Dynamics of fertility and partnership in Europe

Insights and lessons from comparative research

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CHAPTER 2

HOUSEHOLD AND UNION FORMATION IN A MEDITERRANEAN FASHION: ITALY AND SPAIN

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A. BACKGROUND: THE "LATEST LATE" TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD[i]

The multiplication of the paths of transition to adulthood, with the spread of non-marital cohabitation and prolonged periods of life spent as single, is often mentioned by proponents of the theory of the Second Demographic Transition (van de Kaa, 1987) as well as by other life course scholars (Buchmann, 1989). The prevalent view is that, at least in Western Europe, one should observe a move towards a plurality of behaviours. In most Southern European countries (in particular Italy and Spain), however, such pluralism does not yet seem to have been fully developed. Concerning the departure from the parental home, for instance, it has become increasingly common to speak of a "Mediterranean" or "Southern European" pattern (Jones, 1995; Fernández Cordón, 1997). This pattern is embedded in the whole family formation process. Reher (1998) for example essentially distinguishes "two Europes" west of the famous Trieste-Saint Petersburg line drawn by Hajnal (1965): a northern Europe in which family ties are relatively "weak", and a southern Europe that is marked by the strength and pervasiveness of family ties. The notion of "familism" in Italy remains indeed the focal point of many hypotheses on the behaviour in the transition to adulthood, including first parenthood (Dalla Zuanna, 1999). The lower incidence of divorce and non-marital pregnancies and the greater support given by the family to the unemployed and the aged are indicators of this strength in family ties. From another point of view, Esping-Andersen (1999) emphasises the similarity of the Mediterranean welfare systems and institutional settings, defining them as "familialistic". We therefore take Spain and Italy as prototypical Mediterranean societies.

The key features of the Mediterranean pattern of the transition to adulthood are twofold. Firstly, the stay at the parental home of the cohorts born around the 1970s is prolonged. The youngest cohorts show something that we might call the "latest late" home-leaving behaviour. Secondly, the interconnection between the departure from the parental home and marriage is strong (Cavalli and Galland, 1996). As Corijn (1999) points out, this interconnection can also be observed in societies like Poland and Belgium. It is precisely on the timing of these two events, and on the relationship between the departure from the parental home and the entry into the first union, that

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we shall concentrate our attention in this chapter.

B. MACRO TRENDS AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Because we use information about life courses that develop in space but also across time and that are shaped by a dynamically evolving historical context (Giele and Elder, 1998), we must consider Italy and Spain as national settings that change over time. In this sense, even present similarities in behaviour may be the outcome of very different paths and/or processes. Ideally similar cultural patterns are also embedded in very different institutional contexts. We therefore use, as our basic units of comparison, birth cohorts: groups of individuals who experienced similar situations at (approximately) similar ages.

　　　To simplify matters, for each nation we take into consideration three birth cohorts: an oldest cohort (Spain 1945-54, Italy 1946-55); a middle cohort (Spain 1955-64, Italy 1956-65); and a youngest cohort (Spain 1965-74, Italy 1966-75). The slight differences in birth years are imposed by the design of the surveys we have access to. In Italy the context in which these cohorts go through their early adulthood ages has changed in an almost gradual manner, while in Spain the changes have been more clear-cut. (In Billari *et al*., 2000, the same cohorts are defined as "pre-Franco", "transition" and "post-Franco".)

　　　In Spain (see e.g. Casal and Garcia, 1996) the Civil War (1936-39) ended in a complete break-up of the society and in a return to traditionalism. In this way, what is commonly known as "national Catholicism" was born, which was characterised, on the one hand, by the alliance with Fascism and Nazism and, on the other, by the close links between General Franco and the Vatican. Until the end of the 1950s the State strongly intervened in the spheres of private life and morality. It fought freedom of thought, repressed socialist ideology and imposed the Catholic conservative model. The oldest Spanish cohort in our study

grew up in this context, while the middle one experienced it partially. In the following years (1960-76) the period of economic and urban growth began, which was characterised by the emergence of a technocratic ideology in the economic sphere and by the persistence of a reactionary school of thought in the political, social and moral spheres. The youngest cohort is thus the only one that entirely experienced this period of economic development, although those born between 1955 and 1964 were the ones most affected by this situation. (In that period they were about 15 years old, a crucial age for the transition into adulthood.) The educational system in Spain underwent important transformations during this period, which were aimed at promoting both secondary and university studies. These transformations favoured primarily the emergent middle classes. The role of women, however, did not experience major advances, and the prevailing model remained that of passing from the parental control to husband's tutelage after marriage. Work activities were conceded only if they were judged compatible with the role of wife, mother and housewife. The real changes came about only after the death of General Franco, in the period of the democratic transition during which the Spanish Democratic Constitution was drawn up (1978) and the Socialist Party won the elections (1982). The process of political and cultural modernisation was consolidated in 1986 when Spain was fully integrated, politically and economically, into the European Community. At the same time, however, Spain's economic crisis further deepened, with unemployment rates increasing and remaining high. Moreover, rents and housing prices shot up, beyond levels compatible with family incomes. Again, the cohort most affected was the 1965-74 one that, on the one hand, experienced the advantages of democracy but, on the other, was forced to face the problems caused by the country's economic crisis. By the end of the 1980s, Spain managed to consolidate its democracy, isolate the ultraconservative ideology of the Franco regime, promote modern cultural

values and truly integrate itself into the European economic and political context.

After the end of World War II (see e.g. Ginsborg, 1989), Italy experienced an economic boom slightly earlier than Spain. Despite the fact that the period until the big Oil Crisis was marked by economic growth, until the mid-1950s Italy remained on many accounts an underdeveloped country. Then, industrialisation provoked a general exodus from the countryside, in particular from south, towards centres of urban and industrial development in the north. The 1970s marked the onset of a period of short expansive and recessive economic cycles. Unemployment rates increased in Italy, too, as did the total working population as a result of the massive entry of women into the labour force. The migratory flow then decreased, and the regions of the so-called "third Italy" emerged.

Based on the framework just outlined, the main research questions are: What are the similarities (as considered by the comparative research literature, which is essentially based on cross-sectional views) and the differences between the two countries when considering both their initial conditions and their evolution over time? Are new forms of behaviour such as leaving home to live as a single or in a consensual union spreading? Are gender differentials narrowing? What is the role of the educational and occupational careers? And what is the impact of early reproductive choices?

C. THE DATA AND THE CONNECTION BETWEEN HOUSEHOLD AND UNION FORMATION

The Spanish "Encuesta de Fecundidad y Familia" (Delgado and Castro Martín, 1999) and the Italian "Seconda Indagine Nazionale sulla Fecondità" (De Sandre et al., 1997, De Sandre et al., 2000) were organised within the framework of an international survey program co-ordinated by the PAU of the UNECE, and were carried out between November 1994 and January 1996. In both surveys, representative samples of men and women

(1 991 men and 4 021 women for the Spanish survey; 1 206 men, 4 824 women and 600 of their male partners for the Italian survey) were interviewed with the objective of gathering detailed information on – among other things – partnership, childbearing, educational and employment careers[ii]. The exact dating of such careers is particularly important when one wishes to apply event history analysis (Blossfeld and Rohwer, 1995).

As mentioned before, one of the peculiar characteristics of Spain and Italy is that events such as the departure from the parental home and first union formation are experienced relatively late, and that these two are strongly interconnected. If one observes the values of their survivor functions (expressing the percentage of individuals who have not yet experienced an event at a given age) - we do not provide them here for lack of space - this delay for the two countries is evident, although different. For example, the values of the survivor functions for the first departure from the parental home in Italy by 25 years of age grew analogously from the oldest to the youngest cohort for both men and women – from 48 through 60 to 86 per cent for men, and from 28 through 39 to 63 per cent for women. On the other hand, in Spain there was a leap only for the youngest cohort – for men from 54 to 68 per cent while for women from 31 to 48 per cent (Billari and Ongaro, 1999; Billari et al., 2000). The situation is analogous when one observes the timing of the first union.

Looking only at leaving home for the first time and at forming a first union (by type of union), we can classify the individuals into five groups:

- those who have experienced neither the first departure from the parental home nor first union formation;

- those who have left the parental home before forming a first union (in other words, those who experienced residential autonomy);

- those who have entered into a union while still in the parental home (in other words, those who experienced a patrilocal union)[iii];

- those who simultaneously left home and entered into a first consensual union (in other words, those who experienced a neolocal cohabitation); and

- those who simultaneously left home and entered into a first marriage (in other words, those who experienced a neolocal marriage).

In order to define simultaneous events we use a monthly time scale. This conservative choice was made in order not to overestimate the Southern European kind of transition. A fuzzy time approach (Courgeau and Lelièvre, 1992) would have lead to an even higher share of people experiencing simultaneous events.
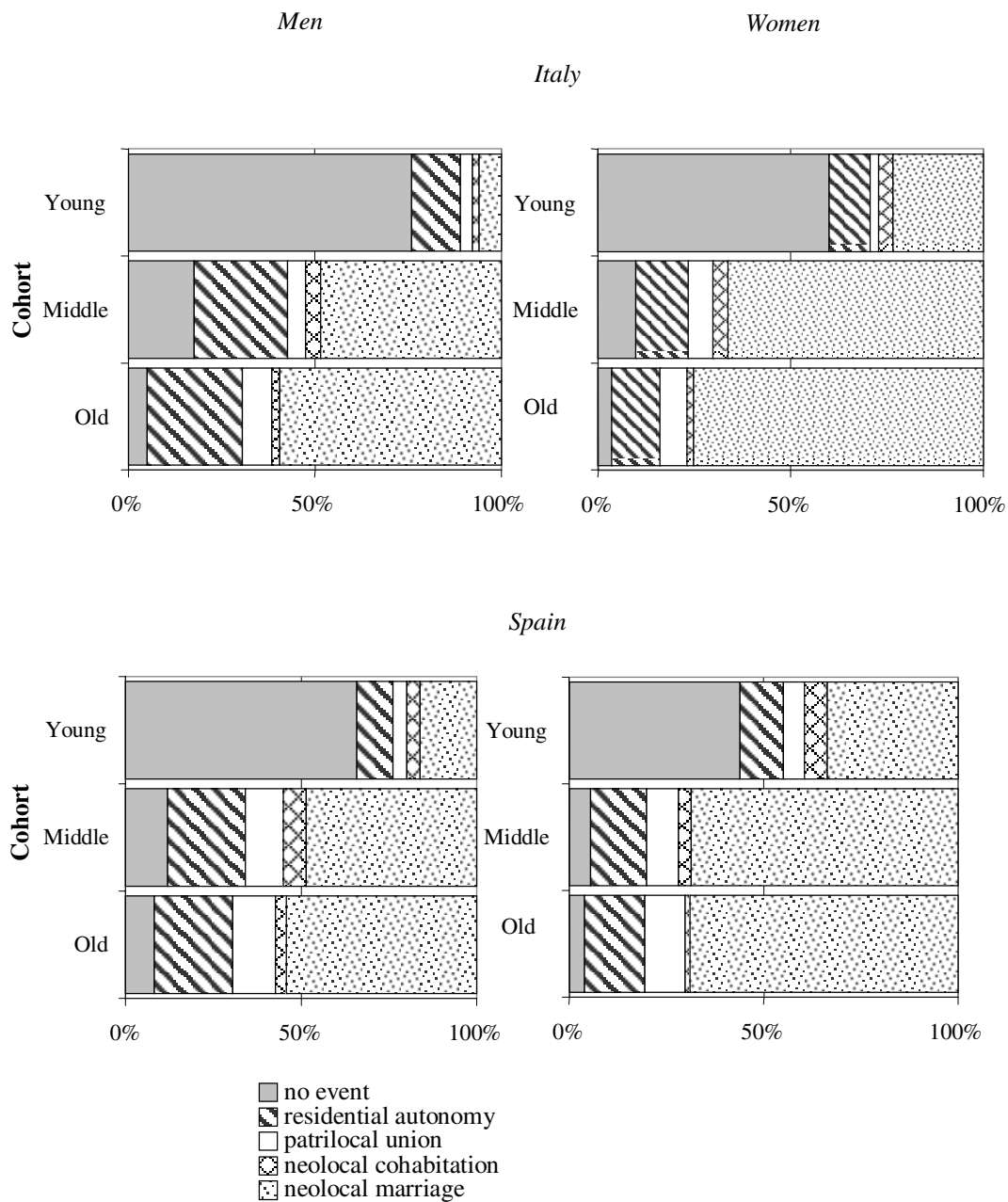
An initial description based on the above fivefold classification is given in Figure 2.1. As one might expect, the first event (non-marital cohabitation or marriage) experienced at or after leaving the parental home is quite different among Spanish and Italian men and women. In general it can be said that the oldest cohort has mostly experienced marriage at leaving home. Women usually experience the events under study at an earlier age and, therefore, there are fewer of them who have not yet experienced any event. The percentage of young adults having left home for a non-marital cohabitation is larger in the middle cohort than in the oldest cohort[iv]. Experiencing only leaving home is more frequent among men than among women, although the youngest cohort may hold some surprises in this respect. At the time of interview the proportion of young individuals who had only experienced leaving home was roughly the same for men and women. This may be linked to departures for the purposes of studying, which is nowadays more equally distributed between men and women than it was in the past. Some of these departures might have been only temporary, but given the fact that in both surveys only the first departure was recorded, it is not possible to investigate returning home.

D. A MULTIPLE DESTINATION FRAMEWORK FOR MODELLING COHORT DYNAMICS

We only consider models that allow us to study leaving home and entry into the first union as interconnected processes. Event history models for multiple destinations (see e.g. Blossfeld and Rohwer, 1995) are particularly suitable for analysing such processes. In the domain of leaving home, approaches based on multiple destinations have been used, for example, by Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1994) for the USA, Liefbroer and de Jong Gierveld (1995) for The Netherlands, and by Billari and Ongaro (1999) for Italy. In the literature, these destinations have mostly been defined on the basis of either the main reason for the departure as suggested by the respondent, or the type of household then formed. In our study, however, it is the timing of leaving home and that of first union formation - as events belonging to parallel careers of the life course – that define the ultimate state space. An approach similar to the one adopted here (but without considering non-marital cohabitation as a separate destination) was followed by Billari (2000) for Italy, and by Billari *et al*. (2000) for Spain. Figure 2.2 shows the structure of this model.

We use piecewise constant exponential models with covariates having the effect of multiplying the transition rate. If such proportional hazard models are being used for multiple destinations, it is not quite possible to determine if - say - a positive effect should be interpreted as indicating a greater ultimate propensity to end up in such a destination, or as a faster speed in making the transition to it. In this chapter we distinguish these effects by estimating age-specific parameters. We use the term "average rate" when the estimated effect is not considered to vary by age. Age intervals have been chosen in such a way as to have enough events in each of the cohorts examined: from 15 to 19 years, from 19 to 23, and from 23 onwards (always closed on the left). The lower limit of the last age interval starts at 23, because

Figure 2.1. First event experienced

Men   *Women*

Italy

Spain

☐ no event
◼ residential autonomy
☐ patrilocal union
☒ neolocal cohabitation
▨ neolocal marriage

we wanted to be able to explicitly study the youngest cohort that, as we shall see, is particularly interesting.

Our starting point is the situation for the oldest cohort, for which the values of the estimated rates are shown in Figure 2.3. These are based on a model that contains

the age intervals used in all subsequent analyses and that is restricted to the members of that particular birth cohort.

Before analysing the results, we shortly highlight our expectations on cohort dynamics. For all transitions, we expect the changes in Italy to be gradual and to a certain extent in line with the cohort effect,

while in Spain we expect the youngest cohort to clearly detach itself from the previous two. However, we expect a sharp reduction in the rates at the lowest ages. Moreover, whereas clear gender differences exist from the beginning, they should diminish over time.

As concerns the specific destinations, we expect that:
- residential autonomy is chosen less frequently at younger ages and more so at older ages. This is mainly related to the increase in participation in the university system and to aspirations for residential independence. Conversely, a decrease in migratory movements for purposes of work would result in lower rates at all ages.

- patrilocal unions are postponed and in any case experienced less and less at all ages. This is due to the reduction in complex households, which were more prevalent in the past.
- neolocal cohabitation, although being delayed, is experienced more and more frequently.
- neolocal marriages are both being postponed and experienced less and less at all ages.

The results of the models are shown in Table 2.1 displaying the proportional effects across all ages and in Table 2.2, which specifies the estimated effects for each age segment.

Figure 2.2. Diagram of the multiple destination models used

State of origin   *States of destination (events)*
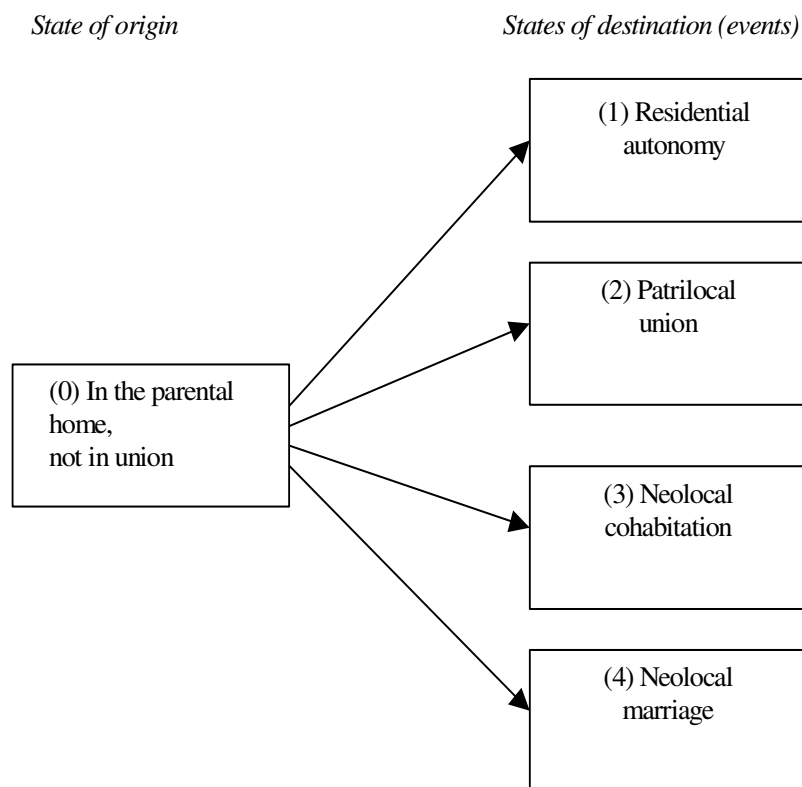
Table 2.1. Multiple destination model with proportional hazards (only cohort effects)

Destinations	Residential autonomy		Patrilocal union		Neolocal Cohabitation		Neolocal marriage	
	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p
Italy, Men								
Baseline log-rates								
15-19	-6.1224		-9.1150		-11.2907		-9.282	
19-23	-5.8477		-7.7771		-8.5768		-6.0718	
23 and over	-6.7763		-6.5793		-8.0727		-4.4722	
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.1095		-0.6369	*	0.5346		-0.3406	**
Youngest	-0.5998	**	-0.4333		0.1958		-1.7228	**
Log likelihood	-4980.71							
Spain, Men								
Baseline log-rates								
15-19	-6.7588		-9.3333		-11.4588		-9.9323	
19-23	-6.2961		-7.4257		-8.7770		-6.8671	
23 and over	-6.4185		-6.5761		-7.7425		-4.8610	
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	0.0300		0.0765		0.9605	**	0.0971	
Youngest	-0.5376	**	-0.5550	*	0.7569	*	-0.4294	**
Log likelihood	-8583.595							
Italy, Women								
Baseline log-rates								
15-19	-7.0896		-7.9471		-9.3508		-6.2419	
19-23	-6.4220		-7.0431		-8.9078		-4.6254	
23 and over	-6.5856		-6.8751		-8.1025		-4.2555	
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	0.0321		-0.1929		0.7675	**	-0.2499	**
Youngest	-0.0784		-1.0528	**	1.0189	**	-1.0041	**
Log likelihood	-22422.72							
Spain, Women								
Baseline log-rates								
15-19	-6.9017		-8.4312		-10.5899		-7.4488	
19-23	-6.3817		-6.9521		-9.6463		-5.1540	
23 and over	-6.5734		-6.3578		-8.4471		-4.3238	
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.0208		-0.1353		1.1973	**	0.1208	*
Youngest	-0.1916	+	-0.4216	**	1.9178	**	-0.4542	**
Log likelihood	-18551.99							

Note: ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p< 0.1.
Source: own elaboration of FFS microdata.

Table 2.2. Multiple destination model with age-specific proportional hazards (only cohort effects)

Destinations	Residential autonomy Estimate	p	Patrilocal union Estimate	p	Neolocal cohabitation Estimate	p	Neolocal marriage Estimate	p
Italy, Men								
Baseline log-rates								
15-19	-5.9722		-17.2535		-17.9332		-10.2045	
19-23	-5.7921		-7.9258		-8.2577		-5.8394	
23 and over	-7.3564		-6.4695		-8.2379		-4.5129	
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle (15-19)	-0.2757		8.5804		8.0203		1.2801	
Middle (19-23)	-0.2959		-0.4944		-0.4321		-0.6769	*
Middle (23 and over)	0.7034	+	-0.8889	*	0.8587		-0.2920	**
Youngest (15-19)	-0.9649	**	7.4352		0.0000		-5.1295	
Youngest (19-23)	-0.5555	*	-0.1335		0.1993		-3.2688	**
Youngest (23 and over)	0.2750		-0.5930		-0.0444		-1.4275	**
Log likelihood	-4965.277							
Spain, Men								
Baseline log-rates								
15-19	-6.3320		-15.8941		-16.3968		-10.1545	
19-23	-6.3516		-7.7557		-9.2020		-7.2936	
23 and over	-6.6914		-6.4585		-7.6491		-4.8302	
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle (15-19)	-0.5554	*	7.5322		6.0111		0.5015	
Middle (19-23)	0.1649		0.4612		1.3736	+	0.3558	
Middle (23 and over)	0.3243		-0.1517		0.8677	**	0.0817	
Youngest (15-19)	-1.4710	**	0.0000		5.8724		-0.2751	
Youngest (19-23)	-0.5351	*	-0.0099		1.2932	+	0.4366	
Youngest (23 and over)	0.2159		-0.7253	*	0.5829		-0.5892	**
Log likelihood	-8559.27							
Italy, Women								
Baseline log-rates								
15-19	-6.8558		-8.0163		-9.5229		-6.2814	
19-23	-6.6143		-6.9708		-8.7253		-4.5293	
23 and over	-6.6122		-6.9136		-8.1333		-4.3351	
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle (15-19)	-0.1029		0.1033		0.8111		0.0330	
Middle (19-23)	0.1262		-0.2796		0.4416		-0.3874	**
Middle (23 and over)	0.0831		-0.2759		0.9058	*	-0.1962	**
Youngest (15-19)	-0.7072	**	-1.4632	**	1.3109	*	-1.5343	**
Youngest (19-23)	0.3170	*	-1.2609	**	0.8708	*	-1.2359	**
Youngest (23 and over)	-0.0647		-0.4904		0.8782	*	-0.5813	**
Log likelihood	-22382.61							
Spain, Women								
Baseline log-rates								
15-19	-6.5835		-9.7580		-9.8983		-7.4530	
19-23	-6.3482		-7.2092		-9.8113		-5.2673	
23 and over	-7.1077		-6.1217		-8.5613		-4.2725	
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle (15-19)	-0.3818	*	1.6374	*	0.1922		-0.0082	
Middle (19-23)	-0.1159		0.1571		1.3422	+	0.3066	**
Middle (23 and over)	0.6463	**	-0.5238	**	1.3693	**	0.0361	
Youngest (15-19)	-0.8138	**	1.0036		1.2413	+	-0.2706	
Youngest (19-23)	-0.1949		0.0140		2.1058	**	-0.3370	**
Youngest (23 and over)	0.6444	**	-0.9115	**	2.0153	**	-0.5280	**
Log likelihood	-18525.42							

Note: ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$, + $p< 0.1$.
Source: own elaboration of FFS microdata

The oldest cohort experienced residential autonomy by age 23 at higher rates for men than for women, in particular in Italy (Figure 2.3a). The clearest evolution from the estimates presented in Tables 2.1 and 1.2 (first column) is one of a convergence towards lower rates. At the younger ages of 15-23 in which the departures for study and work are mostly concentrated, Italian men leave home without immediate union formation less frequently than in the past. One can see an almost identical evolution among Spanish men. The narrowing gender gap we expected is decidedly present and interesting. Among Italian women in the youngest cohort, a lower rate for the ages up to 19 - a direction of change analogous to that of Italian men – goes hand-in-hand with a higher rate for the university group aged 19-23. The effect according to age is equally non-linear among young Spanish women. This shows that the extended participation in the education system in both countries has primed a dynamism that leads to a reduction in the differences between men and women.
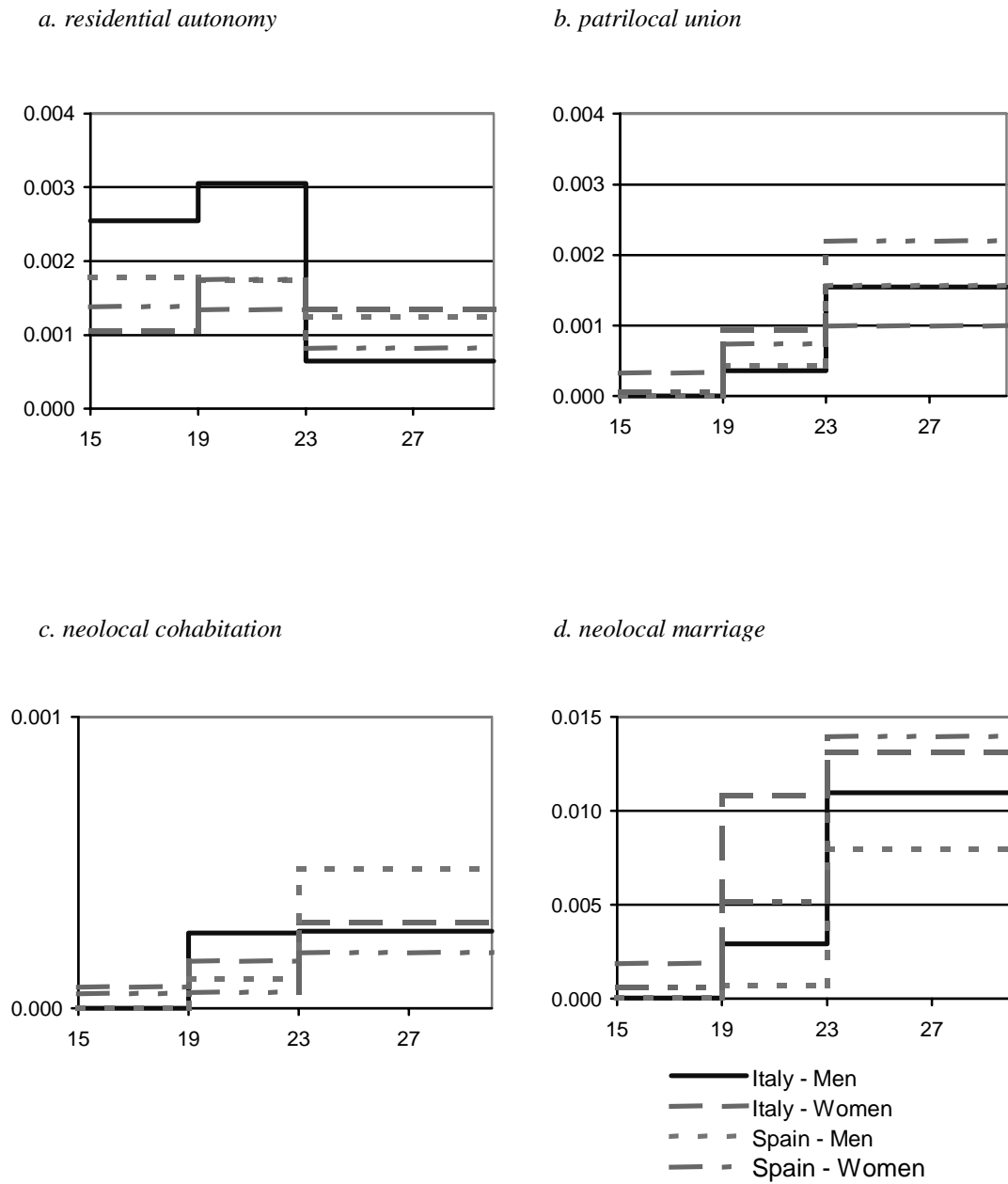
Examining patrilocal unions, Figure 2.3b shows that in Italy the rates for the oldest cohort were slightly higher for women at the lower ages, and for men over age 23. This might reflect the impact of pre-union pregnancies and/or the patrilocal traditional models that influence certain Italian regions (we shall return to this point). In Spain the pattern is reversed: while Spanish men have rates that are essentially indistinguishable from their Italian counterparts, at higher ages Spanish women have higher rates. Moving to cohort dynamics as presented in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 (second column), we see that for Italian and Spanish men, the rate decreases, although not always in a statistically significant way. Unfortunately, the limited sample size and number of events cannot help us in a finer interpretation. Among Italian women we notice a clear reduction in the youngest cohort. Such an effect appears at all ages, but in particular at the two youngest (15-23). The reduction in rates for Spanish women is much less clear, with a significantly lower average rate for the

youngest cohort, however, at age 23 and over only.

As regards neolocal cohabitation (Figure 2.3c), the magnitude of the transition rates is clearly lower than for any of the other destinations. For Italian men, although the coefficients are positive, no statistically significant trend is observed across cohorts (Tables 2.1 and 2.2, third column). The propensity to experience this destination is clearly higher among younger Spanish men. Although the cohort effect is not linear, for the youngest among them the average rate is more than double, highlighting a greater divergence between men in the two countries in the experience of this type of destination. Italian women, on the other hand, do show an increasing average rate across cohorts. For the youngest cohort the effect is positive at all ages. This upward trend is even more pronounced among Spanish women. The youngest female cohort has an average rate of experiencing this destination that is about 7 times that of the oldest female cohort. This effect is present at all age groups, but strongest at the two oldest (19+).

Neolocal marriage is the option with the highest rates (Figure 2.3d). From a cohort perspective (Table 2.1 and 2.2, fourth column), a lower average rate is noted for Italian men of the middle and youngest cohort. It is substantially lower at all age groups (except 15-19, which is statistically insignificant because of very few marriages). The reduction is decidedly less noticeable for Spanish men. In particular, in the youngest cohort the effect is only important at age 23 and over, where most of the events are concentrated. Examining Italian women, we notice, in this case too, a declining average transition rate across cohorts. The propensity decreases for age groups 19+ in the middle cohort, and at all ages in the youngest cohort. For Spanish women, the effect is non-linear. This is particularly due to the greater propensity (+0.31) of those between 19 and 23 years of age in the middle cohort. The youngest women, however, have a lower transition rate at all ages.

Figure 2.3. Transition rates for the oldest cohort

a. residential autonomy

b. patrilocal union

c. neolocal cohabitation

d. neolocal marriage

Italy - Men
Italy - Women
Spain - Men
Spain - Women

E. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION AND WORK

Numerous empirical studies (e.g. Blossfeld and Huinink, 1991; Oppenheimer, 1994; Thornton *et al.*, 1995) have demonstrated the existence of strong interconnections between the socio-economic and family careers. We concentrate on how the educational and work careers of young people living in the parental home affect their propensity to form families or households of their own (Tables 2.3 and 2.4).

Table 2.3. Multiple destination model with proportional hazards including educational level and status, and employment status

Destinations	Residential autonomy		Patrilocal union		Neolocal cohabitation		Neolocal marriage	
	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	P
Italy, Men								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.2589	+	-0.5080	+	0.5990		-0.2254	*
Youngest	-0.8411	**	-0.2305		0.3342		-1.5392	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0.1394		0.3239		0.3195		0.4747	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0.8734	**	-0.4160		-0.1649		-0.1984	+
Employed (ref =Not yet)								
Only in the past	0.1239		0.7312		1.5883	*	0.2068	
Yes	-0.7306	**	0.8878	+	1.0783	+	0.9783	**
Log likelihood	-4900.1260							
Spain, Men								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.1067		0.1223		0.9118	**	0.1933	*
Youngest	-0.7591	**	-0.4994	*	0.7256	*	-0.1725	
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0.0850		-0.0700		0.0086		0.4178	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0.4916	**	-0.2598		0.4233	+	-0.0248	
Employed (ref =Not yet)								
Only in the past	-0.0296		0.0895		0.4254		1.3938	**
Yes	-0.3558	*	0.0134		0.5154		2.1406	**
Log likelihood	-8482.5936							
Italy, Women								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.1514		-0.0916		0.8415	**	-0.1299	**
Youngest	-0.3564	**	-0.8643	**	1.2013	**	-0.8008	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0.4987	**	1.1638	**	1.0344	**	1.2130	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0.8795	**	-0.0550		-0.0273		-0.2159	**
Employed (ref =Not yet)								
Only in the past	-0.0833		0.7686	**	1.5844	**	0.7500	**
Yes	-0.3550	**	-0.0166		0.7871	**	-0.0427	
Log likelihood	-21891.62							
Spain, Women								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.1620		0.0293		1.1962	**	0.2441	**
Youngest	-0.4277	**	-0.1859		1.9524	**	-0.2525	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	0.1373		0.8758	**	0.9175	**	1.0865	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0.5762	**	-0.5771	**	0.3430	+	-0.2588	**
Employed (ref =Not yet)								
Only in the past	0.1746		0.5981	**	0.7876	**	0.9111	**
Yes	-0.4991	**	-0.5843	**	0.1184		-0.0767	
Log likelihood	-18111.97							

Note: ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p< 0.1.
Source: own elaboration of FFS microdata.

Table 2.4. Multiple destination model with proportional hazards including educational level and status, employment status and labour force experience

Destinations	Residential autonomy		Patrilocal union		Neolocal cohabitation		Neolocal marriage	
	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p
Italy, Men								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.2631	+	-0.4838		0.6181		-0.2177	*
Youngest	-0.8500	**	-0.1581		0.3505		-1.5205	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0.1400		0.3002		0.2916		0.4661	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0.7866	**	-0.3159		-0.0500		-0.1804	+
Employed (ref =No)								
Yes	-0.6846	**	-0.0860		-0.6458		0.7866	**
Labour force experience (ref=0)								
0 – 6 months	0.6593	*	1.3532	+	-5.8115		0.5574	
6 months – 1 year	0.0361		-6.2974		2.2214	**	0.3026	
1 year – 2 years	0.0539		0.7876		-5.8183		-0.1291	
2 – 4 years	-0.1865		0.7149		1.8788	*	0.0846	
More than 4 years	-0.2594		1.1989	+	1.9029	*	0.2293	
Log likelihood	-4886.8193							
Spain, Men								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.1629		0.1354		0.9432	**	0.2357	**
Youngest	-0.8431	**	-0.4567	+	0.8086	*	-0.0787	
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0.0768		-0.0964		-0.0370		0.3821	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0.3925	**	-0.2296		0.4913	*	0.0461	
Employed (ref=No)								
Yes	-0.2111		-0.1139		0.0195		0.6289	**
Labour force experience (ref=0)								
0 – 6 months	-0.2076		-1.0901		-5.8905		1.3215	**
6 months – 1 year	0.0841		0.0151		0.4453		0.9211	*
1 year – 2 years	0.1865		-0.3228		0.2396		1.4118	**
2 – 4 years	-0.0979		0.3807		0.6628		1.3758	**
More than 4 years	-0.4584	+	0.1940		0.6613		1.6731	**
Log likelihood	-8465.1942							

Table 2.4 - continued

Destinations	Residential Autonomy		Patrilocal union		Neolocal cohabitation		Neolocal marriage	
	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p
Italy, Women								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.1495		-0.0994		0.8501	**	-0.1408	**
Youngest	-0.3530	**	-0.8683	**	1.2357	**	-0.7833	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0.4943	**	1.1514	**	1.0343	**	1.2106	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0.8867	**	-0.0536		0.0628		-0.1437	**
Employed (ref=No)								
Yes	-0.2384		-0.8230	**	-0.9192	**	-0.9504	**
Labour force experience (ref=0)								
0 – 6 months	-0.1632		0.6021	+	1.5375	**	0.0140	
6 months – 1 year	0.1669		0.3999		1.3949	**	0.6004	**
1 year – 2 years	-0.1656		0.8703	**	1.5836	**	0.6072	**
2 – 4 years	-0.3504		1.0269	**	1.5949	**	0.9887	**
More than 4 years	-0.0284		0.7377	**	1.9417	**	1.0201	**
Log likelihood	-21844.19							
Spain, Women								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0.1829		0.0365		1.1998	**	0.2712	**
Youngest	-0.4757	**	-0.1619		1.9691	**	-0.1645	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	0.1355		0.8738	**	0.9104	**	1.0907	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0.5133	**	-0.5421	**	0.3532	+	-0.1830	**
Employed (ref=No)								
Yes	-0.5151	**	-1.2757	**	-0.6839	**	-1.1503	**
Labour force experience (ref=0)								
0 – 6 months	0.4050	+	0.4430		0.2481		0.6801	**
6 months – 1 year	0.3247	+	0.1938		0.7813	*	0.5424	**
1 year – 2 years	0.2789		0.5557	*	1.0623	**	0.6381	**
2 – 4 years	-0.1412		0.8270	**	0.6915	*	1.0157	**
More than 4 years	-0.2456		0.7267	**	0.8569	**	1.2305	**
Log likelihood	-18066.50							

Note: ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p< 0.1.
Source: own elaboration of FFS microdata.

To understand the role of the educational career, the effect of school enrolment is separated from the effect of the educational level attained (Blossfeld and Huinink, 1991; Ongaro, 2001). We thus identify two time-varying components: one linked to being within the educational system or not, and one that expresses the amount of cultural and economic resources (low or medium to high) that a particular educational credential represents. In order to better evaluate the effects of the work career on various destinations, a distinction is made between an individual's current work status and his or her cumulative labour force experience in the past (Blossfeld and Rohwer, 1995). In the models presented, the work status is therefore represented by two time-varying covariates that tell us: a) the total labour force experience as expressed by a covariate that quantifies the cumulative time spent by the individual in the labour market (as a proxy of his or her economic resources); and, b) whether the individual is currently employed, non-employed but employed in the past, or not yet employed (without reference to labour force experience).

The various covariates may have different effects depending on the family destination chosen and the country being examined. For instance, it may be true that in contemporary western societies students have generally a considerably lower propensity to form new families. But this can vary with the type of destination chosen, e.g., being a student may very well reduce the speed of entry into marriage but it can also promote various other forms of residential autonomy, whether for purposes of studying or cohabiting. It can also happen that social norms impose age limits that adolescents can not easily afford to surpass. Finally, policies may be in place that tend to render unemployed young people economically independent, or that facilitate combining an educational career with a family career.

The patterns of family formation in Italy and Spain are still relatively traditional. Moreover, the educational system in Italy is organised in rather long and rigid cycles. It is expected, therefore, that being an Italian student will slow down all transitions into a union and will favour, if anything, residential autonomy in order to follow university studies. We expect an attenuation of this negative relationship for the entry into those unions (patrilocal as well as non-marital) that require less investment of resources by the two spouses. We also expect an attenuation of this relationship in Spain where there is a more elastic education system. This makes it potentially easier to combine studies with work and/or family formation.

The importance of the education level reached for the foundation of a new family is not always clear. Indeed, this variable often includes both cultural and economic elements. Moreover, in societies with still a traditional division of roles between men and women the level of education might have quite gender-specific effects (Blossfeld, 1995). Women with a higher level of education could be less prone to entry into a union (at least at younger ages) because of higher perceived opportunity costs of family life. Unmarried cohabitation is perhaps an exception. On the contrary, a higher qualification as an indicator of greater economic capacity could accelerate the entry into a union, and particularly into neolocal marriages. Higher educational attainment should also allow for more residential autonomy among the young, as a result of higher employment mobility but also as a result of greater economic wealth. What is expected therefore for Italy and Spain is that the effect of the educational level attained will be gender- and destination-specific. Higher levels of education among women are expected to slow down the entry into marriage (neolocal as well as patrilocal) but to accelerate the entry into consensual unions. The effect of the level of education on women's residential autonomy is, on the other hand, less certain. Among men, a higher educational attainment is expected to favour the transition to neolocal marriages, non-marital cohabitation and other forms of residential autonomy but to reduce the propensity to form a patrilocal union.

In societies where men are still (although in a decreasing measure) the principal income providers for the family, such as in Italy and Spain, the effect of working status is generally gender-specific. We expect therefore that the condition of being employed will favour the entry into a union for men, and the more so as work experience increases. However, the weight of this status is expected to be weaker in the case of patrilocal marriages and non-marital cohabitation. For women, instead, having a job may have opposing effect on the entry into a union. On the one hand, as a proxy of greater autonomy, it could imply a disincentive to get married, especially if it means staying in the parental home. On the other hand, as a proxy of reaching a goal that has to be obtained before the formation of a family, it could speed up the entry into a union. The effect that having a job could have for men and women on their propensity to form a non-family household is more dubious because it is most likely to be conditioned by the very reasons (job search or the desire for independence) that pushed them out of the parental home to begin with.

1. The transition to residential autonomy

The conditions that lead a young person to leave the parental home in order to form a separate household show some common features in Italy and Spain.

In Italy, being a student promotes residential autonomy, particularly among women. Female students have a risk of going to live on their own that is 65 per cent higher than those who have completed their studies; among men the same risk is, instead, a non-significant 15 per cent higher (Table 2.3). In Spain, on the other hand, being in education has little (for women) or even no (for men) relevance for young people leaving the parental home. This might be partly explained by the fact that until very recently, unless their field of study was unavailable, students had to enter the university in the district where they lived.

The effect of the work career on residential independence is similar in both countries. What seems to push young people towards housing autonomy is the need to find a (first or new) job by migrating to areas with greater employment opportunities.

Whatever the status occupied in the two parallel careers (student only, employed only, student and employed), educational attainment has a certain importance in influencing the behaviour of individuals. Those with a higher attainment level show in fact a greater propensity for reaching residential autonomy than those with lower education. This is more evident in Italy than in Spain, but true in both countries and for both sexes. For instance, Italian men with medium to high qualifications have a risk of leaving their family of origin that is more than twice the risk of their fellow countrymen with low levels. This suggests that a higher attainment does not only offer greater economic resources for establishing residential autonomy but may also promote a greater willingness to migrate for purposes of work.

In Italy and Spain, therefore, attaining residential autonomy seems to be more the result of external structural conditions than of young people's desire to detach themselves from the family of origin.

2. The transition to neolocal marriages

The completion of education represents both in Italy and Spain an important threshold for entering the marriage market. Once a person is no longer a student, the risk of getting married and establishing a family out of the parental home is in both countries higher for women than for men. Women who have finished their education have a risk of getting married that is about three times that of female students. Men who have finished their education face instead a risk of getting married that is only 50 per cent higher than that of male students.

The existence of gender-specific behaviour models is also confirmed by the examination of the effects of the employment career on the formation of a marital union. Having a job encourages Italian and Spanish men to enter more quickly into married life than those without a job. The opportunity to form a new household is partly conditioned by the economic capacity of the man to sustain it. And indeed, as we move from those who have never worked yet to those who have done so only in the past to those who are currently employed, the transition rate to a neolocal marriage grows. Moreover, as Table 2.4 demonstrates for Spanish men, the risk of getting married seems to have a U-shaped distribution, with the highest values during the first few months of work experience and then again after a relatively long career. It is also possible that considerations related to the nature of the job (more or less stable, for example, or more or less well paid) influence this result. Among women - both Italian and Spanish – we find a higher risk of getting married and forming a new household for those who are currently not employed but who have worked in the past, and this risk grows with the duration of their work experience. Currently working women and those who have never worked display the same (lower) risks of entering marriage. But because this risk augments with the increase in work experience, it so happens that women who keep their job end up passing into marriage more quickly than those who have never entered the labour market. Thus, the negative effect of current employment might reflect a delaying effect, rather than an ultimate lower propensity to marry. Nevertheless, the fact that the highest risk of getting married pertains to women employed in the past but not at the time of exposure is somewhat surprising. It might be the case that they - having already shown a certain working ability in the past - represent relatively more interesting partners than others on a marriage market where the economic contribution of women is still considered subordinate to that of men. Alternatively, it might also be the case that they are more willing to invest in a life as a couple than other women.

A higher level of education generally delays the formation of a neolocal marital union. In Italy this is true for men and women, in Spain only for women. For women this result confirms the hypothesis of the presence of a conflict between investment in one's self and investment in family life. On the other hand, it is more difficult to interpret the behaviour of Italian men with medium to high attainment who show - as will be seen later - a slower speed of entry into any type of union. If we disregard this last result, the effect of the two parallel socio-economic careers on the formation of neolocal marital unions is similar in Italy and Spain. That is, in both countries the presence of a traditional family model means that the effect of such careers is different for men and women, but essentially homogeneous within each sex.

3. The transition to patrilocal unions

Unions (almost always marriages) in which the partners decide to live with the parents of one of them (patrilocal unions) are widespread above all in some regions of the north-east and centre of Italy; this is connected to the economic context of those areas (Cantisani and Dalla Zuanna, 1996; May, 1990). In Spain coresidence with the parents is more frequent in the northern and north-eastern regions, and has been historically linked to patterns of indivisible inheritance (Reher, 1997). The available data do not actually allow us to understand the phenomenon in its entirety, because they only reveal whether young people entering into a union have maintained residence in their own parental home. If they went to live in the parental home of their partner, then - mistakenly - a neolocal union would be recorded.

In Italy, the factors that accelerate entry into a patrilocal marriage do not differ so much from those that apply to entry into a neolocal marriage. For men, the conditions that facilitate the formation of this type of union are: a) the completion of education (although the coefficient is not significant); b) having had and, above all, currently having a job (the risks for both groups show a U-shaped effect indicating

that both the initial and the advanced stages of the work career are the most crucial moments); and, c) having attained a low educational level (although the coefficient is again insignificant). Among Italian women, the completion of studies and an occupation in the past accelerate the entry into patrilocal unions but - contrary to that which occurs for neolocal marriages - the level of education does not seem to have any weight whatsoever in the transition towards this destination.

The greatest differences in the conditions that lead to patrilocal versus neolocal marriages are observed for Spain. For Spanish men, this destination seems to capture above all those with lower qualifications. For Spanish women, the transition rate increases if education has been completed, particularly at lower levels, and if the person has worked in the past but not in the present. Contrary to what happens to brides in neolocal households, having an occupation reduces the risk of entering a union while still in the parental home.

Despite some limitations in interpretation due to the construction of the model, the results confirm the hypothesis that individuals who tend to have less cultural and economic resources are more at risk of making this type of transition. The phenomenon, however, seems to be more evident in Spain than in Italy. In Spain, the spouses (in particular men) who experience this form of marriage seem to be characterised by a general lack of resources and autonomy. It is suggested that in Italy this type of transition is mainly the result of region-specific cultural models, while in Spain it is more often the result of economic ties or solutions dictated by contingent reasons.

4. The transition to non-marital cohabitation

The entry into non-marital cohabitation that is here observed is the direct transition from the family of origin. The models do not, in fact, consider any other shift into a consensual union, and especially not those formed after an initial period of residential autonomy, which is perhaps more frequent among students.

In Italy unmarried couple formation is influenced, for men, by nearly the same factors that regulate their entry into marriage. The hazard of a man entering into a consensual union grows if he has completed his education (although the coefficient is not statistically significant), and if he has a job, or better still, if he has had one in the past. In any case, a high level of education reduces the probability of forming a consensual union. For Italian women, on the other hand, some differences can be observed between the determinants of entry into a neolocal marital and a neolocal nonmarital union. The completion of education is still significant but in this case it is also important to show some current work experience. However, past work experience is even more important.

Contrary to what is observed for neolocal marriages, a higher qualification does not seem to deter entry into a consensual union. In Spain those who form a consensual union seem to have different characteristics from those who enter into consensual union in Italy. For Spanish men who enter a consensual union, particularly, having finished education or having had some sort of work is less important than for Italian men. Moreover, contrary to what happens in Italy, Spanish men who experience this kind of union tend to have medium to high educational levels. For Spanish women the factors that favour entry into non-marital cohabitation are the same as for Spanish men, except that for women it is important to have finished their education.

The phenomenon of leaving home for non-marital cohabitation seems to have different connotations in Italy and Spain. In Italy consensual unions involve young people who are relatively independent from an economic point of view, and who do not seem to express new patterns of behaviour that break with tradition. In Spain, on the other hand, the phenomenon seems to be

the experience of selected groups of individuals with a medium to high education who enter into non-marital cohabitation under conditions of greater weakness(es).

F. THE ROLE OF EARLY CHILDBEARING

Premarital conceptions traditionally accelerate the wedding, either because they bring forward weddings already planned, or because the couple decides to legalise their union before the arrival of the child (Vincent, 1961; Muñoz Perez, 1988), or because it is precisely the decision to marry that results in a higher risk of conception (Muñoz Perez, 1991). Naturally, if the pregnancy is unintended, it is more likely that the newly wed will stay - at least initially - with one of their parents, until a solution for autonomous residency is found. The same reasons that link conception with marriage can accelerate the start of non-marital cohabitation. These behaviours are highlighted in numerous studies (Brien *et al.*, 1999; Goldscheider *et al.*, 2001; Bracher and Santow, 1998; Santow and Bracher, 1994; Blom, 1994; Manning, 1993; 1995). The effects of conception on leaving the parental home without forming a union have been studied less.

Muñoz Perez (1991) has examined the trend of premarital conceptions in Spain since the 1970s - an initial increase followed by a gradual decline - in the context of the spread of behaviours linked to the Second Demographic Transition. Comparable estimates for Italy (Castiglioni and Dalla Zuanna, 1994) suggest a similar trend. If in the end, therefore, shotgun marriages have decreased, we can imagine that they are more and more confined to particular subgroups of the population, which remain more anchored in traditional values. Moreover, if it is true that the decline in premarital pregnancies has been accompanied by the simultaneous spread of some other forms of new behaviour, we can expect, among the youngest women, an increase in living together after a conception. In our analyses we consider only conceptions resulting in a live birth.

The results for the female population in Table 2.5 reveal that a conception is a factor that accelerates neolocal as well as patrilocal marriages, both in Italy and in Spain. Moreover, this effect is stronger for the more recent cohorts, which show a pattern that increasingly opposes that of the general delay observed across the cohorts. With regard to leaving the parental home without forming a union, on the other hand, Italy and Spain show some differences: a pregnancy favours these transitions in the more recent cohorts in Italy, while in Spain this is less obvious (the coefficients are positive but statistically insignificant).

In the light of these results, we can enrich the comparisons presented in the previous section, where it was concluded that residential autonomy in both countries seemed to depend above all on external structural conditions. Now we find that, in Italy at least, a conception before a union promotes the exit from the family of origin by women in the youngest cohorts, whatever their destination. If confirmed, could this be a sign of emerging new forms of autonomy from the parental family?

Conceptions in the youngest cohort in Italy accelerate the transition towards all forms of family formation, including nonmarital cohabitation. Like the educational and work careers, this variable thus conditions the formation of all types of unions. In Spain, as we have seen, the social determinants of marriage and cohabitation are different. Also the presence of a conception influences the two transitions in different ways: it has positive effects on marriage, but it is irrelevant for non-marital cohabitation.

These considerations confirm another result that was already presented in the previous section: non-marital cohabitation seems to have slightly different connotations in the two countries. In Italy, the choice for a consensual union is determined by a pregnancy as much as a choice for marriage is. In Spain, however, contrary to what happens to a marriage, a conception does not alter the probability of forming a consensual union.

Table 2.5. Multiple destination model with proportional hazards including educational level and status, and early conception

Destinations	Residential autonomy Estimate	p	Patrilocal union Estimate	p	Neolocal cohabitation Estimate	p	Neolocal marriage Estimate	p
Italy, Men								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0,2094		-0,6516	+	0,8010		-0,2287	*
Youngest	-0,7580	**	-0,3544		0,3542		-1,6103	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0,3740	**	0,4672		0,5183		0,6032	**
Educational level (ref= Low)								
Medium-high	0,9341	**	-0,3572		-0,1523		-0,1627	
Conception of the first child								
Yes	-6,2663		2,2100	**	2,9508	**	2,3859	**
Interaction conception-cohort								
Conception * middle cohort	0,2123		1,9856	*	-0,2515		1,0565	**
Conception * young cohort	0,5268		1,5680	+	1,1075		1,1163	+
Log likelihood	-4791.5173							
Spain, Men								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0,0842		-0,0425		0,9808	**	0,0941	
Youngest	-0,7023	**	-0,6138	*	0,7281	*	-0,4652	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0,2210	+	-0,1334		0,1966		0,8147	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0,5141	**	-0,2058		0,4213	+	-0,0012	
Conception of the first child								
Yes	-6,6385		2,6024	**	2,8507	**	2,8733	**
Interaction conception-cohort								
Conception * middle cohort	7,6303		1,0267	+	-1,4800		0,1937	
Conception * young cohort	7,1883		0,2663		-0,9252		0,4701	+
Log likelihood	-8244,86							
Italy, Women								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0,1847	+	0,0086		0,7728	**	-0,1070	*
Youngest	-0,3793	**	-0,9579	**	1,1199	**	-0,7906	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0,6348	**	1,0724	**	1,2170	**	1,1830	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0,8738	**	0,0960		0,0400		-0,1328	**
Conception of the first child								
Yes	-0,2344		2,6902	**	0,8980		1,9170	**
Interaction conception-cohort								
Conception * middle cohort	1,6173	*	0,1408		1,4274		0,4221	**
Conception * young cohort	2,4322	**	1,6904	**	2,2989	**	1,3894	**
Log likelihood	-21299,1							
Spain, Women								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0,1672		-0,1041		1,1692	**	0,1908	**
Youngest	-0,3830	**	-0,6118	**	1,9469	**	-0,4064	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0,0121		0,4936	**	0,9457	**	0,9631	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0,5934	**	-0,3755	**	0,3305	+	-0,1650	**
Conception of the first child								
Yes	-0,3621		2,4275	**	-4,4119		1,7886	**
Interaction conception-cohort								
Conception * middle cohort	1,4483		0,2508		5,2297		0,2218	
Conception * young cohort	1,2549		1,3947	**	5,5717		1,1171	**
Log likelihood	-17710,1							

Note: ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p< 0.1.
Source: own elaboration of FFS microdata.

Finally, we have seen for Spain that compared to those who form a separate household, those who marry without leaving the parental home seem to have less (economic and cultural) resources at their disposal.

If we try to deepen this analysis by taking conceptions into consideration (Table 2.6), we observe that pregnant Spanish women who are more educated present a high probability of marriage (inside or out of the parental home) that balances the lower risk associated with a higher educational level. Consequently, the negative effect of higher levels of education on marriage concerns women who have not conceived. If instead we consider pregnant brides, differences due to the level of education disappear. It therefore seems that in this case the effect of individual resources weakens, and the need to respond to a pressing situation prevails. However, the higher interaction parameter for the destination of marriage out of the parental home could suggest that better educated women have more resources to deal with an unintended situation. Among Italian women, the interaction effects between the level of education and conception are barely significant. Again we see that there are no important differences between those who choose marriage or non-marital cohabitation at the parental home or away from it.

If similarities and differences have emerged between Italian and Spanish women, among men it is rather homogeneity that must be underlined. Conception has the effect of accelerating all forms of unions including marriage, in contrast with the general tendency of delay. Non-marital cohabitation, on the other hand, although favoured by the presence of a conception, follows the pattern observed for the whole population, with no differences among the cohorts. The parameter relative to the exit from the parental home without forming a union is negative, although insignificant. This seems easily justifiable: the father of a yet unborn child is unlikely to go and live alone. Rather, if he leaves home he will form a family with his partner. However, a problem has to be recognised when discussing the results for men: the reporting by men of conceptions leading to live births is not as reliable as the reporting by women. Men may be more likely to report conceptions that led to union formation – and, hence, that would be part of the explanation for these results – but to omit – knowingly or not – those that led to lone motherhood.

These results show, therefore, the survival in both countries of traditional solutions for non-marital conceptions. They also contradict the trend towards rising levels of non-marital childbearing observed for other European countries. The fact that the propensity to marry increasingly differs across cohorts between those who have conceived and those who have not may also indicate that this type of behaviour concerns more and more selected groups. However, according to our results, these groups are not necessarily characterised by low education. In this context, among the youngest women in Italy different solutions such as starting a non-marital cohabitation or even acquiring personal residential autonomy seem to emerge, while in Spain this does not appear to be the case.

G. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Over recent decades, European countries have followed basic demographic trends in the same direction. However, the convergence in family patterns initially assumed by the Second Demographic Transition theory has seemed to be inaccurate. Instead, household and family patterns have become more diversified (Kuijsten, 1996).

Challenging the convergence assumption, the distinction between a Northern and a Southern European model in family formation is becoming increasingly widespread. Mediterranean countries display a peculiar pattern of combining, on the one hand, the lowest levels of fertility – well below replacement and without signs of recovery – with persistent traditional features in the family domain, on the other. Examples of the latter are late departures from the parental home,

Table 2.6. Multiple destination model with proportional hazards including educational level and status, early conception and interaction between conception and educational level

Destinations	Residential autonomy		Patrilocal union		Neolocal cohabitation		Neolocal marriage	
	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p
Italy, Men								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0,2094		-0,3254		0,8198	+	-0,0888	
Youngest	-0,7580	**	-0,1054		0,5134		-1,4598	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0,3740	**	0,4898		0,5434		0,6007	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0,9341	**	-0,3414		-0,0882		-0,2098	+
Conception of the first child								
Yes	-6,3866		3,0306	**	3,2559	**	2,6392	**
Interaction conception-ed. level								
Conception * medium-high level	-0,8511		-0,1699		-0,4537		0,3159	
Log likelihood	-4801,49							
Spain, Men								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0,0727		0,1154		0,8762	**	0,1264	
Youngest	-0,6958	**	-0,5887	*	0,6536	*	-0,3715	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0,2180	+	-0,0992		0,1974		0,8075	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0,5091	**	-0,1700		0,3312		-0,0020	
Conception of the first child								
Yes	-0,1702		3,1796	**	0,9067		3,0608	**
Interaction conception-ed. Level								
Conception * medium-high level	0,9472		-0,1132		1,5581		-0,0202	
Log likelihood	-8249							
Italy, Women								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0,1342		0,0665		0,982	**	-0,0235	
Youngest	-0,3251	**	-0,6011	**	1,4085	**	-0,6219	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0,6104	**	1,1371	**	1,2763	**	1,2243	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0,9106	**	0,1539		0,0333		-0,1546	**
Conception of the first child								
Yes	1,1762	**	3,0097	**	2,2824	**	2,1559	**
Interaction conception-ed. Level								
Conception * medium-high level	-0,8229		-0,1147		0,2095		0,2019	+
Log likelihood	-21346,1							
Spain, Women								
Cohort (ref=oldest)								
Middle	-0,1436		-0,0667		1,2104	**	0,2180	**
Youngest	-0,3656	**	-0,1930		2,0047	**	-0,1966	**
In education (ref=Yes)								
No	-0,0044		0,5489	**	0,9538	**	0,9675	**
Educational level (ref=Low)								
Medium-high	0,6047	**	-0,5036	**	0,3473	+	-0,2935	**
Conception of the first child								
Yes	0,9013	*	2,8408	**	1,0501	*	1,9683	**
Interaction conception-ed. Level								
Conception * medium-high level	-0,3733		0,5202	+	-0,3142		0,7838	**
Log likelihood	-17730,2							

Note: ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p< 0.1.
Source: own elaboration of FFS microdata.

infrequent residential and economic emancipation among young adults, a weak prevalence of non-marital cohabitation and non-marital childbearing, and a relatively low incidence of divorce.

The reasons behind the observed divergence between Northern and Southern family patterns are probably manifold. Some studies emphasise the influence of economic aspects, including the weaker development of public welfare systems in the South, and the persistent gap in living standards and economic well being, as indicated for instance by the higher rate of youth unemployment. Other studies emphasise the role of cultural aspects and note that the North and South have been historically different with regard to the strength of family ties. A third perspective highlights the existing imbalance between the rapid changes in the roles of women and the slow institutional and policy adaptation to those changes (Chesnais, 1996).

In this chapter, the dynamics and interlinkages of the processes of youth emancipation from the parental home and union formation have been analysed in detail for two Mediterranean countries that nowadays display the latest age at departure from the parental household and the lowest fertility in Europe. We have examined four possible transitions within the context of the passage to adulthood: leaving the parental home to live independently in a non-family household, forming a union while remaining in the parental household, entering a consensual union, and entering a marital union, the latter two after having left the parental household. Although it is difficult to summarise all the results presented in this chapter, we can outline some general features.

Firstly, although we discussed in detail the differentials observed between the two Mediterranean countries, it is necessary to keep in mind that if the comparison had been with Northern European countries, the sharing of common patterns by Italy and Spain rather than their differentials would have been emphasised

instead. Thus, for instance, the two transitions which are typically associated with the Northern pattern –departure from the parental home to live independently or in non-marital cohabitation – have a relatively low incidence in both countries.

Cohort differentials reveal a clear evolution towards later and/or fewer marriages in both countries. However, whereas the pace of this evolution is quite gradual in the Italian case, Spain displays a more abrupt change that is largely confined to the youngest cohort. This pattern is in consonance with the timing of a crucial benchmark in Spanish recent history: the death of Franco in 1975 and the transition to a democratic regime. The youngest cohort born in 1965-74 is practically a post-Franco generation, socialised in democratic values, cultural modernity and gender equality ideals. Hence, it is not surprising that its family behaviour differs significantly from that of the preceding cohorts.

It is also worth noting that, although the relative incidence of the various types of transitions differs from the Northern European pattern, most of the observed trends proceed in the same direction, e.g., the declining propensity to enter marriage – both inside or outside the parental household – and the increasing propensity to enter non-marital cohabitation. There is, however, one important exception: contrary to the evolution observed in Northern Europe, both Italy and Spain display a downward trend in the propensity to leave the parental home in order to live independently in a non-family household.

These cohort effects are not uniform across the age range, though. The introduction of interaction effects between cohort and age in Table 2.2 provided further insight into the complexity of this process and revealed that cohort differentials are often concentrated at particular ages. Thus, for instance, the lower propensity of the youngest cohort to depart from the parental home in search of residential autonomy is mostly limited to

the youngest ages, but does not concern those over age 23.

The influence of the educational and employment careers on the different types of transitions to adulthood has been given special attention in the analysis. Two aspects of education were examined: enrolment status and educational level attained. As expected, being a student deters union formation (whether in the parental home or outside it, and no matter whether it concerns a consensual or a marital union). At the same time it promotes residential autonomy, except among Spanish women. A higher educational level of attainment delays or deters marriage but not non-marital cohabitation, and it encourages residential autonomy. Here it is nevertheless possible to observe some differences between Italy and Spain. In Spain non-marital cohabitation is more common among people with higher levels of education, whereas in Italy it seems to be an experience that is independent of the educational level attained.

Regarding the role played by the work career, the models that were estimated confirm that being employed is an important factor in the transition to adulthood. But results differ for men and women, suggesting that the traditional gendered division of labour still influences the dynamics of family formation. For men, holding a job increases significantly their chances to get married. For women, however, the observed association is negative, although having had a job in the past increases their probability of getting married, in particular if their labour force experience was a lengthy one. Another observed pattern besides these gender differentials that departs from the northern model is that current employment decreases the chances of residential autonomy, for both men and women. Although this pattern is not easy to explain, it might have to do with rising job instability.

The role of non-marital conceptions in accelerating the process of union and household formation was also examined. The results revealed that pregnancies speed up union formation, both within and outside the parental home. This is true for both for men and women, and in Spain as well as in Italy. A difference between the Spanish and Italian women of the youngest cohort is nevertheless observed with respect to non-marital cohabitation and autonomous living. While in Italy a non-marital conception increases the probability of both of these events, in Spain this is not the case.

In sum, prevailing patterns of the transition to adulthood in the two countries under examination share basic common features: a late departure from the parental home that is closely related to union formation, mostly marriage. In contrast with the patterns observed in Northern Europe, the South displays a downward trend in residential autonomy for young adults as well as a persistence of patrilocal union formation. Although this last type of transition is becoming less prevalent and alternative living arrangements such as consensual unions are on the rise, the pace of change is moderate. Therefore, a convergence with the Northern pattern can be discarded, at least in the short run. Furthermore, observed contrasts seem to be more than just the result of a time lag in demographic trends. Key factors such as the degree of change in gender roles and the centrality of the family are likely to underlie the divergence in patterns of union and household formation.

Less clear, on the other hand, are the reasons that lie at the basis of some differences in the way in which non-marital cohabitation is experienced in Italy and Spain. These differences led us to believe that non-marital cohabitation in Italy is in a way more similar to marriage than in Spain. It is possible that this depends on the relative lateness with which Spain has moved towards Northern European models of behaviour. In this case it will be interesting to keep a close eye on this phenomenon so as to see if the differentials persist through time or if instead we are moving towards a convergence of scenarios.

One question of interest from a policy point of view is whether these patterns that are so peculiar for the Mediterranean region are the result of choice or constraint. Some indicators point towards a constraint explanation. For example, in Spain particularly, it is low education and unemployment that are most closely associated with union formation in the parental household. However, although the importance of young people's access to economic resources is undeniable, the role of culturally defined norms must also be recognised. The analysis performed in this chapter revealed, for instance, that - contrary to expectations - employment does not favour residential autonomy in Italy and Spain, and that the effects of educational and employment covariates on the different types of transitions vary by country, gender and cohort. Given this complexity, it is an important task to document the existing diversity in union and household formation patterns. In spite of the tendency towards harmonisation of policies and regulations, also in the family sphere, within the European Union, this diversity is likely to persist in the near future.

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ENDNOTES

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[ii] We have, for each cohort, more than 300 observations for Italian males (346 observations for the oldest cohort, 389 for the middle cohort and 471 for the youngest cohort) and more than 400 for Spanish males (respectively 431, 701 and 736 observations). The number of observations is higher for females (there are in fact 1461, 1 606 and 1 757 observations available for the three Italian cohorts examined and 839, 1 410 and 1 372 for the Spanish cohorts).

[iii] Because of the low prevalence of such behaviour, we shall not distinguish for the type of union.

[iv] The youngest cohort has been observed for too limited a period, but does however show for women an even higher proportion.