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#### Household and Union Formation in a Mediterranean Fashion: Italy and Spain

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#### Abstract

We focus on Italy and Spain, two countries that have a “latest late” pattern of leaving home, with a high synchronisation between departure from the parental home and first union formation. FFS surveys in the two countries cover a group of cohorts born from the post-war time to the mid-seventies. In the paper, we analyse leaving home and first union formation as interdependent processes, by means of multiple destination event history models. Firstly, we study cohort dynamics by destination. Educational and working careers are then introduced as determinants. Finally, the impact of pre-union conceptions is analysed.

**Keywords:** leaving home, union formation, transition to adulthood, Italy, Spain, Family and Fertility Surveys, multiple destination models.

#### **1. Background: how did Italy and Spain get to the “latest late” transition to adulthood?**

The multiplication of the paths of transition to adulthood, with the spread of cohabitation and prolonged periods of life spent single are brought about by the theory of the Second Demographic Transition (van de Kaa, 1987), and by other life course scholars (eg. Buchmann, 1989). The prevalent view in the literature is that, at least in Western Europe, one should observe a move towards a wider plurality of behaviour. Despite this, in most Southern European countries (in particular Italy and Spain) such pluralism does not yet seem to have been fully developed. Therefore it has become increasingly common to talk about a

“Mediterranean” or “Southern European” pattern for the departure from the parental home (Jones, 1995, Fernández Cordon, 1997), presupposing that it is above all specific cultural differences that lead the countries of such areas towards differentiated patterns of behaviour. This pattern is then 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 weak, and a Southern Europe, marked by the strength and pervasiveness of family ties. In the meanwhile the notion of “familism” in Italy remains the focal point of the hypotheses on the behaviour in the transition into adulthood and parenthood (Dalla Zuanna, 1999). The lower incidence of divorce and of out-of-wedlock pregnancies and the greater support given by the family to the unemployed and the aged are indicators of this strength in family ties. According to Reher, the Southern European societies are more conservative from a family point of view and therefore also less dynamic. From another point of view, Esping-Andersen (1999) emphasises the similarity of the Mediterranean welfare systems and institutional settings, defining them as “familialistic”. Let us therefore take Spain and Italy as societies prototypical of the Mediterranean model.

The key features of the Mediterranean model of transition into adulthood are two. First, the prolonged stay at the parental home of the cohorts born around the Seventies. These cohorts show something that we might call the “latest late” leaving home in Western Europe. Second, the strong interconnection between departure from the parental home and marriage (Cavalli and Galland, 1996). As Corijn (1999) points out, the latter link can be observed also in societies like Poland and Belgium (at least in the Flemish speaking population). It is precisely on the time to events, and on the relationship between departure from the parental home and entry into union that we shall concentrate our attention in this paper.

Because we use information about life courses, that develop in space but also in 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 the present similarities in behaviour may be the outcome of different paths and/or processes. Ideally similar cultural patterns are also embedded in very different institutional contexts. We therefore use, as basic units of comparison, the cohorts as groups of individuals who have experienced similar situations at (approximately) similar ages.

To simplify matters, for each nation we shall take into consideration three cohorts: the eldest cohort (Spain 1945-54, Italy 1946-55), a middle cohort (Spain 1955-64, Italy 1956-65), and a “young” cohort (Spain 1965-74, Italy 1966-75). The slight differences are imposed by the design of the surveys we have access to. In Italy the environment in which these cohorts have to face the early adulthood ages has changed in an almost gradual manner, while in Spain the changes have been more clear-cut (the same cohorts are defined as “pre-Franco”, “transition” and “post Franco” in Billari *et al.*, 2000). As over this period Italy and Spain have had decidedly different situations concerning macro events and social-economic dynamics, a brief exploration of such events and a placing of the cohorts in the context of such events is certainly useful. We thus briefly follow Ginsborg (1989) for the Italian trajectory and Casal and Garcia (1993) for the Spanish one, in an attempt to describe, in an inevitably condensed way, the context in which the cohorts included in the analysis grew adult.

In Spain the Civil War (1936-1939) 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, 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 first cohort present in our study grew up in this context, and the second cohort partially experienced it. In the following years the period of economic and urban growth began (1960-1976), characterised by the emergence of a technocratic ideology in the economic sphere, and by the persistence of a reactionary school of thought maintained in the political, social and moral spheres. The youngest cohort is thus the only one that entirely experienced this period of economic development, although it must be noted that those born between 1955 and 1964 were the ones most greatly 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 experienced important transformations during this period, aimed at promoting both secondary and university studies, which favoured primarily the emergent middle classes. The role of women however did not experience relevant advances, and the prevailing model remained that of the passing from parental control to husband's tutelage after marriage. Even working 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 the dictator Franco in the period of the "democratic transition", during which the Spanish Democratic Constitution (1978) was drawn up, and the Socialist party won the 1982 election. The process of political and cultural modernization 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 house prices shot up, beyond levels compatible with family incomes. Again the cohort most affected was the 1965-74 cohort, who on the one hand experienced the advantages of democracy, but on the other was forced to face up to 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 period, promote modern cultural values and truly integrate in the European economic and political context.

After the end of World War II, Italy experienced an economic boom, with a slightly earlier timing than in Spain (thus the most interesting cohort in Italy from the economic perspective is the oldest one). Despite the fact that the period from the end of the war to the big Oil Crisis was marked by economic growth, Italy remained by many accounts an underdeveloped country until the mid 1950s. Then industrialisation provoked in both countries a general escape from the countryside and the consequent urbanisation and migratory movement towards centres of industrial development, and in particular from south to 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, due to the massive entry of women into the labour force. The migratory flow decreased, and the regions of the so-called "third Italy" from an economic point of view emerged.

The principal research hypotheses lead us firstly to compare the two nations: what are the similarities (as considered by the comparative research literature but 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? Moreover, are the "new" forms of behaviour spreading, with a convergence among both genders, towards Northern European models? What is the role of educational and working careers, and what is the impact of early reproductive choices?

The paper is structured in this way: in section 2 we briefly introduce the studies used, the approach followed in the definition of the variables, and the first descriptive results. In section 3 we introduce the model-based approach we use, and we analyse the transition rates out of the parental household and into union for successive cohorts. The role of the educational

and employment careers, within their various connotations, is dealt with in section 4. In section 5 we consider the effect of fertility, analysing the conceptions that lead to the first child. In section 6 we summarise the results and carry out some final considerations.

## **2. The data and the connection between leaving home and entering the first union**

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) were organised within the framework of an international survey programme coordinated by the United Nation’s Economic Commission for Europe and were carried out between November ’94 and January ’96. In both surveys, representative samples of men and women were interviewed (1991 men and 4021 women for the Spanish study and 1206 men, 4824 women, and 600 spouses/cohabitants for the Italian study), with the objective of gathering detailed information – among other things – on couples, children, educational and employment careers.

The monthly dating of events used in the surveys is particularly important when one wishes to study events and combinations of events from a methodological approach based on the event history analysis (Blossfeld and Rohwer, 1995). It is possible to dispose of 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 of 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, 1606 and 1757 observations available for the three Italian cohorts examined and 839, 1410 and 1372 for the Spanish cohorts).

As was mentioned before, one of the peculiar characteristics of Spain and Italy is the late experiencing of events such as the departure from the parental home and first union formation, and the strong interconnection between these two events. If one observes the values of the survivor functions for Italy and Spain - here we do not provide them due to lack of space - this delay is evident, although different for the two countries. For example, the values of the survivor functions for the first departure from the parental home by 25 years of age grew, moving from the oldest cohort to the youngest cohort, analogously for both males and females in Italy – changing from 48% to 60% up to 86% for males and from 28% to 39% to 63% for females – while there was a leap only for the last cohort in Spain – for males the values move from 55% to 54% to 68% while for females it goes from 33% to 31% to 48% (*cfr.* Billari and Ongaro, 1999; Billari *et al.*, 2000). The situation is analogous when one observes the first union event (the Italian data show that at 25 years of age the values for males change from 60% to 70% to 80% and for females from 28% to 41% to 66%; the Spanish data from 65% to 60% to 74% for males and 33% to 34% to 50% for females).

Given these peculiarities of the Mediterranean model we have chosen to direct our attention specifically to the first event experienced between these two events i.e. leaving home for the first time and first union. It is therefore possible to classify individual life courses into three groups: those who have experienced neither the first departure nor the first union; those who have left the family home before forming a first union; those who have entered into union while still in the parental home. For those who leave the parental home at the moment of entry into union, we also distinguish marital and non marital unions, in order to try to investigate the evolution of new family models as well. We use months in order to define simultaneous events: this choice is conservative in order not to have the risk of overestimating the “Southern European” kind of transition. A “fuzzy time” approach (Courgeau and Lelièvre, 1989) would have lead to even higher share of people experiencing simultaneous events.

In studying more than one event simultaneously, we had to pay particular attention to the presence of missing information on dates of the experiencing of an event, since the

presence of missing information prevented us from knowing the exact situation of the subject under examination. To impute missing information in a plausible way we simultaneously took into account the dates of leaving home and entering into first union, and information about the type of union embarked upon and possible simultaneity of marriage and cohabitation. In this way it was possible to work back to the first event experienced up to the time of the interview.

An initial description of the results is represented in fig. 1. As one might expect, the first event between union (cohabitation or marriage) and leaving home is experienced with differences between the Spanish and Italians, males and females. In general it can be said that the oldest cohort is the one that has most greatly experienced marriage as simultaneous with leaving home, while for the youngest the most frequent situation by the time of interview is that of not yet having experienced any event. Obviously part of the observed differentials among cohorts are due to the fact that the cohorts have different ages at the time of the study. Women usually experience the events under study at an earlier age and therefore, compared to males within the same cohorts, show a smaller number of individuals who have not yet experienced any event. The percentage of subjects in cohabitation is larger in the middle cohort than in the oldest cohort (the youngest cohort has been observed for too limited a period, but does however show for women an even higher proportion). This phenomenon is more evident for the Spanish than for the Italians, with the exception of the male middle cohort. Experiencing simply leaving home as the first event is more frequent among men than among women, even if again the youngest cohort may hold some surprises. At the time of interview the proportion of individuals who had only experienced leaving home was roughly the same for males and females, but this may be linked to departures for the purposes of studying, nowadays more equally distributed between genders than in the past. Some of the departures might have been only temporary, but given that in both surveys only the first departure was recorded, it is not possible to investigate it.

[ FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE ]

### **3. A multiple destination modelling framework and cohort dynamics**

We shall now consider some models that allow us to study leaving home and entry into the first union as interconnected events. We classified individuals into those who have experienced neither the first departure from the parental home nor the first union, those who have left the parental home before entering into a union, and those who have entered into a union while remaining in the parental home. For those who leave the parental home at the same time than entering into union, we have distinguished between marital and non-marital unions. Event history models for multiple destinations (see e.g. Blossfeld and Rohwer, 1995) are particularly suitable for analysing this type of information. In the domain of leaving home, approaches based on multiple destinations have been used, for example, by Goldscheider and Golscheider (1994), Liefbroer and de Jong Gierveld (1995) and by Billari and Ongaro (1999) for Italy. In the literature the destinations have mostly been defined on the basis either of the main reason suggested by the respondent for the departure, or on the basis of the type of destination family. In this contribution, however, the timing of leaving home and the first union, as events belonging to parallel careers of the life course, define the destination. A similar approach, even if in neither case cohabitation was used as a destination, was followed by Billari (1998) for Italy and by Billari *et al.* (2000) per la (2000) for Spain. Fig. 2 shows the structure of the model.

[ FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE ]

We use *piecewise constant exponential models*, with covariates having the effect of multiplying the transition rate (“proportional hazards”). In proportional hazards models for multiple destinations it is not possible to discern if a multiplying effect, for instance greater than one (positive on the logarithmic scale) on a specific destination, should be interpreted as a greater propensity to experience such a destination, or as a greater speed in such transition. In this section 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, and focusing only on the effect of the covariate “cohort”. In the following sections, due to the use of time-dependent covariates, to the size of the sample and to the possibility of interpreting the results, we shall limit ourselves to the use of proportional hazard models. The age intervals have been chosen in order to have enough events in each of the cohorts examined (from 15 to 19 years, from 19 to 23, from 23 onwards, always closed on the left). The lower limit of the last age interval starts at 23, because we wanted to be able to explicitly study the youngest cohort that, as we shall see, is particularly interesting.

The starting point we face is the situation for the oldest cohort, for which the value of the estimated rates, based on a model containing the age intervals used in all the subsequent analyses and restricted to the members of that cohort, is shown in fig. 3. Before analysing the results, let us shortly highlight our expectations on cohort dynamics. For all the exits, we expect the changes in Italy to be gradual, coherent to a certain extent with the cohort effect, while in Spain we expect the youngest cohort to clearly detach itself from the previous two. However, for all destinations, we expect a sharp reduction in the rates at the lowest ages. Moreover, where gender differences exist from the beginning, they should diminish over time.

As concerns the specific destinations, we expect that:

- exit prior to union is chosen less frequently at younger ages and more frequently at older ages, mainly related to the increase in participation in the university system and from the aspiration for residential independence typical of the Northern European patterns. Vice versa, a decrease in migratory movements for work purposes would result in lower rates at all ages;
- union formation remaining in the parental home is postponed (possibly also because of continuous improvements in contraception) and in any case experienced less and less at all ages, due to the reduction in complex households, more greatly used in the past;
- a departure from the parental home simultaneous with a consensual union, although delayed, is experienced more and more frequently;
- a departure from the parental home simultaneous with a marriage is both postponed and experienced less and less at all ages.

Let us now take into consideration each destination, analysing the four samples, and comparing the two nations separately for men and for women. The results of the models are shown in table 1 (which displays the proportional effects across all ages) and in table 2 (which specifies the estimated effects for each age segment).

[ FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE ]

[ TABLES 1-2 ABOUT HERE ]

Leaving the parental home before union was experienced, within the oldest cohort, at higher rates for males than for females before 23 years of age, and in general for Italian men rather than for the Spanish (fig. 3a). The clearest evolution from the estimates (table 1 and 2, first column) is towards a convergence at lower rates: Italian males leave before union less frequently than in the past, at the lower ages, in which the departures for study and work are concentrated. It is possible to see an almost symmetric evolution, although less obvious, for Spanish males, even if the effect of changes according to age is more important. The expected convergence by gender is decidedly interesting and present: in Italy, a lower rate for the ages

up to 19 in the youngest cohort, a direction of change analogous to that of males, corresponds to a higher rate for the “university” age group between 19 and 23, a sign that the extended participation in the education system has primed a dynamism that leads to a reduction in the differences between men and women. The effect according to age is equally non linear among young Spanish women.

We shall now examine the entry into union within the parental home. Fig. 3b shows that in Italy the rates were, in the eldest cohort, slightly higher for women at the lower ages, and for men over 23. This might have been affected by the impact of pre-union pregnancies, and by the patrilocal traditional models that influence certain Italian regions (we shall come to this point later in the paper). In Spain, there was an opposite pattern: males have rates substantially indistinguishable from Italian rates, while females have higher rates at higher ages. When we move to cohort dynamics (table 1 and 2, second column), for Italian and Spanish males, the rate decreases, although not always in a statistically significant way, above all at the ages where the rate was higher; the dimensions of the sample and the number of events cannot however help in a finer interpretation. Analysing Italian women, we notice a clear reduction for the youngest cohort. Such an effect appears at all ages, and in particular at the youngest ages. The reduction in rates for Spanish women is much less clear, with a significantly inferior average rate only for the last cohort, which nevertheless influences the oldest ages.

As regards the exit from the family corresponding to the start of a cohabitation (fig. 3c), the magnitude of the transition rates is clearly lower than for the other destinations, and the highest rate is that of Spanish men over 23 years of age. For Italian men no statistically significant trend is observed across cohorts (tables 1 and 2, third column). This decidedly surprising result is not likely to conceal any delaying effects, even if we cannot account for possible situations specific to older age groups (e.g. over 27/28 years old) for the youngest cohort. The propensity to experience to a greater extent this destination is however higher for Spanish males. Although the cohort effect is not linear, for the youngest cohort the average rate is more than double, highlighting a greater divergence in the experiencing of this type of destination. Italian women, on the other hand, show an increasing average rate across cohorts. The effect is positive at all ages for the youngest cohort. But the upward trend for Spanish women is much more pronounced. The youngest female cohort has an average rate of experiencing this destination about 7 times that of the oldest women cohort. The effect is present at all ages but stronger with the oldest age groups.

Leaving the parental home at the same time as a marriage is the destination with clearly the highest rates (fig. 3d). From a cross-cohort perspective (table 1 and 2, fourth column), a decidedly lower average rate is noted for Italian males: it is substantially lower at all ages, taking into consideration the fact that few marriages are observed before 19 years of age. The reduction is decidedly less obvious for the Spanish. In particular, in the youngest cohort the effect is more important for the age groups over 23, in which the events are concentrated. Examining Italian women, we notice, in this case too, a lower average transition rate. The propensity decreases for the age groups over 23 in the middle cohort, and at all ages in the oldest cohort. For Spanish women, the effect is non-linear: the middle cohort has the highest average rate. This is particularly due to the greater propensity in the middle cohort of those between 19 and 23 years of age.

The youngest women, however, shows a lower transition rate at all ages.

#### **4. The role of education and work**

Numerous empirical studies (Blossfeld and Huinik, 1991; Oppenheimer, 1994; Thornton et al., 1995) have demonstrated the existence of strong interconnections between

social and family careers. In this section we shall concentrate our study on how educational and work careers of young people living in the parental home affect their propensity for forming new families/households (tables 3 and 4).

[ TABLES 3-4 ABOUT HERE ]

To better understand the role of the educational career the effect of school enrolment is separated from the effect of the educational level attained (Blossfeld and Huinik, 1991; Ongaro 1998) thus identifying a component linked to still being within the educational system or not (in education or not) and a component that expresses the cultural - and economic - resources (low or medium-high qualifications) that an educational credential represents. Also, to better evaluate the effects of the work career on various destinations, a distinction is made between current work status and individual's labour force experience (Blossfeld and Rohwer, 1995). In the models presented here the work status at the time just prior to experiencing the transition is represented by two covariates that alternatively tell us: a) whether or not the individual is employed, b) if the individual is currently employed, is currently non employed but was employed in the past, is not yet employed. The labour force experience is expressed by a covariate that quantifies the cumulative time spent by the individual in the labour market. It should be a proxy of his or her economic resources.

It is possible that the different states occupied during the social careers have different effects depending on the family destinations and on the country under examination. In contemporary western societies, the condition of being a student, for many reasons (i.e. the absorption of many resources for training; the absence of economic autonomy), considerably reduces the propensity for forming new families. The effect of this student state can vary: a) depending on the type of destination (being a student can reduce the speed of entry into formal unions but promote forms of residential autonomy for the purposes of studying or more flexible forms of youth cohabitation); b) if unwritten social norms are present that foresee age group thresholds that the condition of "adolescent" cannot surpass (in this case for example the variable would have a progressively weaker effect with the increase in age); c) if policies are present that tend to render unemployed young people economically independent or that tend to better reconcile the enrolment in the educational system with the family career.

The countries considered in this work present models of family formation that are still relatively traditional. In Italy, moreover, the educational system is organized in rather long and rigid cycles. It is expected, therefore, that still being a student slows down all the transitions into a union favouring, if anything, forms of residential autonomy in order to follow university studies. Moreover, an attenuation of this negative relationship is expected for the transitions into unions that require less investment of resources by the spouses (patrilocal unions and cohabiting) and in Spain where a more elastic education system than in Italy might make it easier to combine the conditions of being a student and being employed.

The importance of the education level reached in the formation of a new family is not always clear. the fact is that such a variable includes both cultural elements (and during the spread of new models of behaviour they can be relevant in selecting the population that follows these new models) and income elements. Moreover, in societies that still have a traditional division of roles, the level of education might have effects differentiated by gender (Blossfeld , 1995). Women with a high level of education could be less prone to entry into a union (at least at the younger ages) because of a greater propensity for investment in oneself than in a family life. A higher qualification, therefore, as an expression of greater economic capacity, should accelerate the entry into union and particularly neolocal marriages but, as an expression of

cultural elements, may slow the entry into all unions with perhaps one exception, i.e. unmarried cohabitation. Higher qualifications should also allow greater residential autonomy of the young from their families of origin thanks to a greater propensity for employment mobility but also thanks to greater economic wealth. What is expected in Italy and Spain is that the effect of the education attained is different by gender and type of destination. Higher levels of education among women are expected to slow down entry into marriage (neolocal and patrilocal) but accelerate entry into cohabitation; the effect of the education attained on female residential autonomy is on the other hand more uncertain. Among males a high qualification is expected to favour the transition to neolocal marriages, cohabitation and forms of residential autonomy but reduce the propensity to form patrilocal couples.

Increasing capacities to participate in the labour market are indicators of growing or progressively more certain income capabilities. In societies where men are still (although in a decreasing measure) the principal income providers for the family, such as Italy and Spain, the effect of the work variable should be differentiated by gender. What is expected, therefore, is that the condition of being employed for males favours (and the effect should grow as the duration of the work experience increases) entry into union. Moreover, the weight of such a variable is expected to be weaker in the case of transition into patrilocal marriages and cohabitation. For women, instead, having a job may have opposite effects on the entry into a union. As a proxy of an individual's greater autonomy it could be a disincentive to get married especially if it means staying in the parental home (it is assumed however that in such a context it is easier for a woman who is economically independent to enter cohabitation). As a proxy of the reaching of 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 males or females on the propensity to enter into a non-family household is more dubious given that the effect is conditioned by the reasons (job searching or the desire for independence) that push them to leave the parental home.

#### *4.1. The transition to residential autonomy*

The conditions that lead a young person to leave the parental home in order to form a separate household are not exactly the same for Italy and Spain but despite this, they show some common roots.

In Italy being a student (table 3) promotes residential autonomy and this is particularly true for women (female students have a risk of going to live on their own that is 64% higher than those who have completed their studies; among males the same risk is, instead a non significant, 15% higher). In Spain, on the other hand, still being in education has little (for women) or even no (for men) relevance in favouring young people leaving the parental home. This might be partly explained by the fact that until recently (this year) universities could not be chosen by the students, but they had to enter the university in their district, unless the field chosen was not available.

The effect of the work career on residential independence is similar in both countries (table 3). For Italians and Spanish men and women it is not the acquisition of economic autonomy that promotes leaving the parental home but rather the lack of a job. In both countries what pushes young people towards housing autonomy seems to be therefore the need to find a (first or new) job by migrating to areas with greater employment opportunities.

Whatever the state (student only, employed only, student and employed) experienced in the remaining social careers, the education level attained has a certain importance in influencing the behaviour of individuals: those with a high qualification show in fact a greater propensity for reaching forms of residential autonomy than those with a medium-low education (as an example remember that Italian males with medium-high qualifications have a risk of

leaving the family of origin which is more than two times that of their fellow countrymen with low levels). This phenomenon is more evident in Italy than in Spain but present in both countries and for both sexes. Excluding the case of students, this would seem to suggest that a high qualification does not only offer greater economic resources for establishing residential autonomy but may also promote a greater willingness to migrate for the purposes of work.

In Italy and Spain, attaining residential autonomy therefore seems to be more the result of external structural conditions than as a result of young people's desire to detach themselves from the family of origin. In Italy, two factors are particularly important: departures for the purposes of university studies and departures to search for work; in Spain it is above all departures for employment purposes that are important. However in both countries the formation of a separate household is favoured by relatively high levels of education.

#### *4.2. The transition to neolocal marriages*

The completion of studies represents both in Italy and Spain an important threshold to entering the marriage market. Once a person is no longer a student, the risk of getting married, establishing a family out of the parental home, is in both countries higher for women than for men. In Italy and in Spain women who have finished studying have a risk of getting married that is about three times that of female students; non student males have instead a risk of getting married that is only 50% higher than those of students. These results confirm the hypothesis that asymmetries of gender exist in the roles of husband and wife.

The existence of models of behaviour differentiated by gender is also confirmed by the examination of the effects of the employment career on the formation of a new marital couple. Having a job encourages Italian and Spanish males to enter, more quickly than those without a job, into an autonomous married life: the opportunity of forming a new family is partly conditioned by the economic capacity of the man to sustain his new family, and in fact the risk of passing into a neolocal marriage grows as we move from those who have never worked, to those who have had some kind of past work experience but who are not employed at the time of exposure, to those who at the moment of marriage are employed. Moreover (table 4), the risk of getting married seems to have (for Italian men none of the duration coefficients are significant) a U-shaped distribution with the higher values during the first months and then after a relatively long period of work experience. It is also possible that considerations related to the nature of the job (more or less stable, more or less well paid for example) influence this result. Among women, both Italian and Spanish, those who show a higher risk of getting married and forming a new household are women who are currently not employed but have worked in the past (and risks grow as the duration of the work experience increases). Working females or those who have never worked display the same (lower) risks of entering marriage but, because the risk of entering marriage augments with the increase in work experience (table 6), with time, women who keep their job end up passing into marriage more quickly than those who have never entered the labour market. Thus, it may be suggested that 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 lies with women employed in the past but not at the time of the exposure is somewhat surprising. It might be that: i) having already shown a certain working ability but being in the position of also being housewives – they 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; ii) they are more willing to invest in the life of a couple than other women. It should also be noted that the coefficients express an average effect of the covariates for (all) the cohorts. Then, if the sign of the "current employment" changes along the cohorts, the result could be a coefficient flattened on the zero value.

A high level of education generally delays the formation of a neolocal marital couple. In Italy this is true of males and females; in Spain this is true only of females. For women this result confirms the hypothesis of the presence of a conflict between investment in oneself and investment in family life. It is more difficult, on the other hand, to interpret the behaviour of Italian males who, when in possession of a medium-high qualification, show, as will be seen later, a slower speed of entry into any type of couple. If we disregard this last result (which, what is more, adds for Italian males an extra delaying factor for entry into union – the other is the lack of employment) the effect of social careers on the formation of neolocal marital couples is similar in Italy and Spain: in both countries the presence of traditional family models means that the effect of social careers is different for males and females and essentially homogenous within the two genders.

#### *4.3. The transition into patrilocal unions.*

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

The effect of social careers on the risk of experiencing this type of event is much weaker than the effect that the same careers show on the risk of experiencing a neolocal marriage. 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 males the conditions that facilitate the formation of couples of this type are: a) the completion of studies (the coefficient is not however significant); b) having, and above all having had, a job (and the risks for both those who work and those who have worked in the past show a U-shaped effect that indicates both the initial and the advanced stages of the work career as the moments most at risk); c) the possession of a medium-low qualification (the coefficient is, nevertheless, not significant). Also among women the differences in behaviour seen in neolocal marriages are limited: the completion of studies or having had 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 and neolocal marriages are observed in Spain. For Spanish males access to the patrilocal union seems to be influenced by neither having completed studies or not, nor by having or having had the capacity to earn an income. On the contrary this type of couple seems to capture above all males with lower qualifications than males who form neolocal couples. With Spanish females the differences to the model that examines the transition to neolocal marriages are less clear than with males. As with brides who form an independent household together with their spouses the risk of passing into this type of union increases if the studies have been completed, if a medium-low qualification has been obtained (the coefficient here is however much more discriminatory) and if the person has worked in the past but is not currently working. Contrary to what happens with brides in new family units, however, is the fact that having an occupation reduces the risk of entering a union and remaining 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 converge in this type of transition. The phenomenon however seems to be more evident in Spain than in Italy. In Italy one observes only a reduction in the norms that regulate the formation of a neolocal couple. Instead in Spain, the spouses (in particular the males) who experience this form of marriage seem more clearly characterized by a greater weakness and lack of autonomy. It could be suggested that in Italy this type of transition is mainly the result of regional cultural models, while in Spain it is more often the result of economic ties or solutions dictated by contingent reasons (the analysis of the effect of premarital conception will be able to provide some further elements for the interpretation of these differences).

#### *4.4. The transition to cohabitation*

Before commenting on the results it should be stressed that the entry into cohabitation here observed is that reached as a direct transition from the family of origin. The models do not, in fact, consider any other shift into an informal union and especially that reached after a previous period of residential autonomy (perhaps more frequent among students).

As with patrilocal marriages, the transition to unmarried cohabitation also shows up some differences in behaviour between Italy and Spain.

In Italy the formation of unmarried couples is influenced, for males, by nearly the same factors that regulate entry into marriage. The risks of a man entering into cohabitation grow if he has completed his studies (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 seems to reduce (the coefficient is, however, not statistically significant) the probability of forming a new informal couple. For Italian women on the other hand, some differences are noted between the determinants of entry into neolocal marriages and cohabitation. The completion of studies is still important but in this case it is important to show (or have shown in the past) some working capacity (the state of employed in the past but not at present remains however the one that more greatly risks transition).

Contrary to what is observed for the neolocal marriage, a higher qualification does not seem to deter entry into a consensual union. In Spain those who form an informal couple seem to have different characteristics from those who enter into cohabitation in Italy. For Spanish males who enter an informal union, particularly, having finished studying or having had some sort of work experience is less important than for Italians. Moreover, contrary to what happens in Italy, males who experience this form of union tend to have medium-high qualifications. For Spanish females the factors that favour entry into cohabitation are the same ones that apply to Spanish males except that for women it is important to have completed studying.

The phenomenon of cohabitation seems to have different connotations for Italy and Spain. In Italy informal unions involve young people who are relatively independent from an economic point of view 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-high education who enter into cohabitation in conditions of greater weakness(es).

### **5. The role of early childbearing**

Cohabitation, marriage and birth of a child are events that belong to the same process: construction of the family. In this paper we are not going to fully explore the interrelations between these events, but we shall try to understand how expecting a child before the formation of a union and before leaving the parental home can condition these events.

Conceptions out of wedlock traditionally accelerate the wedding, either because they bring forward weddings already planned, or because the couple decides to legally formalize the union before the arrival of the child (Vincent, 1961; Muñoz Perez, 1988), or because it is precisely the decision to marry that results in the couple being exposed to a higher risk of conception (Muñoz Perez, 1991). Naturally, if the pregnancy is unintended, it is more likely that the new spouses stay (at least initially) and live with the parents until an autonomous residential solution is found. The same reasons that link conception with marriage can accelerate the start of a cohabitation. These behaviours are highlighted in numerous studies (Brien, Lillard, Waite, 1999; Goldscheider, Turcotte, Kopp, 1999; Bracher, Santow, 1998; Santow, 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 (initial increase followed by a gradual decline) in the context of the spread of behaviours linked to the second demographic transition (greater sexual liberty, the spread of contraception, which was not legalized in Spain until 1978, abortions and births out of wedlock). A number of estimates carried out for Italy (Castiglioni, Dalla Zuanna, 1994) suggest a similar trend in this country. If, therefore, shotgun marriages have decreased, we can imagine that they are more and more confined to particular subgroups of the population, who remain more anchored to traditional values. Moreover, if it is true that the decline in premarital pregnancies has been accompanied by the spread of some signs of new behaviours, we can expect, among the youngest women, an increase in living together after a conception. In our analyses we consider conceptions resulting in a live birth.

Let us observe firstly the results of the analysis carried out on the female population (tab. 5). Conception is confirmed as a factor that accelerates neolocal or patrilocal marriages, both in Italy and in Spain. Not only: it also represents an effect that grows stronger for the more recent cohorts, which show a pattern that increasingly opposes that of the general delay observed in all cohorts (already highlighted in par.3). As concerns leaving the parental home without forming a union and cohabitation, 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 not so obvious (the coefficients take on positive values, but they are not significant).

In light of these results, we can enrich the comparisons presented in par.4 with new elements. In both countries, residential autonomy seems to depend above all on external structural conditions. Nevertheless, in Italy a conception before the union promotes the exit from the family of the women in the youngest cohorts. Could this be (if confirmed) a sign of emerging forms of autonomy from the parental family?

Conceptions in the youngest cohorts in Italy accelerate the transition towards all family forms. This variable, like the educational and work careers, also conditions the formation of all unions, without making distinctions for typology. Vice versa, as we have seen, in Spain the social determinants of marriage and cohabitation are different. Even the presence of a conception influences, in this country, the two transitions in different ways: it has positive effects on marriage, but is not relevant for cohabitation.

These considerations already make it clear that another of the results of the previous paragraph has been confirmed: cohabitation seems slightly different in Italy and Spain. In Italy the choice of living together is determined by a pregnancy as just a marriage is; in Spain, however, a conception does not alter the probability of living together, contrary to what happens for marriages.

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

If we try to deepen the analysis, taking conceptions into consideration (tab. 6), we observe pregnant women who are more educated present a high probability of marriage (inside or out of parental home) that balances the lower risk of a higher education level. Consequently, the negative effect of high level of education on marriages concerns women who have not conceived. If instead we consider pregnant brides, differences due to 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 towards marriage out of the parental home could suggest that more educated women have more resources to deal with an unintended situation. In Italy, the effects of interaction between level of education and conception are only barely significant. Again, there are no important differences between those who choose marriage at the parental home or away from the parental home (or cohabitation).

If similarities and differences have emerged between Italian and Spanish women, homogeneity between men must be underlined. Conception has the effect of accelerating all forms of union: marriages, as with females, undergo an acceleration such that they significantly contrast with the general tendency of delaying; 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 parameters relative to the exit from the parental family without forming a union are negative, although not significant (perhaps due to the small sample size). 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 recognized when discussing the results for men: the reporting of births/conceptions by males is not as reliable as by females. Probably they are more likely to report conceptions that led to union formation – and hence that would be part of the explanation for these results – and more likely to omit – knowingly or because they are not aware of them – conceptions that led to lone motherhood.

These results show, therefore, the survival, in both countries, of traditional solutions when faced with an out-of-wedlock conception. It also goes against the anticipated trend of more frequent nonmarital births. The fact that the propensity to marry increasingly differs through the 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 of the population (however, according to our results, these groups are not characterized by low education). In this context, different solutions, such as starting a cohabitation or even acquiring personal residential autonomy, seem to emerge among the youngest women in Italy, while in Spain this does not appear.

## **6. Conclusions**

Over recent decades, European countries have followed basic demographic trends in the same direction. However, the convergence in family patterns initially assumed within the rationale of the second demographic transition theory has resulted inaccurate. Instead, household and family patterns have grown more diversified (Kuijsten, A. 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, combining, on one hand, the lowest levels of fertility –well below replacement and with no signs of recovery–, and on the other hand,

maintaining traditional features in the family domain, such as late departure from the parental home, infrequent residential and economic emancipation among young adults, weak prevalence of cohabitation and out-of-wedlock childbearing, and relatively low incidence of divorce.

The reasons behind the observed divergence between Northern and Southern family patterns are probably manifold. Some studies emphasize the influence of economic aspects, including the weaker development of public welfare systems in the South, and the persistent gap in living standards and indicators of economic well-being, such as the higher rate of youth unemployment. Other studies emphasize the role of cultural aspects and note that 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 change that the role of women has experienced and the slow institutional and policy adaptation to those changes (Chesnais, 1996).

In this paper, the dynamics and interlinkages of the process of youth emancipation from the parental home and union formation are analyzed in detail for two Mediterranean countries, Italy and Spain, that nowadays display the latest age of 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, forming a union but remaining in the parental household, entering a consensual union, and entering a marital union. Although it is a difficult task to summarize all the results presented in the paper, focused not only on the comparison of two countries, both genders and several cohorts, but also on the variation across the age range and the estimated effect of educational and employment covariates, we can attempt to outline some general features.

Firstly, although the paper discusses in detail the differentials observed between the two Mediterranean countries, it is necessary to keep in mind that if the comparison were made with respect to Northern European countries, the sharing of basic patterns would be emphasized instead. Thus, for instance, the relative weight of the transitions under study confirms that the two transitions that are associated with the Northern pattern –departure from the parental home to live independently and entering cohabitation–, have a relatively low incidence in both countries.

Cohort differentials, which reflect underlying trends, 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, largely concentrated in 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 1965-1974, is practically a post-Franco generation, socialized in democratic values, cultural modernity and gender equality ideals, and hence it is not surprising that its family behaviour differs significantly from that of the preceding cohorts.

It is 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 cohabitation (although this trend is not statistically significant for Italian males). There is, however, an 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.

These cohort effects are not uniform across the age range. The introduction of interactions between cohort and age segment in the models provided further insight into the

complexity of the 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 limited to the youngest ages (below 23), but does not concern those over 23.

The influence of educational and employment careers on the different types of transitions to adulthood is given special attention in the analysis. Two aspects of education are examined: enrolment status and educational level attained. As expected, being a student deters union formation (whether in the parental home or outside, whether consensual or marital), while it promotes residential autonomy –with the exception of Spanish females–. A higher educational level of attainment delays/deters marriage, but not cohabitation, and encourages residential autonomy. Here it is nevertheless possible to observe some differences between Italy and Spain: in Spain cohabitation is more common among people with higher levels of education; instead in Italy it seems to be an experience which is not selective according to the educational level attained.

Regarding the role played by the work career, the models estimated confirm that being employed is an important factor in the transition to adulthood. But results differ for men and women, suggesting that the gender-based traditional division of labour still influences the dynamics of family formation. For men, holding a job increases significantly the chances of transition to marriage. For women, however, the observed association is negative, although having had a job in the past and a lengthy labour force experience increase the probability of transition to marriage. Besides these gender differentials, another observed pattern 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 the degree of job stability.

The role of out-of-wedlock conceptions in accelerating the process of union and household formation was also examined. The results revealed that pregnancies speeded up the transition to union –both remaining in the parental home or forming a separate household–, both for males and females, in Spain and in Italy. A difference between the Spanish and Italian women of the youngest cohort is nevertheless observed with reference to cohabitation and autonomous living: while in Italy an out-of-wedlock conception increases the probability of these events, in Spain this does not occur.

In sum, prevailing patterns of transition to adulthood in the two Mediterranean countries under examination share basic common features: a late departure from the parental home and the fact that this departure is closely linked to union formation –mostly marriage. In contrast with the patterns observed in Northern Europe, the South displays a downward trend in youth residential autonomy, as well as the persistence of patrilocal union formation. Although this last type of transition is becoming less prevalent and less traditional union forms, such as consensual partnerships, are on the rise, the pace of change is moderate; therefore, convergence towards the Northern pattern can be discarded, at least in the short run. Furthermore, observed contrasts seem to be more than the result of a time lag in demographic trends. Key processes 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 between the way in which cohabitation is experienced in Italy and Spain, which lead us to believe that cohabitation in Italy is experienced 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 and in this case it will be interesting to keep an eye

on this phenomenon to understand if the differentials prevail through time or if instead we move towards a convergence of scenarios.

One question of interest from the policy point of view is whether the patterns peculiar to the Mediterranean region are the result of choice or constraint. Some indicators point towards the constraint explanation. For example, in Spain particularly, it is low education and unemployment that are associated with union formation while remaining 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 recognized. The analysis performed in this paper revealed, for instance, that, contrary to expectations, employment does not favour residential autonomy in Italy and Spain, or that the effect of educational and employment covariates on the different types of transitions varies across countries, genders and cohorts. Given this complexity, it is an important task to document the existing diversity in union and household formation patterns, which is likely to persist in the near future, in spite of the tendency towards harmonization of policies and regulations, including the family sphere, within the European Union.

## Tables and figures

Table 1. Model 1.

	Out of the parental home, not in union		In the parental home, in union		Out of the parental home, cohabiting		Out of the parental home, married	
	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p	Estimate	p
<i>Italy, Men</i>								
<i>Baseline log-rates</i>								
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	
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0.1095		-0.6369 *		0.5346		-0.3406 **	
Youngest	-0.5998 **		-0.4333		0.1958		-1.7228 **	
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-4980.71							
<i>Spain, Men</i>								
<i>Baseline log-rates</i>								
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	
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	0.0300		0.0765		0.9605 **		0.0971	
Youngest	-0.5376 **		-0.5550 *		0.7569 *		-0.4294 **	
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-8583.595							
<i>Italy, Women</i>								
<i>Baseline log-rates</i>								
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	
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	0.0321		-0.1929		0.7675 **		-0.2499 **	
Youngest	-0.0784		-1.0528 **		1.0189 **		-1.0041 **	
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-22422.72							
<i>Spain, Women</i>								
<i>Baseline log-rates</i>								
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	
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0.0208		-0.1353		1.1973 **		0.1208 *	
Youngest	-0.1916 +		-0.4216 **		1.9178 **		-0.4542 **	
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-18551.99							

\*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, + p< 0.1

Table 2. Model 2.

	<i>Destinations</i>		Out of the parental home, not in union		In the parental home, in union		Out of the parental home, cohabiting		Out of the parental home, married	
			<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Italy, Men</i>										
<i>Baseline log-rates</i>										
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	
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>										
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	**
<i>Log likelihood</i>			-4965.277							
<i>Spain, Men</i>										
<i>Baseline log-rates</i>										
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	
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>										
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	**
<i>Log likelihood</i>			-8559.27							
<i>Italy, Women</i>										
<i>Baseline log-rates</i>										
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	
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>										
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	**
<i>Log likelihood</i>			-22382.61							
<i>Spain, Women</i>										
<i>Baseline log-rates</i>										
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	
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>										
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	**
<i>Log likelihood</i>			-18525.42							

\*\* p&lt;0.01, \* p&lt;0.05, + p&lt; 0.1

Table 3. Model 3.

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

\*\* p&lt;0.01, \* p&lt;0.05, + p&lt; 0.1

Table 4. Model 4.

<i>Destinations</i>	Out of parental home, not in union		In parental home, in union		Out of parental home, cohabiting		Out of parental home, married	
	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Italy, Men</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0.2631	+	-0.4838		0.6181		-0.2177	*
Youngest	-0.8500	**	-0.1581		0.3505		-1.5205	**
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0.1400		0.3002		0.2916		0.4661	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0.7866	**	-0.3159		-0.0500		-0.1804	+
<i>Employed (ref=No)</i>								
Yes	-0.6846	**	-0.0860		-0.6458		0.7866	**
<i>Labour force experience (ref=0)</i>								
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	
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-4886.8193							
<i>Spain, Men</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0.1629		0.1354		0.9432	**	0.2357	**
Youngest	-0.8431	**	-0.4567	+	0.8086	*	-0.0787	
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0.0768		-0.0964		-0.0370		0.3821	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0.3925	**	-0.2296		0.4913	*	0.0461	
<i>Employed (ref=No)</i>								
Yes	-0.2111		-0.1139		0.0195		0.6289	**
<i>Labour force experience (ref= 0)</i>								
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	**
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-8465.1942							

Table 4 - continued.

<i>Italy, Women</i>				
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>				
Middle	-0.1495	-0.0994	0.8501 **	-0.1408 **
Youngest	-0.3530 **	-0.8683 **	1.2357 **	-0.7833 **
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>				
No	-0.4943 **	1.1514 **	1.0343 **	1.2106 **
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>				
Medium-high	0.8867 **	-0.0536	0.0628	-0.1437 **
<i>Employed (ref=No)</i>				
Yes	-0.2384	-0.8230 **	-0.9192 **	-0.9504 **
<i>Labour force experience (ref= 0)</i>				
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 **
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-21844.19			
<i>Spain, Women</i>				
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>				
Middle	-0.1829	0.0365	1.1998 **	0.2712 **
Youngest	-0.4757 **	-0.1619	1.9691 **	-0.1645 **
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>				
No	0.1355	0.8738 **	0.9104 **	1.0907 **
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>				
Medium-high	0.5133 **	-0.5421 **	0.3532 +	-0.1830 **
<i>Employed (ref=No)</i>				
Yes	-0.5151 **	-1.2757 **	-0.6839 **	-1.1503 **
<i>Labour force experience (ref=0)</i>				
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 **
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-18066.50			

\*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, + p< 0.1

Table 5. Model 5.

<i>Destinations</i>	Out of parental home, not in union		In parental home, in union		Out of parental home, cohabiting		Out of parental home, married	
	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Italy, Men</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0,2094		-0,6516	+	0,8010		-0,2287	*
Youngest	-0,7580	**	-0,3544		0,3542		-1,6103	**
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0,3740	**	0,4672		0,5183		0,6032	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0,9341	**	-0,3572		-0,1523		-0,1627	
<i>Conception of the first child</i>								
Yes	-6,2663		2,2100	**	2,9508	**	2,3859	**
<i>Interaction conception-cohort</i>								
Conception * middle cohort	0,2123		1,9856	*	-0,2515		1,0565	**
Conception * young cohort	0,5268		1,5680	+	1,1075		1,1163	+
<i>Log likelihood</i>								
<i>Spain, Men</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0,0842		-0,0425		0,9808	**	0,0941	
Youngest	-0,7023	**	-0,6138	*	0,7281	*	-0,4652	**
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0,2210	+	-0,1334		0,1966		0,8147	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0,5141	**	-0,2058		0,4213	+	-0,0012	
<i>Conception of the first child</i>								
Yes	-6,6385		2,6024	**	2,8507	**	2,8733	**
<i>Interaction conception-cohort</i>								
Conception * middle cohort	7,6303		1,0267	+	-1,4800		0,1937	
Conception * young cohort	7,1883		0,2663		-0,9252		0,4701	+
<i>Log likelihood</i>								
<i>Italy, Women</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0,1847	+	0,0086		0,7728	**	-0,1070	*
Youngest	-0,3793	**	-0,9579	**	1,1199	**	-0,7906	**
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0,6348	**	1,0724	**	1,2170	**	1,1830	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0,8738	**	0,0960		0,0400		-0,1328	**
<i>Conception of the first child</i>								
Yes	-0,2344		2,6902	**	0,8980		1,9170	**
<i>Interaction conception-cohort</i>								
Conception * middle cohort	1,6173	*	0,1408		1,4274		0,4221	**
Conception * young cohort	2,4322	**	1,6904	**	2,2989	**	1,3894	**
<i>Log likelihood</i>								
<i>Spain, Women</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0,1672		-0,1041		1,1692	**	0,1908	**
Youngest	-0,3830	**	-0,6118	**	1,9469	**	-0,4064	**
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0,0121		0,4936	**	0,9457	**	0,9631	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0,5934	**	-0,3755	**	0,3305	+	-0,1650	**
<i>Conception of the first child</i>								
Yes	-0,3621		2,4275	**	-4,4119		1,7886	**
<i>Interaction conception-cohort</i>								
Conception * middle cohort	1,4483		0,2508		5,2297		0,2218	
Conception * young cohort	1,2549		1,3947	**	5,5717		1,1171	**

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*Log likelihood* -17710,1

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\*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, + p< 0.1

Table 6. Model 6.

<i>Destinations</i>	Out of parental home, not in union		In parental home, in union		Out of parental home, cohabiting		Out of parental home, married	
	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Italy, Men</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0,2094		-0,3254		0,8198 +		-0,0888	
Youngest	-0,7580	**	-0,1054		0,5134		-1,4598	**
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0,3740	**	0,4898		0,5434		0,6007	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0,9341	**	-0,3414		-0,0882		-0,2098	+
<i>Conception of the first child</i>								
Yes	-6,3866		3,0306 **		3,2559 **		2,6392	**
<i>Interaction conception-ed. level</i>								
Conception * medium-high level	-0,8511		-0,1699		-0,4537		0,3159	
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-4801,49							
<i>Spain, Men</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0,0727		0,1154		0,8762 **		0,1264	
Youngest	-0,6958	**	-0,5887 *		0,6536 *		-0,3715	**
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0,2180	+	-0,0992		0,1974		0,8075	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0,5091	**	-0,1700		0,3312		-0,0020	
<i>Conception of the first child</i>								
Yes	-0,1702		3,1796 **		0,9067		3,0608	**
<i>Interaction conception-ed. Level</i>								
Conception * medium-high level	0,9472		-0,1132		1,5581		-0,0202	
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-8249							
<i>Italy, Women</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0,1342		0,0665		0,982 **		-0,0235	
Youngest	-0,3251	**	-0,6011 **		1,4085 **		-0,6219	**
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0,6104	**	1,1371 **		1,2763 **		1,2243	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0,9106	**	0,1539		0,0333		-0,1546	**
<i>Conception of the first child</i>								
Yes	1,1762	**	3,0097 **		2,2824 **		2,1559	**
<i>Interaction conception-ed. Level</i>								
Conception * medium-high level	-0,8229		-0,1147		0,2095		0,2019	+
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-21346,1							
<i>Spain, Women</i>								
<i>Cohort (ref=oldest)</i>								
Middle	-0,1436		-0,0667		1,2104 **		0,2180	**
Youngest	-0,3656	**	-0,1930		2,0047 **		-0,1966	**
<i>In education (ref=Yes)</i>								
No	-0,0044		0,5489 **		0,9538 **		0,9675	**
<i>Educational level (ref= Low)</i>								
Medium-high	0,6047	**	-0,5036 **		0,3473 +		-0,2935	**
<i>Conception of the first child</i>								
Yes	0,9013	*	2,8408 **		1,0501 *		1,9683	**
<i>Interaction conception-ed. Level</i>								
Conception * medium-high level	-0,3733		0,5202 +		-0,3142		0,7838	**
<i>Log likelihood</i>	-17730,2							

\*\* p&lt;0.01, \* p&lt;0.05, + p&lt; 0.1

Figure 1. First event experienced.

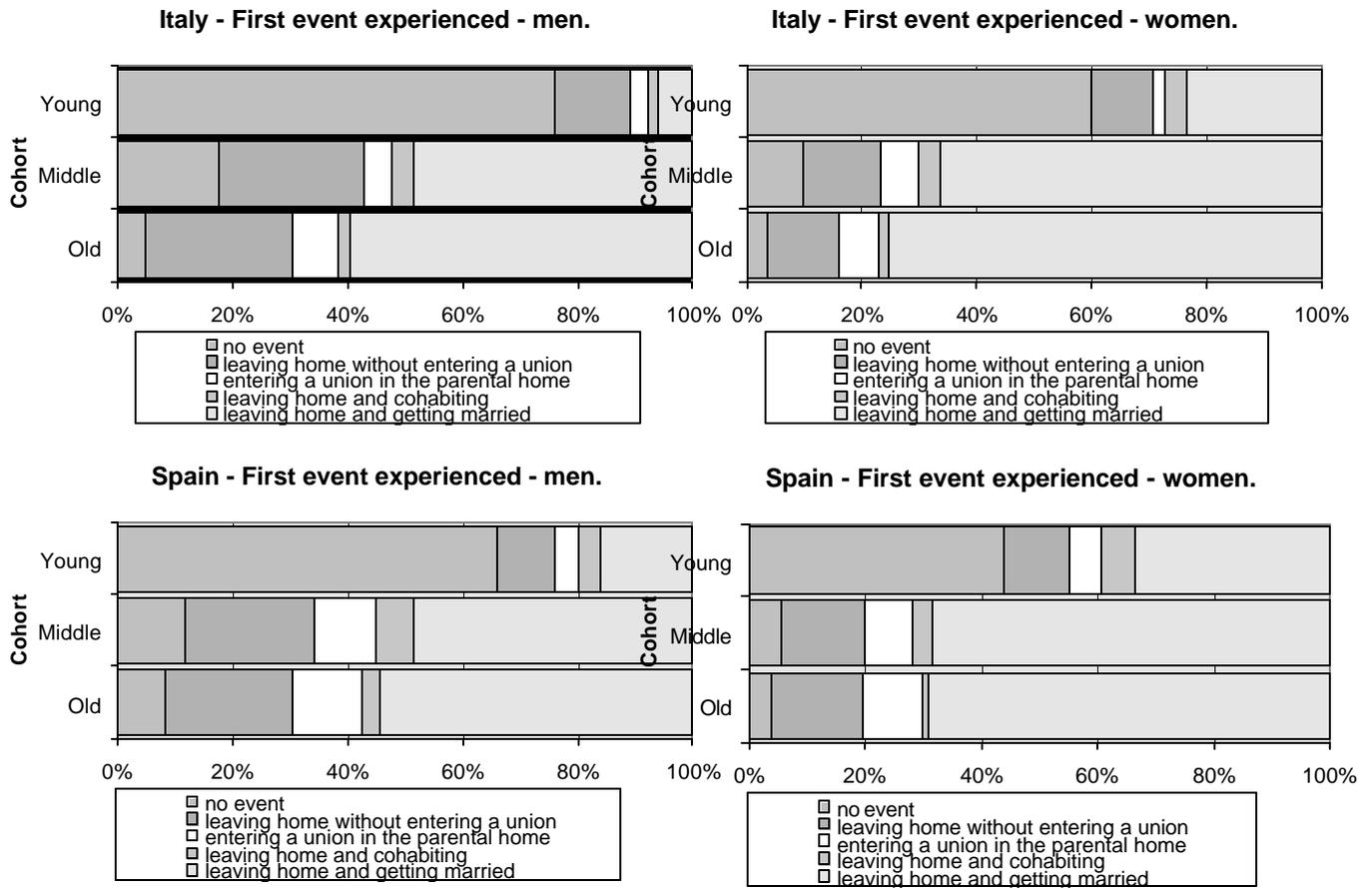


Figure 2. Diagram of the multiple destination models used.

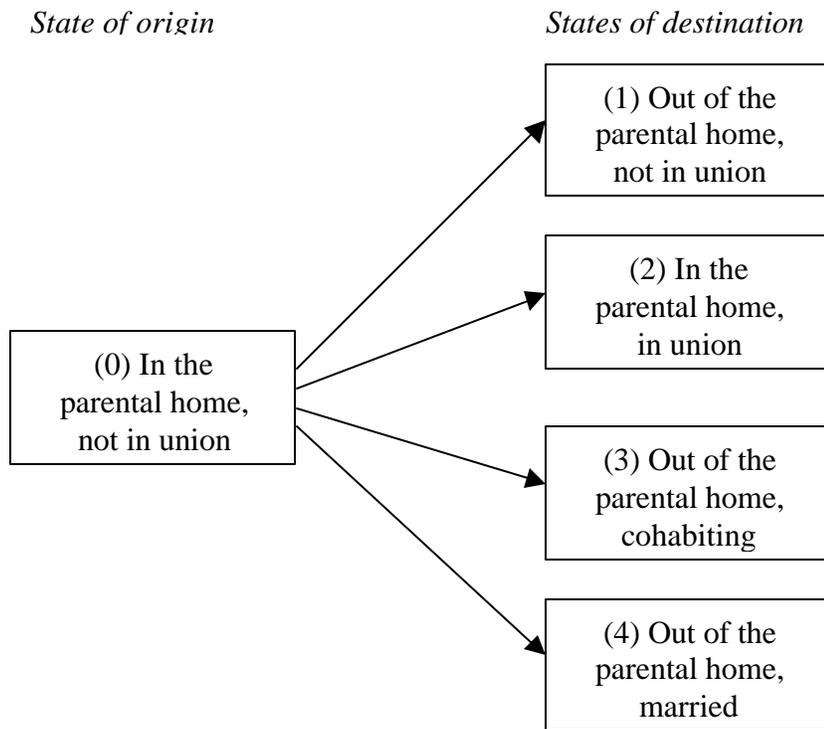
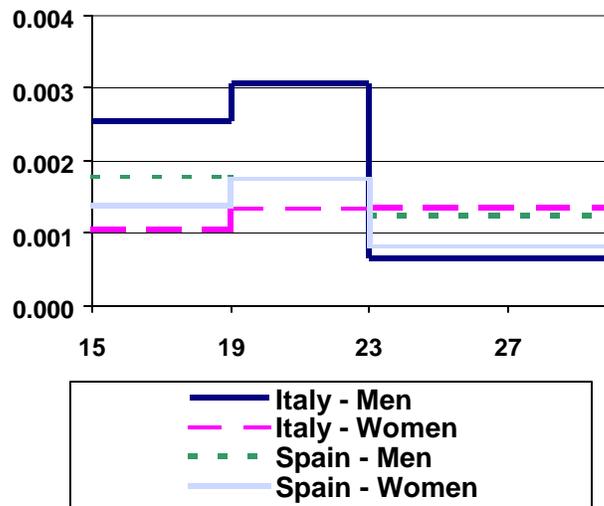
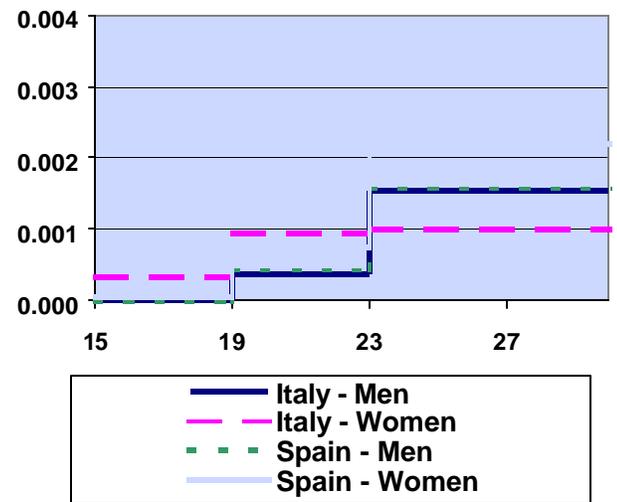


Figure 3. Transition rates for the oldest cohort.

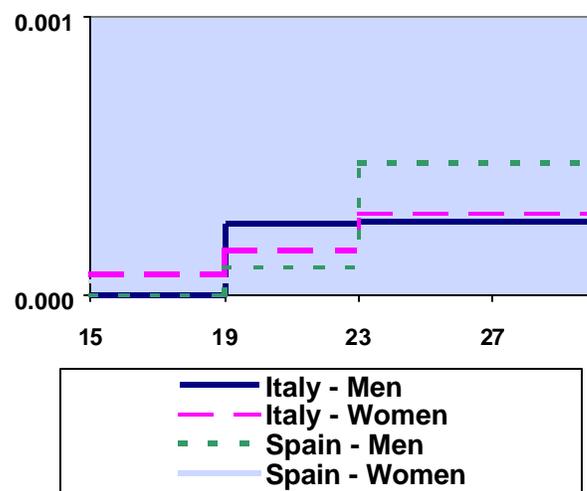
a. out of the parental home, not in union



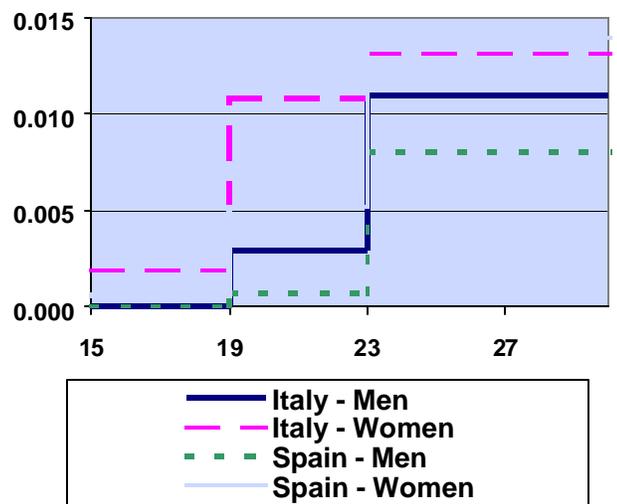
b. in the parental home, in union



c. out of the parental home, cohabiting



d. out of the parental home, married



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