	17.2	0.2952** (0.1159) (2.5470)
Middle in 3+ Children	16.3	0.1788** (0.0758) (2.3588)	15.6	0.0425 (0.0999) (0.4254)	17.0	0.3346*** (0.1181) (2.8332)
Youngest in 3+ Children	42.7	0.2423**** (0.0711) (3.4079)	42.1	0.0806 (0.0923) (0.8732)	43.4	0.4252**** (0.1127) (3.7728)
Lone Child	3.6		4.3		2.9	
Parents' Marital Status						
Never Married and Not Cohabiting	1.3	0.2148** (0.1063) (2.0207)	1.3	0.2076 (0.1464) (1.4180)	1.2	0.2792* (0.1551) (1.8001)
Cohabiting	0.5	1.2550**** (0.1466) (8.5607)	0.5	1.4475**** (0.2144) (6.7514)	0.5	1.1173**** (0.2018) (5.5367)
Separated	3.3	0.2190*** (0.0700) (3.1286)	3.4	0.2426** (0.0985) (2.4629)	3.2	0.1997** (0.1004) (1.9890)
Divorced	5.2	0.0128 (0.0577) (0.2218)	5.1	0.1016 (0.0814) (1.2482)	5.3	-0.0623 (0.0822) (0.7579)
Widowed	7.2	-0.6895**** (0.0472) (14.608)	7.5	-0.6798**** (0.0650) (10.458)	6.9	-0.6880**** (0.0681) (10.103)
Married and Living with Spouse	82.5		82.2		82.9	

Parental Education

University	7.1	-0.0682 (0.0504) (1.3532)	7.2	-0.0597 (0.0727) (0.8212)	7.0	-0.0662 (0.0703) (0.9417)
College	13.7	0.0055 (0.0381) (0.1444)	13.5	0.0567 (0.0552) (1.0272)	13.9	-0.0438 (0.0533) (0.8218)
Secondary School	26.9	0.0474 (0.0294) (1.6122)	27.7	0.1229*** (0.0418) (2.9402)	26.1	-0.0207 (0.0417) (0.4964)
Less than Secondary+	52.3		51.6		53.0	
Parental Nativity/Ethnicity						
Non-European Immigrant	2.2	-1.0521**** (0.1321) (7.9644)	2.4	-1.0438**** (0.1900) (5.4937)	2.0	-1.0578**** (0.1858) (5.6932)
European Immigrant	15.8	-0.2980**** (0.0349) (8.5387)	15.5	-0.3290**** (0.0498) (6.6064)	16.1	-0.2758**** (0.0493) (5.5943)
Native-born+	82.0		82.1		81.9	

**Concerning Young Adults'
Demand for Coresidence Only**

Cohort of Children						
Youngest	48.8	-0.2596**** (0.0388) (6.6907)	47.9	-0.3265**** (0.0560) (5.8304)	49.6	-0.2159**** (0.0540) (3.9981)
Middle	39.8	0.0064 (0.0361) (0.1773)	40.8	-0.0240 (0.0512) (0.4688)	38.8	0.0213 (0.0511) (0.4168)
Oldest+	11.4		11.3		11.3	
Region						
Quebec	27.2	-0.0831* (0.0446) (1.8632)	26.1	-0.1180* (0.0640) (1.8438)	28.2	-0.0682 (0.0623) (1.0947)
Ontario	35.9	-0.0318 (0.0439) (0.7244)	36.5	0.0148 (0.0621) (0.2388)	35.2	-0.0865 (0.0623) (1.3884)
Prairies	16.5	0.2972**** (0.0483) (6.1532)	16.9	0.2837**** (0.0687) (4.1295)	16.1	0.3004**** (0.0677) (4.4372)
British Columbia	10.7	0.1801**** (0.0530) (3.3981)	10.9	0.2800**** (0.0756) (3.7037)	11.1	0.0913 (0.0743) (1.2288)
Maritimes+	9.7		9.6		9.4	

+ Reference categories

Two-tailed t-test significance level: * p=.10, ** p=.05, *** p=.01, **** p=.001

Model 5.7: N = 9480, Censored = 23.18%, Model χ^2 = 970.35, d.f = 24, P-Value = 0.0001.

Model 5.8: N = 4747, Censored = 24.53%, Model χ^2 = 422.65, d.f = 23, P-Value = 0.0001.

Model 5.9: N = 4733, Censored = 21.82%, Model χ^2 = 447.27, d.f = 23, P-Value = 0.0001.

than among stepsons.

Model 5.8 and Model 5.9 in Table 5.3 show that both male and female children living with stepmothers leave home significantly earlier than children living with biological mothers.

However, the above comparison between Model 5.5 and Model 5.6 in Table 5.2 and that between Model 5.8 and Model 5.9 in Table 5.3 are not formal interaction tests between stepparent status and stepchildren's gender. To further test this interaction between stepfamily structure, stepchildren's gender and stepparents' gender, we have performed two formal interaction tests, as provided in Table 5.4 and Table 5.5. Table 5.4 provides a test for the differential impact of the stepfather effect on sons and daughters. As shown in the table, the model χ^2 for the model which includes only the main effects for the variables of gender of children and stepchild status (stepchild versus biological child) and other control variables is 516.73. When the interaction term between these two variables is added, the model χ^2 is increased to 520.17. This increase is significant at the .10 level (d.f.=1), indicating that the interaction between the variables of gender of children and stepchild status is significant at the .10 level.

Having determined the statistical significance of the interaction effect, we may proceed to examine the coefficients for individual parameters. Notice that in Table 5.4, instead

Table 5.4: Interaction effect between gender of child and stepchild status, controlling for other relevant variables, children's data generated by responses of male respondents (fathers) - 1990 GSS Canada

	Exp(Beta)		Ratio of Exp(Beta)
	stepchild	biological child	stepchild/biological child
girl	1.5753	1.3768	1.1442
boy	1.5217	1.0000	1.5217

main effects model χ^2 (df=20) = 516.73
interaction effect model χ^2 (df=21) = 520.17
increase in χ^2 (df=1) = 3.44, significant at .10 level

of providing the beta coefficients (as we did in the previous three tables in this chapter), we have given directly the exponentiation of the beta coefficients. If we look at the ratio of exp(beta), it is obvious that the stepfather effect is more pronounced in the case of stepsons than stepdaughters. Other things being equal, stepsons have a 52% higher relative likelihood of leaving home than biological sons, whereas stepdaughters have only a 14% higher relative likelihood of leaving home than biological daughters. Therefore, findings from our formal interaction tests are also contrary to Hetherington's (1987) speculation that the stepfather effect tends to be more pronounced in the case of daughters than in the case of sons.

Table 5.5 provides a test of the impact of stepmother effect on sons and daughters. As indicated by the nonsignificance of the increase in χ^2 between the two models, there is no significantly different stepmother effect on sons and daughters. Other things being equal, both sons and daughters living with stepmothers leave home earlier than those living with biological mothers. This is again consistent with the results obtained by comparing Models 5.8 and 5.9 in Table 5.3.

Hetherington (1987) also proposed that the relations in father-stepmother families may be more difficult than in mother-stepfather families, due to the higher level of difficulties stepmothers experience when establishing their

Table 5.5: Interaction effect between gender of child and stepchild status, controlling for other relevant variables, children's data generated by responses of female respondents (mothers) - 1990 GSS Canada

	Exp(Beta)		Ratio of Exp(Beta)
	stepchild	biological child	stepchild/biological child
girl	1.7225	1.3610	1.2656
boy	1.3606	1.0000	1.3606

main effects model χ^2 (df=23) = 952.43
interaction effect model χ^2 (df=24) = 952.71
increase in χ^2 (df=1) = 0.28, insignificant

roles in the family. Hetherington argued that father custody is more apt to take place in cases when there are more serious emotional problems with the natural mother. We hypothesized therefore that children from father-stepmother families leave home sooner than children from mother-stepfather families.

Table 5.6 provides the estimates of coefficients for the variable constructed to compare the stepmother and stepfather effects. Children living with stepfathers are used as the reference category. Controlling for the effects of other relevant variables, children living with biological fathers and mothers have significantly lower risks of leaving home than children living with stepfathers. However, there is no significant difference between children living with stepmothers and children living with stepfathers. Therefore, the hypothesis that children from father-stepmother families leave home sooner than children from mother-stepfather families is not supported by this study.

As is the case with stepchildren, adopted children also leave home earlier than natural children. As shown by Model 5.1 in Table 5.1, the coefficient for this category is 0.3468, which suggests that adopted children have a 41 percent higher risk as compared to natural children. Model 5.2 and Model 5.3 suggest that there is no appreciable gender difference in the adopted child effect.

1.3. Order and number of children

Table 5.6: Comparison of stepmother v.s. stepfather effect on the timing of children's home-leaving, controlling for other relevant variables, total sample of children - 1990 GSS Canada

Category	Exp(Beta)	Significance Level
stepmothers	1.0400	nonsignificant
biological mothers	0.7865	p = 0.001
biological fathers	0.7755	p = 0.001
stepfathers+	1.0000	not applicable

model χ^2 (df=25) = 1381.47, p=0.0001

+ reference category

As shown in Model 5.1 in Table 5.1, there are 3.8 percent of children from lone child families and another 20.2 percent of children from two-child families. On the other hand, 76 percent of children are from families of three or more children. These statistics may seem different to researchers used to dealing with proportions of families of different sizes. However, it can be demonstrated that these statistics reveal the same kind of family size distribution usually seen by researchers.

Suppose we have a total of one hundred families with at least one child. Among them, 15 families (i.e. 15%) have only one child, 30 families (i.e. 30%) have two children, 25 (i.e. 25%) families have three children, 20 (i.e. 20%) families have four children, 10 (i.e. 10%) families have five children. This distribution of families of different sizes is not unreasonable, especially when we include parents of all cohorts.

The total number of children is therefore 280. Of this total, 15 are coming from lone child families, 60 are coming from families with two children, 75 are coming from families of three children, 80 are coming from families of four children, 50 are coming from families of five children. Therefore, 3.6% of children are coming from lone child families, 21% of children are coming from families with two children, 75.4% of children are coming from families with three or more children. This distribution is similar to the

statistics we presented in Model 5.1 in Table 5.1.

As shown in Model 5.1 in Table 5.1, there are no significant differences in the timing of home-leaving between children from families of two children and children from families with only one child. The main difference is between families with three or more children and families with one or two children. Children from families of three or more have 27 percent (= $e^{0.2406}$) to 40 percent higher (= $e^{0.3339}$) risks than lone children. This gives credence to the hypothesis that the higher level of competition for scarce family resources will result in the early departures of children from bigger families. However, judging from Table 5.1, middle children from a family of three or more do not appear to leave home earlier than either the eldest or the youngest from the same type of families.

If we compare Model 5.2 and Model 5.3 in Table 5.1, we find that the estimates of coefficients are larger in the case of female children (Model 5.3) than in the case of male children (Model 5.2). This suggests that the difference between lone female children and other female children is greater than that between lone male children and other male children. This seems to be consistent with our hypothesis that the lone child effect is greater among female children than among male children.

To further investigate this hypothesis, we have conducted a formal interaction test. Results are given in Table 5.7. As

Table 5.7: Interaction effect between gender of child and lone child status, controlling for other relevant variables, total sample of children - 1990 GSS Canada

	Exp(Beta)		Ratio of Exp(Beta)
	lone child	child with one or more siblings	lone child/child with one or more siblings
girl	0.9599	1.3599	0.7059
boy	0.8587	1.0000	0.8587

main effects model χ^2 (df=20) = 1302.51
interaction effect model χ^2 (df=21) = 1305.82
increase in χ^2 (df=1) = 3.31, significant at .10 level

shown in the table, the χ^2 for the model excluding the interaction effect between gender and lone child status is 1302.51. The χ^2 for the model including the interaction effect is 1305.82. The imprcvement is 3.31, which is significant at .10 level. This suggests that the interaction effect between gender of children and lone child status is statistically significant at .10 level.

Lone female children have a .7059 or 29 percent lower risk of leaving home than other female children. On the other hand, lone male children have a 0.8587 or only 14 percent lower risk of leaving home than other male children. Hence our formal interaction test supports the original hypothesis concerning the greater lone child effect among female children. This gives credence to the theory that parents may be especially protective _c their daughter when she is their only child. They would appear to be particularly concerned about her being sufficiently mature and safe before letting her go.

1.4. Respondents' marital status at the time of the event

Our findings suggest that parents' marital status plays a strong role in children's home-leaving behavior. Non-intact and non-traditional families (except in the case of widowed parents) *at the time of home-leaving* are significantly associated with higher probabilities of leaving home than intact families. As shown in Model 1 in Table 5.1, children

whose parents have never married and not cohabiting have 22 percent higher (= $e^{0.2013}$) risk of home-leaving than children from intact families. Children whose parents were cohabiting *at the time of home-leaving* have 1.70 times higher (= $e^{0.9920}$) risk of leaving home than children from intact families. Similarly, children whose parents were separated or divorced *at the time of home-leaving* have 43 percent (= $e^{0.3607}$) and 18 percent (= $e^{0.1653}$) higher risks of leaving home respectively than children from intact families.

As suggested in Chapter 2, the more individualistic outlook shared by cohabiting parents and their children may have contributed to the earlier departures of these children. On the other hand, more difficult family relations associated with parental separation, divorce, and single parenthood may be partly responsible for the early departure of children in these family situations.

With regard to these more difficult family relations, Hetherington (1987) proposed that single mothers may have greater difficulty coping with their relationships with their often defiant sons. It was proposed that the single mother effect on children's home-leaving will be more pronounced among sons than daughters.

In order to test this differential single mother effect on sons and daughters, we have performed an analysis on the interaction between mothers' single parent status and children's gender. As Hetherington (1987) was mainly concerned

with single mother families formed through divorce, separation, or where the mothers had never married, we have decided to exclude the widowed mothers (at the time of children's home-leaving) from this particular analysis. The comparison is therefore between single mother families defined above, and families with two parents (either married or cohabiting).

As shown in Table 5.8, the model which included only the main effects of mothers' single parent status and children's gender (and other control variables) had a model χ^2 of 676.28. The model which added the interaction term between these two variables had a χ^2 of 679.53. The increase in χ^2 between these two models is therefore 3.25, which is significant at .10 level (d.f.=1). This indicates significant interaction between single mother status and gender of children. Looking at the ratio of exp(beta), it may be observed that boys living with single mothers have 20 percent higher risk of home-leaving than boys living with two parents. On the other hand, girls living with single mothers have almost identical risks of home-leaving than girls living with two parents. These findings are consistent with Hetherington's (1987) speculation about single mother effect being greater among boys than among girls. Together with previous findings concerning the greater stepfather effect on boys than on girls, it may be speculated that single family and reconstituted family situations may induce more behavioral problems among boys. They are more

Table 5.8: Interaction effect between gender of child and single mother status, controlling for other relevant variables, children's data generated by responses of female respondents (mothers) - 1990 GSS Canada

	Exp(Beta)		Ratio of Exp(Beta)
	single mothers	mothers living with spouses	single mothers/mothers living with spouses
girl	1.4386	1.3936	1.0323
boy	1.2026	1.0000	1.2026

main effects model χ^2 (df=23) = 676.28
interaction effect model χ^2 (df=24) = 679.53
increase in χ^2 (df=1) = 3.25, significant at .10 level

likely to be not only defiant of their single mothers, but may also engage in open conflict with their stepfathers. The more difficult relations between sons caught up in these situations and their single mothers or stepfathers are likely to contribute to their early departures.

In Table 5.9, we have also provided a test on the possible interaction between fathers' single parent status and children's gender. As shown by the insignificant increase in χ^2, there is no significant interaction between these two variables. In other words, single father status does not affect the home-leaving patterns of boys differently than girls.

In the above discussion, we attributed the early departures of children from non-intact families to the more difficult family relations. Burch (1984) has proposed that there may be another, often neglected yet potentially important reason: children of divorce and separated parents leave the household of one parent simply to live in the household of the other parent. In this light, it is very interesting at this juncture to compare Table 5.2 and Table 5.3 with respect to parental separation and divorce. As shown in Model 4 in Table 5.2, children whose fathers were separated have 82% higher (= $e^{0.5996}$) risks for leaving home than children from intact families. Children whose fathers were divorced have 64 percent higher (= $e^{0.4963}$) risks than children from intact families.

Table 5.9: Interaction effect between gender of child and single father status, controlling for other relevant variables, children's data generated by responses of male respondents (fathers) - 1990 GSS Canada

	Exp(Beta)		Ratio of Exp(Beta)
	single fathers	fathers living with spouses	single fathers/fathers living with spouses
girl	2.0998	1.3609	1.5429
boy	1.6853	1.0000	1.6853

main effects model χ^2 (df=20) = 475.41
interaction effect model χ^2 (df=21) = 476.04
increase in χ^2 (df=1) = 0.63, insignificant

On the other hand, as shown in Model 5.7 in Table 5.3, children whose mothers were separated have only 24 percent higher (= $e^{.2190}$) risks than children from intact families. Children whose mothers were divorced do not leave significantly earlier than children from intact families.

These findings lend some credence to Burch's (1984) thesis that part of the explanation for the early home-leaving of children of separated or divorced parents may lie in the fact that these children have claims to both the households of their biological father and mother respectively. These children may be reported as having left home by one parent only to live under the roof of the other. Moreover, as children are more likely to live with their mothers after parental divorce or separation, they are more likely to be reported by father respondents as having left home. Of course, this finding in itself does not negate the thesis aforementioned regarding more difficult family relations leading to early departures among children caught up in parental separation and divorce. It is still possible that some of these children may leave both parental households and begin living on their own at younger ages.

As shown in Model 5.1 of Table 5.1, children of widowed parents have an estimate of -0.6623, which implies a risk of 0.5157 (= $e^{-0.6623}$) or 48% less risk compared to that experienced by children whose parents are married and living together. This coefficient is highly significant, the second highest of

all categories in Model 5.1, as implied by the quotient of 14.817 between the beta coefficient and the standard error. This is consistent with our hypothesis that widowed parents may be in greater need of emotional and physical assistance from their children, and their children may in turn respond to their parents' difficulties by remaining at home longer.

In Chapter 3, we have also hypothesized that the widowed parent effect will be greater among girls than among boys and is more likely to result in later departure by girls than boys. The comparison between Model 5.2 and Model 5.3 in Table 5.1 suggests that there is no appreciable difference in the widowed parent effect between boys and girls.

In order to further investigate the interaction effect between gender of child and parents' widowhood status, we have performed a formal interaction test between these two variables. As shown in Table 5.10, the increase in χ^2 from the main effects only model to the interaction added model (both controlling for other variables) is not significant. This indicates that there is no significant interaction between gender of children and parents' widow status. Therefore, we have failed to support the hypothesis that the widowed parent effect is more pronounced among girls than among boys.

As well, we have hypothesized in Chapter 3 that, other things being equal, children whose mothers are widowed will leave home later than children whose fathers are widowed. To test this hypothesis, we have constructed a variable with four

Table 5.10: Interaction effect between gender of child and parents' widowhood status, controlling for other relevant variables, total sample of children - 1990 GSS Canada

	Exp(Beta)		Ratio of Exp(Beta)
	widowed parents	other parents	widowed parents/other parents
girl	0.6571	1.3637	0.4819
boy	0.5299	1.0000	0.5299

main effects model χ^2 (df=20) = 1309.06
interaction effect model χ^2 (df=21) = 1310.25
increase in χ^2 (df=1) = 1.19, nonsignificant

categories: children living with widowed mothers, children living with non-widowed-mothers, children living with non-widowed-fathers, and children living with widowed fathers (the reference category). This variable is measured as of the time of the event (children leaving home).

As shown in Table 5.11, after controlling for other relevant variables, children living with non-widowed-parents have significantly higher risks of leaving home than children living with widowers. However, children living with widows do not differ significantly from children living with widowers in their relative risks of home-leaving. Therefore, we have failed to support the hypothesis that children living with widowed mothers will leave home later than children living with widowed fathers.

1.5. Parental education levels

Overall, the results in Table 5.1 seem to suggest that parental education level is a weak predictor of the timing of children's home-leaving. On closer examination, we find that female children (Model 5.3 in Table 5.1) whose parents are university or college educated have lower risks than female children whose parents are less educated. When we compare Model 5.6 in Table 5.2 and Model 5.9 in Table 5.3, we find that female children whose fathers are university or college educated have lower risks than female children whose fathers are less educated. On the other hand, mothers' education

Table 5.11: Comparison of widow v.s. widower effect on the timing of children's home-leaving, controlling for other relevant variables, total sample of children - 1990 GSS Canada

Category	Exp(Beta)	Significance Level
widows	0.9306	nonsignificant
non-widowed-mothers	2.1957	p = 0.001
non-widowed-fathers	1.1717	p = 0.001
widowers+	1.0000	not applicable

model χ^2 (df=22) = 1311.12, p=0.0001

+ reference category

levels do not significantly affect female children's home-leaving pattern.

1.6. Parental nativity/ethnicity

Parental nativity/ethnicity turns out to be a very important predictor of the timing of children's home-leaving. As shown in Model 5.1, children of non-European immigrants have a risk of 0.5149 (= $e^{-0.6638}$) or 49% less risk than that experienced by children of Canadian-born parents. Children of European immigrants have a risk of 0.7595 (= $e^{-0.2751}$), or 24% less risk than that experienced by children of Canadian-born parents. There is little gender difference in the effect of this variable.

We have also experimented with including a variable with four categories: children of non-European immigrants, children of European immigrants, children of Canadian-born parents with non-European ethnic background, children of Canadian-born parents with European ethnic background. We found that there is little difference in the home-leaving patterns between children of Canadian-born parents with European ethnic background only or with non-European ethnic background. The main differences are between children whose parents are immigrants of either European or non-European origins, and between children of immigrants and Canadian-born parents.

1.7. Parental religiosity

Just as parental education, parental religiosity was measured at the time of survey, not at the time of event. Unlike parental education, however, it is less reasonable to assume that parental religiosity (operationalized by frequency of religious attendance) will not change very much from the time of children's home-leaving to the time of survey. Some parents may attend religious services less often after all their children have left home. Other parents may attend more religious services in their retirement ages than when they were younger. In any event, the assumption of constancy from the time of event to the time of survey is less tenable in the case of religiosity.

Based on the above consideration, parental religiosity is only used in the models for the youngest cohort of children. For the youngest cohort of children, the time elapsed between the time of event to the time of survey will be relatively short. It is therefore more reasonable to assume that parental religiosity has not changed between these two time points.

The analysis for the youngest cohort of children is provided in Tables 5.12 and 5.13. Table 5.12 presents analyses on children's data generated from responses of male respondents. Table 5.13 presents analyses of children's data generated from responses of female respondents. All the models presented in these two tables are significant at the .0001 level.

As shown in Table 5.12, fathers' religiosity is

Table 5.12: Results of proportional hazards analyses of risks of home-leaving of children born between 1960 and 1975 reported by fathers: male and female children (Model 5.10), male children only (Model 5.11), female children only (Model 5.12) - 1990 GSS Canada

Variables	Model 5.10 Male and Female		Model 5.11 Male Children		Model 5.12 Female Children	
	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)
Concerning Parents' and Young Adults' Considerations for Coresidence						
Gender of Children						
Female	46.6	0.3442**** (0.0525) (6.5562)				
Male+	53.4					
Types of Children						
Step	6.5	0.3078*** (0.1136) (2.7095)	5.8	0.4466*** (0.1713) (2.6071)	7.2	0.2200 (0.1559) (1.4112)
Adopted	3.2	0.4530*** (0.1440) (3.1458)	2.9	0.5085** (0.2307) (2.2042)	3.7	0.4380** (0.1886) (2.3224)
Natural+	90.3		91.3		89.1	
Order and Number of Children						
Elder in 2 Children	13.2	0.1682 (0.1775) (0.9476)	13.8	0.0848 (0.2613) (0.3245)	12.6	0.2951 (0.2478) (1.1909)
Younger in 2 Children	11.1	0.2504 (0.1824) (1.3728)	10.8	0.1626 (0.2741) (0.5932)	11.5	0.2773 (0.2487) (1.1150)
Eldest in 3+ Children	16.5	0.4954*** (0.1689) (2.9331)	16.3	0.4556* (0.2531) (1.8001)	16.8	0.5791** (0.2312) (2.5048)
Middle in 3+ Children	19.9	0.3793** (0.1702) (2.2286)	19.6	0.4375* (0.2550) (1.7157)	20.2	0.3341 (0.2316) (1.4426)
Youngest in 3+ Children	35.3	0.5618**** (0.1634) (3.4382)	36.0	0.4301* (0.2440) (1.7627)	34.4	0.6605*** (0.2245) (2.9421)
Lone Child	4.0		3.5		4.5	
Fathers' Marital Status						
Never Married and Not Cohabiting	1.4	0.2987 (0.2318) (1.2886)	1.3	0.7644** (0.3660) (2.0885)	1.6	0.0654 (0.3006) (0.2176)
Cohabiting	^.4	0.6703** (0.3291) (2.0368)	0.3	1.1475** (0.5099) (2.2512)	0.5	0.3349 (0.4319) (0.7754)
Separated	3.9	0.7097**** (0.1222) (5.8077)	4.0	0.8288**** (0.1645) (5.0383)	3.8	0.6075*** (0.1873) (3.2435)
Divorced	5.1	0.5457**** (0.1123) (4.8593)	4.8	0.4903*** (0.1681) (2.9167)	5.5	0.5858**** (0.1528) (3.8338)
Widowed	1.4	-0.5499** (0 2322) (2.3682)	1.8	-0.4146 (0.3061) (1.3545)	1.0	-0.6680* (0.3674) (1.8182)
Married and Living with Spouse	87.8		87.8		87.6	
Fathers' Education						
University	13.5	0.0549 (0.0937) (0.5859)	12.2	0.2043 (0.1389) (1.4708)	14.9	0.0081 (0.1340) (0.0604)
College	19.3	-0.0225	21.5	0.1439	16.9	-0.1945*

	%	Coef.	%	Coef.	%	Coef.
		(0.0738)		(0.1037)		(0.1089)
		(0.3049)		(1.3877)		(1.7860)
Secondary School	25.0	-0.0160	23.5	0.0210	26.6	-0.0377
		(0.0693)		(0.1019)		(0.0959)
		(0.2309)		(0.2061)		(0.3931)
Less than Secondary+	42.2		42.8		41.6	
Fathers' Religious Attendance						
Once a Week or More	31.4	-0.2677****	31.4	-0.2263***	31.5	-0.3180****
		(0.0602)		(0.0859)		(0.0874)
		(4.4468)		(2.6345)		(3.6384)
Other+	68.6		68.6		68.5	
Fathers' Income						
Low Income	15.7	0.0775	14.8	0.0288	16.8	0.0859
		(0.0824)		(0.1225)		(0.1138)
		(0.9405)		(0.2351)		(0.7548)
High Income	32.1	-0.1214*	33.7	-0.1511	30.3	-0.1203
		(0.0720)		(0.1028)		(0.1021)
		(1.6861)		(1.4698)		(1.1783)
Medium Income+	32.9		31.8		34.1	
Missing	19.3		19.7		18.8	
Fathers' Occupation						
Professional	23.0	-0.1881**	22.6	-0.0991	23.4	-0.3295***
		(0.0779)		(0.1133)		(0.1125)
		(2.4146)		(0.8747)		(2.9289)
Non-professional+	57.4		58.6		56.0	
Missing	19.6		18.8		20.6	
Fathers' Unemployment Status						
Unemployed	4.2	-0.1729	2.9	0.2264	5.6	-0.3771**
		(0.1471)		(0.2394)		(0.1904)
		(1.1754)		(0.9457)		(1.9806)
Employed+	77.5		79.5		75.3	
Not in the Labor Force	18.3		17.6		19.1	
Fathers' Nativity/Ethnicity						
Non-European Immigrant	5.7	-0.4460****	5.2	-0.5389***	6.2	-0.3863**
		(0.1295)		(0.1924)		(0.1806)
		(3.4440)		(2.8009)		(2.1390)
European Immigrant	16.8	-0.2731****	17.5	-0.2614**	16.1	-0.2632**
		(0.0761)		(0.1087)		(0.1098)
		(3.5887)		(2.4048)		(2.3971)
Native-born+	77.5		77.3		77.7	
Concerning Young Adults' Demand for Coresidence Only						
Region						
Quebec	27.8	0.0222	28.5	-0.0239	26.9	0.0932
		(0.1046)		(0.1485)		(0.1510)
		(0.2122)		(0.1609)		(0.6172)
Ontario	37.4	0.0974	37.4	0.0287	37.4	0.1630
		(0.1037)		(0.1485)		(0.1470)
		(0.9392)		(0.1933)		(1.1088)
Prairies	16.3	0.5012****	16.1	0.3122**	16.4	0.7097****
		(0.1109)		(0.1590)		(0.1577)
		(4.5194)		(1.9635)		(4.5003)
British Columbia	10.0	0.4202****	9.6	0.3270*	10.4	0.4905***
		(0.1240)		(0.1828)		(0.1729)
		(3.3887)		(1.7888)		(2.8369)
Maritimes+	8.5		8.4		8.9	

+ Reference categories

Two tailed t-test significance levels: * p=.10, ** p=.05, *** p=.01, **** p=.001.

Model 5.10: N = 2731, Censored = 44.66%, Model χ^2 = 263.50, d.f = 30, P-Value = 0.0001.

Model 5.11: N = 1432, Censored = 48.60%, Model χ^2 = 113.17, d.f = 29, P-Value = 0.0001.

Model 5.12: N = 1299, Censored = 40.14%, Model χ^2 = 145.03, d.f = 29, P-Value = 0.0001.

significantly related to both sons' and daughters' home-leaving. Model 5.10 in Table 5.12 shows that children whose fathers attend religious services once or more per week have a risk of 0.7651 (= $e^{-0.2677}$) or 23 percent lower risk than that experienced by children whose fathers do not attend religious services (including those who are not affiliated with any religion) or who attend less frequently. On the other hand, Model 5.13 in Table 5.13 suggests that mothers' religiosity is not significantly related to either sons' or daughters' home-leaving patterns.

1.8. Fathers' income and respondents' household income

Respondents' personal income (fathers' income in the case of male respondents) and respondents' household income are measured as of the time of the survey. Based on similar considerations as respondents' religiosity, we have only included these two variables in the analyses of the youngest cohort of children.

It should be pointed out that around 20 percent of fathers did not report their income (denoted as "missing" in the variable "fathers' income" in Table 5.12). There are potential biases and problems with generalizability by either including or excluding cases with missing values with respect to this variable. To preserve sample size, it is decided here to include these cases in the analyses. However, coefficients for the missing category will not be provided since it makes

no substantive sense. Caution should be exercised on the interpretation of the effect of fathers' income and other variables in models in Table 5.12 and Table 5.13.

A comparison between Table 5.2 and Table 5.12 reveals that the directions and magnitudes of estimates for categories of variables common to these two tables are quite similar. This suggests the robustness of findings we have discussed so far.

As shown in Table 5.12, fathers' income is only weakly associated with children's home-leaving in the overall model (Model 5.10 in Table 5.12). Having said this, it may be observed that children whose fathers have high income experience lower risks of home-leaving than children whose fathers have low or medium income.

For the set of data generated from the responses of female respondents (mothers), we have used the variable "household income" instead of "income of respondent." Given the fact that fathers still tend to be the main breadwinners in the family, mothers' income may be a poor indicator of the amount of amenities and the standard of living in parental households.

As with the variable "income of respondent," substantial proportions of missing cases with respect to the variable "household income" make it necessary to exercise caution in the interpretation of this variable and others in the models in Table 5.13. However, a comparison between Table 5.3 and

Table 5.13: Results of proportional hazards analyses of risks of home-leaving of children born between 1960 and 1975 reported by mothers: male and female children (Model 5.13), male children only (Model 5.14), female children only (Model 5.15) - 1990 GSS Canada

Variables	Model 5.13 Male and Female			Model 5.14 Male Children			Model 5.15 Female Children		
	%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)		%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)		%	Beta (S.E.) (Beta/S.E.)	

Concerning Parents' and Children's Considerations for Coresidence

Gender of Children

Female	50.6	0.3772**** (0.0470) (8.0255)							
Male+	49.4								

Types of Children

Step	2.8	0.5416**** (0.0982) (5.5153)		3.3	0.4430*** (0.1686) (2.6275)		2.2	0.7670**** (0.1752) (4.3779)	
Adopted	2.7	0.6146**** (0.1388) (4.4280)		2.7	0.7503**** (0.1995) (3.7609)		2.7	0.4655** (0.1956) (2.3799)	
Natural+	94.5			94.0			95.1		

Order and Number of Children

Elder in 2 Children	13.7	0.1028 (0.1580) (0.6506)		13.6	0.0616 (0.2030) (0.3034)		13.8	0.1737 (0.2705) (0.6421)	
Younger in 2 Children	11.9	-0.0251 (0.1610) (0.1559)		12.0	0.0355 (0.2055) (0.1727)		11.9	-0.0673 (0.2756) (0.2442)	
Eldest in 3+ Children	14.5	0.1969 (0.1542) (1.2769)		14.8	0.1684 (0.1969) (0.8553)		14.1	0.2425 (0.2645) (0.9168)	
Middle in 3+ Children	22.5	0.1738 (0.1512) (1.1495)		22.1	0.2739 (0.1918) (1.4281)		22.9	0.1248 (0.2624) (0.4756)	
Youngest in 3+ Children	33.4	0.2943* (0.1474) (1.9966)		32.3	0.2628 (0.1841) (1.4275)		34.4	0.3462 (0.2594) (1.3346)	
Lone Child	4.0			5.2			2.9		

Mothers' Marital Status

Never Married and Not Cohabiting	1.2	0.6568*** (0.2366) (2.7760)		1.3	0.8903*** (0.3162) (2.8156)		1.1	0.3722 (0.3589) (1.0371)	
Cohabiting	0.8	1.5653**** (0.2089) (7.4931)		0.8	1.5892**** (0.3034) (5.2380)		0.7	1.5836**** (0.2943) (5.3809)	
Separated	4.7	0.2036* (0.1136) (1.7923)		4.8	0.3494** (0.1665) (2.0985)		4.5	0.0805 (0.1582) (0.5088)	
Divorced	8.5	0.0789 (0.0850) (0.9283)		8.4	0.1964 (0.1244) (1.5788)		8.6	-0.0342 (0.1195) (0.2862)	
Widowed	4.2	-0.3281*** (0.1055) (3.1100)		4.5	-0.5652**** (0.1583) (3.5704)		3.9	-0.1551 (0.1433) (1.0823)	
Married and Living with Spouse	80.6			80.2			81.2		

Mothers' Education

University	9.2	0.0563 (0.0923) (0.6100)		9.9	-0.0115 (0.1352) (0.0851)		8.5	-0.1132 (0.1284) (0.8816)	

		Model 5.13			Model 5.14			Model 5.15
College	17.2	0.0419 (0.0722) (0.5803)	17.2	0.1213 (0.1094) (1.1088)	17.3	-0.0186 (0.0982) (0.1894)
Secondary School	32.6	0.1250** (0.0585) (2.1368)	33.3	0.1456* (0.0867) (1.6794)	31.9	0.1076 (0.0808) (1.3317)
Less than Secondary+	41.0		39.6		42.3	
Parental Household Income						
Low Income	14.8	0.4113**** (0.0692) (5.9436)	14.9	0.4533**** (0.1030) (4.4010)	14.6	0.3806**** (0.0948) (4.0148)
High Income	18.2	-0.3700**** (0.0752) (4.9202)	18.4	-0.2563**** (0.1107) (2.3153)	17.9	-0.4681**** (0.1046) (4.4751)
Medium Income+	44.2		44.5		44.2	
Missing	22.8		22.2		23.3	
Mothers' Nativity/Ethnicity						
Non-European Immigrant	3.8	-1.1067**** (0.2012) (5.5005)	4.5	-1.1083**** (0.2643) (4.1933)	3.0	-1.1615**** (0.3173) (3.6606)
European Immigrant	16.8	-0.4223**** (0.0709) (5.9563)	14.8	-0.3968**** (0.1120) (3.5429)	18.8	-0.4382**** (0.0931) (4.7068)
Native-born+	79.4		80.7		78.2	
Mothers' Religious Attendanc						
Once a Week or More	'.7	-0.0446 (0.0500) (0.8920)	37.4	-0.1112 (0.0734) (1.5150)	38.0	0.0010 (0.0689) (0.0145)
Other+	62.3		62.6		62.0	

Concerning Young Adults' Demand for Coresidence only

		Model 5.13			Model 5.14			Model 5.15
Mothers' Employment Status						
No Work	36.9	-0.0343 (0.0568) (0.6039)	36.6	-0.1148 (0.0854) (1.3443)	37.1	0.0223 (0.0783) (0.2848)
Full-time Work	18.6	-0.1677** (0.0700) (2.3957)	19.6	-0.2673*** (0.1017) (2.6283)	17.6	-0.1458 (0.0982) (1.4847)
Part-time Work+	44.5		43.8		45.3	
Region						
Quebec	24.8	0.0835 (0.0871) (0.9587)	24.4	0.0217 (0.1292) (0.1680)	25.2	0.1391 (0.1195) (1.1640)
Ontario	37.2	0.0967 (0.0871) (1.1102)	36.7	0.15~((0.127\') (1.2441)	37.8	0.0417 (0.1207) (0.3455)
Prairies	17.1	0.4089**** (0.0931) (4.3921)	18.0	0.3558*** (0.1356) (2.6239)	16.1	0.4620**** (0.1301) (3.5511)
British Columbia	11.0	0.4144*** (0.1021) (4.0588)	10.6	0.4654*** (0.1510) (3.0821)	11.4	0.3571** (0.1403) (2.5453)
Maritimes+	9.9		10.3		9.5	

+ Reference categories

* Two-tailed t-test significance levels: * p=.10, ** p=.05, *** p=.01, **** p=.001.

Model 5.13: N = 35?), Censored = 42.68%, Model χ^2 = 404.76, d.f = 28, P-Value = 0.0001.

Model 5.14: N = 1629, Censored = 45.83%, Model χ^2 = 189.55, d.f = 27, P-Value = 0.0001.

Model 5.15: N = 1700, Censored = 39.62%, Model χ^2 = 197.01, d.f = 27, P-Value = 0.0001.

Table 5.13 again gives confidence in the robustness of our previous findings concerning variables common to these two tables.

Household income appears to be strongly related to children's home-leaving. As shown in Model 5.13 in Table 5.13, children from high income households have 0.6907 (= $e^{-0.3700}$) risk or 31 percent lower risk compared to that experienced by children of medium income households. Children from low income households have 51% (= $e^{0.4113}$) higher risk than children from medium income households.

A comparison between Table 5.12 and Table 5.13 seems to suggest that "household income" is a much better predictor of children's home-leaving than "fathers' income." It is probably because household income is truly a better indicator of the standard of living in the parental household than fathers' income. Therefore, household income predicts children's home-leaving better than father's income.

On the other hand, it is also possible that children who are leaving at older ages are more likely to contribute to household income than children who are leaving at younger ages. This type of reverse causality may also contribute partially to the strong negative linkage between household income and children's timing of home-leaving. Together with the fact that around 20% of respondents did not report their household income, it is difficult to make a strong case about higher household income resulting in young adults remaining at

home longer, based on the current study only.

1.9. Fathers' occupations at the time of the survey

As shown in Model 5.10 in Table 5.12, children whose fathers are in professional occupations have a 0.8285 (= e^-0.1881) or 17 percent lower risk than that experienced by children whose fathers are in non-professional occupations. In addition, there are gender differences. Fathers' occupation seems to affect daughters' home-leaving, but not sons' home-leaving. As shown in model 5.12, female children whose fathers are in professional occupations have a 0.7193 (= $e^{-0.3771}$) or 28 percent lower risk compared to that experienced by female children whose fathers are in non-professional occupations. On the other hand, Model 5.11 shows that there is no significant difference between male children whose fathers are in professional occupations and male children whose fathers are in non-professional occupations. It should be pointed out, again, that there are approximately 20 percent of missing cases, which makes the present findings tentative.

The fact that this variable is measured as of the time of survey, rather than at the time when a given child left home, is probably less damaging to our findings, since it is quite difficult for parents to change from non-professional to professional occupations or vice versa between the time their children left home and the time of survey, especially in the case of the youngest cohort of children.

1.10. Fathers' unemployment status at the time of the survey

When both male and female children of male respondents (fathers) are included in the analyses (Model 5.10), fathers' unemployment status is not significantly related to children's home-leaving. However, when only female children are considered (Model 5.12), those whose fathers are unemployed have significantly lower risks than those whose fathers are employed. On the other hand, male children whose fathers are unemployed do not differ significantly in their risks of home-leaving from male children whose fathers are employed. This is contrary to our original hypothesis that children whose fathers are unemployed will have higher relative risks of home-leaving than children whose fathers are employed.

Compared to educational levels and occupations, unemployment status may easily change in a relatively short period of time. Fathers who were employed when their children left home might have become unemployed by the time of the survey and vice versa. Therefore, it is not wise to place too much emphasis on the present finding concerning fathers' unemployment st. is and children's timing of home-leaving. Fathers' unemployment status measured at the time of the event is needed before a more conclusive remark can be made concerning its effect on children's home-leaving.

2. Testing Hypotheses Concerning Children's Demand for Coresidence

2.1. Cohort of children

As shown in Model 5.1 in Table 5.1, the youngest cohort of children (born between 1960 and 1975 inclusive) have a .7513 (= $e^{-0.2860}$) or 0.2487 lower risk compared to that experienced by the oldest cohort of children (born before 1945). There is no significant difference between the middle cohort (born between 1946 and 1959 inclusive) and the oldest cohort. In other words, the main difference is between the youngest cohort of children and their predecessors. Furthermore, this pattern holds true for both male and female children (as shown by Model 5.2 and Model 5.3 in Table 5.1).

If we compare Model 5.4 in Table 5.2 with Model 5.7 in Table 5.3, we may notice that the distributions of children in the three cohorts are different in the data generated from the responses of father respondents compared to the data generated from the resonses of mother respondents. More specifically, less children in the data generated by father respondents belong to the oldest two cohorts proportionally compared to the data generated by mother respondents. This may be due to differential mortality between men and women. Women, who are more likely to live longer, are also more likely to report older children. However, if we study the cohort effects on the timing of children's home-leaving (the coefficients in the models), we notice that they are essentially the same, no matter whether the data are from fathers' responses or mothers' responses.

This cohort effect may be attributable to some important changes in the economy as well as to changes in parent-child relations in the past decades. The high economic growth from the 1950s to mid-70s has given way to recession - slow recovery -recession since the early 80s. The downturn in the economy has been especially hard on young people, as the economy generated fewer and fewer secure, well-paying career positions available to them. Their continued stay in the parental home may be regarded in part as a response to these economic difficulties, in effect a strategy for economic survival.

The social revolutions since the 1960s have also provided young people growing up in the 80s and 90s with unprecedented freedom and autonomy within parental households. Their activities are no longer as closely scrutinized. Many of them can even have sexual intimacy within the parental household. This increased level of freedom and autonomy within the parental households has made it unnecessary for them to seek early emancipation from their parents. The economic difficulties and the increased freedom within parental households may have both contributed to the prolonged stay in parental households among young people of the most recent cohort. In addition, the parents and children may be less different in terms of basic family values.

2.2. Region

As shown in Model 5.1 in Table 5.1, there are appreciable regional differences in the timing of children's home-leaving. Children of respondents who lived in Ontario in 1990 have almost identical risks as those whose parents lived in the Maritime provinces (reference children). Children whose parents lived in Quebec in 1990 have a 0.8883 (= $e^{-0.1184}$) or 11 percent lower risk than that experienced by reference children. Children whose parents lived in the Prairie provinces in 1990 have 36 percent (= $e^{0.3095}$) higher risk than reference children. Children whose parents lived in British Columbia in 1990 have 27 percent (= $e^{0.2405}$) higher risk than reference children.

The variable of region may represent some of the community level differences that contribute to the different timing of children's home-leaving. For example, it is conceivable that a larger proportion of children in the Prairie provinces live in small town or rural areas. The lack of post-secondary educational facilities and employment opportunities in these small town or rural areas may have forced some of these children to leave their parental homes early and to migrate to places where these facilities and opportunities are more readily available.

It is also possible that this variable may capture some of the value differences at the individual level, and differences in the parent-child relations at the family level, which have not been accounted for by other independent

variables in the model. One may speculate that the higher risks of children in the Prairie provinces and British Columbia can be partly attributed to higher levels of individualism in these provinces. On the other hand, one may also speculate that Quebec, currently experiencing the lowest level of fertility and highest proportions of young people living as cohabiting couples rather than married couples, has gone fur_hest in the evolution of egalitarian relations between parents ar.d children within parental households. The result is that Quebec children are less motivated to leave parental households than children in the rest of Canada.

Obviously, the above observations are highly speculative. More precise and direct measures on individual attitudinal as well as community opportunity variables are needed to shed more light on these matters.

2.3. Mothers' employment status

In Chapter 3, we hypothesized that children whose mothers spend more time working outside the home will leave earlier than those whose mothers work fewer hours or not at all. Findings in Table 5.13 suggest otherwise. Mothers' employment status does not have a significant impact on the timing of female children's home-leaving (Model 5.15 in Table 5.13). Among male children (Model 5.14 in Table 5.13), those whose mothers work full time leave home later rather than earlier than those whose mothers work part time or do not work.

It is important to point out that the variable "employment status of the mother" is measured as of the time of survey rather than the time of the event. Even though the period between the time of the survey and the time of the event for the youngest cohort children is short, it may be long enough for mothers to change their employment status. Indeed, less financial pressure as a result of the departure of children may prompt mothers to reduce hours in the labor force or quit work altogether. Conversely, reduced household demands on mothers' time accompanying the departure of a child may increase their levels of labor force participation. These considerations reduce the worth of "mothers' employment status" measured as of the time of the survey in predicting the timing of children's home-leaving.

Furthermore, it may be argued that mothers' employment throughout the childhood period, not just immediately before children's home-leaving, may be important in predicting the home-leaving patterns of children. However, we do not have in our data employment histories of mothers during their children's childhood years.

3. Summary of Findings

Employing a proportional hazards regression technique, this chapter has identified the influence of a number of factors which influence parents' and children's considerations regarding coresidence arrangements, and hence the timing of

children's home-leaving. Gender of children is found to have a strong influence in that female children leave home much earlier than male children.

Both step and adopted children are found to leave home significantly earlier than natural children. The stepfather effect is found to be more prominent among sons than among daughters. The stepmother effect is found to be equally important among sons and daughters. Furthermore, there is no evidence to the hypothesis that father-stepmother family structure will have a greater impact on stepchildren's home-leaving than mother-stepfather family structure.

Number of children is found to be a more important predictor than order of children in the family. Children from families with three or more children are more likely to leave home than children from families with one or two children. Compared to male children, lone child status has a greater impact among female children, resulting in a relatively later departure of lone female child.

We found that children from nontraditional, non-intact families (including families headed by never-married single parents, families of cohabiting couples, single parent families formed through parental separation and/or divorce) leave home earlier than children from intact two parent families.

Children of widowed parents are found to leave home later than other children. However, we have failed to find evidence

that male and female children respond differently when their parents are widowed or that children respond differently depending on whether it is their father or mother who has become widowed.

Parental education has a significant impact on daughters' timing of home-leaving. Female children whose parents are university or college educated leave home later than female children whose parents are less educated. On the other hand, parental education does not appear to have a significant impact on sons' timing of home-leaving.

Parental nativity/ethnicity has strong influences on the timing of children's home-leaving. Children of non-European immigrants leave home later than children of European immigrants, who in turn leave home later than children of Canadian-born parents.

Fathers' religiosity is significantly related to the timing of their children's home-leaving. Children whose fathers attend religious services once or more per week are found to leave home later than those whose fathers do not attend religious services or attend less frequently. On the other hand, mothers' religiosity is not significantly related to the timing of children's home-leaving.

Fathers' income is found to be only weakly associated with children's home-leaving. Total household income, on the other hand, is found to be strongly associated with children's home-leaving. Female children whose fathers are in

professional occupations leave home later than female children whose fathers are in non-professional occupations. Female children whose fathers are unemployed leave home later than female children whose fathers are employed. Neither fathers' occupation nor fathers' unemployment status is significantly related to male children's home-leaving. On the other hand, mothers' outside employment level affects male children's home-leaving, but not female children's home-leaving. Male children whose mothers are employed full time outside the family leave home later than those whose mothers are only employed part time or are not in the labor force. However, poor measurement of these variables render the findings in this paragraph questionable.

Significant regional differences have also been found by this study. Children of Quebec residents leave home the latest, followed by children of residents in Ontario and the Maritime provinces, followed in turn by children of residents in British Columbia and the Prairie provinces.

4. Discussion of Some Salient Issues

4.1. Family structure, parental characteristics and familism

The findings in this chapter show that family structure and parental characteristics are important predictors of children's home-leaving. More specifically, types of children, parent's marital status at the time of event, parent's

nativity/ethnicity, and father's religiosity have significant influences on children's home-leaving.

In Chapter 2, we constructed a theoretical model in which both parents' considerations and children's considerations were assumed to affect the timing of children's home-leaving. We also assumed that parents would consider not only their own self-interests, but also those of their children in their children's living arrangement. Children, on the other hand, were assumed to be primarily motivated by self-interests with respect to their home-leaving decisions.

Applying this theoretical framework to the situation of stepchildren, it may be argued that parents' altruism extends primarily to their natural born children. Past research has documented the instability of family relations in step-families, and has found that the presence of stepchildren in the family contributes markedly to marital dissolution (e.g. Furstenburg, 1987; White and Booth, 1985). Stepparents may therefore be highly motivated to encourage the early emancipation of their step children. Natural parents of children in these reconstituted families may also be more willing to let their children leave early, compared to natural parents in intact families, in order to safeguard relationships with their new partners. Stepchildren may also have less incentive to remain at home because of these difficult family relations.

We have shown that adopted children leave home earlier

than not only natural born children, but also stepchildren. This is consistent with Aquilino's (1991) finding that adopted children have the highest probability of leaving home prior to age 19, compared to children from all other intact or non-intact families. The replication of Aquilino's (1990) finding by the current study indicates that early departures of adopted children, albeit somewhat surprising and counterintuitive, is real nonetheless. Adopted children may live in a more stable family environment after adoption than children from other non-intact families. However, once they are old enough to comprehend the loss of their biological parents, they are likely to feel that they are somehow different from other children. Even though they appreciate the love and care provided by their adoptive parents, they may feel the need for greater independence, rather than continuing to rely upon their adoptive parents. Brodzinsky (1990) argued that even though many of these children are adopted in infancy, they will experience longing and grief for their biological parents once old enough. This tends to not only destabilize their relationship with their adoptive parents, but also prompts them to seek new identities outside the parental home. Both the need for independence and the search for new identities will contribute to adoptive children seeking early departures from their adoptive parents.

It may be argued that adoptive parents are a selected group of people who are highly devoted to children and enjoy

their company. For their own emotional well being, they would perhaps have liked their adopted children to stay at home longer. But as adoptive parents, they may feel more compelled to respect the decisions made by their adopted children. Hence, they are likely to make emotional sacrifices and allow their adopted children to leave. This may be regarded as a special case of parental altruism towards their children.

In recent years, there have been significant changes in the behaviors of young single mothers. In the recent past, a high proportion of teenager mothers chose to have their babies adopted. Nowadays, more teenager mothers are choosing to keep their babies. Therefore, it is possible that children who are put up for adoption presently are more likely to involve extraordinary situations, such as exceptional emotional and economic difficulties with the biological mother. Therefore, it would be interesting to study the effect of adoption on the home-leaving of children adopted in recent years. Nevertheless, this kind of study has to be carried out in the future when these children reach home-leaving ages.

This research has found that, except in the case of widowed parents, children from all types of non-traditional, non-intact families experience higher risks of home-leaving than children from intact two-parent families. This generalization is true not only in the case of stepchildren and in the case of adopted children, but is also true in situations where parents are cohabiting, where parents have

never married nor cohabited but are raising children alone, and where parents are separated or divorced.

In Chapter 2, we offered explanations for the earlier departure of children in these various kinds of situations. We argued that cohabiting parents and their children are more individualistic in their outlook towards family relationships. That is, they share the common notion that family relationships, no matter whether spousal relations or parent-child coresidence relations, should end if they are no longer satisfactory to all those involved. We also argued that the general hardship experienced by single parent families - having come about for whatever reason - reduces the attraction for ildren in these families to continue living with their single parents. Likewise, overburdened by the tasks of single-parenting, these parents may also look forward to their children leaving early.

As a synthesis of these various explanations, it is argued here that the reduced level of familism have contributed to the early departures of the children who are in these various situations. Familism is a general orientation towards family roles and family relations, and an emphasis of these roles and relations as the core in people's lives. The decline of familism in the recent past is manifested primarily in the declining centrality of the nuclear family and the reduced importance of roles and relations in nuclear families (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1993).

As an example, researchers have found that cohabiting couples are more willing to end their spousal relations than married couples. They are less committed to their spousal relations. Brought up in this type of family environment, children of cohabiting couples are also likely to be less committed to family roles and relations. The increasing proportions of cohabiting couples in the population is one indication of declining familism.

Single parenthood as a result of non-marriage is in itself a rejection of spousal relations, an important dimension of familism. Similarly, separation and divorce, through bringing spousal relations to an end, have implied the disappearance of an important component of family life. Less emotional ties between stepchildren and their parents and higher risk of divorce among these parents also demonstrate the tenuous, precarious nature of these reconstituted family relations. In short, a reduced level of familism may be involved in all these non-traditional, non-intact families.

The findings here show that immigrant groups have not been totally integrated into the dominant Canadian culture. Non-European immigrants in particular, may emphasize traditional values of family cohesion and commitment and demonstrate a high level of familism. Their youngsters are more likely to abide by their parents' wishes and not leave home until marriage. This results in later home-leaving for this group since the average age at home-leaving for marriage

is higher than for other reasons.

European immigrants on average are likely to have a lower level of familism than non-European immigrants, but a higher level of familism than those born in Canada. As shown previously, we found that children of Canadian-born parents leave home the earliest, followed by children of European immigrants, followed in turn by children of non-European immigrants. Different levels of familism may be operative among these groups.

We have also found that there is no significant ethnic difference among children whose parents are born in Canada. This suggests that by the third generation, there is considerable assimilation of Canadian values and norms concerning familistic orientations.

Religiosity is another variable closely related to familism. Although religion and religiosity are not synonymous with familism, generally speaking, they tend to reinforce it. Religion tends to promote marriage and encourage couples to have more children, while discouraging divorce or indeed any deviation from the traditional two-parent intact family arrangement. Close involvement in a religious group and frequently attending religious services may indicate the presence of a higher level of commitment to traditional family values.

Our finding that father's religiosity relates positively to the age of their children's home-leaving is consistent with

this interpretation. Fathers who are highly religious are also likely to be highly familistic in orientation. They may discourage their children from leaving home until marriage, which will result in their leaving home at a later age. Interestingly, we also found that mother's religiosity is not significantly related to the timing of children's home-leaving. Religion and traditional family values support for the most part patriarchal power relations in the family. High religiosity is most likely to have its impact on children's home-leaving pattern when it is combined with this patriarchal power. In other words, highly religious fathers believe that later home-leaving is in the best interest of their children, and will exercise their power to make it possible.

It is also possible that fathers' religiosity is a better proxi of religiosity for the whole family. For example, if a father goes to church, the mother most likely does also. On the other hand, it is quite possible for a mother to go to church while the father stays at home. Therefore, fathers' religiosity is likely to predict better children's home-leaving patterns.

4.2. Gender differences

In the previous chapter, we pointed out that gender differences in the timing and reasons for leaving home reflect the different expectations of men and women. While men have been encouraged to establish themselves financially through

secure occupations, women have been encouraged to seek their financial security by marrying a suitable partner. This results in younger ages at marriage as well as at home-leaving among women, and in greater numbers of women leaving home to get married. However, this gender difference is undergoing a change in most recent cohorts; home leaving patterns of men and women are beginning to converge. This reflects changing gender roles of women and their increasing involvement in social activities other than those associated with family and marriage.

The findings in this chapter suggest that although men and women are moving towards more egalitarian relations, there are still some important differences in their home-leaving ages and their relations with their parents during the time when home-leaving takes place. Most importantly, on average women still leave home much younger than men. This is true not only for older cohorts of children, but also for the youngest cohort of children born between 1960 and 1975. This reflects not only the younger age at marriage among females, but also the traditional expectations for male and female children. Parents may be willing to invest more time in male children and let them remain at home longer as they prepare them to become the breadwinners of their own families in the future. Parents may regard a longer stay of girls in the family home for the purposes of socialization and education as less important than it is for boys. Indeed, parents may think that

their daughters should find a good husband, get married and leave home before they are too old.

However, this kind of traditional outlook concerning the proper roles of men and women is changing among more educated parents and parents in professional occupations. As we found in this chapter, female children of more educated and professional parents are more likely to leave home later. This suggests that among these segments of the population at least, traditional role expectations concerning their sons and daughters are giving way to more egalitarian expectations. These parents consider the prolonged socialization and education of their daughters as important as it is for their sons. If we regard the values and norms of this more educated segment of the population as indications of the values and norms of the general population in the future, then we have reason to believe in further convergence in the home-leaving patterns between men and women.

Chapter 6

Logistic Regression Analyses of Respondents' Data Set

In this chapter, hypotheses concerning the respondent '
data set will be tested, employing a logistic regression
procedure. The purpose is to examine whether respondents with
given characteristics or activity statuses are more likely to
live with their parents than other respondents. As we
discussed in both Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, most of
respondents' characteristics and activity statuses were
measured as of the time of the survey, rather than as of the
time of the event (home-leaving). As a result, we have decided
to limit our analyses to respondents aged between 15 and 30
(inclusive) at the time of survey. The rationale is that for
respondents between these ages, the time elapsed between home-
leaving and the survey is relatively brief, therefore, their
characteristics would not have changed as much between these
two time points.

Further, we have decided to employ logistic regression
instead of proportional hazards regression in this chapter.
Proportional hazards regression would have involved using the
characteristics and activity statuses of respondents at the
time of the survey to predict the timing of home-leaving, a
preceding event. In comparison, logistic regression involves
predicting whether respondents are living with parents at the
time of the survey, employing variables measured for the same

time. Therefore, logistic regression is more appropriate for the analyses of data in this chapter.

However, it should be pointed out that logistic regression takes no account of timing. It simply gives the odds of an event (home-leaving in this instance) happening. We are not able to include in the analysis information about the temporal sequence between changes in the independent variables and changes in the dependent variable. Therefore, while theory may guide us towards a reasonable assumption as to the temporal sequence between these changes, there is nevertheless no empirical proof.

Of course, even if temporal sequence is established empirically, it does not necessarily imply that the preceding event causes the following event. For example, even if we can establish that an individual left the parental home and then got married, we are not able to say that home-leaving caused the individual to get married. It is more reasonable to posit that the individual had planned to get married, then left home in order to get married.

Therefore, drawbacks in techniques are not exclusive to logistic regression. Even with the most sophisticated techniques, theory is important in interpretations.

In this chapter, the dependent variable is whether respondents have left parental homes or not by the time of the survey. The independent variables are characteristics and activity status of respondents at the time of the survey,

including their gender, age, marital status, nativity, ethnicity, home language, religious attendance, employment status, student status, and region of residence. As logistic regression procedure in SAS accepts fraction weights, the weight variable used is the case weight divided by the mean weight of sample cases. In Chapter 3, we argued that these independent variables are related to not only young adults' considerations concerning coresidence with parents, but parents' considerations as well. In the following, we will further specify these processes and discuss their influence on respondents' home-leaving.

1. Findings

1.1. Gender

Due to the centrality of gender to the issue of home-leaving, we not only enter it as a control variable (Table 6.1), but also conduct separate analyses on male and female respondents. Where appropriate, interaction effects between gender and other independent variables will be analyzed.

Table 6.1 provides the results of logistic regression analyses of the odds of home-leaving of all respondents aged between 15 and 30 in 1990. As shown at the bottom of the table, the likelihood ratio test for this model suggests that it is a statistically well-fitting model in the sense that there is no significant difference between the current model

Table 6.1: Results of logistic regression analyses of odds of home-leaving of all respondents aged between 15 and 30 in 1990 (Model 6.1) - 1990 GSS Canada

Model 6.1

Variable	Category	% in Each Category	Odds
Gender(***)			
	Male	51.8	0.7840***
	Female+	48.2	1.2755
Age(***)			
	15-16	10.6	0.0069***
	17-18	10.2	0.1428***
	19-20	13.0	1.0478
	21-22	11.3	1.6172*
	23-24	12.7	2.3340***
	25-26	13.6	4.0601***
	27-28	13.7	6.6993***
	29-30+	14.9	9.5010
Marital Status(***)			
	Married	25.2	3.6139***
	Cohabiting	11.3	8.9908***
	Divorced, Separated, Widowed	1.7	0.3329***
	Single+	61.9	0.0924
Home Language(***)			
	English or French+	93.4	1.8033
	Other	6.6	0.5545***
Religious Attendance (n.s.)			
	Once a week or more	15.1	--
	Less or none+	84.9	--
Financial Independence(*)			
	Yes	56.3	1.1825*
	No	43.7	0.8457
Region(***)			
	Maritimes+	9.2	0.4540
	Quebec	26.1	0.7490*
	Ontario	35.5	1.0106
	Prairies	17.9	2.4056***
	British Columbia	11.3	1.2096

N = 3,199.
Likelihood ratio test for the overall model: P=0.9204, well-fitting model.
Variance explained: 52 percent.

+ reference category
n.s.: variable not significant in the model
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

and the fully saturated model. This model explains 52 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, indicating good explanatory power.

As shown in Table 6.1, gender is significant at the .001 level. Controlling for other variables in the model, the odds of leaving home versus living with parents are 0.7840 for males and 1.2755 for females (females being the reference category as shown by the sign "+"). This suggests that the odds of home-leaving of males are only 0.61 times as high as those of females. This is consistent to previous research by other researchers as well as to the findings in the previous chapter.

1.2. Age

As we suggested in Chapter 2, as individuals age, they become more independent, emotionally more mature, and more able to perform a variety of life skills, all of which are advantageous to independent living. Further, social norms discourage older young adults from remaining with their parents while at the same time they encourage younger persons to stay. Both of these processes will result in older young adults more likely to live apart from parents than younger ones.

The overall effect of age is significant at the .001 level. The significance level of each individual age group denotes whether the odds of home-leaving for that particular

age group are significantly different from the grand mean or average (1.000). As shown in Table 6.1, the odds for individual age groups suggest that young adults of each older age group are more likely to be living apart from parents than those of the immediately younger age group.

We are also interested in whether the same increment in age will result in a proportional increment in the odds of home-leaving. A linearity test for age (not shown here) was employed to examine this. A Chi-square test between Model 6.1 and the model in which age is entered as a continuous variable (with one degree of freedom) suggested that the deviation from linearity is statistically significant. In other words, a constant increment in age does not necessarily result in a constant increase in the odds of living apart from parents among young adults of different age groups.

A closer examination of the effects of age in Table 6.1 reveals that the deviation from linearity is mainly caused by the huge increases in the odds of living apart from parents from the 15-16 age group to the 17-18 age group, and again from the 17-18 age group to the 19-20 age group. Thereafter, the effects of age seem to be more or less monotonic. In other words, the greatest changes in the odds of living apart from parents versus living with parents happen between the ages of 17 and 20. This roughly coincides with the completion of high school education as well as the beginning of post-secondary education or of full-time employment.

1.3. Marital status

Consistent with previous findings by Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1985), and Boyd and Pryor (1989), marital status is found to be a significant and important predictor variable for the living arrangements among young adults. Indeed, in all of the models that we have analyzed, marital status explains the greatest amount of variance in the dependent variable. As shown in Table 6.1, the odds of living apart from parents are 3.6139 among married people, which are 39 times as high as the odds among the single and never married. Marriage apparently signifies to both young adults and their parents the arrival of adulthood and the need to set up independent households for the young adults.

A new and surprising finding of the current research is that young adults who are cohabiting are even more likely to be living apart from parents than those who are married. In fact, the odds of living apart from parents among cohabitors are 8.9908, which are 2.5 times as high as the odds among the married. It may be speculated that marriages usually take place with the participation and support of parents. Therefore, parents are likely to be willing to provide temporary coresidence if newly-weds are unable to set up independent living for the time being.

Cohabitation was rare at the time when the parents themselves were in their own young adult years. They may not be as understanding and supportive towards their children's

cohabitation as towards their children's marriages. While they may be willing to have their newly-wed children stay at home temporarily, they may be less willing to provide coresidence to their children and their children's cohabiting partners.

It is also possible that young adults who report themselves as being married may continue living at parental homes without their spouses until such time when they can set up their independent households. On the other hand, those who report themselves as being in cohabitation (and living with parents) will, by definition, be living with their cohabiting partners at parental homes. Parents may be willing to let their married but alone offspring continue living in their households but not willing to let both their children and their children's cohabiting partners live in their households as the latter arrangement may require substantially more sacrifice of privacy on the part of parents.

Only 1.7 percent of young adults in our sample are divorced, separated or widowed. Therefore, the reliability of findings concerning this group is questionable. Findings described below in this paragraph should not be regarded as conclusive. As shown in Table 6.1, young adults who are divorced, separated or widowed are slightly more likely to live away from parents than single young adults, but much less likely to do so than either cohabiting or married young adults. It is likely that young adults are using parental homes as safety nets and returning to parental homes in

emergencies such as disruptions of marriages.

1.4. Home language

As shown in Table 6.1, home language is a significant and strong predictor on the odds of living apart from parents versus living with parents. Young adults whose home languages are neither English nor French (as a proxy for strong non-Canadian cultural influences) have odds of .5545, which are only .31 times that of young adults whose home languages are English or French or both. The usual explanation is that the young adults and their parents who are associated with more traditional cultures will regard co-residence appropriate until marriage. As the average home-leaving age for marriages is older than that for other reasons, young adults in these subcultures are more likely to be living with parents at any given age. This explanation attributes the difference between young adults associated with more traditional cultures and those belonging to the mainstream Canadian culture to the possibility that single young adults associated with more traditional cultures are more likely to live with parents than single young adults of the mainstream Canadian culture. On the other hand, it assumes that married young adults associated with more traditional cultures are equally likely to live apart from parents as married young adults of mainstream Canadian culture.

To explore this explanation further, we have run a model

including the interaction term between home language and marital statuses. Due to the fact that all young adults who used home languages other than English or French and who were cohabiting or had experienced divorce, separation, widowhood had left parental homes, we are unable to obtain a interpretable estimate of coefficient and significance level for the interaction variable.

To get around the problem, we can examine only the married and single population. The variable "marital status" is therefore reduced to two categories: married, and single (never married). The interaction between this variable and home language turns out to be insignificant. This suggests that strong association with non-Canadian culture not only holds young adults back at parental homes before they get married, but also holds them back after they get married. Young adults with these cultural backgrounds are, at the same time, less likely to engage in premarital residential independence, and more likely to live in extended households after they get married.

As mentioned above, all young adults whose home languages were other than English or French and who were cohabiting or had experienced marital disruptions had left parental homes. However, it is unclear how much we should make of the fact that all cohabiting young adults coming from such cultural backgrounds are living apart from parents since 98.38 percent of cohabiting young adults whose home languages are English or

French or both are also living apart from parents. Further research is needed to explore whether cohabiting young adults coming from more traditional cultural backgrounds are indeed more likely to be living apart from parents.

As for those who have experienced marital disruptions, there is only one such case among young adults with other home languages. Clearly, we should not attach too much importance to the finding that this individual is living apart from parents in this instance.

One important issue concerns the potential gender differences in the effects of home language on young adults' home leaving pattern. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 provide separate logistic analyses of home leaving for male and female young adults. As shown by Tables 6.2 and 6.3, the odds of home leaving for male young adults with other home languages are .7325 while those for male young adults with English or French or both as home languages are 1.3652. The odds ratio is .54.

The odds of home leaving for female young adults with other home languages are .3294 while those for female young adults with English or French or both as home languages are 3.0356. The odds ratio is .11. It appears as though use of other home languages has much more impact on female young adults' home-leaving pattern than on male young adults' home-leaving pattern.

To determine if this difference is statistically significant, a model including the interaction term between

Table 6.2: Results of logistic regression analyses of odds of home-leaving of male respondents aged between 15 and 30 in 1990 (Model 6.2) - 1990 GSS Canada

Model 6.2

Variable	Category	% in Each Category	Odds
Age(***)			
	15-16	10.1	0.0107***
	17-18	10.4	0.1179***
	19-20	14.4	0.8597
	21-22	10.1	1.6237
	23-24	13.1	2.0691**
	25-26	13.2	3.3231***
	27-28	13.8	7.4783***
	29-30+	14.9	11.0751
Marital Status(***)			
	Married	21.3	4.0124***
	Cohabiting	10.1	10.0412***
	Divorced, Separated, Widowed	1.1	0.1932***
	Single+	67.6	0.1285
Home Language(*)			
	English or French+	93.0	1.3652
	Other	7.0	0.7325*
Religious Attendance(n.s.)			
	Once a week or more	14.0	--
	Less or none+	86.0	--
Financial Independence(*)			
	Yes	63.4	1.2614***
	No+	36.6	0.7928
Region(***)			
	Maritimes+	9.8	0.4323
	Quebec	26.0	0.9100
	Ontario	35.3	1.0056
	Prairies	17.8	2.3039***
	British Columbia	11.1	1.1370

N = 1,518.

Likelihood ratio test for the overall model: P=0.0214, not a well-fitting model.

Variance explained: 48 percent.

+ reference category

n.s.: variable not significant in the model

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Table 6.3: Results of logistic regression analyses of odds of home-leaving of female respondents aged between 15 and 30 in 1990 (Model 6.3) - 1990 GSS Canada

Model 6.3

Variable	Category	% in Each Category	Odds
Age(***)			
	15-16	11.2	0.0047***
	17-18	9.9	0.1598***
	19-20	11.5	1.2858
	21-22	12.5	1.6585
	23-24	12.2	2.6264***
	25-26	14.1	5.8119***
	27-28	13.7	5.2936***
	29-30+	14.8	7.7006
Marital Status(***)			
	Married	29.4	3.6136***
	Cohabiting	12.6	7.7361***
	Divorced, Separated, Widowed	2.3	0.5974
	Single+	55.7	0.5987
Home Language(***)			
	English or French+	93.9	3.0356
	Other	6.1	0.3294***
Religious Attendance(n.s.)			
	Once a week or more	16.4	--
	Less or none+	83.6	--
Financial Independence(n.s.)			
	Yes	48.7	--
	No	51.3	--
Region(***)			
	Maritimes+	8.5	0.4940
	Quebec	26.2	0.5948**
	Ontario	35.8	1.0106
	Prairies	18.0	2.6939***
	British Columbia	11.5	1.2502

N = 1,681.
Likelihood ratio test for the overall model: P=1.0000, a well-fitting model.
Variance explained: 59 percent.

+ reference category
n.s.: variable not significant in the model
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Table 6.4: interaction effect between gender of respondent and home language, controlling for other variables in Model 6.1 - 1990 GSS Canada

	Odds		Odds Ratio
	Home Language		
	Neither	English or French	Neither/English or French
Male	0.8200	1.4528	0.5644
Female	0.3083	2.7229	0.1132

N = 3,199.
Likelihood ratio test for the overall model: P=0.9633, a well-fitting model.
Significance level for the interaction variable: P=0.001.

gender and home language was tested. The results are presented in Table 6.4. The interaction term is found to be significant at the .001 level. The odds of home-leaving for male young adults with other home languages are .8200, while those for male young adults with English or French or both as home languages are 1.4528. The odds ratio is .56. The odds of home-leaving for female young adults with other home languages are .3083, while those for female young adults with English or French or both as home languages are 2.7229. The odds ratio is .11. It is apparent that using other home languages does have a much bigger impact on female young adults' home-leaving pattern than on male young adults' home-leaving pattern. In other words, female young adults with home languages other than English or French are much more likely to be living with parents compared to female young adults with English or French or both as home languages. On the other hand, the differences between male young adults with different home languages are much smaller.

To further study the impact of cultural variables on home-leaving, we have also replaced "home language" with "nativity" and "ethnicity." Nativity has two categories: immigrants or Canadian-born. Ethnicity also has two categories: non-European versus European ethnic background. However, both variables turn out to be statistically insignificant.

The speculation is that young adults who report

themselves as immigrants have by definition, been engaged in migration. In some instances, they may have left parental homes in their countries of origin in order to come to Canada. The migration effect is therefore to increase their odds of leaving parental homes. On the other hand, immigrants generally come from cultures where the outlook towards family and parent-child coresidence are more traditional. The culture effect is therefore to decrease these young adults' odds of leaving parental homes. Nativity may have embodied these two conflicting effects, and consequently become insignificant overall.

With regard to the nonsignificance of "ethnicity," two explanations may be made. First, this finding can be argued to be consistent with our finding in the last chapter about the nonsignificance of ethnicity of Canadian-born parents on the timing of their children's home-leaving. As we suggested in the last chapter, by the third generation, there has been a considerable amount of assimilation of Canadian values and norms so that young people of European and non-European ethnic background have a similar pattern of home-leaving.

An alternative explanation is that both Non-European and European ethnic groups are highly heterogeneous. Among the Non-European group, there are people of Asian ethnic backgrounds who have been documented by previous research (e.g. Goldscheider and DaVanzo, 1989) as being traditional in their outlooks towards family. They associate home-leaving

more closely with marriage and consequently have later ages of home-leaving. On the other hand, there are also people of Black ethnic background whose home-leaving pattern may be entirely different. Among the European group, there are the more familistic cultural groups such as people of Southern European background. On the other hand, there are also people of Anglo-Saxon, French, and other European backgrounds whose outlook may be less familistic. Apparently, a much more detailed breakdown of ethnicity is needed to further study ethnic differences in the patterns of home-leaving. Unfortunately, this is beyond the reach of the current data.

1.5. Religious attendance

Another cultural variable entered in Model 6.1 is religious attendance (as a proxy for religiosity). Note that the reference category of this variable includes people who 1) reporting religious affiliation but going to religious services less than once a week, 2) reporting religious affiliation but not attending religious services at all, 3) having no religious affiliation. The last category of people with no religious affiliation was coded as missing in the original GSS data. However, in order to ensure generalizability back to the population, we have decided to recode these people together with people with lower religiosity. Theoretically, it also makes sense to group people without religious affiliation with those with lower

religiosity when the purpose is to study the effect of strong religiosity.

We expected that young adults who are more religious are more likely to be living with parents. However, the variable of religiosity turns out to be statistically insignificant.

This finding is consistent with Goldscheider and Goldscheider's (1994) finding that the effects of religion and religiosity on home-leaving are not very pronounced. Taken together with the finding in the previous chapter that fathers' but not mothers' religiosity has an impact on children's home-leaving, it may be observed that religion and religiosity have declined in importance in predicting social behaviors such as the timing of home-leaving in the last few decades. Certainly, compared to home language, religiosity is much less important in predicting the timing of home-leaving. Employing a more detailed classification of ethnicity, Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1994) also concluded that religiosity was less important than ethnicity in the U.S. for predicting leaving home before marriage.

1.6. Financial independence

In this study, young adults who have an annual income of $10,000 or more are considered to have achieved financial independence, while those who have no or less income are considered as not having achieved financial independence. As shown in Table 6.1, this variable is statistically

significant. The odds of home-leaving for young adults who have achieved financial independence are 1.1825, which is 1.40 times as high as the odds for those who have not achieved financial independence. Obviously, higher personal income of young adults are more conducive to home-leaving.

This variable was also examined by dividing the personal income of young adults into more categories: no income, less than or equal to $9,999, between $10,000 and $19,999, between 20,000 and $29,999, between 30,000 and $39,999, $40,000 or more. However, the results are less interpretable than when income is treated as a dichotomous variable. It is likely that the income of young adults has to achieve a certain threshold (e.g. $10,000) for it to have a significant impact on their residential arrangement. On the other hand, once this threshold is reached, further increases in income do not necessarily increase the probabilities of young adults leaving parental homes in the same proportions as the increases in income before and around the level of the threshold.

In the last chapter we examined the effect of total household income on the hazards of home-leaving and found that it was negatively related to home-leaving. That is, the higher the household income, the less likely the children have left home. It is tempting to argue that while young adults' personal income may facilitate home-leaving, higher living standards in the parental homes (represented by higher parental household income) will act as a "pull" factor for

young adults to continue staying at parental homes. However, it is perhaps too hasty to draw such a conclusion at this moment due to the potential bias of the variable of total household income as discussed in the last chapter.

An interesting question is whether the effect of financial independence is equally prominent among men and women. Generally speaking, males in our society are more likely to be socialized or expected to be independent. Financial independence may be regarded by both male young adults and their parents as a symbol of adulthood. Male young adults who have achieved financial independence, as well as their parents, may expect residential independence to follow. On the other hand, females are not as encouraged to be independent. Financial independence may not be seen as necessitating residential independence.

Looking at this issue from another angle, it is well accepted and even encouraged that female young adults achieve residential separation from parents through marriage, but not necessarily through financial independence. Therefore, financial independence is not as important for female young adults as it is for male young adults as a precondition for residential independence.

An examination of Tables 6.2 and 6.3 gives us some clues as to the male and female differences with regard to the effect of financial independence on the odds of home-leaving. As shown in Table 6.2, financial independence is a significant

variable among male young adults. The odds of home-leaving among male young adults who have achieved financial independence are 1.2614, which are 1.59 times as high as the odds among male young adults who have not achieved financial independence. On the other hand, as shown in Table 6.3, financial independence turns out to be insignificant among female young adults. This lends support to the above interpretation that financial independence may be more important for the residential independence of males than that of females.

To further examine this issue of the interaction between gender and financial independence, a model was examined in which this interaction term was included in the analyses (not shown). However, the interaction term was not significant. This suggests that the current study has only found limited support for the hypothesis that the effect of financial independence on home-leaving is more prominent for males than for females. Further research is needed to clarify the issue.

1.7. Employment

We have used two variables to examine the impact of employment on home-leaving. The first is unemployment status. It is composed of three categories: employed, unemployed, not in the labor force. The second is level of employment, which is divided into four categories: full time (forty hours per week or more on average in the past year), semi-full-time

(between twenty and thirty-nine hours per week), part time
(between one and nineteen hours per week), not having worked.

These two variables were entered (not at the same time)
in Models 6.1, 6.2, 6.3. The purpose was to examine whether
after controlling for financial independence, other resources
(e.g. the ability to handle responsibilities) accrued from
working or working full time would contribute to higher
likelihood of home-leaving. However, neither variable was
significant. Even after excluding the variable of "financial
independence," neither variable was statistically significant.

Unemployment may not be as emotionally traumatic for
young adults as disruptions in marriages. While young adults
who are divorced, separated or widowed may be prone to moving
back to parental households for emotional (probably also
financial) support, unemployed young adults may consider a
spell of unemployment to be only temporary and they may be
willing to stick it out rather than admitting failures and
moving back to parental households immediately. Further, it is
possible that they may be entitled to a period of unemployment
insurance benefits to buffer the financial crunch. This makes
it possible to live separately from parents while unemployed,
at least for some time.

These findings also seem to suggest that financial
independence has a more direct and stronger impact on
residential independence than working status. Compared to
other resources, such as the ability to handle

responsibilities, financial resources seem to be more powerful in facilitating independent living.

1.8. Student status

"Student status" is composed of three categories: full time student, part time student, and non-student. This variable was included in Model 6.1 (total sample) and in Models 6.2 and 6.3 for males and females separately (not shown here). However, student status was found not significant in any of the models.

This brings us back to the argument we made in Chapter 2 about the two conflicting influences of student status on the need to live away from parents. On the one hand, the necessity of living close to or on campus may require students to live away from parents. On the other hand, the higher level of economic dependence may require students to live at parental homes to reduce cost. The overall effect of student status on the odds of home-leaving is therefore not prominent.

An interaction term between student status and financial independence was included on the grounds that students who have achieved financial independence may have less need to reduce living costs by living at parental homes. However, the interaction term did not turn out to be significant. In Chapter 2, it was speculated that parents who had higher income were likely to be more willing to assist their children to set up separate living quarters on or near campus. However,

the current data do not allow us to study this interaction effect between parental income and children's student status.

1.9. Region of residence

Region of residence may capture some of the community level differences such as those in educational and employment opportunities. It may also capture some of the value differences at the individual level, which have not been fully accounted for by other independent variables in the model.

As shown in Table 6.1, region of residence has a highly significant effect on the odds of home-leaving. 'More specifically, young adults from the Maritimes and Quebec are more likely to be living with parents. On the other hand, young adults from the Prairie provinces are more likely to be living apart from parents. The odds of home-leaving of young adults in Ontario and British Columbia are closer to the average. Except the high odds of living with parents among young adults in the Maritime provinces, these are basically the same results as described in the previous chapter. In that chapter, we speculated that differences in the home-leaving patterns between regions might be partly attributable to differences in values and opportunity structures. However, we also emphasized that more direct measurements of these differences at the community level (instead of regional level) are necessary for future study.

2. Summary of Findings

Employing logistic regression, this chapter has identified a number of factors that influence the odds of home-leaving among young adults. Gender is again shown as an important predictor in the odds of home-leaving. Female children are more likely to be living apart from parents than male children on average.

Age itself is shown to be very strongly related to the odds of home-leaving. The greatest amount of changes in the odds of living apart from parents happen between ages 18 and 22, coinciding with the completion of high school education as well as the beginning of post-secondary education or full-time employment. Subsequently, age has a more or less monotonic positive influence on the odds of living apart from parents.

Marital status is very important in predicting young adults' odds of living apart from parents. Indeed, of all the independent variables entered in the models, marital status explains the greatest amount of variance in the odds of home-leaving. Married people are much less likely to be residing with parents than single people. Young adults who have experienced marital disruptions, however, have almost equal odds of living apart from parents as single young adults, signifying a substantial amount of returning to the parental homes. A new finding by the current study is that cohabiting young adults are not only much less likely to reside with parents than single young adults, they are also less likely to

do so than the married ones.

As an important cultural variable, home language is found to be strongly related to the odds of home-leaving. Young adults who use languages other than English or French are much less likely to have left parental homes than those who use English, French or both as home languages. Moreover, culture has a much stronger impact on female young adults than male young adults.

Religious attendance seems to have much less, and statistically insignificant, impact on the odds of living away from parental homes. Other variables which were examined but failed to achieve statistical significance include unemployment status, level of employment, and student status.

On the other hand, financial independence is strongly related to the odds of home-leaving. Young adults who have achieved financial independence through personal income are more likely to be living on their own than those who have not achieved financial independence. There are important gender differences, as well. Financial independence seems to be more important in the home-leaving process of male young adults than females.

Region of residence is another important predictor variable on the odds of living apart from parents. Young adults residing in the Maritimes and Quebec are less likely to have left parental homes. Those residing on the Prairie provinces are more likely to have left parental homes.

3. Gender, Money and Culture: A Discussion of some Important Issues

In this chapter, we have found that money is still an important determining factor in young adults' living arrangements. Although there are many other types of resources which may facilitate independent living, financial resources still appear to be crucial. Lack of financial resources is still a greater obstacle for the setting up of independent living among males than among females. The traditional gender role socialization encourages males to establish financial independence and to leave parental homes through employment, and females to leave parental homes through marriages. The finding here suggests that different gender role expectations still exist in our society and they still affect the actual behaviors of men and women. Even with the great strides made towards gender equalization in the last two decades, women are still more likely to be encouraged to achieve financial security through marriage while men are still more encouraged to achieve financial security and residential independence through secure employment.

These findings and interpretations are consistent with those we made in Chapter 4, when we looked at the issue on the cohort and historical level rather than at the individual level. In that chapter, we found that changes in the median age at home-leaving are sensitive to economic ups and downs in the society. For example, the decreasing median ages in home-

leaving after the Second World War were found to be associated with sustained economic prosperity in the post-WWII years. The increasing median ages at home-leaving in recent years were found to be closely connected to the recurrent recessions and weak recoveries since the early 80s.

In Chapter 4, we also found that changes in median ages at home-leaving among women are more gradual than among men. More specifically, while the median ages at home-leaving among men are greatly affected by big economic ups and downs, such as the Great Depression and the recurrent recession and slow recovery since the early eighties, the median ages at home-leaving among women are affected to a less extent. These again, provide evidence to the greater impact of financial resources upon the home-leaving behavior of men than upon that of women. The result is that unemployment and underemployment are less incompatible with marriage among women than among men. As marriage remains the most important reason for women to leave home, it acts as a stabilizing force on the age at home-leaving and reduces the impact of economic ups and downs on women's age at home-leaving.

Money is not the only determining factor in the process of home-leaving. Another important factor is cultural setting. Even with enough financial resources, young adults belonging to cultures with more traditional and familistic outlooks may continue living together with parents. This is true not only when they are single and never married, but also when they are

married. The higher level of familism in these subcultures contributes to these young adults being more likely to live in both nuclear and extended family settings.

A more traditional outlook towards family usually includes more traditional gender role expectations. This is reflected in the greater impact of home language on the home-leaving of female young adults than on male young adults. Families who use home languages other than English or French are probably more likely to believe in the differential gender socialization and more likely to have different expectations for boys and girls. Girls are more likely to be required to remain at home until they are married so that they can contribute to the family economy and perform household duties. Coresidence also provides parents with more supervision and control over the lives of these girls. On the other hand, less pressure may be exerted upon boys as they are more likely to be encouraged to be independent. They are also less likely to be required to stay home until they are married.

In sum, we have found that both money and culture have important influences on the likelihood of young adults living with parents. While money may facilitate independent living, association with more traditional cultures will likely hold young adults at parental homes until marriage, sometimes even after marriage. Further, there are important gender differences with regard to the influence of both money and culture. Different gender role expectations still exist in our

society, and are more prominent in cultures with more traditional outlooks towards family. These different gender role expectations still operate in influencing the home-leaving behaviors of men and women.

Chapter 7

Contributions, Deficiencies and Summary of Findings

In this last chapter, we will identify some of the theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions made by this dissertation. We will also point out some of the deficiencies of this research. In the last section, we will recap some of the important findings.

1. Theoretical, Empirical and Methodological Contributions

This dissertation has made a number of theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions to the research on home-leaving. At the theoretical level, it has proposed a model on the determinants of the timing of young adults' home-leaving. This model is constructed not only upon existing theoretical ideas concerning home-leaving, but also upon ideas from a number of other research areas, such as fertility, migration, and marriage. This advance is significant in view of the paucity of theoretical models on home-leaving.

Our model proposes that home-leaving decisions are made at the family level, instead of at the individual level. Both parents' and young adults' considerations are important in determining whether the coresidential living arrangement will continue. While young adults may base their considerations primarily on their self-interests, on the comparison of pros and cons between living at parental homes and living on their

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own, parents will consider not only their own interests but also the best interests of their children.

Several hypotheses were constructed based on the above postulates, and we found empirical support for the following: 1) young adults from families with more children leave home earlier, 2) young adults of the youngest cohort leave home later, 3) young adults who have experienced marital disruptions are much more likely to live at (or to return to) parental homes than those who are married or cohabiting, 4) male young adults with lower income of their own are more likely to be living with parents.

Several other hypotheses were supported by other researchers and were reviewed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. They include 1) young adults, especially females who become single parents are more likely to return to parental homes, 2) parental willingness to provide coresidence to male young adults is negatively associated with young adults' own income, 3) male young adults who are unemployed are more likely to be living at parental homes, 4) employment opportunities in the area of the parental home are positively associated with young adults' willingness to continue living at home, 5) higher rental costs are associated with a lower likelihood of young adults residing outside of parental households.

Our theoretical model also proposed that parental altruism towards their children is likely to be weakened in

various types of families. Children from these families are likely to leave home early. Empirically, we found children whose parents were cohabiting, divorced, separated, and whose parents had never been married were likely to leave home earlier than children whose parents were married and living together. Likewise stepchildren were found to leave home earlier than natural children.

We have also proposed that there are cultural groups which embrace a higher level of familism and put more emphasis on family cohesion and commitment. Children from these cultural groups are likely to stay with parents until an older age. Empirically, we found that children of immigrants, especially non-European immigrants, are likely to leave home later. Likewise, young adults whose home languages were other than English or French were found to leave home later than those whose home languages were English, French, or both.

Apart from these theoretical and empirical contributions, methodologically, this dissertation is innovative in its use of the weight variable. As we discussed before, many of the available computer packages such as BMDP and SAS do not allow the use of weights in the proportional hazards analysis. The latest version of PHREG in SAS allows frequency counts in lieu of weights. However, because it uses frequency counts, it does not allow fraction weights. Any case with a weight less than .5 will be excluded from the analysis. Therefore, we could not attach to each case the weight divided by the mean value of

weights (as suggested by the Statistics Canada Manual, 1991) without unacceptable loss of precision. Faced with this situation, we decided to attach to each case the weight without the division of the mean value of weights. Problems caused by inflation of the sample size are solved by multiplying standard errors generated from the computer output by the square root of the inflation factor and dividing the Chi-square estimate for the whole model by the inflation factor. A detailed mathematical proof for this procedure has been developed by Professor Fernando Rajulton and is provided in Appendix I of this dissertation. This innovative approach provides other researchers faced with similar situations a means to effectively employ the weight variable.

This dissertation has also shown that selecting all children from a family versus selecting one child per family will provide similar results empirically, as long as we make sure that most of the variables for children from the same family assume distinct values. In our case, gender of children, birth order of children, type of children, cohort of children, parental marital status at the time of a given child's home-leaving can all assume distinct values for each child. The advantage of selecting all children is a larger sample size and the stability of estimates.

This dissertation has taken extra efforts in identifying as many covariates as possible as of the time of event (home-leaving of children). Most notably, it has reconstructed the

marital status of parents when a particular child left home and shown the importance of this variable. Methodologically, it is a demonstration of the power and necessity of measuring predictor variables as of the time of event, instead of as of the time of the survey.

2. Deficiencies of the Present Study

2.1. Leaving, returning, and leaving again

One deficiency with the current research relates to the construction of the dependent variable. Concerning children's home-leaving, the 1990 GSS asked "How old was...your first (second,...) child when he/she last left home?" Though the question was intended to determine the timing of children's permanent departure, some respondents might not have understood the question in the way intended by the survey and may have reported children who left temporarily as having left home permanently. Further, in the case of children of the youngest cohort, it is quite possible that they will return to the parental home again, even though at the time of survey their parents considered (and reported) their departures as permanent.

Concerning respondents' own home-leaving, the survey asked those who were not living with parents at the time of survey the reason and timing of their last departure from parental homes. Again, some of the younger respondents might

return to parental homes in the future even though at the time of survey they considered their departures permanent. At the same time, some of the older respondents might be living with parents at the time of the survey not because they had moved back to parental households but because their parents had moved into their households.

In short, a simple measure of age last living with parents conceals some conceptual ambiguities. There may be several solutions. First, we may limit our analyses only to respondents or respondents' children aged 30 and over. This way, we will have more confidence that the reported last departure from parental homes signifies the permanent residential independence from parents. Second, among those who are currently living with parents, we need to differentiate the following groups: those who have never left parental homes, those who have returned to parental homes, and those whose parents had moved in with them. For the purpose of studying the transition of young adults from childhood to adulthood and the associated residential independence from parents, we need to group those whose parents moved in with them as having achieved residential independence rather than as not having left parental homes and not having achieved residential independence.

The last and permanent departure from the parental household is an important milestone in the transition from childhood to adulthood and is definitely worthy of research on

its own. However, the transition from childhood to adulthood is a process. This is also manifested in the fact that some young adults will leave and return to parental homes several times before making a final departure. Therefore, it is also important to study home-leaving as a process, to study first-departure, returning, subsequent departures, and final departure. In the United States, Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1994), Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1986) have already studied returning to parental homes. Employing the U.S. National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) data, they analyzed changes over time in young adults' returning to parental homes as well as the differences in the rates of returning among young adults who report leaving parental homes for different reasons. Data and research built upon the U.S. data and research are needed to study returning to parental homes in Canada.

Any future data on home-leaving will ideally be longitudinal in design. This way, we can have information on relevant variables when leaving and returning actually occur. We can also avoid problems with retrospective data such as telescoping and recall errors. If longitudinal design proves to be too expensive and time-consuming, we need to collect extensive retrospective information for relevant variables as of the time of event (home-leaving or returning).

2.2. Pathways in exiting parental homes

Routes in exiting parental homes are just as important as the timing of leaving parental homes. Analyzing pathways of exiting parental homes will greatly add to our understanding of home-leaving. Indeed, in some cases, a single measure of the timing of home-leaving will hide up the enormous complexity of the issue, which can be revealed by analyses of pathways taken. For example, researchers (e.g, Mitchell et al., 1989) have suggested that parental education does not impact greatly on the timing of young adults' home-leaving. However, research by Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1994) has shown that children of parents with different educational levels take distinctly different routes out of parental homes in the United States. Proportionally, more young adults whose parents are college educated leave home to attend colleges themselves. In comparison, higher proportions of young adults whose parents have less education leave home to get married or to enlist in the military.

In this dissertation, we have partly studied the pathways exiting parental homes when we examined the cohort differences in the reasons for home-leaving. However, due to data limitation, we are not able to link family structure variables, parental characteristics variables, and most of respondents' characteristics to these pathways. If we were able to do this, we could have provided a richer and more complex analysis of the home-leaving process, which will likely be a better depiction of reality.

2.3. Analyses at the community level versus analyses at the individual level

One conspicuous drawback with the current research is the lack of community level variables. As reviewed in Chapter 2, community level variables, especially those concerning educational and employment opportunities and housing costs are very important in the home-leaving process of young adults. Due to data limitations, we are unable to include these variables in the analyses. The only variable available to us was region of residence in Canada, which is too broad to capture differences at the community level. It is possible that some of our analyses at the individual level are biased with the exclusion of community characteristics. For example, we could be either underestimating or overestimating cultural influences in our current analyses because certain ethnic or cultural groups concentrate in metropolitan areas with more educational and employment opportunities but also higher housing costs.

Future research needs measures of unemployment levels, housing costs in comparison to average income, availability of educational facilities in communities such as cities, townships, etc. Combining these macro or community level variables with the micro or individual and family level variables would greatly enhance our understanding of young adults' home-leaving process.

3. Summary of Findings

Despite these limitations with data, this dissertation has made important contributions to the research on young adults' home-leaving. In the following, we will summarize some of the findings made by this dissertation.

7.3.1. Cohort changes in the timing and reasons of home-leaving

The two most important social events revealed from a cohort analysis of the home-leaving patterns of Canadians are the Great Depression and the Second World War. These two events fundamentally changed the norms surrounding the proper time of home-leaving of young adults. Since these two events, young adults have been leaving at much younger ages than in earlier periods.

The fact that the youngest ages at home-leaving were reached among young adults who grew up in the late 60s and early 70s suggest that they might have reaped the benefits of the continued economic prosperity since WWII till the early 70s. They may also have left parental homes early in connection with the youth-oriented social revolutions during that period. Young people were rebelling against established social norms and institutions. In particular, they were challenging the tight parental control and exerting their own personal autonomy by leaving parental homes early.

More recently, however, young adults are finding it

increasingly difficult to set up independent living due to economic difficulties and the tight job market since the early 80s. Furthermore, young people nowadays are enjoying much greater personal freedom and autonomy within parental homes. They therefore have less of urge to seek early emancipation from parents.

Over time, young people are increasingly leaving for independence. Among males, independence has overtaken marriage as the most important reason for leaving parental homes in the 80s. Among females, although marriage is still the most important reason, the proportion who report independence as the reason has experienced tremendous increase for the last two or three cohorts in this study. As far as proportions for different reasons of home-leaving are concerned, there appears to be a convergence between men and women over cohorts.

3.2. Family, culture, and familism

Employing proportional hazards analyses, a number of family structure variables have been identified that influence both young adults' and parents' considerations concerning coresidence and that also affect the timing of young adults' home-leaving. Both stepchildren and adopted children are more likely to leave home early than natural children. The more difficult family relations in stepfamilies may have reduced parental willingness to have young adults stay and given young adults a greater incentive to seek early residential

independence. Adopted children may be more prone to seek self-identification outside of parental households once they reach adolescence and are able to comprehend the loss of their biological parents. Adoptive parents are likely to respect the wishes of their children and let them leave early.

Children of cohabiting parents are more likely to leave home early. It is likely that cohabiting parents and their children are more individualistic in their outlooks towards family relationships. They are likely to share the common notion that a relationship, whether spousal or parent-child coresidential, should end if either party is no longer satisfied.

Children of divorced, separated as well as single and never married parents are also found to leave home earlier than children living in intact, two-parent families. It is probable that children living in these types of single-parent families have less incentives to continue living there due to economic hardships and emotional deprivation. However, in the case of children in divorced or separated parent families, they may be reported by one parent as leaving home early simply to live under the care of the other parent.

Children of widowed parents, however, are more likely to stay with parents until a later age. Conceivably, widowed parents are more in need of physical and emotional help from their children. These children will, in turn, respond to parents' needs and difficulties by staying home longer.

One unifying explanation for the home-leaving patterns of young adults in various family situations may lie in the different levels of familism, which is defined as a value system emphasizing family roles and relations. Cohabiting spouses are likely to be less committed to family roles and relations. Children brought up in such an environment may also have less commitment to family roles and relations. Single parenthood, through nonmarriage, is in itself a rejection of spousal relationship, an important part of nuclear family relations. Parents who have been through divorce or separation may no longer attach central importance to family relations. Likewise, children brought up in these family settings are also less likely to regard family roles and relations as central in their lives. In short, a reduced level of familism may be found in all these non-intact, non-traditional families. This reduced level of familism may partly contribute to the tendency for children from these families to leave home early.

The same concept of familism may also be used in the explanations for cultural differences in the timing of home-leaving. Children of immigrants, and those of Non-European immigrants especially, are found likely to leave parental homes later. Similarly, young adults whose home languages are other than English or French are found more likely to stay home longer than those whose home languages are English, French or both. Being immigrants or using home languages other

than English or French implies a lack of total integration into the dominant Canadian culture. Members of these groups are likely to emphasize traditional values of family cohesion and commitment and demonstrate a higher level of familism. Young adults raised up in these settings are more likely to delay home-leaving until marriage. They are also more likely to continue living with their parents even after they are married, although this is not the usual living arrangement even among them.

Religion and religiosity are not synonymous with familism, however, they tend to reinforce it. Close involvement in a religious group and frequently attending religious services may indicate the presence of a higher level of commitment to traditional family values. We found that young adults of highly religious fathers, but not highly religious mothers, tend to leave home later. The interpretation is that religious belief may interplay with patriarchal power in the case of highly religious fathers to ensure the delayed departures of their children until marriages. However, the impact of religion and religiosity on home-leaving appears to have diminished over time.

3.3. Gender differences

The findings in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of this dissertation suggest that there still exist important differences in the home-leaving patterns between men and

women. On average, women still leave home much earlier than men. This partly reflects the younger average age at marriage among women, partly reflects the belief that prolonged socialization and preparation at parental homes for the future role of breadwinners are necessary for boys but not for girls. It may also be the case that girls are expected to perform more household duties and will therefore have less incentives to remain at parental homes.

There is some evidence that financial independence is a necessary condition of home-leaving for boys but not for girls. This reflects the fact that boys are encouraged to achieve independence, both financially and residentially through employment, whereas girls are encouraged to achieve residential separation from parents and financial security through marriages. Along the same line, we have found that changes over time in median ages at home-leaving among women are less sensitive to economic ups and downs than among men. The interpretation is that unemployment and underemployment are less incompatible to marriage for women than for men. As marriage is still the major reason for leaving parental homes among women, it acts as a stabilizing factor on the age at home-leaving.

Strong non-Canadian and more familistic cultural influences (as measured by the use of home languages other than English or French) hold young adults of both genders in parental homes longer. These influences are especially strong

among females. Not only do girls brought up under these cultural influences have much lower odds of leaving parental homes than girls brought up without these cultural influences, but they also have lower odds of leaving parental homes than boys brought up with these cultural influences. It is likely that girls in these cultures are much more likely to be expected to stay at home until marriage. Until they marry, they may be expected to shoulder more family responsibilities at parental homes, such as doing household chores, contributing to the family economy, taking care of elderly parents, etc. On the other hand, boys in these cultures may be subject to less stringent parental control. They are more likely to get parental permission or even financial support to leave parental homes before marriage in pursuance of educational and employment opportunities.

Cohort analyses in Chapter 4 provide us with changes over time in the home-leaving patterns of men and women. Across all cohorts, more women cite marriage as the reason for leaving parental homes than men. This reflects the fact that marriage has remained a more important and central part of women's lives. However, the proportion of women who report marriage as the reason for leaving home is rapidly approaching the proportion of men who report the same reason among the most recent cohorts. Among these cohorts, more and more people are reporting leaving home for independence. The increases among women of these cohorts reporting desire of independence as the

reason for leaving parental homes are especially large so that by the youngest cohort under study, "independence" is almost as important a reason for leaving parental homes among women as it is among men.

The cohort analyses in Chapter 4 suggest a convergence of home-leaving patterns between men and women, in terms of reasons for home-leaving. The declining importance of marriage as the reason for home-leaving among women suggests that the changing role of women has resulted in their lives revolving less around family and marriage and more around employment and other activities that were traditionally the domain of men. The convergence in the proportions of men and women reporting leaving parental homes for different reasons in recent years again suggest that fundamental changes are taking place in gender roles and gender relationships in the last two decades. In this process, the social roles of men and women are becoming increasingly similar.

These interpretations can also find support in the findings in Chapter 5 concerning home-leaving patterns of children of more educated parents and parents in professional occupations. As we found, female children of more educated parents are more likely to leave home later. As well, female children of parents in more professional occupations are more likely to leave home later. This suggests that among these segments of the population, traditional role expectations concerning sons and daughters are giving way to more

egalitarian expectations. Prolonged socialization and education are considered as important for daughters as it is for sons.

In sum, we have found that different gender role expectations continue to influence the home-leaving behaviors of men and women. This is especially the case among cultural groups with more traditional outlooks towards family roles and family relations. However, in recent decades, different gender role expectations are beginning to give way to more egalitarian expectations. These shifting gender expectations are starting to influence the actual home-leaving behaviors of men and women. The greatest amount of changes towards more egalitarian gender role expectations have taken place in families where parents are better educated and have professional occupations.

Appendix I

Proportional Hazards Modelling with Inflated Weights

This appendix illustrates how the results of the proportional hazards are affected by using inflated weights. Let z_j denote the vector of explanatory variables for the j-th individual. Let $t_1 < t_2 < t_3 \ldots < t_k$ denote the k distinct ordered event times. Let d_i denote the multiplicity of failures at time t_i, that is, d_i individuals experience the event at time t_i. Let s_i be the sum of vectors z_j over the d_i individuals who fail at t_i. Then, when there are ties in event times, Breslow's likelihood is given by

$$(1) \qquad L(\beta) = \prod_{i=1}^{k} \frac{\exp(s_i'\beta)}{\left[\sum_{j \in R_i} \exp(z_j'\beta) \right]^{d_i}}$$

Suppose that each individual j has real weight w_j which is inflated by N for the sake of using the SAS procedure PHREG. Then, s_i will be the sum of covariate vectors whose elements are multiplied by Nw_j for each of the d_i individuals. Taking the inflation factor out and retaining the real weights within s_i, let us denote the resulting sum of vectors by Ns_i. Similarly, d_i will be the sum of inflated weights (Nw_j) for all individuals who fail at time t_i. As above, let us denote this by Nd_i. With this understanding, Eq.2 can be written as

$$(2) \quad L(\beta) = \prod_{i=1}^{k} \frac{\exp(N\, s_i'\beta)}{[\; \sum_{j \in R_i} \exp(z_j'\beta)\;]^{Nd_i}}$$

The log-likelihood is then given by

$$(3) \quad \ln L(\beta) = \sum_{i=1}^{k} [N\, S_i'\,\beta - N\, d_i\, \ln\Sigma e^{z_j\beta}]$$

$$= N \sum_{i=1}^{k} [S_i'\,\beta - d_i\, \ln\Sigma e^{z_j\beta}]$$

And, the first partial derivative

$$(4) \quad \frac{\delta \ln L(\beta)}{\delta\beta} = N \sum_{i=1}^{k} [S_i' - d_i\, \frac{Z_j\,(\Sigma e^{z_j\beta})}{\Sigma e^{z_j\beta}}]$$

which when equated to zero gives the maximum likelihood estimates of β. This shows that the β estimates are not affected by the inflation factor.

The second partial derivative is given by

$$(5) \quad \frac{\delta^2\, \ln L(\beta)}{\delta\beta_j\, \delta\beta_m} = N \sum_{i=1}^{k} [-d_i\, \{ Z_j\, Z_m\, \Sigma e^{z_j\beta} - \frac{Z_j\, \Sigma e^{z_j\beta}}{\Sigma e^{z_j\beta}} \cdot \frac{Z_m\, \Sigma e^{z_m\beta}}{\Sigma e^{z_j\beta}} \}]$$

from which the variance-covariance matrix is obtained by

$$(6) \quad V(\beta) = - [\frac{\delta^2\, \ln L(\beta)}{\delta\beta^2}]^{-1}$$

which implies that to correct for inflation factor, the

standard errors of estimates need to be multiplied by $\sqrt{N}$.

In the same way, the tests for the global model (that is, to examine the hypothesis that multiple parameters are equal to zero), any of the three tests , namely the likelihood ratio statistic, Wald statistic and the Score statistic) can be used, all of which asymptotically follow a central χ^2 distribution with p degrees of freedom, p being the number of parameters in the model. For example, the likelihood ratio statistic is

(7) $$\chi^2_{LR} = 2 \{ lnL(\beta) - lnL(0) \}$$

which makes it clear that the χ^2 value given by the PHREG should be divided by the inflation factor N.

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