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There is no place like the parents' home

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A comparative multi-level analysis of cohabitation of young adults and their parents across Europe

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Abstract

Over the past decade, an increasing number of "boomerang kids" returned to their parents' home after periods of independent living (Kaplan, 2012). In addition, the share of so called "stay-at-homes", adult children who have never left home, is on the rise (Ogg and Renaut, 2006). Using data provided by the Munich Centre for the Economics of Ageing, the present article aims at investigating the reasons for young adults to stay with their parents during a life phase that is commonly characterized by independence. Exploring which factors might compel young adults to co-reside with their parents promises to shed light on relevant need patterns which are not met by social policies. The lion's share of studies regarding intergenerational cohabitation either focuses on the age of home-leaving of young adults, cohabitation resulting from care dependencies of frail parens or examines the phenomenon as a whole across all phases of life. However, it is crucial to gather information on the phenomenon occurring in the more independent stages of life – this means somewhere in between the natural life phases of adolescence and aging. Moreover, most of the research done in this field does not include international comparison and thus cannot account for cultural, economic and welfare state specific variations. Szydlik's model of intergenerational solidarity can be used to explain a variety of behavioural patterns associated with family solidarity while taking into account opportunity and need structures of parents as well as their children, family structures and cultural-contextual structures (Szydlik, 2008). Following a revision of Szydlik's theory, the model was extended to include the effect of other forms of family soldarity. The results confirm that young adults' needs mainly determine intergenerational cohabitation. Yet, the newly added feelings of intergenerational solidarity seem to play an important role as well.

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1 Introduction

> ***"However painful the process of leaving home, for parents and for children, the really frightening thing for both would be the prospect of the child never leaving home"***
>
> *Robert Neely Bellah*

In this quote, American sociologist Bellah points out two important insights on the spatial separation of adolescents and their parents. First, the event of moving out involves major life changes, as it alters the living situation and family relation of both, the young adult breaking away from the parental home and their parents. What is more, for the young adult, the beginning of this new life phase is not only associated with newly gained independence and responsibility, but consequently also with a great number of profound life choices: if and what to study, what to work, where to live and with whom to start a family, for instance. For the parents, the departing of their adult child goes hand in hand with regained freedom, but also marks the end of a period characterized by increased leverage on the child's life choices. Thus, the event of a young adult leaving the parental home entails certain ambivalence for both parties and may even be a somewhat painful process, as Bellah puts it. The young adult's emancipation of the parental home is cross-culturally deemed not only a naturally occuring life event, but also one parents are expected to guide their children towards. The consideration of filial independence as the final goal of parental education contributes to understanding Bellah's negative assessment of an adult child which has not left the parents' home.

But why go so far as to call this prospect "frightening"? In the light of the young adults's strive for independence, it becomes evident that staying with the parents might above all be a decision of necessity. To live autonomously, a young adult has to be able to sustain a household, which in turn requires financial stability. Therefore, not leaving the parental home is very likely to be indicative of considerable economic insecurities on the adult child's part. From this point of view, intergenerational cohabitation seems to be a compromise solution rather than an active life choice.

Yet, while being a neat ad-hoc explanation, this is only a fraction of the whole story. Thinking of obstacles for intergenerational cohabitation, various features, such as the geographical distance between parents and child and available living space, play a role. Other family members in the parental home are also likely to influence the young adult's recidency decision. Additionally, the parents' willingness to offer accommodation to an adult child cannot be taken for granted. Lastly, not only the younger generation can be in need of family support. With increasing age, the parents' likelihood of being in need of personal care or support in everyday tasks.

As is often the case, the picture becomes much more complex with further insight. This raises the question: Why do young adults stay with their parents during a life phase that is commonly characterized by independence? And how can the relevant factors be integrated into a theoretical framework? These are the main research questions addressed in this paper.

Depending on the adopted perspective, e.g. development or socialization, the definition of young adulthood comprises quite different age ranges (Levinson, 1986). However, following Erikson's stages of human development (Crain, 2010), most scholars consider individuals in their twenties and thirties as young adults. This definition includes three groups: individuals in their early to late twenties who have just begun taking on the responsibilities of adulthood, as well as young adults around the age of 30 who are thought to be in a process of restructuring their lives and individuals in their thirties who already began settling down. People aged 40 and older are generally perceived as being in the life phase of middle adulthood instead.

There are three main arguments for looking into this topic. First, researching the timing of life phases in general contributes to the understanding of demographic changes. Most prominently, the second demographic transition beginning in the 1960s was expressed by new patterns in household compositions, such as a rise in solitary living before family formation and a rise in unmarried cohabitation (McLanahan, 2004). It is thus not surprising that historically, research into the process of leaving home has its origins in life course sociology, which aims at integrating the

events of leaving and returning to the parents' home into a broader picture.
Secondly, as already mentioned, delays in leaving the parental home can to some degree be attributed to economic insecurities of the young adult, most noticeably unemployment. As a protwective measure, national welfare policies with varying coverage were established. Household compositions are closely related to basic features of a country's welfare state and its policy mechanisms. Economist Kaplan remarks that *"many public programs are designed to insure against the same types of idiosyncratic labour market shocks that living arrangements respond to"* (Kaplan, 2012, p.496). Keeping with the example of unemployment, social security benefits have the purpose to allow for a high level of employment by preventing unemployment or at least shortening its duration. Cohabitation of young adults and their parents therefore can be seen as an information source indicating which economic insecurities are not sufficiently met by existing welfare policies.
As a last point, home-leaving is closely associated with the timing of family formation. Over the last decades, an increasing number of "boomerang kids" returned to their parents' home after periods of independent living (Kaplan, 2012). In addition, the share of so called "stay-at-homes", adult children who have never left home, is on the rise (Ogg and Renaut, 2006). It can be assumed that these developments will in turn be followed by a delay in family formation. What is more, research into household compositions in Northern and Southern Europe found intergenerational cohabitation to be not only a major factor regarding the timing of child-bearing but also fertility rates (Dalla Zuanna, 2001). As this example illustrates, intergenerational cohabitation can have far-reaching implications. Understanding the mechanisms underlying cross-generational living therefore promises valuable insights.

To reveal those mechanisms, over the past decades, researchers from the fields of sociology, social psychology as well as economics, among others, examined why and under which circumstances adult children and their parents cohabitate. Early on, research in the field of gerontology gave rise to a focus on parents' health status and care dependencies in old age (for a history on research regarding intergenerational cohabitation see Lee and Dwyer, 1996). Since Aquilino's often cited paper in

1990, which confirmed the importance of the economic situation of adult children (Aquilino, 1990), researchers placed a strong emphasis on the role of their economic needs. In congruence with this and other influential early work, subsequent scholars with only few exceptions (see e.g. Ward et al., 1992) examined the phenomenon as a whole across all phases of life. They include a wide variety of living situations from young adults who just came full of age and their middle-aged parents sharing a household to pensioners living with their very frail parents of very old age. Such research designs often cannot acknowledge shifting dependencies which innately occur over the life course. In order to be able to make precise claims on processes underlying intergenerational cohabitation, it is crucial to gather information on the phenomenon occurring in the more independent stages of life. This means somewhere in between the natural life phases of adolescence and aging which are generally associated with cross-generational living. Therefore, a specification with regard to the sample of adult children and their parents seems worthwhile. Even when limiting the age range, because of the two generations involved, high demands are place on the dataset. It needs to include a variety of general information on the adult child and their parents as well as the accommodation in question and special features relating to the specific research question, e.g. the parents' health status.

Furthermore, this field of research would benefit from more specialised theoretical models. There are two reasons why this is difficult: the broad conceptualization of intergenerational cohabitation and the apparent intuitiveness of the phenomenon. Due to the wide age range of adult children and their parents included in most analyses, a great number of determinants are considered, making it difficult to integrate them into a synoptic theoretical model. When taking into account individuals of such diverse life phases, the life course approach is the only recognized concept bringing them all together. However, the approach is often criticised for lacking explanatory power and being mostly descriptive (Mayer, 2009).

As another aspect, the topic's perceived intuitiveness limited the scientific need for theoretical principles. In fact, many important factors, such as determinants referring to the child's economic situation, come to mind quite easy. However, as straight forward as the topic may seem, the moderate explanatory power of numerous papers

bears witness to its covert complexity (Kaplan, 2012). Life course scholar Szydlik is one the few researchers who contributed to the development of a theoretical basis, considering intergenerational cohabitation a form of functional family solidarity (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012).

As a final point, the influence of macro-factors makes it quite obvious that intergenerational cohabitation is a phenomenon most appropriately studied from a cross-national perspective. Hence, it is surprising that there is are only a handfull studies comparing cross-generational living across different countries (see e.g. Choi, 2003; Haurin et al., 1993). Instead, the lion's share of studies focuses on a single country.

The presented article aims at adressing this research gap while specifying the studied population. In detail, the paper analyses under which conditions young adults in their twenties and thirties co-reside with their parents. As a theoretical basis, Szydlik's theoretical model of intergenerational solidarity is adapted to the sample and extended to include the parent's social motivation. In order to account for the impact of national factors on intergenerational cohabitation, a comparison of residents of several European countries is attempted using data from the Survey of Health, Aging and Retirement in Europe (SHARE).

The structure of the paper is as follows: To start with, the life course approach as well as Szydlik's model are presented. The latter is then critically appraised with the aim of developing an outline of a theoretical model adapted to the study's focus. Next, the revised model is presented and hypotheses building on the newly integrated features are formulated. In the following chapter, the used dataset is presented, the process of sample selection is reported, the operationalization of the variables described and, lastly, the statistical methods used to assess the explanatory power of the model are explained. Thereupon, the results of descriptive as well as inferential statistics used to test the hypotheses are presented and the explanatory power of the revised model is discussed. A discussion, which reiterates the most important results relating to the abovementioned research question, and suggestions for future research, round off the paper.

2 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the overall research question why young adults and their parent cohabitate will be approached from a theoretical point of view. By this, the theoretical basis for the following empirical analyses is established. The chapter consists of four subchapters. To begin with, by using the life course approach, three important aspects are addressed. The approach aims at providing a conceptual framework regarding the timing, sequencing and occurrence of transitions ranging from early childhood to old age (e.g. Neugarten and Hagestad, 1976). In doing so, it allows for the integration of the phenomenon of intergenerational cohabitation into the life course. On this basis, the question whether intergenerational cohabitation is to be generally considered a *"more or less involuntary living situation"* (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012, p.450) can be examined. Scholars widely disagree on this topic which is reflected in the assumptions on which their models are based. A majority presupposes that young adults co-reside solely out of necessity with their parents, see e.g. (Le Blanc and Wolff, 2006; Kaplan, 2012; Isengard and Szydlik, 2012). On the parents' side, opinions strongly diverge. Some scholars expect that *"parents prefer to live with their children and are willing to offer them an income transfer ("bribe") if children decide to live with them"* (Manacorda and Moretti, 2006, p. 804), or encourage cohabitation in order to exert control over their child and feel needed (Burn and Szoeke, 2016). Yet, others assume that parents want to see their child move on with their own lives and even fear a loss of independence when getting older (de Jong Gierveld and Dykstra, 2002). These considerations are of vital importance in order to shed light on the complex mechanisms leading to a shift of preferences regarding cohabitation over the life course.

Finally, the life course approach is useful when discussing to what extent the cross-cultural commonality of pathways can be assumed. Most studies account for cultural differences regarding the aversion or preference for cohabitation (see e.g. Manacorda and Moretti, 2006), the underlying assumption being that the same dynamics apply. However, a substantiation of this claim appears necessary. For all these reasons, before diving into the numerous factors promoting and supressing intergenerational

cohabitation, it seems worthwhile to explore the diversity of general preferences regarding cohabitation across different life phases and cultures.

The second subchapter presents relevant factors contributing to or inhibiting intergenerational cohabitation. This is done using the approach developed by sociologist and life course scholar Szydlik (Szydlik, 2008). His theoretical model of intergenerational solidarity integrates numerous features, both derived from the life course perspective as well as other approaches, and provides a general framework. Furthermore, determinants are not only differentiated by parent and child as well as need and opportunity, but also along the micro-, meso- and macro-level. As a result, it is possible to get a grasp of the interplay of causal connections across different levels.

However, as I will argue later on, the model does not provide a complete picture since it largely excludes the reciprocal effects of intergenerational solidarity. Offering accommodation to a relative in need displays a sense of togetherness and social cohesion. Thus, intergenerational cohabitation can be considered a form of family solidarity (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012). Exploring the implications of cross-generational living as an act of solidarity enables a fine grained analysis of the circumstances under which individuals provide support to one another. From this point of view, an extension of Szydlik's model seems necessary. In the third subchapter, I aim at formulating the first outline of such a revised model which both takes into account the determinants indicated by Szydlik as well as the solidary nature of intergenerational cohabitation.

The last subchapter presents the explanatory model which was derived from the previous revision of Szydlik's model and will be tested in the empirical analyses. This section also includes a set of hypotheses emphasizing the added features and the interplay of indicators presented.

2.1 Life course approach

In the following subchapter, an outline of the life course approach is presented. In the 1980s, the approach was developed to distinguish characteristics of life courses varying within and between cultural as well as historical backgrounds (Mayer, 2009,

p. 415). Most prominently, Kohli, among other scholars, revealed how modern life courses are geared towards employment as a consequence of economic developments (Kohli, 1985). For the purpose of this paper, three key facets of the approach will be discussed: fairly universal pathways which life courses follow, their occurrence as the consequence of available resources and, lastly, societal norms which lead to the culture-specific variation of life courses.

(a) Common pathways

According to sociologists Giele and Elder, who contributed significantly to the development of the approach, the term life course refers to a *"sequence of socially defined events and roles that the individual enacts over time"* (Giele and Elder, 1998, p.22). Both, the concept of role trajectories and transitions are pivotal to the understanding of life course dynamics (Elder, 1985). While role trajectories refer to the period during which an individual embodies a certain role, e.g. a spouse in a marriage or parent to a child, role transitions mark the beginning or end of such periods of time, for example the birth of a child or a divorce.

Leaving the parental home is referred to as one of the major transitions defining adulthood, alongside leaving educational systems, starting a career and gaining financial independence (Furstenberg et al., 2004). In general, a young adult's spatial separation from the parental home is an essential part of the natural desire for autonomy which emerges during adolescence. Developmental psychologist Majorano states:

> *"Adolescents are involved in the redefinition of their relationships with parents and peers, moving away from their dependence on the family"* (Majorano et al., 2015, p.346).

Moreover, the decision to live independently is often closely related to other life events, such as moving in with a partner or starting higher education (Billari and de Valk, 2007, p. 185). In their life course analysis, Bengston and Silverstein revealed a relatively common pathway of affective solidarity between parents and their children (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997). Early

on, young adults are strongly dependent on their parents as providers of emotional support and financial resources. According to the authors, after reaching adulthood, however, emotional closeness declines. Over time, as young adults take on emerging family and work roles, concerns shift further and further away from their parents toward family formation and career (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997). Empirically, this translates to mainly unemployed, single adult children living with their middle-aged parents (Lee and Dwyer, 1996). In turn, parental frailty and care dependency due to very old age force children in supportive intergenerational roles (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997, p.435). Consequently, later in life, children are once again more likely to co-reside with their infirm parents of high age (Lee and Dwyer, 1996, p.57). From the parents' point of view, besides support from their adult children the contact itself is of great value as well.

> *"One unique risk factor relating to older adults' well-being is loneliness— one of the most painful of all human experiences, and a pervasive one among the elderly"* (Chen and Feeley, 2014, p.2).

With increasing age, social networks shrink and the frequency of social interactions decreases (Huxhold et al., 2013). These changes are mainly attributed to natural life course developments, such as the incremental loss of social function (Weiss, 2005). Socioemotional selectivity theory assumes that, because of increasing awareness of the limitedness of their remaining life time, older adults give more and more attention to what they perceive as meaningful social interactions (Carstensen et al., 1999). By implication, family ties are generally thought to gain further importance in later adult life.

This prevalent succession of role transitions from adolescence to old age is commonly referred to as a family life cycle (Stapleton, 1980). For example, parenthood is very likely to be preceded by marriage. Throughout different western cultures, children's rhymes about the succession of life events, referred to by Billari as sequencing norms (Liefbroer and Billari, 2010), exist. One popular example is the English playground song *"Frank and Nikki sitting in a tree,*

K-I-S-S-I-N-G. First comes love, then comes marriage, then comes the baby in the baby carriage." By aggregating such highly frequented pathways and universal structures can be revealed.

(b) The influence of available resources

The life course approach assumes that not mere role succession structures life courses. Rather, the interconnection of social roles over time creates common "routes" leading through different life phases. Macmillan and Copher (Macmillan and Copher, 2005) link this understanding of life course structure to Sewell's general theory of social structure (Sewell, 1992). In his theory, Sewell builds on Gidden's idea of duality of structure ((Giddens, 1986)) as well as Bourdieu' theory of habitus (Bourdieu, 1983). Sewell argues that social structures are sets of rules constituted by resources enabling and restraining social action while at the same time relying on reproduction through social action. As a result, only those arrangements sustained by sufficient resources will be further reproduced and continue to be of social significance. To better illustrate: an aesthetic norm exceeding the financial capabilities of the majority of society is very unlikely to prevail. Hence, Sewell perceives social structure as a dynamic concept which is continuously shaped by social processes (Sewell, 1992, p.27). Macmillan and Copher transfer this logic to the life course structure. The authors argue that both, pathways and their socially prescribed templates, develop in congruence to resources available to individuals during their various transitions (p.860). On the one hand, because of strong similarities regarding the amount of various forms of capital at a certain points in life, relatively universal pathway schemata emerge. For example, young adults' economic capital is often limited, which then restrains their opportunities. In turn,

> *"only role configurations and pathway schema that are buttressed by resources will be validated and reproduced and will have cultural resonance and prominence within a given society"* (Macmillan and Copher, 2005, p.860).

However, this insight does not translate into life course homogeneity (see e.g. George, 1993), as resources of individuals in a certain life phases also have the potential to differ substantially. Thus, the concept of heterogeneity of life courses is an integral part of the life course approach, highlighting the importance of understanding the interplay of cultural templates and access to resources.

(c) Norms

As Neugarten and Hagestad illustrate

> *"Individuals develop a mental map of the life cycle, they anticipate that certain events occur at certain times [... and] internalize [...] norms that tell them if their behaviour in various areas of life is age-appropriate"* (Neugarten and Hagestad, 1976, p.35).

These norms regarding the appropriate timing of role transitions make it possible for an individual to evaluate their advancements by comparing themselves to peers of similar age. For example, a man in his late forties might feel that he is running late leaving his parent's home while peers have already started families. Accordingly, upper age limits, sometimes referred to as age deadlines (Settersten and Hagestad, 1996), are of great importance when it comes to the transition out of the parental home (Billari and de Valk, 2007). From a historical point of view, due to a longer educational period, young adults leave their parents' home at a later point in time than previously, thus prolonging their final transition to financial independence and gradually raising the upper age limit of spatial autonomy (Mitchell et al., 2000, p.198).

In his survey research, sociologist Settersten showed that not only roughly 80% of young adults perceive such an upper age deadline, but that there seems to be a strong consensus about the timing as well (Settersten, 1998). However, the latter is only true for individuals from similar cultural backgrounds, see e.g. (Billari and de Valk, 2007; Goldscheider and DaVanzo, 1989). A study of young adults in Canada revealed that especially the strength of individual versus familial cultural values has a decisive impact on the timing of nest clear-

ing (Mitchell, 2004). To be more specific, young adults with a British cultural identity left the parental home relatively early to autonomous life, while those with an Indo background continued to live at home, later on transitioning commonly to marriage and cohabitation with their partner, thereby shortening or bypassing the first phase of independent living.

While being criticised for its mainly descriptive nature and the lack of a synoptic theoretical foundation (Mayer, 2009, p.423), the life course perspective as a set of individual heuristics has proven rather useful at this point. As has been presented in detail, young adults can be assumed to generally value their privacy, while the parents' motives are more diverse. However, this does not mean that all young adults who live with their parents do so because of their economic needs or their parents' health and social needs. Nevertheless, this finding seems to be robust across different cultural backgrounds as they appear to go hand in hand with a similar succession of major life events, e.g. marriage before family formation. Yet, cultural membership is associated with variation in respect to age deadlines and role trajectories. Put concisely: while the socially appropriate age to leave the parental home varies across young adults with different cultural identities, pathways show strong similarities and, as a result, allow cross-cultural comparison.

2.2 Szydlik's theoretical model of intergenerational solidarity

In 2008, sociologist and life course researcher Szydlik proposed his theoretical model of intergenerational solidarity (Szydlik, 2008). As its name suggests, the model applies to various types of family solidarity, including support, contact frequency as well as cohabitation. It integrates and organizes a wide range of features, derived from the life course perspective as well as other approaches. According to the model, at the micro-level, solidarity between adult children and their parents is influenced by their respective needs and opportunities. These, in turn, are affected by the family structure at the meso-level. Lastly, cultural-contextual factors at the macro-level

have an impact on all, family structure as well as potential needs and opportunities. It should be noted, that both, meso- and macro-level determinants exert their influence not directly, but by affecting the respective underlying levels. Szydlik's graphical representation of these associations can be found in the appendix, subsection A.1, on page 70.

Together with colleague Isengard, Szydlik applied the model first to intergenerational cohabitation in in 2001 (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012). Their paper provides a comprehensive overview of relevant impact factors applying to various kinds of cohabitation, from young adults who just graduated and have not yet left the parental home, to adults in the second half of life living with their frail parents of very old age. For the purpose of this analysis, using the implications provided by the preceded life course analysis, the model will be narrowed down to parameters relevant for young adults and their middle-aged parents. In the following, relating to the three aforementioned levels, empirical evidence is presented. An overview of the characteristics can be found on page 14.

	Needs	Opportunities	Family structure	Cultural-contextual factors
Children	Current employment status • In education (Mitchell, 2004) • In transition (South & Lei, 2015) • Unemployment (Billari et al., 2002) • Precarious employment (Billari et al., 2002) Level of education (Sandberg-Thoma, Snyder & Yang, 2015) Perceived job insecurity (Becker et al., 2003) Financial situation (Payne & Copp, 2013,	Sufficient living space at parents' place (Szydlik & Isengard, 2012) Parents' home ownership (Szydlik & Isengard, 2012, Gierveld, Dykstra & Schenk, 2012) Equipment of parental accommodation (Gierveld, Dykstra & Schenk, 2012)	Relationship status (Silverstein & Bengston, 1997) Parenthood (Silverstein & Bengston, 1997)	Overall economic situation (Kaplan, 2012) Affordability of independent living (Le Blanc & Wolff, 2006, South & Lei, 2015 Haurin, Hendershott & Dongwook, 1993) Social & family support policies (Szydlik, Brandt & Haberkern, 2009, Szydlik & Isengard, 2012) Culture-specific age deadlines (Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1989, Szydlik & Isengard, 2012)
Parents	Financial situation (South & Lei, 2015, LeBlanc & Wolff, 2006, Mitchell, 2004) Health and care needs (Choi, 2003, Szydlik & Isengard, 2012) Level of education (Mitchell, Whister & Gee, 2000)		Relationship status (Carstensen, Isaacowitz & Chalres, 1999 Lee & Dwyer, 1996) Migrational background (Baykara-Krumme, 2008) Coresidence with competing family members (South & Lei, 2015, Szydlik & Isengard, 2012)	

Table 1: Overview of explanatory factors based on Szydlik's theoretical model of intergenerational cohabitation

(a) Micro-level: Opportunities and Needs

Starting at the micro-level, for coresidence to be practical in the first place, several opportunities can be regarded essential requirements. For instance, without sufficient living space, family members are unlikely to move in and co-reside for a longer period of time.

As the metaphorically named *feathered nest hypothesis* states, nontransferable parental resources which contribute to higher residential qualities, such as home ownership, available living space and the equipment of their accommodation (de Jong Gierveld et al., 1991), contribute to the perceived attractiveness of the parental home, thereby increasing the likelihood of young adults to live there (Avery et al., 1992). Empirical evidence suggests, too, that parents are much more likely to take in their children than vice versa. According to Dunn and Philipps, in more than 80% of co-residence arrangements parents are the providers of accommodation (Dunn and Phillips, 1998, p.8). Also, this is due to the fact that young adults frequently relocate on account of their education or job. Moreover, intergenerational cohabitation is often used by young adults as a safety net (Mitchell et al., 2000, p.217). This is why, in the following elaborations, parents are assumed to be the main providers of residence.

While opportunities reflect resources available for potential support within the family, needs in turn refer to the individual family member's demand for solidarity. Considering the life phase which is the focus of this study, the younger generation is either in educational training, seeking work, started working or taking care of their young family. Henceforth, the effects of a young adult's education, transition to employment, (un-)employment and income as well as job insecurity on the decision to cohabitate with the parents are discussed.

To begin with, a young adult's level of education is related to his or her probability of cross-generational living in two ways. First, a young adult currently in education is probably either not working at all or working only part-time. Subsequently, it might prove difficult or even impossible to accumulate the monetary resources needed to set up and maintain an independent household.

Not surprisingly, empirical studies indicate that cohabitation rates are particularly high during a young adult's education (see e.g. Mitchell, 2004). After having completed education, young adults commonly transition to employment and strive for residential independence. As young adults with a low educational level on average have a rather short educational period, they start working at a young age and leave home early (Sandberg-Thoma et al., 2015). In contrast, highly educated young adults have longer periods of education, thus leaving their parents' home at a later point in life. However, less educated young adults are more likely to return to the parental home than their higher educated peers (ibid). This might be due to the fact that the latter achieve higher earnings and are therefore not as vulnerable to unpredicted events, such as job loss.

Having said that, the probability of returning to the parental home when transitioning between life phases is especially high (South and Lei, 2015, p. 866). According to South and Lei, this is due to the fact that most transitions are associated with periods of uncertainty and financial insecurity. For example, in Great Britain, young adults who started working after college returned back to their parents' home more often than their permanently employed peers or peers who continued education (Stone et al., 2014).

Compared to young adults living independently, those cohabitating with their parents are generally more likely to be unemployed and have lower average earnings (Payne and Copp, 2013). As mentioned previously, setting up and maintaining independent living requires a certain amount of financial resources. Hence, economic independence is the key driver of young adult's residential autonomy (Furstenberg et al.). Consequently, young adults, who are unemployed or in precarious employment, often opt for staying with their parents (Aassve et al., 2002). Similarly, low income and a poor financial situation are commonly associated with a return to the family home (Mitchell, 2004; South and Lei, 2015; Choi, 2003). Furthermore, young adults who evaluate their employment prospects as being poor to a high proportion decide to give up residential independence (Kaplan, 2012). According to Fogli (Fogli,

2000), the fact that leaving the parental home is first of all considered a final decision incites insecure young adults to delay residential independence as well. As gerontologist Choi summarizes *"it appears that some adult children who continued to live in their parents' households might never have gained economic or other necessary momentum to leave their nests in the first place"* (Choi, 2003, p.385).
However, young adults, who themselves do not have the resources to afford independent living, might receive monetary support from their parents. As can be expected, such aids strongly decrease the likelihood of moving back in with the parents in case of unemployment and can be considered an alternative option to cohabitation (Mitchell et al., 2004).

Although cohabitation obviously has numerous merits, young adults are not always keen on cohabitating with their parents. As discussed in the previous chapter, young adults are assumed to highly value residential independence. Consequently, their need for privacy might translate into disinterest or even aversion towards intergenerational coresidence. According to Whittington and Peters, this preference can be understood as a *"negative"* need in contrast to previously mentioned *"positive"* needs concerning shared residency (Whittington and Peters, 1996). In a nutshell, a poor financial situation leaves a young adult in strong need for cohabitation while a good financial standing has the opposite effect. The authors remark that young adults' needs for privacy are of prime importance with regard to a possible co-residency decision. Examining the desire for residential independence, Dunn and Phillips hypothesized that a higher income elicits a higher demand for privacy by raising the young adult's aspirational level (Dunn and Phillips, 1998, p.39). The same logic applies for a young adult's level of education.

While young adults are at the very beginning of their career path, their parents are in the final stages of their career or have recently entered retirement. In the following section, their health and care needs, the influence of their level

of education, financial standing and migrational background will be discussed. As elaborated in the chapter on the life course approach, parents of young adults are in a stage of life during health and care needs gain more and more importance for everyday life. Due to this study's focus on young adults and their parents, intensive care needs resulting from very old age are excluded. Nevertheless, the health status of parents and their emerging needs regarding everyday support and care are of relevance (Ward et al., 1992; Isengard and Szydlik, 2012; Choi, 2003). Besides those needs, similar to young adults, privacy is also a relevant issue when considering the parents. In particular, *"more highly educated parents may expect and desire adult children's independence, have strong orientations for their own self-development in mid-life, and possess the resources to assist independent living"* (Mitchell et al., 2000, p.202). In conformity with this presumption, various studies have shown that high parental educational achievements are linked to lower rates of cross-generational cohabitation (Aquilino, 1990; White, 1994; South and Lei, 2015; Mitchell et al., 2000).

In contrast, the impact of parental financial standing is far more ambiguous. While some studies find that high income and wealth contribute to young adults' early residential independence (see e.g. South and Lei, 2015), others find the opposite is true (see e.g. Goldscheider and DaVanzo, 1989; Le Blanc and Wolff, 2006) and yet others that there is no significant influence at all (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012). One possible explanation for these contradictory results is that parental resources are not per se relevant, but the young adult's access to these resources (Mitchell, 2004, p.116). Interestingly, when low income is found to be linked to higher rates of intergenerational cohabitation, it is not attributed to potential financial needs on the parents' side but rather the parents' inability to allow for residential independence of their children (see e.g. South and Lei, 2015). Nevertheless, scholars agree that parental earnings are only of subordinate interest compared to their children's financial situation. According to calculations by Wolff and LeBlanc, the impact of the latter is approximately nine times stronger (Le Blanc and Wolff, 2006,

p.61). As a final factor, a person's migrational background is thought to be attributed with strong family cohesion stemming religious and cultural beliefs as well as further economic needs, resulting in the migrants' higher prevalence of shared residency (Baykara-Krumme, 2008).

Having addressed relevant parental as well filial needs, the question whether both are of equal importance in the decision for joint residency comes to mind. The prevailing scientific opinion is that throughout all life phases the circumstances and potential needs of the younger generation determine whether intergenerational cohabitation occurs (Ward et al., 1992, p.220). The rationale is that parental care extends beyond adolescence and parents are less aversive towards living together than their adult children. As both Aquilino as well as Ward and colleagues discovered in the 1990s, even when analyzing aging parents older than 65, children's needs were still significantly more important than the parents' (Aquilino, 1990; Ward et al., 1992).

(b) Meso-level: Family structure

Apart from all these factors at the micro-level, features of the family structure also indirectly affect the probability of intergenerational cohabitation. The factors presented consist of the number of the young adult's children, the current relationship status of both, young adults and their parents, as well as the parents' household composition.

Looking back to the life course approach, a young adult who has already started family formation is assumed to have an increased need for privacy and thus a strong desire for residential independence (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997). To a moderate extent this also applies to young adults who have entered a relationship (ibid). As sons on average are older when entering marriage, it is not surprising that they stay longer with their parents than daughters (Billari et al., 2001). Contrarily to their adult children, parents often experience the opposite desire: companionship. When dealing with loneliness and social exclusion, parents are likely to seek closer contact to their adult children

(Carstensen et al., 1999). Previous research has shown that, among others, taking on the role as caregiver for a child boosts parents' wellbeing (de Jong Gierveld et al., 2012). According to Mitchell, mothers report being in an elevated, positive state of mind (Mitchell, 1998) and enjoying the company (Mitchell et al., 2004) when taking care of their co-resident adult children.

Apart from the common loneliness in later life aforementioned, the death of a partner can lead to an increased need for emotional support and social interactions. It is therefore reasonable to assume that widowed parents are more likely to live with their children (Lee and Dwyer, 1996). As argued in the chapter on the life course approach, with role transitions to adulthood and the pursuit of family formation, young adults' need for residential independence steadily increases, being in a (marital) relationship or being a parent greatly reduces the probability of living in the parental home. Moreover, when competing family members, such as siblings or grandparents, live with the parents, they are likely to occupy potential housing space, thereby decreasing the likelihood of cohabitation (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012, p. 467).

(c) Macro-level: Cultural-contextual factors

Lastly, intergenerational cohabitation is also indirectly influenced by cultural-contextual factors. These*"societal conditions within which intergenerational relations develop"* (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012, p.453) include inter alia numerous conditions of the economy, labor market, welfare state arrangements and cultural conditions. In the following section, the effect of the overall economic situation, affordability of independent living, the public position towards family support and culture-specific age deadlines are discussed.

Research on the effects of the 2007 to 2009 Great recession has shown that intergenerational cohabitation in its function as a security net is especially valuable in times of economic crises (South and Lei, 2015). During this period, young adults' household formation was delayed and a higher share returned to their parents' homes. Scholars attribute these changes to the increased difficulty of finding a job, allowing young adults to provide for themselves (Payne and Copp, 2013). Not surprisingly, regarding the overall economic situation,

characteristics of the labour market are of great importance. Economist Kaplan even goes so far as to say that cross-national differences concerning intergenerational living can be largely traced back to national unemployment rates (Kaplan, 2012, p.54). He argues that this is because the unemployment rate to a large degree determines young adults' financial resources and parental incomes alike, making shared living more or less attractive for both parties.

Whether a young adult is financially capable to establish a new household is determined by the cost of living independently as well as their ability to cover those expenses. It is generally assumed that, as a consequence of greater perceived benefits of shared living, high living expenses delay residential independence and lead to a larger share of young adults returning to the parental home at some time (South and Lei, 2015, p.869). Since accommodation costs account for the majority of overall household expenses, they are the key factor determining the feasibility of independent living (Le Blanc and Wolff, 2006, p.57). According to Haurin, to estimate those expenses, one requires knowledge about the specific housing costs in the young adults' residential area (Haurin et al., 1993, p.284). As those vary geographically, with more centrally located and metropolitan areas being especially expensive, regionally diverse rates of intergenerational cohabitation emerge (Ermisch, 1999; Haurin et al., 1993). In their analysis, Buck and Scott (Buck and Scott, 1993) were able to demonstrate that in the United States, average regional housing costs are directly linked to the frequency of household formation among young adults as well as the probability of a failed launch.

Aside from the overall economic situation and the affordability of independent living, the welfare state's position towards family support also has a major influence on cohabitation needs. According to Brandt (Brandt et al., 2009, p.2), policies displacing family services, referred to as "crowding out", can be distinguished from measures stimulating family support ("crowding in"). Szydlik and Isengard explain that

> *"a retrenchment of the welfare state is placing increasing demands on relatives. Elderly parents and adult children thus find themselves*

> *having to take responsibility more frequently for one another"* (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012, p. 469).

In turn, welfare state expansion is denoted a moral risk which undermines family solidarity (Brandt et al., 2009, p.3). A prominent historical example for this phenomenon is the introduction of public pensions and the subsequent decline of elderly care provided by family members.

In addition to those welfare state characteristics and economic factors, culture-specific norms, as can be deduced from the previously elaborated life course approach also apply. These include, for instance, the perceived appropriate age for a young adult to gain residential independence (Goldscheider and DaVanzo, 1989; Isengard and Szydlik, 2012).

2.3 Development of a revised model

This subchapter aims at developing a first outline of a revised theoretical model explaining why young adults and their middle-aged parents choose to cohabitate. For this endeavour, Szydlik's model presented in the previous chapter is critically appraised and partially modified. To begin with, Szydlik's model allows for the integration of a great variety of influence factors and, as the author has demonstrated (Szydlik, 2008), is so flexible that it can be successfully applied to various forms of family solidarity. Moreover, the differentiation of causal mechanisms along the micro-, meso- and macro-level facilitates the conception of their heterogeneity and analysis of cross-level interplay. Yet, I will argue for two modifications, viz. the reduction of dimensions and an amendment regarding the influence of other forms of family solidarity.

First, the stepwise development of the model convinced me that it can be boiled down to the two core dimensions of need and opportunity. Both, family structure and cultural-contextual structures exert their effect either via the need or the opportunity channel and can thus be considered subordinate factors. For instance, welfare state policies, which lead to crowding out, affect residency decisions by decreasing

the young adults' as well as their parent's need for shared living. Just the same, other siblings living in the parents' home decrease the likelihood of intergenerational cohabitation by limiting space and thus restricting the opportunity for siblings to move in. Many other factors which Szydlik also attributed to family structure are reassigned to the need dimension in this revised model. These include, for example, the parents' relationship status and a young adult's number of children. With regard to the former, a single parent's desire for companionship is an example of a positive need for cohabitation. On the contrary, a young adult who has already started his/her own family is assumed to have a heightened need for privacy which translates into aversion towards coresidence. To summarize, the revised theoretical model of intergenerational cohabitation at this point consists of two dimensions: need and opportunity.

In the subsequent section, social motivation as a third dimension is introduced to the revised model. The need for this dimension will be emphasized and the added factors depicted. Szydlik's model to a large extent neglects the influence of other forms of solidarity on intergenerational living. To retrace why this is an issue, one first has to understand the concept of intergenerational solidarity in general and then consider the implications of cross-generational living as a form of family solidarity. If either parents or adult children take in a relative in need, this implies a feeling of solidarity towards the other. This behaviour is in its motivations similar to young adults and parents living separately who, for example, give support with daily chores, assume responsibility for care or provide financial assistance (Brandt et al., 2009). According to Szydlik, intergenerational solidarity can be understood as a sense of connectedness one shares with family members of other generations; it becomes apparent through the provision of time, care and financial resources (Szydlik, 2000, p.37). In their well-known article, family sociologists Bengston and Roberts argued for the differentiation of distinct dimensions of the concept (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991). One widely recognized aspect is the support and exchange of resources, referred to as functional solidarity (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997; Goerres and Tepe, 2010). For reasons yet unknown, women are more involved in activities

of functional solidarity than men (Dwyer and Coward, 1992). Szydlik and Isengard identify cross-generational living as a manifestation of functional solidarity (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012, p.450). There are two reasons why this insight contributes to a critical revision of Szydlik's model: the interconnectedness of different forms of solidarity and, again, the life course perspective.

Concerning the first, there is one more relevant dimension of family solidarity to mention: normative solidarity, referring to societal expectations regarding the provision of solidarity when needed (see e.g. Goerres and Tepe, 2010). These two dimensions, functional and normative family solidarity, are theoretically as well as empirically closely linked (Silverstein et al., 2006). This seems logical, as, for example, the intrinsic value to always take care of one's child is very likely to influence the decision to offer one's home to an adult child in need. Contrarily, parents who hold close ties to their adult children and support them in every-day life are assumed to have a stronger perception of normative solidarity towards their children. However, as sociologists Silverstein, Gans and Yang point out, behavioural values arising from normative solidarity are only *"predisposing rather than deterministic features of families, and as such, are necessary but not sufficient as explanations of behaviour"* (Silverstein et al., 2006, p.1071). On the macro scale, there is an association between normative solidarity and the concept of cultural familialism. Also referred to as the family mode of social organization (Thornton et al., 1994), strong normative solidarity is observed in cultural backgrounds where familialistic values have a high standing (Klein, 2001). As Szydlik's model accounts for culture-specific values, normative solidarity on the macro-level is included in his model at this point. However, familialistic values only vary to a medium degree based on cultural membership, but are strongly influenced by numerous other factors, such as gender, income and age (Parrott and Bengtson, 1999). Consequently, I argue for the inclusion of solidarity on the individual level.

My second argument for the importance of family solidarity stems from the life course approach. Early scholars, such as Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1983) and Coleman

(Coleman, 1988), were already of the opinion that by fostering social relationships feelings of reciprocity and even obligation are generated. Put into concrete terms, this means that functional solidarity at an early point in time has the power to generate normative solidarity later on. From the life course perspective, it is evident that potential intergenerational paybacks are of crucial importance to the provision and demand for functional solidarity. After all, estimates suggest that approximately 50% of middle-aged women will later on care for their frail parents (Sorenson and Zarit, 1996). Moreover, prolonged lifespans, later transitions into adulthood and an increasing need for care and support in very old age extend life phases characterized by support and care needs. In foresight, middle-aged parents who expect to become dependent on their adult children later on might feel an elevated sense of obligation and also be more likely to provide refuge for their children when needed. This train of thought is conceptually very similar to Antonucci's support bank model (Antonucci, 1990). This metaphor also illustrates the accumulation and consumption of familial capital over the life course. Its central notion is that, by investing affection, financial resources and time, parents deposit capital in a virtual bank. When being in need later on, parents then can access this dormant resources which itself have become manifest as a sense of filial responsibility in their children (Silverstein et al., 2002). Thus, solidary actions in the past, as well as expected future needs should also be included in the model.

To recapitulate: the proposed model consists of the three dimensions need, opportunity and social motivation. In brief, the first dimension includes economic, social and health needs. In line with economist Whittington (see page X), not only the positive need for companionship but also the negative need for privacy are considered. Next, for cross-generational living to be possible, certain opportunities have to be provided. In contrast to the preceding dimension, it refers not to the possible demand for intergenerational cohabitation but the feasibility of the decision to co-reside. The last dimension, social motivation, includes family solidarity into the model.

2.4 Explanatory model and hypotheses

In this subchapter, based on the previous theoretical elaborations, the employed explanatory model is formulated and hypotheses regarding the added features of the model are presented. As aforementioned, the proposed model consists of three dimensions: need, opportunity and social motivation. Table 2 on page 27 gives an overview of the relevant micro- and macro-level factors and their effects on the three dimensions.

For both, young adults and their parents, various needs are of significance. Moving on to the second dimension, opportunity, parents are the influential party. Since this paper's focus mainly lies on the impact of needs and solidarity on the prevalence of intergenerational solidarity, the opportunity dimension is limited to the most important factors. Consequently, aspects of the young adults' perceived attractiveness of the parental home are not explored. As a final point, young adults are assumed to be the main demanders in this scenario. Hence, features of solidarity on the part of the parents are of vital importance. Naturally, the motivation to support a family member can be provoked by their immediate need.

Starting with young adults, those who are still in education or seeking work are assumed to be very likely to need support due to their financial situation. On the contrary, young adults who are employed, have started a family or are highly educated, probably attribute a higher value to their privacy and thus prefer residential independence. Additionally, parents are thought to be less likely to offer co-residence to a financially stable child. Naturally, the young adults' separation process continues over the years, making it less and less likely for older children to co-reside with their parents. Lastly, daugthers are thought to be more likely than sons to return to the parental home when they need support.

Micro-level factors	Need	Opportunity	Social motivation
Young adults			
Occupational status			
In education	+		+
Employed	-		-
Unemployed	+		+
Level of education (high)	-		-
Stage of family formation			
In a (marital) relationship	-		-
Being a Parent	-		
Age (older)	-		
Gender (female)			+
Parents			
Household composition			
Partner	-		
Underage children		-	
Young adults		-	+
Grandparents		-	+
Resources			
Non-transferable (wealthy)		+	
Transferable (wealthy)	-		
Future need for financial support	+		+
Support for other family members			
Young adults			+
Grandparents			+
Level of education (high)	-		
Health status (poor)	+		
Age (older)	+		+
Migrational background	+		+
Macro-level factors			
Family expenditures (high)	-	-	-
Overall economic situation (good)	-		
Old age security (high)	-		-
Living expenses (cheap)	-	-	

Table 2: Classification of influence factors according to the revised model

As the parental home can be considered the spatial basis for intergenerational cohabitation, characteristics of this household should be considered. First, parents who have no partner are believed to especially value their children's company and thus are more often found to cohabitate with them. Other cohabitating family members can obviously restrict living space but they can also be regarded as indication of the parents' readiness to take in relatives. Starting with underaged children, their presence is assumed to limit available living space, while not being an indicator for parental familialistic values as cohabitation at this point is natural. Thus, young adults whose parents live together with younger children are presumed to be less likely to cohabitate with their parents than peers whose parents do not co-reside with younger children (Hypothesis 1a). In turn, cohabitation with grandparents indicates family cohesion as well as normative values of intergenerational solidarity. Therefore, young adults whose parents co-reside with grandparents should be at least as likely to cohabitate with their parents as their peers with independent grandparents (Hypothesis 1b).
Moving on to adult children, South and Lei state:

> *"The presence of adult siblings [. . .] likely signals a higher level of familialism and parents' willingness to co-reside with an adult child, as well as increased competition for parental resources"* (South and Lei, 2015, p.867).

Hence, a third hypothesis can be deduced: Young adults whose parents cohabitate with another young adult are more likely to live in the parental home than their peers whose adult siblings live independently (Hypothesis 1c).

Concerning parental resources, nontransferable resources are presumed to increase the attractiveness of living in the parental home for young adults. In contrast, transferable resources, mainly income and assets, facilitate monetary support, consequently decreasing the need for further support. Yet, apart from resources that parents possess at the moment, their future situation play an essential role as well. More specifically, if parents are at risk of being ubale to provide for themselves in old age, they are believed to invest above average in filial companionship. Thus,

their children are hypothesized to more often live with them compared to their peers whose parents do not need their children's support (Hypothesis 2).

Following a similar logic as with other cohabitating family members, parents who provide regular support are anticipated to have a strong sense of family cohesion and normative intergenerational solidarity. Hence, it is hypothesized that young adults whose parents support grandparents are more likely to cohabitate than their peers whose parents do not support the older generation (Hypothesis 3a). More so, this causal connection can be presumed to be even stronger for parents who support other adult children as such behaviour is not only indicative of general familialistic values but feelings of parental responsibility for their adult children. Consequently, the next hypothesis proposes that young adults whose parents provide support to their other adult children are more likely to cohabitate than those whose parents do not support their adult offspring (Hypothesis 3b).

Moving on to the parents' sociodemografic characteristics, a high educational level is thought to correspond with a stronger need for residential separation. Naturally, parents become more likely to be dependent on their children with increasing age. According to socioemotional selectivity theory, parents also consider familial bonds more and more important with increasing age. Hence, it is assumed that their social motivation strengthens over time as well. Sine the parents in this sample are fairly young, poor health is assumed to play a minor but significant role regarding their need for intergenerational cohabitation. With regard to potential needs as well as strong social motivation, a migrational background is thought to be linked to a higher prevalence of intergenerational living.

To account for structural determinants, several macro-economic factors will be included into the model. To begin with, some features are assumed to relieve young adults' need for family solidarity in general and for intergenerational cohabitation specifically. To be more precise, high family expenditures and a good overall economic situation are expected to be negatively associated with the likelihood of in-

tergenerational cohabitation (Hypothesis 4). Contributing to this effect, generous welfare state policies are commonly linked to a decline in family solidarity and financially sound parents are more likely to support their children monetarily rather than offering cohabitation. As an indicator of the general economic situation, the unemployment rate was chosen, as

> *"Macroeconomic characteristics having an impact on the leaving home pattern at a country level relate mainly to the unemployment rate. The overall level of unemployment impacts the incomes as well as the accumulation of wealth of the parents, whereas the unemployment rate among the young workers affects the resources of the children negatively."* (Kaplan, 2012, p.54).

Thinking back to the parents' future financial situation, it was assumed that parents who might need support at some point, are especially likely to offer accommodation to their adult children. On a larger scale, the coverage of pension benefits is closely associated to pension entitlement supplementing earning-related pensions. Analogous to the aforementioned hypothesis, it can be therefore argued that high expenditures for old age security decreases the parental need for support and in turn their motivation to accomodate their adult children (Hypothesis 5).

Equally, the affordability of independent living, indicated by regional rent and house price indices as well as mortgage rates, lowers the costs of independent living, thereby relieving a major financial burden and making shared living less attractive. Although these factors are likely to play a role, the attractiveness of shared living is not analysed in detail in this paper.

3 Resarch design and methods

This chapter presents the research design employed in the paper at hand in four steps. Starting with a description of the data set, the survey's target population, interview technique, content-based orientation and structure are depicted. Following, this study's sampling procedure is explained and its implications for representativeness are discussed. Third, the operationalization of the dependant variable as well as independent variables is outlined. In a final step, the statistical methods used to empirically assess the explanatory power of the previously designed model are elucidated.

3.1 Data set

The analysis conducted in this paper is based on the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), a comprehensive longitudinal survey of the European population in the second half of life (Borsch-Supan et al., 2013). According to Szydlik and Isengard, who also used this data set in their analysis of intergenerational cohabitation, it is uniquely suited for exploring this topic due to the great number of participating countries, the wide use of standardized procedures as well as its broad range of issues surveyed (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012, p.457). The data set covers topics such as socio-economic status, health, living arrangements, family situation, social networks and support. Moreover, the respondents provided detailed information on their parents and children.

As Billari points out, when researching intergenerational cohabitation one often faces the problem of sample selection. This is because most longitudinal surveys only retrace and re-interview adult children who lived in the parental home in an earlier wave (Billari and de Valk, 2007, p.191). In SHARE however, information is consistently provided by the parents, thus, overcoming the problem of sample selection at this point.

The first survey wave took place in 2004. To date, five further survey waves (2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015) have been conducted. Up to wave three, the project was

mainly funded by the European Commission. Ever since the fourth wave, SHARE is organized as an international institution (SHARE-ERIC). Data is coordinated by the Munich Centre for the Economics of Ageing (MEA) at the Max Planck Institute for Social Law and Social Policy. Funding is now provided collectively by the European Commission, the US National Institute on Aging and all cooperating states. With each wave, the number of participating countries kept growing. As of the fifth wave, the survey includes respondents from Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Netherlands, France, Luxembourg, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, Italy, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovenia and Israel. With SHARE being a multinational survey, sampling resources and thus sampling methods vary between different countries. However, the majority of countries have access to national population registers. According to Börsch-Supan, the scientific coordinator of SHARE:

> *"Sample frames are chosen in accordance with the best available frame resources in the country to achieve full probability sampling"* (Borsch-Supan et al., 2013, p.993).

Response rates are consistently fairly high, varying between around 70% and 90% (Munich Centre for the Economics of Aging, 2017). According to an extensive meta-analysis of 175 studies, average survey response rates lie at approximately 60 % (Baruch, 1999, p.433). The survey's target population is comprised of all non-institutionalized persons aged 50 and older, who have their primary residence in one of the countries listed above (Borsch-Supan et al., 2013).

Additionally, cohabitating spouses and current partners of all ages were interviewed. All respondents, who took part in a previous wave and did not emigrate to another country, were re-interviewed. However, separated partners under the age of 50, new partners and partners who were never interviewed are not followed up on if they no longer live with the primary respondent. General exclusion criteria include incarceration, hospitalization, stays abroad during the survey period, no command of the respective country's language(s) and an unknown place of residence. Sample attrition, the biased dropout of individuals from a previously random sample over

time, is counteracted by three measures. Besides a strong effort to contact and re-interview respondents, the available sample is regularly extended. Moreover, weights accounting for remaining selection bias are provided.

The respondents were surveyed using computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI). This survey method is characterized by face-to-face interviews with the results being recorded on a computer. Information concerning the entire household, such as living conditions, is only provided by one selected household member on behalf of the couple. Consequently, household, family and financial respondents are chosen to answer specific sections of the questionnaire. Because of the multinational nature of the survey, the questionnaire had to be translated into a wide variety of languages. Concerning this matter, a strategy called ex-ante harmonization was applied (Borsch-Supan et al., 2013, p.997). In accordance with this survey strategy, one generic (English) questionnaire was compiled and then translated into all languages required. In addition, ex-post harmonization was used to account for country-specific differences and allow international comparison, e.g. the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED).

3.2 Sampling

The subsequent section retraces the selection of waves for analysis as well as its exclusion criteria and presents the resulting sample. Although the data structure of SHARE allows for panel analysis, for the purposes of this paper, cross-sectional analyses were employed. There are two reasons for this. First, between sequential waves only very small numbers of transitions are documented, viz. young adults moving out or returning to the parental home. This is not due to generally few young adults relocate in and out of parental homes, but because short term stays in between waves are not captured. Secondly, regarding intergenerational cohabitation self-selection based on stable characteristics into living conditions is of great significance. Consequently, fixed effect models are not well suited.

In this paper, information from the fifth wave of the survey collected in 2013 is used. Initially the sample consisted of 43.464 households in Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Estonia. As a result, the sample includes respondents from all countries surveyed except Israel which was excluded because of its unique cultural and societal features. Next, only households of parents with living children are selected (n= 38.302). On average, each household indicates to have 2.37 children (SD=1.20). Households with more than eight children (n=74) were debarred from the data set as they were extremely uncommon. Again, for the reason of their very low prevalence, same-sex parents were excluded from the data set (n= 94). Moreover, parents who spent at least 100 nights of the year prior to the interview in care facilities, such as hospitals, institutions for medical rehabilitation or nursing homes, were disregarded (n=82). This is because, not mainly living at home any longer, these parents are not likely to provide accommodation for their children, but rather adapt their current living situation on a short term basis to their health and care needs. As the survey only considered respondents who were not institutionalized at the time of their interview, this selection is also necessary to prevent possible selection bias.

After this first sample selection, the data set was reorganized resulting in each respondent's child counting as one observation. Following this change of data structure, the sample consisted of 89.848 children, ranging in age from new-borns to seniors with a mean age of 39.42 years (SD=11.61). As this study deals with young adults and their parents, a specific age range had to be demarcated. According to classic psychoanalyst Erikson's stages of psychosocial development who differentiates eight stages from infancy to late adulthood, early adulthood ranges from 20 to 39 years (Crain, 2010). Hence, only young adults in this age range were considered for the following analyses (n=40.957).

To investigate intergenerational cohabitation, the respondents were asked whether their child lived with them or, if they had moved out, how far away they lived.

Thus, unfortunately, separated parents had no opportunity to indicate that their adult child was instead living with the other parent. This information gap poses a high potential for bias, as young adults co-residing with parents who were not surveyed cannot be distinguished from their peers who live on their own. On these grounds, only young adults whose natural parents stayed together were retained (n=12.660). Unfortunately, the variable indicating whether a child is a natural child of the respondents' current relationship, a previous relationship, a foster or an adoptive child, has a very high share of missing values (63.90%). Missing values analysis revealed that missingness on this variable is highly correlated with other missing information, such as the young adult's level of education, number of children and place of residence. One could hypothesize that those children, with whom parents have fewer contact, are especially likely to fall into this group of young adults, who have a high share of missing information. Yet, information on the frequency of contact is complete in 99% of all cases and show that their parents indicate contact frequencies similar to those of young adults with complete information. Nevertheless, by excluding those observations, the concern of biasing the sample arises. However, with the outcome variable missing most of the time, there seems no point in including these cases into the analyses.

Returning to case selection, remaining young adults who lack information with regard to their place of residence were omitted (n=37). Lastly, young adults whom their parents indicated as being permanently sick or disabled were excluded from the data set, since their life courses are likely to deviate from those of their healthy peers (n=134). Consequently, the final data set contains 12,509 young adults with a mean age of 30.28 years (SD=5.51) of whom 24.61% cohabitate with their parents. The parents are on average 59.40 years old, 77.32% state to live together with a partner. Just over half of the parents' households consist of two residents, 15% are single– person households and the remainder of households consist of three to eight people in total.

3.3 Operationalization

Following, the measures used in the empirical analyses are discussed. Detailed information on all indicators presented in this section can be found in the appendix, section B on page 71 and subsequent pages.

(a) Dependent variable

Intergenerational cohabitation. Whether a young adult co-resides with his parent(s) is inferred from the following question included in the fifth wave: Where does [child name] live?

(a) In the same household,

(b) In the same building,

(c) Less than 1 kilometre away,

(d) Between 1 and 5 kilometres away,

(e) Between 5 and 25 kilometres away,

(f) Between 25 and 100 kilometres away,

(g) Between 100 and 500 kilometres away,

(h) More than 500 kilometres away and

(i) More than 500 kilometres away in another country.

This question indicates two forms of intergenerational cohabitation: living in the same household and living in the same building. The latter includes for example young adults living in a self-contained flat within their parents' house. As Szydlik and Isengard discovered in their recent analysis, both forms of cross-generational living are hard to distinguish conceptually (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012). Empirically, the same contributing factors apply and exert similar effects (see e.g. Courtin and Avendano, 2016). Thus, for the purposes of this paper, both will be considered, resulting in a dichotomous variable of intergenerational cohabitation.

(b) Independent variables

To begin with, the operationalization of causal influence factors with regard to young adults and, secondly of their parents are presented. Unfortunately, the survey does not include information on motives for co-residence, its duration as well as perceived benefits or drawbacks.

Young adults. For each household, one family respondent was chosen to provide information on children. It should be mentioned that the quality of this information is worthy of discussion as it is only provided indirectly through the young adults' parents and might not be up–to–date or incorrect due to social desirability.

First, concerning young adults' ability to provide for themselves, their *occupational status* is of great importance. In this paper, three types of employment are distinguished: full–time, part– time and self– employment. Apart from that, unemployed young adults and homemakers are also identified.

To determine their *level of education*, re-encoding of national achievements to the ISCED– standardization from 1997 is employed and simplified, resulting in five categories: pre-primary and primary education, lower secondary versus upper secondary education, post-primary non-tertiary education and tertiary education. To characterise the young adults' *stage of family formation*, information about their marital status as well as number of children are combined. Preceding family formation, young adults who are not married or have children are identified. A second group comprises those unmarried young adults who are parents. The last two categories consist of married young adults, dividing them into parents versus childless persons. As a final point, the young adults' *age* as well as their *gender* are considered.

Parents. Regarding the young adults' parents, information is either provided by each respondent individually, or by a household representative as well. Analogous to the young adults, their parents' *level of education* is assessed using the same modified ISCED–classification (see above) and summarised in

one variable which indicates the highest educational achievement both parents completed. For single parents, solely their educational level is used, as only information about parents who were interviewed is provided.

In order to estimate the parents' *health status*, their subjective perception is included as an ordinal variable ranging from 1 = excellent to 5 = poor perceived health. For couples, the value on this variable corresponds to a rounded mean value of the two individual values.

Apart from their state of health, their *prospective financial situation in old age* is also a crucial component determining the parents' potential need for cohabitation. Each respondent indicated the share of income relative to his current job that one will receive once retired. Using information on the parents' income, the share of their combined incomes (for couples) was computed and categorized into four categories: 0-25% of current income, 26-50%, 51-75%, 76-100%. For singles, the original value was retained.

Based on theoretical considerations, transferable and *non-transferable resources* are operationalized as distinct concepts. To measure the latter, in accordance with Gierveld, Dykstra and Pears (de Jong Gierveld and Dykstra, 2002), home ownership as well as the value of the property are included. The computed variable identifies homeowners and provides information on the value of their inhabited property in quartiles. As far as *transferable resources* are concerned, the parents' income is taken into account. For couples, the individual values are aggregated, weighted with a factor of 1 for the first and 0.7 for the second parent and logarithmised to minimize outlier effects, following Szydlik and Isengard's operationalization (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012, p.459). The income of singles is used in its original form and then logarithmised. At this point, it has to be noted that information on the parents' income is missing for approximately 71.24% of the respondents. According to a meta-study, survey data on income are expected to be missing for around one-third of respondents (Kim et al., 2007). With almost two-third of the respondents having refused to answer, the information on income should be interpreted with caution, as estimates may be biased due to varying response rates across different sub-

groups (Kim et al., 2007).

Age is included as well. The parents' *relationship status* is determined using information on their marital status and the presence of a partner in their household. As exclusively parents, who are in relationships with the other parent of their child, not new partners, are included in the data set, it is only distinguished between singles and couples. The *migrational background* of the parental household is specified by combining information on their country of birth as well as citizenship. In accordance with Szydlik and Isengard (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012), a household is considered to have a migration background if either parent was not born in the country of residence or does not hold the respective citizenship.

Whether other individuals are *cohabitating with the parents* is also taken into account. Building three count variables, the number of co-residing grandparents, younger children, and other children in the same age range (20-39) can be differentiated. As far as grandparents are concerned, due to the small number of cases, it can only be distinguished whether there are grandparents living in the parental household, not how many. Concerning both other indicators, it is recorded, whether no members of the respective group, one member or more than one members, live in the parental household.

Lastly, *parental familial support* is assessed using the data sets detailed information on support structures and the parents' time budget relating thereto. With the information on residentially independent adult children and grandparents, two variables are generated. The scores were computed summarising parental support for the respective group, calculating the extent of support in proportion to the number of people, e.g. one out of three adult children being supported, and multiplying it by the mean support frequency. In doing so, family size does not distort the scores. Additionally, the parents' relationship status was controlled for as well, since a single parent's support cannot be equated to two parents supprting their children. All in all, this results in continuous variables ranging from 0 = no support for any member of this group to 5 = frequent support to high share of this group. It should be noted that

young adults who are single children have a score of zero for this variable.

Macro-level indicators. In addition to the main dataset, information on the national level was included, namely the countries' *unemployment rates* and *public family* as well as *old age security*. The latter two are part of the OECD Social Expenditure Dataset (SOCX), which provides a great variety of information on indicators of the main social policy areas (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2012). Both features are indicated as percentages of the respective country's gross domestic product per capita to allow for cross-national comparability. Furthermore, the national unemployment rate is added to the data set. Information is provided by Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Communities. The unemployment rate is indicated as an annual average in percentage of the active population. To allow for cause-effect relations, all information on the macro-level is included lagged, meaning that the information corresponds to three years prior to the interview, namely 2010 instead of 2013.

Control variables. To control for space occupied by people who are not the focus of this study, it was controlled for other family members cohabitating with the parents. Additionally, it was controlled for siblings of the young adults who were not taken into account earlier.

3.4 Statistical methods

This short subchapter gives an overview of the statistical techniques used in this paper, including information of weights, descriptive and inferential statistics.

To handle selection bias from panel attrition as well as unit nonresponse, the data set provides ex-post calibrated weights using the revised general regression estimators (GREG) developed by statisticians Deville and Särndal (Deville and Särndal, 1992; Borsch-Supan et al., 2013, p.998). In line with Solon, Haider and Wooldridge, descriptive statistics are computed using the provided weights to reverse the bias caused by possible heterogeneous sampling probabilities (Solon et al., 2013). Specifically, a calibrated cross-sectional household weight, which was computed separately by country, is used. By contrast, weights should only be used when estimating causal effects under either endogenous sampling or heteroscedasticity. Taking the authors' advice, as a diagnostic tool weighted and unweighted results were compared, arriving at the conclusion that weights do not need to be applied.
Descriptive statistics are used to establish a broad overview of the composition of the sample as well as its main characteristics.
In order to be able to assess whether there is sufficient variance at the respective levels to warrant a mixed approach, a variance components model was computed. According to a widely accepted rule of thumb, at least about one tenth of the total variance should be allocated to each level included into further analysis. Due to the revealed structure of the data set, a nested multi-level model is constructed, consisting of three levels: individual (young adult), parental household and country. In a next step, the explanatory power of the designed model is estimated using mixed-effect logistic regression which accounts for both fixed and random effects. This model is most appropriate because it considers intra-cluster correlation, the correlation of observations due to their cluster-level random effects, which naturally occur in multi-level models. As an integration method, the *mean-variance adapted Gauss-Hermite quadrate*, a method estimating the integral, which is then used to calculate the log likelihood, is used. Instead of log likelihood, the coefficients are reported as odds ratios.

Regarding the regression models, a hierarchical modelling strategy is employed. In total, four regression models are estimated, first including only individual level indicators, then adding household features as well as macro-level indicators. It should be noted that the investigation of the correlation matrix of the independent variables does not reveal problems of multicollinearity. The observations for each model are held constant to ensure comparability across models. For the following analyses, McFadden's adjusted Pseudo R^2 serves as measure of model fit. Initially, the likelihood-ratio test is used to compare the model fit of the multi-level model versus an equivalent non-hierarchical one. Additionally, the result of a Wald-test, which compares the model to a constant only model, is reported. To evaluate how the integration of new sets of variables improved the model fit, the likelihood-test as well as Akaike's Information Criterion are calculated.

The first regression model includes basic characteristics of the young adult, e.g. gender or occupation. In order to assess the influence of other cohabitating family members in the parental household (Hypotheses 1a-c), in a next step, features of their household are included into the model. Following this, a set of variables relating to individual properties of the parents, e.g. their income or educational level, are added. This allows for an empirical investigation of the validity of hypothesis 2, referring to the parents' financial situation in old age as well as hypotheses 3a and 3b which deal with the effect of parental support for other family members on intergenerational cohabitation.

In the final models, indicators at the national level are included, viz. the countries' unemployment rates and expenditures for family support as well as old age security. According to the last two hypotheses, it is assumed that a better economic situation, higher public expenses for family services and old age security decrease the need for intergenerational cohabitation, thereby leading to lower prevalence. To avoid multicollinearity on the highest level, single logit models are estimated for each macro indicator while controlling for the previously added determinants on the individual and household level.

4 Empirical evidence

In the following chapter, the question why young adults and their parents cohabitate is addressed using empirical analysis. In doing so, the explanatory power of the revised model is evaluated and the hypotheses highlighting the added features are tested. To begin with, descriptive statistics are shown, giving a first insight into the data. This includes general parental and filial characteristics as well as a more detailed look into the age of home-leaving using bivariate statistics. Next, inferential statistics are used to test the developed model, giving special attention to the newly added features. In total, four regression models are estimated.

4.1 Descriptive statistics

This chapter is intended to give a broad overview of the composition of the sample and the characteristics of the most important variables. It is divided into two sections, starting with a short overall view of filial and parental characteristics. Next, more detailed descriptive analyses regarding the age of leaving home and intergenerational cohabitation are presented. It should be noted that all data presented in this chapter are weighted as described previously.

In the following, the young adults' gender, age, their educational level, occupational status, marital and parenthood status are outlined.
The data set consists of 12.509 young adults with an equal share of women and men. On average, they are 29 years old (SD: 5.48). While the majority (66.44%) have already started working, about one quarter (17.44%) is still in education and 8.99% are currently in search for a job. Roughly four out of five (81.38%) young adults have completed upper secondary education of which about one quarter (24.46%) has further proceeded to tertiary education. With regard to their marital status, around two thirds (64.15%) of young adults have never been wedded as opposed to approximately one third (29.02%) who are married. 68.88% have no children. As a last point, 26.79% of young adults live in the same household as their parents and another 3.95% live in the same building. The remainder of young adults live

one their own with one third (33.87%) being resident less than 5km away from the parental home and 20.90% living more than 100 kilometres away.

Before presenting some general features of the young adults' parents, it has to be noted that due to the data structure, parents who have more than one child in the specified age range will appear repeatedly in the data set, viz. once for every young adult included. Therefore, when describing the data, I do not refer to the parents individually but indicate the share of children who has e.g. a retired mother. The features which will be outlined include the age of the young adults' parents, the age when becoming parent the first time, the support provided by them, their educational level, their current occupation, perceived health status, their number of children, relationship statusa as well as home ownership status.
The young adults' mothers are on average 56.94 years old (SD=6.66) while their fathers are around 2.5 years older (59.49; SD=6.22). They were on average 26.45 years old when becoming parents for the first time. Around 17% of the parents indicate to support their parents on a regular basis, while only approximately 9% help out their children more or less frequently.

Members of parental household	Cohabitating young adult	Independently living young adult
Siblings under the age osf 20	18.30%	9.0%
Siblings aged 20 to 39	55.72%	11.36%
Grandparents	2.45%	2.75%

Table 3: Members of the parental household differentiated by recidency status of young adult; source: own calculations

Of the fathers, about one third (31.04%) is retired whereas only 16.16% of the mothers have entered retirement. As could be expected, the share of homemakers is much higher for women (19.46 %) than for men (0.33%). Over 50% of women (53.17%) as well as men (57.54%) are employed in contrast to 5% unemployed persons and 4% who are sick or disabled. The median annual income of the fathers amounts to about 25.377€; the mothers' income is with approximately 16.500€considerably lower. The percentage they will receive in retirement corresponds on average to

50.56% of their current earnings.
Regarding the educational level, the picture seems quite homogenous, with 72.61% of fathers and 68.29% of mothers having at least completed upper secondary education. The majority of the young adults' parents perceive their health as being at least "good" (65.55%).
On average, the young adults' parental households have 2.56 children. 11% of young adults are single children and 15.6% come from families with four and more children. Looking at their parents' household composition, see table 3 on page 44, it is firstly evident that only a very small share of parents lives with grandparents. Next, presumably due to the age difference between co-residing and independently living young adults, those who co-reside with their parents are more likely to have a younger sibling or sibling of similar age in the parental household than young adults who no longer live with their parents.
About one quarter of the young adults' parents is living without the other parent, e.g. because they are widowed or their partner is currently institutionalized. Finally, 73.13% of young adults have parents who own their current home. Its median value amounts to approximately 200.000€.

At the national level, three indicators were added to the data set: unemployment rate, family expenditure and expenditure for old age security. As for the former, less than 5% of the active population are unemployed in Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands. The majority of countries instead have unemployment rates of around 8%, with only Estonia (16.7%) and Spain (19.9%) over the 10% limit. With regard to the countries family expenditure, Scandinavian countries invest the highest share of their GDP (around 4.0%). Most other countries have slightly smaller values (around 3%), with only Southern European countries funding family support with less than 2% of their GDP. Surprisingly, Italy, as well as France and Austria, promote old age security with values corresponding to over 10% of their GDP. Contrarily, Luxembourg, Switzerland and the Netherlands invest only around 5% in this sector.

Contact frequency	Same household	Same building
Daily	90.27%	87.18%
Several times a week	5.76%	10.41%
Once a week or less	3.97%	2.42%

Table 4: Contact frequency of young adults living in the same household, resp. same building as their parents

Based on the empirical analyses of Szydlik and Isengard (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012) as well as Choi (Choi, 2003), in this paper, near coresidence and coresidence are not distinguished. However, substantial differences in day-to-day life might exist. The families' contact frequencies are quite revealing in this regard. Table 4 on page 46 compares young adults and their parents who either live in the same household or same building. As can be seen, the contact frequencies of the two groups do not differ significantly. Taking also into account the empirical results just referred to, it can be safely assumed that the informative value is not biaes by not differentiating between both forms of intergenerational cohabitation.

In the following section, young adults who currently live at home and those who have already moved out will be compared.
As might be expected, those young adults who live with their parents are on average younger (26.19) than those who have moved out (30.89). Figure 1 on page 47 shows the distribution of young adults across different occupational statuses in relation to their place of residence. As those young adults who still live at home are on average roughly 4.5 years younger than their independently living peers, it is not surprising that a high share of them is still in education. To be specific, 29.85% of young adults who cohabitate with their parents are in education as opposed to 11.10% of residentially independent young adults. In turn, a much higher share of young adults who have moved out (60.98%) is full-time employed compared to those co-residing with their parents (37.19%). Moreover, unemployment is more common among young adults in cross-generational living (16.12%) than among those who left the parental home (6.03%).
As anticipated, the vast majority of young adults living with their parents are neither

married (89.44%), nor has children (11.12%), whereas half (49.89%) of their peers who live independently have (been) married and 42.46% are parents.

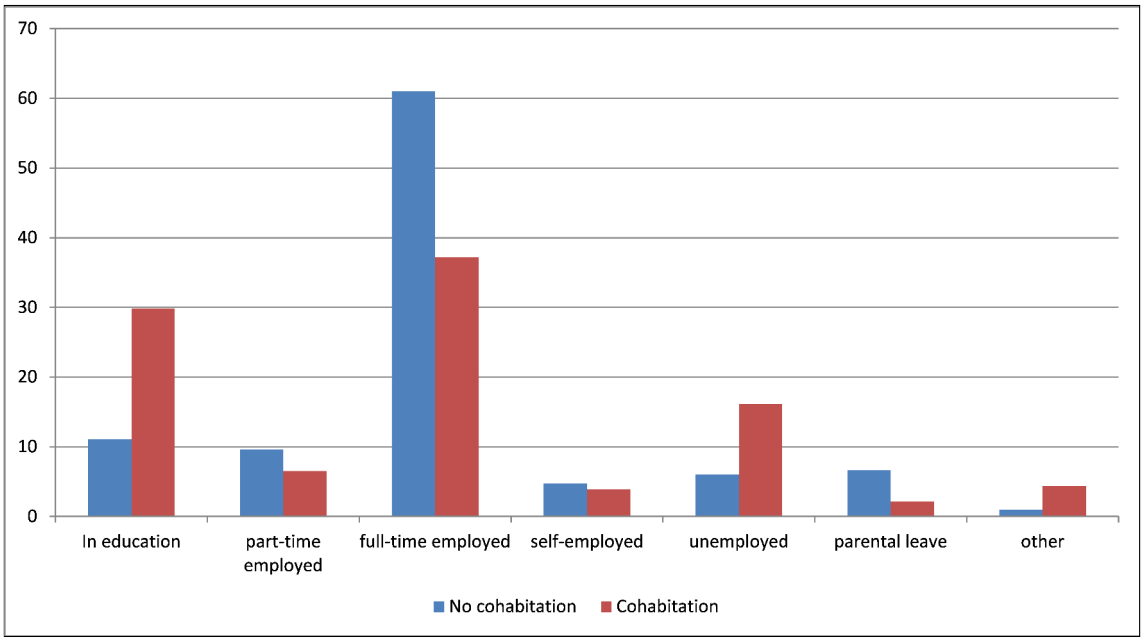


Figure 1: Bar graph regarding the distribution of young adults across different occupational statuses grouped by their place of residence; source: own calculations

Next, looking exclusively at those young adults who live independently, the age of leaving home will be examined further. As elaborated in the paper's theory section, a higher educational level is thought to be linked to delayed residential independence. Graph 2 on page 48 displays the age of moving out separated by the young adults' educational level. The sum of the area under each graph corresponds to one.
Since only the educational level at the time of interview is known, no when moving out, only those individuals who left the parental home in the last five years are included in the subsample (n=2.745). This way, the information is temporally no too heterogeneous. Due to small numbers of cases, young adults who only completed primary education as well as those with post-secondary non-tertiary education could not be included. Taking a look at the graph, it becomes obvious that moving out peaks for young adults who completed upper secondary education at around age 20 (mean: 23.88 years). In contrast, those who only completed lower secondary education leave the parental home somewhat later (mean: 24.60). Those

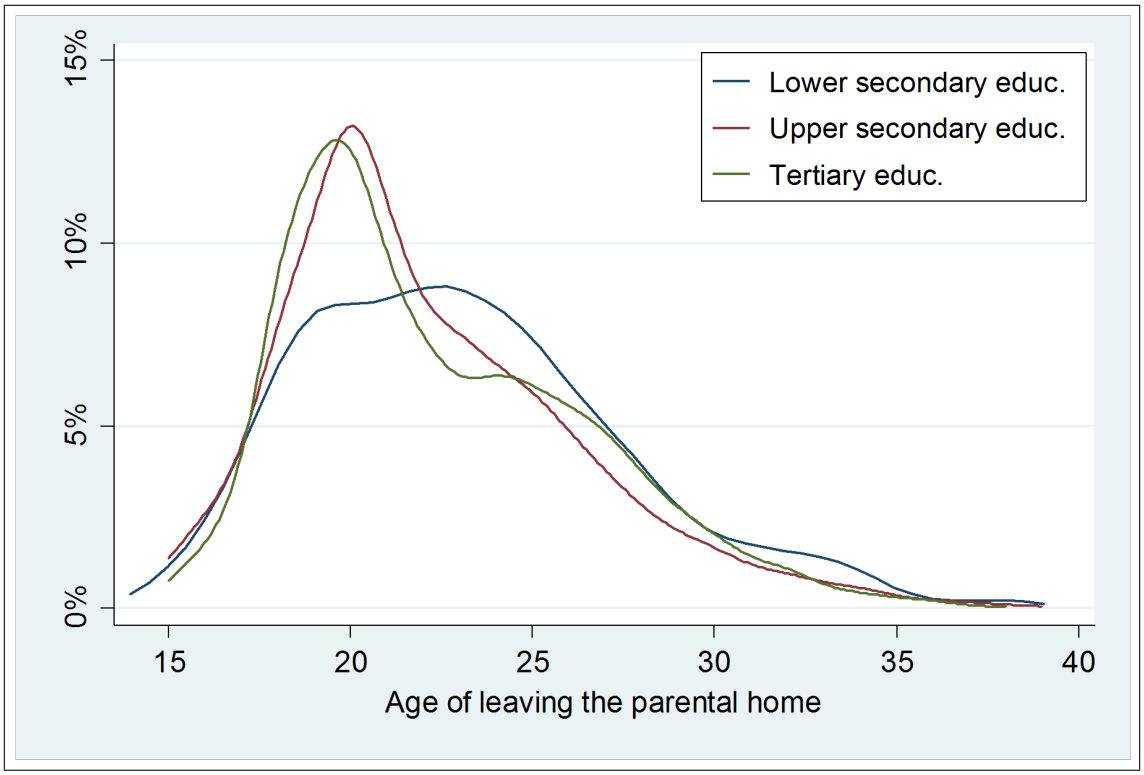


Figure 2: Distribution plot regarding the age of home-leaving grouped by education level; source: own calculations

young adults who continued to tertiary education stay with their parents the longest (mean: 25.64) with only 10% gaining residential independence under the age of 21. However, between age 23 to 26 home–leaving speeds up significantly, presumably with graduation and transitioning to employment.

Now, cross-national differences will be analysed, starting with the age of home-leaving, followed by the prevalence of cross-generational living.
Comparing the mean age of getting residentially independent, a large diversity can be uncovered. Young adults in Sweden and Denmark leave the parental dwelling earliest, around the age of 19.5. Contrastingly, Spanish young adults stay on average 26 years with their parents. All other countries fall within this age spectrum. In Germany, young adults are on average 21 years old when moving out. Young adults in the Czech Republic stay a little longer, viz. averagely 23 years. Figure 3 on page 49 provides a graphical representation of the age of leaving the parental home

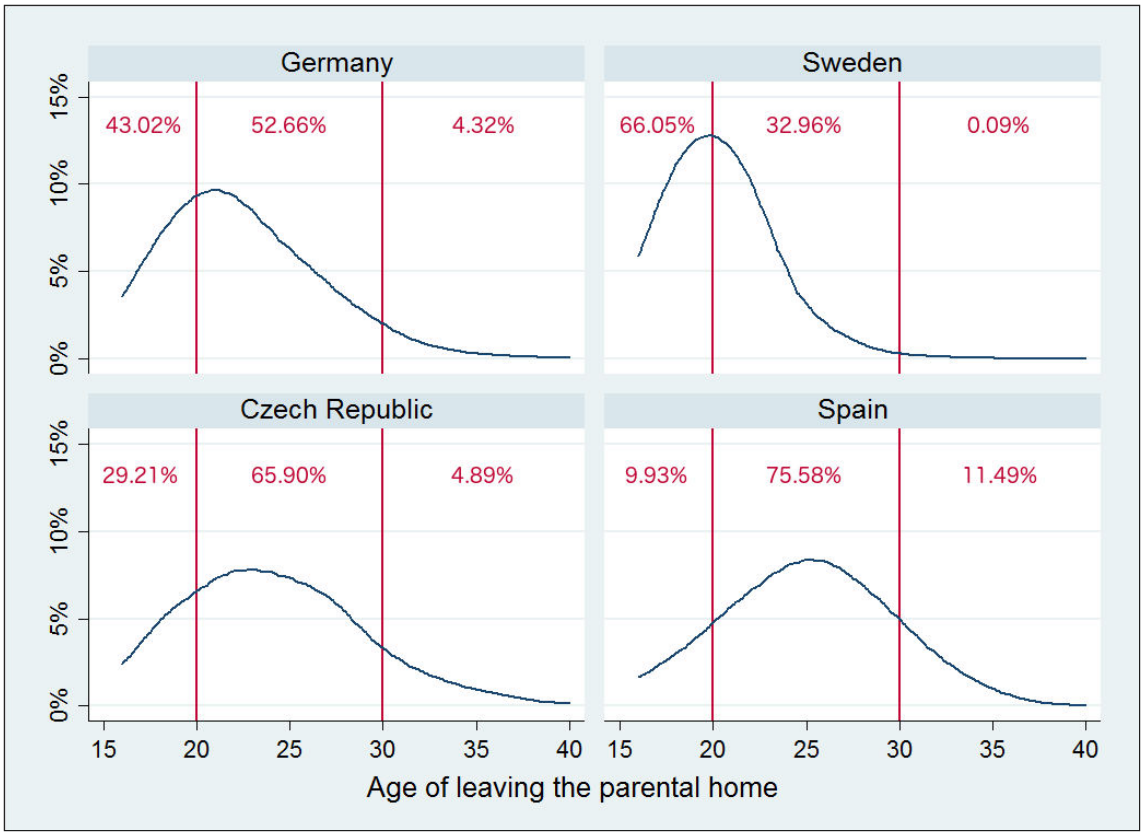


Figure 3: Distribution plot regarding the age of home-leaving for the countries Germany, Sweden, the Czech Republic and Spain; source: own calculations

for young adults from Germany, Sweden, the Czech Republic and Spain (n=6.123). While almost half of the young adults in Germany have left home by the age of 20, two thirds of Czech young adults still live with their parents and move out mostly in their twenties. In both countries, around 4% leave the parental home in their third decade of life. As mentioned earlier, Swedish young adults seek residential independence very early. The majority leaves their parents' home before turning 21 and almost nobody lives with their parents longer than 30 years. In Spain, the picture is quite different: only one out of 10 young adults leaves their childhood home in the first two decades of life. Instead, the majority of Spanish young adults set up their own household in their twenties and one tenth leaves after their 30th birthday.

Figure 4 on page 50 illustrates the current residency status of young adults. As already mentioned above, Scandinavian young adults are the least likely to stay with their parents, while young adults in Southern Europe cohabitate more frequently. Young adults from Western and Eastern European countries lie between those two extremes.

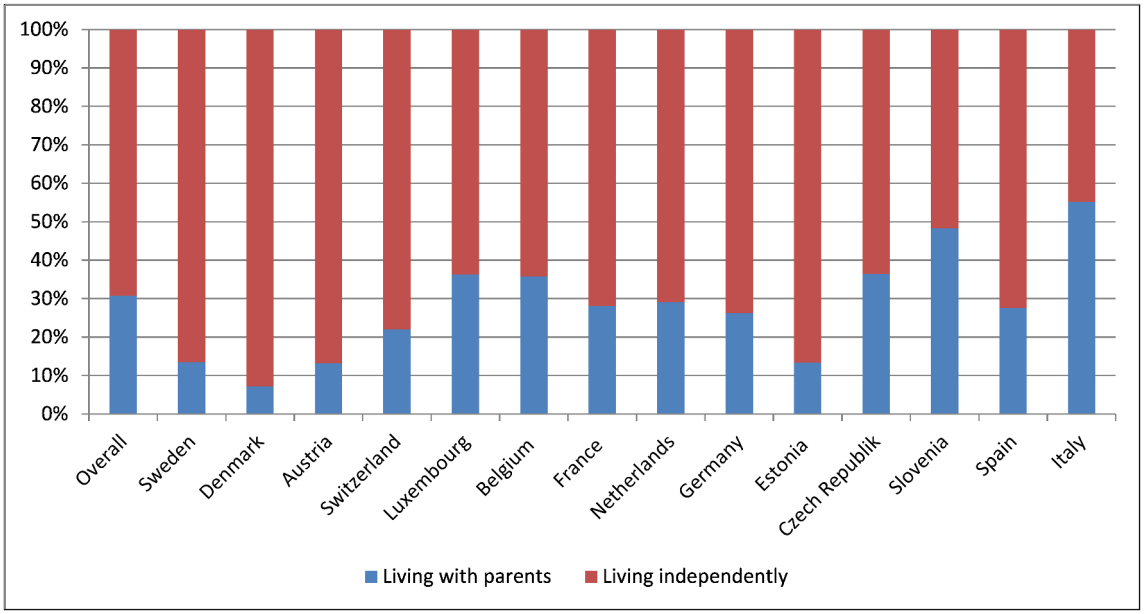


Figure 4: Bar graph regarding the prevalence of intergenerational cohabitation grouped by countries; source: own calculations

4.2 Inferential statistics

In the following subchapter, the results of multivariate analyses will be presented. As mentioned in the section on methodology, additional variables are included step-by-step. The first regression model explores causal relations at the individual level. Next, two models add indicators at the household level: one relates to the first hypothesis (H1a –1c), while the other refers to the second (H2) and third hypotheses (H3a–3b). In a last step, as formulated in the fourth and fifth hypotheses, the impact of macro–level determinants is examined. Tables 5 to 9 demonstrate the results of the corresponding logistic regressions. Control variables are considered as well, but are not presented.

(a) Individual level

The first model includes characteristics of the young adults, i.e. their gender, age, educational level, stage of family formation and occupational status. A chi-squared goodness of fit test comparing the first model against a constant only model was statistically significant (Wald χ^2 (17) = 1821.04, p < .001), indicating that the predictors distinguished between young adults who live independently and those who cohabitate with their parents. In order to assess model fit, McFadden's adjusted R^2 is used. According to him *"values of 0.2 to 0.4 for rho-squared represent excellent fit"* (McFadden, 1979, p.306). Consequently, with a pseudo R^2 of 0.234 the present model fits the data adequately. The results of the logistic regression can be found in table 5 on page 52.

Indicators relating to young adults	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Occupational status			
Reference: Full-time employment			
Part-time employment	1.60**	1.86***	1.82***
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.25)
Self-employment	2.03***	1.14*	1.36^{+}
	(0.37)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Unemployment	3.64***	2.90***	2.73***
	(0.48)	(0.33)	(0.32)
Vocational training	1.80***	1.43***	1.41***
	(0.20)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Parental leave/homemaker	1.48^{+}	1.13	1.11
	(0.34)	(0.25)	(0.24)
Level of education			
Reference: Pre-primary & primary education			
Lower secondary education	1.05	0.69	0.87
	(0.39)	(0.22)	(0.29)
Upper secondary education	0.92	0.61	0.81
	(0.33)	(0.19)	(0.26)
Post-secondary non-tertiary education	0.90	0.54	0.77
	(0.36)	(0.18)	(0.27)
Tertiary education	0.60	0.04*	0.55^{+}
	(0.21)	(0.13)	(0.18)
Stage of family formation			
Reference: Unmarried, no children			
Unmarried, children	0.24***	0.39***	0.43***
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Married, no children	0.05***	0.13***	0.13***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Married, children	0.09***	0.20***	0.20***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Age	0.85***	0.92***	0.86***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Gender: female	0.62***	0.66***	0.65***
	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Control variables	No	Yes	Yes
Features of parental household	No	Yes	Yes
Individual parental characteristics	No	No	Yes

Table 5: Regression results concerning the young adults' characteristics, Models 1 to 3; effect sizes as odds ratios; source: own calculations.$^{+}$p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Interestingly, the young adults' educational level exerts no significant effect on the probability of intergenerational cohabitation. This finding is contrary to the results of most other studies, (see e.g. South and Lei, 2015; Sandberg-Thoma et al., 2015). However, it is for the most part explained as an indirect effect due to differences in occupational statuses depending on a person's educational level, e.g. a low educated individual being more likely to be unemployed or holding a precarious job. Therefore, it could be assumed that by integrating a rather differentiated measure of the young adults' occupational status, no direct effect attributed to the educational level remains.

The results relating to a young adult's occupational status reflect what the majority of other studies discovered as well: young adults in part–time employment are on average about 27% more likely to live with their parents than their peers working full–time ($p<0.001$). Similarly, the probability of unemployed young adults to cohabitate is averagely 2.6 times higher ($p<0.001$). As expected, young adults in education are on average 44% more likely to be part of a multigenerational household which includes their parents ($p<0.001$) than the reference group. Equivalently, young adults who are on parental leave or homemakers also have a 45% higher chance of living with their parents than young adults in full–time employment. It will be very interesting to see whether these strong effects persist when more variables are added to the model.

The life cycle approach predicts that adult children who are married have and increased need for residential independence and are thus expected to only rarely live with their parents. Similarly, having children is assumed to increase one's need for privacy. These assumptions hold true: unmarried young adults with children are averagely more than twice (2.86 times to be exact) as likely to live independently compared to their childless peers ($p<0.001$). Married young adults seem to value their residential independence even more: Those with children are on average approximately five times less likely to live with their parents, the childless even seven times less likely ($p<0.001$). These results raise the question why being married has a much stronger impact on the

probability of intergenerational cohabitation than being a parent. Presumably, this outcome is due to the fact that unmarried young adults with children include both singles raising a child on their own as well as unmarried parents in a relationship. Thus, this group might include young adults who in fact rely on parental support. By contrast, married young adults can be assumed to need less assistance. Unfortunately, there is no information in the data set on the relationship status of unmarried young adults.

Naturally, with increasing age young adults are less likely to live with their parents. With every year, intergenerational cohabitation becomes on average approximately 11% less likely ($p<0.001$). Concluding with the young adults' gender, compared to men women have on average only a 1/0.72 chance of cohabitation. That is, they are about 39% less likely to live with their parents than men ($p<0.001$). This finding is in line with the assumption of Schmertmann and colleagues, who hypothesise that co-residence of sons is most likely when parents are relatively young and do not need assistance, whereas daughters cohabitate predominantly with their frail parents whom they support and provide care for (Schmertmann et al., 2000).

(a) Household level

In a second model, characteristics of the parental household, viz. other residents and features of the accommodation, are added into the regression (see table 6 on page 55). A likelihood-ratio test, which compared the fitted mixed model to standard regression with no household-level random effect, revealed that the former fits the data significantly better ($p<0.001$). Both the result from a likelihood-test as well as Akaike's Information Criterion, which equals a difference of 1,500, provide very strong support for the current model in comparison to the former.

Indicators of the parental household	Model 2	Model 3
Household composition		
Partner	1.34**	1.35**
	(0.13)	(0.13)
Under-age children		
1 child	0.18***	0.23***
	(0.26)	(0.03)
2 and more children	0.01***	0.01***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Young adults		
1 young adults	3.65***	3.64***
	(0.34)	(0.34)
2 and more young adults	4.39***	5.51***
	(0.73)	(0.76)
Grandparents	1.15	1.25
	(0.25)	(0.29)
Home ownership & value of parental home		
Reference: Tenants		
Proprietary: 1st quartile	1.09	1.14
	(0.13)	(0.14)
Proprietary: 2nd quartile	0.91	1.00
	(0.10)	(0.11)
Proprietary: 3rd quartile	0.86	0.89
	(0.10)	(0.10)
Proprietary: 4th quartile	0.99	0.98
	(0.11)	(0.11)
Control variables	Yes	Yes
Individual characteristics of young adult	Yes	Yes
Individual parental characteristics	No	Yes

Table 6: Regression results concerning characteristics of the parental household, Models 2 to 3; effect sizes as odds ratios; source: own calculations.$^{+}$p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Starting with the parental partnership status, those young adults, whose parents share a home, have a 15% higher chance of intergenerational cohabitation than their peers with single parents. This finding contrasts the effect other studies have found, see (see e.g. Mitchell et al., 2000; Isengard and Szydlik, 2012). At first, this causal relation may seem quite counterintuitive. Though, young adults' needs are assumed to be by far more decisive with regard to their residency situation than their parents' needs. Parental couples may be a more attractive "home base" for young adults as they probably have more

living space available. However, the effect is only significant at the 10%-Level and should not be overinterpreted.

The first set of hypotheses (H1a–1c) deals with the effect of other co–residing family members on the likelihood of intergenerational cohabitation. Hypothesis 1a states that adult children of parents who accommodate younger siblings are less likely to live with their parents than young adults whose parents do not share their home with underaged children. Taking another look at the table, the odds ratios of having underaged children in the parental household are smaller than 1 ($p<0.001$). This translates indeed to a lower probability of cross–generational living. To be precise, having one young sibling co–residing with the parents reduces the chance of cohabitation by $1/0.16$, that is approximately 6.25 times or 525%. Young adults whose parents live with two or more underaged children have an even lower probability of living with their parents. In this very restricted model it appears as though Hypothesis 1a could be temporarily supported. At this point, it has to be taken into account that this model does not control for the age of the young adults' parents. Consequently, the effect is probably a combination of the parents' age effect and the true effect of young siblings in the parental household. The full picture will get clearer once the characteristics of the young adult' parents are added with the next model.

Opposite to this first hypothesis, the next assumes a neutral or positive causal relationship between parents' coresidence with grandparents and cross– generational living with young adults (H1b). At this point, it seems as there is no significant causal relation between the presence of grandparents in the parental household and the likelihood of intergenerational cohabitation of young adults and their parents. In contrast to younger siblings in the parental household, the presence of grandparents does not seem to be linked to a higher probability for the young adult to live there. It is also conceivable that the living situation is not as hypothesised an indication of the parents' familialistic values but instead resulted from the grandparents' need for care which can be provided by

the young adult. At this opint, it is important to note that it cannot be concluded from the data set which family member moved in last, young adult or grandparent, since no information on the duration of cohabitation is provided for either. Thus, it is for example possible that the adult child never moved out of the parental home and the grandparent joined the household at one point, or that the young adult returned after a period of independent living and the grandparent moved in eventually.

In light of these considerations, first results of the third hypothesis (H1c) dealing with the effect of young adult siblings in the parental household become even more interesting, as this group of residents is most likely not in need of support. Turning to this hypothesis, at first sight, it is evident that the odds ratios are positive, very large in effect size and highly significant ($p<0.001$). If one sibling of similar age (20–39) lives with the parents, a young adult's chance of cohabitating increases almost 4–fold. If more siblings cohabitate, this probability becomes even higher. However, one should again bear in mind that this first model only includes household characteristics and does not control for individual features of the parents. Yet, their migrational status, for example, is often found to be closely linked to the likelihood of adult children staying with their parents, (see e.g. Billari and de Valk, 2007). Hence, it can be assumed that the effect size decreases considerably once more indicators are included into the model.

The last indicator considered in this model is the ownership status of the parental residence and its value. The latter is thought to be indicative of the attractiveness for a young adult to live there. The determinant is included as a categorical variable with the reference group being tenants. Starting with young adults, whose parents own their accommodation with the value being in the lowest quartile of the distribution, in accordance with theoretical assumptions, the probability of intergenerational cohabitation is 22% higher than for adult children whose parents are tenants. Yet, there are no significant differences between children of parents who own property in the second

and third quartiles regarding the likelihood of intergenerational cohabitation and those whose parents do not own their accommodation. For adult children of home–owners with values belonging to the highest quartile, a positive causal relation is discovered as well. To be exact, the former are 21% more likely to live with their parents than the reference group ($p<0.01$). Based on theoretical considerations, a positive relation between the value of property and the likelihood of intergenerational cohabitation was assumed. However, the results are rather inconclusive in their orientation. As this model does not consider transferable parental resources, which are strongly affiliated with property value and are assumed to have the opposite effect, the picture might become clearer in the next model.

Taking a look at how the integration of the added variables changed the impact of characteristics relating to the young adult, the model seems rather stable. Only with regard to the young adults' occupational status, moderate changes in effect size can be noted. In comparison to full-time employed young adults, those working part-time are now 53% (formerly 27%) more likely to live with their parents. In contrast, unemployed adults are only 2.33 times as likely to cohabitate (formerly 2.57). Lastly, young adults on parental leave or who are homemakers do not differ significantly from their full-time working peers any longer. This is probably because the majority of these individuals live with their partner and are thus able to focus on childcare and domestic tasks.

The third model adds individual characteristics of the parents, i.e. their income, the share of funds available to them in retirement, intergenerational support provided by them, their educational level, health status, age and migrational background. First assessing the improvements regarding model fit, both the likelihood-ratio test as well as Akaike's information criterion suggest an improved model fit. However, the difference of only 236.48 in AIC indicates that by adding information on the young adult's parents, the model is only enhanced moderately. The results pertaining to this model can be found in tables 7 and 8 on pages 59 and 61.

Parental characteristics	Model 3
Income	
Reference: 1st quartile	
2nd quartile	0.75
	(0.15)
3rd quartile	0.68
	(0.13)
4th quartile	0.74
	(0.15)
Pension coverage	
Reference: up to 25% of current income	
26% to 50%	1.40
	(0.33)
51% to 75%	1.67*
	(0.37)
76% to 100%	1.42**
	(0.34)
Support for other family members	
Young adults	1.3**
	(0.10)
Grandparents	0.97
	(0.04)

Table 7: Regression results concerning parental characteristics- Part 1, Model 3; effect sizes as odds ratios; source: own calculations.$^{+}$p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Before exploring the impact of the indicator's relating to the young adults' parents, it is interesting to reflect how they influenced the effects pertaining to parental characteristics. First, it is noticeable that for the first time the educational level of a young adult is partly significant. Young adults who received tertiary education are 82% less likely to live with their parents than their peers who only completed pre-primary or primary education. With regard to the characteristics of the parental household, effect sizes are quite stable. Still, young adults whose parents are in a partnership are more likely to cohabitate (p$<$0.005). While being unexpected, this finding shows that a deeper look into the parental relationship and implications regarding the attractiveness of cohabitation for an adult child may lead to intriguing new insights. As predicted earlier, once the parents' age is included, the effect of young sib-

lings living in the parental household becomes weaker. A young sibling in the parental household decreases the likelihood by only 3.3 times. Contrary to expectations, the impact of a sibling of similar age co-residing with the parents has become stronger. Also, the effect of the parents' home ownership and values of the home did not become more differentiated, but instead lost any significance.

Starting with parental income which serves as an indicator for transferable resources, no significant effects were detected either. These findings are in line with the results from Szydlik and Isengard who used the same dataset (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012). As mentioned in the chapter on operationalization, estimates of this indicator may be biased anyhow and should therefore be interpreted with caution. This being said, there might exist an obscured causal relation (Kim et al., 2007).

According to the second hypothesis, the parents' ability to provide for themselves in the future is linked to their motivation to support their adult children and thus has an impact on the likelihood of intergenerational cohabitation. This assumption is not supported by the results of the second regression model: the percentage of current income the parents will receive once retired has not the hypothesised effect on the probability of intergenerational cohabitation. Young adults whose parents will receive between 51% to 75% of their current income once retired are significantly more 67% likely to live with their parents than young adults whose parents have lower pension coverage ($p<0.05$). Similarly, adult children with parents who will receive 76% to 100% of their current earnings in retirement are 42% more likely to share residency with their parents than the reference group ($p<0.01$). It should be pointed out that the operationalization of the indicator was subject to both data set restrictions and multicollinearity issues. Thus, it can be at best perceived as a very crude measure. Especially the simultaneous inclusion of the parents' property value, aggregated income and pension coverage is likely to contribute to the weak results. Momentarily, the second hypothesis has to be rejected.

Parental characteristics	Model 3
Level of education	
Reference: Pre-primary & primary education	
Lower secondary education	0.61**
	(0.09)
Upper secondary education	0.66**
	(0.09)
Post-secondary non-tertiary education	0.48***
	(0.08)
Tertiary education	0.48***
	(0.08)
Subj. health status	
Reference: Excellent	
Very good	0.94
	(0.16)
Good	0.97
	(0.16)
Fair	1.02
	(0.17)
Poor	1.02
	(0.22)
Age	1.09***
	(0.01)
Migrational background	1.15**
	(0.07)
Control variables	Yes
Individual characteristics of young adult	Yes
Features of parental household	Yes

Table 8: Regression results concerning parental characteristics- Part 2, Model 3; effect sizes as odds ratios; source: own calculations.$^{+}$p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Both hypotheses 3a and 3b deal with the effect of intergenerational support provided by the parents on the residency of their adult children, assuming such behaviour is indicative of normative intergenerational solidarity. Accordingly, children of parents supporting either the grandparent (H3a) or their other adult children (H3b) are presumed to be more likely to co–reside than young adults whose parents do not provide support. The variables which indicate support range from 0– no support given to any member of this group to 5– intense support given to high share of members of this group who are

not part of the household. The odds ratio of approximately 1.26 ($p<0.05$) for the support of adult children indicates that an increase of one on the support scale corresponds to a 26% higher chance of living together. Respectively, children of parents scoring two values higher have a 52% greater probability of shared residency. Hence, the first part of the third yypothesis, which states a connection between parental support for adult children and the likelihood of intergenerational cohabitation, can be sustained. Turning to support provided to the grandparents, no significant impact on the young adults' place of residence can be found. The fact that support for children seems to have an effect but not support for grandparents suggests that both behaviours may not be rooted in the same normative solidarity, but values specific to one's children or parents. It is very well conceivable for one person to have strong feelings of parental duty towards one's children, but only a weak sense of filial responsibility towards one's parents, or vice versa.

Several socio-demographic indicators were also included in this model. As predicted, a higher parental education level is associated with lower rates of cohabitation. Comparing parents who have completed lower secondary education with parents who only obtained pre–primary or primary education, adult children of the former are approximately 64% more likely to live on their own ($p<0.05$). Higher parental education in general corresponds to a lower chance of intergenerational cohabitation. There is no notable difference between young adults whose parent have either completed lower or upper secondary education. Moving on to higher educational levels however, children from parents, who have either acquired post-secondary non-tertiary or tertiary education, are on average twice as likely to live on their own in comparison to peers with low educated parents ($p<0.001$).

The parents' perceived health status seems to play no significant role. This might be due to the study's relatively young parents and the exclusion of permanently ill parents from the sample. Isengard and Szydlik who analysed an older sample also found only very weak effects of the health status on the

probability of cohabitation (Isengard and Szydlik, 2012). The parents' age has a positive impact on the probability of intergenerational cohabitation, becoming around 10% more likely with every year the parents age ($p<0.001$). As predicted, parental age and the age of their adult children have opposite effects. As the last indicator in this model, adult children of parents with a migrational background are as presumed more likely to live with their parents, namely 15% ($p<0.05$).

(c) National level

Next, the model is extended to account for selected macro–level indicators. The results of the regressions can be found in table 9 on page 63. For all indicators except old age security, the likelihood-test and Akaike's information criterion suggest an improved model.

Macro-level determinants	Model 4
Family expenditure	0.77*** (0.34)
Unemployment rate	0.98^{+} (0.12)
Expenditures for old age security	1.01 (0.01)
Control variables	Yes
Individual characteristics of young adult	Yes
Features of parental household	Yes
Parental characteristics	Yes

Table 9: Regression results concerning macro-level effects, Model 4, individual regressisons were calculated for each indicator; effect sizes as odds ratios; source: own calculations.$^{+}$p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

According to the fifth hypothesis, high family expenditures and a good overall economic situation are negatively linked to the prevalence of intergenerational cohabitation. Family expenditures are indicated in percent of the respective country's GDP. As the odds ratio shows, the more a country invests in family support, the lower the probability of resident young adults to live with their parents. To be precise, an increase of expenditure of 1% corresponds to an on

average around 30% lower likelihood of cohabitation. This effect size seems quite impressive; an increase in five percent would at least translate to intergenerational cohabitation becoming 150% less likely. Taking a look at the values of family expenditures in the selected countries however, it becomes evident that they range only between 1.3% and 4%. Nevertheless, the effect is quite powerful and, even more importantly, highly significant ($p<0.001$). The presumed negative association between welfare state expansion on families in the form of public family expenditures and the likelihood of cohabitation can be confirmed. Yet, one cannot conclude that welfare state expansions generally displace familial support. As Brandt states, *"affection and a sense of obligation provide motives to continue giving support"* (Brandt et al., 2009, p.3), regardless of the public provision of support. As hypothesised, a lower unemployment rate translates to a lower probability regarding intergenerational cohabitation. With each additional percent of the active population being unemployed, cohabitation in the respective country becomes 2% more likely ($p<0.1$). At first sight, this effect seems almost meaningless because of the small effect size. However, unemployment rates differ substantially between the analysed countries, from around 3% to almost 20%. An increase in 5% regarding the unemployment rate corresponds to intergenerational cohabitation being 10% more likely in the respective country. Taken together, Hypothesis 5 can be supported: a low unemployment rate and high expenses for public family support are negatively associated with the co-residence of young adults and their parents.

Turning to the last Hypothesis (H6), it was assumed that high public expenses for old age security would guarantee financial security. The results of the regression show that there is no empirical evidence supporting this claim. The share of national GDP a country invests in old age security is not causally related to the prevalence of intergenerational cohabitation.

5 Discussion

The aim of this paper was to investigate why young adults stay with their parents during a life phase that is commonly characterized by independence. This is an intruiging question as for the past years, the number of adult children in Europe living with their parents has been rising (Kaplan, 2012). So far, only few studies have focused on intergenerational cohabitation of young adults and again fewer included cross-national comparisons. Previous research has shown that while the needs of the younger generation decrease with increasing age, the challenges of age lead to an increased dependence of parents on their children over time (Ward et al., 1992). Although this is an interesting insight, the pattern reflects the natural developmental familial life cycle. As the life course approach states, uniform sequential stages of life can be identified, beginning in most cases with a period of cohabitation with one's parents until late adolescence and ending with becoming increasingly dependent on familial or institutional help and support in old age.

The life course perspective offers a set of individual heuristics, demarcating an excellent starting point for further theoretical considerations. Life course scholar Szydlik (Szydlik, 2008) developed a theoretical model of intergenerational solidarity which differentiates four main dimensions: need and opportunity at the micro-level, family structures at the meso-level and cultural-contextual structures at the macro-level. Numerous influence factors can be integrated into the model. Moreover, the model can be applied to a variety of forms of family solidarity, one of them being intergenerational cohabitation.

Following a critial appraisal of the model, two proposed modifications were put forward. First, because all effects are excerted either via the need or the opportunity channel, the other dimensions can be considered subordinate factors. In brief, the first dimension includes economic, social and health needs, while the second deals with the opportunites which make cross-generational living possible in the first place. Additionally, Szydlik's model to a large extent neglects the influence of other forms of solidarity on intergenerational living. Yet, if either parents or adult children invite a family member into their home, this implies a feeling of solidarity

towards the other. Therefore, the introduction of a third dimension was proposed: social motivation. Regarding the new feature of the model, five hypotheses were formulated.

To assess the explanatory power of the revised model and test the hypotheses, several logistic regression were estimated. In order to do justice to the data structure, multi-level models were computed, including young adults on the individual level, characteristics of their parents and the parental household on the household level and macro-level indicators on the national level.

The first hypothesis deals with the effect of other family members in the parental household on intergenerational cohabitation. It was based on the assumption that the presence of other family members is indicative of the parents' family solidarity in general and their feeling of parental duty specifically. Thus it was assumed that siblings under the age of 20 decrease the probability of cohabitation for the young adult in question, while grandparents have a neutral and siblings of similar age have a positive effect. The results of the regressions support the claims of the hypothesis. However, the presumption that the parents' sense of family solidarity is the decisive factor remains theoretical as no direct information on the parents' familial values could be used and other causal explanations are conceivable as well. This being said, the results unveil an interesting set of influential explanatory factors which can be build on in future research.

According to the second hypothesis, children of parents who might need their support when getting older should be more likely to live with their parents than young adults whose parents do not depend on support in the future. The results of the regression did not show the expected effects, but rather indicated that children of parents who have a higher share of their income at their disposal in retirement are even more likely to cohabitate than their peers with parents whose pension only corresponds to a low share of current income. This might be due to the fact that a high pension coverage is indicative of continous employment and thus a stable parental household. Due to severe limitations of the data set, operationalization only led to a very crude variable indicating the share of current income the parents

will receive once retired. Information on the subjective evaluation of the parents' future financial situation and their assessment on the dependence on their children later in life would have been much more suitable.

Returning to familialistic values, the third hypothesis assumed that children of parents who take care of (non-cohabitating) grandparents and support other adult siblings would be more likely to co-reside with their parents as they were thought to have a stronger sense of familialism. With regard to grandparents, no significant effect was found. In contrast, the part of the hypothesis concerning adult siblings was confirmed: The more parents support adult siblings of the young adult in question, the higher the probability of cohabitation. This result is especially intruiging as this study was the first to include the parental support network into analysis. The fact that supporting adult children and grandparents has quite different implications for shared living of the young adults and their parents evinces that the concept of familial solidarity might be not specific enough. Instead, the values of parental duty might be more suitable in this case. What is more, not only support provided at this point in time can be of relevance, but also support provided in the past. Indeed, young adults who were supported by their parents in their early twenties could be more likely to support their parents in times of need. Returning to the life course perspective, scholars theorise that there are uniform shifts between phases during which latent resources are gathered and stages of life characterised by the their exchange (Elder, 1992). Riley and Riley coined the term latent kinship matrix to refer to a set of family members who take turns receiving and providing support to their relatives (Riley and Riley, 1993). According to the authors, family ties are shaped by such periods of what they call latency and activation. Thus, latent family ties are of great significance for an individual since they might enable manifest solidarity later on. A key property of the latent kinship matrix is consequently the value of dormant relationships which do not yet yield any resources. Integrating this theoretical considerations into the analysis might bring interesting results.

The fourth hypothesis assumed that high family expenditures and a good overall economic situation are negatively associated with the likelihood of intergenerational

cohabitation as the motivation to offer accommodation as well as the need for it decreases. The results of the regressions support this assumption. Due to the complexity of the model's structure and the multitude of factors included on both the individual and household level, only limited attention could be payed to these factors. Yet, a more intensive examination of family expenditures and family support relating to intergenerational cohabitation might reveal interesting findings.
In addition to the second, also the fifth and last hypothesis relates to the parents' financial situation in retirement. It was hypothesised that high public expenditures for old age security decreas the parents' prosepective need for support once retired, thereby leading lower rates of intergenerational cohabitation. However, no empirical evidence supporting this claim could be found. Again, this indicator might be causally too far from what was intended to measure. A country investing a high share of its GDP into old age security does not equate to a high living quality for pensioners. For example, depending on specific welfare state policies, pension entitlements can be strongly linked to previous earnings, resulting in diverse retirement incomes.

Taken together, the results of similar studies could be confirmed. The integration of indicators relating to family solidarity has proven to be a valuable extension to previously exisiting causal influence factors. Given the exploratory nature of the results, replication with improved indicators is needed. In particular, measures that more fully tap values of parental duty are required. Additionally, information on the motivations for cohabitation of all concerned as well as parental monetary support towards their children which is *"a close substitute for co-residence"* (Kaplan, 2012, p.448), would add to the quality of explanations. Nevertheless, this paper elucidated that intergenerational cohabitation is not merely a matter concerning young adults and their parents but also other family members.

Apart from those and the previously mentioned limitations specific to features which are closely linked to the formulation of the hypotheses, the study has two limitations which are due to the general structure of the data set.
First, information on the young adults can be assumed to suffer from considerable

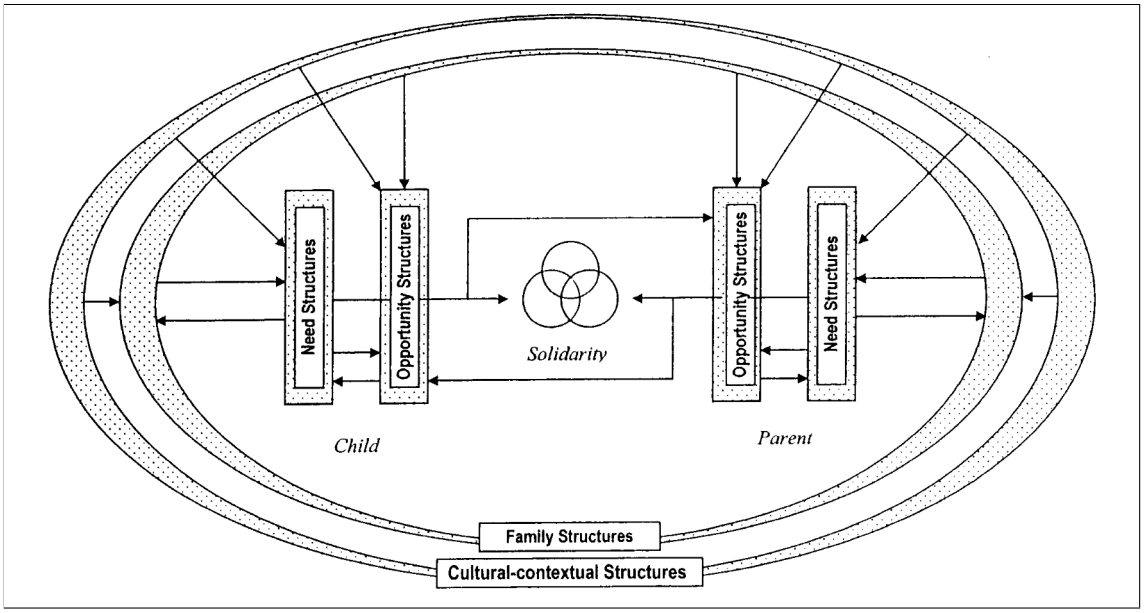
measurement errors as it was aquired not by interviewing the young adults themselves, but their parents (Le Blanc and Laferrère, 2004, p.57f.). This is especially troubling as it must be assumed that those errors are neither equal across all young adults nor randomly distributed. Instead, young adults who for example dropped out of university or lost their job are especially likely to misreport information on their occupational status to their parents for reasons of social desireability. Thus, obviously, data collected on young adults as well as their parents is superior to the data structure at hand. Yet, only very few data sets which meet this requirement exist as tracing young adults who leave the parental home is a great challenge and the remaining sample is very likely to be biased.

Another issue is that this study only provides a cross-sectional glimpse into the phenomenon. Longitudinal data analysis would bemore appropriate concerning the time-sensitive causes gearing the process of home-leaving and returning. As Ward and colleagues state in their paper, *"the fluidity of shared housing must also be recognized, as children and parents move in and out of coresident situations in response to changing circumstances in the lives of either"*(Ward et al., 1992). What is more, the cross-sectional nature of the data used makes it very difficult to identify causal links. The issue of possible reverse causality can be illustrated using the example of the young adults' occupational status. Commonly, it is assumed that young adults who work only part-time live at home because they do not earn enough to run their own hosehold. However, Haurin discovered that some young adults who live with their parents and work part-time do so because they support their parents (Haurin et al., 1993, p.284). In this case, working part-time is not the reason for the young adults' co-residence, but rather the consequence of their care-giving. Similarly, in his research Kaplan identified that young adults who live with their parents are more selective when taking on jobs than their independently living peers (Kaplan, 2012, p.449). Although SHARE is a panel survey, for reasons of missingness and changes in the data structure it was not possible to use more than one wave. For the same reasons, it was also not possible to differentiate boomerang kids from young adults who have never lived independently. Yet, these two groups can be expected to live at the parental home for quite different reasons.

Appendices

A Theoretical framework

A.1 Visualisation of Szydlik's theoretical model of intergenerational cohabitation, as presented in (Szydlik, 2008, p.99)



B Operationalization tables

B.1 Dependent variable

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Place of residence of young adults	Distance between parental household and place of residence of their children (ch007_1 to ch007_8)	0 = no cohabitation 1 = cohabitation	Following the research of Szydlik and Isengard (2012) as well as Courtin (2016), cohabitation includes young adults who live in the same household as well as those living in the same house.	It is not known who moved in with whom. Altough cohabitation is most likely to take place at the parental residence, there is also the possibility that parents move in to their child's home.

B.2 Independent variables

B.2.1 Young adults

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Occupational status	Employment status of young adults (ch016_1 to ch016_8)	0 = in education 1 = part-time 2 = full-time employed 3 = self- employed 4 = unemployed 5 = homemaker 6 = other	Homemakers include young adults on parental leave as well as those looking after home and family. Residual category includes young adults currently in mandatory military service as well as other minorities.	For young adults who are self-employed, it is not indicated whether they work part- or full-time. Therefore, this group has to be considered individually from all other working young adults. Deplorably, only one status at a time could be recorded. Therefore, young adults who are for example both in education and working part- time could only be categorized as one or the other. The information is provided by the young adult's parents. This entails two problems. First, if contact frequency is low, the statement may be not up-to-date. On the same account, inaccuracies and errors are more likely as if the information was provided by the young adults themselves. Moreover, young adults may not disclose dropping out of education or losing their job for fear of defamation because feeling embarrassed. And even if they do so, parents might not feel comfortable sharing this information with the interviewer.

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Level of education	ISCED- standardization of education level from 1997 (isced1997_c1 to isced1997_c8)	1 = (pre-) primary education 2 = lower secondary education 3 = upper secondary education 4 = post-primary non-tertiary education 5 = tertiary 6 = education	To allow for international comparison, the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) is used. First and second stages of tertiary education are aggregated, as very few young adults have achieved the latter.	See above.
Age	Year of birth of young adult (ch006_1 to ch006_8) and year of interview of parent (int_year)	Continuous variable ranging from 20 to 39 years		
Gender	Sex (ch005_1 to ch005_8)	0 = male 1 = female		

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Stage of family formation	Marital status (ch012_1 to ch012_8) and number of children (ch019_1 to ch019_8)	0 = not married, no children 1 = not married children 2 = married, no children 3 = married, children	Following the family life cycle, four categories are formed, starting with young adults living without a partner or children up to young adults who became parents and dissolved their marriage. Registered partnerships are considered equal to marriages.	See above. Unfortunately, no information on non-cohabitating, non-married partners is provided. Therefore, single young adults cannot be differentiated from those in a relationship living separately.

B.2.2 Parents

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Level of education	ISCED- standardization of education level from 1997 (isced1997)	See young adults' level of education.	See young adults' level of education.	See above.
Health status	Subjective evaluation of health status (sphus)	1 = Excellent 2 = Very good 3 = Good 4 = Fair 5 = Poor	For couples, the average evaluation of health is computed. With regard to single parents, their value is considered.	
Financial situation in old age	Income in retirement as percentage of current income (sp109)	1 = 0-25% of income 2 = 25-50% of income 3 = 50-75% of income 4 = 75-100% of income 5 = missing/ retired	For couples, the share of their combined income is computed. For individuals, the value is estimated using only their information. Then, four categories are formed.	As parents who are retired do already receive their pension, no effect due to an expected change in income can be expected. Thus, this indicator was only computed for parents who are still working.

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Age	Year of birth of parents (DN003_) and year of interview (int_year)	Continuous variable ranging from 40 to 83 years	Continuous variable ranging from 40 to 83 years If the parent is single, the mean age corresponds to the age of this respondent.	
Partnership status	Marital status (DN014_) and partner in household (partnerinhh)	0 = single parent 1 = couple	As children from separated parents were excluded, parents with new partners are not part of the sample. Therefore, all respondents who indicate to have a partner are in relationships with the other parent.	
Migrational background	Country of birth (DN004) and citizenship (DN007_)	0 = no migrational background 1 = migrational background	The parental home is categorized as a household with a migration background if at least one parent claims to have been born in another country or does not possess the nationality of the country of residence.	As only respondents who speak the national language well enough to complete the survey in it were included, it can be assumed that the survey does not include the less well integrated individuals. For single parents, when the other parent was not interviewed, e.g. because he/ she already died, there is no information on this person‘s migrational background. Because of the limited information provided, it was not possible to differentiate between households where both parents are migrants and those where only one parent has a migrational background as the latter can only be true for couples.

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Non-transferable Resources	Home ownership (ho002_) and value of the residence (ho024_)	0 = no owner 1-4 = owner, value of property acending in quartiles	Member of cooperatives are categorised as owners.	All information on housing is provided by one chosen household representative. Therefore, information may include inaccuracies depending on that person's level of knowledge. The aim of including the value of the house is to capture the attractiveness for the young adult to live there. However, some factors contribute to the value but not the attractiveness, such as the value of the land the property is built on. The accommodation's value is only provided for home owners, no information on the value of rented property is provided. The rental price is no appropriate measure as it fluctuates and the longer parents live in a flat, the less up-to-date the information is.
Cohabitating household members	Relationship of all household members to coverscreen respondent (relrpers)	Younger siblings: 0 = no cohabitation 1 = 1 younger sibling in household 2 = more than one younger sibling in household Other young adults: 0 = no cohabitation 1 young adult in household 2 = more than 1 young adult in household Grandparents: 0 = no cohabitation 1 = cohabitation	In order to model cohabitating family members, a set of three variables was created. These differentiate between cohabitating grandparents, children under the age of 20 and other young adults living with the parents.	It is not known, how long the individual family members have been living in the respondent's household or for what reason they moved in.

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Support for other family members	To whom given help (sp009_1 to sp009_3) and how often given help (sp012_1 to sp012_3)	Continuous variable from 0 = no support provided to 5 = support provided in high frequency to high share of relatives	A set of two variables was created, reflecting the parents' level of support for their non-cohabitating adult children and parents. Scores were computed by aggregating the parents' support for the respective group of relatives (excluding the child in question), then calculating the share of person who were helped, e.g. one of two adult children. This way, parents with more children do not score higher just on that account. Thereupon, the values were multiplied by the parents' indication of support frequency with low values indicating a low level of support and high values the opposite. Lastly, for couples, the mean value was computed.	Unfortunately, survey respondents were only asked to name the three people who they supported the most. However, 7% of the respondents indicated to have helped more than three people. There is no information in the data set on how the respondents gave support, e.g. housekeeping support, personal care etc.

B.2.3 Macro-level indicators

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Unemployment	Annual average of national unemployment rate as percentage of active population (source: Eurostat)	Continuous variable ranging from 3.5% to 19.9%	The data is provided by Eurostat. Lagged indicators were used, the data being from 2010, 3 years prior to the survey interviews.	
Public family support	Expenditure for family support in % of national GDP (source: SOCX)	Continuous variable ranging from 1.3% to 4.3%	The data is part of the OECD Social Expenditure Dataset. Lagged indicators were used (year 2010).	Information is only available for either year 2010 or 2013. Therefore, only a lag of 3 years was possible.
Public old age security	Expenditure for old age security in % of national GDP (source: SOCX)	Continuous variable ranging from 7.6% to 12.9%	The data is part of the OECD Social Expenditure Dataset. Lagged indicators were used (year 2010).	See above.

B.2.4 Control variables

Dimension	Used variables	Adopted scale	Description	Limitations
Number of other family members in the parental household	Relationship of all household members to coverscreen respondent (relrpers)	Numeric variable	To control for space occupied by people who are not the focus of this study, it was controlled for other family members cohabitating with the parents.	
Number of young adult's siblings previously not accounted for	Number of children (CH001_)	Numeric variable	Children who were taken into account in the variables concerning household composition were excluded here to prevent double entries	

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