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Nest-leaving behaviour among immigrant youth

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13 Nest-leaving behaviour among immigrant youth

Aslan Zorlu

13.1 Introduction

In general, the demographic behaviour and family dynamics of non-Western immigrants are different from that of the Dutch. The preferences of major ethnic minority groups concerning marriage and parenthood vary according to the educational and religious backgrounds of their parents (De Valk & Billari 2007). The demographic behaviour of immigrants is likely to deviate more from the majority at arrival, but this can decrease with the time elapsed in the Netherlands if immigrants take over mainstream social norms in the host country. This study aims to address a demographic indicator of integration: inter-ethnic differentials in leaving home (nest leaving) and returning back to the home in the Netherlands. Do immigrant youth leave the parental home at older ages than more individualistic and secularised Dutch youth? Although determinants of leaving the parental home have been extensively documented, the nest-leaving behaviour of immigrants and their children has seldom been addressed. Only a few studies have paid some attention to varying patterns of leaving home among migrants (Zorlu & Mulder 2011; De Valk & Billari 2007). This paper examines interethnic differences in nest-leaving behaviour and returning home in the Netherlands. By considering the inclination of returning home after a short period of independence, the paper aims to identify more persistent interethnic differences in nest-leaving behaviour over time. Using unique individual administrative panel data from Statistics Netherlands, an advanced dynamic regression analysis is conducted to understand the behaviour of the complete age cohort 16.

13.2 Theoretical background

Ethnic differences in nest-leaving behaviour can be related to restrictions and opportunities shaped by socio-economic and demographic

characteristics of migrants and contextual variables as well as cultural norms. In the migration literature, there is a consensus on the disadvantaged socio-economic position of immigrants from developing countries (Zorlu 2012). The question is how this disadvantage is related to the nest-leaving behaviour of migrant youth.

Upon general evidence on the timing, determinants and pathways, the home-leaving behaviour of immigrants has additional implications for the host society. Similarities in the patterns of home-leaving behaviour between natives and immigrant groups can be seen as an indicator of demographic adjustment and reflect a higher degree of integration. There are several reasons to expect that the home-leaving behaviour of migrants will differ from that of natives. Major factors that potentially induce interethnic differences in process and mechanisms of leaving arrangements may be categorised as cultural norms and a relative scarcity of own and parental resources.

Migrants from non-Western countries often reside in social rent houses in large cities. These houses are usually small in size, and non-Western youth share a relatively smaller space in the parental home with more people due to the greater number of children and a larger household size in the face of credit constraints and less favourable housing facilities (Zorlu 2009; Zorlu & Mulder 2008). This implies a relative scarcity of financial resources and a lower quality of the parental home.

Interethnic differences in cultural norms correspond to dominant cultural norms and preferences in the country of origin of the migrants in the timing and routes of departure from the parental home. In migrant communities from non-Western countries, family-related individual decisions are often prone to familial and religious concerns while in the secularised and individualised Dutch society, autonomous decisions of individuals are dominant practices regarding the timing of transitions into adulthood. Although Caribbean and Mediterranean migrants are more family oriented than the Dutch, there are fundamental differences between Caribbean and Mediterranean migrants regarding the timing and mechanisms of family-life transitions such as leaving home, marriage and childbearing (De Valk & Liefbroer 2007). In the Turkish and Moroccan communities, leaving home for marriage is still thought to be a dominant pattern. Traditionally arranged marriages occur more frequently, and the age at which Turkish and Moroccan youth marry and have their first child is lower compared to Caribbean migrants. In contrast to Mediterranean societies, unmarried cohabitation, childbearing out of wedlock and single-mother households are more common in the Caribbean tradition.

   In addition to cultural norms, individual and family preferences are also related to institutional factors (Aassve et al. 2002). Patterns and processes of living arrangements in developing countries are likely not independent from credit constraints, housing and labour markets and institutional structures. For instance, a relatively lower age of leaving home in Western industrialised countries is often attributed to an advanced welfare state that provides a high level of support to young adults, like student loans, unemployment and welfare benefits and rent subsidies (Billari & Liefbroer 2007). This implies that nest-leaving home behaviour of non-Western youth in the Netherlands can differ significantly from the patterns in their countries of origin.

   In the face of the above arguments, I formulate the following hypothesis: differences in the nest-leaving behaviour of migrant groups will vary with socio-economic and cultural distances from the Dutch. More traditional and disadvantaged Turkish and Moroccan youth will leave the parental home at older ages and are more likely to return home compared to Dutch and Caribbean (Surinamese and Antilleans) and Western migrants.

13.3 Following two birth cohorts over time

For the analysis, I use the entire population of two birth cohorts of those who were 16 and 22 years old in 1999 derived from the Social Statistical Database (SSD) 1999-2004, a rich individual administrative database available at Statistics Netherlands. The age cohort 16 seems to be the earliest birth cohort from which almost all individuals live with one of the parents. This ensures a non-selective population.

   Together with the cohort 16, the age cohort 22 is followed to show the timing of home leaving. Since both cohorts can be followed five years long, the whole period from age 16 to 27 is covered. In the period 1999-2004, each cohort can be followed for five years to track the first-time transition from parental home to another living arrangement. Figure 1 shows the proportion of youth living in the parental home over the ages 16 to 27 by gender and country of origin. It is immediately apparent that girls leave the parental home earlier than boys do. By the time they are 27 years, only about 10 per cent of girls and 25 per cent of boys still live in the parental home. Looking at ethnic differences in the home-leaving behaviour by gender, Turkish and Moroccan youth, both girls and boys, leave home at a younger age compared to Dutch youth. Many of them enter into formal adulthood at around 18 and 19 years of age. Surinamese youth remain longer in the parental home compared

TABLE 13.1   *Variables and their route specific means at the time of leaving home or*

Girl	1 if person is girl
Dutch	1 if the country of origin is the Netherlands
Moroccan	1 if the country of origin is Morocco
Turkish	1 if the country of origin is Turkey
Surinamese	1 if the country of origin is Surinam
Antillean	1 if the country of origin is the Antilles and Aruba
Other non-Western	1 if the country of origin is another non-Western country
Western	1 if the country of origin is a Western country
2nd generation	1 if born in NL and both parents were born abroad
2nd generation (Mixed)	1 if born in NL and one parent was born abroad
Employed	1 if employed or self-employed; 0 otherwise
Log income	Logarithm of fiscal income
Log value of dwelling	Logarithm of value of dwelling
All siblings in	1 if all siblings in the parental home
All siblings out	1 if all siblings left the parental home
Some siblings in, some out	1 if some siblings in the home and some others out
Age difference with the mother	(Mother's age minus own age) in years
Age difference with the father	(Father's age minus own age) in years
Mother unmarried	1 if mother unmarried
Mother widow	1 if mother widow
Mother divorced	1 if mother divorced
Mother cohabiting	1 if mother cohabiting (not married)
Mother employed	1 if mother employed or self-employed; 0 otherwise
Father employed	1 if father employed or self-employed; 0 otherwise
Household size	Number of persons in the household
Income mother	Fiscal annual income of mother in €1000
Income father	Fiscal annual income of father in €1000
% Western in neighbourh.	% non-Western immigrants in the neighbourhood
% non-Western in neighbourh.	% Western immigrants in the neighbourhood
Mean earnings in neighbourh.	Mean annual income in the neighbourhood in €1000
Amsterdam	1 if lives in Amsterdam
Rotterdam	1 if lives in Rotterdam
The Hague	1 if lives in the Hague
Utrecht	1 if lives in Utrecht
N	

the end of period (censoring)

	Stayed	Union	Study	Other
Girl	0.40	0.83	0.61	0.61
Dutch	65.32	1.88	18.40	14.40
Moroccan	37.40	10.49	12.03	40.08
Turkish	40.63	16.08	11.90	31.39
Surinamese	61.05	1.62	11.06	26.27
Antillean	56.38	0.64	14.29	28.70
Other non-Western	57.41	1.93	16.15	24.50
Western	62.60	1.40	18.89	17.11
2nd generation	0.05	0.22	0.05	0.16
2nd generation (Mixed)	0.06	0.03	0.08	0.07
Employed	0.50	0.62	0.12	0.44
Log income	8.96	8.95	7.91	8.55
Log value of dwelling	3.59	3.21	3.59	3.33
All siblings in	0.56	0.45	0.56	0.48
All siblings out	0.19	0.14	0.20	0.21
Some siblings in, some out	0.17	0.39	0.19	0.25
Age difference with the mother	27.32	26.23	28.77	26.11
Age difference with the father	28.51	27.94	30.04	26.66
Mother unmarried	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.04
Mother widow	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02
Mother divorced	0.12	0.08	0.10	0.21
Mother cohabiting	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03
Mother employed	0.64	0.39	0.70	0.51
Father employed	0.80	0.68	0.85	0.64
Household size	4.04	5.17	4.09	4.10
Income mother	12.59	7.52	15.98	11.79
Income father	35.66	28.17	48.78	26.79
% Western in neighbourh.	7.63	6.83	8.13	8.44
% non-Western in neighbourh.	8.38	14.04	6.32	14.45
Mean earnings in neighbourh.	18.93	13.41	19.57	15.44
Amsterdam	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.06
Rotterdam	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.06
The Hague	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.04
Utrecht	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
N	108331	4255	30418	28517

to Turks and Moroccans, while the home-leaving behaviour of Western youth is very similar to that of the Dutch. Considering all groups together by the age of 27, 20 to 35 per cent of boys and less than 20 per cent of girls live with their parents.

FIGURE 13.1 *Percentage of youngsters living in their parental home, unconditional survival probabilities by gender and country of origin*

Fraction of boys living with their parents

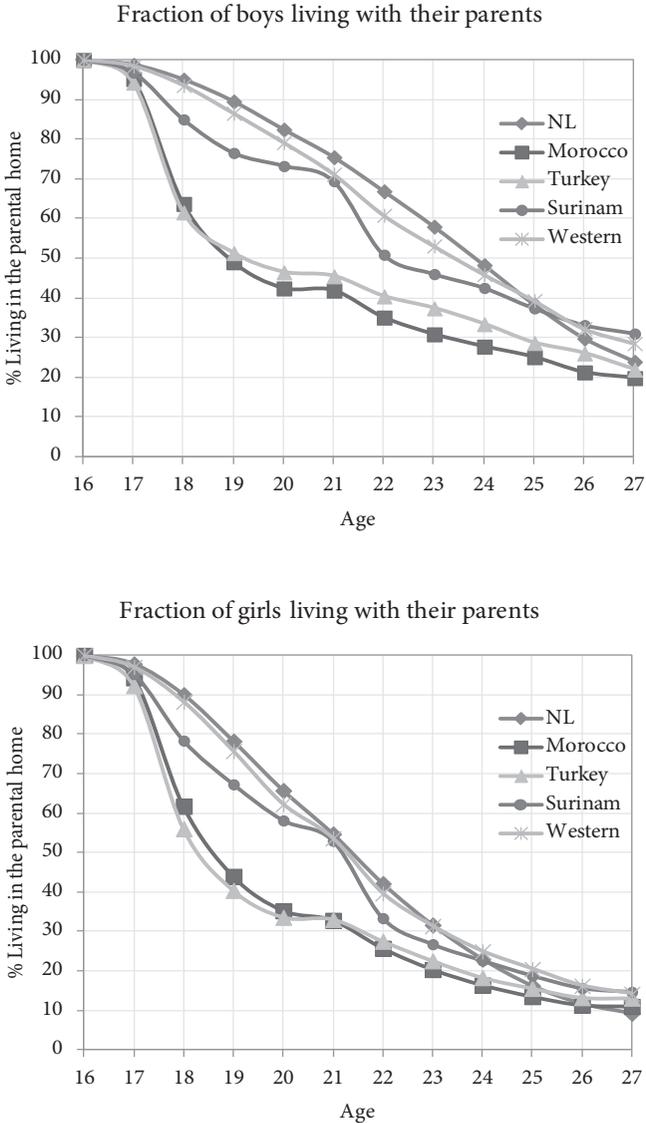Fraction of girls living with their parents

Table 13.1 shows the variables that are used in this study and their mean values for each destination outside the home. In general, girls are more likely to leave home, in particular for union formation. Turkish and Moroccan youth are also overrepresented among union formers. A better parental economic position (employment and higher income) is associated with either staying home longer or a high probability of leaving home for study. On the other hand, a weak parental socio-economic position is strongly correlated with leaving home for union formation or other reasons. If the mother is divorced, the probability of leaving home for any destination is relatively high.

3.4 Explaining ethnic differences in nest leaving

Individual home-leaving behaviour is analysed in the framework of a discrete time duration model with competing risks. In this setting, the likelihood of leaving home for three destinations at time t is estimated, given this person lives in the parental home at time t-1. In other words, the duration of the home-leaving spell is specified as the conditional probability of leaving home, i.e. the hazard rate. In this framework, the survival time for co-residing individuals is assumed to start at the age of 16 in 1999 and to end when an individual leaves the parental home for the first time. It is censored when the individual was still co-residing with the parent(s) in the last year of observation (2004).

Leaving the parental home is measured at the moment the young adult has left home. Leaving home can occur between 1999 and 2004 and is measured as a change in the young adult's address from living with at least one parent to living away from the parents. The pathway of leaving home is also measured after leaving home. I distinguish three pathways: leaving home to form a union (married or unmarried), leaving for study (higher education) and leaving for another reason.

In the analysis, young people are treated as a part of the parental household, rather than treating them as an independent actor. So, the decision by young people to leave the parental home is assumed to be interactively determined by their own resources and the resources of their parents, household structure and spatial context.

The parameter estimates of the competing risk models by gender are presented in table 13.2. The likelihood for leaving to form a union increases in the first four years, after which it declines again. The baseline hazard for leaving for study reflects a monotonously increasing shape while it is similar over the years for the 'other' route. Looking at inter-origin differentials, the probability of departure toward any

TABLE 13.2 *Determinants of nest leaving by gender, multinominal odds ratios*

	BOYS		
	Union	*Study*	*Other*
$\alpha 2$	18.28 ***	7.56 ***	2.86 ***
$\alpha 3$	21.41 ***	17.55 ***	2.69 ***
$\alpha 4$	31.24 ***	28.20 ***	3.18 ***
$\alpha 5$	9.93 **	33.71 ***	3.21 ***
Moroccan	1.04	1.76 ***	5.49 ***
Turkish	14.23 ***	1.85 ***	4.17 ***
Surinamese	1.92	0.67 ***	1.41 ***
Antillean	0.51	0.84	1.52 ***
Other non-Western	2.23 ***	1.43 ***	1.98 ***
Western	0.95	0.96	1.41 ***
2nd generation	0.86	1.10	0.89 **
2nd generation (Mixed)	1.26	1.06	0.78 ***
Employed	1.00	0.42 ***	1.23 ***
Log income	2.45 ***	0.65 ***	1.14 ***
Log value of dwelling	1.25	1.74 ***	0.78 ***
Household size	1.30 ***	1.05 ***	1.04 ***
All siblings in	1.29	0.98	0.90 **
All siblings out	4.09 ***	1.51 ***	1.87 ***
Some siblings in, some out	3.30 ***	1.37 ***	1.71 ***
Age difference with the mother	0.99	1.04 ***	0.96 ***
Age difference with the father	0.97 ***	1.00	0.99 ***
Mother unmarried	0.47	1.29 **	1.35 ***
Mother widow	0.64	1.15	0.64 ***
Mother divorced	0.66 *	1.09 **	1.65 ***
Mother cohabiting	1.45	3.53 ***	0.69 ***
Mother employed	0.83	1.29 ***	0.79 ***
Father employed	0.79 *	1.03	0.65 ***
Income mother	0.98 ***	1.01 ***	1.01 ***
Income father	1.00	1.01 ***	1.00
% Western migrants in neighbourh.	0.96 **	1.02 ***	1.03 ***
% non-Western migrants in neighbourh.	1.01	0.99 ***	1.01 ***
Mean earnings in neighbourh. (1000s)	0.93 ***	1.01 ***	0.98 ***
Amsterdam	1.05	1.33 ***	0.91 *
Rotterdam	1.06	0.92	1.01
The Hague	0.99	0.97	1.25 ***
Utrecht	0.64	1.40 ***	0.95
Constant	0.00 ***	0.00 ***	0.04 ***
N	396649		

* p<.01; ** p<.001; *** p<.0001

Note: dummy variables should be interpreted with respect to the reference categories. The reference categories for ethnic background, siblings, mother's marital status and large cities are respectively: Dutch, no-sibling present, mother-married and the rest of the Netherlands.

	GIRLS		
	Union	*Study*	*Other*
α2	3.32 ***	6.32 ***	2.96 ***
α3	5.58 ***	13.79 ***	3.31 ***
α4	7.58 ***	20.42 ***	3.83 ***
α5	3.83 ***	24.14 ***	3.59 ***
Moroccan	7.80 ***	1.17	2.99 ***
Turkish	18.57 ***	1.26 *	2.34 ***
Surinamese	1.82 ***	0.81 **	1.16 **
Antillean	0.51	1.20	1.48 ***
Other non-Western	1.81 ***	1.15 *	1.26 ***
Western	1.75 ***	0.91	1.12 **
2nd generation	0.74 ***	1.06	0.86 ***
2nd generation (Mixed)	0.44 ***	1.23 ***	0.89 **
Employed	2.13 ***	0.44 ***	1.73 ***
Log income	1.76 ***	0.73 ***	1.17 ***
Log value of dwelling	0.90	1.58 ***	0.68 ***
Household size	1.29 ***	1.02 *	1.00
All siblings in	1.04	1.13 **	1.02
All siblings out	2.32 ***	1.54 ***	1.81 ***
Some siblings in, some out	2.45 ***	1.41 ***	1.66 ***
Age difference with the mother	0.97 ***	1.03 ***	0.95 ***
Age difference with the father	0.99 *	1.00	1.00
Mother unmarried	0.41 ***	1.32 ***	1.37 ***
Mother widow	1.38	1.21 **	0.87 **
Mother divorced	0.94	1.07 *	1.47 ***
Mother cohabiting	0.35 ***	3.15 ***	0.45 ***
Mother employed	0.85 **	1.32 ***	0.89 ***
Father employed	0.80 ***	0.98	0.80 ***
Income mother	0.98 ***	1.01 ***	1.01 ***
Income father	1.00	1.01 ***	1.00 ***
% Western migrants in neighbourh.	0.93 ***	1.02 ***	1.02 ***
% non-Western migrants in neighbourh.	1.00	0.99 ***	1.01 ***
Mean earnings in neighbourh. (1000s)	0.96 ***	1.01 ***	0.99 ***
Amsterdam	0.93	1.16 *	0.75 ***
Rotterdam	1.16	1.00	0.99
The Hague	1.05	1.30 ***	0.96
Utrecht	0.84	1.30 ***	1.05
Constant	0.00 ***	0.00 ***	0.13 ***
N	353070		

route is particularly high for young people of Turkish, Moroccan and other non-Western origin. The probability of leaving home for union is spectacularly higher for Turkish and Moroccan girls as well as Turkish boys compared to their native counterparts, although they form only a small part of the home leavers up to the ages of 24. Interestingly, Surinamese boys and girls have a lower probability of leaving home for study compared to their native counterparts, as do Western girls. There is obviously little compelling reason for Surinamese girls to leave home for study because they are already concentrated in large university cities. Second-generation immigrant girls have a lower probability of leaving home for union formation or 'other' reasons, while they are more likely to leave for study. The second-generation boys have a lower probability of departing for 'other' reasons. Among the second generation, those with one foreign-born parent have a relatively lower probability of leaving their home for 'other' reasons than for study compared to the second generation with foreign-born parents. This implies that there is more similarity between the second generation with one foreign-born parent and natives than in the case of two foreign-born parents.

Youth in paid employment and those with higher incomes have a significantly lower probability of leaving home for study and a higher probability of leaving for 'other' reasons. A strong positive correlation between income and the probability of leaving home for union formation may be obvious for young men and women since they need financial resources to start a union. A relatively stronger correlation for young men confirms the persistence of the traditional breadwinner concept. However, more striking is the higher probability of girls leaving home for union formation when they are employed, while the likelihood of leaving home for union formation is not higher among employed men. This may reflect a greater sensitivity of men for higher income, not necessarily for having a (small) job. Different than men, having a (small) job is also an important factor for women to leave home for union in addition to income.

The presence of siblings has in general a positive effect on leaving home, often for union formation, especially when some or all siblings have already left home. A greater age differential with the mother leads to a lower likelihood of leaving home for union formation or another reason but a higher likelihood to leave for study. A similar effect is observed for the age differential with the father, albeit less strong. This finding implies a rejection of the hypothesis that a greater age difference with parents can reflect a higher intensity of intergenerational conflict which can serve as a push factor.

Children of unmarried and divorced mothers are more likely to leave home for study and other reasons but less frequently for union formation. The likelihood of leaving home for study is the highest for the children of cohabiting mothers and widowed mothers. In addition, these children are less likely to move for other reasons, as in the case of the children of widowed mothers.

The employment position of parents has a clear positive impact on the likelihood of leaving home for study but retards the likelihood of leaving for union formation or other reasons. A higher income of the parents generates similar effects. Although the effects of employment and the income positions of mothers and fathers are in the same direction, the effects are larger in magnitude for the mothers.

Looking at the impact of contextual variables, the likelihood of leaving home for study and other reasons is greater for those who live in neighbourhoods with a higher share of Western migrants and higher incomes, but the likelihood of union formation is smaller for them. Young people living in neighbourhoods with a higher share of non-Western migrants are, on the other hand, less likely to move for study but more likely to move for other reasons. These outcomes confirm the intuition that young people in 'high quality' neighbourhoods are more likely to leave the parental home predominantly for study but less likely for union formation at relatively younger ages. Furthermore, young people living in Amsterdam and Utrecht leave home for study more frequently. Strikingly, youth in Amsterdam are less likely to leave home for other reasons.

13.5 Returning home

The question is how persistent the patterns of leaving home are across the different migrant groups and native Dutch. This can be understood, as we know how the probabilities of leaving home are related to the probabilities of returning home across the groups. As Figure 13.2 shows, the probabilities of returning home are quite constant for almost all groups up to age 20, after which they tend to increase. The higher return probability for Surinamese and Turkish boys and girls are remarkable.

In order to assess determinants of returning home, I estimate the probability of returning home for boys and girls, who already left home using a discrete time survival model. The dependent variable, *return*, in this case has a binary structure, taking the value 1 if the individual returns to the parental home and otherwise taking the value 0. The sur-

FIGURE 13.2 *Percentage of boys and girls who have returned home after*
                 having left the parental home by country of origin

Fraction of boys returning to home

Fraction of girls living with their parents
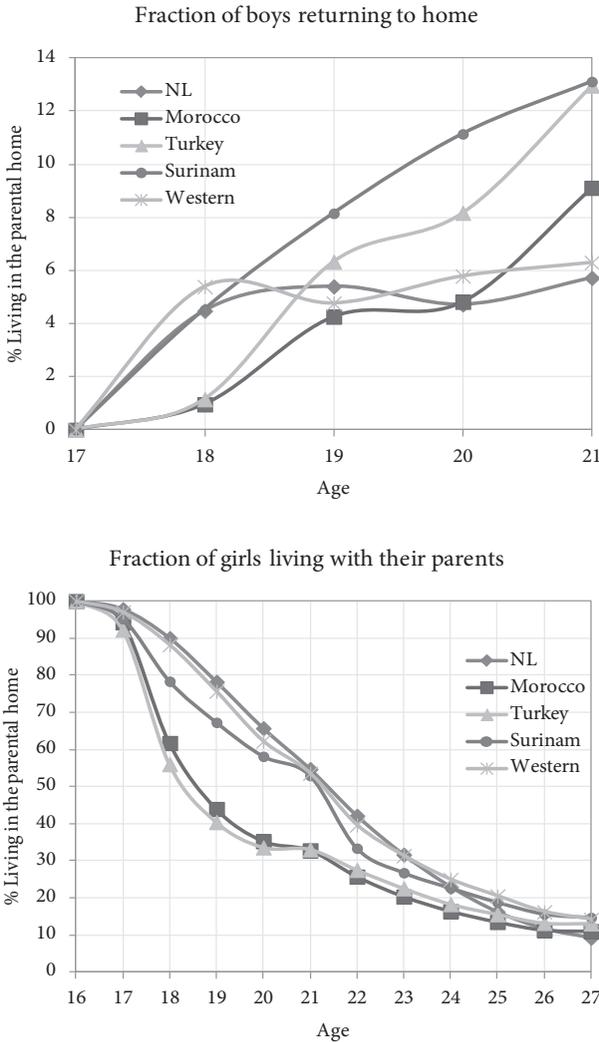
vival time starts and ends when an individual leaves the parental home
and returns to the home. It is right-censored when the individual had
not returned home by the last year of observation (2004).

The estimates in table 13.2 show that young males from non-West-
ern countries have a higher probability of returning home than native
Dutch which is the reference category. However, no significant ethnic
differences are observed for almost all migrant groups, except Suri-

namese girls who have a significantly higher probability of returning home compared to Dutch girls. Employment leads to a higher probability of returning home while a higher income has the reverse effect. Interestingly, the probability of returning home is substantially lower when all or some siblings are co-residing with parents. However, this probability is higher when all siblings have already left the home. A higher age difference with the mother lowers the probability of leaving home but an age difference with father has no impact on this percentage. When the mother is divorced or widowed, the probability of returning is higher than when the mother is married, while in the case of the cohabiting mother the probability of returning is substantially lower. The impacts of employment and the income levels of parents are similar to the impacts of youngsters' own employment and income, although these effects are smaller. Variables indicating neighbourhood ethnic composition and economic conditions have no effect.

TABLE 13.3 *Determinants of returning home, odds ratios*

Variable	Boys	Girls
Log α	1.36 **	1.21 *
Moroccan	0.95	0.98
Turkish	1.32 **	0.97
Surinamese	1.42 ***	1.27 **
Antillean	1.44 *	1.27
Other non-Western	1.30 **	1.08
Western	1.04	1.18
2nd generation (parents born abroad)	1.06	1.00
2nd generation (mixed)	1.00	0.93
Employed	1.73 ***	1.25 ***
Log income	0.88 ***	0.91 ***
Log housing value	0.92	0.95
All siblings in	0.08 ***	0.03 ***
All siblings out	1.16 *	1.36 ***
Some siblings in, some out	0.34 ***	0.25 ***
Difference mother's age and own age	0.97 ***	0.98 ***
Difference father's age and own age	1.00	1.00
Variable	*Boys*	*Girls*
Mother unmarried	1.10	1.07
Mother widow	1.20	1.38 **
Mother divorced	1.28 ***	1.17 ***

Variable	Boys	Girls
Mother cohabiting	0.43 ***	0.41 ***
Mother employed	1.19 ***	1.16 ***
Father employed	1.30 ***	1.31 ***
Income mother	0.99 ***	0.99 ***
Income father	0.99 ***	1.00 ***
% Western migrants in neighbourhood	1.00	1.01 ***
% non-Western migrants in neighbourhood	1.00	1.00
Mean earnings in neighbourhood (000s)	1.01 *	1.01
Amsterdam	0.80 **	1.15 *
Rotterdam	0.75 ***	0.94
The Hague	0.73 ***	0.77 **
Utrecht	0.90	0.95
Constant	0.25 ***	0.15 ***

* p<.01; ** p<.001; *** p<.0001

13.6 Conclusions

This study examined ethnic differentials in the timing of nest leaving and pathways out of the parental home as well as in returning home. My hypothesis was that more traditional and disadvantaged Turkish and Moroccan youth would leave the parental home at older ages and were more likely to return home compared to native Dutch and Caribbean (Surinamese and Antilleans) and Western migrants. The analysis showed that migrant young men and women leave the parental home at relatively younger ages compared to their Dutch counterparts. There are significant differences in the reasons why the different groups leave home. The behaviour of Western migrants is very similar to that of the Dutch, while the most deviation in nest-leaving behaviour is observed for Mediterranean (Turkish and Moroccan) migrants. The nest-leaving pattern of Caribbean migrants is also more similar to that of the Dutch.

Contrary to my expectations, Mediterranean migrants leave home significantly earlier than the Dutch. A substantially high incidence of departures from the home around 18 years of age for this group is striking, while departure rates are more smoothly spread over time. In view of the relatively late timing of nest leaving in the origin countries of these migrants, this outcome unambiguously contradicts the idea that ethnic origin or cultural characteristics determine the nest-leaving behaviour of migrants. Constraints imposed by the unfavourable

socio-economic position of non-Western migrants in the Netherlands do not seem to hinder the early nest leaving of these migrants. The results suggest dominating effects of opportunity structure enriched by the Dutch welfare state. The behaviour of the second generation from this group is closer to that of the Dutch, as expected.

The impact of ethnic origin and socio-economic position is apparent in the choices of the pathways out of the parental home. Mediterranean migrants are more likely to leave home for union formation but less likely to do so for study. In particular, leaving home for union formation is very popular for Turkish and Moroccan girls as well as Turkish boys. However, the fraction of migrants leaving home for union formation remains modest within the whole population of nest leavers.

The analysis also showed that returning to the home after first leaving home does not eliminate the pattern of ethnic difference that we had assumed (Moroccans and Turks most prone to return, then Surinamese, then the Dutch). We saw that a larger fraction of Surinamese and Turkish youth return home than within other groups. The probability of returning home is higher when all siblings are out of the home, the parents are divorced and both the individual and the parents are employed. However, the probability is significantly lower when all siblings are co-residing with the parents.

Overall, the most striking finding of this study on nest-leaving behaviour of Turkish and Moroccan youth is that cultural norms are not necessarily the only explanation for the gap in immigrant integration. The context obviously matters.

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