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

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ABSTRACT

This study examines differences in patterns of transition to adulthood among children of immigrants and natives in France. We simultaneously analyze the working-related and demographic events that make up the transition to adulthood for two main groups of immigrants' children (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 and background characteristics, we estimate multinomial logistic regression on the likelihood of belonging to each of the five selected clusters. We do not find huge differences between children of immigrants and natives. However, specific patterns do emerge for immigrants' children. They less frequently follow paths with long periods of autonomy and adopt the more economically constrained pathways to adulthood. In particular, 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 in becoming economically self-sufficient. For children of immigrants from North Africa, especially women, the entry into adulthood is slower and is less marked by union formation, whether cohabitation or marriage. Finally, children of immigrants from Southern Europe behave more like native French.

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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 characteristics (Aassve, Burgess, Chesher, & Propper, 2002; Furstenberg, 2010; Rindfuss, Choe, Kabamalan, Tsuya, & Bumpass 2010). Key events in young people's lives became less synchronized and occurred in a less standard order. 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 & Liefbroer, 2010). But structural transformations of educational patterns, labor market contexts, and working and living conditions are also important factors underlying the observed variations in entry into adulthood (Billari, 2004; Blossfeld, Klijzing, Mills, & Kurz, 2005). Growing economic insecurity, increased employment instability and rising costs of living have been major causes of life event postponement.

Although these changes are widespread, pathways to adulthood also vary by socioeconomic group (Berzin & De Marco, 2010; Furstenberg, 2010). Fewer individuals of relatively low socioeconomic status pursue post-secondary education, and for them the transition to adulthood is generally faster, 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 & 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 (Elzinga & Liefbroer, 2007; Furstenberg, 2008; Schoen, Landale, Daniels, & Cheng 2009).

Most research into the effect of family background on the transition to adulthood in Europe has focused on parents' social class (Sironi, Barban, & Impicciatore, 2015; Galland 1997). Less attention has been paid to differences in patterns of transition to adulthood across ethnic origin groups (except De Valk, 2006; Kleinepier, de Valk, & van Gaalen, 2015), in spite of the fact that immigrants'

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children now make up a sizeable and growing fraction of the European population and are reaching the age of family formation. Some recent studies have analyzed the early trajectories of second-generation immigrants in Europe by focusing on one transition component at a time, mainly the timing of first union and first birth (Hannemann et al., 2014; Kulu et al., 2015; Bernhardt, Goldscheider, Goldscheider, & Bjeren, 2007 and Andersson, Obucina, & Scott, 2015 in Sweden; Lievens, 1999 in Belgium; Milewski & Hamel, 2010 and Pailhé, 2015 in France; Soehl and Yahirun, 2011 in Germany). There are fewer studies on the overall process of entry into adulthood (except De Valk, 2006; Hamel, Moguérou, & Santelli, 2011; Kleinepier & de Valk, 2016). Even fewer studies have taken a gendered perspective in analyzing the entry into adulthood of immigrants' children (except Bernhardt et al., 2007; Goldscheider, Goldscheider, & Bernhardt, 2008). What remains unclear from this literature is how employment and family trajectories interact for children of immigrants, and whether this interaction varies by gender within the same minority group. It is thus essential to address the overall process of entry into adulthood for children of immigrants from a gendered perspective.

This study examines whether the new pattern of transition to adulthood can also be found among children of immigrants in France. It focuses on the interplay between gender and ethnic origin, and it investigates whether individual behaviors are affected by cultural and/or socioeconomic factors.

Because of its long history of receiving migrants, the French population includes a significant proportion of immigrants' children; in 2008 they accounted for about 10% of the population (Insee, 2012). Some minority groups, such as those from North Africa or Southern Europe, 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, which is 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, Cicchelli, & Galland, 2008). Moreover, children of immigrants are often from modest social backgrounds, have lower educational levels, are more strongly impacted by unfavorable economic conditions and have few employment opportunities (Meurs, Pailhé, & Simon, 2006; Brinbaum, Meurs, & Primon, 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' children (i.e., North African and Southern European) and compare it to the pathways 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 the labor market, union formation, and entry into parenthood. Our research is based on data from the 2008 "Trajectories and Origins" survey (a survey that contains rich demographic data and oversamples immigrants' children) and applies 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 4 presents the results; and Section 5 summarizes the main findings and provides a conclusion.

2. Background and hypotheses

2.1. Diverse pathways of transition to 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, Furstenberg, & Hershberg, 1976). In nearly all European countries, since the late 1960s, the sequencing of these events and the pace at which they occur have become less standardized, more diverse and more unpredictable (Lesnard, Cousteaux, Chanvril, & Le Hay, 2010; Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011). Compared to previous decades, they occur much later, at more diverse ages, and for durations that vary more widely (Brückner & 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 & Liefbroer, 2010; Kiernan, 2002, 2004). Transitions between different states also take longer. In particular, young adults explore multiple possibilities before making decisions that will have a lasting impact on their lives. For instance, living in one's own home 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 genders. However, entry into adulthood still differs between men and women in terms of the timing of marriage and non-marital childbearing (Oesterle, Hawkins, & Hill, 2011; Winkler-Dworak & Toulemon, 2007).

Many scholars view the process that is changing the course of entry into adulthood as part of the second demographic transition (Lesthaeghe, 1995). This de-standardization process results from changes in dominant norms that shape not only the possible, acceptable and desirable transitions over the life course but also their sequencing (Hoffmann-Nowotny & Fux, 2001; Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 2004). Due to changes in cultural beliefs, secularization and increased individualization, young individuals have more freedom in choosing their lifestyles and personal living arrangements, as well as in planning their own lives.

Changes in the family model have also arisen as a result of 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. The growing diversity and instability of young adults' life trajectories appear to be linked to the growing insecurity that characterizes modern societies (Beck, 1995; Blossfeld, Klijzing, Mills, & Kurz, 2006; Blossfeld & Hofmeister, 2006). Increasing youth unemployment, the prevalence of limited-term work contracts and unstable employment are now viewed as major causes of the postponement of departure from the parental home and family formation in contemporary Europe (Blossfeld et al., 2005). These changes in the labor market, coupled with rising housing costs, create an incentive for young adults to pursue post-secondary education.

2.2. A specific process of entering adulthood for immigrants' children

Immigrants' children go through a specific process of entering adulthood in that their parents' cultural background may significantly differ from that of the host society, and many have been raised in conditions of socio-economic disadvantage.

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 & Elzinga, 2012). Dominant values and norms 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 & Tuma, 1985; Régnier-Loilier & Prioux, 2008). In particular, they ascribe importance to the institution of marriage and favor early family formation as well as early motherhood. Their behaviors are also more traditional: they are more likely than non-religious people to enter into a formal union (in particular, marriage) upon leaving the parental home than to live independently (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999). Due to family

socialization, specific family values and norms may persist among immigrants' children, 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' children differ from those of the native population (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007).

For people of Southern European and North African descent, the models of transition to adulthood in their parents' countries of origin differ significantly from the model in France: it follows a more standard sequence and is determined by clear expectations and norms in terms of the timing and order of events. In Southern Europe, the transition to adulthood traditionally occurs later than in other Western countries (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011). The median age at leaving home is particularly high and has increased in the youngest cohorts (Billari & Wilson, 2001; Rusconi, 2004). This delay can be attributed to difficulties in entering the labor market, low housing and welfare provision – especially for young people – and particularly strong family ties (Dalla Zuanna & Micheli, 2004; Reher, 1998). One of the consequences of late home-leaving is late first union formation and parenthood (Iacovou, 2002), with a higher prevalence of marriage than of cohabitation. Moreover, the trend towards non-marital childbearing began later in Southern Europe (1980s) than in other countries (Billari & Kohler, 2004). North Africa is characterized by strong cultural values concerning the family and traditional marriage. Despite changes in recent decades, marriage is universal, and there are strong norms condemning sexual relations before marriage, cohabitation, and therefore birth outside marriage (Milewski & Hamel, 2010). The Muslim tradition encourages the simultaneous occurrence of parental home-leaving and marriage, quickly followed by first birth; and the man must be able to provide for the household (Collet & Santelli, 2012).

If we assume that immigrant parents are influenced by the dominant norms in their country of origin, and if family socialization is a key driver of entry into adulthood (Liefbroer & Elzinga, 2012), and given that both Southern Europe and North Africa are characterized by "familialism" and a strong commitment to family life (Bakass & Ferrand, 2013; Elzinga & Liefbroer, 2007), then we can formulate the following research hypothesis:

H1 ("cultural background" hypothesis). *Children of immigrants are more likely than native French to adopt more standardized pathways to adulthood (i.e., childbearing within marriage, preference for marriage over cohabitation, and living independently in a couple rather than alone).*

Since traditional values that emphasize the importance of religion, parent-child ties, and traditional family values are stronger in North Africa than in Southern Europe, and that values giving high priority to subjective well-being, self-expression and quality of life are stronger in the latter countries (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), then:

H1bis. *The afore-mentioned effect is stronger for children of immigrants from North Africa than for children of immigrants from Southern Europe.*

H1ter. *Religiosity has a stronger effect on the transition to adulthood for children of immigrants from North Africa than for children of immigrants from Southern Europe and French natives.*

Even if their parents differ from French-born parents, the behaviors of immigrants' children may resemble those of the native young people. They may be influenced by their experience in the host country, and their behaviors may be shaped by the values and norms of the dominant culture through schooling, the media and peers (Huschek, Liefbroer, & de Valk, 2010; Collet & Santelli, 2012), especially if they are more educated than their parents (Bernhardt et al., 2007; Hannemann & Kulu, 2015; Pailhé, 2015). Thus, a higher level of education than their parents may lead immigrants' children to distance themselves from parental norms.

It also gives them greater cultural capital and access to material resources, making it easier for them to make their own choices, sometimes against their parents wishes (Collet & Santelli, 2012).

However, children of immigrants are more likely to encounter structural impediments to acting on these choices, 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. Highly educated parents may transmit to their children a sense of the importance of investing in education and thus achieving individual freedom (Billari, Hiekel, & Liefbroer, 2015). Those of lower socioeconomic status receive little financial support from their family and are thus more likely to experience a faster transition to adulthood (Berzin & De Marco, 2010; Bynner, 2005; Cohen, Kasen, Chen, Hartmark, & Gordon, 2003; Macmillan & Copher, 2005; Schoen et al., 2009). Indeed, individuals from families who cannot afford to pursue postsecondary education may perceive few alternatives to immediately adopting adult social roles (Lee, 2013). Immigrants' children often come from modest socio-economic backgrounds. In France, their parents are in most cases unskilled workers with low education and income levels. Some groups of immigrants' children, especially those from Africa, also more exposed to unfavorable economic conditions, experience discrimination in the labor market and are affected by high unemployment (Brinbaum et al., 2015; Meurs et al., 2006). It thus takes much longer for them to become financially independent. Their parents' low human and cultural capital, together with these workforce entry difficulties, lead to segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou 1993; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, & Haller, 2009), which may in turn influence the transition to adulthood (Crissey, 2005; Smock & Manning, 1997; Glick, Ruf, White, & Goldscheider, 2006).

If the process of entry into adulthood is affected by socioeconomic stratification (Furstenberg, 2008), and given that children of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe come more often from modest socio-economic backgrounds and that the former encounter specific difficulties in entering the labor market, then:

H2 ("socioeconomic background" hypothesis). *For children of immigrants, and especially those from North Africa, access to autonomy takes longer than for natives (i.e., they leave the parental home later, live single on their own less often, or are more likely to be unemployed).*

H2bis. *Among children of immigrants, those whose parents have a higher educational level are more likely to adopt unconventional living arrangements or non-traditional family arrangements such as living single for a period or non-marital or pre-marital cohabitation; and they are less likely to be unemployed.*

Family structure has also proved to be a key determinant in the assimilation of children of immigrants (Haller, Portes, & Lynch, 2011; Portes et al., 2009). For instance, individuals raised in single-parent households or with several siblings have more difficulties in accessing high levels of education (Ferrari & Dalla Zuanna, 2010), and they run a higher risk of becoming school dropouts or teenage parents (Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, & Mollenkopf, 2010). Moreover, compared to parents with one or two children, parents with large families might provide less financial support to help their young adult children gain independence (Collet & Santelli, 2012).

H2ter. *Among children of immigrants, those raised in single-parent households or with several siblings are more likely to go through a long process of access to independence.*

Finally, the timing of the transition to adulthood shows strong gender differences among both the majority and minority populations (Jackson Braboy & Berkowitz, 2005). Bernhardt et al., (2007)

and Goldscheider et al. (2008) have highlighted the importance of studying the critical role that gender plays in the process of entry into adulthood. Gender differences may be greater among children 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 & Schoumaker, 2005). In Southern Europe, the observed gender age gap in leaving the parental home is also significant and much larger than in France (Iacovou, 2002). In addition, female labor force participation is low for both groups, and men are expected to provide for the household.

If gender shapes the patterns of transition to adulthood, and given the huge gender differences in immigrants' countries of origin, we formulate the following hypothesis:

H3 ("gender" hypothesis). *Gender patterns of transition to adulthood differ between natives and children of immigrants*

On the whole, patriarchal values are more pronounced (Alexander & Welzel, 2011) and gender inequalities are greater in North Africa than in Southern Europe.[1] In the Muslim tradition, greater control is exercised over daughters than over sons, since women have to guarantee the preservation of the family honor. In particular, women's sexuality is strictly controlled and families encourage early marriage (Collet & Santelli, 2012). If immigrants and their children from North Africa endorse the norms and values of their countries of origin, and given that their value systems are marked by rather patriarchal values and more traditional gender roles than in Southern Europe, we expect:

H3bis. *Patterns of transition to adulthood to be more standard for daughters of immigrants from North Africa (i.e., they marry more often and sooner after leaving the parental home, and they have children earlier).*

H3ter. *Cultural factors such as religiosity have stronger gendered effects on children of immigrants from North Africa.*

3. Data, analytical strategy and variables

Data

To answer our research questions, we used data from "Trajectories and Origins", a nationally representative survey of 22,000 individuals aged 18–60 (18–50 for children of immigrants) conducted in 2008 by the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) and the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE). This survey was designed to assess the extent to which migrant origins affect their living conditions and social trajectories as French residents. Survey respondents comprised: 8456 immigrants, 8110 children of immigrants, 3781 persons born in metropolitan France to non-immigrant parents and 1362 individuals who were born, or whose parents were born, in French overseas departments[2] (Beauchemin, Hamel, & Simon, 2010). The survey investigated residential, work, and family trajectories; it recorded dates of completing education, entering co-residential union, experiencing marriage and childbearing as well as periods of studies, stable employment, unstable employment, unemployment and different forms of economic inactivity

from the age of 16[3]. The survey also recorded 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 provided: 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 children of immigrants aged 30 to 50 at the time of the interview. We focus on this group in order to observe the full period of life between ages 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 23.3, 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 transition to adulthood (TTA) markers.[4] To simplify the study, we excluded less representative ethnic groups in this age range, namely children of immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, Turkey,[5] EU and western countries, and other origins. We ended up working on a sample of 4833 individuals, of whom 53.6% were females and 46.4% males; 42.4% were natives (weighted 91.3%); 35% (weighted 5.2%) children of immigrants from Southern Europe, i.e., Italy, Spain (n = 1222) and Portugal (n = 469); and 22.7% (weighted 3.5%) children of immigrants from North Africa, i.e., Algeria (n = 712) Morocco and Tunisia (n = 383).

3.1. Analytical strategy

The scientific literature traditionally approaches the study of transition to adulthood in terms of the main transition markers of *quantum* (extent to which a given transition step occurs within a given population) and *timing* (age at which the transition event occurs) (Billari & Wilson, 2001; Iacovou, 2004; Sobotka & Toulemon, 2008). These approaches, however, fail to take into account the *order* in which events have occurred. 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 broadened the perspective, taking into account the timing, sequence and order of (all) socio-demographic facts signaling entry into adulthood (Billari, 2001; Aassve, Billari, & Piccarreta, 2007; Barban & Billari, 2012; Elzinga & Liefbroer, 2007; Liefbroer & Elzinga, 2012). The proposed method, called *sequence analysis* (Abbott & Forrest, 1986; Abbott, 1995), 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

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[1] For instance, according to the 2014 UN gender inequality index, Italy ranks 10th, Spain 16th and Portugal 20th; while Tunisia ranks 48th, Algeria 85th and Morocco 117th. France ranks 13th. Such indicators are not available for earlier decades, but these provide a good overview of gender relations and of the strength of gender norms.

[2] The TeO survey sample was constructed in a complex operation that matched 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 origins (parents' place of birth). The response rate was 70% (Algava & Lhommeau 2015).

[3] Respondents were asked to indicate the years of occurrence for each activity lasting more than 12 months. *Stable employment* is defined as a period of employment lasting at least one year. An additional "status" was proposed to take into account shorter spells (i.e., less than 12 months) of employment or non-employment, which we define as *unstable employment*.

[4] To check the 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, which increased the standard error to an unacceptable level. For the period between ages 15 and 33, we also replicated the analysis on a sample of individuals aged 33 and above and obtained results comparable to those presented in this article.

[5] 87%, 81% and 86% of children of Turkish, Sub-Saharan African and South East Asia immigrants, respectively, are younger than 30. In the TeO survey, only 33 male and 26 female children of Turkish immigrants, 69 male and 87 female children of Sub-Saharan African immigrants and 36 male and 42 female children of South East Asia immigrants were older than 30. These samples were too small to include in the analysis.

Table 1
Main markers of TTA. Timing[6] 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	19	19	19	20	19	19	20	20
% ever finished by 30	99.5	99.3	99.4	99.6	99.2	99.4	99.8	99.4	99.6	99.2	99.2	99.2
1st stable job												
Median age at event	20	21	21	21	21	21	20	20	20	20	21	21
% ever worked by 30	96.1	92.7	94.3	92.0	88.1	89.8	98.2	95.3	96.7	96.3	93.3	94.7
1st exit from parental home												
Median age at event	22	20	20	23	21	22	22	21	21	21	20	20
% ever left by 30	93.2	96.0	94.7	89.5	91.9	90.9	93.2	96.1	94.7	95.1	98.3	96.8
1st cohabitation												
Median age at event	24.0	22.6	23.3	25.7	23.4	24.6	24.3	22.6	23.5	23.9	22.5	23.2
% ever cohabited by 30	75.3	82.7	79.3	62.4	76.2	70.3	78.3	83.2	80.8	79.1	86.2	82.6
1st marriage												
Median age at event	27.0	24.7	25.8	27.4	24.8	26.3	27.1	24.0	25.5	27.0	24.8	25.8
% ever married by 30	42.2	54.8	49.0	38.7	56.5	48.9	40.9	54.4	47.8	45.1	54.2	49.9
1st child												
Median age at event	28.1	26.1	27.0	28.3	26.1	27.0	28.7	26.0	27.2	27.9	26.1	27.0
% ever had children by 30	47.8	66.5	56.6	42.8	63.7	54.8	49.3	66.3	58.1	48.8	68.2	59.2

Source: Calculations based on *Trajectories and Origins* survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008 (weighted percentages).
Coverage: Native French and children of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe, aged 30–50.

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

Clusters	%	Family trajectory							Working trajectory			
		Single, in the parental home	Single w/ child(ren)	Single	Cohabiting	Cohab iting w/ child (ren)	Married	Married w/ child (ren)	Student	Employed	Inactive	Unstable em.
Long studies	37.1	**6.69**	0.11	4.64	2.33	0.42	0.81	1.00	**8.86**	5.47	0.74	0.94
Marriage & parenthood	23.2	5.86	0.16	1.22	1.06	0.29	**2.11**	**5.31**	4.73	**10.48**	0.66	0.13
Living single & cohabitation	21.6	4.49	1.56	**5.16**	**2.33**	**2.02**	0.17	0.27	**4.60**	**10.06**	1.06	0.28
Late nest leaving & long studies	10.8	**13.15**	0.03	0.59	1.18	0.38	0.44	0.22	**5.57**	**8.58**	0.96	0.89
Early parenthood & unemployment	7.3	5.80	0.77	0.61	0.84	1.18	1.28	5.54	4.29	3.11	**8.33**	0.27

Source: Calculations based on *Trajectories and Origins* survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008.
Coverage: Native French and children of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe, aged 30–50.

entry into adult life, with each year of age contributing one observation (i.e., living independently outside the parental home, having stable employment, being in a couple, having children).[7] In order to simultaneously account for different domains, we implemented a multichannel sequence analysis approach (Pollock, 2007; Gauthier, Widmer, Bucher, & Notredame, 2010) in which we distinguished between events related to the family sphere and those related to the working sphere. Concerning the family domain, we paid particular attention to the following dimensions: *residential* (living in or outside the parental home), *conjugal* (being single, cohabiting, or married), and *parental* (childless or parent). We thus created 12 (2 × 3 × 2) different family states combining the possible multidimensional sequences. The empirical analysis takes into account only a part (specifically, 7) of the possible different states, because 4 were not observed in the sample (e.g., simultaneously living in the parental home, being in a union and parenthood). Moreover, being single and a parent while living either in or out of the parental home was very infrequent and was therefore combined in a generic category labeled as "Single with child(ren)" (see Table A1 in the Appendix A for details). With respect to the working domain, we distinguished between being a student, non-employed, being in stable employment, or in unstable employment.[8]

We performed a sequence analysis by applying the Longest Common Subsequence (LCS) metric (Elzinga, 2006), which calculates the matrix of dissimilarities between pairs of individual trajectories, computed on the basis of the length of common subsequences. This metric is a particular case of Optimal Matching that applies a 1-unit of insertion and deletion costs and a 2-unit of substitution cost in order to match different multidimensional sequences.

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[6] 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.

[7] Since data provides partnership and employment histories, we can account for union dissolutions and changes in employment status, but we cannot include a possible return to the parental home.

[8] The category labeled as *non-employment* includes unemployed, retired, homemaker, military service and unable to work. *Unstable employment* is defined as employment for less than one year.

Our analysis identified multidimensional trajectories to adult roles that were similar to one another, which we then classified by applying hierarchical (weighted) cluster analysis to the whole sample using the Ward agglomeration method, which allowed us to describe the process of TTA in France. The resulting dendrogram (see Fig. A1 in the Appendix A) suggests the existence of five distinct transition types,[9] which have been labeled on the basis of average permanence **i**n each combination of states (see Table 2 for details).

In order to analyze how trajectories to adulthood are shaped by cultural and socioeconomic background, we estimated a multinomial logistic regression on the likelihood of belonging to each of the five selected clusters. We ran this analysis separately by sex, because although gender gaps in timing and sequence of transition-to-adulthood events have narrowed over recent decades, they likely still persist, especially in more traditional ethnic groups. Because average marginal effects are easier to interpret, our discussion of the results is based on those effects as reported in Table 4 (for details on complete models, see Tables A3 and A4 in the Appendix A).

3.2. Variables

Explanatory variables are included in stepwise fashion for investigating whether or not observed differences by origin depend on cultural factors, family composition and socioeconomic background.

The basic model (M0) covers ethnic origin only, which is our key explanatory variable. This allows us to investigate variations between children of immigrants (from Southern Europe or North Africa) and French natives. The first model (M1) adds to M0 a dichotomous covariate accounting for cohort differences, which distinguishes between individuals born before and after 1968, given that immigration from Southern Europe is less recent. We expect the younger generations to be 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, specifically the importance of religion in home upbringing and whether individuals spoke a language in addition to, or other than, French during childhood, as these variables signal the level of traditionalism, secularization and cultural integration of the family of origin. We expect 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[10]), to more frequently follow non-standard trajectories to adulthood. On the other hand, we expect more religious people who show preferences for traditional living arrangements to more frequently enter into a formal union (in particular, marriage) upon leaving the parental home rather than living independently (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999). In addition, we include a dichotomous variable for disagreements with parents about religion or their friends when they were adolescents, using this variable to indicate distance and conflict with respect to the 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). This 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, Kiernan, & Chase-Lansdale, 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 phenomenon (among others, Black, Devereux, & Salvanes, 2005). In addition to the impact of this factor on children's educational opportunities, parental education 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; Marini, 1984b). The empirical analysis separates those with a high level of education (ISCED 4 or 5, or above upper secondary), a medium level of education (i.e., ISCED 3, or upper secondary), and lower levels (our reference category). Last, we controlled for a variable on the size (population) of the urban unit in which the individual lived during childhood, distinguishing medium-sized and large urban units (over 20,000 inhabitants) from small urban units 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. Finally, in order to analyze whether cultural and socioeconomic background factors play differently across origins, we also tested several interactions between origin and our main independent variables (i.e., importance of religion in upbringing, family composition and parental education).[11]

4. Results

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

Table 1 shows the timing and *quantum* of the main TTA markers. In the observed population, over 9 out of 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 one year earlier and enter into stable employment at the same age as natives, but they reach all other events constituting the transition to adulthood at older ages. They are less likely than natives to leave the parental home by age 30 (10% of male and 8% of female children of immigrants from North Africa still live in the parental home at age 30, compared to, respectively, 5% and 2% of native French). They are also less likely to have a stable job by age 30: 8% of men and 12% of women do not have a stable job, compared with, respectively, 4% and 7% of natives. They cohabit and have a child by age 30 less frequently than native French; but when they do have a child, it occurs at the same age. Children of

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[9] We "cut the tree" where the branches were the longest.
[10] Speaking French only during childhood is not only an indicator of cultural integration of the family, it is also an indicator of parents' prior knowledge of French before migrating. This knowledge is higher in North African countries where French was the official language during colonization until the mid–70 s and is still the first foreign language learned.

[11] Figures given only when significant differences observed.

Table 3
Medoid sequence of the clusters of pathways to adulthood, average age at each state.

Clusters	Family sphere					Working sphere			
	Residential trajectory	Conjugal trajectory			Parenthood trajectory	Occupational trajectory			
	Leaving parental home	Single	Cohabiting	Married	First child	Student	Inactive	Unstable employment	Stable Employment
Long studies	22	15–30	–	–	–	15–24	–	–	25–30
Marriage & parenthood	21	15–21	22	23–30	25	15–19	–	–	20–30
Living single & cohabitation	19	15–25	26–30	–	27	15–19	–	–	20–30
Late nest leaving	30	15–30	–	–	–	15–20	–	–	21–30
Early parenthood & unemployment	20	15–20	–	21–30	22	15–19	21–30	–	20

Source: Calculations based on *Trajectories and Origins* survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008.
Coverage: Native French and children of immigrants from North Africa and Southern Europe, aged 30–50.

immigrants from Southern Europe more closely resemble native French. But getting a stable job occurs earlier among Southern Europeans, although they leave the parental home later than native French. Women from Southern Europe marry earlier and men have their first child later.

4.2. Five trajectories of transition to adulthood

The analysis of sequences of events marking transition to adulthood reveals five clusters of similar patterns[12] 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 the average duration of each state (see Table A2 below and Fig. A2 in the Appendix A for details) and the distribution of each state at the end of the observation (i.e., at age 30, see Table 2 and Fig. 3 in the Appendix A), we named the five trajectories as follows: 1) *Long studies*, characterized by long periods of study associated with long periods spent as single, living either in or out of the parental home and starting a union late (mostly childless if cohabiting, mostly with children if married). 2) *Marriage and parenthood,* in which people leave the parental home quite late, in most cases to marry after a short period of cohabitation and then become a parent; this cluster is also characterized by young entry into the labor market with stable employment. 3) *Living single and cohabitation,* characterized by employment, early home leaving to stay single or to cohabit, and childbearing outside marriage; this group also includes a significant portion of people who are single, either with or without children. 4) *Late nest leaving,* a trajectory with a relatively long stay in the parental home, even if employed, with consequent late entry into a cohabiting union. Finally, 5) *Early parenthood and unemployment*, characterized by early parental

home leaving to get married and have children while remaining or becoming unemployed.

The most traditional, ordered and standard cluster, *marriage and parenthood*, is the second most represented one, accounting for almost one third of the sample; on average, people in this group complete education, find a stable job, leave the parental home to cohabit, get married shortly afterwards and have children. The *long studies* trajectory (amounting to almost 40% of the sample) represents a less traditional sequence of events to adulthood compared to the previous group, insofar as people remain single for longer periods than the average and postpone couple formation. At age 30, 33.1% are single, 30.4% are cohabiting, and a higher proportion (36.5%) are married. The cluster *living single and cohabitation* (about 22% of the observed sample) more or less follows the same path as the previous cluster, but people complete their studies earlier, remain single for longer periods and the cohabiting union does not lead to marriage. Indeed, at the end of the observed period, 46.2% of people in this group are single; and of these, almost one half are single parents. These two trajectories represent a less traditional and less normative sequence of events and correspond to the "new" pattern of transition to adulthood identified by Billari & Liefbroer (2010). The remaining two trajectories are characterized by either a delay in reaching one or more of the transition markers or a failure to do so. The first, called *late nest leaving* (11% of the sample), is characterized by a middle period spent as a student and by a later-than-average residential independence from parents, even after getting a first stable job. The last trajectory, *early parenthood and unemployment,* is a residual cluster, representing only 7% of the observed population; but it reflects some of the labor market entry issues that young generations are currently facing, in particular women with children.

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., *medoid*[13] sequences (Table 3). The *medoid* individual of the *long studies* cluster leaves the parental home at 22 and stays single for the remaining period. He/she leaves education at age 24 to get a stable job. On average, people in the *marriage and parenthood* trajectory become residentially independent at age 21, cohabit at 22, get married at 23, and become parents at 25. They leave education at 19 to enter stable employment. People following the *living single and cohabitation* trajectory have on average the same occupational path as those following the *marriage and parenthood* trajectory, but leave the parental home 2 years earlier,

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[12] Comparable clusters were obtained when we replicated the analysis on the period between ages 15 and 33, with a slightly different distribution: *long studies* (39.3%), *marriage and parenthood* (22.3%), *living single and cohabitation* (18.1%), *late nest leavers* (13.5%) and *early parenthood and unemployment* (6.8%). We also ran cluster analysis separately for males and females. For men, the cluster *early parenthood and unemployment* disappears and the *long studies* cluster splits into 2 groups: *long studies* (24.7%) and a subgroup that can be called *independent students/unemployed* (10.7%). For the other two clusters, *marriage and parenthood* and *living single and cohabitation*, the figures are, respectively, 24.9% and 29.9%. For women, we obtained 5 comparable clusters, all clusters whose main characteristic is union status being more heavily represented: *marriage and parenthood* (19.8%), *cohabiting and single parents* (12.4%), *living autonomously* (22.8%), *late nest leaving to enter a union* (29.2%) and *early parenthood and unemployment* (15.9%).

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

Table 4
Multinomial logistic regressions on the probability of belonging to each cluster; average marginal effects of origin and average probabilities.[14]

			Males		Females	
			North Africa (Ref: Natives)	Southern Europe	North Africa (Ref: Natives)	Southern Europe
Long studies	M0	origin	−0.01	−0.07***	−0.04*	−0.06**
	M1	M0 + cohort	−0.05*	−0.09***	−0.07***	−0.07***
	M2	M1 + culture	−0.07**	−0.09***	−0.07***	−0.07***
	M3	M1 + family composition	−0.00	−0.09***	0.01	−0.06***
	M4	M1 + parental education	−0.02	−0.06***	−0.03	−0.04*
	M5	M1 + background	−0.01	−0.07***	0.03	−0.04*
		Average probability	*0.38***		*0.34***	
Marriage & parenthood	M0	origin	−0.06***	−0.01	−0.05***	0.03*
	M1	M0 + cohort	−0.03	0.00	−0.03*	0.04**
	M2	M1 + culture	−0.04*	−0.00	−0.04*	0.04*
	M3	M1 + family composition	−0.04*	−0.00	−0.04*	0.04**
	M4	M1 + parental education	−0.05**	−0.01	−0.05**	0.03
	M5	M1 + background	−0.06**	−0.02	−0.05**	0.02
		Average probability	*0.22***		*0.23***	
Living single & cohabitation	M0	origin	−0.02	0.00	−0.06***	−0.03*
	M1	M0 + cohort	−0.02	0.01	−0.05***	−0.03
	M2	M1 + culture	0.00	0.01	−0.04**	−0.02
	M3	M1 + family composition	−0.03	0.01	−0.07***	−0.03
	M4	M1 + parental education	−0.01	0.01	−0.05**	−0.03
	M5	M1 + background	−0.00	0.02	−0.05**	−0.02
		Average probability	*0.21***		*0.18***	
Late nest leaving	M0	origin	0.08***	0.09***	0.10***	0.04***
	M1	M0 + cohort	0.08***	0.09***	0.10***	0.04***
	M2	M1 + culture	0.08***	0.08***	0.10***	0.04***
	M3	M1 + family composition	0.06***	0.09***	0.08***	0.04***
	M4	M1 + parental education	0.06**	0.07***	0.08***	0.03**
	M5	M1 + background	0.05**	0.07***	0.06***	0.03**
		Average probability	*0.18***		*0.09***	
Early parenthood & unemployment	M0	origin	0.02**	−0.00	0.05***	0.01
	M1	M0 + cohort	0.03**	−0.00	0.06***	0.01
	M2	M1 + culture	0.03***	−0.00	0.05***	0.00
	M3	M1 + family composition	0.02*	−0.00	0.02	0.01
	M4	M1 + parental education	0.02**	−0.00	0.05***	0.00
	M5	M1 + background	0.02*	−0.00	0.02	−0.00
		Average probability	*0.01***		*0.15***	

Source: Calculations based on *Trajectories and Origins* survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008.
Coverage: Native French and children 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.*

remain single for 4 years, then start unmarried cohabitation at 26, and have their first child 1 year later. Those belonging to the *late nest leaving* cluster spend on average most of their early adulthood in the parental home and not in a partnership; they end their formal education at 20 and then enter the labor market in a stable fashion. Individuals in the last cluster start a married union at age 21 and have a child one year later. They finish formal education at 19, work for one year then remain unemployed throughout the observed period.

4.3. Paths to adulthood differ by gender and ethnic origin

On average, men and women are equally likely to follow the *marriage and parenthood* and *living single and cohabitation* trajectories (the average probability amounts to, respectively, 22% and 23%, and 21% and 18%, see Table 4). Men's trajectories are more likely than women's to be characterized by *long studies* (respectively, 38% and 34%) and mostly by *late nest leaving* (respectively, 18% and 9%), while women belong much more often than men to the *early childbearing and unemployment* cluster (respectively, 1% and 15%).

Transitions to adulthood differ by ethnic group. The differences are not so wide, with the exception of the much higher probability of following the *late nest leaving trajectory* for women and men of Southern European and North African descent compared to natives, (M0, Table 4). Trajectories of daughters of immigrants are also slightly less likely in the *living single and cohabitation*

cluster than natives. However, children of immigrants are not identical in terms of entry into adulthood. Trajectories of both men and women of North African descent are less likely in the *marriage and parenthood* cluster and more likely in *early parenthood and unemployment* than the trajectories of second-generation immigrants from Southern Europe. These latter are less likely than natives to follow the *long studies* trajectory.

4.4. Cultural background matters for transition to adulthood trajectories

The transition to adulthood depends on a set of background and individual characteristics (Tables 3 and 4 in the Appendix A). Individuals belonging to older cohorts (i.e., born between 1958 and 1968) are more likely to follow the more standard path to adulthood, *marriage and parenthood*, and significantly less likely to follow the path of *long studies*. Taking account of the cohort modifies the cross-group differences (M1, Table 4). Given that children of immigrants from North Africa are younger than natives and than children of immigrants from Southern Europe (immigration from North Africa occurred later than immigration from Southern Europe), the lower

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[14] Asterisks associated to marginal effects represent the level of significance of their statistical difference from zero. Average probability is the probability of belonging to cluster *i*, given that the rest of the variables are at their mean value; asterisks in this case represent the level of significance associated to the test that the probability differs from zero.

probability of following the *marriage and parenthood* trajectory for sons of immigrants from North Africa is no longer significant when cohort is controlled for.

The two trajectories defined by a long period of independent living and then by type of union (first and third clusters) strongly depend on cultural background (M2). Speaking a language other than French increases the likelihood of belonging to the residual paths (i.e., to the *late nest leaving* group for men and to *early parenthood and unemployment* for women). Women are also less likely to follow the *living single and cohabitation* trajectory than those who speak only French or French and another language. Men and women for whom religion was considered important in their upbringing are less likely to follow the *living single and cohabitation* path. Conversely, they are more likely to follow the *long studies* trajectory, in which marriage is more frequent than cohabitation at age 30. In regard to this trajectory, findings on interaction effects show that religious background has more effect among natives than among children of immigrants (see Appendix A Figs. 4 and 5). Sons of immigrants with a religious background are less likely to follow a trajectory of *long studies* compared to natives with a religious background. The same holds for daughters of Southern European immigrants with respect to natives with a religious background. Religious background affects children of immigrants much more than natives in terms of the trajectories *living single and cohabitation, late nest leaving* and *marriage and parenthood.* Children of immigrants from North Africa who received a religious upbringing are significantly less likely[15] to follow the *living single and cohabitation* trajectory than those who did not and than natives with the same characteristics (Figs. 6 and 7 in the Appendix A). On the other hand, children of immigrants from North Africa and sons of Southern European descent who received a religious upbringing are more likely[16] than natives with the same characteristics to follow the *late nest leaving* trajectory (Figs. 8 and 9 in the Appendix A). Religious women of Southern Europe are more likely to follow the *marriage and parenthood* trajectory with respect to religious natives or daughters of North African immigrants (Fig. 10 in the Appendix A). Religious background has different effects across origins and, excepting this last case, religious background does not accelerate entry into adulthood for children of immigrants.

4.5. Family structure is a key determinant of TTA for those of North African descent

Pathways to adulthood also strongly depend on family composition during childhood (M3, Table 4). Men and women reared in a two-parent household are much more likely to follow the path of *late nest leaving*. Women are also more likely to be in the *long studies* trajectory and men to the most standard path of *marriage and parenthood*. In contrast, women and men raised in a two-parent household are less likely to follow the *living single and cohabitation* trajectory, and women are less likely to be in *early parenthood and unemployment*. Family size, measured by the number of siblings an individual has, shows significant impacts; specifically, men and women with four or more siblings have lower odds of being in *long studies* and a greater likelihood of following the trajectories of *living single and cohabitation* and *early parenthood and unemployment*. Family size does not have a different effect on the transition to adulthood across origins, except for daughters of immigrants from North Africa raised in a large family, who are more likely to follow

the *late nest leaving* trajectory than similar natives (Fig. 11 in the Appendix A).

4.6. Socio-economic background is relevant for less standard trajectories

Persons from families of low economic status are more likely to experience accelerated transition to adulthood (M4). For all groups together, a lower parental education level increases the likelihood of following the *marriage and parenthood* trajectory and decreases that of *long studies*. For women, it also increases the odds of being in the *early parenthood and unemployment* cluster. Indeed, women who receive little financial support from their family may adopt adult social roles more quickly. For the same reason, a lower parental education level also increases the likelihood of belonging to the *late nest leaving* cluster. Considering cultural factors, family composition, and socioeconomic status together (M5) does not affect the level and significance level of probabilities; each type of factor matters in the TTA.

The association between parental level of education and TTA differs significantly by origin. A low socioeconomic background slows down access to autonomy more for children of immigrants with a North African descent. For those with low educated parents, the probability of belonging to the late *nest leaving* group is lower for daughters of immigrants from North Africa than for daughters of immigrants from Southern Europe, which in turn is lower than for female natives (see Appendix A Fig. 12). Conversely, daughters of low educated immigrants from North Africa are less likely to follow the *living single and cohabitation* path than comparable natives (Fig. 13 in the Appendix A). Among males with low educated parents, those of North African descent are less likely to follow the *marriage and parenthood* path (Fig. 14 in the Appendix A) and more likely to be in the *early parenthood and unemployment* cluster (see Appendix A Fig. 15).

4.7. Cross-group differences, all other things being equal

Taking into account individual and family background characteristics reduces the gap between children of immigrants and natives. As children of immigrants from North Africa were raised much more often in families where religion was considered an important component in child-rearing (see Tables 3 and 4 in Appendix A), controlling for cultural characteristics slightly reduces the gap with natives as regards *living single and cohabitation* for daughters of immigrants from North Africa and *late nest living* for their sons. On the other hand, this gap slightly increases with respect to *marriage and parenthood*. Similarly, as children of immigrants from North Africa were more often raised in large families, taking into account family composition during childhood eliminates the gap with natives for the *long studies* trajectory and reduces the gap in the likelihood of *late nest leaving*. The higher probability of belonging to the *early parenthood and unemployment* cluster also vanishes for daughters of immigrants from North Africa after controlling for family composition. Female children of immigrants from North Africa raised in large families accelerate union formation and childbearing without finding stable employment. This effect does not hold for men, since for them getting a job is perceived as a prerequisite to union formation and childbearing.

Once individual and family background characteristics are controlled for, transitions to adulthood do not differ widely by ethnic group (M5). Compared to natives, the lower probability of following the *long studies* path disappears for children of North African immigrants, as does the higher probability of being in the *early parenthood and unemployment* for women of North African descent. Similarly, we no longer observe any significant difference between daughters of Southern European immigrants and natives

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[15] The difference between second-generation males from North Africa and native French is significant at the 10% level.

[16] The difference between second-generation males from North Africa and native French is significant at the 10% level.

in the *marriage and parenthood* cluster. Nevertheless, some cross-group differences among immigrants' children remain. Children of Southern European immigrants are less likely to belong to the *long studies* group. Children of North African immigrants are less likely to follow the *marriage and parenthood* path, with women less likely to be in the *living single and cohabitation* group and men more likely to be in *early parenthood and unemployment*. Furthermore, for male and female children of immigrants from both North Africa and Southern Europe, the much higher probability of following the *late nest leaving* trajectory persists after controlling for family composition and background characteristics. For these trajectories, taking into account observed individual and background characteristics only slightly modifies the average marginal effects and the net differences in M5 are close to the raw differences (M0). Unobserved background factors thus explain these persistent cross-origin differences.

5. Conclusion and discussion

This study investigates pathways to adulthood across gender and origin in France using data from the "Trajectories and Origin" survey. It addresses how the specific backgrounds of immigrants' children shape the patterns they follow in their transition to adulthood, and it does so by analyzing the interplay of cultural and structural factors through a focus on religiosity, family composition and parents' education.

Thanks to sequence analysis, which provides a holistic viewpoint on the process of transition to adulthood by simultaneously considering *quantum*, timing and the order of observed events, five types of transition to adulthood have been identified. They reflect the diversification of patterns in the transition to adulthood, which has become later and more complex. The most frequent pattern, *long studies*, and that of *living single and cohabitation*, correspond to the "new" patterns of the transition to adulthood. Less than one third of individuals follow the standard sequence of events, i.e., *marriage and parenthood*. The remaining two trajectories, *late nest leaving* and *early parenthood and unemployment* are characterized by either a delay in reaching one or more of the transition markers or a failure to do so.

Our analysis has found differences by ethnic origin in the way young people become adults in France. On average, compared to natives, persons of North African and Southern European descent less often follow the new forms of transition to adulthood, which are *long studies* and *living single and cohabitation* (for daughters of immigrants). Children of immigrants from North Africa less frequently adopt the most traditional path of *marriage and parenthood,* which is characterized by a standard sequence of events. Some specific patterns emerge for immigrants' children. They more frequently adopt the more economically constrained pathways to adulthood (i.e. *late nest leaving*), and those of North African descent more frequently fall into *early parenthood and unemployment*. These differences are attenuated once family background is controlled for, but they persist. Thus, our first hypothesis that children of immigrants adopt more standardized paths to adulthood is not validated. They do not follow the most standard path; but neither do they adopt the most unconventional and autonomous paths.

Although we expected children of immigrants from North Africa to behave more traditionally than Southern Europeans, we did not find any strong empirical evidence of this pattern. In fact, our sub-hypothesis H1bis is not totally validated either: children of immigrants from North Africa do not always have more standardized paths than children of immigrants from Southern Europe. Compared to women of Southern European descent, women of North African descent more frequently follow the *long studies* path, but they less frequently follow the paths of *living single and cohabitation* and *early parenthood and unemployment*. A strong religious background is a particularly important factor and does not favor taking new pathways to adulthood. For children of immigrants, the lower probability of following the *living single and cohabitation* path is related to the importance of religion during childhood. This factor has an even greater effect on women of North African descent. For daughters of Southern European immigrants, religious background increases the likelihood of following the *marriage and parenthood* path.

Access to autonomy for children of immigrants' takes longer and is more economically constrained in that they enter adulthood later than native French. The lower propensity to live independently is partly linked to cultural factors. 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, which supports our hypothesis H1ter. But family socioeconomic background is also a key factor in these differences across groups. This finding supports our second hypothesis. For children of immigrants from North Africa especially, the parents' lower educational level (H2bis), and their large family size (H2ter) prevent them from providing their offspring with financial support for establishing themselves, making residential autonomy more difficult. Children of immigrants lack economic resources to set up a family or live independently. Our data do not provide information on the return to the parental home event after experience of residential independence; this could have improved our analysis of the limitations young people face in their transition to adulthood.

For the children of immigrants, staying longer in the parental home remains significant when background characteristics are controlled for. Unobserved characteristics may explain these differences. This specific path may be partly linked to cultural determinants that were not taken into account in our models: both groups come from societies characterized by strong family ties, strong commitment to family life or values, and fairly long co-residence with parents (Impicciatore, 2015), especially for men. In this sense, children seem to reproduce their parents' behavior. These differences may also account for differences in education levels, which we cannot take into account in our models because the duration of education is included in the sequence analysis for building clusters (for details see Table 6 in the Appendix A). There is a clear educational divide between the various paths of entry into adulthood. More highly educated people tend to follow the trajectory of *long studies*, while people with a secondary school qualification follow the paths *marriage and parenthood, living single and cohabitation* and *late nest leaving*. The proportion of low educated people is largest in the *early parenthood and unemployment* group. Since children of immigrants have a lower education level, they are less likely to follow *long studies* and more likely to be *late nest leavers*.

Some structural factors involved in the observed process could not be included in the analysis because of data unavailability, and these may also explain the greater difficulty in achieving independence. Children of immigrants, especially those from North Africa, face huge constraints in the labor market, such as job insecurity, long periods of unemployment (2 years on average), and low income levels. These, in turn, make it impossible for them to provide the guarantees required by the housing market, a problem compounded by the steady increase in housing prices and their parents' inability to support them (Santelli, 2007). They also face discrimination in access to housing (Pan Ke Shon & Scodelaro, 2015). Furthermore, being unemployed impedes union formation, for men especially, as men who are unable to fulfill the role of breadwinner are less attractive on the marriage market (Kalmijn, 2011; Oppenheimer, 2003). These difficulties linked to labor market entry are also reflected in the higher probability for men of North African descent of following the *early parenthood and unemployment* path. This explanation applies

to a lower proportion of children of Southern Europeans, as they join the labor force more quickly and have a lower unemployment rate. At the same time, contextual factors such as level of segregation might explain some of the differences we found in the ways that children of immigrants and natives move towards adulthood. This will be the subject of our future research.

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 (H3). Gender difference is observed regarding the probability of *living single and cohabiting*. Only daughters of North African immigrants are less likely to cohabit than children of natives. Moreover, having received a religious upbringing and being raised in a family with low socioeconomic status has more of an effect on female children than on male children of immigrants from North Africa, which validates hypothesis H3ter. Both cultural and socioeconomic factors slow down their access to autonomy. However, daughters of North African immigrants are not those who adopt the most standard path to adulthood: they are as likely as natives to follow the *long studies* path and, contrary to daughters of Southern European immigrants, are less likely to follow *marriage and parenthood*. Our hypothesis H3bis is not confirmed.

Our paper contributes to the literature on the transition to adulthood among children of immigrants by holistically considering several events marking this process. Data show that, when taking family formation and employment career 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). Our analysis takes into account interrelations between family formation, access to independent living and access to employment, which together reveal more nuanced results. Children of immigrants actually follow less standardized and more economically constrained paths of entry into adulthood, which converts into more frequent late nest leaving, early parenthood and unemployment, and less frequent autonomous living associated with long studies or late cohabitation.

Although we do not find huge differences by origin in the process leading to adulthood, we can conclude that children of North African immigrants usually behave under heavier economic constraints, while the pathways of children of Southern European immigrants appear to be more similar to those of the native group and more traditional than the North African group. The longer and more economically constrained path to adulthood for children of immigrants from North Africa should be addressed through policies to help young adults leave the parental home and become financially independent, with additional measures for combating discrimination in access to housing and employment.

Acknowledgements

Appendix A.

Tables A1–A6, Figs. A1–A15 and .

Table A1
Percentage distribution of the observed states (percentages derived from cumulative frequencies over ages).

	Label	%
Working Sphere		
Student	Student	39.2
Unemployed	Unemployed	9.4
Employed	Employed	47.9
Unstable Employment	Unstable Em.	3.5
Family Sphere		
Out of the parental home, Cohabiting and Childless	Cohabiting	11.0
Out of the parental home, Cohabiting and Parent	Cohabiting w/child(ren)	4.8
Out of the parental home, Married and Childless	Married	6.1
Out of the parental home, Married and Parent	Married w/child(ren)	13.3
In the parental home, Single and Childless	Single, in the parental home	43.0
In the parental home, Single and Parent	Single w/child(ren)	0.3
Out of the parental home, Single and Parent	Single w/child(ren)	2.5
Out of the parental home, Single and Childless	Single	19.1
In the parental home, Cohabiting and Childless	–	0.0
In the parental home, Cohabiting and Parent	–	0.0
In the parental home, Married and Childless	–	0.0
In the parental home, Married and Parent	–	0.0

Table A2
Percentage distribution of states at age 30 (end of the observed period) by cluster.

	Long studies	Marriage & parenthood	Living single & cohabitation	Late nest leaving	Early parenthood & unemployment
Family trajectory					
Cohabiting	19.0	0.0	9.9	24.4	0.6
Cohabiting with child(ren)	11.4	0.4	31.4	16.7	10.7
Married	8.9	7,0	1.6	10.8	3.5
Married with child(ren)	27.6	91.6	11.0	5.3	69.6
Single, in parental home	0.2	0.0	0.0	27.3	8.2
Single with child(ren)	3.3	1.0	20.7	0.4	7.3
Single	29.7	0.0	25.5	15.2	0.2
Working trajectory					
Employed	86,0	96.8	90.8	93.1	22.3
Student	4.0	0.2	0.7	0.7	1.6
Unemployed	4.4	3.0	6.9	3.8	75.1
Unstable employment	5.6	0.0	1.6	2.4	1.0

Table A3

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

	Long studies					Marriage & parenthood					Living single & cohabitation					Late nest leaving					Early parenthood & unemployment				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Average probability																									
Origin (Ref: Natives): North Africa_2G	−0.05*	−0.07**	−0.00	−0.02	−0.01	−0.03	−0.04*	−0.04*	−0.05**	−0.06**	−0.02	0.00	−0.03	−0.01	−0.00	0.08***	0.08***	0.06***	0.06**	0.05**	0.03**	0.03***	0.02*	0.02**	0.02*
Origin (Ref: Natives): Southern Europe_2G	−0.09***	−0.09***	−0.09***	−0.06***	−0.07***	0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.09***	0.08***	0.09***	0.07***	0.07***	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00
Cohort (Ref.68–78): 58-68	−0.16***	−0.16***	−0.15***	−0.14***	−0.14***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***	0.12***	0.12***	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Importance of religion (Ref: None or little): Highly		0.07***			0.08***		0.02			0.02		−0.10***			−0.10***		0.00			0.00		−0.00			−0.00
Language (Ref: French only/French + Other): other only		−0.04			−0.00		0.01			0.00		-0.02			-0.02		0.06*			0.03		−0.01*			−0.01**
Discussions with parents about religion & friends (Ref: No)		−0.02			−0.00		0.04			0.04		0.03			0.03		−0.04			−0.05		−0.02			−0.02
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 2/3			−0.05**		−0.04*			0.03		0.03			0.04*		0.04*			−0.02		−0.03			0.01		0.01
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 4+			−0.12***		−0.09***			0.03		0.01			0.05**		0.06**			0.02		0.01			0.02**		0.01**
Raised in a two-parent household (Ref: Single-parent)			0.04		0.03			0.07**		0.07**			−0.15***		−0.14***			0.05**		0.05**			−0.01		−0.01
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3				0.19***	0.18***				−0.13***	−0.13***				-0.02	-0.02				−0.02	−0.02				−0.01*	−0.01
Parents' Highest Ed. Level (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5				0.15***	0.13***				−0.04*	−0.04*				-0.01	-0.00				−0.09***	−0.09***				−0.01	−0.01
Living in a large urban unit during childhood (Ref: Small/rural unit)				0.04**	0.04**				−0.00	0.00				−0.06***	−0.06***				0.01	0.01				0.00	0.00
Observations	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242	2244	2244	2244	2244	2244	2242	2242	2242	2242	2242

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

Coverage: Native French and children 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 A4
Multinomial logistic regressions on the probability of belonging to each cluster. Average marginal effects. Females.

	Long studies					Marriage & parenthood					Living single & cohabitation					Late nest leaving					Early parenthood & unemployment				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Average probability																									
Origin (Ref: Natives): North Africa_2G	−0.07***	−0.07***	0.01	−0.03	0.03	−0.03*	−0.04*	−0.04*	−0.05**	−0.05**	−0.05***	−0.04**	−0.07***	−0.05**	−0.05**	0.10***	0.10***	0.08***	0.08***	0.06***	0.06***	0.05***	0.02	0.05***	0.02
Origin (Ref: Natives): Southern Europe_2G	−0.07***	−0.07***	−0.06***	−0.04*	−0.04*	0.04**	0.04*	0.04**	0.03	0.02	−0.03	−0.02	−0.03	−0.03	−0.02	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.03**	0.03**	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	−0.00
Cohort (Ref.68–78): 58–68	−0.16***	−0.16***	−0.14***	−0.14***	−0.14***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	−0.00	−0.00	0.03**	0.03**	0.03*	0.03**	0.02
Importance of **religion** (Ref: None or little): Highly		0.03			0.05***		0.02			0.01		−0.05***			−0.05***		0.01			−0.00		−0.00			−0.01
Language (Ref: French only/French+Other): other only		−0.04			0.01		0.02			0.01		−0.05*			−0.05**		−0.01			−0.03		0.09***			0.06**
Discussions with parents about religion & friends (Ref: No)		−0.01			−0.01		0.02			0.03		0.03			0.03*		−0.03			−0.03		−0.02			−0.02
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 2/3			−0.09***		−0.07***			0.02		0.01			0.02		0.02			−0.01		−0.01			0.06***		0.06***
#Siblings (Ref: Only children/1 sib.): 4+			−0.20***		−0.17***			0.02		0.00			0.04*		0.04**			0.03*		0.03			0.11***		0.09***
Raised in a **two-parent household** (Ref: Single-parent)			0.08***		0.07**			0.01		0.01			−0.07**		−0.06**			0.04**		0.04**			−0.06**		−0.06**
Parents' Highest **Ed. Level** (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 3				0.18***	0.15***				−0.06**	−0.06**				−0.00	−0.00				−0.02	−0.02				−0.09***	−0.07***
Parents' Highest **Ed. Level** (Ref: 1/2): ISCED 4/5				0.19***	0.16***				−0.06***	−0.05***				−0.02	−0.02				−0.05***	−0.04***				−0.06***	−0.05***
Living in a **large urban unit** during childhood (Ref: Small/rural unit)				0.02	0.02				0.00	0.00				−0.03*	−0.03*				0.04***	0.04***				−0.04**	−0.03**
Observations	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591	2591

Source: Calculations based on *Trajectories and Origins* survey (TeO), INED-INSEE, 2008.
Coverage: Native French and children 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 A5
Covariates distribution by origin.

	North Africa	Southern Europe	Natives
Sex			
Men	49.3	53.5	49.7
Women	50.8	46.5	50.3
Cohort			
1968–1978	65.9	50.6	44.3
1958–1968	34.1	49.4	55.8
Importance of religion			
None or little	51.0	65.2	71.4
Highly	49.0	34.8	28.6
Language			
French + other	89.9	88.2	99.5
Other language only	10.2	11.8	0.5
Discussions w/parents about religion and friends			
No	85.1	85.9	90.8
Yes	14.9	14.1	9.2
Number of siblings			
Only-children/1 sib.	9.6	35.1	39.7
2–3 sib.	25.6	41.3	39.9
4+ sib.	64.8	23.6	20.4
Parents in the household			
1 parent	12.7	6.3	11.1
2 parents	87.3	93.7	88.9
Parents' highest ed. level			
Isced 1/2	76.3	71.8	53.0
Isced 3	7.8	8.6	14.3
Isced 4/5	15.9	19.6	32.8
Place of residence			
Low pop./rural area	32.9	49.6	60.5
Highly pop. urban area	67.1	50.4	39.5

Table A6
Percentage distribution of trajectories by education, gender and area of origin, weighted frequencies.

Origin	Total						North Africa						Southern Europe						Natives					
Gender	% M			% F			% M			% F			% M			% F			% M			% F		
Level of education	LOW	MED	HIGH	LOW	MED	HIGH	LOW	MED	HIGH	LOW	MED	HIGH	LOW	MED	HIGH	LOW	MED	HIGH	LOW	MED	HIGH	LOW	MED	HIGH
Long studies	15.1	20.1	83.1	14.7	14.8	71.2	27.0	25.2	77.1	19.0	22.3	66.8	13.4	19.7	78.0	8.1	19.0	62.8	14.3	20.0	83.4	14.9	14.3	71.7
Marriage & parenthood	3.4	1.6	0.2	26.2	15.5	3.4	4.9	3.8	0.4	29.1	19.6	2.9	1.9	0.5	0.0	31.5	13.9	1.6	3.4	1.6	0.2	25.7	15.5	3.5
Living single & cohabitation	29.3	31.8	3.6	22.5	29.5	9.1	25.4	26.3	2.3	19.3	21.5	9.1	33.7	27.7	2.7	23.0	21.6	10.0	29.2	32.3	3.7	22.6	30.2	9.0
Late nest leaving	28.3	32.2	6.2	29.0	31.4	9.8	23.2	20.8	8.4	21.2	16.8	8.5	27.6	26.4	6.3	26.9	33.9	15.2	28.7	32.9	6.1	29.6	31.8	9.6
Partnership & unemploy- ment	24.0	14.3	6.9	7.6	8.8	6.6	19.5	23.9	11.7	11.4	19.8	12.8	23.4	25.7	13.1	10.5	11.7	10.5	24.4	13.2	6.6	7.2	8.3	6.2
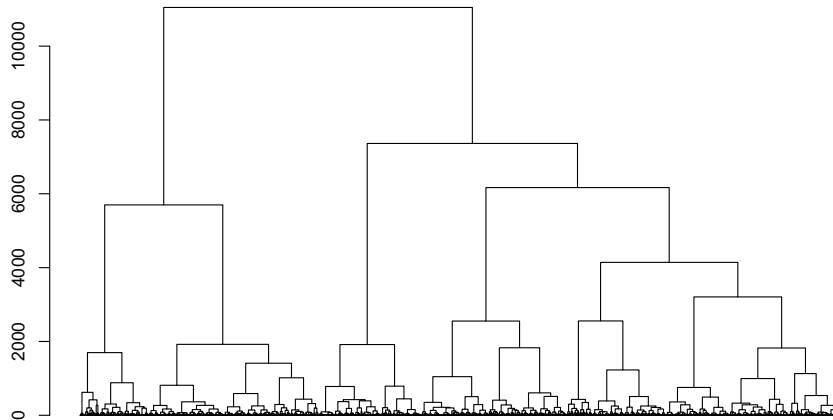
Fig. A1. Dendrogram resulting from hierarchical cluster analysis.
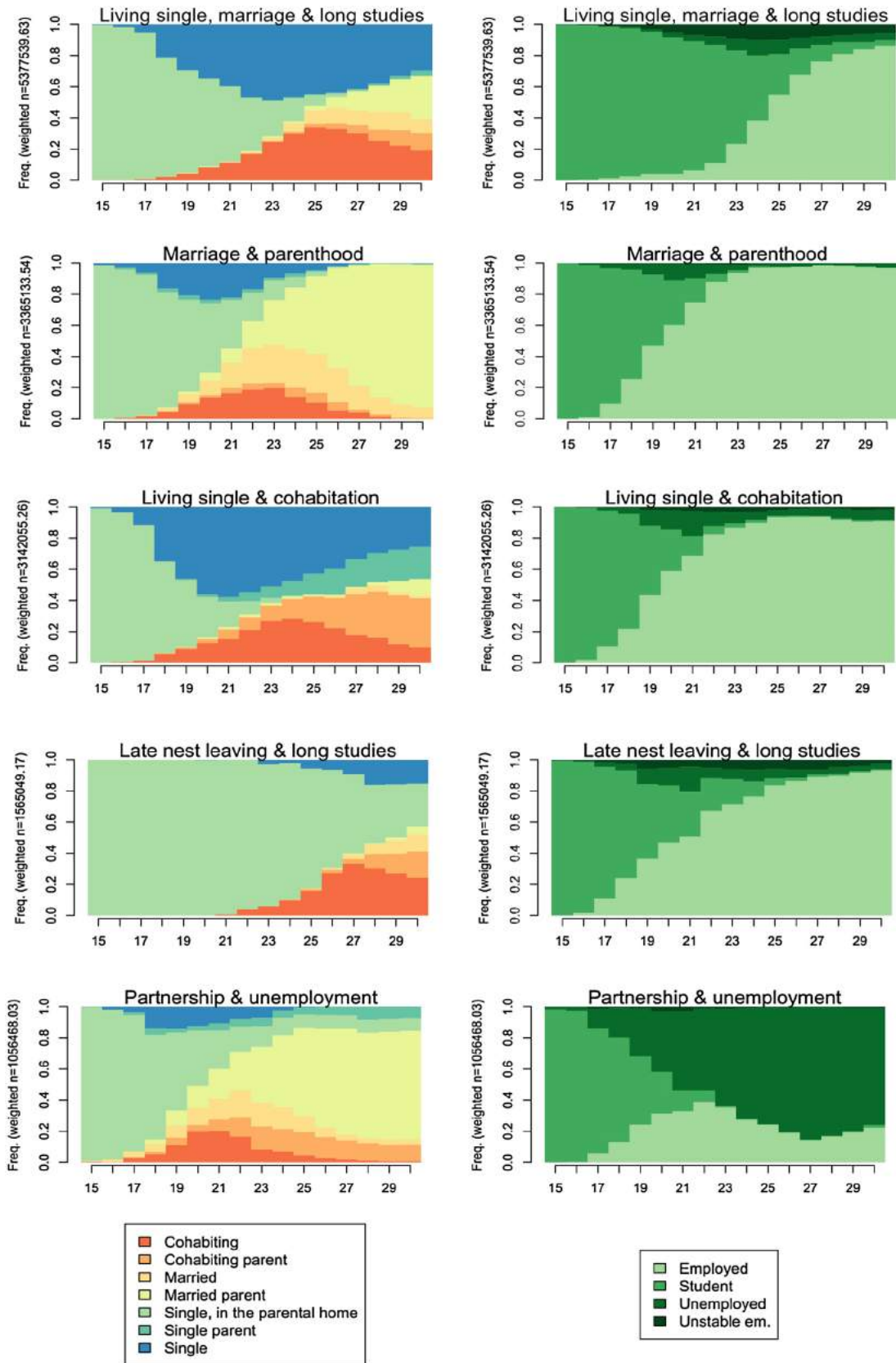
Fig. A2. Distribution of states in each cluster.
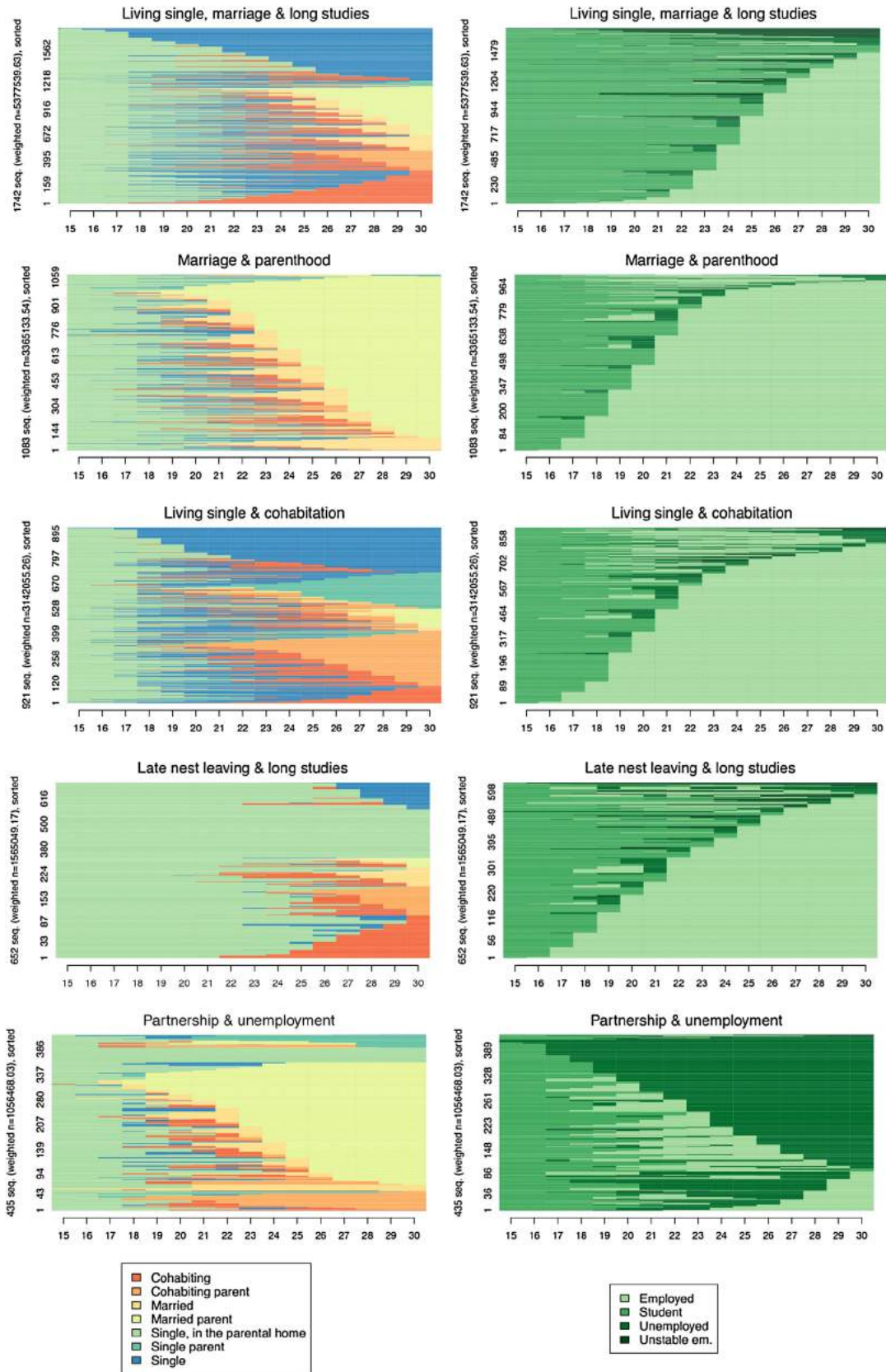
Fig. A3. Sequence index plots by cluster.
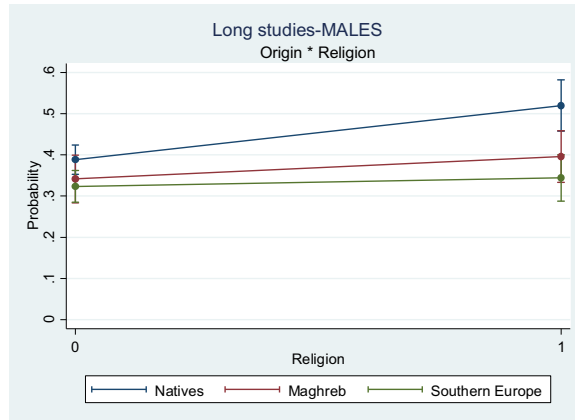
Fig. A4. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Long studies" − Males (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity).
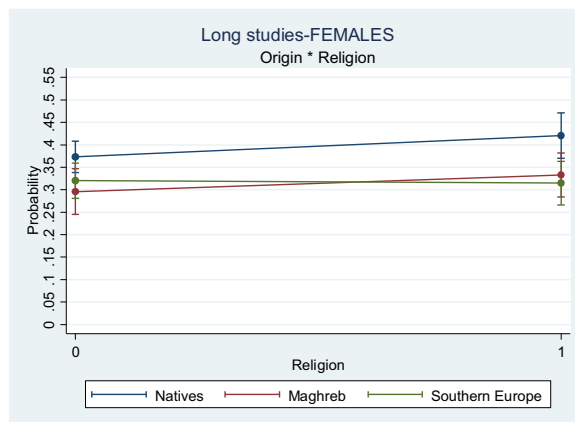
Fig. A5. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Long studies"– Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity).
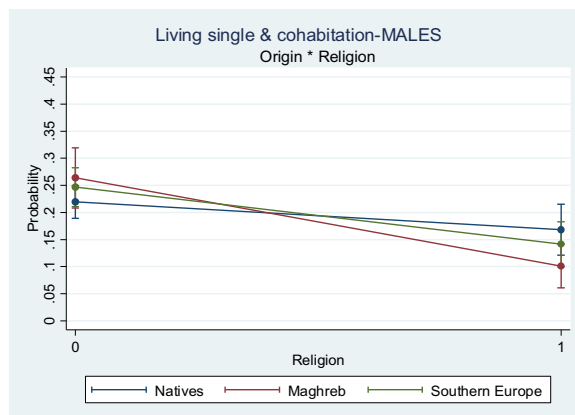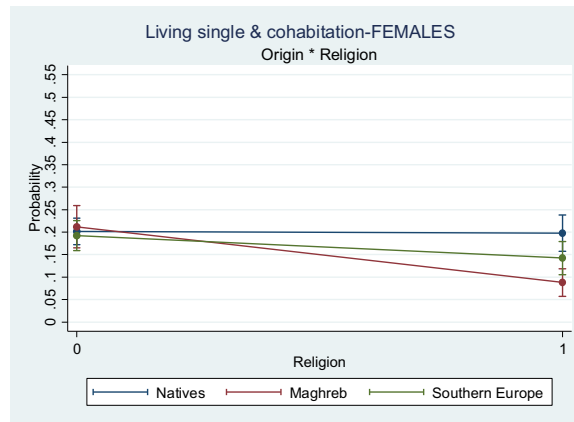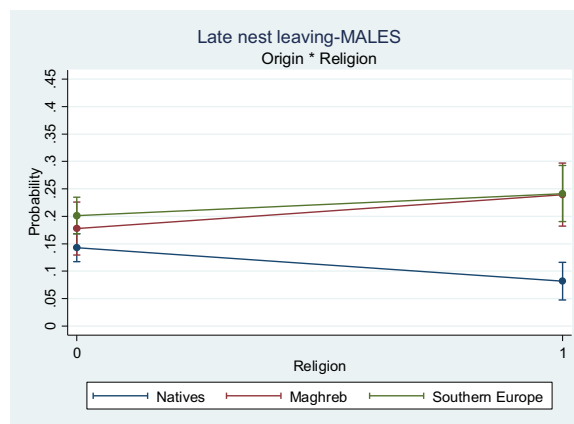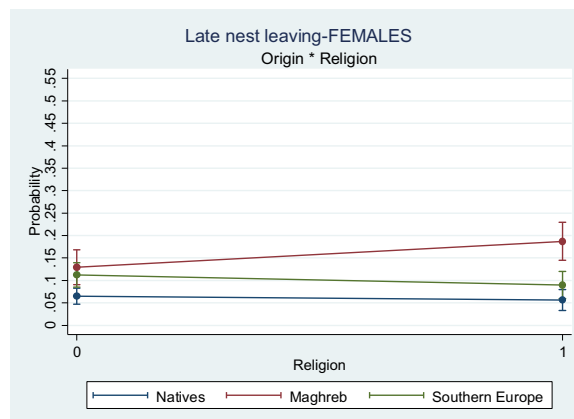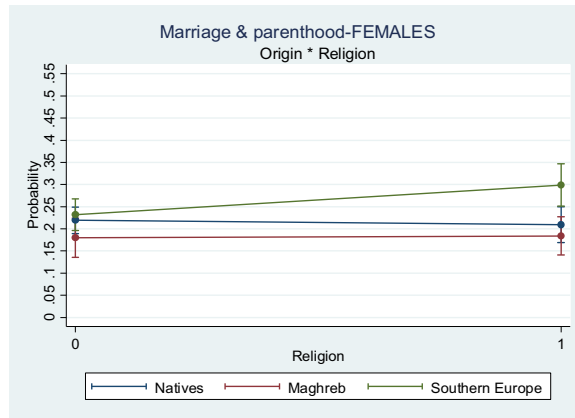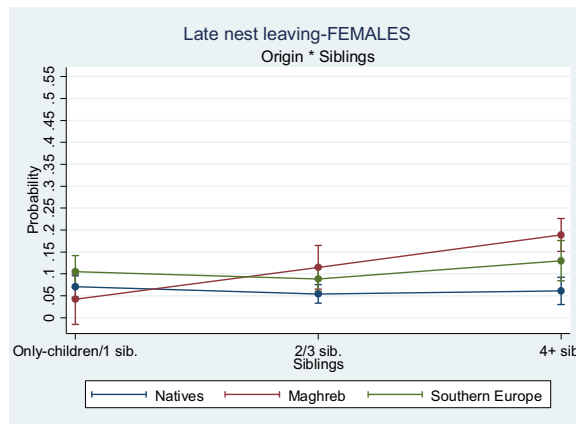

Fig. A6. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Living single & cohabitation" − Males (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity).

Fig. A7. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Living single & cohabitation" – Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity).
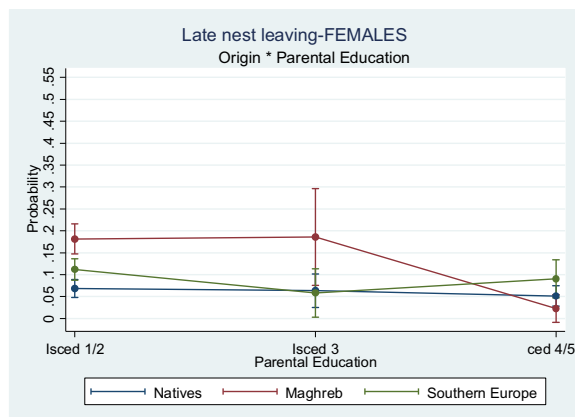

Fig. A8. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Late nest leaving" – Males (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity).

Fig. A9. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Late nest leaving" – Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity).

Fig. A10. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Marriage & parenthood" − Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and religiosity).

Fig. A11. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Late nest leaving" − Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and number of siblings).
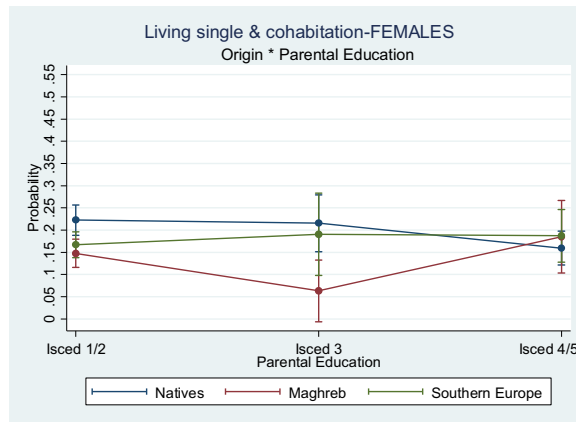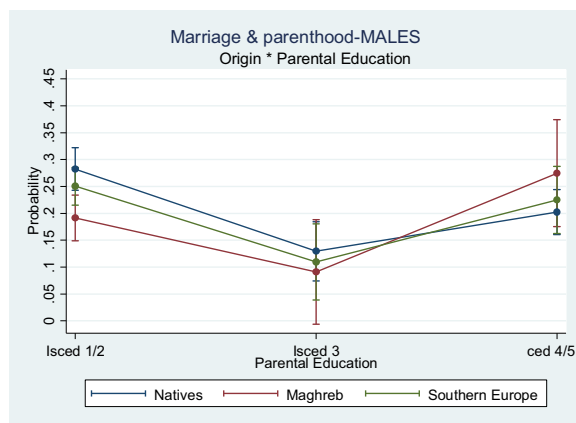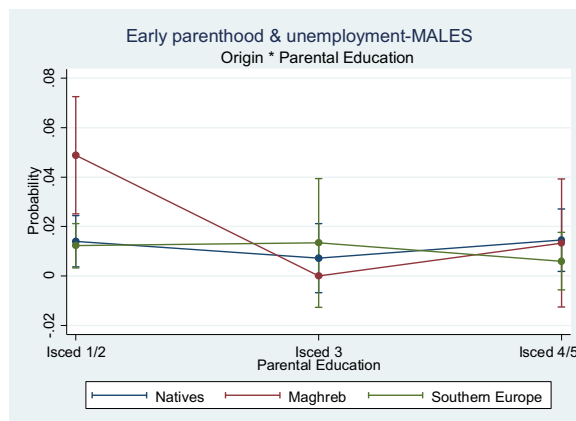

Fig. A12. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Late nest leaving" − Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and parental education).

Fig. A13. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Living single & cohabitation" − Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and parental education).

Fig. A14. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Marriage & parenthood" − Males (Model with interaction terms, origin and parental education).

Fig. A15. Predicted probability of belonging to the cluster "Early parenthood and unemployment" − Females (Model with interaction terms, origin and parental education).

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