



5. The effects of unemployment and temporary employment on leaving the parental home in Germany

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Introduction

Many young people experience episodes of unemployment and job insecurity in terms of temporary jobs during their school-to-work transition period and their early labour market career. A large body of the literature has investigated how these experiences of labour market exclusion and insecurity affect other life domains. This is because the transition from education to work and the early work career are seen as a central stage in the life course with long-lasting effects for individuals' future. Following the multidimensional concept of the transition to adulthood the interrelationships of early labour market transitions with other processes of the transition to adulthood such as leaving the parental home, gaining economic independence, and the family formation have been investigated (Baranowska-Rataj *et al.*, 2016). Finding a stable, adequate job is often seen as a central precondition to make successful transitions on the way to become an adult (Gebel, 2015).

In this chapter we investigate the consequences of labour market exclusion and job insecurity on the process of leaving the parental home. Leaving the parental home is seen as an important step in the complex transition to adulthood (Baranowska-Rataj *et al.*, 2016; Shanahan, 2000; Aassve *et al.*, 2002; Corijn, Klijzing and Baizan, 2001). It is an objective indicator or, so called "transition marker", of young people becoming independent from their parents. It also often implies that young people gain greater autonomy (Baranowska-Rataj *et al.*, 2016). However, the objective indicator of leaving the parental home should only be seen as a proxy for these underlying subjective dimensions and similar aspects that are often not measured in available data sets. Specifically, there is not a perfect overlap with the event of becoming independent of one's parents (Manzoni, 2016). This is because young people may be rather independent of their parents although they still share a flat. In a similar way, young people may have their own household but the parents still strongly support their child. Another methodological challenge is that leaving the parental home strongly interrelates to other processes of the transition to adulthood such as moving to another city to pursue higher education, starting a new job, cohabiting or getting married. This coincidence of youth transition events is a methodological challenge. Hence, the



following results should be interpreted carefully when it comes to the direction of causality.

We investigate the consequences of labour market exclusion and job insecurity on leaving the parental home for the case of Germany. Germany represents an interesting case study because it is often seen as a prime example of a smooth transition from education to work with very low youth unemployment rates in European comparison (Gangl, 2001; Breen, 2005). Moreover, despite unemployment benefit cuts during the so called Hartz-Reforms in the mid-2000s (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidl, 2010) the level of welfare state support is still high compared to many Southern or Eastern European states with residual welfare state support for young unemployed workers. However, young Germans are still disproportionately often affected by unemployment compared to the German prime-aged workers. There are also important regional differences (Schnabel, 2016). Although there is a slow convergence of East-West disparity in unemployment rate, East Germany still suffers from much higher unemployment rates than West Germany. The east-west disparity in unemployment was particularly pronounced in the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s (Schnabel, 2016).

Moreover, the restructuring process of the German economy has been accompanied by an increase in the proportion of so-called "flexible" or "non-standard" employment as one form of labor market flexibilization (Esping-Andersen and Regini, 2000). In this chapter we focus on a very prominent form of external flexibility, namely temporary employment, which is characterized by contracts of limited duration that end automatically upon expiry. As many other Western European countries Germany has performed a partial deregulation of its labor market (Barbieri, 2009). While permanent contracts are still highly protected, the use of temporary contracts has been progressively facilitated in Germany. For example, the 1985 Employment Promotion Act and later changes to the law in 1996, 2001, and 2003 gradually extended the possibilities for temporary contracts by easing their application and renewals as well as prolonging their maximum duration (Gebel and Giesecke, 2009). This partial deregulation has increased the incidence of temporary jobs (Gebel and Giesecke, 2016).

Against this background, our central research question is whether labour market exclusion and job insecurity hamper the process of leaving the parental home. In addition, we want to address the research question whether there are different effects of different disadvantaged labour market positions, i.e. comparing the consequences of unemployment and temporary employment. Thus, to fully assess not only the risks but also the chances of taking up temporary jobs at labour market entry, we complement the standard "upward comparison" to regular employment with a "downward comparison" to the alternative of unemployment (Gebel, 2013). Moreover, we want to answer the question whether the effects differ between men, women, East, and West Germany.



Theory and hypotheses

Leaving the parental home and starting living independently requires resources (Ermisch, 1999). While parents often substantially contribute to their offspring's establishment of an own household it can be expected that the socio-economic situation of the young person matters, too. Regarding these resources both the direct availability and security are relevant. Having resources at the moment is not sufficient because there also need to be trust into having the necessary resources in the future. Thus, in order to cover the direct and long-term costs of having an own household, young people need sufficient economic resources and security.

It can be expected that particularly the individual labor market position determines the current and future socio-economic conditions and, thus, the capability of young people to bear the direct and long-term costs of establishing an own household. Having a job after leaving education and, thus, gaining income should be of great relevance for gaining the necessary resources to leave the parental home.

Moreover, if economic uncertainties exist with regard to the individual future because a person occupies insecure labor market positions this may lead to the postponement of living independently. First, having a temporary job is associated with wage discounts and wage scars, i.e. temporary workers earn less than workers with permanent contracts (Gebel, 2010). Second, although a temporary job provides income there is an increased risk of loosening this job again. This creates a higher degree of expected income volatility that diminishes the probability of living separately from one's parents (Fernandes *et al.*, 2008). This can be buffered if youth are still living with their parents, whereas the poverty risks of job loss are much higher for those who decide to establish one's own household (Aassve *et al.*, 2007). Third, temporary jobs may make youth less willing to establish long-term commitments, being it having an own household or getting married (Oppenheimer, 1988; Mills and Blossfeld, 2003). In contrast, the success of entering a secure job with a permanent contract may reduce uncertainty and should promote the chances of leaving the parental home.

In terms of an effect hierarchy with having a permanent contract standing at the top, we assume that the worst negative effects stem from unemployment, whereas the negative effects are weaker for temporary workers. This is because the unavailability or loss of resources is much higher for unemployed workers because they gain no income or only very restricted amounts based on marginal part-time jobs. Moreover, all the aspects of insecurity about the future affect unemployed workers in the same way or even stronger as temporary workers. This should apply especially to Germany, where many temporary jobs act as stepping stones at the beginning of the working career (Gebel, 2010). Thus, temporary jobs should take an intermediate position between unemployment and permanent contract work.



Hence, we expect that having a temporary job reduces the transition rate out of the parental home compared to working with a permanent contract. Being unemployed should reduce the transition rate even more (*Hypothesis 1*).

Regarding the effects of labor market activities, it is important to differentiate between the situation of men and women. According to the widespread male breadwinner model in Germany, one could expect that the labor market position matters more for men than for women. This is because according to the male breadwinner model men bear the responsibility for providing the economic basis for young couples. Men are expected to have a job and a secure position in order to leave the parental home and establish their own household if they have a partner. For young women the experience of labor market exclusion and insecure labor market positions should have a weaker impact than for men. Even if they face unemployment or job insecurity they could rely on the resources of their partners and focus more on the alternative career that emphasizes housework and taking care of children. Similar arguments are also put forward in the research on the transition to first marriage with regard to gender-specific impacts of unemployment and temporary employment (Kreyenfeld, 2010).

Thus, we expect the negative effects of unemployment and temporary employment on the transition rate out of parental home to be more pronounced for men than for women (*Hypothesis 2*).

Related to the gender-specific argument it seems appropriate to expect also differences between East and West Germany. This is because the traditional gender norms are more prevalent in West Germany than in East Germany due to the institutional and cultural historical differences (Matysiak and Steinmetz, 2008). Gender egalitarianism became more widespread in the socialist East German regime. Even nowadays egalitarian sex-role attitudes are more widespread in East Germany than in West Germany. Despite reunification long-time ago there is no evidence for a convergence process in gender attitudes and even some indications of increasing attitude gaps (Bauernschuster and Rainer, 2012). There are also prevailing institutional differences. For example, in East Germany there are better childcare opportunities than in West Germany (Hofäcker, Stoilova and Riebling, 2013).

From this perspective it could be expected that the gender interaction effect that is specified in Hypothesis 2 is especially pronounced in West Germany (*Hypothesis 3*). According to this three-way interaction especially West German men who experience unemployment or temporary employment should register a lower transition probability out of the parental home compared to West German women, whereas the gender-specific differences in effects should be less pronounced in East Germany.

However, not only the gender and family regimes differ between East and West Germany. There are also strong differences in the labor market situation, specifically during our observation period that starts already a few years after reunification in the mid-1990s (Schnabel, 2016). On average, the economic climate is worse in East



Germany. During the observation period many East German regions were affected by mass unemployment. The nature of temporary jobs also varies because temporary contracts in East Germany are often based on job creation schemes in terms of public subsidized work or specific training arrangements of active labor market policy, whereas temporary jobs are usually located in the regular labor market segment in West Germany. Against this background one could argue that experiencing unemployment or temporary employment should have more (expected) negative effects with regard to the future labor market career outcomes. Thus, based on this argument, one could expect that the negative effects of unemployment and temporary employment on the transition rate out of parental home should be stronger for East Germany than for West Germany in general (*Hypothesis 4*).

Research design

Data and sample

For the empirical analyses, data from the Socio-economic Panel (SOEP) of the period 1995 to 2015 (version 32) are used (Haisken-DeNew and Frick, 2006). The SOEP is designed to be nationally representative of German households and surveys of more than 20,000 persons each year. It offers yearly household and individual panel data. The longitudinal SOEP data have the advantage that individual persons are followed over time, which allows dynamic life course studies in a prospective perspective. This dynamic perspective is needed when analyzing the youth transition event of leaving parental home. Organized as a household panel survey the SOEP also provides important prospective longitudinal information on the parents, partnerships and the household context. In addition to collecting information annually, GSOEP retrieves retrospective information about family background.

We reconstruct the history of living arrangements based on the yearly information. We start analysing the process of leaving parental home at age 16 due to data restriction and the fact that independent living is legally restricted for underage person (Jacob and Kleinert, 2008). Due to refreshment samples and the specific follow-up concept the starting age of observation is higher for some respondents. In order to reduce this phenomenon of left truncation we restrict the analysis to respondents who were younger than 20 at the date of the first interview. Imposing this restriction, we have 9596 respondents in our analytical sample. These 9596 respondents are followed up in yearly interviews up to the age of 34. The upper age limit of 34 is imposed in order to focus on life course periods that are seen as the period of transition to adulthood. The observation stops at the event of interest, the date of leaving parental home for the first time. Due to the household panel structure we know the identification number of the mother and the father and the current household number of the mother and the father. Mother and father are defined in social, not in biological terms. Leaving parental home



is defined when a young respondent is living with his mother or father or both parents in the same household in period t and neither with his mother nor father in period $t+1$ or $t+2$. The extension of the definition to $t+2$ was necessary because many youths leaving parent home have an interview gap of one year. This is probably related to the time it takes to follow-up the young people who left parental home and to define a new SOEP household. Applying our definition avoids the misclassification of one parent moving out (e.g. because of divorce) or jointly moving with a parent(s) to another household as leaving parental home. Furthermore, “leaving parental home” is also defined in the rare event of a single or both parents dying or moving– even if the respondent stays in the same dwelling it is defined as leaving parental home because she or he is not living with his parent(s) anymore. However, according to this definition, the event of leaving parental home is not classified when the follow-up of the young respondent leaving parental home is not successful. Or, in the unlikely event that mother and father leave the SOEP survey in the year their son or daughter left their home. If no event of leaving parental home is registered up to the last interview or the person reaching age 34, we code spells as right-censored. As we stop our observation when a person left parental home we fade out any events of youth returning to parental home.

Thus, we rely on an “objective” measure of leaving parental home. There is not a perfect overlap with the event of becoming independent of parents. This is because young people may be rather independent of their parents although they still share a flat. Or, young people may have their own household but parents are still strongly supporting their child. However, due to the requirements for the definition of a new household in the SOEP our definition does not include mis-measurements such as leaving parental home for military or civil service, for a hospital stay, for a long travel or for establishing a secondary residence for study (e.g. in a student dormitory). Unfortunately, due to data limitation, our definition cannot be compared to alternative subjective measures or respondents’ self-evaluations (Jacob and Kleinert, 2008).

Methods

We are analysing the central life course event of leaving parental home. As all events of the transition to adulthood represent highly dynamic life course processes, applying the statistical tools of event history analysis seems most appropriate. The key feature of event history analysis is its interest in understanding the determinants of time spent in specific states – so called spells or episodes – and the timing of transitions to other states. The basic concept is the hazard rate, which represents the instantaneous rate of leaving a specific state conditional on the fact that no exit has taken place earlier. Event history analysis also provides the tools to handle censored data. Censoring occurs when spells are not completely observed, i.e. we do not identify when an event ended. Our data are characterized by right-censoring because of the prospective panel design, the imposed upper age limit and persons dropping out of the panel survey. As we focus on one event we use single-risk models. Following the argument of Jacob



and Kleinert (2008) we will not distinguish different exit routes in terms of leaving parental home for studies, work, cohabitation etc. Instead, we conceptualize the economic activity and marital status as measurements of resources that hamper or facilitate the decision to leave independently of the parents.

Hence, we apply event history models to address the problem of right-censoring. Specifically, we use a discrete time hazard model using a logistic functional form (Jenkins, 1995). In view of not having a specific hypothesis on the shape of the baseline hazard function we apply a piecewise constant specification. We have chosen to apply a semi-parametric piecewise constant baseline hazard function as it relaxes the assumptions concerning the distribution of the hazard function by allowing the hazard to vary between predefined duration intervals. This allows us to establish whether the chance of exiting parental home increases or decreases with the respondent's age controlling for selected variables. Following this approach, process time is split up into intervals in order to estimate the baseline hazard rate. Within each of those specified intervals ("pieces") the hazard rate is assumed to be constant. The intervals are defined for age 16 to 19, 20 to 24, 25 to 29 and 30 to 34. Covariates are included in such a way that they have the same proportional effect in each period of the hazard specification.

Previous research has shown that logit coefficients and odds ratios are not appropriate for model comparisons over samples, groups or time points (Mood, 2010). Hence, in case of the binary logistic regression, we estimate average marginal effects (AMEs) as parameters and apply graphical tools of average marginal effect plots (Best and Wolf, 2015). Average marginal effects express the average effect of a change in the independent variable on the probability of the outcome variable, holding all other independent variables constant (Long and Freese, 2014).

Independent variables

Although the SOEP offers retrospective monthly data on economic activity status (Wagner, Frick and Schupp, 2007), too, our key information comes from the yearly interviews. This is because the important information about the type of contract is only available at the time of the yearly interview but not in the monthly economic activity calendar. In terms of economic activity, we distinguish between dependent employment, self-employment, unemployment, being in education or training and labour market inactivity. The variable is defined as a time-varying variable on a yearly base which captures important dynamics in the economic activity status. It is essential to account for the time dependence of the activity status when estimating the effect of the economic activity status on the transition event of leaving parental home.

In view of many young people combining work and education, we defined a status hierarchy with being in education at the highest priority and employment as the second



priority. The status of being in education includes any kind of education activity in primary, secondary or tertiary education or school-based training. In the specific German context, apprentices are counted as part of the training system and not as an employment contract (Müller, Steinmann and Ell, 1998). This status hierarchy was also applied with respect to the problem that the SOEP provides information on economic and education activity in various variables, which are partly not harmonized. In this respect, we gave information on education activities also the highest priority.

Individual unemployment experience is defined in terms of registered unemployment at the date of the yearly interview. Due to specific institutional regulations registered unemployed workers may hold marginal part-time jobs (often in the arrangement of so called “1-Euro jobs”) in Germany.

Regarding the group of employed people, we distinguish the kind of contract – having a work contract of unlimited duration or a work contract of limited duration. The question about the temporary nature of the employment is available at the time of the interview, on a yearly base, for all new employment relationships since 1984 and for all current employment relationships on an annual basis since 1995. Therefore, it was necessary to restrict the analyses to the years 1995–2015 because in the period before 1995 the contract status is unclear in case of changes in contract status on the job. As we define it, fixed-term work does not include apprenticeships, which are always based on fixed-term contracts in Germany. Self-employed workers are defined as a separate category because they do not have a work contract.

Labour market inactivity is a rest category that subsumes a heterogeneous group of persons, e.g. persons who are not active because of illness, persons on maternity leave, persons focusing childcare and family duties, but also persons who do not want to work or gave up any job search activity and not registered at the unemployment office. In view of this great heterogeneity, the estimated effect of this subgroup is not in the focus of our analysis.

In view of the specific German institutional setting, we distinguish the group of young people in military or civilian service from the inactive persons. This group includes mainly young men doing their compulsory service, that was a civic duty until the year 2011 but also young women who did civilian service on a voluntary base.

We are interested in estimating the “causal” effects of experiencing unemployment and job insecurity on the transition probability of leaving parental home. To avoid spurious correlations in these relationships, we control for variables in order to satisfy the backdoor-path criterion of modern causal analyses (Morgan and Winship, 2015). We use a rich set of control variables X that are expected to influence both the economic activity status and contract status and the decision to leave parental home. These variables are measured, if possible, as time-varying variables in order to avoid endogeneity problems. In order to estimate the gross “causal” effect experiencing unemployment and job insecurity on the transition probability of leaving parental home



we do not control for variables that are “mechanisms”, i.e. variables that are located on a frontdoor-path from the labor market variables to the transition event. This includes variables such as the personal income level, class position, subjective well-being or current subjective assessments of the health status.

Specifically, we control for the education qualification of the respondent because education qualifications affect the labor market position and are expected to have an influence on leaving parental home, e.g. in terms of skill, abilities and attitudes formed in school, independently of the labor market position. Educational qualification of the respondent is measured by combining information about the highest school and vocational degree obtained following an aggregated CASMIN classifications, which is especially relevant for the highly standardized and stratified German educational system, with its high degree of vocational specificity (Müller, Steinmann and Ell, 1998). We distinguish persons with elementary or less (1a+b), elementary and vocational (1c), intermediate secondary without vocational (2b), intermediate secondary with vocational (2a), upper secondary without vocational (2c_gen), upper secondary with vocational (2c_voc), lower tertiary (3a) and higher tertiary education (3b).

We also include the occupational position of the father measured when the respondent was 15 to proxy for the long-term parental influence on labour market success. The father’s occupational position should proxy for permanent income and social networks that are important for social reproduction on the labour market next to the mechanism of the intergenerational transmission of education resources. We decided for this retrospective measure as an alternative to the current labour market position of the father that may already be affected by retirement processes when the respondents grow older. As retirement pensions strongly depend on the previous labour market position of the father the information on a retired father is less meaningful than the previous labour market position measured when the respondent was 15. It also acts as measure of the permanent income of the parental household as an alternative to the current household income that is already affected by the labour market behaviour of the offspring of the household and their processes of leaving parental home. Specifically, we differentiate between high white collar, low white collar, self-employed, medium/high blue collar and low blue collar job positions as well as the situation when the father was not employed or already dead.

Additionally, we include the number of siblings as a measure of resource competition within the family of origin. Alternatively, it can also be seen as variable measuring the pressure to leave an overcrowded home as we control for father’s occupation position at the same time. We also control for the dominant place of residence during childhood distinguishing between a socialization in a rural or an urban area is included, which captures cultural, economic and social differences between rural and urban places. We decided for this long-term measure instead of the current place of living because it should summarize the conditions during childhood that are expected to influence both the current labour market position and the process of leaving parental home.



We include a control variable for migration background. This is because their patterns of transition to adulthood are affected by their specific cultural background that may also affect their labour market position. We apply the constructed migration background variable summarizing information from different questions that is provided by the SOEP (Scheller, 2011). Based on information on the nationality of the individual, his/her migration history and the information whether his/her parents were born in Germany three categories are distinguished: (1) direct migration background if the respondent immigrated by him/herself, (2) indirect migration background if the respondent is born in Germany but his parents migrated to Germany, i.e. he/she is a migrants' offspring and (3) respondents having neither a direct nor an indirect migration background.

Furthermore, we include a dummy variable for disability status (i.e., share of legally attested disability of 30% and more) because disability may both hinder the transition from parental home and it may act as a hurdle in the labor market, for example, due to discrimination processes. Disability status can also be seen as an objective and exogenous indicator of health conditions and thus, from a methodological point of view, as an alternative to subjective assessment of the current psychological and physical health that may be affected by the current labor market status.

To account for structural, institutional and cultural changes at the macro-level we include the time period as a proxy variable. We group the years in the following periods: 1995–1999, 2000–2004, 2005–2010, and 2011–2015.

In terms of sensitivity analysis, we control in one model additionally for the marital status. Previous research has highlighted the importance of partnership and marriage for leaving parental home (Jacob and Kleinert, 2008). As previously argued, for a matter of simplification and due to data limitations (in terms of missing information and low number of cases), we do not differentiate between different exit routes from parental home. Thus, we treat marital status as control variable and assume that it affects both the labour market position and leaving parental home. Due to data limitations we had to focus on the formal arrangement of marriage because the partnership status is not asked in the SOEP. However, including this variable can be seen from a critical perspective because both transition events leaving home and getting married might be co-determined processes. Therefore, we treat this variable carefully in terms of a stepwise modelling approach and interpret the findings just as a sensitivity analysis.

All analyses are stratified by East versus West Germany and gender. As explained in our theoretical model we expect heterogeneity in the effects of experiencing unemployment and job insecurity on the transition probability of leaving parental home across region and gender.

Of course this list of control variables and stratification variables is not complete in order to block all backdoor-paths. Important unobserved variables such as attitudes,



motivation and personality are missing. The included social background variables should partially proxy for those unobserved variables.

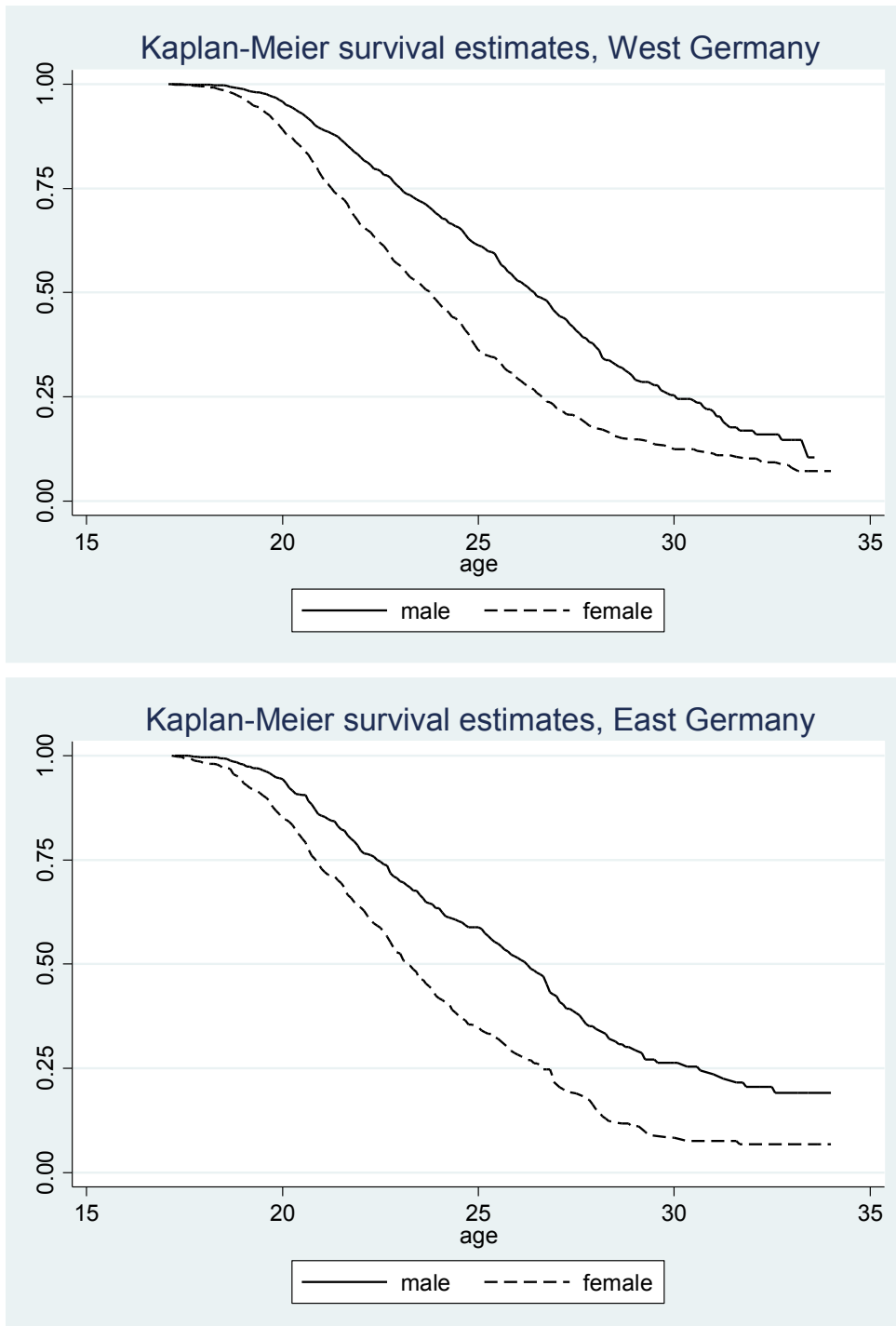
Results

Descriptive results

In the first step of our analyses, we apply Kaplan–Meier (KM) survival estimates for the event of leaving parental home for the first time. These estimates provide a detailed picture of the timing of marriage and also address the problem of data censoring, which is relevant for the younger birth cohorts (Blossfeld, Golsch and Rohwer, 2007). The analyses are performed separately for West Germany (see upper part of Figure 1) and East Germany (see lower part of Figure 1). For each region the analyses are performed separately for men and women. The survivor functions can be interpreted as the proportion of men or women who have not left parental home until a specific age. Overall, 2434 events of leaving parental home for the first time are observed given our strict sample restrictions. Specifically, 724 transition events are observed for West German men, 1084 transition events are observed for West German women, 277 transition events are observed for East German men and 349 transition events are observed for East German women.



Figure 1: KM estimator for leaving parental home



Source: SOEP 1995–2015 (version v32), own calculations.



Overall, we find clear gender differences both in West and East Germany. Women leave parental home earlier than men. There are also small differences between the two country parts as East Germans make slightly faster transitions out of the parental home compared to West Germans. Figure 1 shows that only very few young people leave parental home as teenagers. Instead, the main age period of making the transition out of the parental home starts in the early 20s and ends around the end 20s. At higher ages the transition probability decreases, which can be seen in form of a weaker slope of the survivor function.

Detailed investigations reveal that, at age 20, just about 4% of West German men but already 11% of West German women have left the parental home. The age at which at least 50 percent of the group have made their transition out of parental home is about 26.3 for West German men compared to 23.6 for West German women. At age 30, just about 12% of West German women are still living with (a) parent(s), whereas this share lies at about 24% for West German men. Thus, a substantial share of West German men is sharing their home with their parents for a long time.

In East Germany, at age 20, just about 6% of East German men but already 15% of East German women have left the parental home. Thus, compared to West Germany the incidence of early living of parental home is slightly higher both for men and for women in East Germany. The slightly higher speed of making the transition out of parental home in East Germany is also visible when measuring the age at which at least 50 percent of the group have made their transition out of parental home. It is about 25.9 for East German men compared to 23.2 for East German women. At age 30, just about 8% of East German women are still living with their parents, whereas this share lies at about 24% for East German men. While almost all East German women have left parental home at age 30, about one quarter of East German men still co-resides with their parents. Thus, a convergence can be observed for East German men and West German men at higher ages. In contrast, East German women are always ahead of their West German counterparts.

The contrast of the four groups – West German men, West German women, East German men, and East German women – clearly shows that gender difference matter much more than the regional differences in Germany.

Such descriptive analysis of estimating survivor functions cannot be done for time-varying covariates such as the labor market status. In order to test our central research hypotheses on the effects of experiencing unemployment and job insecurity on the transition probability of leaving parental home we will perform multivariate event history analyses.



Multivariate results

In the next step, the multivariate event history analyses are performed in a discrete-time logistic hazard event history analysis. A stepwise modelling is used with a main interest in the effects of experiencing unemployment and job insecurity on the transition probability of leaving parental home. Listwise deletion is applied to account for missing values of covariates. In this respect, the number of observations is kept constant across stepwise models. The full estimation results are reported in Table A1 for West German, in Table A2 for West German women, in Table A3 for East German men and in Table A4 for East German women. In the following tables selected results are presented with respect to the research hypotheses to be tested empirically.

As explained in the methodological section all models adopt a piecewise constant function defined by age groups of four or five-year intervals. The models 1 in Table 1 represent models with such a piecewise constant specification and the activity status as the main variable of interest. Thus, the age-specific transition pattern is estimated net of activity status effects. For West German men, we find that the hazard rate increases with age up to age group 25–29 and slightly declines for the oldest age group. The same pattern can be observed for West German women. However, the effects are more pronounced, i.e. the transition rates increase more strongly for the in age group 20–24 and age group 25–29 compared to the reference group of 16–19yo. Similar patterns of age-specific transition rates can be observed for East German men and women. In general, the results on the piecewise constant function are in line with the descriptive findings.

Model 1 empirically tests our first general hypothesis. For West German men we find that being unemployed reduces the transition rate out of parental home by 2.1 percentage points compared to the reference group of persons with a permanent work contract. The effect is statistically significant at the 1% level. This is line with our theoretical expectation. However, in contrast to hypothesis 1 we do not find any substantial difference between West German men in temporary jobs and West German men in permanent contracts. The estimated coefficient of 0.4 percentage points is rather low and statistically insignificant. Interestingly, the estimated effect sizes remain rather constant even when adding a large set of control variables. Specifically, model 2 adds the highest current education degree, father's occupation, number of siblings, place of socialization, migration background, disability status, and year groups as control variables. Thus, it is just unemployment that hampers West German men's pathways out of the parental home, whereas the type of contract does not matter.

Interestingly, results are different for the other gender and regional groups. For example, for West German women the estimate for the effect of unemployment on the transition probability is 2.1 percentage points. Thus, the sign of the coefficient shows that West German women who are unemployed have a higher probability of leaving their parental home. In model 1 the effect is insignificant but it becomes significant



when the control variables are included in model 2. This finding contradicts our general hypothesis 1 but it is in line with the interaction effect hypothesis 2 that assumes that women suffer less from unemployment and temporary employment compared to men.

Regarding the other activity states, we find rather similar effects for West German women. Being in education substantially reduces the probability of leaving parental home. In contrast to the findings for West German men, however, being inactive or doing a voluntary civilian service does not have a negative effect on the transition probability for West German women. In line with the finding for West German men, the contract status has no effect on the transition out of parental home for West German women. Transition rates of self-employed West German men and women do not differ from their counterparts in dependent employment with a permanent contract.



Table 1: Discrete time hazard model of leaving parental home (average marginal effects), models M1 and M2, subgroup-specific model comparison

	West German men		West German women		East German men		East German women	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
	AME (s.e.)	AME (s.e.)	AME (s.e.)	AME (s.e.)	AME (s.e.)	AME (s.e.)	AME (s.e.)	AME (s.e.)
<i>Age (ref. 16-19yo)</i>								
20-24yo	0.056*** (0.004)	0.041*** (0.004)	0.098*** (0.006)	0.061*** (0.006)	0.064*** (0.008)	0.054*** (0.009)	0.072*** (0.011)	0.057*** (0.013)
25-29yo	0.093*** (0.010)	0.062*** (0.009)	0.124*** (0.015)	0.066*** (0.013)	0.092*** (0.018)	0.064*** (0.017)	0.098*** (0.023)	0.063*** (0.022)
30-34yo	0.068*** (0.022)	0.039** (0.016)	0.057** (0.028)	0.026 (0.021)	0.037 (0.023)	0.023 (0.019)	-0.004 (0.025)	-0.020 (0.019)
<i>Activity status (ref. permanent contract)</i>								
temporary contract	0.004 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.008)	0.013 (0.011)	0.004 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.013)	-0.008 (0.014)	0.036 (0.023)	0.028 (0.023)
self-employed	0.004 (0.019)	-0.010 (0.018)	0.019 (0.033)	0.003 (0.027)	0.032 (0.049)	0.001 (0.037)	0.151 (0.109)	0.101 (0.095)
unemployed	-0.021*** (0.008)	-0.018* (0.010)	0.021 (0.016)	0.028* (0.015)	-0.003 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.013)	-0.005 (0.022)	-0.002 (0.023)
in education	-0.034*** (0.005)	-0.045*** (0.007)	-0.048*** (0.007)	-0.036*** (0.008)	-0.018* (0.009)	-0.024** (0.012)	-0.071*** (0.016)	-0.068*** (0.017)
inactive	-0.045*** (0.008)	-0.056*** (0.008)	-0.003 (0.015)	0.006 (0.015)	-0.012 (0.026)	-0.016 (0.028)	0.065 (0.043)	0.053 (0.041)
military/civilian service	-0.036*** (0.008)	-0.050*** (0.008)	-0.016 (0.027)	-0.021 (0.023)	-0.017 (0.015)	-0.025* (0.015)	-0.012 (0.068)	-0.031 (0.056)
<i>Control variables:</i>	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
<i>Highest education degree,</i>								
<i>current degree,</i>								
<i>Father's occupation,</i>								
<i>Number of siblings,</i>								
<i>Place of socialization,</i>								
<i>Migration background,</i>								
<i>Disability, Year</i>								

Source: SOEP 1995–2015 (version v32), own calculations. Significance levels: * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.



For East Germany, we find neither unemployment effects nor temporary employment effects. The estimated coefficients are close to zero and statistically insignificant both for East German men and for East German women. These findings also contradict our general hypothesis 1. There is also no clear evidence for hypothesis 2 because both men and women have small and insignificant effects of unemployment and temporary work. The results can also be interpreted against hypothesis 4 that postulated that the negative unemployment and temporary work effects are stronger for East Germany. Regarding hypothesis 3 there is partly evidence that the gender effect is more pronounced in West Germany than in East Germany. Being unemployed has a negative effect for West German men and a positive effect for West German women. There is no gender difference in East Germany. Thus, the gender gap in the unemployment effect is more pronounced in West Germany than in East Germany. However, this three-way interaction does not exist in the case of temporary employment.

Regarding the other activity states, we find again that being in education reduces the likelihood of leaving parental home in East Germany. The effect is strongest for East German women. There is also some indication that, similar to West German men, East German men in military/civilian service register lower transition probabilities compared to the reference group of persons holding a permanent contract. The negative sign can also be found for East German women in voluntary civilian service but the effect is statistically not significant, which is probably due to the very small number of cases in this category. Being inactive does not have an effect for East German men. Inactive East German women seem to have a higher probability of leaving parental home compared to East German women with permanent contracts but the coefficient fails statistical significance. Being self-employed shows also a quite large positive effect but it is not significant, probably again due to the very small number of cases in this category.

Results on the control variables highest current education degree, father's occupation, number of siblings, place of socialization, migration background, disability status, and year groups can be found in the detailed tables in the appendix. We do not comment on these variables because they just act as control variables. Moreover, their interpretation would be very complex because of their complex interrelationships and because our stepwise modelling approach is adopted to estimate the effects of economic activity status only.

In terms of sensitivity analysis, we control in models 3 for each subgroup-specific model additionally for the marital status. The results in models 4 reported in Tables A1–A4 show a very large effect of the time-varying marital variable. The estimated coefficients are especially large for women in both parts of Germany. However, the main interest is not in the marriage effect because this variable is seen as very problematic as we argued in our methodological section. We just want to determine the sensitivity of the results on the effects of experiencing unemployment and job insecurity



on the transition probability of leaving parental home with regard to the inclusion of. Comparing the estimated coefficients of the central explanatory labour market status variables shows that the negative effect of unemployment for West German men does not change when controlling for marriage. The conclusions about the small and statistically insignificant effect of temporary employment are not affected by the inclusion of the marriage variable, too. Regarding West German women, the positive and statistically significant effect of unemployment on leaving parental home slightly decreases from 2.8 percentage points to 1.3 percentage points and it loses statistical significance. Thus, there is some indication that the negative unemployment effect relates to marriage for West German women. Either in terms of a spurious correlation or due to the co-determination of the two processes of leaving home and marriage. Disentangling this methodological puzzle is, however, beyond the scope of this report. For East German men and women, the conclusions on the small and statistically insignificant effect of temporary employment and unemployment are not affected by the inclusion of the marriage variable.

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to analyse the effects of unemployment and temporary employment on the transition probability out of parental home. Drawing on prospective panel data from the SOEP for the period 1995–2015 we performed event history analysis for West German men, West German women, East German men and East German women separately.

Against our theoretical expectation we find only limited evidence for any effects of unemployment and temporary employment on the transition probability out of parental home. The great majority of the estimated effects are very small and statistically insignificant. There is just evidence that being unemployed reduces the transition probability out of parental home for West German men.

In contrast, for West German women the estimate for the effect of unemployment on the transition probability is even positive. Thus, the sign of the coefficient shows that West German women who are unemployed have a higher probability of leaving their parental home. This finding contradicts our general hypothesis but it is in line with the interaction effect hypothesis that assumes that women suffer less from unemployment and temporary employment compared to men.

For East Germany, we find neither unemployment effects nor temporary employment effects. The estimated coefficients are close to zero and statistically insignificant both for East German men and for East German women. These findings also contradict our general hypothesis that assumed negative effect of unemployment on leaving parental home. There is also no clear evidence for our gender-interaction hypothesis because both men and women have small and insignificant effects of unemployment and



temporary work. The results can also be interpreted against region-interaction hypothesis that postulated that the negative unemployment and temporary work effects are stronger for East Germany. Regarding the three-way interaction hypothesis of labour market status, gender and region there is partly evidence that the gender effect is more pronounced in West Germany than in East Germany. Being unemployed has a negative effect for West German men and a positive effect for West German women. There is no gender difference in East Germany. Thus, the gender gap in the unemployment effect is more pronounced in West Germany than in East Germany. However, this three-way interaction does not exist in the case of temporary employment.

Nevertheless, the main conclusion is that we find only very limited evidence for effects of unemployment and temporary employment on the transition probability out of parental home. Obviously, in the Germany context, unemployment and temporary employment is not a hurdle for establishing an own household. The negative effects of unemployment and temporary employment seems to be buffered by the welfare state and/or a strong re-integration perspective of unemployed young workers and the stepping-stone function of temporary jobs for many young workers in Germany. There is just evidence that being unemployed reduces the transition probability out of parental home for West German men.



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Appendix

Table A1: Discrete time hazard model of leaving parental home (average marginal effects), West German men, M1-M3, full results

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	AME	AME	AME
	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)
<i>Age (ref. 16-19yo)</i>			
20-24yo	0.056*** (0.004)	0.041*** (0.004)	0.040*** (0.004)
25-29yo	0.093*** (0.010)	0.062*** (0.009)	0.052*** (0.008)
30-34yo	0.068*** (0.022)	0.039** (0.016)	0.031** (0.014)
<i>Activity status (ref. permanent contract)</i>			
temporary contract	0.004 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.008)
self-employed	0.004 (0.019)	-0.010 (0.018)	-0.016 (0.016)
unemployed	-0.021*** (0.008)	-0.018* (0.010)	-0.017* (0.010)
in education	-0.034*** (0.005)	-0.045*** (0.007)	-0.041*** (0.007)
inactive	-0.045*** (0.008)	-0.056*** (0.008)	-0.052*** (0.008)
military/civilian service	-0.036*** (0.008)	-0.050*** (0.008)	-0.047*** (0.008)
<i>Highest current education degree (ref. lower secondary or less)</i>			
lower secondary+voc		0.011** (0.005)	0.010* (0.005)
intermediate secondary		0.011** (0.005)	0.011** (0.005)
intermediate secondary+voc		0.015**	0.015***



	(0.006)	(0.006)
upper secondary	0.045***	0.044***
	(0.007)	(0.007)
upper secondary+voc	0.025***	0.026***
	(0.010)	(0.010)
lower tertiary	0.043***	0.048***
	(0.016)	(0.016)
higher tertiary	0.055***	0.061***
	(0.015)	(0.016)
<i>Father's occupation</i> (ref. high white collar)		
low white collar	-0.006	-0.006
	(0.005)	(0.005)
self-employed	-0.004	-0.005
	(0.006)	(0.006)
medium/high blue collar	0.002	0.001
	(0.005)	(0.005)
low blue collar	0.009	0.009
	(0.006)	(0.006)
not employed or dead	0.011	0.012
	(0.008)	(0.008)
<i>Number of siblings</i>		
	0.003***	0.003**
	(0.001)	(0.001)
<i>Place of socialization</i> (ref. urban socialization)		
rural socialization	-0.010***	-0.010***
	(0.004)	(0.004)
<i>Migration background</i> (ref. no migration background)		
direct migration background	-0.008	-0.015***
	(0.006)	(0.005)
indirect migration background	-0.012***	-0.014***
	(0.004)	(0.004)
<i>Disability</i> (ref. no disability)		
disability	0.009	0.005



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	(0.016)	(0.016)	
<i>Year (ref. 1995-1999)</i>			
2000-2004	-0.036***	-0.033***	
	(0.011)	(0.010)	
2005-2010	-0.032***	-0.030***	
	(0.010)	(0.010)	
2011-2015	-0.024**	-0.022**	
	(0.011)	(0.010)	
<i>Marital status (ref. Unmarried)</i>			
married		0.281***	
		(0.042)	
<hr/>			
N	12826	12826	12826

Source: SOEP 1995–2015 (version v32), own calculations. Significance levels: * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.



Table A2: Discrete time hazard model of leaving parental home (average marginal effects), West German women, M1-M3, full results

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	AME	AME	AME
	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)
<i>Age (ref. 16-19yo)</i>			
20-24yo	0.098*** (0.006)	0.061*** (0.006)	0.047*** (0.006)
25-29yo	0.124*** (0.015)	0.066*** (0.013)	0.043*** (0.011)
30-34yo	0.057** (0.028)	0.026 (0.021)	0.004 (0.017)
<i>Activity status (ref. permanent contract)</i>			
temporary contract	0.013 (0.011)	0.004 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.009)
self-employed	0.019 (0.033)	0.003 (0.027)	-0.002 (0.026)
unemployed	0.021 (0.016)	0.028* (0.015)	0.013 (0.015)
in education	-0.048*** (0.007)	-0.036*** (0.008)	-0.037*** (0.008)
inactive	-0.003 (0.015)	0.006 (0.015)	-0.027** (0.012)
military/civilian service	-0.016 (0.027)	-0.021 (0.023)	-0.026 (0.021)
<i>Highest current education degree (ref. lower secondary or less)</i>			
lower secondary+voc		0.056*** (0.012)	0.056*** (0.012)
intermediate secondary		0.034*** (0.006)	0.037*** (0.006)
intermediate secondary+voc		0.057*** (0.009)	0.060*** (0.009)
upper secondary		0.062***	0.072***



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	(0.008)	(0.008)
upper secondary+voc	0.069***	0.074***
	(0.015)	(0.015)
lower tertiary	0.065***	0.071***
	(0.022)	(0.023)
higher tertiary	0.137***	0.152***
	(0.024)	(0.026)
<i>Father's occupation (ref. high white collar)</i>		
low white collar	0.003	0.004
	(0.007)	(0.007)
self-employed	-0.003	-0.006
	(0.007)	(0.007)
medium/high blue collar	0.013*	0.012*
	(0.007)	(0.007)
low blue collar	0.016*	0.016*
	(0.009)	(0.009)
not employed or dead	0.019*	0.012
	(0.010)	(0.009)
<i>Number of siblings</i>		
	0.005***	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)
<i>Place of socialization (ref. urban socialization)</i>		
rural socialization	-0.008*	-0.011**
	(0.005)	(0.005)
<i>Migration background (ref. no migration background)</i>		
direct migration background	-0.015*	-0.025***
	(0.008)	(0.007)
indirect migration background	-0.022***	-0.031***
	(0.006)	(0.005)
<i>Disability (ref. no disability)</i>		
disability	-0.016	-0.004
	(0.019)	(0.022)
<i>Year (ref. 1995-1999)</i>		
2000-2004	-0.019*	-0.015



		(0.011)	(0.010)
2005-2010		-0.016	-0.008
		(0.011)	(0.010)
2011-2015		-0.032***	-0.022**
		(0.010)	(0.010)
<i>Marital status (ref. Unmarried)</i>			
married			0.450***
			(0.042)
<hr/>			
N	11639	11639	11639

Source: SOEP 1995–2015 (version v32), own calculations. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.



Table A3: Discrete time hazard model of leaving parental home (average marginal effects), East German men, M1-M3, full results

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	AME	AME	AME
	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)
<i>Age (ref. 16-19yo)</i>			
20-24yo	0.064*** (0.008)	0.054*** (0.009)	0.055*** (0.009)
25-29yo	0.092*** (0.018)	0.064*** (0.017)	0.060*** (0.016)
30-34yo	0.037 (0.023)	0.023 (0.019)	0.006 (0.014)
<i>Activity status (ref. permanent contract)</i>			
temporary contract	-0.002 (0.013)	-0.008 (0.014)	-0.010 (0.013)
self-employed	0.032 (0.049)	0.001 (0.037)	0.005 (0.038)
unemployed	-0.003 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.013)	-0.003 (0.013)
in education	-0.018* (0.009)	-0.024** (0.012)	-0.022* (0.012)
inactive	-0.012 (0.026)	-0.016 (0.028)	-0.013 (0.029)
military/civilian service	-0.017 (0.015)	-0.025* (0.015)	-0.023 (0.015)
<i>Highest current education degree (ref. lower secondary or less)</i>			
lower secondary+voc		0.019 (0.014)	0.020 (0.014)
intermediate secondary		0.004 (0.010)	0.004 (0.010)
intermediate secondary+voc		0.014 (0.012)	0.012 (0.011)
upper secondary		0.021* (0.011)	0.021* (0.011)



	(0.012)	(0.011)
upper secondary+voc	0.022	0.021
	(0.018)	(0.017)
lower tertiary	0.055	0.063
	(0.037)	(0.040)
higher tertiary	0.067**	0.064**
	(0.029)	(0.029)
<i>Father's occupation</i> <i>(ref. high white collar)</i>		
low white collar	0.005	0.008
	(0.013)	(0.012)
self-employed	-0.018	-0.015
	(0.013)	(0.013)
medium/high blue collar	-0.015	-0.012
	(0.010)	(0.010)
low blue collar	-0.002	-0.003
	(0.014)	(0.014)
not employed or dead	-0.005	-0.003
	(0.012)	(0.012)
<i>Number of siblings</i>		
	0.003	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.003)
<i>Place of socialization (ref. urban socialization)</i>		
rural socialization	-0.026***	-0.024***
	(0.006)	(0.006)
<i>Migration background</i> <i>(ref. no migration background)</i>		
direct migration background	n.e.	n.e.
indirect migration background	0.054*	0.053*
	(0.030)	(0.030)
<i>Disability (ref. no disability)</i>		
disability	-0.003	0.000
	(0.023)	(0.024)
<i>Year (ref. 1995-1999)</i>		
2000-2004	-0.015	-0.015



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		(0.013)	(0.013)
2005-2010		-0.007	-0.006
		(0.013)	(0.013)
2011-2015		-0.007	-0.009
		(0.014)	(0.014)
<i>Marital status (ref. Unmarried)</i>			
married			0.355***
			(0.124)
<hr/>			
N	4335	4335	4335

Source: SOEP 1995–2015 (version v32), own calculations. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Remark: “n.e.” = Effect of direct migration background cannot be estimated due to multicollinearity in M2 and M3.



Table A4: Discrete time hazard model of leaving parental home (average marginal effects), East German women, M1-M3, full results

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	AME	AME	AME
	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)
<i>Age (ref. 16-19yo)</i>			
20-24yo	0.072*** (0.011)	0.057*** (0.013)	0.055*** (0.013)
25-29yo	0.098*** (0.023)	0.063*** (0.022)	0.049** (0.021)
30-34yo	-0.004 (0.025)	-0.020 (0.019)	-0.021 (0.019)
<i>Activity status (ref. permanent contract)</i>			
temporary contract	0.036 (0.023)	0.028 (0.023)	0.026 (0.023)
self-employed	0.151 (0.109)	0.101 (0.095)	0.110 (0.098)
unemployed	-0.005 (0.022)	-0.002 (0.023)	-0.001 (0.023)
in education	-0.071*** (0.016)	-0.068*** (0.017)	-0.069*** (0.017)
inactive	0.065 (0.043)	0.053 (0.041)	0.033 (0.040)
military/civilian service	-0.012 (0.068)	-0.031 (0.056)	-0.032 (0.056)
<i>Highest current education degree (ref. lower secondary or less)</i>			
lower secondary+voc		0.024 (0.020)	0.026 (0.020)
intermediate secondary		0.039*** (0.014)	0.039*** (0.014)
intermediate secondary+voc		0.025 (0.016)	0.024 (0.015)
upper secondary		0.036***	0.035**



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	(0.014)	(0.014)
upper secondary+voc	0.049**	0.043**
	(0.022)	(0.021)
lower tertiary	0.092**	0.091**
	(0.038)	(0.038)
higher tertiary	0.056*	0.052*
	(0.031)	(0.030)
<i>Father's occupation (ref. high white collar)</i>		
low white collar	-0.004	-0.006
	(0.015)	(0.015)
self-employed	0.018	0.018
	(0.017)	(0.017)
medium/high blue collar	0.000	0.001
	(0.013)	(0.012)
low blue collar	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.018)	(0.018)
not employed or dead	-0.000	0.002
	(0.015)	(0.015)
<i>Number of siblings</i>		
	0.006*	0.005
	(0.004)	(0.004)
<i>Place of socialization (ref. urban socialization)</i>		
rural socialization	-0.011	-0.011
	(0.009)	(0.009)
<i>Migration background (ref. no migration background)</i>		
direct migration background	0.010	-0.016
	(0.054)	(0.045)
indirect migration background	-0.025	-0.021
	(0.017)	(0.018)
<i>Disability (ref. no disability)</i>		
disability	-0.018	-0.017
	(0.038)	(0.037)
<i>Year (ref. 1995-1999)</i>		
2000-2004	-0.018	-0.014



		(0.015)	(0.014)
2005-2010		0.003	0.009
		(0.015)	(0.015)
2011-2015		0.005	0.013
		(0.017)	(0.017)
<i>Marital status (ref. Unmarried)</i>			
married			0.482***
			(0.151)
<hr/>			
N	3632	3632	3632

Source: SOEP 1995–2015 (version v32), own calculations.

Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.