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Transition to adulthood in France: Do descendants of immigrants differ from natives?

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Abstract:

This study examines whether major changes in patterns of transition to adulthood have taken place among descendants of immigrants in France. We simultaneously analyze the demographic events that make up the transition to adulthood for two main groups of immigrants' descendants, i.e., North African and Southern European, and compare them to the pathway of native-born French. We identify five groups of similar trajectories using sequence and cluster analysis. In order to analyze how trajectories to adulthood are shaped by ethnic origin, gender, background characteristics and education, we estimate multinomial logistic regression on the likelihood of belonging to each of the five selected clusters. We find fairly similar paths to adulthood for descendants of immigrants and natives. However, specific patterns do emerge for immigrants' descendants. They stay significantly longer in the parental home, partly because their parents come from societies characterized by strong family ties, and partly because they have greater difficulties becoming self-sufficient. Descendants of immigrants from North Africa, especially women, also have a lower probability of cohabiting. Finally, descendants of immigrants from North Africa behave more traditionally while descendants of immigrants from Southern Europe behave more like native French.

Keywords: Transition to adulthood, Sequence analysis, Second-generation migrants, Union formation, Leaving home, Youths

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1 Introduction

The way people become adults has changed substantially in most Western countries since the late 1960s. During that period, early life trajectories became more complex, longer and more differentiated by individual (Aassve et al. 2002; Furstenberg 2010; Rindfuss et al. 2010). Key events in young people's lives became less synchronized, and the order in which they occur less standard. Many scholars view these changes in the transition to adulthood as part of the second demographic transition (Lesthaeghe 1995). Changes in norms, increased affirmation of individual autonomy, an evolving gender system, and secularization have led to more independent living and to a postponement of the least irreversible events, such as having children (Billari and Liefbroer 2010). But structural transformations of educational patterns, labor markets contexts, and working and living conditions are also important explanations of observed variations in entry into adulthood (Billari 2004; Blossfeld et al. 2005). Growing economic insecurity, changes in job standards and increased cost of living have been major causes of life event postponement.

Although these changes are widespread, pathways to adulthood also vary by socioeconomic group (Furstenberg 2010; Berzin and De Marco 2010). For individuals of relatively low socioeconomic status, fewer of whom pursue post-secondary education, the transition to adulthood is generally accelerated while individuals of higher socioeconomic status are more likely to pursue higher education, to live longer on their own, and to postpone union formation (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999). Family background is a key factor in these differences among groups since it determines levels of cultural and economic resources, which in turn influence the process of entry into adulthood (Furstenberg 2008; Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007; Schoen et al. 2009).

Most research on the effect of family background on the transition to adulthood in Europe has focused on parents' social class (Sironi et al. 2015; Galland 1997). Less attention has been paid to differences in patterns of transition to adulthood across ethnic origin groups, in spite of the fact that immigrants' descendants now make up a sizeable and growing fraction of the European population and are reaching the age of family formation (except de Valk 2006 ; Kleinepier et al. 2015). Some recent studies have analyzed the early trajectories of second-generation immigrants in Europe, focusing on one transition component at a time, mainly the timing of first union and first birth (Kulu et al. 2015; Hanneman et al. 2014; Bernardt et al. 2007 and Andersson et al. 2015 in Sweden; de Valk 2006 in the Netherlands; Lievens 1999 in Belgium; Milewski and Hamel 2010 and Pailhé 2015 in France; Soehl and Yahirun 2011 in Germany; Soehl and Yahirun 2011). There are fewer studies on the total process of entry into adulthood (except de Valk 2006; Hamel et al. 2011). Even fewer studies have analyzed descendants of immigrants' entry into adulthood from a gendered perspective (except Bernardt et al. 2007; Goldscheider et al. 2008).

This study examines whether the new pattern of transition to adulthood can also be found among descendants of immigrants in France. It focuses on the interplay between gender and ethnic origin and investigates whether individual behaviors are affected by tradition and/or shaped by structural factors, especially education level.

Because of its long history of receiving migrants, the French population includes a significant proportion of immigrants' descendants; in 2008 they accounted for about 10% of the population (INSEE 2012). Their parents come mostly from countries characterized by strong family ties and that have not experienced secularization (Reher 1998). This may influence their children's process of entering adulthood and distinguish them from the typical French model, characterized by early home leaving, remaining single for a relatively long time, increasing unmarried cohabitation and non-marital childbearing, as well as independence from older generations (Cavalli et al. 2008). Moreover, second-generation immigrants are often of modest social background, have lower educational levels, and they are confronted with unfavorable economic conditions and poor employment opportunities (Meurs et al. 2006; Brinbaum et al. 2015). It takes much longer for them to become financially independent, a fact which may influence their transition to adulthood.

In this paper, we analyze the process of transition to adulthood for France's two main groups of immigrants' descendants, i.e., North African and Southern European, and compare it to the pathway of native-born French. We simultaneously analyze the key events that make up the transition to adulthood, i.e., the completion of education, leaving the parental home, entry into stable employment, union formation, and entry into parenthood. Our research design uses data from the 2008 Trajectories and Origins Survey, a survey that contains rich demographic data and oversamples immigrants' descendants, and sequence analysis.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: section 2 outlines the main results reported in the literature and lists our research hypotheses; section 3 describes the data, analytical strategy and variables we use in the empirical part of the research; section 3 presents the results; and section 5 summarizes the main findings and concludes.

2 Background and hypotheses

2.1 Diverse pathways of transition into adulthood

Typically, the demographic events of the transition to adulthood have included such markers as leaving home, finishing education, getting a full-time job, marrying or cohabiting, and having children (Modell et al. 1976). In nearly all European countries, the sequencing of these events and the pace at which they occur have become less standardized, more diverse and more unpredictable

since the late 1960s (Lesnard et al. 2010; Buchmann and Kriesi 2011). Compared to previous decades, they occur much later, at more diverse ages, and for durations that vary more widely (Brückner and Mayer 2005). Some life events, such as marriage, concern smaller shares of the population, while more young people cohabit, have children outside marital unions, or remain childless (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Kiernan 2002, 2004). Transitions between different states also take longer. In particular, young adults are exploring multiple possibilities before making decisions that will have a lasting impact on their lives. For instance, living on one's own has become part of the transition to adulthood. These changes have affected both men and women, so much so that pathways to adulthood tend to converge across gender. However, men's and women's entries into adulthood still differ with respect to timing of marriage and having children outside marriage (Oesterle et al. 2011; Winkler-Dworak and Toulemon 2007).

Many scholars view the process of changing the course of early adulthood as part of the second demographic transition (Lesthaeghe 1995). This process of de-standardization of entry into adulthood results from increased individualization and a weakening of the normative constraints that shape possible, acceptable and desirable transitions over the life course and their sequencing (Hoffman-Nowotny and Fux 2001; Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 2004). Due to changes in cultural beliefs, secularization, and the weakening of traditional family constraints, young individuals have more freedom in choosing their lifestyles and personal arrangements and planning their own lives.

However, structural factors such as changes in educational patterns, the increasing labor market participation of women and changes in their role in society due to a higher level of education have also led to changes in the family model. The growing diversity and instability of young adult life trajectories appears to be linked to the growing insecurity that characterizes modern societies (Beck 1995; Blossfeld et al. 2006; Blossfeld and Hofmeister 2006). Increasing youth unemployment and the prevalence of limited-term work contracts and unstable employment are now viewed as major causes of the postponement of departure from parental home and starting a family in contemporary Europe (Blossfeld and Mills 2005). These changes in the labor market, coupled with rising housing costs create an incentive for young adults to pursue postsecondary education.

Whether individuals adapt to such changes depends on the opportunities and resources available to them. In particular, education provides more opportunities to lead one's life. A higher level of education results in a stronger preference for autonomy in life course choices and reduces the difficulty of entering the labor market. It is for instance known to be one of the most important determinants of marriage prevalence, and it is related to later marriage and childbearing (Liefbroer and Corijn 1999; Ni Bhrolchain and Beaujouan 2012), as union formation is usually seen as incompatible with continued pursuit of formal education (Blossfeld and Huinink 1991).

2.2 A specific process of entering adulthood for immigrants' descendants

Immigrants' descendants go through a specific process of entering adulthood in that they have been raised under the influence of both their parents and the host society, and many have been raised in low socio-economic circumstances.

The family of origin defines young adults' cultural resources. Child and adolescent socialization processes shape their aspirations, values and attitudes and in turn their pathways to adulthood (Liefbroer and Elzinga 2012). Values and norms that dominated during childhood influence family formation behaviors and their timing (Barber 2000). For instance, highly religious individuals tend to have conservative attitudes towards family formation (Michaël and Tuma 1985; Régnier-Loilier and Prioux 2008). In particular, they ascribe importance to the institution of marriage and favor early family formation and motherhood. Highly educated parents may also transmit to their children a sense of the importance of investing in education and having individual freedom (Billari et al. 2015). Due to family socialization, specific family values and norms may persist among immigrants' descendants, especially if intergenerational transmission of family values is an important issue for the immigrant group in question. Ideas about the appropriate timing and sequencing of family formation among immigrants' descendants differ from those found for the native population (de Valk and Liefbroer 2007). When their parents come from societies where the transition to adulthood takes place at younger ages, follows a more standard sequence, and is determined by clear expectations and norms on the timing and order of events, their behaviors can be expected to differ from the native population.

The models of transition to adulthood in their parents' countries of origin differ significantly from the model in France. In Southern Europe, the transition to adulthood traditionally occurs later than in other Western countries (Buchmann and Kriesi 2011). Median age on leaving home is particularly high and has increased only in the youngest cohort (Billari and Wilson 2001; Rusconi 2004). Reasons for this delay can be found in difficulties entering the labor market, low housing and welfare provision –especially for young people- and particularly strong family ties (Reher 1998; Dalla Zuanna and Micheli 2004). One of the consequences of late home-leaving is late first union formation and parenthood (Iacovou 2002), with a high prevalence of marriage over cohabitation. Moreover non-marital childbearing began later in Southern Europe (1980s) than in other countries (Billari and Kohler 2004). In North Africa, strong cultural values concerning the family and traditional marriage are prevalent. In spite of several changes in recent decades, marriage is a universal event there and there are strong norms against sexual relations before marriage, cohabitation, and therefore birth outside marriage (Milewski and Hamel 2010). The

Muslim tradition encourages the simultaneous occurrence of parental home-leaving and marriage, quickly followed by first birth.

Even if their parents differ from the parents of the native youths, immigrants' descendants' behaviors may resemble that of the native youths. Hence they are influenced by their experience in the host country and their behaviors are shaped by the values and norms of the dominant culture, through schooling, the media, and peers (Huschek et al. 2010; Collet and Santelli 2012). Higher education has been identified as a factor of convergence between entry into adulthood in the majority population and among immigrants' descendants, especially in connection with partnership formation timing (Bernardt et al. 2007; Pailhé 2015; Hanneman and Kulu 2015). Hence, higher education is likely to lead individuals to distance themselves from parental norms. It also provides greater socio-economic resources, which make it easier for immigrants' children to impose their own choices on their parents (Collet and Santelli 2012).

However, descendants of immigrants are more likely to encounter structural impediments to acting on them, even if they have acquired the preferences and norms of the host country. Hence, socioeconomic stratification plays an important role in the transition to adulthood (Furstenberg 2008) as the socioeconomic status of the family of origin, i.e., parents' income, educational level or occupation, defines the economic resources available to young adults. Those of lower socioeconomic status receive little financial support from their family and are thus more likely to experience accelerated adulthood (Berzin and De Marco 2010; Bynner 2005; Cohen et al. 2003; Macmillan and Copher 2005; Schoen et al. 2009). Indeed, individuals from families who cannot afford to support their pursuit of postsecondary education may perceive few alternatives to immediately adopting adult social roles (Lee 2013). Immigrants' descendants often come from modest socio-economic backgrounds. In France, their parents are in most cases unskilled workers with low educational and income levels. Some groups of immigrants' descendants are also faced with unfavorable economic conditions and discrimination in the labor market and suffer from high unemployment (Meurs et al. 2006; Brinbaum et al. 2015). It thus takes much longer for them to become financially independent. Disparities in their parents' human and cultural capital together with these workforce entry difficulties lead to segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes et al. 2009), which may in turn influence the transition to adulthood (Crissey 2005; Smock and Manning 1997; Glick et al. 2006).

Finally, the timing of the transition to adulthood shows strong gender differences among both the majority population and minority populations (Jackson and Berkowitz 2005). These differences may be greater among descendants of immigrants because of more strongly gendered family patterns in the country of origin. In North Africa, for example, marriage occurs much earlier for

women and large age gaps between spouses are common (Tabutin and Schoumaker 2005). And in Southern Europe, the observed gendered age gap on leaving the parental home is also significant, and much wider than in France (Iacovou 2002). In addition, female labor force participation is low for both groups and men are expected to provide household resources.

2.3 Hypotheses

From these theoretical considerations we formulate the following research hypotheses.

Both Southern Europe and North Africa are characterized by “familialism” and strong commitment to family life, but normative constraints are stronger in North African than Southern European tradition. Descendants of immigrants from these countries also tend to be of modest socio-economic background. If cultural factors and socioeconomic stratification determine descendants of immigrants’ entry into adulthood in France, then:

H1 (“family background” hypothesis). *Descendants of immigrants are more likely to adopt more standardized pathways to adulthood than native French*

H1bis. *The afore-cited effect is stronger for second-generation migrants from North Africa than for second-generation migrants from Southern Europe.*

If differentiated access to education and its effect on occupational level affect some TTA markers, then

H2 (“education” hypothesis). *Groups with higher educational levels are more likely to adopt less standardized and more autonomous paths.*

H1bis. *Differences by origin fall as education level rises.*

Due to huge gender differences in immigrants’ countries of origin and to immigrant parents’ stronger control over their daughters, and as gender roles are more traditional in North Africa than in Southern Europe we expect:

H3 (“gender” hypothesis). *Gender patterns of transition to adulthood to differ between natives and descendants of immigrants*

H3bis. *Patterns of transition to adulthood to be more standard for descendants of immigrants from North Africa*

3 Data, analytical strategy and variables

3.1 Data

To answer to our research questions, we used data from Trajectories and Origins, a nationally representative survey of 22,000 individuals aged 18–60 (18–50 for descendants of immigrants) collected in 2008 by the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) and the French National Statistical Office (INSEE). This survey was designed to assess how far migrant origins affect the living conditions and social trajectories of French residents; 8,456 immigrants, 8,110 descendants of immigrants, 3,781 persons born in metropolitan France to non-immigrant parents and 1,362 individuals born or whose parents were born in French overseas departments responded to the survey¹ (Beauchemin et al. 2010). The survey investigates residential, work, and family trajectories and contains dates of completing education, finding first stable job², entering first co-residential union, first experiencing marriage and childbearing. The survey also contains standard socioeconomic data and detailed information on family background, e.g., respondent's and parents' level of education, religious affiliation, number of siblings, language skills, etc. Detailed information on migration origin is also available: respondent's place of birth and nationality at birth, parents' place of birth and nationality at birth.

Our analytic sample is made up of French natives and descendants of immigrants aged 30 to 50 at the time of the interview in order to observe the full period of life between age 15 and 30, when transition to adulthood generally occurs. Most transition steps have already occurred by age 30 (see details in Table 1 and first paragraph of results). For instance, median age at first union is 23.6, and median age at first childbirth is 27. In any case, age at first birth does not affect the subsequent cluster analysis, as the clusters are mainly determined on the basis of the other TTA markers³. To simplify the study, we excluded less representative ethnic groups in this age range, namely descendants of immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, Turkey, EU and western countries, and other origins. We ended up working on a sample of 4,881 individuals, 53.6% female and 46.4% male; 42.7% were natives (weighted 91.3%), 34.8% descendants of immigrants from Southern Europe, i.e., Italy, Portugal and Spain (weighted 5.2%) and 22.5% descendants of immigrants from North Africa, i.e., Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (weighted 3.5%).

¹ The TeO survey sample was constructed in a complex operation matching data from the 2007 census, the permanent demographic sample (EDP) and the civil registration system. The census was used to find the names and addresses of people to be surveyed; and the EDP and civil registration records provided information on individuals' family origin (parents' place of birth). The response rate was 70% (Algava and Lhommeau, 2015).

² Stable employment is defined as a period of employment lasting at least one year.

³ To check robustness of this age selection, we replicated the analysis on the period between ages 15 and 35, but the size of the analytic sample of people aged 35 and above is 1/3 lower than that of people aged 30 and above, excessively increasing estimate standard error. We also replicated the analysis on a sample of individuals aged 33 and above for the period between ages 15 and 33, obtaining results comparable to those presented in this article.

3.3 Analytical strategy

The scientific literature traditionally approaches the study of transition to adulthood in terms of main transition marker quantum (extent to which a given transition step occurs within a given population) and timing (age at which the transition event occurs) (Billari and Wilson 2001; Iacovou 2004; Sobotka and Toulemon 2008). These approaches, however, fail to take into account the order in which events have occurred. The fact is that to fully understand complex demographic processes such as transition to adulthood, we need to consider all the intervening factors in a holistic manner. And indeed, over the last two decades scholars have enlarged the perspective, taking into account timing, sequence and order of (all) socio-demographic facts signaling entry into adulthood (Billari 2001; Aassve et al. 2007; Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007; Liefbroer and Elzinga 2012). The proposed method, called optimal matching sequence analysis (Abbott 1995; Abbott and Forrest 1986), aims to describe, explain and understand multidimensional trajectories.

In our sequence analysis, we first constructed sequences of states that occur during the transition to adulthood based on the age at which individuals experienced events or practices that mark entry into adult life, each year of age contributing one observation (i.e., living independently outside the parental home, having stable employment, being in a couple, having children). We paid particular attention to the following dimensions: residential (living in the parental home [Ph] or living alone [A]), occupational (being a student [St], being unemployed/not in stable employment [Un], or in stable employment [Em]), conjugal (being single [S], cohabiting [C], or married [M]), and parenthood (childless [Cl] or parent [P]). We created 36 ($2 \times 3 \times 3 \times 2^4$) transition-to-adulthood trajectories combining all the different possible multidimensional sequences⁵. Since optimal matching analysis also requires specifying the costs of matching different multidimensional sequences (Rohwer and Potter 2005), we adopted the widely applied solution of using the inverse of transition probability between various states to impute higher costs to atypical trajectories (Piccarreta and Billari 2007). The empirical analysis takes into account only a part (specifically, 13) of the possible different states because 12 were not observed in the sample (e.g., simultaneously living in the parental home, being a student, married and a parent) while 11 were very infrequent (frequency below 1%) and were therefore collapsed into already existing ones.

Our weighted sequence analysis identified similar multidimensional trajectories to adult roles, which we then classified by applying hierarchical cluster analysis to the whole sample, as our intention is to describe the process of TTA in France. The resulting dendrogram suggested the

⁴ Residential and parenthood trajectories are composed of two states; occupational and conjugal ones each have three.

⁵ We do not allow backward transitions.

existence of five distinct transition typologies, which have been labeled on the basis of average permanence in each combination of states.

In order to analyze how trajectories to adulthood are shaped by background characteristics and education, we estimate multinomial logistic regression on the likelihood of belonging to each of the five selected clusters. We run this analysis separately by sex because although gender gaps in timing and sequence of transition-to-adulthood events have narrowed over the last decades, differences between men and women, especially in more traditional ethnic groups, may still be in place. Because average marginal effects are easier to interpret, our discussion of results is based on those effects as reported in Table 5 (for details, see Tables 1 and 2 in the Appendix).

3.4. Variables

Explanatory variables are included in stepwise fashion to investigate whether observed differences by origins depend on family background and own education.

The basic model (M0) covers ethnic origin only, our key explanatory variable, to investigate variations between second-generation immigrants (from Southern Europe or North Africa) and French natives. The first model (M1) adds to M0 a dichotomous covariate accounting for cohort differences, distinguishing between individuals born before and after 1968, given the older immigration from Southern Europe. We expect that younger generations are more open to less standard paths to adulthood.

The next four models (M2-M5) take into account the family background dimension, in addition to variables included in M1. In Model 2 we focus on cultural factors: the importance of religion in home upbringing and whether individuals spoke a language in addition to or other than French during childhood; these variables signal the level of traditionalism, secularization and cultural integration of the family of origin. We expect that children who grew up in families where religion was considered a relatively unimportant aspect of child-raising and who are more fully integrated into French society (i.e., they speak French only) are more likely to follow non-standard trajectories to adulthood while more religious people show preferences for traditional living arrangements and are more likely than non-religious people to enter into a formal union (in particular, marriage) upon leaving the parental home rather than living independently (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999). In addition, we include a dichotomous variable for disagreement with parents about religion or about who their friends when they were adolescents, using this variable to indicate distance and conflict vis-à-vis parents' culture.

Model 3 assesses the effect of family composition during childhood. We take into account whether respondents belong to a large or small family (number of siblings): young adults who are

only-children or have only one sibling might perceive less parental pressure to become independent than young adults with two siblings or more (Ferrari et al. 2014), which would affect the subsequent transition steps. Moreover, we distinguish between individuals raised in two-parent or single-parent households, as we know from previous research that children of divorced parents, for instance, prefer cohabitation to marriage (Cherlin et al. 1995) and might for this reason progress to adulthood in a less traditional fashion. In addition, family structure has proved to be a key determinant of second-generation assimilation (Haller et al. 2011; Portes et al. 2009).

Model 4 takes into account the highest level of parental education, which might affect the way young people become adults given that intergenerational transmission of human capital is a well-established feature (among others, Black et al. 2005). In addition to the impact of this factor on children's educational opportunities, parental education level may play an important role in the amount of family resources available in connection with children's early adult choices and the likelihood of their engaging in more innovative, non-standard behavior (Marini 1984a, b). Last, we controlled for a variable on size (population) of the urban unit the individual lived in during childhood, distinguishing between medium-sized and large urban units (over 20,000 inhabitants) and small or rural villages. This information could signal the degree of openness to more modern practices in the surrounding environment, a factor that could in turn influence patterns of trajectories to adulthood. All family background variables, i.e., culture, family composition and parental education, are included together in model 5.

In model 6 we incorporate respondent's educational attainment into M1, separating those with a high degree of education (ISCED 4 or 5, or above upper secondary degree), a medium level of education (i.e. ISCED 3, or upper secondary degree), and lower degrees (our reference category). In line with our first research hypothesis, we assume that individuals spending more time in education will probably leave the parental home later than less educated persons but might be more prone to unconventional living arrangements or non-traditional family arrangements, such as living single for a period or cohabiting without—or before—marrying, and are less likely to be unemployed (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999).

The last model (M7) is the complete model, which combines both family background dimensions and individual educational attainment.

Finally, in order to analyze whether structural and cultural factors play differently across origins, we also test several interactions between origin and our main independent variables (i.e., importance of religion in upbringing, parental and own education).⁶

⁶ Figures displayed only when significant differences observed.

4 Results

4.1 Older ages for TTA events among descendants of immigrants from North Africa

Table 1 shows the timing and quantum of the main TTA markers. In the observed population, over 9 in 10 young adults have ended their formal education, found a stable job and left the parental home by age 30, with slight differences between males and females. Differences in event timing and quantum are more marked for first unions and first childbirth, women usually experience these events about 2 years earlier than men.

Children of North African immigrants complete formal education at same age than natives but they reach all other events that make up the transition to adulthood at older ages. They show lower odds for leaving the parental home by age 30 than natives (9% of men and 7% of women descendants from North Africa aged 30 still live in the parental home, compared to respectively 4% and 2% among native French). They are also less likely to have a stable job by age 30: 9% of men and 12% of women do not get a stable job, compared with respectively 4% and 5% of natives. They cohabit and have a child by age 30 less frequently than native French, but when they do have a child, they have her earlier. Descendants from Southern Europe more closely resemble native French. But getting a stable job comes earlier among Southern Europeans while they leave the parental later than native French. Women descendants from Southern Europe have their first child earlier.

Table 1: Main markers of TTA. Timing⁷ and quantum.

	Total			North Africa			Southern Europe			Natives		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
End of formal education												
Median age at event	19	20	20	19	20	19	19	20	19	19	20	20
% ever finished by 30	99.5	99.2	99.3	98.9	99.2	99.1	99.3	99.1	99.2	99	98.6	98.8
1st stable job												
Median age at event	21	21	21	21	21	21	20	20	20	21	21	21
% ever worked by 30	96.1	94.5	95.3	91	88.3	89.7	98.2	95.7	97	96.2	94.6	95.4
1st exit from parental home												
Median age at event	22	21	21	23	22	22	22	21	21	21	20	20
% ever left by 30	95.2	97.7	96.5	91.1	92.6	91.9	93.4	95.9	94.6	95.5	98	96.8
1st cohabitation												
Median age at event	24.6	22.7	23.6	25.7	23.6	24.5	24.3	23.7	23.5	24.0	22.6	23.2
% ever cohabited by 30	77.2	83.8	80.5	58.9	72.2	65.7	77.8	81.2	79.3	77.9	84.4	81.2
1st marriage												
Median age at event	27.2	24.7	25.7	28.4	24.7	25.9	27.8	24.2	25.5	27.8	24.8	25.8
% ever married by 30	42.6	52.8	47.7	37.8	51.8	44.9	38.4	52.6	45.0	43.0	52.8	47.9
1st child												
Median age at event	28	26	27	28	26	27	28	26	27	28	27	27
% ever had children by 30	53.8	72.6	63.2	47.3	66.9	57.3	55.9	71.9	63.3	53.9	72.9	63.4

Source: Calculations based on *Trajectories and Origins* survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008 (weighted percentages)

Coverage: Native French and descendants of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe, aged 30–50.

⁷ Median ages at end of formal education, 1st stable job, 1st exit from parental home, and birth of 1st child are rounded to integers because variables are measured in years.

4.2 Five trajectories of transition to adulthood

The analysis of sequences of events marking transition to adulthood leads to identifying five clusters of similar patterns⁸. These can be described from several points of view. We started by exploring the average time spent in each state for the different clusters, which also helped us to label them; then we calculated the average age at which people in each cluster experience transitional events; finally, we looked at the sex and ethnic origin composition of the selected groups.

Based on average duration of each state (see Table 2 below and Figure 1 in the Appendix for details⁹), we named the five trajectories as follows: 1) Marriage and parenthood, characterized by employment, a short period of cohabitation, marriage and then parenthood; 2) Autonomous living,¹⁰ representing trajectories of employment, early home leaving and singlehood for a long period; 3) Cohabitation, characterized by employment, early home leaving to cohabit and childbearing outside marriage; 4) Late nest leaving, a trajectory with relatively late stay in the parental home, even if employed; and 5) Partnership and unemployment, characterized by early parental home leaving to get married or cohabit while remaining unemployed.

The first and most representative cluster (almost 40% of our sample) is also the most traditional, ordered and standard one; on average, people in this group complete education, find a stable job, leave the parental home to cohabit, get married shortly after and have kids. For a society such as the French one where unmarried cohabitation and out-of-wedlock births are common at least for natives, the third cluster is also quite standard, and it represents a large share of the population (about 15% of the observed sample). It more or less follows the same path as the first cluster, but cohabiting union does not lead to marriage. On the contrary, the autonomous living trajectory (amounting to almost one third of the sample) represents a non-traditional and less normative sequence of events to adulthood compared to the previous two, remaining alone (i.e., not forming a cohabiting union) for longer than average periods. This trajectory corresponds to the “new” pattern of the transition to adulthood identified by Billari and Liefbroer (2010). The remaining two trajectories are characterized by concrete constraints in the transition to adult roles:

⁸ Comparable clusters were obtained when we replicated the analysis on the period between ages 15 and 33, with a slightly different distribution: married parents (43%), cohabiting (22.7%), living autonomously (22.5%), latest nest leavers (6.5%) and unemployed in union (5%). We also ran cluster analysis separately for males and females. For men, the cluster of unemployed in union disappears and the “living autonomously” cluster splits in to 2 groups: one that can be called “independent students/unemployed” (the most representative at 29 %) and another that can be called “employed, single and childless” (12%). Latest nest leavers also amount to a greater share here (24%). For the other two clusters, married parents and cohabitation, the figures are respectively 19% and 16%. For women, we obtained 5 comparable clusters, all union statuses being more heavily represented: married parents (40%), cohabiting (17%), living autonomously (25%, with more single parents), latest nest leavers (9%) and unemployed in union (9%).

⁹ Figure 2 in the appendix completes the framework by showing sequences of events within each cluster.

¹⁰ In this trajectory, young people may live autonomously in terms of place of residence but may remain economically dependent on their parents.

they either do not reach or are delayed in reaching one or more of the transition markers. Late nest leaving (12% of the sample) is characterized by a later than average residentially independence from parents, a long time unemployed and continuing living with parents even after getting a first stable job. The last trajectory, partnership and unemployment, is a residual cluster, representing only 3% of the observed population, but reflects some of the labor market entry issues that young generations are currently facing.

Table 2: Average duration in each state by cluster (years)

Clusters	%	Parents' home Stud. Single No kids	Parents' home Unempl. Single No kids	Parents' home Empl. Single No kids	Living alone Stud. Single No kids	Living alone Stud. Married or cohab	Living alone Unempl. Single No kids	Living alone Unempl. Married or cohab	Living alone Empl. Single No kids	Living alone Empl. Cohab No kids	Living alone Empl. Cohab Parent	Living alone Empl. Married No kids	Living alone Empl. Married Parent	Single Parent
Marriage and parenthood	37.3	4.05	0.29	1.80	0.38	0.43	0.11	0.17	0.70	1.09	0.20	1.95	4.82	0.03
Autonomous living	31.9	4.61	0.30	0.89	1.69	0.15	0.59	0.16	4.58	1.49	0.37	0.29	0.19	0.70
Cohabitation	15.4	4.04	0.27	0.97	0.24	0.47	0.09	0.28	0.86	5.01	3.56	0.07	0.10	0.05
Late nest leaving	12.4	4.28	2.10	6.56	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.07	0.60	1.24	0.53	0.32	0.16	0.04
Partnership and unemployment	3.1	2.76	2.10	0.00	0.28	0.26	0.48	9.30	0.00	0.06	0.06	0.02	0.45	0.23

Source: Calculations based on *Trajectories and Origins* survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008

Coverage: Native French and descendants of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe, aged 30–50.

The selected five-cluster typology of similar sequences can also be described by presenting the average age at each state for “typical trajectories”, i.e., medoid¹¹ sequences, together with the percentage of people ever experiencing main transition events by age 30 (Table 3). The medoid individual of the marriage and parenthood cluster left school at age 18 to get a stable job, left the parental home at 21, cohabited between 22 and 23, got married at age 24 and became a parent at 25. On average, people in the autonomous living trajectory become residentially independent at age 19, end school at 22 to get into stable employment, remain single until 28 and then start unmarried cohabitation (in more than half of cases). People following the cohabitation trajectory have on average the same occupational trajectory as those following the marriage and parenthood trajectory, but leave the parental home 2 years earlier, remain single one year, then start unmarried cohabitation at 21, and in 63.4% of cases have their first child 5 years later. Those belonging to the late nest leaving cluster spend on average most of their early adulthood in the parental home: they leave at 29 to start unmarried cohabitation in 58.9% of cases; they end their formal education at 19,

¹¹ The *medoid sequence* is the sequence least distant from the other individual sequences in the cluster (Aassve et al. 2007).

remain unemployed for one year and then enter the labor market in stable fashion. Individuals in the last cluster start a union at age 20 (either cohabitation—98.5% of cases—or marriage: 71.6%) and in 77.2% of cases remain unemployed from when they finish school at 18 throughout the observed period.

Table 3: *Medoid* sequence of the clusters of pathways to adulthood, average age at each state (in parentheses, *quantum* of events marking TTA for each group)

Clusters	Residential trajectory	Occupational trajectory			Conjugal trajectory			Parenthood trajectory
	Leaving parental home	Student	Unemployed/ Not stable job	Stable Employment	Single	Cohabiting	Married	First child
Marriage and parenthood	21 (100%)	15-18 (99.2%)	-	19-30 (98.6%)	15-21 (0.2%)	22-23 (98.7%)	24-30 (98.9%)	25 (90%)
Autonomous living	19 (99.3%)	15-22 (98.8%)	-	23-30 (94%)	15-28 (11.4%)	29-30 (53.6%)	-	-
Cohabitation	19 (100%)	15-18 (100%)	-	19-30 (99%)	15-20 (0.5%)	21-30 (100%)	-	30 (63.4)
Late nest leaving	29 (66.3%)	15-19 (100%)	20-21 (6.3%)	22-30 (93.7%)	15-29 (48.6%)	30 (58.9%)	-	-
Partnership and unemployment	20 (100%)	15-17 (100%)	18-30 (77.2%)	-	15-19 (0%)	20-30 (98.5%)	20-30 (71.6%)	-

Source: Calculations based on *Trajectories and Origins* survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008

Coverage: Native French and descendants of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe, aged 30–50.

4.4 Paths to adulthood differ by gender and ethnic origin

On average (Table 4), women more frequently follow a trajectory of marriage and parenthood (42.6%) while autonomous living is the most frequent trajectory for men (36.2%). Women and men are equally like to follow the cohabitation trajectory. Men's trajectories are more likely than women's to be characterized by late nest leaving (respectively 15.9% and 8.9%). Women belong more often than men to the partnership and unemployment cluster (respectively 1.7% and 4.5%). Men's transition to adulthood is less frequently a conjugal trajectory, a gender difference due mainly to men's higher age at couple formation.

Compared to natives, second-generation immigrants of both sexes from Southern Europe and North Africa follow more often the trajectory of late nest leaving. Women of North African descent differ from all other groups in that late nest leaving trajectory is even more frequent for them than the cohabitation trajectory. Women and men of Southern European descent are less likely to follow the autonomous living or the partnership and unemployment trajectories than natives. However, descendants of immigrants are not identical in terms of entry into adulthood. Trajectories of both men and women of North African descent are less likely cohabitation and more likely partnership and unemployment than trajectories of second-generation immigrants from Southern Europe. On the other hand, there are fewer women from North Africa than women from Southern Europe in the trajectory of marriage and parenthood.

Table 4: Percentage distribution of trajectories by gender and area of origin, weighted frequencies

	Total			North Africa			Southern Europe			Natives		
	% M	% F	% T	% M	% F	% T	% M	% F	% T	% M	% F	% T
Marriage and parenthood	31.9 (28.9-35.0)	42.6 (39.5-45.6)	37.2 (35.1-39.4)	27.6 (22.7-32.5)	36.1 (31.9-40.3)	31.9 (28.7-35.1)	28.4 (24.7-32)	45.9 (41.7-50.2)	36.6 (33.7-39.4)	32.3 (29.0-35.6)	42.6 (39.3-46)	37.5 (35.1-39.9)
Autonomous living	36.2 (33.0-39.4)	27.7 (24.8-30.6)	31.9 (29.7-34.1)	34.4 (29.3-39.5)	25.5 (21.4-29.5)	29.9 (26.6-33.1)	29.6 (25.8-33.4)	21.0 (17.7-24.3)	25.6 (23.0-28.2)	36.7 (33.1-40.2)	28.1 (24.9-31.3)	32.4 (30.0-34.7)
Cohabitation	14.3 (11.9-16.6)	16.5 (14.2-18.7)	15.4 (13.7-17)	9.6 (6.8-12.5)	11.7 (8.7-14.7)	10.7 (8.6-12.8)	17.2 (14.1-20.3)	17.9 (14.7-21.1)	17.5 (15.3-19.8)	14.3 (11.7-16.9)	16.6 (14.1-19)	15.4 (13.6-17.2)
Late nest leaving	15.9 (13.5-18.3)	8.9 (6.9-10.8)	12.4 (10.8-13.9)	24.9 (20.3-29.4)	18.0 (14.6-21.5)	21.4 (18.6-24.2)	24.5 (20.9-28.1)	11.2 (8.5-13.8)	18.3 (15.6-20.6)	15.1 (12.4-17.7)	8.4 (6.3-10.5)	11.7 (10.0-13.4)
Partnership & unemployment	1.7 (0.8-2.6)	4.5 (3.3-5.6)	3.1 (2.4-3.8)	3.5 (0.8-6.3)	8.7 (6.5-10.9)	6.1 (4.4-7.9)	0.3 (-0.01-0.6)	3.9 (2.3-5.6)	2.0 (1.2-2.8)	1.7 (0.7-2.7)	4.3 (3.1-5.6)	3.0 (2.2-3.8)
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: Calculations based on *Trajectories and Origins* survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008

Coverage: Native French and descendants of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe, aged 30–50.

In parentheses: 95% C.I.

4.5 Cultural background matters for trajectories defined by type of union

The transition to adulthood depends on a set of background and individual characteristics (Tables 1 and 2 in the Appendix). Individuals belonging to older cohorts, i.e., born between 1958 and 1968, are more likely to follow more standard paths to adulthood, such as getting married before becoming parents, and significantly less likely to follow the path of unmarried cohabitation. Cohort alters the cross-group differences (M1, table 5). Given that descendants of immigrants from North Africa are younger than natives and descendants of immigrants from Southern Europe (immigration from North Africa occurred later than immigration from Southern Europe), the lower probability of following the marriage and parenthood trajectory for men and women descendants of immigrants from North Africa is no longer significant when cohort is controlled for.

The two trajectories defined by type of union strongly depend on cultural background (M2). Men and women for whom religion was considered important in their upbringing are more likely to follow the marriage and parenthood trajectory and less likely to follow the cohabitation path. Similarly, those who only speak a language other than French are less likely to follow the cohabitation trajectory than those who speak French only or French and another language. Controlling for these cultural characteristics slightly reduces the gap with natives as regards cohabitation for descendants of immigrants from North Africa. They were raised much more often in families where religion was a considered important component in child-rearing. Moreover, findings on interaction effects show that women from North Africa with a religious background are also less likely to cohabit compared to both natives and women of Southern European ancestry with a religious background (see Appendix Figure 3). Religious background affects late nest leaving

differently across origins. Second-generation males from Southern Europe or Maghreb¹² who received a religious upbringing are more likely than natives with a religious upbringing to follow the late nest leaving trajectory (Figure 4). The same holds for religious women of North African descent (Figure 5). In other words, religious background does not accelerate entry into adulthood for descendants of immigrants.

Pathways to adulthood also strongly depend on family composition during childhood (M3). As expected, those reared in a two-parent household are much more likely to follow the most standard path of marriage and parenthood while they are less likely to follow cohabitation. Family size, measured by the number of siblings an individual has, shows significant impacts; specifically, men and women with four siblings or more have lower odds to live autonomously and greater likelihood of late nest leaving. For women, it also increases the likelihood to follow the partnership and unemployment trajectory. As descendants of immigrants from Maghreb were more often raised in large families, taking into account family composition during childhood reduces the gap with natives for the late nest leaving trajectory. The higher probability of belonging to the partnership and unemployment cluster also vanishes for women after controlling for family composition. Female descendants of immigrants from Maghreb raised in large families accelerate union formation without finding stable employment. This effect does not hold for men since getting a job is perceived as a prerequisite to union formation for men.

4.6 Socio-economic background is relevant for less standard trajectories

However, persons from families of low economic status are more likely to experience slowed transition to adulthood (M4). For all groups together, a lower parental education level decreases the likelihood of following the autonomous living trajectory and increases that of late nest leaving. Socioeconomic status has a stronger effect on late nest leaving than family composition. Hence, once parents' education is controlled for, the effect of family size disappears (M5). But for women, having parents with a low educational degree increases the odds of being in the partnership and unemployment cluster. Indeed, women who receive little financial support from their family may adopt adult social roles more quickly. However, this effect disappears once individual education is taken into account (M7). Hence, individual's and parents' education levels are related, but the former has a greater effect on the transition to adulthood. Because of immigrants' descendants' lower socio-economic background the gap in the likelihood of late nest leaving compared to natives decreases when we control for parents' education, especially for women. The gap between second-

¹² The difference between second-generation males from Maghreb and native French is significant at the 10% level.

generation immigrants from Southern Europe and native French for autonomous living also narrows.

The association between parental level of education and TTA does not significantly differ by origin, except for cohabitation. For those whose parents hold at most a secondary school degree, the probability of cohabiting is lower for second-generation women of North African descent than for natives and second-generation women of Southern European descent (Figure 6). Conversely, there is no significant difference between origins for those whose parents hold a tertiary degree.

4.7 A slowed path to adulthood due to a lower level of individual education

Among the explanatory factors that may have an impact on the way people become adults, individual's level of education is particularly strong (M6). A higher level of education increases the odds of following less standard paths to adulthood. Having a university degree rather than lower educational attainment strongly increases the probability of living autonomously. Conversely, the same educational achievement is negatively correlated to probability of following the cohabitation (males only), late nest leaving (strong for men), and partnership and unemployment trajectories. Men and women with an upper secondary degree are more likely than those with a higher or lower level of education to be in the marriage and parenthood cluster.

Education explains a significant part of cross-group differences. The greater likelihood that male descendants of immigrants from North Africa will follow the late nest leaving path is partly explained by their low education. Similarly, men and women of Southern European descent have lower odds of living autonomously because they spend less time in education.

Findings on interaction effects indicate that the effect of education on transition to adulthood differs by origin (Figures 7 and 8): second-generation men with a secondary education (ISCED 3)–from both Southern Europe and North Africa–are more likely than natives at the same educational level to belong to the late nest leaving cluster. They are as likely as those with a primary education only to follow the late nest leaving path, while male natives with a secondary education are less likely to follow this path than male natives with a lower level of education. For those with a lower or higher level of education there is no significant difference across ethnic groups. Whatever the level of education, daughters of immigrants from North Africa, are less likely to follow the cohabitation path than women of the other origins: the probability is significantly lower for those with a secondary school degree (ISCED 3) than for women of the other origins at the same educational level. Female descendants of immigrants from North Africa with a tertiary education (ISCED 4/5) are also significantly less likely to cohabit than female descendants of immigrants from Southern Europe at the same educational level.

4.8 Only slight cross-group differences everything being equal

Once individual and family background characteristics are controlled for, transitions to adulthood do not differ widely by ethnic group. Hence, with all characteristics controlled for (M7), we no longer observe any significant differences between descendants of immigrants and natives in the clusters of marriage and parenthood and autonomous living. However, the much higher probability of following the late nest leaving trajectory persists after controlling for educational level and family background characteristics, for descendants of immigrants from both North Africa and Southern Europe and for men and women. For women, once family background characteristics are taken into account, descendants of immigrants from North Africa do not have a significantly higher probability of being in the partnership and unemployment cluster.

Nevertheless, some cross-group differences among immigrants' descendants remain. Descendants of immigrants from North Africa have a higher probability of following the cohabitation trajectory than natives. For male descendants of immigrants from North Africa, the average probability is 10%, versus 14% for the male population as a whole. Even though the gap between second-generation immigrants and native French narrows when all characteristics are controlled for, that gap remains wider for women: the respective probability levels are 10% and 16%. On the other hand, men whose parents were born in Southern Europe are more likely to follow this cohabitation trajectory and less likely to be in the marriage and parenthood cluster. Young men and women whose parents came from Southern Europe are significantly less likely than natives and individuals of North African descent to follow the partnership and unemployment trajectory.

Table 5: Multinomial logistic regressions on the probability of belonging to each cluster; effect of origin

			MEN			WOMEN		
			Average probability	North Africa	Southern Europe	Average probability	North Africa	Southern Europe
			(Ref: Natives)			(Ref: Natives)		
Marriage and parenthood	M0	origin	0.32***	-0.05**	-0.03	0.44***	-0.04*	0.03
	M1	M0 + cohort	0.32***	-0.03	-0.02	0.44***	-0.03	0.04*
	M2	M1 + culture	0.32***	-0.05*	-0.02	0.44***	-0.04*	0.03
	M3	M1 + family composition	0.32***	-0.03	-0.02	0.45***	-0.04	0.03
	M4	M1 + parental education	0.32***	-0.04	-0.03	0.45***	-0.04	0.03
	M5	M1 + background	0.32***	-0.05	-0.04	0.45***	-0.05*	0.01
	M6	M1 + own education	0.33***	-0.03	-0.02	0.46***	-0.03	0.03
	M7	M5 + M6	0.33***	-0.05	-0.04*	0.46***	-0.04	0.01
Autonomous living	M0	origin	0.33***	-0.03	-0.07***	0.24***	-0.03	-0.06***
	M1	M0 + cohort	0.33***	-0.04	-0.07***	0.24***	-0.04*	-0.07***
	M2	M1 + culture	0.33***	-0.04	-0.07***	0.24***	-0.03	-0.06***
	M3	M1 + family composition	0.33***	-0.01	-0.07***	0.24***	0.02	-0.06***
	M4	M1 + parental education	0.33***	-0.01	-0.05**	0.24***	-0.00	-0.04**
	M5	M1 + background	0.33***	0.00	-0.05**	0.24***	0.04	-0.04**
	M6	M1 + own education	0.33***	-0.00	-0.05**	0.23***	-0.01	-0.05***
	M7	M5 + M6	0.33***	0.02	-0.04	0.23***	0.04	-0.03*
Cohabitation	M0	origin	0.14***	-0.03*	0.03*	0.16***	-0.07***	0.01
	M1	M0 + cohort	0.14***	-0.04**	0.02	0.15***	-0.08***	0.01
	M2	M1 + culture	0.14***	-0.03*	0.03*	0.15***	-0.06***	0.02
	M3	M1 + family composition	0.14***	-0.05**	0.03	0.15***	-0.07***	0.01
	M4	M1 + parental education	0.14***	-0.05**	0.02	0.16***	-0.08***	0.01
	M5	M1 + background	0.14***	-0.04*	0.03*	0.15***	-0.07***	0.02
	M6	M1 + own education	0.14***	-0.05***	0.02	0.16***	-0.08***	0.00
	M7	M5 + M6	0.14***	-0.04**	0.03*	0.16***	-0.06***	0.02
Late nest leaving	M0	origin	0.19***	0.11***	0.08***	0.10***	0.10***	0.04***
	M1	M0 + cohort	0.20***	0.11***	0.08***	0.11***	0.10***	0.04***
	M2	M1 + culture	0.20***	0.10***	0.07***	0.11***	0.10***	0.04***
	M3	M1 + family composition	0.19***	0.08***	0.08***	0.11***	0.08***	0.04**
	M4	M1 + parental education	0.19***	0.09***	0.07***	0.10***	0.07***	0.02*
	M5	M1 + background	0.19***	0.07***	0.06***	0.10***	0.06***	0.02*
	M6	M1 + own education	0.19***	0.08***	0.07***	0.11***	0.09***	0.03**
	M7	M5 + M6	0.19***	0.06**	0.05***	0.10***	0.06***	0.02*
Partnership and unemployment	M0	origin	0.01***	0.01	-0.01**	0.06***	0.04***	-0.02*
	M1	M0 + cohort	0.01***	0.01	-0.01**	0.06***	0.05***	-0.01
	M2	M1 + culture	0.01***	0.02	-0.01**	0.06***	0.04***	-0.02*
	M3	M1 + family composition	0.01***	0.01	-0.01**	0.06***	0.02	-0.02*
	M4	M1 + parental education	0.01***	0.01	-0.01**	0.06***	0.05***	-0.02*
	M5	M1 + background	0.01***	0.02	-0.01**	0.06***	0.02	-0.02**
	M6	M1 + own education	0.01***	0.00	-0.01**	0.05***	0.03**	-0.02**
	M7	M5 + M6	0.01***	0.01	-0.01**	0.04***	0.01	-0.03**

Source: Calculations based on Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008

Coverage: Native French and descendants of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe, aged 30–50.

Note: *** significant at 0.01 level; ** significant at 0.05 level; * significant at 0.1 level

5 Conclusion and discussion

This study has investigated pathways to adulthood across gender and origin in France, using data from the Trajectories and Origin survey. It has addressed how the specific background of immigrants' descendants shapes the transition-to-adulthood patterns they follow, analyzing the interplay of cultural and structural factors by focusing on religiosity, family composition, parents' education and individual's education.

Five types of transition to adulthood have been identified. The most frequent pattern, marriage and parenthood, has a standard sequence of events, as does cohabiting, also quite standard in France. On the contrary, the second-most frequent pattern, living autonomously, reflects newer behaviors. The remaining two trajectories, late nest leaving and partnership and unemployment, represent constraint-shaped transitions to adulthood.

Our analysis has not found marked differences by ethnic origin in the way young people become adults in France, though there are some important exceptions. Once individual and family background characteristics are controlled for, transition to adulthood does not differ widely from one ethnic group to another. Like natives, persons of North African and Southern European descent clearly adopt the traditional, most common path to adulthood—marriage—characterized by a standard sequence of events. In average, they do not follow the autonomous living trajectory —the new form of transition—as often as natives. But this difference does not hold once individual characteristics and family background are controlled for. The lower propensity of living autonomously is related to their own and their parents' lower educational levels. Parents' lower socioeconomic status prevents them from providing their children with financial set-up support. The combination of parents' and their own lower social background limits their residential autonomy.

However, some specific patterns emerge for immigrants' descendants. They stay significantly longer in the parental home, even with background and individual characteristics controlled for. This means they enter adulthood later than native French (Hamel et al. 2011). This specific path is partly linked to cultural determinants: both groups come from societies characterized by strong family ties and fairly long co-residence with parents (Impicciatore 2015), especially for men. In this sense, descendants reproduce their parents' behavior. It is also due to parents' low socioeconomic status, together with large family size, which makes it hard for parents to financially support their offspring living outside the parental home. But it also reflects greater difficulties in reaching self-sufficiency, proved by the long time this group spends unemployed (2 years on average). Descendants of immigrants, especially those from North Africa, face huge constraints on the labor market, i.e. job insecurity, unemployment, and low income levels that in turn make it impossible for them to provide the required guarantees on the housing market—coupled with the facts that housing

prices are continuously rising and their parents cannot continue to support them (Santelli 2007). And that path is accounted for by their low educational level—especially for men. But they also face discrimination in access to housing (Pan Ke Shon and Scodelaro 2015). And being unemployed impedes union formation, especially for men. Men who are unable to fulfill the role of breadwinner are less attractive on the marriage market (Kalmijn 2011; Oppenheimer 2003). These labor market entry-related difficulties are also reflected in the higher probability for women of North African descent to follow the partnership and unemployment path, an economic explanation that applies to a lower proportion of descendants of Southern Europeans, as they join the labor force quicker and show a lower unemployment rate.

Descendants of immigrants from North Africa also have a lower probability of cohabiting, especially women. This difference is due primarily to a higher propensity than native French to marry without cohabiting. When they do cohabit—and a rather large proportion do—their behavior is the same as that of native French, i.e., a fairly low rate of transition from cohabitation to marriage (Pailhé 2015).

Some cross-group differences are due to family background, a finding that supports our first hypothesis. Coming from a strong religious background is particularly important, and leads to taking more standardized pathways to adulthood. The lower probability of cohabiting is related to the relatively strong importance of religion during childhood, and this factor has even greater effect on women of North African descent. Similarly, men and women of North African descent and men of Southern European descent who received a religious upbringing are more likely than natives to stay longer in the parental home. Family socioeconomic background is also a key factor in these differences among groups. Descendants of immigrants lack economic resources to set up a family or live independently. The higher probability of late nest leaving and the lower probability of cohabiting persist even when background and individual characteristics are controlled for. Unobserved characteristics such as commitment to family life or values may explain these differences.

These cross-group differences are also largely accounted for by differences in education level, while increasing education reduces differences by ethnic origin. In fact, young adults with a higher education degree are more likely to be living autonomously and less likely to be late nest leavers or to be in the partnership and unemployment cluster, findings that confirm our second hypothesis. However, second-generation immigrants of North African descent face more difficulties in access to education and the labor market and are more likely to leave the parental home late or remain unemployed for a long time. These structural factors explain a huge part of their lower propensity to

live autonomously and higher probability of staying longer in the parental home and being in the partnership and unemployment group.

Finally, we were interested in investigating whether daughters of immigrants are under stronger pressure to become adult in a more traditional way than their brothers. Gender difference is observed regarding the probability of cohabiting. While both male and female children of North African immigrant parents are less likely to cohabit than children of natives, the gap is wider for women than men. And having received a religious upbringing widens the gender gap.

If we take family formation and employment into account simultaneously, differences across origins are not as marked as when we concentrate on a single step of entry into adulthood. They are much more marked for entry into the labor force or quality of employment (Brinbaum et al., 2015). But our analysis finds interrelations between family formation, access to independent living and access to employment. There may be other factors involved in the observed process that could not be included in the analysis because of data unavailability or limited sample size. For instance, with a larger sample, it would be interesting to look at differences in transition by specific country of origin, such as between young adult descendants of Italian and Portuguese migrants, who differ by period of arrival and reason for migrating to France. At the same time, contextual factors such as level of segregation might explain some degree of the differences we found in the ways second-generation migrants and natives move towards adulthood. This will be the subject of our future research.

Although we do not find huge differences by origin in the process leading to adulthood, we can conclude that descendants of North African immigrants usually behave in a more traditional way and under heavier constraints, even when highly educated, while the pathways of descendants of Southern European immigrants look more similar to the native group's. The longer and more constrained path to adulthood for second-generation immigrations from North Africa should be met with greater investment in education and policies to help young adults leave the parental home and become economically self-sufficient, in addition to measures for combatting discrimination in access to housing and employment.

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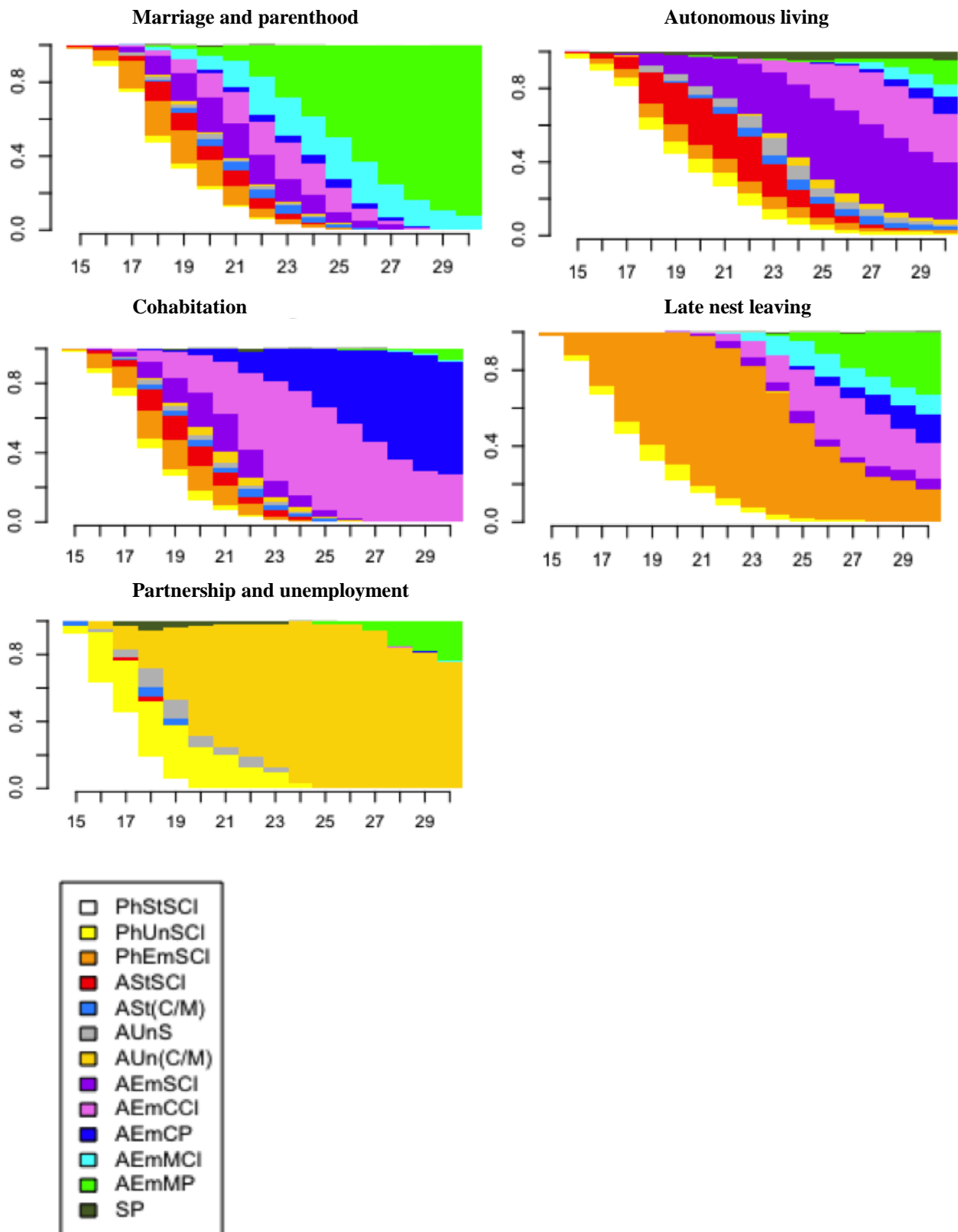
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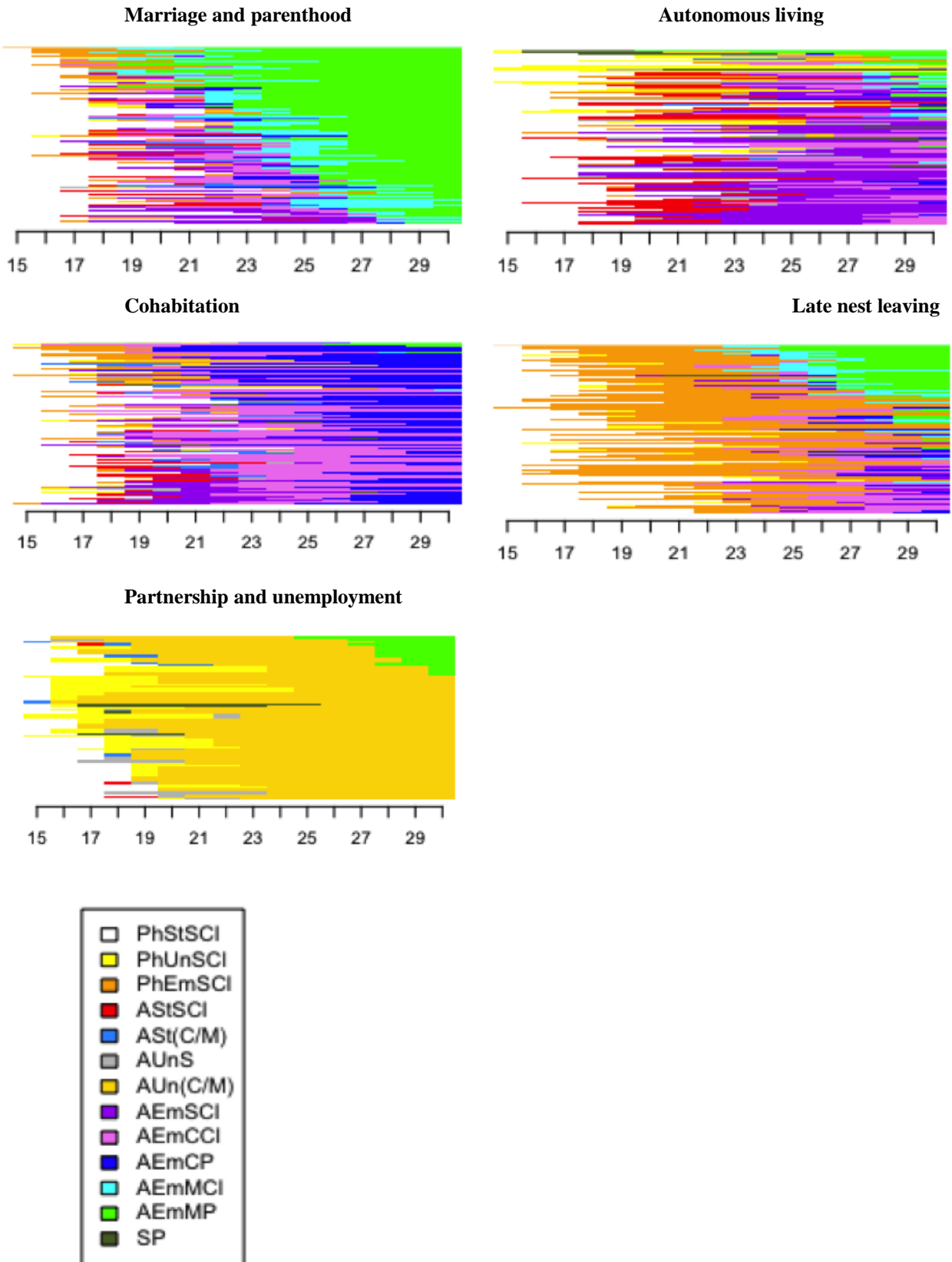
APPENDIX

Figure 1: Distribution of states in each cluster



Note: [Ph] : living in the parental home; [A]: living alone; [St]: being a student; [Un]: unemployed/not in stable employment; [Em]: in stable employment; [S]: single; [C]: cohabiting; [M]: married; [CI]: childless; [P]: parent.

Figure 2: Sequence index plots by cluster



Note: [Ph] : living in the parental home; [A]: living alone; [St]: being a student; [Un]: unemployed/not in stable employment; [Em]: in stable employment; [S]: single; [C]: cohabiting; [M]: married; [CI]: childless; [P]: parent.

Table 1: Multinomial logistic regressions on the probability of belonging to each cluster. Average marginal effects. Males

	Marriage and parenthood							Autonomous living							Cohabitation						
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Average probability	0.32***	0.32***	0.32***	0.32** *	0.32** *	0.33***	0.33***	0.33***	0.33***	0.33***	0.33** *	0.33** *	0.33** *	0.33***	0.14***	0.14***	0.14***	0.14***	0.14***	0.14***	0.14***
Origin (Ref: Natives): North Africa_2G	-0.03	-0.05*	-0.03	-0.04	-0.05	-0.03	-0.05	-0.04	-0.04	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	0.02	-0.04**	-0.03*	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.04*	-0.05***	-0.04**
Origin (Ref: Natives): Southern Europe_2G	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	-0.04	-0.02	-0.04*	-0.07***	-0.07***	-0.07***	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.04	0.02	0.03*	0.03	0.02	0.03*	0.02	0.03*
Cohort (Ref.68-78): 58-68	0.09***	0.09***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.04**	-0.04*	-0.03*	-0.02	-0.01	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.06***	-0.05***
Importance of religion (Ref: Any or little): Highly		0.07***			0.06***		0.07***		-0.01			-0.00		-0.03		-0.06***			-0.06***		-0.05***
Language (Ref: French only/French + Other): other only		0.01			0.01		0.01		-0.01			0.02		0.03		-0.04			-0.04		-0.04*
Discussions with parents about religion & friends (Ref: No)		-0.03			-0.03		-0.03		0.02			0.03		0.04		0.04			0.04		0.04
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 2/3			0.00		-0.00		-0.00			-0.01		-0.01		0.00		0.01		0.01		0.01	0.01
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 4+			-0.01		-0.03		-0.03			-0.05**		-0.03		0.00		0.02		0.03		0.02	0.02
Grown in a two-parents household (Ref: Single-parent)			0.10***		0.10***		0.10***			-0.06		-0.06*		-		-0.07***		-0.07**		-0.06**	-0.06**
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3				-0.06**	-0.07**		-0.06**				0.08**	0.07**		0.02			0.01	0.01		0.01	0.02
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5				-0.01	-0.02		-0.01				0.10***	0.10***		0.06**			-0.00	-0.00		0.01	0.01
Living a large urban unit during childhood (Ref: Small/rural unit)			0.00	0.00		0.01				-0.01	-0.02		-0.03				0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00
Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3						0.06**	0.05**						0.02	0.03						-0.03	-0.02
Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5						-0.00	-0.02						0.25***	0.26***						-0.08***	-0.07***
Observations	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266

Source: Calculations based on Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008

Coverage: Native French and descendants of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe aged 30–50.

Note: *** significant at 0.01 level; ** significant at 0.05 level; * significant at 0.1 level

Table 1: Multinomial logistic regressions on the probability of belonging to each cluster. Average marginal effects. Males (continued)

	Late nest living							Partnership and unemployment						
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Average probability	0.20***	0.20***	0.19***	0.19***	0.19***	0.19***	0.19***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***
Origin (Ref: Natives): North Africa_2G	0.11***	0.10***	0.08***	0.09***	0.07***	0.08***	0.06**	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01
Origin (Ref: Natives): Southern Europe_2G	0.08***	0.07***	0.08***	0.07***	0.06***	0.07***	0.05***	-0.01**	-0.01**	-0.01**	-0.01**	-0.01**	-0.01**	-0.01**
Cohort (Ref.68-78): 58-68	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00
Importance of religion (Ref: Any or little): Highly		0.01			0.00		0.02		-0.01			-0.01		-0.01
Language (Ref: French only/French + Other): other only		0.04			0.02		0.01		-0.01			-0.01		-0.01
Discussions with parents about religion & friends (Ref: No)		-0.02			-0.03		-0.03		-0.01			-0.01		-0.01
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 2/3			-0.01		-0.01		-0.01			0.00		0.00		-0.00
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 4+			0.05**		0.03		0.01			-0.00		0.00		-0.00
Grown in a two-parents household (Ref: Single-parent)			0.04		0.04		0.05**			-0.01		-0.01		-0.01
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3				-0.03	-0.02		0.02				0.01	0.01		0.01
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5				-0.08***	-0.08***		-0.06***				-0.00	-0.00		0.00
Living a large urban unit during childhood (Ref: Small/rural unit)				0.01	0.01		0.01				0.00	0.00		0.00
Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3							-0.03							-0.02**
Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5							-0.15***							-0.03***
Observations	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266	2,266

Source: Calculations based on Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008

Coverage: Native French and descendants of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe aged 30–50.

Note: *** significant at 0.01 level; ** significant at 0.05 level; * significant at 0.1 level

Table 2: Multinomial logistic regressions on the probability of belonging to each cluster. Average marginal effects. Females

	Marriage and parenthood							Autonomous living							Cohabitation						
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Average probability	0.44***	0.44***	0.45***	0.45***	0.45***	0.46***	0.46***	0.24***	0.24***	0.24***	0.24***	0.24***	0.23***	0.23***	0.15***	0.15***	0.15***	0.16***	0.15***	0.16***	0.16***
Origin (Ref: Natives): North Africa_2G	-0.03	-0.04*	-0.04	-0.04	-0.05*	-0.03	-0.04	-0.04*	-0.03	0.02	-0.00	0.04	-0.01	0.04	-0.08***	-0.06***	-0.07***	-0.08***	-0.07***	-0.08***	-0.06***
Origin (Ref: Natives): Southern Europe_2G	0.04*	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.01	-0.07***	-0.06***	-0.06***	-0.04**	-0.04**	-0.05***	-0.03*	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.02
Cohort (Ref.68-78): 58-68	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.06***	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.02	-0.07***	-0.06***	-0.06***	-0.06***	-0.06***	-0.07***	-0.07***
Importance of religion (Ref: Any or little): Highly		0.05***			0.05**		0.05***		-0.02			-0.00		-0.02		-0.05***			-0.05***		-0.04***
Language (Ref: French only/French + Other): other only		0.03			0.03		0.02		-0.02			0.01		0.01		-0.06**			-0.06**		-0.06**
Discussions with parents about religion & friends (Ref: No)		0.03			0.03		0.03		0.01			0.01		0.00		-0.01			-0.01		-0.01
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 2/3			0.05*		0.04		0.03			-0.06***		-0.05**		-0.03			-0.00		0.00		-0.00
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 4+			0.03		0.01		0.00			-0.12***		-0.10***		-0.06**			-0.01		0.01		0.00
Grown in a two-parents household (Ref: Single-parent)			0.09***		0.08***		0.09***			-0.03		-0.03		-0.07**			-0.07**		-0.06**		-0.06**
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3				-0.05	-0.04		-0.02			0.13***		0.11***		0.06**				0.01	0.00		0.01
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5				-0.02	-0.02		-0.01			0.09***		0.07***		0.03*				0.01	0.00		0.01
Living in a large urban unit during childhood (Ref: Small/rural unit)				-0.01	-0.01		-0.01			-0.02		-0.03		-0.04**				0.01	0.01		0.01
Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3						0.08***	0.07**						0.02	0.02						0.02	0.02
Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5						-0.01	-0.02						0.20***	0.19***						-0.02	-0.01
Observations	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615

Source: Calculations based on Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008

Coverage: Native French and descendants of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe aged 30–50.

Note: *** significant at 0.01 level; ** significant at 0.05 level; * significant at 0.1 level

Table 1: Multinomial logistic regressions on the probability of belonging to each cluster. Average marginal effects. Females (continued)

	Late nest living							Partnership and unemployment						
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Average probability	0.11***	0.11***	0.11***	0.10***	0.10***	0.11***	0.10***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.05***	0.04***
Origin (Ref: Natives): North Africa_2G	0.10***	0.10***	0.08***	0.07***	0.06***	0.09***	0.06***	0.05***	0.04***	0.02	0.05***	0.02	0.03**	0.01
Origin (Ref: Natives): Southern Europe_2G	0.04***	0.04***	0.04**	0.02*	0.02*	0.03**	0.02*	-0.01	-0.02*	-0.02*	-0.02*	-0.02**	-0.02**	-0.03**
Cohort (Ref.68-78): 58-68	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02	0.02**	0.02**	0.02*	0.02**	0.02*	0.01	0.01
Importance of religion (Ref: Any or little): Highly		-0.00			-0.01		-0.01		0.01			0.01		0.02
Language (Ref: French only/French + Other): other only		0.01			-0.00		-0.00		0.03			0.02		0.03
Discussions with parents about religion & friends (Ref: No)		-0.02			-0.02		-0.02		-0.01			-0.01		-0.01
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 2/3			0.00		0.00		-0.00			0.01		0.01		0.01
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 4+			0.04**		0.03		0.02			0.06***		0.05***		0.03**
Grown in a two-parents household (Ref: Single-parent)			0.02		0.02		0.02			-0.01		-0.01		0.01
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3				-0.04**	-0.04*		-0.03				-0.05***	-0.04***		-0.02
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5				-0.05***	-0.05***		-0.04***				-0.02*	-0.01		0.01
Living a large urban unit during childhood (Ref: Small/rural unit)				0.04***	0.04***		0.04***				-0.01	-0.01		-0.01
Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3						0.00	0.01						-0.11***	-0.11***
Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5						-0.03**	-0.02						-0.14***	-0.13***
Observations	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615	2,615

Source: Calculations based on Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008

Coverage: Native French and descendants of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe aged 30–50.

Note: *** significant at 0.01 level; ** significant at 0.05 level; * significant at 0.1 level

Figure 3: Predicted probability of cohabiting - Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity)

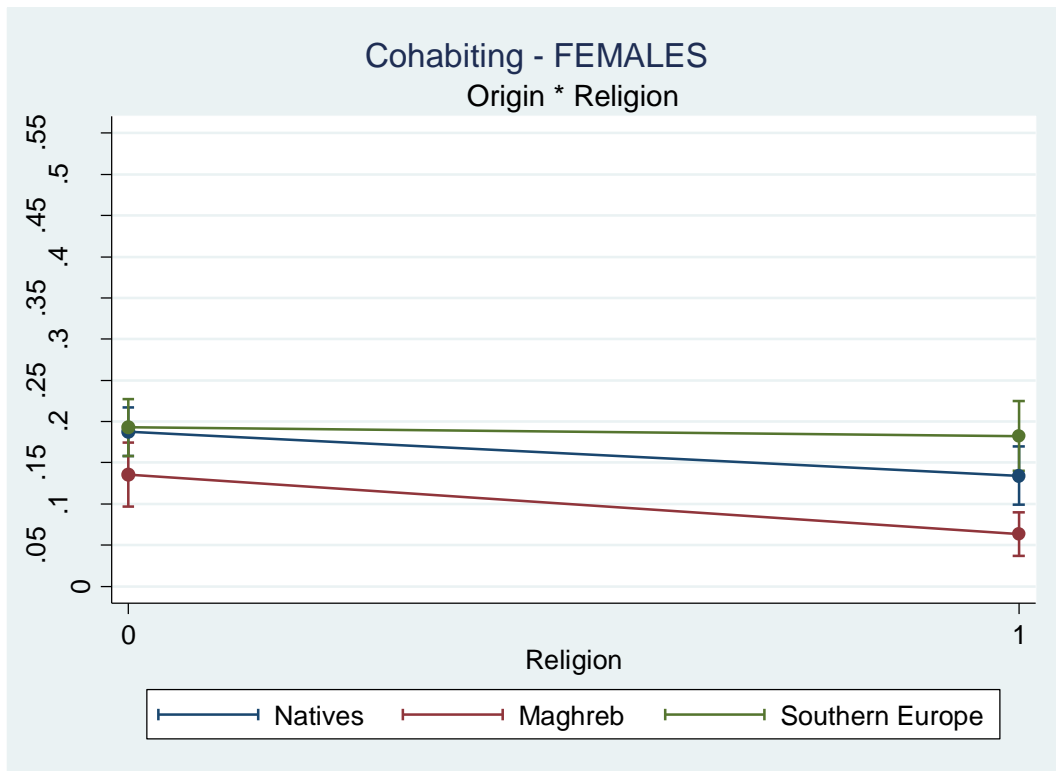


Figure 4: Predicted probability of being late nest leaving - Males (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity)

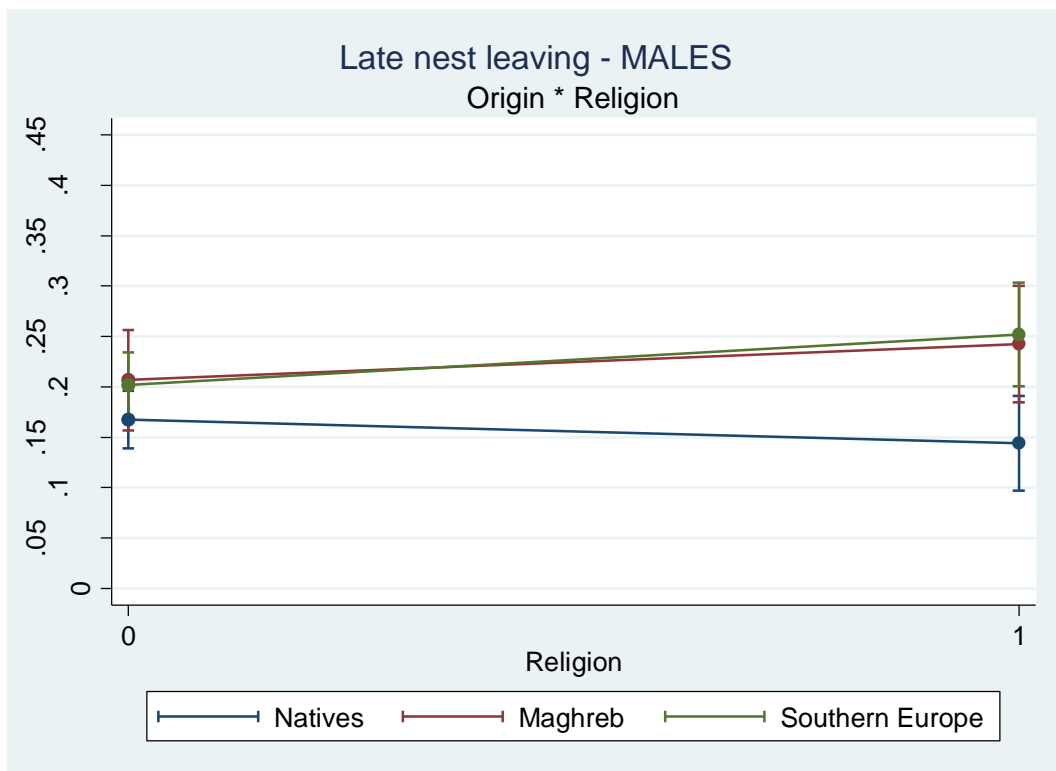


Figure 5: Predicted probability of being late nest leaving - Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity)

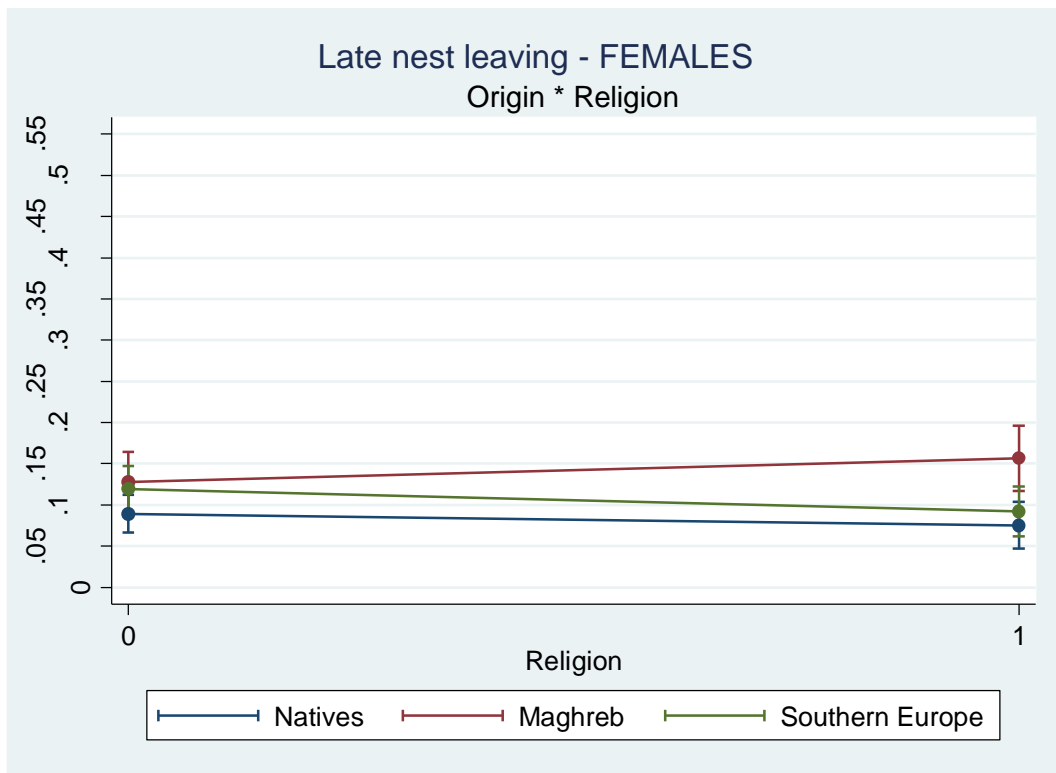


Figure 6: Predicted probability of cohabiting - Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and parental level of education)

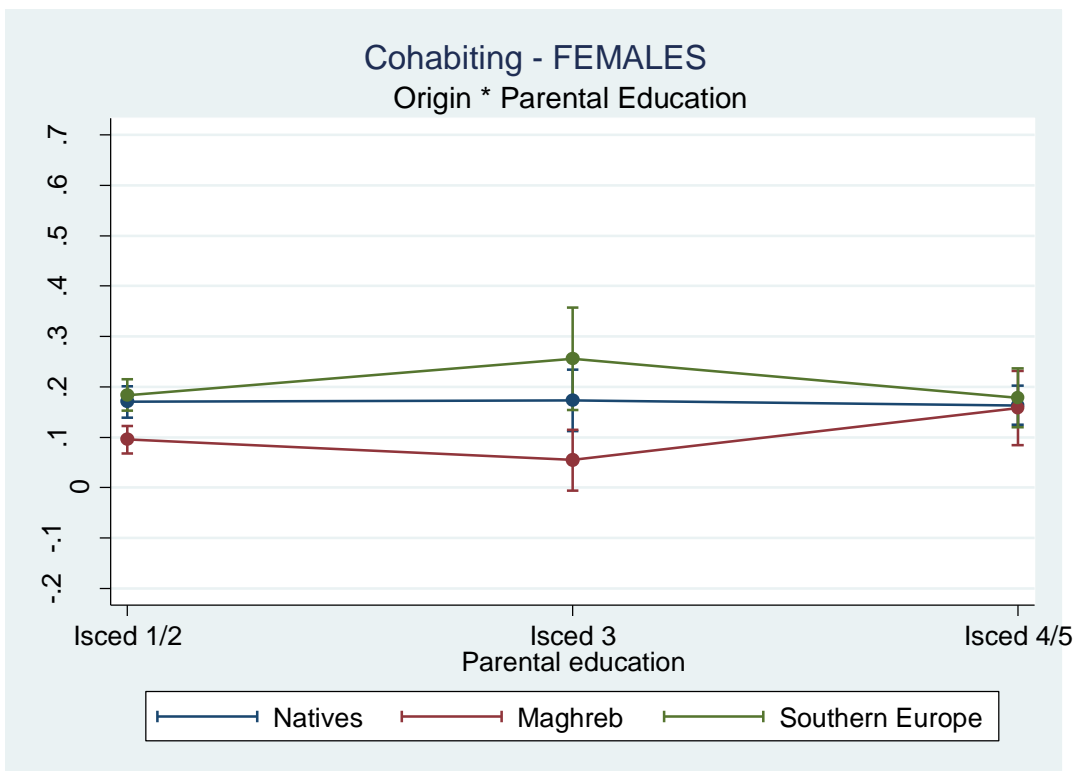


Figure 7: Predicted probability of being late nest leaving - Males (Model with interaction terms, origin and individual education)

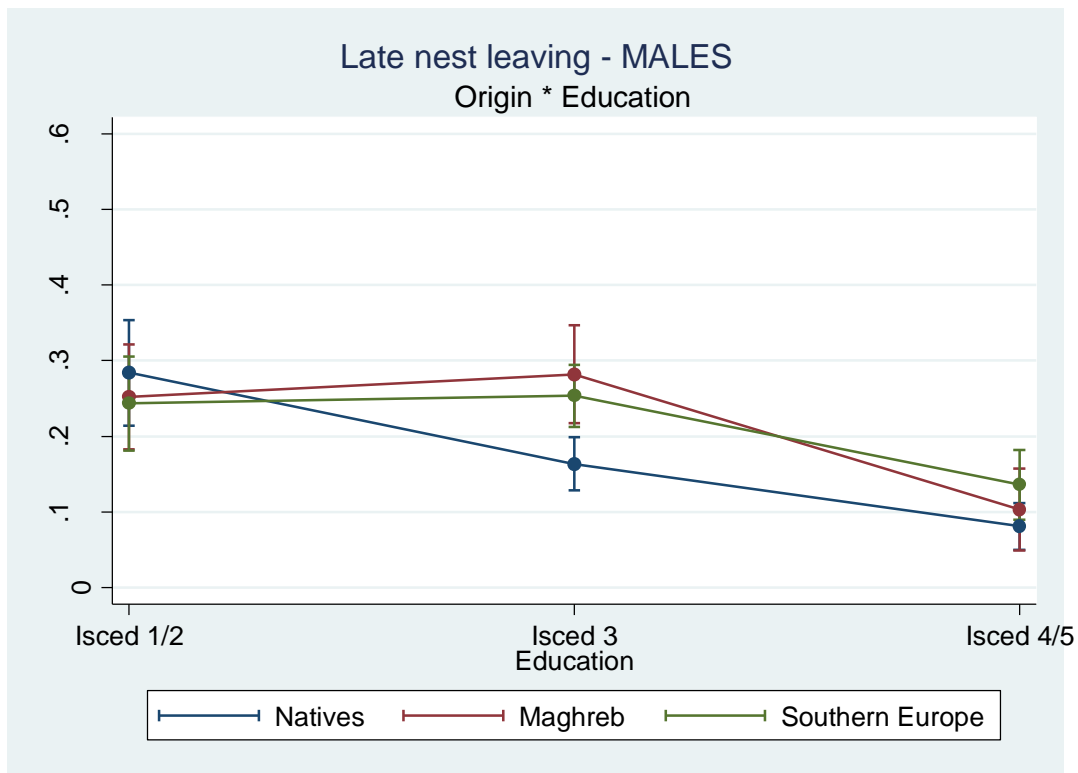


Figure 8: Predicted probability of cohabiting - Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and individual education)

