

Family Dynamics in the Course of Leaving the Parental Home

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Überblick

Die vorliegende Dissertation ist als Kumulation von drei Aufsätzen konzipiert. Das erste (deutschsprachige) Kapitel führt zum Thema hin, ordnet die Aufsätze als Rahmenkapitel in das Forschungsfeld ein und enthält eine Zusammenfassung der Aufsätze. Kapitel 2 bis 4 enthalten die (englischsprachigen) Aufsätze, wobei der erste Aufsatz (Kapitel 2) in einer Fachzeitschrift veröffentlicht ist:

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1 Familiäre Dynamiken im Zuge des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus

Wann werden Jugendliche erwachsen? Seit einigen Jahrzehnten wird in der einschlägigen Forschungsliteratur die These vertreten, dass sich der Übergang ins Erwachsensein anhand einer Reihe von Lebensereignissen kennzeichnen lässt: den Schulabschluss, das Verlassen des Elternhauses, den Berufseinstieg, die Kohabitation bzw. Heirat und die Geburt des ersten Kindes (z.B. Shanahan, Porfeli, Mortimer, & Erickson, 2005, S. 225). Im Rahmen des Übergangs ins Erwachsenenalter wird der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus dabei als bedeutender Schritt der Ablösung vom Elternhaus angesehen, der neben Folgen für die ausziehende junge Person auch familiäre Veränderungen nach sich zieht.

Seit etwa den 1970er Jahren ist der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus in Europa und Nordamerika Gegenstand empirischer Untersuchungen. Während ein (älterer) Forschungsstrang das Verlassen des Elternhauses als Teilaspekt des Übergangs ins Erwachsensein im Verbund mit anderen Prozessen und Statuspassagen im Lebensverlauf junger Erwachsener untersucht (siehe z.B. Modell, Furstenberg, & Hershberg, 1976), hat sich etwa ab Mitte der 1980er Jahre ein eigenständiger Forschungszweig zur Beschreibung und Erklärung des Auszugsverhaltens junger Menschen herausgebildet (siehe z.B. Frances Kobrin Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1985). Eine große Mehrheit dieser Studien widmet sich den Trends im Auszugsverhalten oder exploriert Determinanten der Auszugsentscheidung. Häufig stehen dabei das Auszugsalter und die Auszugspfade, d.h. die Routen und Motive des Auszugs, im Mittelpunkt der Analysen.

Weil sich ein Großteil der vorliegenden Studien mit der Beschreibung und Erklärung des Auszugsverhaltens beschäftigt, ist zu den individuellen und familialen Konsequenzen des Auszugs bisher nur wenig bekannt. Unter Verwendung von Längsschnittdaten des deutschen Beziehungs- und Familienpanels (pairfam) nimmt sich die vorliegende Dissertation wichtiger Forschungslücken innerhalb der Literatur zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus an: Zum einen wird durch die Reproduktion und Erweiterung eines bestehenden Forschungsbefundes ein vertiefter Beitrag zur Erklärung des (frühen) Auszugsverhaltens geleistet. Zum anderen werden neue Erkenntnisse zu den individuell-psychologischen Folgen des Auszugs sowie zu den Effekten des Auszugs auf die materielle Unterstützung zwischen Eltern und ihren (erwachsenen) Kindern vorgelegt.

1.1 Die Bedeutung des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus im Lebensverlauf junger Erwachsener

Der Übergang von der Jugend in das Erwachsenenalter nimmt einen hohen Stellenwert in der individuellen Biografie ein und stellt zentrale Weichen für den späteren Lebensverlauf. Das Jugendalter und die frühen Erwachsenenjahre stellen eine Lebensphase mit hoher „demografischen Dichte“ (Rindfuss, 1991, S. 496) dar, in der junge Menschen eine Vielzahl an biologischen, psychologischen und sozialen Veränderungen durchlaufen. Dabei gestaltet sich die theoretische und empirische Abgrenzung zwischen Jugend- und Erwachsenenalter als schwierig, da keine klaren Altersgrenzen zur Unterscheidung der beiden Lebensphasen existieren und verschiedene Zuordnungskriterien herangezogen werden können.

Theoretisch wird der Übergang ins Erwachsensein als Lebensphase beschrieben, in der zentrale Entwicklungsaufgaben zu bewältigen sind. Dazu zählen unter anderem die Entwicklung der intellektuellen und sozialen Fähigkeiten sowie eine selbständige Lebensführung und die ökonomische Selbstversorgung (Hurrelmann & Quenzel, 2016, S. 33–41). Die zu bewältigenden Entwicklungsaufgaben werden in der soziologischen, demografischen und entwicklungspsychologischen Forschung häufig anhand einer Reihe von Lebensereignissen konzeptualisiert, welche mit der Aufgabe bestimmter Rollen und der Übernahme neuer Rollen einhergehen (siehe z.B. Hogan & Astone, 1986; Modell et al., 1976). Als wichtige Lebensereignisse, die mit signifikanten Rollenveränderungen verknüpft sind, werden üblicherweise der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus, der Übergang von der Schule in den Beruf, die Kohabitation bzw. Eheschließung, sowie die Geburt eines Kindes angesehen (vgl. Howard & Galambos, 2011; Shanahan, 2000). Der Auszug stellt dabei ein Lebensereignis dar, das neben der Übernahme wichtiger Erwachsenenrollen mit einer Veränderung der Beziehung zwischen Kindern und ihren Eltern in Verbindung gebracht wird (vgl. Mulder, 2009).

Nach dem Auszug müssen junge Erwachsene eigenständig einen Haushalt führen sowie selbständig Finanz- und Konsumententscheidungen treffen. Generell tragen sie ohne die regelmäßige Aufsicht und Kontrolle durch die Eltern mehr Verantwortung für ihre Lebensentscheidungen und genießen nach dem Verlassen des Elternhauses mehr Autonomie. Darüber hinaus ist der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus in den meisten westlich geprägten Ländern eine Vorbedingung für weitere Übergangsprozesse im Lebensverlauf junger Erwachsener, wie z.B. das Zusammenleben mit einem Partner oder die Familiengründung. Ältere jugendsoziologische Konzeptionen weisen dem Auszug eine wichtige Funktion hinsichtlich der räumlichen Ablösung von der Herkunftsfamilie zu (Papastefanou, 1997; Vaskovics, 1997) oder betrachten ihn als Schlüsselereignis im ökonomischen Verselbständigungsprozess junger Erwachsener (Junge, 1995).

Die räumliche Ablösung infolge des Auszugs hat neben den individuellen Veränderungen für die jungen Erwachsenen auch Auswirkungen auf die Ausgestaltung der Eltern-Kind-

Beziehung: Der Auszug wird im schrittweisen Prozess der Umgestaltung der Eltern-Kind-Beziehung von der Eltern-Abhängigkeit hin zu mehr Unabhängigkeit und Gleichberechtigung als das klarste und am besten datierbare Ereignis beschrieben (Mulder, 2009, S. 203). Vertreter der Individuationstheorie postulieren hierzu, dass die Eltern-Kind Beziehung im Zuge des Erwachsenwerdens eine Um- und Neugestaltung hin zu mehr Autonomie und gegenseitigen Respekt bei gleichzeitig hoher Verbundenheit erfährt (siehe Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Smetana, Crean, & Campione-Barr, 2005; Smollar & Youniss, 1989). Der Auszug wird auch in diesem Prozess als Schlüsselereignis angesehen (siehe z.B. Papastefanou, 2000b).

Welche Wahrnehmungen und Erwartungen hinsichtlich möglicher Rollenveränderungen an den Auszug geknüpft sind wurde unter anderem über Selbstzuschreibungen in Befragungsstudien ermittelt. Als Pionierarbeit kann hierbei die Studie von Arnett (2001) aus den Vereinigten Staaten gelten, in der Befragte im Alter von 13 bis 55 Jahren ein Bündel an Sachverhalten dichotom danach bewerten sollten, ob diese erreicht sein müssen um als erwachsen zu gelten. Items die auf Rollenübergänge abzielten (z.B. verheiratet zu sein) erhielten eher geringe Zustimmungsraten (9–32%), wobei der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus eine Ausnahme bildete (57%). Im europäischen Vergleich sehen zwischen 15% und 65% der Befragten (in Deutschland: etwa 40%) den Auszug als wichtiges oder sehr wichtiges Kriterium des Erwachsenseins an (Speder, Murinko, & Settersten, 2014).

Diese stilisierten Ergebnisse verdeutlichen, dass die Bedeutung und Konsequenzen des Auszugs kontextabhängig sind und damit selbst erklärungsbedürftige Phänomene darstellen. Der größte Teil der bestehenden Forschung zum Auszug beschäftigt sich allerdings nicht mit den Folgen des Auszugs sondern analysiert Fragestellungen zur Veränderung, Beschreibung und Erklärung des Auszugsverhaltens mit Retrospektiv- und Querschnittsdaten (vgl. Abschnitt 1.2). Aufgrund der vermehrten Verfügbarkeit von großangelegten Panelstudien haben in der jüngeren Forschung auch Längsschnittuntersuchungen Einzug in das Forschungsfeld gefunden. Dabei eröffnen prospektive Untersuchungsdesigns ein noch weitgehend brachliegendes Forschungspotential im Hinblick auf die theoretisch vorherherrschenden Annahmen und Erwartungen zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus. An diesem Punkt knüpft die vorliegende Dissertation an: Indem die individuellen und familialen Konsequenzen des Auszugs in den Fokus der empirischen Untersuchung gerückt werden, wird ein wichtiger Beitrag zur (faktischen) Relevanz des Auszugs im und für den Lebensverlauf junger Erwachsener und derer Herkunftsfamilien geleistet (vgl. Abschnitt 1.3).

1.2 Forschungsüberblick und Desiderata

Trotz der Vielzahl an Studien liegen nach Kenntnis des Autors bislang keine Metastudien und nur vereinzelte systematisierende Überblicksartikel zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus vor. Zweck dieses Kapitels ist es deshalb, einen prägnanten Überblick über das Forschungsfeld zum

Auszug aus dem Elternhaus zu vermitteln. Die Forschungsliteratur wird entlang der Trends des Auszugsverhaltens in Deutschland, der (internationalen) Erkenntnisse zu zentralen Determinanten des Auszugsverhaltens, sowie entlang der Befunde zu den Folgen des Auszugs gegliedert. Daran schließt eine kritische Diskussion der bestehenden Literatur unter Hervorhebung der evidenten Mängel und Desiderata an, welche in den empirischen Beiträgen der Dissertation adressiert werden.

1.2.1 Trends im Auszugsverhalten in Deutschland

Aus Sicht der Lebensverlaufsforschung liegt ein Hauptaugenmerk auf der Beschreibung und Erklärung von (historischen) Trends im Auszugsverhalten. Mit Hilfe von Kohortenstudien werden dabei vor allem Veränderungen des Auszugszeitpunktes, des Kopplungsgrades mit anderen Lebensverlaufseignissen (d.h. Auszugspfade) und der Reversibilität des Auszugs im Zeitverlauf untersucht. Theoretisch sind diese Studien in die Debatte zur Individualisierung bzw. De-Institutionalisierung oder De-Standardisierung des Lebensverlaufs eingebettet (vgl. Konietzka, 2010; Scherger, 2007): Vor dem Hintergrund veränderter familialer und gesellschaftlicher Rahmenbedingungen werden ein späterer Auszug, eine zunehmende (temporäre) Rückkehr ins Elternhaus und eine stärkere Entkopplung des Auszugs von der Heirat diskutiert (siehe Brückner & Mayer, 2005; Konietzka & Huinink, 2003).

Hinsichtlich der Auszugspfade zeigt sich, dass die historisch starke Verknüpfung zwischen Heirat und Auszug im Zeitverlauf an Bedeutung verloren hat, während alternative Lebensformen (Singlehaushalte und nicht-eheliche Lebensgemeinschaften) sowie Bildungs- und Arbeitsmarktübergänge für den Auszug relevanter wurden (Hillmert, 2005; Konietzka & Huinink, 2003; Nave-Herz, 1997; M. Wagner & Huinink, 1991). Bezüglich der Reversibilität des Auszugs errechnen verschiedene Studien einen Anteil von etwa 10% der jungen Erwachsenen, die nach dem Auszug (temporär) wieder ins Elternhaus zurückziehen (Härtl, 1996; Konietzka, 2010; Scherger, 2007). Indizien einer im Zeitverlauf zunehmenden Rückkehr in das Elternhaus finden sich zwar im nordamerikanischen Raum (Beaupré, Turcotte, & Milan, 2006; Francis Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999; F. Goldscheider, Goldscheider, St. Clair, & Hodges, 1999), können jedoch für Deutschland nicht nachgewiesen werden (Konietzka, 2010).

Bezüglich des vermuteten Trends hin zu einem längeren Verbleib im Elternhaus ist die empirische Evidenz weniger eindeutig: Auf Basis der amtlichen Statistik für Deutschland (d.h. des Mikrozensus) ergibt sich für den Zeitraum von etwa 1970 bis in die 2010er Jahre ein Anstieg des Anteils der 25-Jährigen Kinder, die noch im Elternhaus wohnen (BPB, 2018, S. 63; Hammes, 2011, S. 1000). Befragungsstudien kommen hingegen je nach Datenquelle und den darin abgebildeten Kohorten zu unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen: Mit Daten des Sozio-ökonomischen Panels (Scherger, 2009) und der Allgemeinen Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften (Weick, 2002) ergibt sich ein U-förmiger Verlauf des Auszugsalters über

die analysierten Geburtskohorten (1920–1979), wobei sich der Trend eines sinkenden

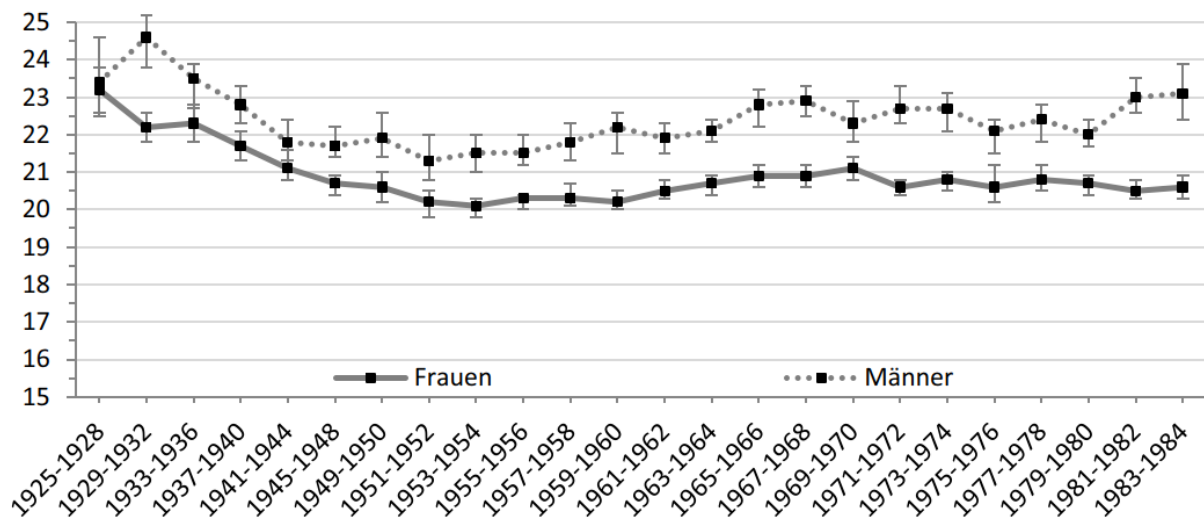


Abbildung 1. Alter beim Auszug aus dem Elternhaus nach Geschlecht und Kohorte, Westdeutschland (Medianalter und 95% Konfidenzintervalle).

Quelle: Konietzka und Tatjes (2018, S. 114)

Auszugsalters für die nach 1950 geborenen Kohorten umkehrt. Auf Basis der westdeutschen Lebensverlaufsstudie und des Familien-Survey 2000 ergibt sich ebenfalls ein sinkendes Auszugsalter bis zu den Geburtskohorten um 1950, allerdings wird danach kein signifikanter Anstieg ermittelt (Brückner & Mayer, 2005; Hillmert, 2005; Konietzka, 2010; Konietzka & Huinink, 2003). Unter Verwendung eines aus multiplen Befragungsstudien generierten Metadatensatzes, der die Geburtsjahrgänge 1925–1984 abbildet, ermitteln Konietzka and Tatjes (2018) ein über die älteren Geburtskohorten (1925–1952) absinkendes Auszugsalter, das bei den später geborenen Kohorten partiell ansteigt (siehe Abbildung 1). Allerdings lässt sich bei den nach 1952 geborenen Kohorten kein linearer Trend in Richtung eines längeren Verbleibs im Elternhaus feststellen. Populär-mediale Berichte, nach denen es in Deutschland immer mehr „Nesthocker“ gibt, die es sich im „Hotel Mama“ gemütlich machen (z.B. Mohr, 2009), lassen sich demnach empirisch nicht bestätigen (Konietzka & Tatjes, 2018, S. 124).

1.2.2 Determinanten des Auszugsverhaltens

Die meisten vorliegenden Studien zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus untersuchen (in klassisch soziologischer Tradition) eine Reihe von Bedingungsfaktoren, die mit dem Auszugsverhalten oder der Rückkehr in das Elternhaus in Zusammenhang stehen. Die Untersuchungen basieren in der überwiegenden Zahl der Fälle auf Querschnittsdaten und schätzen die statistischen Zusammenhänge zwischen einer Vielzahl von sozio-demografischen Merkmalen und der

Auszugswahrscheinlichkeit oder der Auszugsrate.¹ An dieser Stelle sollen die Ergebnisse zu zentralen soziodemografischen Unterschieden im Auszugsverhalten und zum Einfluss der Ressourcen der Herkunftsfamilie zusammenfassend wiedergegeben werden.

Soziodemografische Unterschiede

Junge Frauen ziehen in Nordamerika und Europa früher aus dem Elternhaus aus als junge Männer, wobei der *Geschlechtsunterschied* im Auszugsalter unterschiedlich stark ausfällt (siehe z.B. Billari, Philipov, & Baizán, 2001; BPB, 2018; Chiuri & Del Boca, 2010; Francis Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999). Zur Erklärung des geschlechtsspezifischen Auszugsverhaltens wird eine Reihe an Faktoren herangezogen. Prominente Thesen zielen zum einen auf die Rolle von Statusübergängen, wie der Kohabitation, Heirat oder Familiengründung, die sich bei Frauen im Vergleich zu Männern früher im Lebensverlauf vollziehen (vgl. Brückner & Mayer, 2005; Konietzka, 2010). Zum anderen werden familiäre Erklärungsfaktoren vorgebracht: So wird davon ausgegangen, dass junge Frauen aufgrund der größeren Einbindung in Haushaltstätigkeiten früher selbständig werden (Spitze & Ward, 1995) und aufgrund einer stärkeren sozialen Kontrolle im Elternhaus ein verstärktes Bedürfnis nach räumlicher Ablösung entwickeln als junge Männer, denen mehr Freiheiten zugestanden werden (vgl. Berger, 2009; Blaauboer & Mulder, 2010; Papastefanou, 2006). Der Geschlechterunterschied im Auszugsalter ist jedoch bis heute nicht umfassend aufgeklärt.

Neben einem Geschlechtsunterschied ist in der (internationalen) Forschungsliteratur auch ein Einfluss der *Familienstruktur der Herkunftsfamilie* nachgewiesen: Kinder die entweder bei einem alleinerziehenden Elternteil oder in einer Stieffamilie leben verlassen das Elternhaus deutlich früher als Kinder aus biologischen Zwei-Eltern-Familien (z.B. Aquilino, 1991; Bernhardt, Gähler, & Goldscheider, 2005; Frances K. Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998; Francis Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999; Mitchell, 1994; Mitchell, Wister, & Burch, 1989; Raab, 2017). Zur Erklärung dieses Effekts wird ein Bündel potentieller Mechanismen vorgebracht, welches u.a. die finanziellen Ressourcen, die Eltern-Kind-Beziehung und einen zeitlichen Vorzug von Partnerschafts- und Arbeitsmarktübergängen umfasst (Cooney & Mortimer, 1999; Lois, 2014; van den Berg, Kalmijn, & Leopold, 2018). Ähnlich wie bei den Geschlechtsdifferenzen sind die Mechanismen des Zusammenhangs zwischen Familienstruktur und frühzeitigem Auszug allerdings noch nicht vollständig erforscht.

Ethnische Unterschiede im Auszugsverhalten sind ebenfalls dokumentiert. Allerdings zeigt sich in unterschiedlichen Länderkontexten kein einheitlicher Einfluss des Migrationsstatus. Junge Erwachsene mit türkischem Migrationshintergrund ziehen in den Niederlanden und in

¹ Diese Form der quantitativen Sozialforschung wird schon seit langem als unter dem Schlagwort der „Variablen-Soziologie“ kritisiert (siehe z.B. Esser 1996). Zu einer Kritik der Dominanz der „Determinanten-Forschung“ zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus siehe Abschnitt 1.2.4.

Schweden früher aus als junge Erwachsene der jeweiligen Mehrheitsgesellschaft (Valk & Billari, 2007; Zorlu & Mulder, 2011; Zorlu & van Gaalen, 2016). In den USA, Kanada und Deutschland hingegen wohnen junge Erwachsene mit Migrationshintergrund länger mit den Eltern zusammen (Berngruber, 2013; Lei & South, 2016; Mitchell et al., 1989; L. White, 1994; Windzio & Aybek, 2015). Ein Erklärungsansatz führt den späteren Auszug auf eine stärkere Familienorientierung von Migranten aufgrund kulturell-religiöser Einflüsse zurück (Windzio & Aybek, 2015). Darüber hinaus erweisen sich in den USA ökonomische Ungleichheiten und die Verläufe der Partnerschafts- und Arbeitsmarktübergänge von jungen Erwachsenen als maßgebliche Einflüsse (Lei & South, 2016).

Schließlich zeigen sich in Deutschland aufgrund der historischen Teilung des Landes auch heute noch regionale Unterschiede im Auszugsverhalten zwischen *West- und Ostdeutschland*. Junge Erwachsene aus Ostdeutschland verlassen das Elternhaus früher als junge Erwachsene aus Westdeutschland (Juang, Silbereisen, & Wiesner, 1999; Schimpl-Neimanns, 2006). Neben Unterschieden im (historischen) Kohabitations- und Heiratsverhalten, lässt sich die regionale Differenz im Auszugsverhalten vor allem auf Unterschiede in den Familienstrukturen und interfamilialen Prozessen zwischen West- und Ostdeutschland zurückführen (Raab, 2017; Silbereisen, Meschke, & Schwarz, 1996).

Ressourcen der Herkunftsfamilie

Eine Reihe empirischer Studien untersucht den Einfluss der Ressourcen der Herkunftsfamilie auf das Auszugsverhalten. Theoretisch wird die Auszugsentscheidung hierbei über die Rahmenbedingungen und Präferenzen der jungen Erwachsenen erklärt, die selbst maßgeblich von den individuellen und elterlichen Ressourcen abhängen (Gierveld, Liefbroer, & Beekink, 1991, S. 58). Dabei wird zumeist zwischen haushaltspezifischen und übertragbaren materiellen und immateriellen Ressourcen der Herkunftsfamilie unterschieden (Gierveld et al., 1991; Frances K. Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1989).

Empirisch zeigt sich, dass junge Erwachsene mit größeren finanziellen Ressourcen, welche über das Einkommen oder den Erwerbstatus operationalisiert werden, das Elternhaus früher verlassen (Iacovou, 2010; Jacob & Kleinert, 2008; Le Blanc & Wolff, 2006; Whittington & Peters, 1996). Zu den transferierbaren, materiellen elterlichen Ressourcen (z.B. in Form von Einkommen) hat sich die Hypothese des „gemachten Nestes“ („feathered nest“) etabliert: Demnach nutzen Eltern ihre finanziellen Ressourcen, um einen (zu) frühen Auszug ihrer Kinder zu verhindern, während sie älteren erwachsenen Kindern den Auszug durch finanzielle Unterstützungsleistungen ermöglichen (Avery, Goldscheider, & Speare, 1992). Ein altersgradierter Einfluss des elterlichen Einkommens konnte sowohl für die USA (Avery et al., 1992; Whittington & Peters, 1996), wie auch für europäische Länder gezeigt werden (Gierveld

et al., 1991; Iacovou, 2010).² Für Deutschland deuten Studien darauf hin, dass Kinder aus höheren Einkommensschichten das Elternhaus später verlassen (Lauterbach & Lüscher, 1999; Schimpl-Neimanns, 2006; Ziegler & Schladt, 1993). Schließlich wird bezüglich der haushaltsspezifischen materiellen Ressourcen davon ausgegangen, dass erwachsene Kinder mit zunehmendem Komfort im Elternhaus länger bei den Eltern wohnen bleiben. Für Deutschland ist ein späterer Auszug bei besseren Wohnbedingungen im Elternhaus belegt (Berger, 2009; Lauterbach & Lüscher, 1999; Mulder, Clark, & Wagner, 2002).³

Die ursprünglich auf materielle Ressourcen abzielende These des „gemachten Nestes“ (Avery et al., 1992) wurde in späteren Studien auf nicht-materielle Ressourcen, wie z.B. das Familienklima im Elternhaus, ausgeweitet. Hierbei wird argumentiert, dass eine hohe emotionale Nähe und geringe Konflikthäufigkeit zwischen Eltern und Kindern zu einem längeren Verbleib im Elternhaus führt, während mehr Konflikte und eine starke elterliche Kontrolle den Auszug beschleunigen. Die dazu vorliegenden Studien bestätigen diese Annahmen jedoch nicht (Cooney & Mortimer, 1999; R. A. Ward & Spitze, 2007) bzw. nur teilweise (Berger, 2009; Lei & South, 2016; Lois, 2014).

1.2.3 Folgen des Auszugs

Zu den Konsequenzen des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus liegen deutlich weniger Studien vor als zu den Trends und Determinanten. Die Fragestellungen zu den Folgen des Auszugs lassen sich in drei Themenbereiche unterteilen: die Folgen des Auszugs für die zurückbleibenden Eltern (*empty-nest* Forschung), die Veränderungen der Eltern-Kind-Beziehung im Zuge des Auszugs (*familiale Folgen*) und Einflüsse des Auszugs auf die jungen Erwachsenen (*individuelle Folgen*).

Empty-Nest

Zum Einfluss des empty-nests, also der Situation nach dem Auszug aller Kinder aus dem elterlichen Haushalt, postulieren verschiedene theoretische Perspektiven der Rollenidentität, des Rollenwandels und des Rollenkonflikts (teilweise gegenläufige) Effekte auf das elterliche Wohlbefinden (L. White & Edwards, 1990). Einen Überblick zu den Forschungsergebnissen seit etwa 1960 bietet die Übersichtsstudie von Bouchard (2014): Zusammenfassend deuten bisherige Studien darauf hin, dass sich die Ehequalität und die Gleichberechtigung in der Ehe

² Die Effekte des elterlichen Einkommens basieren dabei allerdings auf Altersgruppenvergleichen und nicht auf dynamischen Vergleichen im Zeitverlauf.

³ Berger (2009, S. 206–207) weist kritisch auf Probleme der Operationalisierung der materiellen Ressourcen der Herkunftsfamilie hin: Einerseits wird die Wohnqualität im Elternhaus häufig über die Anzahl der Geschwister und die Wohneigentumsverhältnisse approximiert. Andererseits sind auch die tatsächlichen materiellen Zuwendungen an die Kinder nicht bekannt und werden über den Berufsstand des Vaters oder das Haushaltseinkommen abgebildet.

leicht verbessert, wohingegen die Ehestabilität abnimmt (für Deutschland siehe hierzu Klein & Rapp, 2010). Studien zu den Auswirkungen auf das psychische Wohlbefinden zeigen, dass Frauen, denen es nach dem Auszug der Kinder an alternativen Rollenidentitäten neben der Rolle als Mutter mangelt, vermehrt mit Einsamkeits- und Verlustgefühlen konfrontiert sind, während für die Mehrheit der Eltern keine oder leicht positive Veränderungen im psychischen Wohlbefinden festgestellt werden (Bouchard, 2014, S. 73–74).

Familiale Folgen des Auszugs

Die Erforschung der familialen Konsequenzen des Auszugs fußt häufig auf der Individuationstheorie, welche die Neugestaltung der Eltern-Kind-Beziehung als wichtige Entwicklungsaufgabe der Adoleszenz und des frühen Erwachsenseins ansieht (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Smollar & Youniss, 1989). Der Auszug wirkt dabei als Lebensereignis mit Ablösungs- und Individuationsfunktion, wobei gleichzeitig eine hohe emotionale Verbundenheit mit den Eltern bestehen bleibt (vgl. Buhl, 2000; Papastefanou, 1997). Frühe US-Studien zur Veränderung der emotionalen Beziehung zwischen Eltern und ausgezogenen Kindern heben die umstrukturierende Wirkung des Auszugs hervor und deuten im Einklang mit den Argumenten der Individuationstheorie auf eine Verbesserung des Verhältnisses im Sinne geringerer Konflikthäufigkeit und größeren gegenseitigen Respekts hin (Aquilino, 1997; Flanagan, Schulenberg, & Fuligni, 1993). Auch für Deutschland zeigt sich, dass die räumliche Ablösung erwachsener Kinder von ihren Eltern infolge des Auszugs nicht mit emotionaler Unverbundenheit gleichzusetzen ist, sondern zu einer veränderten Balance in den intergenerationalen Beziehungen führt (Papastefanou, 2000a, 2000b). Allerdings deuten ältere Ergebnisse zum Austausch intergenerationaler Unterstützungsleistungen in den USA darauf hin, dass in zusammenlebenden Familien mehr Austausch stattfindet als in Familien bei denen die erwachsenen Kinder nicht mehr bei den Eltern wohnen (Rossi & Rossi, 1990, S. 416–424).

Problematisch an diesen frühen Studien ist jedoch, dass zumeist eine Vielzahl an Zusammenhängen mittels kleiner, selektiver Stichproben im Querschnitt untersucht werden, was keine Rückschlüsse auf den kausalen Einfluss des Auszugs erlaubt und darüber hinaus die Verallgemeinerungsfähigkeit der Ergebnisse stark begrenzt. Es gibt jedoch auch im Längsschnitt Belege für abnehmenden Konflikt in der Eltern-Kind Dyade (Bucx & van Wel, 2008; Whiteman, McHale, & Crouter, 2011). Seiffge-Krenke kommt in einer Überblicksstudie zu dem Schluss, dass die meisten Studien auf eine Verbesserung der Eltern-Kind-Beziehung nach dem Auszug hindeuten, allerdings sei zur geografischen Distanz, einem zentralen Mediator der intergenerationalen Beziehungen, nach dem Auszug wenig bekannt (Seiffge-Krenke, 2013, S. 7). Neuere Studienergebnisse zeigen diesbezüglich für Deutschland, dass die Mehrheit der Eltern und Kinder nach dem Auszug räumlich eng verbunden bleiben. So beträgt die Mediandistanz nach dem Auszug unter 10 km (Leopold, Geissler, & Pink, 2012), wobei

weniger als 20% der jungen Erwachsenen weiter als 100 km weg ziehen (Geissler, Leopold, & Sebastian, 2013).

Neben den generellen Effekten des Auszugs auf die intergenerationalen Beziehungen liegen einige wenige Studien zu den Konsequenzen einer längeren Verweildauer erwachsener Kinder im Elternhaus vor. Diese neueren Untersuchungen basieren jedoch auf größeren Untersuchungspopulationen und setzen teilweise Modelle mit Geschwister fixen Effekten ein, um unbeobachtete Heterogenität besser zu berücksichtigen (siehe Leopold, 2012). Die Ergebnisse zeigen für verschiedene Länderkontexte (Deutschland, Italien und Schweden), dass die Kontakthäufigkeit und geografische Nähe zwischen Eltern und jungen Erwachsenen bei einem späten Auszug im Vergleich zu einem frühen Auszug ansteigt (Leopold, 2012; Marco Tosi, 2017; M. Tosi & Gähler, 2016). Auf Basis dieser neueren Studienergebnisse sind ältere Hypothesen, die einen längeren Verbleib von erwachsenen Kindern im Elternhaus problematisierten und mit negativen Konsequenzen für die Eltern-Kind-Beziehung verbinden (z.B. Russell A. Ward & Spitze, 1992) nicht haltbar.

Individuelle Folgen des Auszugs

Zu den individuellen Folgen des Auszugs für die jungen Erwachsenen haben einige wenige Studien unterschiedliche Aspekte beleuchtet: So wurden Veränderungen der Persönlichkeitsmerkmale im Zuge des Auszugs auf Basis des SOEP untersucht. Mit Ausnahme einer leichten Steigerung der emotionalen Stabilität bei Frauen werden keine Effekte des Auszugs auf die Persönlichkeit festgestellt (Specht, Egloff, & Schmukle, 2011). Darüber hinaus ermittelten zwei regional begrenzte US-amerikanische Untersuchungen den Einfluss des Auszugs auf Muster im Freizeitverhalten (Raymore, Barber, & Eccles, 2001) und den Drogenkonsum (H. R. White et al., 2006). Während sich die Muster der Freizeitgestaltung und der Cannabiskonsum nicht verändern, zeigen die Ergebnisse einen leichten Anstieg im Alkoholkonsum und der Häufigkeit von Trinkgelagen nach dem Auszug.

Darüber hinaus sind (für unterschiedliche Länderkontexte) negative Effekte eines frühen Auszugs empirisch belegt: Eine ältere US Studie ermittelt einen geringeren Bildungserfolg bei früh ausgezogenen jungen Erwachsenen (L. White & Lacy, 1997). Des Weiteren stellen zwei Untersuchungen im europäischen Kontext größere finanzielle Probleme bzw. ein höheres Armutsrisiko für früh Ausziehende im Vergleich zu spät Ausziehenden fest (Aassve, Davia, Iacovou, & Mazzuco, 2007; Oksanen, Aaltonen, Majamaa, & Rantala, 2017). Schließlich zeigt eine Studie mit finnischen Registerdaten, dass ein früher Auszug mit einer leicht erhöhten Mortalität verbunden ist (Remes & Martikainen, 2012).

1.2.4 Kritische Einordnung und Forschungsdesiderata

Die seit etwa den 1980er Jahren bestehende Forschung zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus hat einen großen Wissenspool zu verschiedenen Aspekten des Auszugsverhaltens und dessen Veränderung über Zeit in verschiedenen Länderkontexten zusammengetragen. Allerdings eröffnet die existierende Literatur auch einen deutlichen Spielraum für Verbesserungspotential in forschungsmethodischer und inhaltlicher Sicht. Im Forschungsfeld zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus sind insbesondere der fehlende vertikale Wissenszuwachs, ein Mangel an belastbaren Befunden zu den Effekten des Auszugs sowie die Dominanz korrelativ angelegter Forschungsdesigns auf Basis von Querschnittsdaten kritisch hervorzuheben.

Art des Wissenszuwachses

In der Forschungsliteratur zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus (sowie dem übergeordneten Thema des Übergangs ins Erwachsenwerden) dominiert horizontaler Wissenszuwachs über vertikalen Wissenszuwachs (vgl. Grunow, Schneider, Wagner, & Wagner, 2018). Darunter ist zu verstehen, dass Studien zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus sich zumeist innovativen, bislang unerforschten Fragen oder Länderkontexten zuwenden, statt bestehende Ergebnisse zu replizieren und inhaltlich zu vertiefen.⁴ Das Forschungsfeld stellt hierbei allerdings keine Ausnahme, sondern eher die Regel der sozialwissenschaftlichen Praxis dar, da Replikationen in den Sozialwissenschaften im Vergleich zu anderen Fachrichtungen (wie z.B. der Medizin) bislang kaum Bestandteil der wissenschaftlichen Programmatik sind (siehe Freese & Peterson, 2017). Vor dem Hintergrund, dass die Validität eines Großteils der wissenschaftlichen Befunde angezweifelt wird (siehe Diekmann, 2011; Ioannidis, 2005) und einer Replikationskrise in der Sozialpsychologie (siehe Open Science Collaboration, 2015; Shrout & Rodgers, 2018), stellt sich auch für die Forschung zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus die Frage, wie vertrauenswürdig die bislang gewonnen Erkenntnisse sind. Forderungen nach (erweiternden) Replikationen sucht man in den Empfehlungen zu zukünftigen Forschungsvorhaben allerdings vergeblich. Stattdessen werden widersprüchliche Ergebnisse in Literaturüberblicken teilweise als gleichwertig nebeneinander gestellt und aus den gegenläufigen empirischen Befunden konkurrierende theoretische Hypothesen abgeleitet (siehe z.B. Berngruber, 2013). Das Problem der unkritischen Zusammenfassung bestehender Forschungsergebnisse ist allerdings auch in anderen soziologischen Gebieten gängige Praxis, als Beispiel kann hier die Scheidungsforschung genannt werden (siehe Brüderl, 2004). Doch statt das Forschungsgeschehen auf Replikationen und die Testung erklärender Mechanismen auszurichten, dominiert im Forschungsfeld der Wunsch nach weiterem horizontalem

⁴ Die einzige explizite Replikation im Forschungsfeld stammt von Juang et al. (1999), die eine vorangegangene Untersuchung von Silbereisen et al. (1996) zum Auszugsverhalten in West- und Ostdeutschland replizieren und erweitern.

Wachstum, z.B. durch die Erforschung der Auszugsmuster in bislang unbekanntem Länderkontexten (siehe z.B. Mulder, 2009, S. 208). Als erstes Forschungsdesiderat lässt sich deshalb ein Mangel an vertikalem Wissenszuwachs in Form von Replikationen identifizieren.

Effekte des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus

Trotz der großen horizontalen Ausdifferenzierung der Untersuchungen zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus ist ein Mangel an Studien zu den individuellen und familialen Konsequenzen des Auszugs feststellbar. Auch neuere Studien fokussieren sich häufig auf die Erforschung weiterer Aspekte des Auszugsverhaltens, während die Effekte des Auszugs nur selten thematisiert werden.⁵

Dabei enthalten die gängigen Definitionen und theoretischen Beschreibungen des Auszugs selbst eine Vielzahl an Annahmen und Hypothesen, die auf ihren empirischen Behalt hin überprüft werden können. So wird der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus in der Jugendsoziologie als wichtige Entwicklungsaufgabe (Hurrelmann & Quenzel, 2016) konzipiert, allerdings sind die psychosozialen Folgen des Auszugs für die jungen Erwachsenen bislang kaum erforscht. Ähnliches trifft auf die intergenerationalen Beziehungen zu: Theoretisch wird der Auszug als wichtiges Ereignis der ökonomischen Verselbständigung und Ablösung vom Elternhaus angesehen (z.B. Junge, 1995; Papastefanou, 1997; Vaskovics, 1997), doch zum Einfluss des Auszugs auf die intergenerationalen Beziehungen liegen kaum längsschnittliche Untersuchungen vor, mit welchen die Situation vor und nach dem Auszug verglichen werden kann.

Die Relevanz des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus als wichtiges Lebensereignis wird häufig damit motiviert, dass (nahezu) alle jungen Erwachsenen in westlichen Gesellschaften bis zu einem gewissen Alter das Elternhaus verlassen. Darüber hinaus hat die Forschung bislang jedoch nur sehr wenig zu den substantiellen Konsequenzen des Auszugs für den weiteren Lebensverlauf junger Erwachsener und ihrer Herkunftsfamilien vorzuweisen (vgl. Mulder, 2009, S. 208).

Weiterentwicklung der Forschungsdesigns

Zuletzt ergibt sich ein Desiderat hinsichtlich der in der Literatur vorherrschenden Forschungsdesigns. Die meisten vorliegenden Studien basieren auf Querschnittsdaten und ermitteln die Zusammenhänge zwischen einer Vielzahl an Variablen und bestimmten Teilaspekten des Auszugsverhaltens mittels OLS oder logistischen Regressionsverfahren (z.B. Berger, 2009; South & Lei, 2015). Häufig wird dabei eine „Erklärung“ der Auszugsentscheidung, der Auszugspfade, oder des Auszugszeitalters mittels einer Maximierung der statistisch aufgeklärten Varianz angestrebt. Mit dieser Art von

⁵ So befassen sich neuere Studien z.B. mit der Rückkehr ins Elternhaus (siehe Berngruber 2020; Lei and South 2016) oder den institutionellen Einflüssen auf das Auszugsverhalten (Yi 2020).

Forschungsdesigns können (bestenfalls) die Zusammenhänge zwischen Variablen beschrieben werden, allerdings ermöglichen diese (querschnittlichen) Untersuchungen keine kausale Inferenz (Morgan & Winship, 2015; Pearl, 2009).

In der bestehenden Literatur zum Auszug mangelt es an Studien zu kausalen Wirkungsbeziehungen und entsprechenden längsschnittlichen Forschungsdesigns, mit denen sich kausale Effekte unter schwächeren Annahmen als unter Verwendung von Querschnittsdaten identifizieren lassen (siehe z.B. Morgan, 2013). In den meisten Studien die eine Vielzahl an Determinanten modellieren ist eine analytische Trennung zwischen vermittelnden Mechanismen, konfundierenden Faktoren (*confounder*) und potentiellen *collider* Problematiken nicht möglich (vgl. VanderWeele, 2019; VanderWeele & Robins, 2007). Da die zugrundeliegenden Kausalstrukturen der Fragestellungen nicht expliziert werden ist davon auszugehen, dass viele der vorliegenden Ergebnisse zum Auszug verzerrt sind (zu den Verzerrungsursachen siehe Elwert & Winship, 2014).

In der neueren Literatur zur nicht-experimentellen Kausalanalyse nimmt die korrekte Identifikation vermittelnder Mechanismen und konfundierender Einflüsse eine entscheidende Rolle ein (siehe z.B. Morgan, 2013; Morgan & Winship, 2015). Dabei haben sich directed acyclic graphs (DAGs) als nützliches Instrument zur Offenlegung und Diskussion der angenommenen Kausalstruktur einer Fragestellung etabliert (Elwert, 2013; Pearl, 2009). Zur Ermittlung von Kausaleffekten im Bereich der Lebensverlaufsorschung, dem übergeordneten Rahmen des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus, wird der methodische Nutzen von (fixed effects) Panelregressionen gegenüber klassischen OLS Regressionen hervorgehoben (z.B. Brüderl, Kratz, & Bauer, 2019; Moore & Brand, 2016).

Das potential outcomes framework und der damit einhergehende Paradigmenwechsel zur Bedeutung und Verwendung regressionsanalytischer Verfahren (siehe z.B. Angrist & Pischke, 2010; Imbens & Rubin, 2015; Wooldridge, 2010) wird in Studien zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus bisher kaum aufgegriffen und umgesetzt. Ebenso sind grafische Methoden zur Illustration der Wirkungsbeziehungen in Form von DAGs oder zur Darstellung der Ergebnisse (z.B. durch Koeffizientenplots, siehe Bauer, 2014) nur wenig verbreitet.

1.3 Beitrag der Dissertation

Die drei empirischen Beiträge in dieser Zusammenstellung adressieren die im Forschungsfeld des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus identifizierten Desiderate. Durch eine erweiternde Reproduktion, sowie zwei längsschnittliche Studien zu den familialen und individuellen Effekten des Auszugs wird das bestehende Wissen vertikal vertieft und es werden neue, belastbare Erkenntnisse zu den Folgen des Auszugs vorgelegt. Alle Aufsätze verwenden Daten des deutschen Beziehungs- und Familienpanels pairfam (Brüderl, Drobnič, et al., 2019; Huinink et al., 2011) und analysieren den Auszug aus dem Elternhaus auf Basis prospektiv beobachteter

Auszüge innerhalb der jüngsten Befragungskohorte von pairfam (geboren 1991-1993). Zu jedem Beitrag wird im Folgenden ein (vereinfachter) DAG präsentiert, der die theoretisch angenommenen Kausalstruktur der untersuchten Forschungsfrage illustriert.

Abbildung 2 bündelt den Beitrag der Dissertation zusammenfassend in Form eines solchen vereinfachten DAG ein. Dabei wird grundlegend davon ausgegangen, dass sich der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus als bedeutendes Lebensverlaufereignis auf verschiedene individuelle und familiäre Aspekte auswirkt. Gleichzeitig kann der Auszug selbst als Ergebnis vorgelagerter Ursachen betrachtet werden. Im Rahmen der empirischen Beiträge wird die Rolle der Familienstruktur auf den (frühen) Auszug, sowie die Effekte des Auszugs auf die psychische Entwicklung der jungen Erwachsenen und die Veränderung der intergenerationalen Beziehungen im Zuge des Auszugs näher untersucht (siehe die grünen Pfeile in Abbildung 2).

Eine diskussionswürdige Rolle fällt dabei anderen Lebensereignissen im Übergang ins Erwachsensein zu, die in enger zeitlicher Kopplung mit dem Verlassen des Elternhauses stehen (d.h. Partnerschaftsereignisse und der Übertritt in den Arbeitsmarkt). Viele empirische Studien untersuchen Auszugspfade, d.h. die Interaktion des Auszugs mit Arbeitsmarkt- oder Partnerschaftsprozessen (z.B. Buck & Scott, 1993; Rusconi, 2004; Yi, 2020). Im Rahmen der Dissertationsbeiträge wird der Auszug hingegen als eigenständiges Lebensereignis analysiert, wobei Veränderungen im Aktivitäts- oder Partnerschaftsstatus der jungen Erwachsenen je nach Fragestellung einerseits vermittelnde Mechanismen der Auszugsentscheidung bzw. konfundierende Einflüsse bei der Ermittlung der Effekte des Auszugs darstellen. Bei der Analyse der individuellen und familialen Folgen des Auszugs wird also die zentrale Annahme getroffen, dass sich durch die Kontrolle von Arbeitsmarkt- und Partnerschaftsprozessen der kausale Effekt des Verlassens des Elternhauses identifizieren lässt.

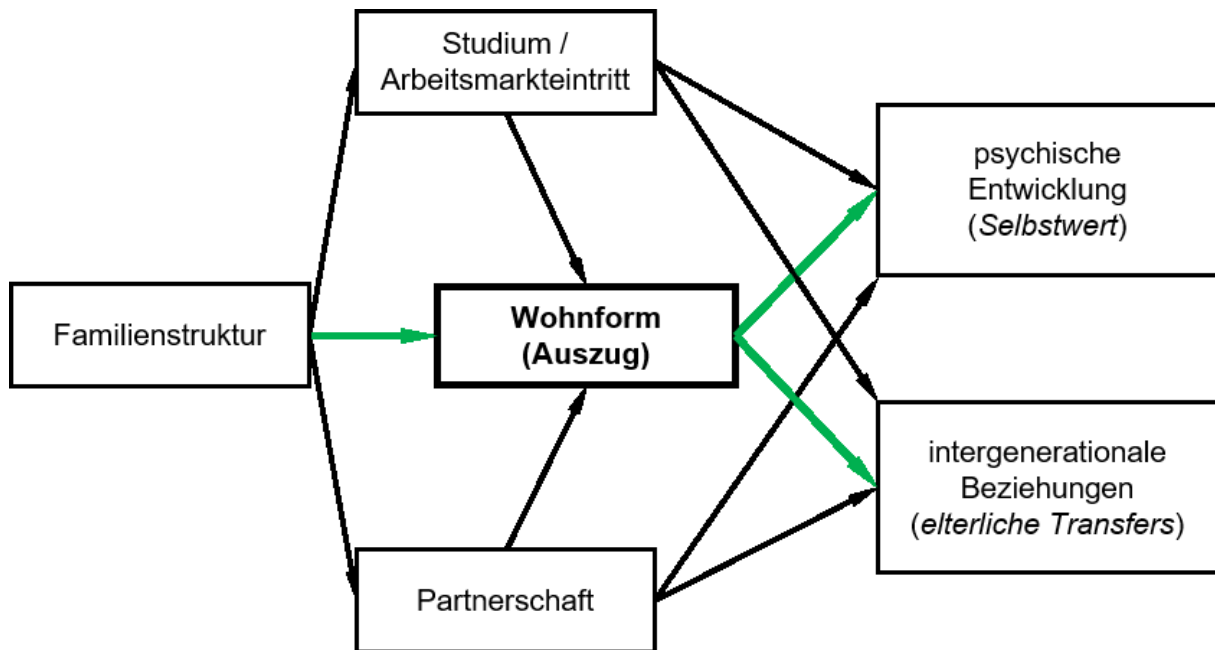


Abbildung 2. Strukturelle Bedingungen und Folgen des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus als Lebensverlaufereignis (vereinfachter DAG).

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung. Grüne Hervorhebung: Untersuchungsgegenstände der Dissertation.

1.3.1 Aufsatz 1: Vermittelnde Faktoren der Familienstruktur und des frühen Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus

Junge Erwachsene aus Ein-Eltern und Stieffamilien ziehen im Durchschnitt früher aus als junge Erwachsene die mit beiden biologischen Eltern zusammenleben. Während dieser Zusammenhang vielfach in der Literatur dokumentiert ist (siehe z.B. Aquilino, 1991; Bernhardt et al., 2005; Frances K. Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998; Raab, 2017), ist bislang nicht hinreichend geklärt welche Mechanismen den Effekt der Familienstruktur auf die frühe Auszugsentscheidung erklären. Zu dieser Forschungsfrage erschien 2018 im „European Journal of Population“ ein Artikel von van den Berg, Kalmijn und Leopold, der mit Daten des SOEP potentielle vermittelnde Mechanismen umfassend untersuchte. Die Ergebnisse vielen jedoch ernüchternd aus, da sich in Stieffamilien nur 22% und in Ein-Eltern Familien maximal 50% des Effekts der Familienstruktur auf den frühen Auszug aufklären ließen. Der zweigeteilte Dissertationsbeitrag knüpft an diesen Beitrag an. In einem ersten Teil wird eine Reproduktion der Ergebnisse von van den Berg et al. (2018) mit Daten des Deutschen Beziehungs- und Familienpanels (pairfam) vorgenommen. In einem zweiten Teil wird die Mediationsanalyse von van den Berg und Kollegen um bislang ungetestete soziale Mechanismen erweitert. Der Aufsatz nimmt sich damit des Forschungsdesiderats nach verstärktem horizontalen und vertikalen Wissenszuwachs durch Replikationen und Vertiefung bestehender Forschungserkenntnisse an.

Theoretisch wird der frühe Auszug, d.h. der Auszug im Alter von unter 22 Jahren für Männer und unter 20 Jahren für Frauen, dabei als Ergebnis einer rationalen Kosten-Nutzen Entscheidung auf Seiten der jungen Erwachsenen modelliert. Auf Basis der sozialen Austauschtheorie wird davon ausgegangen, dass junge Erwachsene die Kosten und den Nutzen des Zusammenlebens mit ihren Eltern im Vergleich zu alternativen Wohnformen abschätzen und das Arrangement wählen, das die am höchsten bewerteten Vorteile bietet (vgl. L. White, 1994, S. 86). Als Vorteile des Verlassens des Elternhauses werden üblicherweise ein Gewinn an Privatsphäre und die Verringerung der elterlichen Kontrolle angeführt, während sich Kosten durch die eigene Haushaltsführung und den Verlust der im Elternhaus verfügbaren Dienstleistungen und Ressourcen ergeben (vgl. auch Gierveld et al., 1991). Dabei wird weiter angenommen, dass die Kosten- und Nutzenkalkulation der jungen Erwachsenen durch eine Reihe an Faktoren vermittelt wird, die sich zwischen den unterschiedlichen Familientypen unterscheiden und im Falle von Ein-Eltern und Stieffamilien einen frühen Auszug begünstigen. Abbildung 3 veranschaulicht die hierzu angenommene Kausalstruktur.

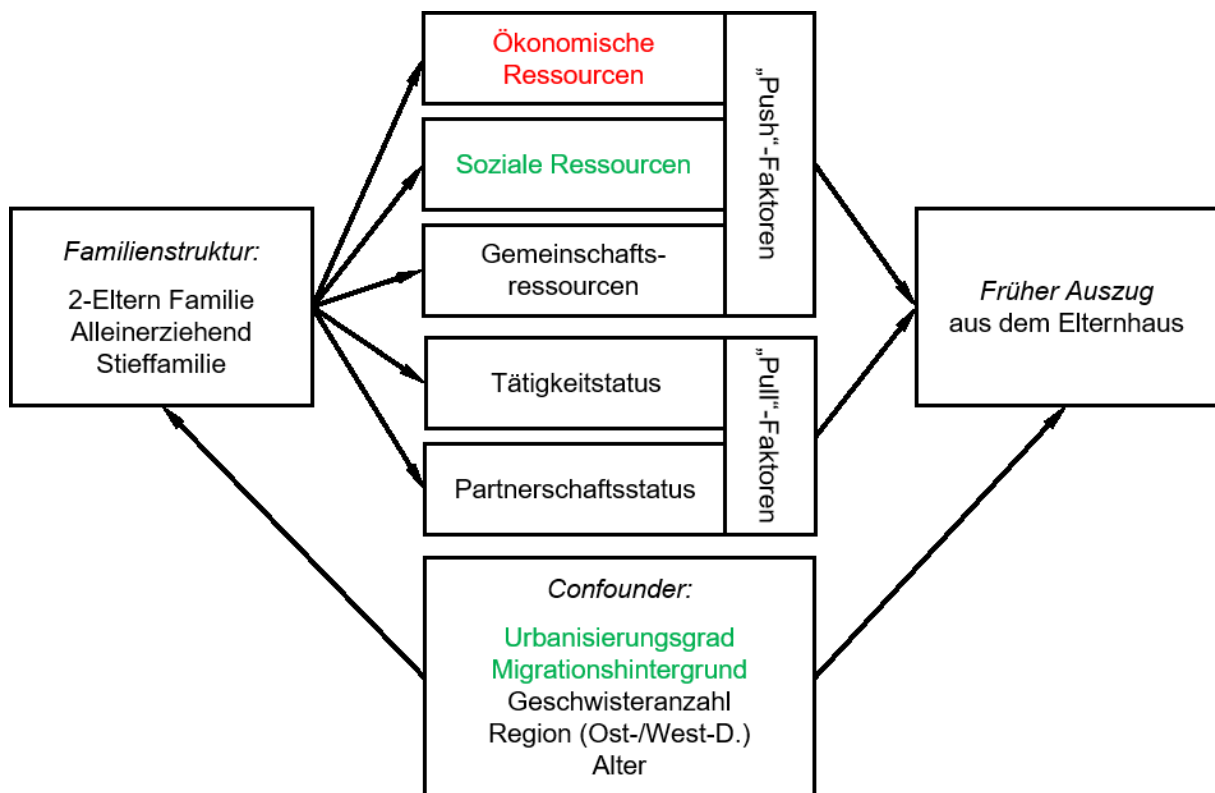


Abbildung 3. Familienstruktur und früher Auszug aus dem Elternhaus (vereinfachter DAG).

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung. Grüne Hervorhebung: Erweiterung der Ausgangsstudie; Rote Hervorhebung: Replizierbarkeit eingeschränkt.

Im Vergleich zu (biologischen) Zwei-Eltern Familien sollte in alternativen Familien ein relativer Mangel an ökonomischen, sozialen und gemeinschaftsbezogenen Ressourcen

herrschen. Dieser Mangel sollte die jungen Erwachsenen einerseits aus dem Elternhaus herausdrängen („push“-Faktoren). Andererseits sollte der Mangel zu einer früheren Arbeitsmarkt- und Partnerschaftsorientierung beitragen, die junge Erwachsene aus dem Elternhaus herauszieht („pull“-Faktoren). Um einen möglichst unverzerrten Effekt zu erhalten, wird eine Reihe an potentiellen Störfaktoren (*confounder*) berücksichtigt die sowohl mit der Familienstruktur als auch dem frühen Auszug zusammenhängen.

Die empirische Reproduktion und erweiterte Analyse erfolgt mit Daten des Beziehungs- und Familienpanels pairfam, Release 8.0. Für die Analysen werden Instrumente der Ereignisdatenanalyse (Kaplan-Meier Schätzer, zeitdiskrete logistische Regressionen) und das Mediationsanalyseverfahren nach Karlson, Holm, and Breen (2012) verwendet. Die Analysestichproben der Ausgangsstudie und der Reproduktion unterscheiden sich hinsichtlich der vergleichbaren deskriptiven Merkmale nur geringfügig. Auch der Befund eines früheren Auszugs junger Erwachsener aus Ein-Eltern und Stieffamilien lässt sich gut reproduzieren. Allerdings können die Ergebnisse der Mediationsanalyse nicht reproduziert werden. Die reproduzierten Mediatoren tragen praktisch nicht zur Aufklärung des Effekts der Familienstruktur bei. Als mögliche Ursachen kommt hierbei zum einen der unterschiedliche Beobachtungszeitraum der beiden Untersuchungen (SOEP: 2001-2015, pairfam: 2009-2016) in Betracht. Maßgeblichen Einfluss wird zum anderen das unterschiedliche Studiendesign der verwendeten Umfragen haben: Das SOEP ist als Haushaltsbefragung konzipiert und kann die ökonomische Lage der Herkunftsfamilie durch die Informationen eines Haushaltsvorstandes gut abbilden. Als Individualbefragung stehen pairfam hingegen nur die (unpräziseren) Informationen der jungen Befragten zur Verfügung.

Die Erweiterung setzt an der zentralen Stärke der pairfam Daten an, die sozialen Ressourcen der Herkunftsfamilie besser abbilden zu können als dies mit den SOEP Daten möglich ist. So können als zusätzliche Mediatoren die Beziehungsqualität zu den Stiefvätern und das Ausmaß der sozialen Kontrolle durch die Eltern aufgenommen werden. Darüber hinaus ist die Zahl der Umzüge als Maß der lokalen Ressourcen in der Erweiterung etwas genauer erfasst. Als zusätzliche *confounder* werden der Urbanisierungsgrad am Lebensmittelpunkt sowie der Migrationsstatus der Befragten berücksichtigt. Die Ergebnisse bestätigen die theoretischen Erwartungen jedoch nur partiell. Während sich das Erleben mehrfacher Umzüge als relevanter Einflussfaktor für einen frühen Auszug herausstellt, spielt die Beziehungsqualität zu den Stiefvätern und das Ausmaß an sozialer Kontrolle durch die Eltern keine substantielle Rolle. Dies kann vor allem darauf zurückgeführt werden, dass die Beziehungsqualität zwischen leiblichen und Stiefvätern in Deutschland sehr ähnlich ausfällt (siehe auch Klaus, Nauck, & Steinbach, 2012). Demzufolge drängt eine (nur vermeintlich!) schlechtere Beziehung zum Stiefvater die jungen Erwachsenen nicht zu einem früheren Auszug.

Ähnlich wie in der Originalstudie kann jedoch auch in der erweiterten Mediationsanalyse ein Großteil des Effekts der Familienstruktur nicht aufgeklärt werden. Teilweise lässt sich dieser

Befund auf die verwendeten Daten zurückzuführen, da pairfam die ökonomischen Ressourcen der Familien nur unvollständig abbilden kann. Zu anderen weist das Ergebnis jedoch auch auf theoretische Defizite der bisher diskutierten „push und pull“ Faktoren hin, die in zukünftigen Untersuchungen zu adressieren sind.

1.3.2 Aufsatz 2: Finanzielle Unterstützung von Eltern an ihre Kinder im Zuge des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus

Während der Einfluss der finanziellen Ressourcen der Eltern auf den Auszugszeitpunkt und die Wege aus dem Elternhaus seit den 1990er Jahren erforscht werden (siehe z.B. Avery et al., 1992; Gierveld et al., 1991; Iacovou, 2010), ist sehr wenig über den Einfluss des Auszugs auf das Transferverhalten der Eltern bekannt. Die bisherige Forschung untersucht vor allem intergenerationale Transfers zwischen Haushalten und lässt Transfers innerhalb von Haushalten zumeist unberücksichtigt. An dieser Forschungslücke setzt der zweite Aufsatz in dieser Zusammenstellung an, indem er die Entwicklung der elterlichen Transfers an ihre (erwachsenen) Kinder vor und nach dem Auszug aus dem Elternhaus untersucht.

Theoretisch greift der Beitrag dabei auf ökonomische und soziologische Ansätze zur Erklärung intergenerationaler Transfers zurück, die elterliche Transfers auf altruistische Motive zurückführen. Diesen Ansätzen folgend ist die Höhe der Transfers von der finanziellen Bedürftigkeit des Transferempfängers abhängig. Finanzielle Transfers an junge Erwachsene die im Elternhaus wohnen sollten gering ausfallen, da die jungen Erwachsenen wenig Unterstützungsbedarf haben bzw. das Zusammenleben eine indirekte Form der Unterstützung darstellt. Ein Auszug ist für die jungen Erwachsenen mit deutlichen Kosten verbunden, die ceteris paribus den Bedarf nach finanzieller elterlicher Unterstützung erhöhen. Unter der Annahme altruistischen Verhaltens sollten die elterlichen Transfers nach Verlassen des Elternhauses signifikant ansteigen. Dabei wird erwartet, dass die Transfers kurz nach dem Auszug aufgrund anfallender Umzugskosten besonders hoch sind und sich langfristig höhere Transfers aufgrund der für selbstständig wohnende Kinder anfallenden Haushaltsführungskosten beobachten lassen. Abbildung 4 illustriert die Kausalstruktur des Zusammenhangs zwischen dem Auszug und den elterlichen finanziellen Transfers. Konfundierende Einflüsse durch veränderte finanzielle Ressourcen der jungen Erwachsenen werden durch Veränderungen im Aktivitätsstatus modelliert. Die unterstellten Mechanismen können jedoch aufgrund der Datenlage nicht explizit getestet werden, weshalb stattdessen der Zeitpfad des Effekts untersucht wird.

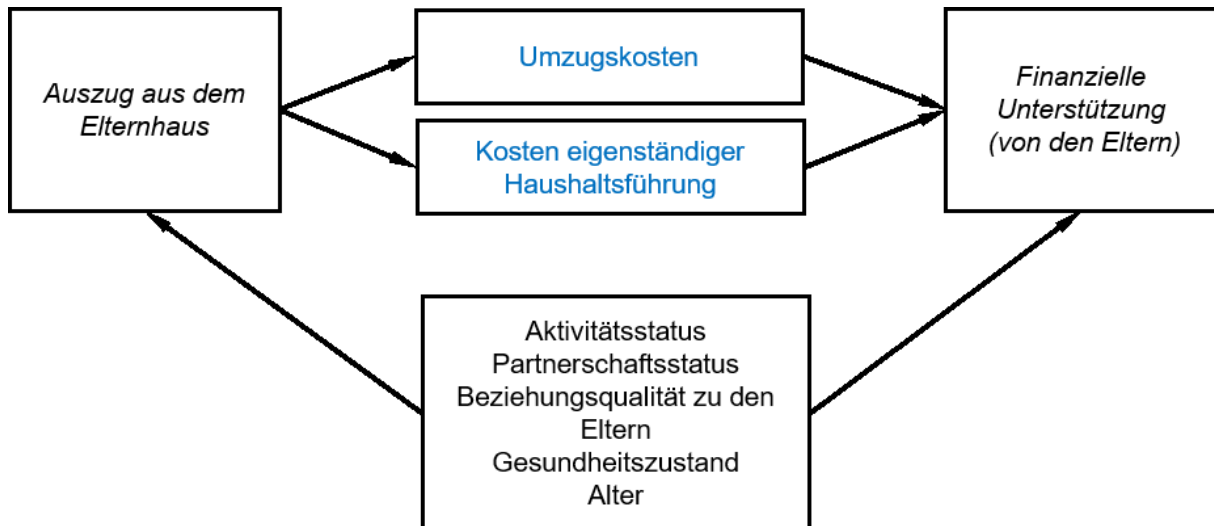


Abbildung 4. Auszug aus dem Elternhaus und finanzielle Unterstützung durch die Eltern (vereinfachter DAG).

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung. Angenommene, aber nicht überprüfbare Mechanismen in blauer Farbe.

Die empirischen Analysen gründen auf Daten des Release 10.0 der pairfam Studie, wobei die (grobe) *Summe* der finanziellen Unterstützungsleistungen analysiert wird. Demgegenüber stehen den meisten bestehenden Studien nur kategorisierte oder dichotomisierte Maße der *Häufigkeit* finanzieller Unterstützung zur Verfügung, welche keine Interpretationen bezüglich der substantiellen Veränderung der Unterstützungsleistungen ermöglichen. Allerdings können aufgrund des Erhebungsdesigns zu den intergenerationalen Beziehungen nur die Hälfte der Erhebungswellen genutzt werden und die Höhe der finanziellen Transfers steht nur für leibliche Eltern zur Verfügung. Diese Einschränkungen führen zu einer deutlichen Reduktion des Ausgangssamples. Zur Schätzung des durchschnittlichen Effektes des Auszugs auf die Höhe der elterlichen Transfers werden individuelle fixed-effects (FE) Regressionen verwendet. Zur Aufklärung des Einflusses im Zeitverlauf wird der Effekt in Abhängigkeit der Dauer seit dem Auszug modelliert.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen zum einen, dass auch vor dem Auszug innerhalb des Elternhauses nennenswerte Transfers an die (erwachsenen) Kinder geleistet werden. Dieser Aspekt der intergenerationalen finanziellen Unterstützung wurde bisher theoretisch und empirisch weitestgehend ignoriert, da das Zusammenleben mit den Eltern als indirekte Unterstützungsform betrachtet wird, ohne dass die tatsächlich stattfindenden Transferströme untersucht werden. Zum anderen erhöhen sich die elterlichen Zuwendungen nach dem Auszug substantiell, wobei der Effekt für junge Männer etwas höher ausfällt als für junge Frauen. Die Resultate deuten darüber hinaus nicht darauf hin, dass dieser Anstieg auf kurzfristige oder einmalige Transfers nach dem Auszug zurückzuführen ist, sondern die räumliche Trennung von Eltern und Kindern zu einer langanhaltenden Veränderung des elterlichen Transferverhaltens führt.

Theoretische und insbesondere häufig verwendete empirische Konzeptionen, die das Zusammenleben mit den Eltern mit ökonomischer Abhängigkeit und den Auszug demgegenüber mit finanzieller Unabhängigkeit gleichsetzen sind auf Basis der vorgelegten Ergebnisse zu hinterfragen. Weiterhin deuten die Ergebnisse darauf hin, dass der Auszug unabhängig von Veränderungen im Aktivitätsstatus der jungen Erwachsenen zu einer Steigerung der Transfers führt und damit kein Artefakt des Studienbeginns darstellt. Die vorgelegte Studie kann allerdings die indirekten Transfers (z.B. in Form von Mieteinsparungen beim Zusammenleben mit den Eltern) sowie die tatsächliche Veränderung der wirtschaftlichen Kosten für die jungen Erwachsenen nicht abbilden. Es ist deshalb durch zukünftige Studien zu klären, ob die höheren direkten Transfers lediglich einen Teil der wegfallenden indirekten Transfers kompensieren, oder ob die Eltern ihre Zuwendungen tatsächlich von den (höheren) Lebenshaltungskosten ihrer getrenntlebenden Sprösslinge abhängig machen.

1.3.3 Aufsatz 3: Die Entwicklung des Selbstwerts im Verlauf des Verlassens des Elternhauses

Aus jugendsoziologischer und entwicklungspsychologischer Perspektive wird die Bedeutung des Auszugs als wichtige Entwicklungsaufgabe hervorgehoben (siehe z.B. Hurrelmann & Quenzel, 2016; Papastefanou, 2000a), allerdings ist empirisch nur sehr wenig zu den psychologischen Konsequenzen des Auszugs bekannt. Der Aufsatz nimmt sich dieser Forschungslücke an, indem die Entwicklung des Selbstwertgefühls junger Erwachsener im Zuge des Auszugs untersucht wird. Während die Entwicklung des Selbstwertes über den Lebensverlauf (siehe Orth, Erol, & Luciano, 2018 für eine Metaanalyse) und der Einfluss von Partnerschaften im jungen Erwachsenenalter (z.B. Neyer & Lehnart, 2007) gut erforscht sind, wurde der Einfluss des Auszugs auf das Selbstwertgefühl bislang nicht eigenständig thematisiert und untersucht.

Aus theoretischer Sicht lässt sich eine Veränderung des Selbstwertes infolge des Auszugs auf Basis der Soziometer Theorie, des Sozialinvestitionsprinzips und einer Entwicklungsaufgabenperspektive erwarten. Die Soziometer Theorie beschreibt den Selbstwert als Maß der sozialen Inklusion und Akzeptanz einer Person (Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995). Hierbei wird davon ausgegangen, dass der Auszug mit signifikanten Veränderungen des sozialen Umfeldes einhergeht, der zu einem kurzfristigen Rückgang des Selbstwertes aufgrund von Adaptionsprozessen führt. Das soziale Investitionsprinzip (B. W. Roberts & Wood, 2006) führt Persönlichkeitsveränderungen im jungen Erwachsenenalter auf den Grad der Investition in altersabhängige soziale Rollen zurück. Diesbezüglich wird erwartet, dass der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus eine Investition in die Rolle als autonomer Erwachsener darstellt, was den Selbstwert (langfristig) steigern sollte. Schließlich werden Selbstwertsteigerungen in der Literatur auf die erfolgreiche Bewältigung zentraler Entwicklungsaufgaben zurückgeführt (Hutteman, Hennecke, Orth, Reitz, & Specht,

2014). Der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus kann als eine zentrale Entwicklungsaufgabe des Übergangs vom Jugend- ins Erwachsenenalter angesehen werden, da kurzfristig der Umzug und langfristig die eigenverantwortliche Führung eines eigenen Haushaltes zu bewältigen sind.

In der Gesamtschau wird ein positiver Kausaleffekt des Auszugs auf den Selbstwert erwartet, der bei Betrachtung über die Zeit zunächst negativ ausfallen sollte (Adaptionseffekt) und sich langfristig ins Positive umkehren sollte (Reifungsprozess). Abbildung 5 veranschaulicht die Kausalstruktur der Fragestellung. Da die in der Abbildung enthaltenen theoretischen Mechanismen nicht explizit geprüft werden können, wird stattdessen Auszüge über große räumliche Distanz getestet, für die eine stärkere Veränderung des sozialen Umfelds und höhere Eigenverantwortlichkeit erwartet werden.

Die empirischen Analysen zielen zunächst darauf ab, mittels individueller FE Schätzer den durchschnittlichen kausalen Effekt des Auszugs auf den Selbstwert unter Kontrolle der confounder zu schätzen. In einem zweiten Schritt wird der Zeit-Pfad des Auszugseffekts modelliert, um die erwarteten kurz- und langfristigen Folgen des Auszugs zu überprüfen. Als Datenbasis dient das Release 10.0 des Deutschen Beziehungs- und Familienpanels, mit dem die Effekte des Auszugs auf den Selbstwert junger Erwachsener über einen Zeitraum von maximal 9 Jahren analysiert werden können.

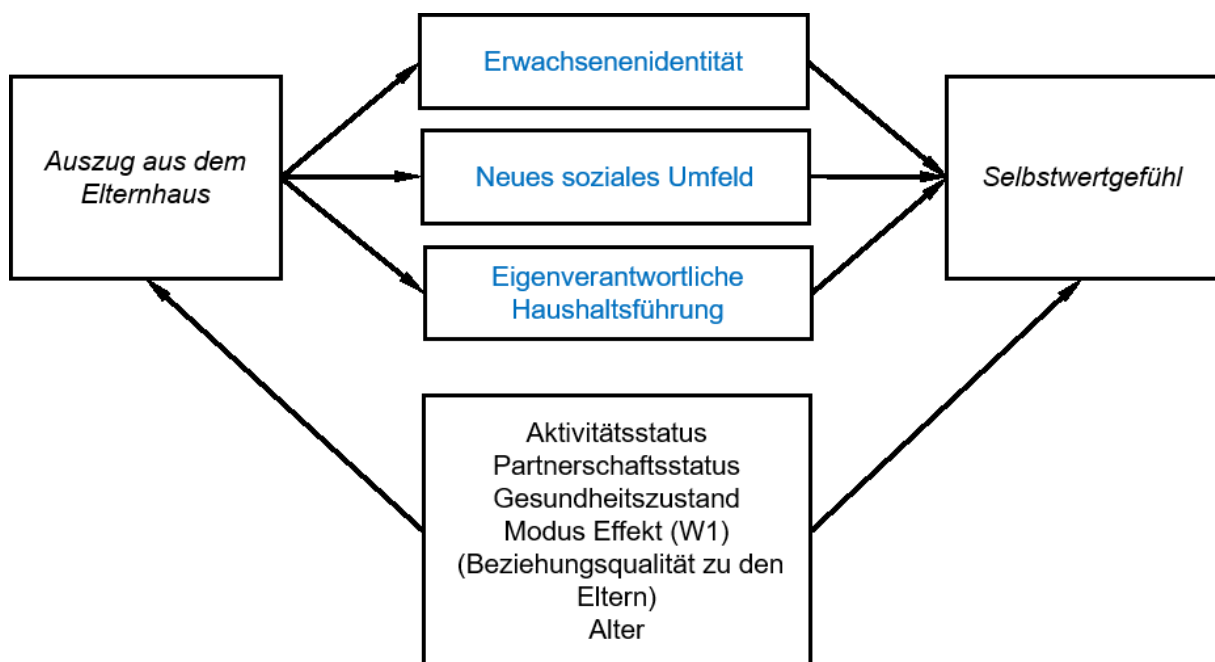


Abbildung 5. Auszug aus dem Elternhaus und Selbstwertgefühl (vereinfachter DAG).

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung. Angenommene, aber nicht überprüfbare Mechanismen in blauer Farbe.

Die Resultate unterstützen die theoretischen Erwartungen eines selbstwertsteigernden Effekts des Auszugs nicht. Weder im Durchschnitt, noch im Verlauf über Zeit zeigen sich signifikante

Ergebnisse. Für junge Frauen die nach dem Auszug weit vom Elternhaus entfernt wohnen zeigen sich tendenziell die erwarteten Effekte, diese sind jedoch bei anderen Modellspezifikationen nicht robust. Der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus stellt damit für junge Erwachsene kein selbstwertrelevantes Lebensverlaufereignis dar. Zukünftige Studien sind angehalten den Einfluss der theoretisch vermuteten Mechanismen zu prüfen, um die mit dem Auszug einhergehenden sozialen und rollenbezogenen Veränderungen besser abschätzen zu können.

1.4 Zusammenfassende Einordnung

Der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus wird als bedeutendes Ereignis im Lebensverlauf junger Erwachsener und deren Herkunftsfamilien angesehen. Die seit etwa den 1980er Jahren etablierte empirische Forschung hat sich vornehmlich mit der Beschreibung verschiedener Aspekte des Auszugsverhalten sowie der Veränderung der Auszugsmuster im Zeitverlauf befasst und dabei eine Vielzahl an stabilen Befunden herausgearbeitet. Hier sind insbesondere der international gut belegte zeitlich frühere Auszug von Frauen gegenüber Männern und die Bedeutung der familialen Ressourcen für die Auszugsentscheidung zu nennen. Im Zeitverlauf hat sich die beschreibende Forschung zum Auszugsverhalten stark horizontal ausdifferenziert. Allerdings wurde der Aufdeckung erklärender Mechanismen und den kausalen Folgen des Auszugs bisher empirisch zu wenig nachgegangen, obwohl vermehrt qualitativ hochwertige (Panel-)Befragungen zur Verfügung stehen, die solche Analysen ermöglichen. Aus diesem Grund stützt sich die vielfach hervorgehobene Relevanz des Auszugs als wichtiges Lebensereignis bis heute überwiegend auf theoretische Zuschreibungen anstelle solider Untersuchungsergebnisse.

Die vorliegende Dissertation setzt an forschungsmethodischen und inhaltlichen Defiziten der bestehenden Forschung an und stellt neben den vermittelnden Mechanismen des frühen Auszugs die individuellen und familiären Konsequenzen des Auszugs in das Zentrum der Analysen. Zusammenfassend wird ersichtlich, dass die mit dem Auszug verknüpften Erwartungen und Annahmen sich empirisch nur begrenzt bestätigen lassen. Zunächst lässt sich der frühere Auszug junger Erwachsener aus Ein-Eltern und Stieffamilien in Deutschland nicht über Defizite in den sozialen Ressourcen dieser Familienformen erklären. Entgegen der theoretischen Erwartung erweist sich insbesondere die Beziehungsqualität zum Stiefvater nicht als der entscheidende „push“-Faktor, der die jungen Erwachsenen zu einem früheren Auszug bewegt. Mit Blick auf die psychischen Konsequenzen des Verlassens des Elternhauses lassen sich Konzeptionen, nach denen der Auszug eine Investition in Erwachsenenrollen und eine wichtige Entwicklungsaufgabe darstellt, nicht bestätigen. Im Gegensatz zum Eingehen stabiler Paarbeziehungen (siehe z.B. Neyer & Lehnart, 2007) trägt der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus nicht zur gut dokumentierten Steigerung des Selbstwertgefühls im jungen Erwachsenenalter (siehe

z.B. Erol & Orth, 2011) bei. Allerdings zeigen sich Veränderungen in den intergenerationalen Beziehungen infolge des Auszugs. Die von den Eltern geleisteten Transferzahlungen an ihre (erwachsene) Kinder hängen maßgeblich davon ab, ob diese noch bei ihren Eltern oder getrennt vom Elternhaus leben. Es zeigt sich, dass das Verlassen des Elternhauses nicht mit finanzieller Unabhängigkeit einhergeht, sondern stattdessen zu einer substantiellen und langfristigen Erhöhung der elterlichen Transfers führt. Neben der Heirat, Scheidung und Geburt eines Kindes (siehe Leopold & Schneider, 2011), erweist sich damit auch der Auszug aus dem Elternhaus als ein Lebensereignis, welches das Transferverhalten zwischen den Generationen nachhaltig beeinflusst.

In der Gesamtbetrachtung nimmt die Dissertation eine bedeutende inhaltliche und analytische Weiterentwicklung des Forschungsfeldes zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus vor, an der sich zukünftige Forschungsvorhaben ausrichten können. Zum einen können erweiternde Replikationen einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Absicherung und Vertiefung der bestehenden Erkenntnisse zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus liefern. Zum anderen erschöpft sich die bisherige Forschung bislang weitestgehend in einer korrelativ-beschreibend angelegten Exploration des Auszugsverhaltens. Im Rahmen der Dissertation werden darüberhinausgehend die kausalen Effekte des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus in den Mittelpunkt der empirischen Untersuchungen gestellt. Wenngleich die beiden vorgelegten Studien zu den individuellen und familialen Konsequenzen des Auszugs die vermuteten Mechanismen nicht empirisch prüfen können, so eröffnen die beiden Studien eine neue Stoßrichtung für zukünftige Forschungsvorhaben zum Auszug aus dem Elternhaus. Dabei nimmt die konsequente Umsetzung des potential outcome frameworks und der damit einhergehende Paradigmenwechsel von den traditionell vorherrschenden „Y-zentrierten“ hin zu „X-zentrierten“ Forschungsfragen und entsprechenden Forschungsdesigns eine zentrale Rolle ein. Durch die Fokussierung auf spezifische Wirkungszusammenhänge und eine adäquate (d.h. längsschnittliche) Nutzung bestehender Panelstudien, kann eine solide empirische Basis zu den individuellen, familialen und gesellschaftlichen Konsequenzen des Auszugs aus dem Elternhaus geschaffen werden.

2 Mediating Factors of Family Structure and Early Home-Leaving: A Replication and Extension of van den Berg, Kalmijn, and Leopold (2018)

Abstract

Young adults from non-intact families are more likely to leave the parental home at an early age than are young adults from intact families. While this association is well established in the existing literature, the underlying mechanisms remain puzzling. In a recent investigation with prospective data from the SOEP (van den Berg et al. in *Eur J Popul* 34(5):873-900, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-017-9461-1>), a large share of the effect of family structure on early home-leaving remained unexplained, in particular for stepfamilies. This study draws on longitudinal data from the German Family Panel (pairfam) to replicate and extend the analyses of van den Berg et al. (*Eur J Popul* 34(5):873-900, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-017-9461-1>). The quality of the stepfather-child relationship, as well as parental monitoring and support, is added to existing analyses. However, an extended assessment of social resources does not seem to substantially help explain the association between family structure and early home-leaving.

Keywords

Transition to adulthood, leaving home, family structure, mediation analysis

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3 Financial Support from Parents to Their Children over the Course of Leaving Home

Abstract

In life course theory and research, leaving the parental home is assumed to be a central transition marker for young adults as well as their family of origin. The processes and determinants related to the timing and pathways out of the parental home have intensively been studied over the past decades. However, much less is known about how the transition out of the parental home affects the intergenerational solidarity between young adults and their parents, in particular with regard to financial support. Based on models explaining intergenerational solidarity, this paper argues that leaving the parental home increases young adults' need for financial support. As parents respond to changes in their offspring's economic needs, leaving home is expected to trigger increased financial transfers from parents to their children. Data from the German Family Panel (pairfam) is used to investigate how parental financial support is affected by home-leaving. Based on self-reports of around 1,600 young adults, the effect of home-leaving on the amount of received parental financial support is analyzed with a prospective longitudinal research design. Relevant status transitions such as entering employment, university, or a romantic relationship are controlled for and fixed effects methods are applied to eliminate time constant confounders. Results show that leaving home leads to a long-lasting increase in parental financial support for young men and women and highlights the importance of housing status for the provision of financial assistance.

Keywords

Intergenerational support, leaving home, financial transfers, life course research

3.1 Introduction

In life course theory and research, leaving the parental home is a central transition marker from youth to adulthood for both young people and their parents. In Western societies such as Germany, living independently from the parents is a precondition for adult children to begin their own families. Therefore, moving out of the parental home is seen as an important developmental step for young people in their journey towards independence – aside from further transition markers such as the school-to-work transition, first cohabitation with a romantic partner, marriage, and parenthood (Shanahan et al., 2005). In general, home-leaving is perceived as an integral part of establishing independence from the parents (Holdsworth, 2000). Young people who move out from the parental home are under less parental control and assume more responsibility for their own lives (see Mulder, 2009). Research shows that young people living without their parents exhibit more mature behaviors and tend to perceive themselves as adults (Benson & Furstenberg, 2006). Furthermore, they are more often recognized as mature and feel more respected by their parents (Flanagan et al., 1993). In sum, the literature indicates that intergenerational relationships are restructured after young adults have left the parental home (e.g. Aquilino, 1997; Cooper et al., 1983; Smollar & Youniss, 1989).

Since the 1990s, scholars have invested much effort in exploring the characteristics that determine the timing of young adults' home-leaving (e.g., Francis Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999; Juang et al., 1999; South & Lei, 2015; Ziegler & Schladt, 1993). While this research shows that parents' financial resources play an important role in both the timing and routes out of the parental home (e.g. Avery et al., 1992; Iacovou, 2010; Whittington & Peters, 1996), the impact of home-leaving on financial support has thus far not been studied. Research on intergenerational transfers documents that parents are net givers to adult children in their 20s and early 30s, and parents financially respond to important events in their offsprings life courses (Bucx, van Wel, & Knijn, 2012; Leopold & Schneider, 2011). Home-leavers bear higher costs of living compared to home-stayers, but it remains an open question if and to which extent parents financially support their children's decision to move out and live independently.

Thus far, research on intergenerational support has mainly analyzed transfers between older parents and their non-cohabiting, middle-aged children (e.g., Albertini, Kohli, & Vogel, 2007; Attias-Donfut, Ogg, & Wolff, 2005). When transfers to young adults have been analyzed, research focused on the role of age and economic needs on the basis of cross-sectional data (e.g., Fingerman, Miller, Birditt, & Zarit, 2009; Hartnett, Furstenberg, Birditt, & Fingerman, 2012). To investigate the effects of life events and changes in transfers over time, many scholars call for longitudinal investigations. Following these claims, the current study applies a panel perspective and aims to close some relevant gaps within the existing literature. First, the *amount* of direct financial transfers (i.e., allowances and valuable gifts) is considered, as most studies

focus on the *frequency* of transfers. Second, the effect of home-leaving on financial transfers is investigated, providing new insights into how intergenerational financial support is affected by a major life course event of young adults. Third, in contrast to many existing studies on intergenerational transfers, a prospective research design is applied: Drawing on a cohort of young adults born between 1991 and 1993, parental financial transfers to roughly 1,600 respondents are analyzed with data from the German Family Panel. The effect of home-leaving is investigated with fixed effects panel regressions to minimize (both observed and unobserved) confounding bias.

Descriptively, the analysis informs about the sum of transfers provided to co-resident children, which is often neglected in the literature. Furthermore, the panel analyses consider the overall (mean) effect of home-leaving, as well as the time path up to more than 6 years after the parental home was left. Results show that considerable direct transfers are provided to children living at the parental home, and that the departure from home significantly elevates levels of direct support. The transfer surplus after home-leaving is somewhat higher for young men compared to young women. Over time, the additional financial transfers for young men remain fairly stable, while transfers to young women tend to increase slightly. In sum, this study explicates that young adults' home-leaving brings about substantial and long-lasting change to parents' financial support behavior.

3.2 Effects of Home-Leaving on Parental Transfers and Previous Research

Classical explanations of inter-vivos transfers (i.e., transfers between living persons) are centered on the givers' motives. One assumption from the economic literature is that individual transfers are made to maximize the giver's utility, either as a part of an exchange-game or due to altruism (Altonji, Hayashi, & Kotlikoff, 1992; Becker, 1974; Cox, 1987; Cox & Rank, 1992). A key assumption of the economic models is that households pool their income and therefore only transfers between (but not within households) are expected. In the sociological literature, affection, reciprocity, and norms of responsibility are listed as important motives assumed to jointly influence transfer behavior (Doty, 1986; Kohli & Künemund, 2003). Moreover, sociological heuristics of intergenerational solidarity (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Szydlik, 2012) emphasize the role of opportunity structures and needs, which shape the exchange of support between family members.

3.2.1 Hypotheses on Home-Leaving and Parental Transfers

Following the sociological models of intergenerational transfers, parents can be expected to provide more transfers to children in financial need. Monetary need often occurs over the course

of major life events such as unemployment, parenthood, and serious illness. Qualitative research states that parents financially support their adult children to “build secure lives and futures” (Ploeg, Campbell, Denton, Joshi, & Davies, 2004, p.137). From this perspective, the departure from the parental home can be seen as a kickoff event for direct parental transfers: While living with their parents, young adults profit from economies of scale and bear relatively low costs of living (Avery et al., 1992, p. 376). Commonly, parents sustain housing and other living costs, providing young adults with free living space, goods, and services (e.g., meals, laundry, and transportation).⁶ Additionally, parents are likely to provide direct transfers in the form of allowance or valuable gifts to their co-resident children to express love and affection (Kohli & Künemund, 2003), for reasons of financial education (Furnham & Thomas, 1984), or as an incentive for educational effort (Barnet-Verzat & Wolff, 2008). As room and board are generally provided either at no cost or at a reduced rate within the parental household, additional direct transfers are likely to be at low or moderate levels.

Once a child has left home, however, living independently from the parents is costly and, *ceteris paribus*, expected to increase young adults’ need for financial support. One-off costs related to the departure itself, such as expenses for furniture and household equipment, broker fees, and rent deposits accumulate in addition to higher costs in the long run, with housing costs playing the largest role. In international comparison, the home ownership rate in Germany is low and rents are comparably high (Bentzien, Rottke, & Zietz, 2012; Dol & Haffner, 2010). Moving into a rented apartment or shared accommodation is very common after home-leaving, as purchasing residential property is costly and requires long periods of saving (Kurz, 2004).

Two effects are therefore tested empirically here: First, as home-leavers are in greater need of financial support than home-stayers, an overall increase in parental financial transfers is expected after the home is left (*need hypothesis*). Secondly, due to the one-time costs of moving out, parental transfers are supposed to be high shortly after the home is left and likely to decline afterwards (*move-out costs hypothesis*). As the costs of home-leaving cannot be directly assessed with the data at hand, the time-path after the move-out serves as a proxy measure for financial need, enabling a closer examination of the extent to which parental transfers follow the recipients’ financial strain.

3.2.2 Literature Review

Thus far, the proposed hypotheses have not been tested in existing studies. As a consequence, a critical overview of adjacent studies on intergenerational transfers is provided, as well as a discussion of shortcomings within existing research. One consistent finding from the literature

⁶ For Germany, there are no data on the financial benefits and contributions of co-resident young adults. Qualitative research from the UK states that most parents do not expect contributions toward board and lodging from young adults (West, Lewis, Roberts, and Noden, 2016).

on inter-vivos transfers is that considerable amounts of financial support flow downwards from the (older) parents to the (adult) children (Albertini et al., 2007; Attias-Donfut et al., 2005; Kohli, 2004), with these particularly targeted towards children in need of financial support (Bertogg & Szydlik, 2016; Bucx et al., 2012; Fingerman et al., 2009; Swartz, Kim, Uno, Mortimer, & O'Brien, 2011). Most of these findings stem from cross-sectional studies that analyze the relationship between parental transfers and socio-demographic characteristics based on between-person comparisons. Applying family fixed-effects models, Berry (2008) shows that parents provide more financial assistance to their disadvantaged children (e.g., unemployed or single parents) in the US. Few studies investigate the effect of life events, including Bhaumik (2006) who analyzes SOEP data from 1996-1997 and demonstrates that a variety of life event experiences (e.g., health problems, cohabitation, childbirth, divorce) raises the probability of receiving parental transfers, as well as the amount of the received transfers. Similarly, Leopold and Schneider (2011) use SOEP data and apply event history analysis techniques to illustrate that marriage, parenthood, and separation from a partner impact the timing of monetary and/or real estate transfers. However, most of the existing research analyzes either samples of middle-aged adult children who live independently from the parents, or do not consider transfers within the parental household. Bucx (2009) analyses the relationship between life events during the transition to adulthood (i.e., leaving-home, partnership formation, and parenthood) and various dimensions of intergenerational support, but explicitly excludes leaving home and financial support from the analyses, as “these types of support are typically exchanged between households rather than within households” (Bucx, 2009, p. 96). Similarly, studies by Manzoni (2015), and Cobb-Clark and Gørgens (2014), which investigate the relationship between housing status and parental assistance, do also not capture transfers within co-resident families. Isengard, König, and Szydlik (2018) use SHARE data to jointly investigate direct parental transfers (i.e., money and gifts) and housing status of adult children; however, due to the study’s comparative and cross-sectional research design, it does not inform about transfer levels and is not able to examine the impact of leaving the parental home as a (time-varying) life event.

In sum, the literature review reveals two major shortcomings within existing research: First, very little is known about the amount of monetary transfers that co-resident (adult) children receive from their parents. For France, Barnet-Verzat and Wolff (2002) show that a majority of parents provide substantial amounts of allowances to their children: Between the ages of 5 and 25, three-quarters of the children receive financial support from their parents at an average of 344 euro from June 1991 to September 1992. For the US, two detailed reports address financial support to young adults (see Schoeni & Ross, 2005; Wightman, Schoeni, & Robinson, 2012). Schoeni and Ross (2005) report that parents transfer about \$38,000 to their children during the transition to adulthood (i.e., around 2,200 \$ each year between the ages of 18 and 34), but their data does not capture direct transfers to co-resident children. Schoeni and Robinson (2012) inspect the determinants of parental transfers and report a number of significant group differences (e.g., by SES, family income, and childhood characteristics). However, both studies

do not provide any information on changes over time and do not take into account whether households live together or separately. Most other studies rely on other, less precise measures to assess parental transfers: For example, Manzonni (2016) constructs a dichotomous measure that defines children as financially dependent when parental transfers exceed 5% of their own income for a latent class analysis of various independence parameters in the US. In an investigation on the determinants of intergenerational financial support in Sweden, Lennartsson (2011) also uses a dichotomous variable that distinguishes between young people who have or have not received gifts of more than 5000 SEK (about 460 euro) within one year.

Second, the vast majority of studies on intergenerational transfers has been conducted with cross-sectional data, focusing on the role of socio-demographic characteristics or cross-country differences. Although the impact of life events and the effect of age have received some attention (e.g., Hartnett et al., 2012; Leopold & Schneider, 2011), longitudinal investigations are virtually absent in the literature. As a consequence, the existing studies are not able to inform about changes in parental transfers over time, since age and cohort effects cannot be separated with cross-sectional data. Moreover, although most studies claim to investigate the effects of need-related changes on parental transfer behavior, their results are based on comparisons between individuals and therefore do not allow to draw conclusions about the causal effects of changes in the life course of young adults over time. To improve on these shortcomings, the following analysis is the first to use a panel analysis approach, estimating the effect of home-leaving on the amount of transfers by applying a longitudinal research design exploiting within-person change over time.

3.2.3 Analytical Strategy

This investigation follows a two-stage analytical strategy: First, the average change in parental financial support after a child has left the parental home is assessed with fixed effects (FE) regressions, separately for young men and women (for details on fixed effects estimations, see e.g., Brüderl & Ludwig, 2014; Wooldridge, 2010). Second, impact function modeling is applied to illustrate changes in the effect over a timespan of up to six years after the home is left. The following model is assumed for the first stage (separately for young men and women):

$$pfs_{it} = \beta lh_{it} + \gamma x'_{it} + \alpha_i + \varepsilon_{it}$$

In this model, the amount of parental financial support of person i at time t (pfs_{it}) is a linear function of a leaving-home dummy (lh_{it} , 0 before moving out, 1 after moving out) and a vector of time-varying covariates (x_{it} , see “confounding factors” below). The model specifies that young men or women receive a (permanent) premium of approximately β euro from their parents after the parental home is left. The individual intercept (α_i) subsumes all time-constant variables that affect a young adult’s amount of parental financial support in the same way over

time (e.g., number of siblings). Other time-dependent variables that influence parental financial support are captured by the idiosyncratic error term ε_{it} .

The second stage of analysis focuses on the development of financial support over time. In this case, the leaving-home dummy from the FE model presented above is replaced by a set of dummy variables for each year after the parental home is left. As anticipation effects are likely to be present for the research question at hand, a dummy for the year preceding the departure from home is included in an additional analysis (see section 3.4.4 Robustness Checks). Analyzing the time-path is intended to provide information on the variability of the home-leaving effect over time (and therefore on the *move-out costs hypothesis*), as well as its durability (the *need hypothesis*).

3.2.4 Confounding Factors

The effect of home-leaving on direct parental financial transfers is likely to be biased by a number of confounding variables, i.e., factors that simultaneously influence a child's decision to move out of the parental home as well as the amount of parental financial transfers. While a major advantage of FE estimation is that time-constant factors are implicitly controlled for by model design, a number of time-variant factors must nevertheless be included in the statistical analyses. First and foremost, changes in the *activity status* (i.e., educational and labor market transitions) are particularly important confounders. For example, if a young adult decides to attend university, a move-out of the parental home as well as an increase in financial transfers will be more likely, as students' personal income is low. In a similar vein, *partnership status* affects the probability of moving out and the subsequent amount of parental financial transfers. Having a partner is likely to increase the wish to live independently from the parents and move in with the partner. At the same time, parental transfers differ between single children and those cohabiting with a partner (Eggebeen, 2005). A bad *health status* reduces the probability of moving out and also signals a higher need for financial support (Bhaumik, 2006). Additionally, *the quality of the parent-child relationship* is likely to influence the decision to leave the parental home, as well as parents' willingness to financially support their children out of love and affection.

The analyses are conducted separately for young men and women, although there are no evident theoretical reasons for gender-specific home-leaving effects. However, the timing and paths of home-leaving are heterogeneous among young men and women (Francis Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999). For Germany, a study by Konietzka and Tatjes (2018) shows that young women leave the parental home about two years earlier compared to young men. Moreover, there is evidence that parental transfers are gender-sensitive: Depending on the context, studies report higher transfers to daughters (Fritzell & Lennartsson, 2005, Sweden), to sons (Evandrou, Gomez-Leon, Flankingham, & Vlachantoni, 2018, GB), or find no gender differences

(Henretta, van Voorhis, & Soldo, 2018, US). Lastly, cohort and period effects must also be discussed as potential confounders. *Cohort* effects are virtually ruled out by the sample construction, as it only consists of respondents born from 1991-1993. From a theoretical perspective, the financial and economic crisis from 2008 qualifies as a potential *period* effect (Aassve, Cottini, & Vitali, 2013). Despite the fact that the German economy recovered relatively quickly (Storm & Naastepad, 2015), home-leaving and transfer patterns are likely to be affected by the economic downturn between 2008-2011.

3.3 Methods

3.3.1 Data and Sample

To analyze the impact of leaving the parental home on parental financial support, it is essential to use longitudinal data. Therefore, data from the German Panel of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (pairfam), Release 10.0 (Brüderl, Drobnič, et al., 2019) is used for the analyses. pairfam was drawn as a random sample from the German resident population of three birth cohorts (1971-73, 1981-83, 1991-93) and covers a wide range of personal as well as family characteristics, including mobility and partnership biographies, intergenerational relationships and support, and activity statuses. During the analysis period (2009-2018), yearly information on home-leaving was gathered via the Event History Calendar (EHC), along with questions regarding household composition. Questions concerning the amount of financial support have only been collected for the biological parents every two years, starting from wave 2. As a consequence, the observational period begins with the second wave and covers only even-numbered waves (i.e., waves 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10).

Due to the limitations in the dependent variable, the analysis sample is composed as follows: The initial sample consists of 2,334 respondents from the youngest cohort (born 1991-93) who were living at the parental home with both biological parents at the second wave, and have not moved out before.⁷ In order to assess changes in parental financial support with FE models, respondents must have participated until another interview that includes the parental support indicators (i.e., until wave 4). Due to panel mortality, a relatively high number of young adults does not meet this criterion and is therefore discarded from the analysis sample (n=618). Furthermore, respondents with missing values on at least one of the covariates were excluded (n=97). The final analysis sample consists of 5,900 observations from a total of 1,619 respondents. This sample reflects all young adults in biological two-parent families who

⁷ Respondents from the two older birth cohorts (1971-73, 1981-83) were excluded due to selectivity reasons, as home-leaving transitions in Germany generally take place earlier in the life course. Young adults from stepfamilies cannot be analyzed, as the amount of financial transfers was only asked for biological parents. Young adults from single-parent families were not included, since the economic situation of single parents differs from that of two-parent families and pushes the adult children out of the parental home earlier (van den Berg et al. 2018).

provide information on financial support from both parents at least twice and live in the parental home at the first observation.

3.3.2 Measures

Parental financial support

The outcome of interest is *the amount of financial support* received from the parents over the last year. The corresponding question from the questionnaire is: “If you add everything: How much material assistance have you received from your mother [father] over the past 12 months? Please include all substantial gifts of money and valuables you received from her [him] as well as any regular financial support. If your mother [father] gave you gifts of money or valuables together with other persons, please estimate the approximate worth of your mother’s [father’s] share.” The categorical answers provided in the questionnaire (<250 euro, 250-500 euro, 500-1000 euro, 1000-2000 euro, 2000-5000 euro, 5000-10000 euro, >10000 euro) are substituted by uniformly distributed random values within the interval of each category.⁸ An additional value of 0 euro is added if respondents stated no contact with the parent in question or did not receive any financial support over the last year. Then, the two separate items for the mother and father are collapsed into one variable to reflect the support of both parents. Sensitivity checks are conducted to ensure that the results are robust to different constructions of the outcome variable (see section 3.4.4 Robustness Checks).⁹

Leaving the Parental Home

Leaving the parental home is defined as moving from the parental household, i.e., residing with both biological parents, to a household without co-resident parents. Information from the Event History Calendar (EHC) is used to identify whether parents co-reside with the respondent. Over the course of the panel, 775 of the 1619 respondents (47.9% of the analysis sample) leave the parental home. For time-path modelling, additional spell data from the residence module of EHC are used to calculate the number of months since the respondent moved out.

⁸ For example, a respondent who received between 500 to 1000 euro from the mother, and between 1000 to 2000 euro from the father is assigned a random value between 1500 and 3000 euro. For the highest category (>10000 euro), a random value between 10000-11000 euro is assigned to minimize potential outlier effects.

⁹ More precisely, the outcome variable is constructed by assigning the lowest (“low specification”) and highest (“high specification”) possible value of each interval. For example, the category 250-500 euro was replaced with 250 euro in the “low” and 500 euro in the “high” specification. This procedure makes the potential bandwidth of effects more transparent, as the outcome variable is not metrical but categorical (also see section 3.4.4 Robustness Checks).

Confounder Variables

To control for the confounding effects of correlated life events and time-varying characteristics, the following variables are included in the FE regression models: Respondents' *main activity status* comprises five categories and is constructed from questions regarding education and employment. Respondents in education have been coded to the corresponding educational level, i.e., in secondary education or attending university. The category 'vocational training' represents not only those in vocational training, but also respondents in a situation between education and employment (e.g., traineeships and internships, attending a university of cooperative education). Respondents in full-time or part-time employment and self-employed respondents constitute the 'employed' category. A fifth category comprises respondents neither employed nor in education, including military and civil service. *Relationship status* indicates whether the respondent is single, has a non-cohabiting partner, or is cohabiting with a partner at the time of the interview. *Emotional distance* from the parents was constructed as an additive scale from three 5-point Likert items asking for (a) the degree of emotional closeness, (b) the frequency of sharing thoughts, and (c) the frequency of sharing secrets and private feelings, with a Cronbach's alpha of $\alpha = 0.83$. *Conflict frequency* with parents was created from two 5-point Likert scale items asking for the frequency of (a) being annoyed or angry to each other, and (b) disagreeing and quarrelling ($\alpha = 0.78$). Separate items for the mother and father are combined into a parental measure for both scales, with higher values indicating either more distance from or more frequent conflict with the parents. *Health status* is derived from a question asking respondents to describe their general health status during the four weeks before the interview on a 5-point Likert answer scale ranging from 1 "very good" to 5 "bad". Finally, two variables account for effects of time: First, the respondent's *age* (in years) at the time of each interview is included to account for age (or age norm) effects. Second, a dummy variable indicating whether the interview was conducted before 2012 captures potential *period* effects of the economic crisis from 2008-2011. Changes in the financial situation of the parents over time (e.g., due to the crisis) cannot be accounted for, as the parental household income is only available as long as young adults co-reside with their parents.

3.4 Results

3.4.1 Descriptive Statistics

The overall distribution of parental financial transfers is shown Figure 1, separately for men and women. As it turns out, the variable is strongly skewed to the right. The overall range of the variable lies between 0 euro (i.e. no support received) and a maximum of 22000 euro (due to construction), with 95% of the transfers ranging between 0 and 9000 euro per year. The median annual financial support provided by the parents is about 800 euro for young men and

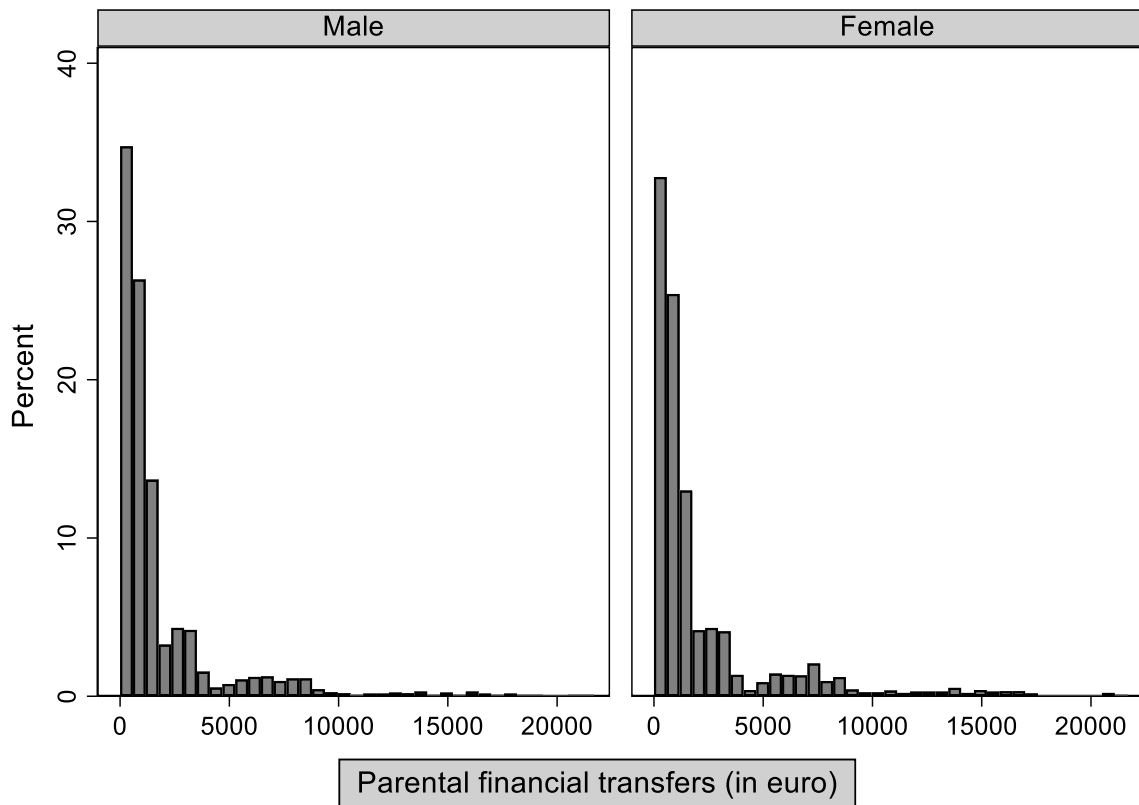


Figure 1. Distribution of the Outcome Variable.

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

women, while the standard deviation of transfers is somewhat higher for women (3400 euro vs. 3080 euro). Among men, zero financial support was reported in 9.1% of all person-years. Among women, the share of person-years without financial parental assistance amounts to 7.1%. Despite its problematic distribution, the variable enters the analysis without any transformation, since the absence of transfers is of substantive interest and cannot be conserved by classical means of statistical transformation.

Table 1 describes the composition of the pairfam sample for the two groups of home-staying and home-leaving young men and women as classified by their housing status. This table also includes the overall variation and variation within respondents for the variables included in the analysis. In the estimation sample, 42% of the young men and 54% of the young women eventually move out of the parental home (see Table 1, lower part). Only the leavers provide information on parental financial support before and after home-leaving. Depending on the operationalization of financial assistance, there is a substantial overall difference of 539-1150 euro between male, and 190-750 euro between female home-leavers and home-stayers. The support difference may be attributable, in part, to differences in observed covariates. For example, home-stayers are on average about one year younger and more frequently observed in general education or vocational training, while home-leavers are more commonly observed

in tertiary education and employment. Only minor differences between the two groups are found with regard to health status and parent-child relationship quality.

The lower section of Table 1 shows how much parental financial support and covariates change over the observation window, i.e., between the first and last observation of each respondent. On average, home-stayers hardly receive any additional parental transfers over time, while home-leavers receive considerably more financial support over time. There is a large gap between home-leavers and home-stayers: Young men who leave the parental home receive around 1170 euro (+1259 vs. +90 euro) more, young women around 940 euro (+1006 euro vs. +63 euro) more direct transfers within the observation period. Partly due to the fact that home-leavers are observed for a slightly longer time-span than home-stayers (2.7 vs. 2.3 years), they also show larger within changes among the included covariates. Fewer home-leavers remain single (men: -34%, women: -29%) compared to home-stayers (men: -18%, women: -16%), and home-leavers more frequently pass into cohabitation with a partner (men: +40%, women: +46%). Furthermore, home-leavers are less likely enrolled in secondary education and more likely to attend university or to be employed than are stayers. Over time, the parent-child relationship also changes to a larger degree within the group of leavers: conflict frequency is reduced by almost half a scale point among young adults who move out of the parental home compared to a reduction of less than 0.2 scale points among those who continuously co-reside with the parents. All groups become slightly more emotionally distant to their parents, except female home-leavers, who report virtually no change in the emotional closeness to their parents (-0.02 scale points).

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics, Estimation Sample.

	Men			Women		
	Stayer	Leaver	Total	Stayer	Leaver	Total
Par. financial support (in euro) (L)	1011	1550	1273	1218	1608	1459
Par. financial support (in euro) (R)	1520	2350	1923	1867	2418	2208
Par. financial support (in euro) (H)	2106	3256	2664	2605	3356	3069
Leaving parental home	0	0.44	0.21	0	0.50	0.31
Years after leaving home	0	1.01	0.49	0	1.28	0.79
Relationship status: Single	0.71	0.52	0.62	0.60	0.39	0.47
Relationship status: LAT	0.28	0.30	0.29	0.37	0.37	0.37
Relationship status: COHAB	0.02	0.18	0.10	0.03	0.24	0.16
Activity status: Education	0.33	0.26	0.31	0.39	0.26	0.31
Activity status: University	0.18	0.30	0.24	0.21	0.31	0.27
Activity status: Vocational training	0.27	0.19	0.24	0.25	0.19	0.21
Activity status: Employment	0.17	0.20	0.16	0.11	0.19	0.16
Activity status: Other	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05
Health status	1.98	1.97	1.87	2.21	2.20	2.20
Emo. distance to parents	2.78	2.85	2.82	2.53	2.53	2.53
Conflict frequency with parents	2.48	2.39	2.44	2.60	2.47	2.52
Interview before 2011	0.49	0.45	0.52	0.62	0.44	0.51
Age (in years)	19.80	20.69	20.23	19.60	20.71	20.27
Δ Par. financial support (in euro) (L)	67	856	400	36	724	409
Δ Par. financial support (in euro) (R)	90	1259	583	63	1006	574
Δ Par. financial support (in euro) (H)	134	1741	812	104	1453	835

	Men			Women		
	Stayer	Leaver	Total	Stayer	Leaver	Total
Δ Leaving parental home	0	1	0.42	0	1	0.54
Δ Years after leaving home	0	2.73	1.15	0	3.25	1.76
Δ Relationship status: Single	-0.18	-0.34	-0.25	-0.16	-0.29	-0.23
Δ Relationship status: LAT	0.15	-0.06	0.06	0.14	-0.17	-0.03
Δ Relationship status: COHAB	0.03	0.40	0.19	0.01	0.46	0.26
Δ Activity status: Education	-0.55	-0.74	-0.64	-0.60	-0.75	-0.68
Δ Activity status: University	0.22	0.38	0.28	0.26	0.38	0.33
Δ Activity status: Vocational training	0.01	-0.09	-0.03	0.10	-0.06	0.01
Δ Activity status: Employment	0.27	0.41	0.33	0.19	0.37	0.29
Δ Activity status: Other	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.05
Δ Health status	0.03	0.12	0.07	0.11	-0.01	0.05
Δ Emo. distance to parents	0.09	0.06	0.08	0.06	-0.02	0.01
Δ Conflict frequency with parents	-0.16	-0.48	-0.30	-0.12	-0.43	-0.29
Δ Interview before 2012	-0.65	-0.95	-0.78	-0.59	-0.94	-0.78
Δ Age (years)	4.66	6.79	5.56	4.30	6.73	5.62
Number of persons	492	359	851	352	416	768
% of total	58.8	42.2	100	45.8	54.2	100
Number of person-years	1596	1503	3099	1068	1733	2801
Mean person-years per person	2.34	2.70	2.52	2.24	2.70	2.53

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: L, R, H = low, random, and high value assignment for support categories. LAT = Living-apart-together, COHAB = Living with a partner. Δ indicates within-person difference of the value observed in the last and first person-year reported in the sample.

In sum, a descriptive comparison between home-leavers and stayers supports the *need hypothesis* which expects that home-leaving is associated with higher financial support by the parents. While stayers virtually do not receive more financial transfers over time, home-leavers report substantially more financial assistance between their first and last observation. Moreover, young home-leaving men seem to receive slightly more transfers when compared to home-leaving women. However, as home-leavers more frequently attend University and co-reside with a partner, the FE panel regression estimates will provide a more solid picture on the causal impact of home-leaving on parental transfers.

3.4.2 The Average Effect of Leaving Home on Parental Financial Transfers

According to the descriptive results, home-leavers receive more parental transfers than home stayers. In addition, there are substantial differences in the socio-demographic characteristics of the two groups. To account for these differences and additional confounders (such as parent-child relationship quality), linear fixed effects models with cluster-robust standard errors are calculated. Figure 2 illustrates the results of the multivariable FE models for men and women separately. When a random value is assigned for each interval of the support measure, home-leaving increases yearly parental financial transfers by around 1400 euro for young men and 800 euro for young women. This is in line with the expectation that home-leaving positively affects parental transfers (*need hypothesis*). Compared to the descriptive results, the gain in transfers is substantial: For men, the additional average parental transfers after the parental home is left roughly correspond the overall average observed across all person-years (1380 euro

vs. 1270 euro). For women, the additional average transfers provided by the parents after moving out account for about 60% of the average transfers observed over all person-years (840 euro vs. 1460 euro). In the FE models a pronounced gender gap in transfers (around 600 euro) becomes visible, that was much smaller in the descriptive analyses (around 200 euro). But as the 95% confidence intervals of the estimated effects are substantially overlapping for men and women, the gender gap should be interpreted with caution.

Further, the estimates reveal that activity status plays an important role for the amount of parental transfers: Enrolling in university increases transfers for both gender, while transitioning into employment decreases financial support for men. Interestingly, none of the other confounders turns out to impact the average level of financial support by the parents. Neither does the time of the economic crisis (2008-2011), nor do changes in the relationship quality with the parents affect parental transfers. Most cross-sectional studies find a strong negative effect of age, which is interpreted as an effect of an age norm for transfers (see Hartnett et al., 2012). However, such conclusions cannot be corroborated within a longitudinal research design: When young adults (aged 16 to 26) are observed over time, no significant decline in transfers is detected with increasing age (see Appendix, Table A3 for the full regression results on the age dummies).

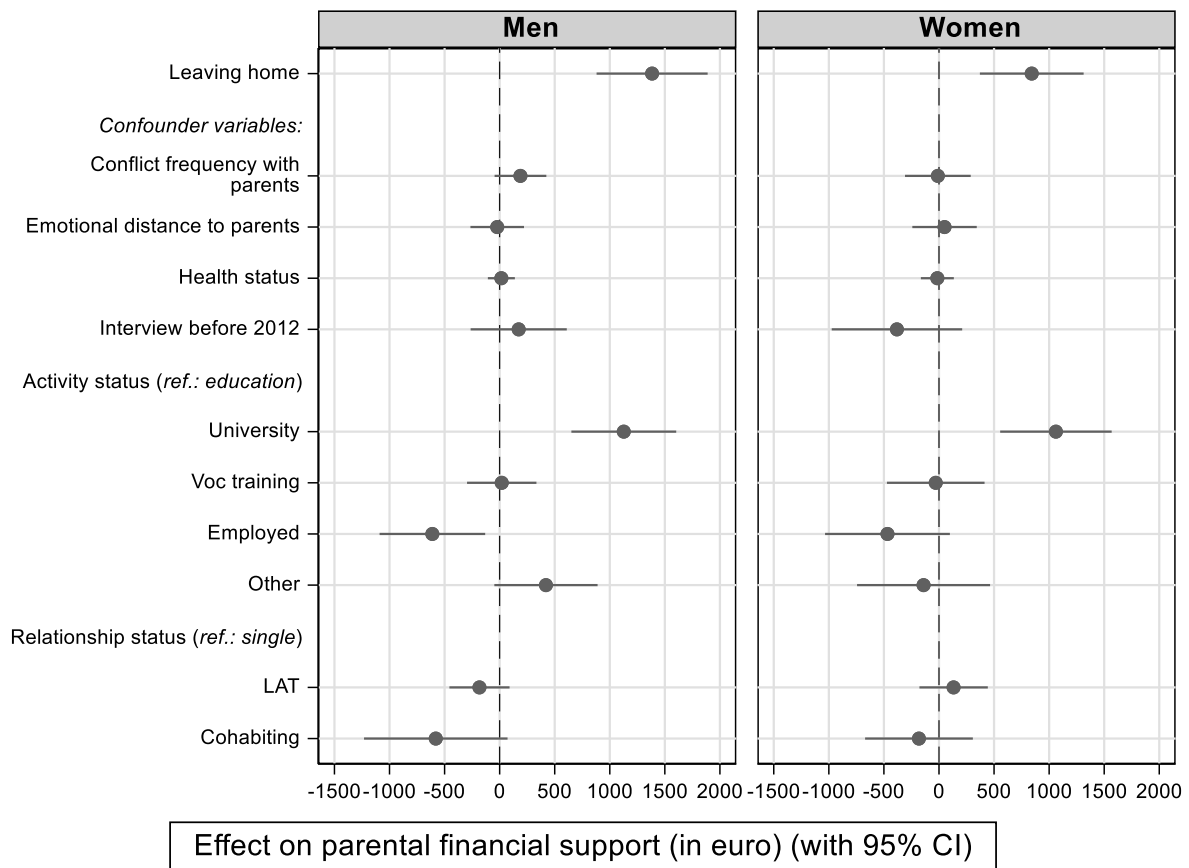


Figure 2. The Average Effect of Leaving the Parental Home on Parental Transfers.

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Effect on parental transfers estimated by linear fixed effects (FE) regressions with panel-robust standard errors. The FE models include age dummies as further covariates. Full regression results are shown in Appendix, Table A3.

3.4.3 The Time-Path of Financial Support after Home-Leaving

To answer the question, whether parents contribute to the costs of the move only, or whether the departure from the parental home leads to long-term changes in transfer behavior, the time-path of the leaving-home effect, i.e., how the effect changes over time, is inspected.¹⁰ Figure 3 reveals that parental financial transfers are increased for a time span of more than 5 years after the home is left, although the temporal pattern is somewhat different for men and women (also see Appendix, Table A4 for full regression results). For men, a stable transfer surplus is found over the complete observational period after the move-out, ranging between an additional 1000 to 2000 euro per year. For women, the average effect is smaller and fluctuating within the first three years since the parental home is left (between 500 and 1200 euro extra per year), but increases for the remaining period (up to about 2500 euro). This finding is not in line with the

¹⁰ Within the empirical setup of the study, respondents can be observed for a maximum of 8 years after they have left the parental home. Due to panel attrition, only 23 men and 34 women were observed for a duration of more than 6 years. Therefore, durations of 5 years and more are collapsed into one dummy variable.

move-put costs hypothesis argument, assuming sharp transfer increases shortly after the home is left and declining transfers afterwards. Rather, the time-path of additional transfers indicates that of home-leaving functions more like a kickoff event for larger long-term flows of direct transfers from parents to their adult children. A shortcoming of the presented results is that they cannot investigate potential social mechanisms that could help to explain the observed course of home-leaving effect over time. In particular, the sharp increase in additional transfers for young women (from an additional 500 euro to an additional 2500 euro within 5 years after the move-out) cannot be properly explained and remains puzzling. Related research on the distance after moving out from the parental home shows that young women move over greater distances than young men (Geissler et al., 2013; Leopold et al., 2012), which might be a reason why young women receive more support over time.

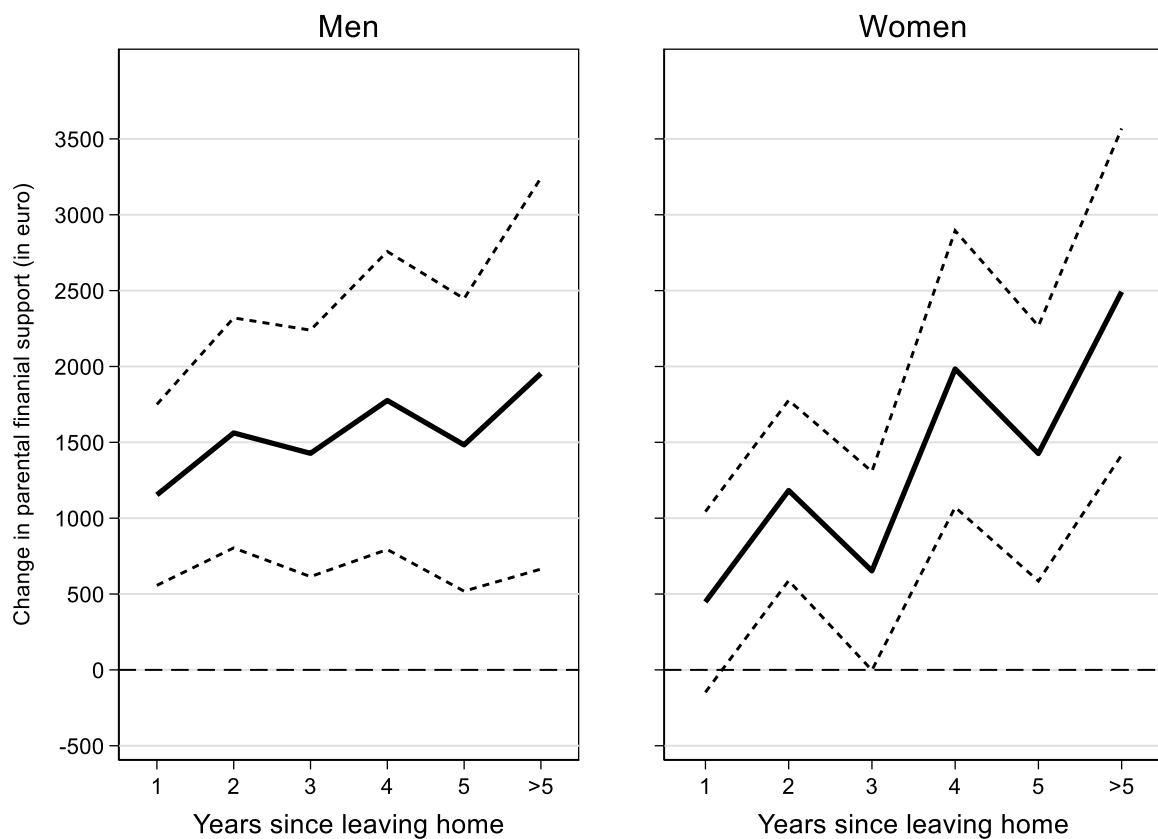


Figure 3. The Time-Path of Leaving the Parental Home on Parental Financial Support (With 95% CI)

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Effect on parental financial support estimated by linear fixed effects (FE) regressions with panel-robust standard errors. The FE models include as further covariates frequency of conflict with parents, emotional distance to parents, health status, activity status (five categories), relationship status (three categories), interview before 2012, and age dummies. Full regression results are shown in Appendix, Table A4.

3.4.4 Robustness Checks

Some additional tests are performed to ensure the credibility of the presented results. In this section sensitivity analyses addressing potential issues due to model specification, the construction of the outcome variable, and potential anticipation effects are briefly discussed.

A first concern may arise from model specification, since only the results from the FE models with the confounder variables are presented in the main analyses section. To provide a more complete picture, an additional (reduced) model controlling for age but excluding the confounder variables informs about the average effect of leaving the parental home on parental financial transfers. The results of this reduced model are very similar to the main findings: moving out from the parental home leads to a significant increase in parental transfers for both young men and women. On average, young men receive about 1250 euro more per year, while the reduced model estimates an additional 800 euro per year for young women (see Appendix, Table A5).

A second issue relates to the inaccurate measurement of the amount of parental transfers. Since the transfer sum is estimated on the basis of interval data, the figures from the main analyses only represent one possible scenario. To get a better estimate of the possible range of effects, additional models with a low and high specification of parental transfers are calculated (see Appendix, Table A6). When the smallest possible value is assigned for each interval of the annual amount of received financial support, the significant positive effect of moving out of the parental home remains in place (+950 euro for men, +590 euro for women). On the other hand, potential outlier effects do not seem to have a significant impact on the reported results either: Assuming that the respondents have always received the highest possible financial support (with 15000 euro in case a respondent received more than 10000 euro), the average home leaving effects amounts to +1890 euro for men and +1230 euro for women. In sum, the additional results demonstrate that a precise estimation of the home-leaving effect on the amount of parental transfers based on the available measurement is hardly possible. Nevertheless – and more importantly –, the significant positive effect of leaving the parental home is not a statistical artifact resulting from the construction of the outcome variable.

Finally, the presented main results may be biased due to an anticipation effect. In this case, the future residential status of young adults would influence the current levels of financial support from the parents, violating the strict exogeneity assumption for FE models. From a theoretical point of view, it seems quite plausible that parents could change their transfer behavior before their children actually move out. For example, the feathered nest hypothesis (Avery et al., 1992) assumes that parents use their financial means to influence the timing of their children's

departure from home.¹¹ To investigate the existence of anticipation effects, the time path analyses are recalculated including a dummy variable for the year before the parental home is left. In these models, the reference category is formed by all person years of more than one year before the move. Figure 4 illustrates that no anticipation effect is present for either gender, since there are no statistically significant changes in parental financial transfers in the year before the move.

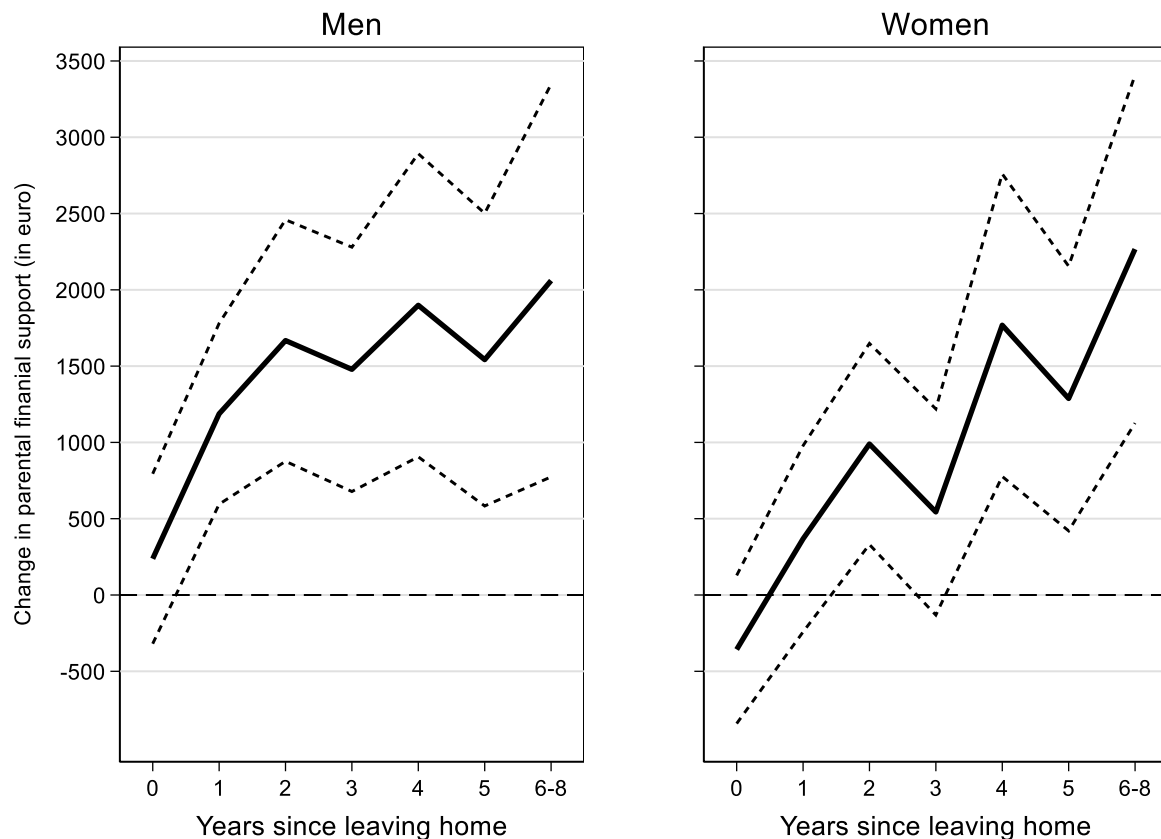


Figure 4. Time-Path of the Leaving Home Effect on Parental Transfers (With Anticipation Effect and 95% CI).

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Effect on parental financial support estimated by linear fixed effects (FE) regressions with panel-robust standard errors. The FE models include as further covariates frequency of conflict with parents, emotional distance to parents, health status, activity status (five categories), relationship status (three categories), interview before 2012, and age dummies. Full regression results are shown in Appendix, Table A7.

¹¹ Such arguments rather suggest reverse causality, i.e. that a change of parental transfers results in a departure from the parental home. For an analytical separation of anticipation effects and reverse causality, further substantial information about the decision making process to move out would be necessary.

3.5 Conclusion and Discussion

This study presents new insights into the interplay of co-residence, home-leaving, and intergenerational inter-vivos transfers. Using longitudinal data from the German Family Panel, the effect of moving out of the parental home on parents' financial support was analyzed separately for young men and women. Existing research shows that parents financially react to life events of their grown children (Leopold & Schneider, 2011), but home-leaving has so far not been studied. Establishing and maintaining an independent household is costly, so that home-leavers were expected to be in greater need of financial help as compared to home-stayers. Following the literature on intergenerational support, it was hypothesized that parents increase inter-vivos transfers to children who leave the parental home (*need hypothesis*). As young adults' household formation is supposed to be particularly expensive, high initial and thereafter declining transfers were expected over time (*move-out costs hypothesis*). The proposed effects were investigated by descriptive mean comparisons and linear fixed effects panel regression models, including time-path modelling.

Several new findings emerged: First, the descriptive evidence shows that considerable direct transfers to co-resident children are made (between 1000 and 2500 euro per year). Typically, this monetary flow remains undetected in many studies, which treat co-residence with parents as a mere indirect ("rent-saving") transfer, while not considering additional support. Second, a substantive positive effect of home-leaving on transfers is found in the panel regression models, amounting to around 1400 euro per year for young men and 800 euro per year for young women. Third, while the expected average effect is found, the assumed pattern over time is not: Over a period of more than 5 years after leaving the parental home, the amount of additional transfers does not decline; on the contrary, financial transfers to young home-leaving women even increase over time. These results indicate that additional parental transfers after the departure from home are not a mere reflection of the financial costs of young adults. That means the *move-out costs hypothesis* was not confirmed. Rather, the durability of the effect suggests that young adults remain financially dependent on their parents' replacement of indirect transfers (i.e., free room and board at the parental home) with direct transfers in form of allowances, money, and valuable gifts. However, as the present study was not able to estimate the amount of indirect transfers, further research is needed to clarify the interplay between indirect and direct forms of intergenerational financial assistance, as well as the mechanisms behind the home-leaving effect. Nevertheless, this study is the first to demonstrate that direct financial assistance from the parents gets more important over the course of leaving the parental home – a major life event in the transition to adulthood.

This investigation relies on longitudinal prospective panel data, which has both advantages and limitations. First, there are some data-related restrictions. Above all, the indicators of parental financial support are rather imprecise, only available in every second panel wave, and restricted

to biological parents. Additionally, confounding effects due to changes in the economic resources of parents cannot be completely ruled out, as such indicators are not available in the pairfam data (after children have left home). Moreover, the results of the time-path estimations might be biased for reasons of selectivity: Home-leaving durations of 5 years and more can only be observed among respondents who move out at an early age. Hence, if transfer behavior is selective on the age of home-leaving, the reported long-term effects might be a statistical artefact.

Second, the proposed theoretical framework is based on assumptions about costs and financial needs that cannot directly be tested with the data at hand. pairfam data do not contain information about the costs of living and the costs of moving, so it remains unclear which mechanisms bring the effect about. Moreover, potential counter balancing effects between indirect and direct transfers after home-leaving cannot be accounted for in the present study. This means that the observed gain in direct transfers after the move-out could be partially or fully offset by a simultaneous loss of indirect financial transfers. Therefore, investigating the mechanisms and assessing the role of indirect forms of financial support remains an important task for future research. Similarly, the detected gender gap in transfers remains puzzling. Given that the gender gap can be replicated in future research, the choice of living arrangements might be a key factor. For example, women, who leave the home earlier might move into shared apartments or chose to co-reside with a (older) partner more frequently than their male counterparts, therefore avoiding larger costs while also reducing the need to be financially supported by their parents.

4 The Development of Self-Esteem over the Course of Leaving the Parental Home

Abstract

A large body of literature documents an increase in self-esteem in late adolescence and young adulthood. In developmental psychology, changes in personality (such as the Big Five or self-esteem) are increasingly linked to the impact of changes in the social environment. Thus far, self-esteem development in young adulthood has mainly been attributed to partnership events and effects, while other important normative life events in the transition to adulthood have received much less scientific attention. Based on various developmental psychological approaches, it is argued that leaving home is a life event which, after an adaptation phase, contributes to an increase in self-esteem in young adulthood. Applying a longitudinal research design and using panel data from the pairfam study, average and time specific effect of moving out of the parental home on the self-esteem levels of young men and women are investigated with fixed-effects regressions. The results reveal that leaving home is not a relevant life event with regard to self-esteem changes. For both young men and women, neither on average nor a time varying effect after moving out is observed. Furthermore, no substantial changes in self-esteem are found for young people who move far away from home. Accordingly, the results of the study do not confirm conventional descriptions of leaving home as an important development task in young adulthood.

Keywords

Self-esteem, leaving home, personality development, fixed-effects modelling

4.1 Introduction

Self-esteem, defined as a person's evaluation or appraisal of his or her own value (e.g., James, 1890; Leary & Baumeister, 2000), is one of the most widely studied concepts in psychology. Previous research links self-esteem to important life outcomes such as the quality of social relationships, professional success, health status (Orth & Robins, 2014; Orth, Robins, & Widaman, 2012; Stinson et al., 2008), depression (Sowislo & Orth, 2013), and overall life satisfaction (Diener & Diener, 1995, 2009). Accordingly, much scholarly attention has been devoted to the developmental trajectories and changes in self-esteem. Studies on the development of self-esteem have shown that it can be considered as a personality trait that exhibits a high degree of overall stability, but also considerable variation over the life course (Donnellan, Kenny, Trzesniewski, Lucas, & Conger, 2012; Orth et al., 2018; Robins & Trzesniewski, 2005; Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Robins, 2003). In particular, numerous studies show that self-esteem increases in late adolescence and young adulthood (Erol & Orth, 2011; Meier, Orth, Denissen, & Kühnel, 2011; Mund & Neyer, 2016; Orth et al., 2012; Robins & Trzesniewski, 2005). These life stages are regarded as central to personal development (B. W. Roberts & Davis, 2016), as they represent dynamic, eventful stages in the life course in which various biological, psychological, and social processes take place (Arnett, 1999, 2000).

Similar to the discourse concerning personality traits, the conditions and reasons for changes in self-esteem are part of an ongoing scientific debate. All major theories of personality development incorporate the role of genes and biological maturation processes (see McCrae & Costa, 2008; B. W. Roberts & Wood, 2006), whereas they differ significantly concerning the role of environmental influences, with some emphasizing the effects of major life events such as partnership, unemployment, or parenthood. Thus far, the documented increase in self-esteem during young adulthood has mainly been linked to effects of romantic relationships and relationship satisfaction (Luciano & Orth, 2017; Mund, Finn, Hagemeyer, Zimmermann, & Neyer, 2015; Mund & Neyer, 2016), which become relevant time during this stage of life. Other major life events that occur in young adulthood have only recently received scientific attention, such as transitions in the educational system and from school to work (Chung et al., 2014; Reitz, Shrout, Denissen, Dufner, & Bolger, 2020), or the transition to parenthood (Bleidorn et al., 2016; van Scheppingen, Denissen, Chung, Tambs, & Bleidorn, 2018).

Surprisingly, the influence of moving out from the parental home has so far not been investigated independently, but only as a minor aspect of other events in the transition to adulthood (see Galambos, Barker, & Krahn, 2006; J. Wagner, Lütke, Jonkmann, & Trautwein, 2013). Leaving home is an important normative life event on the path to adulthood (see Benson & Furstenberg, 2006), that markedly changes young adults' social environment and is associated with new tasks and greater personal autonomy. For these reasons, an in-depth

examination of the influence of moving out of the parental home on self-esteem makes a worthwhile contribution to the existing research literature.

The aim of the current study is therefore to examine whether moving out of the parental home contributes to the well-documented increase in self-esteem in young adulthood. Aside from answering the question of whether self-esteem is affected by leaving home, temporal and event-related effect heterogeneity is also investigated. More specifically, potential short and long-term effects are taken into account, as the effect of life events may vary over time (see Luhmann, Orth, Specht, Kandler, & Lucas, 2014). Additionally, moving out is further categorized by the spatial distance between the parental home and the new residence, to provide greater insights on the potential mechanisms likely to impact young adults' self-esteem.

The proposed research questions are investigated using longitudinal data from the German Family Panel (pairfam). The pairfam study provides unique data that allow for a longitudinal investigation of the development of self-esteem in older adolescents and young adults (aged 15-27). While traditional analytical methods stem from the field of structural equation models (SEM), linear fixed-effects (FE) regression models are applied here to assess average changes in self-esteem within individuals before and after the parental home is left and the time-path of the effect. Additional robustness checks are conducted to ensure that the results are not driven by model choice and specification. The results show that moving out of the parental home and living independently from the family of origin does not appear to affect the overall level of self-esteem. Potential reasons for this finding and its implications for future research are discussed in the conclusion.

4.2 Effects of Home-Leaving on Self-Esteem: Theory and Previous Research

4.2.1 Theoretical Perspectives on the Impact of Major Life Events on Self-Esteem Development

Thus far, there is no standalone theory on self-esteem development over the life course. As self-esteem can be conceptualized as a characteristic similar to a personality trait (see Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Robins, 2013), broader theories of personality development can be used to discuss the impact of major life events on self-esteem development (for an overview see Specht et al., 2014; Specht, 2017). For the study at hand, the *sociometer theory*, the *social investment principle*, the *transactional paradigm*, and a *developmental perspective* are particularly useful.

To start, effects of major life events on the development of self-esteem can be derived from the *sociometer theory* (Leary et al., 1995; Leary & Baumeister, 2000). It states that self-esteem reflects a person's perception of their own value in relation to his or her degree of social inclusion in desired relationships or groups. As a result, this theory predicts an increase or

decrease in self-esteem when a major life event leads to changes in a person's perceived social inclusion.

Furthermore, a variety of theoretical perspectives assume that personality is affected by major life events, if these involve clear role scripts detailing how to behave adaptively. Within the framework of the neo-socioanalytic model (B. W. Roberts & Wood, 2006) experiences and socialization processes are key triggers for personality development. According to the *social investment principle* (SIP), major life events contribute to personality development due to investments in age-graded social roles (e.g., as a partner, employee, or parent). Moreover, in a revision of the *transactional paradigm*, Neyer, Mund, Zimmermann, and Wrzus (2014) highlight the role of the normativeness of life transitions for personality development. Highly normative transitions, meaning those that occur necessarily within a certain sociocultural context and age range and are accompanied by transparent social scripts shared among members of a reference group, call individuals to adapt their personality (Neyer et al., 2014, p. 540).

Finally, from a *developmental perspective*, life events affect an individual's personality if they are associated with new developmental tasks (for an overview, see Hutteman et al., 2014). By formal definition, life events and developmental tasks are related, but the latter entail a broader range of challenges that are expected to follow a normative sequence and result in successful mastery. Young adulthood (approx. age 18-30) marks a dynamic and event-dense lifespan in which young individuals experience a variety of normative developmental tasks (see Havighurst, 1972; Schulenberg, Maggs, & O'Malley, 2003), of which many refer to life events (e.g., finding a partner, starting a first job).

4.2.2 Hypotheses on Home-Leaving and Self-Esteem

The potential impact of a major life event on personality development hinges upon a variety of aspects related to the event. Although leaving home and living independently from one's parents is regarded as an important transition during young adulthood (e.g., Francis Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999; Shanahan, 2000; Vaskovics, 1997), its influence on personality traits such as self-esteem has not yet been theoretically elaborated in depth.

Changes in self-esteem are likely to occur if a life event significantly changes the social environment and the degree of social inclusion perceived by the individual (*sociometer theory*). The social environment alters considerably when moving out of the parental home: On the one hand, daily personal contact and routines involving previously co-residential family members significantly change after leaving the parental home. On the other hand, contact to peers and romantic partners gains in importance, as young adults can now organize their leisure time more autonomously. The attachment to parents, peers, and partners has proven to be highly relevant for the development of self-esteem (Laible, Carlo, & Roesch, 2004; Neyer & Lehnart, 2007; Reitz, Zimmermann, Hutteman, Specht, & Neyer, 2014), but the changes in the social

environment for young adults leaving the parental home depend strongly on the details of their move (e.g., spatial distance, type of household). In the short term, feelings of anxiety, homesickness, and loneliness associated with home-leaving and residential mobility (see Oishi, 2010; Stroebe, Schut, & Nauta, 2015) can lead to a decline in self-esteem after moving out. In the long term, self-esteem is expected to return to its initial value as young adults become accustomed to their new social environment.

Moreover, the level of investment in a new social role (*social investment principle*) and the degree of normativity of the event or transition (*transactional paradigm*) are also important for the development of self-esteem. Home-leaving is a highly normative event due to strong social expectations surrounding home-leaving, for example that young adults move out from the parental home by a certain age to establish an independent household (Billari & Liefbroer, 2007; Seiffge-Krenke, 2013). Although living independently from one's parents does not represent a distinct social role such as being a partner or parent, clear expectations are associated with home-leaving. Among others, greater individual responsibility and freedom, as well as less parental control over lifestyle decisions and leisure activities are linked to living independently (Baanders, 1996; Mulder, 2009; Papastefanou, 2006). In addition, leaving the parental home is often considered a central part of adulthood in Western societies and accordingly, young home-leavers perceive themselves more strongly as mature and grown-up (Papastefanou, 2000a; Shanahan et al., 2005). From this perspective, young adults' self-esteem should increase after moving out of the parental home, as the transition to independent living is highly normative and represents an investment in the role of an autonomous adult.

If the successful mastery of new and challenging tasks is also related to a life event, self-esteem adaptations are likely (*developmental perspective*). Moving out and running one's own household can be conceptualized as an important developmental task along the path to adulthood (Hurrelmann & Quenzel, 2016; Vaskovics, 1997). First, young adults must cope with the move itself, which includes the search for suitable accommodation and the organization of the move. They are then responsible for independent housekeeping, including tasks such as grocery shopping, laundry, and meal preparation. The successful mastery of these tasks are expected to contribute to personality maturation, and thus also to an increase in self-esteem, especially in the long term.

In summary, the *social investment principle* and *developmental perspective* suggest an overall increase in self-esteem after moving out of the parental home (*maturation hypothesis*). A differentiated expectation emerges over time: Due to the changes in the social environment (*sociometer theory*), which can be accompanied by feelings of insecurity and loneliness shortly after the move, self-esteem is expected to initially drop and recover after an adaptation phase. In the long term, an increase is then assumed in the sense of the maturation hypothesis (*decline and rise hypothesis*).

Heterogeneous effects are expected depending on the distance between the new place of residence and the parental home. As the majority of young adults in Germany continues to live within close proximity to their parental home after the first move (see Leopold et al., 2012), changes in the social environment are expected to be rather small, and negative feelings such as loneliness to be relatively infrequent. In addition, young adults who continue to live close to their parents receive support more frequently (Mulder & van der Meer, 2009), meaning they remain partially dependent and are not completely mastering the developmental tasks associated with home-leaving. Young adults who move further away from their parents experience greater changes (e.g., a new social environment, little parental support); thus, the postulated effects are expected to be more visible for this subgroup (*long-distance hypothesis*).

4.2.3 Literature Review on Changes of Self-Esteem

A large number of studies have examined the development of self-esteem over the life course (for a meta study, see Huang, 2010) and found that self-esteem increases during late adolescence and into young adulthood (e.g., Erol & Orth, 2011; Orth et al., 2018). However, while patterns of self-esteem development during this phase of life are well studied, little is known about the conditions and causes of changes in self-esteem. Some research has examined the impact of major (normative) life events, as these are expected to change the social roles and social environments of young adults.

The *sociometer theory* has received wide support in the context of partnership formation in young adulthood. Entering into a partnership has been found to increase self-esteem and has proven to be a central mechanism behind the maturity principle of personality development (Lehnart, Neyer, & Eccles, 2010; Luciano & Orth, 2017; Neyer & Asendorpf, 2001; Neyer & Lehnart, 2007; J. Wagner, Becker, Lüdtke, & Trautwein, 2015). Based on the *social investment* principle, comparable findings for transitions in the education system and the transition from school to work have also been reported, although much less studies are available. Chung et al. (2014) examined the development of self-esteem from the beginning to the end of college and found a small increase in self-esteem. However, there was a sharp decline in the first year at college, which was also documented in a further study of first year students (Shim, Ryan, & Cassady, 2012). Another study of German high school students who completed an international exchange year also exhibited an increase in overall self-esteem, but no short-term decrease was observed during students' time abroad (see Hutteman, Nestler, Wagner, Egloff, & Back, 2015). Regarding the school to work transition, a recent investigation by Reitz et al. (2020) found a slight increase in self-esteem among young university graduates starting their first job. However, the authors note that "[...] the mere change in role status from studying to full-time labor does not seem to be sufficient to considerably increase self-esteem" (Reitz et al., 2020, p. 698).

Results deviating from the previous findings are evident in the transition to parenthood, which was also expected to have a self-esteem-enhancing effect. However, the few available empirical studies consistently show that parenthood leads to a decline in self-esteem and that the effect varies considerably over time and for various subgroups (Bleidorn et al., 2016; Chen, Enright, & Tung, 2016; van Scheppingen et al., 2018). These results illustrate that investing in new social roles, as expected by the *social investment principle*, does not necessarily lead to greater self-esteem. Rather, the concrete life situations (e.g., periods of increased stress) are likely to play a key role for self-esteem development.

The question of whether moving out of the parental home leads to changes in self-esteem cannot yet be answered adequately, as only two studies have considered home-leaving at all: Using a sample of upper high school students in Germany, J. Wagner et al. (2013) examined changes in self-esteem after the transition out of high school and included both home-leaving and entering a partnership as additional structural characteristics in a longitudinal analysis. Using structural equation models (SEM), the authors find a general increase of self-esteem, but no substantial effects of home-leaving are revealed. In the second study, Galambos et al. (2006) examined the psychological well-being (i.e., symptoms of depression, self-esteem, expressed anger) of Canadian high school students over a period of 7 years (from 1985-1992) using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM). They also find a slight increase in self-esteem during young adulthood, but leaving the parental home does not contribute to this development. However, both studies have significant limitations: First, they are not based on random samples of young adults, but examine high school students only. Furthermore, neither of the two explicitly investigates the influence of home-leaving, but rather focusses on broader explanatory factors of self-esteem development in young adulthood. As a result, their models are likely to suffer from overcontrol bias. In fact, I argue that both studies control for mediating mechanisms, which can distort the total effect of moving out from the parental home. J. Wagner et al. (2013) include the Big Five personality traits, which are likely to change after relocating and are also strongly correlated with self-esteem. Galambos et al. (2006) control for the level of social support that is itself dependent on life events in the transition to adulthood (see Swartz et al., 2011). Finally, the analytical strategies applied give rise to doubts, since the effects of several events are estimated within a single statistical model and potential confounding effects are not discussed. In the following, the shortcomings of previous research will be addressed by establishing a research design that is tailored to the effect of leaving the parental home on self-esteem.

4.2.4 Analytical Strategy

From a methodological point of view, the aim of this study is to estimate the total causal effect of moving out of the parental home on self-esteem in young adults. Most psychological studies use methods from structural equation modeling (SEM), such as confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), latent growth curve modelling (LGM), and cross-lagged panel models (CLPM).

However, these models have been criticized for their complex underlying assumptions, resulting in discussions of alternative analysis methods (see Mund & Nestler, 2019). In addition, model specification in SEM applications are often not sufficiently explained, threatening the validity of many SEM studies (see Kline, 2012).

For these reasons, the present study makes use of fixed effects (FE) regression modelling as a widely applied analysis method in life course research (for an application example see Brüderl, Kratz, & Bauer, 2019). The advantage of FE regression is that it provides an average treatment effect on the treated (ATT) and implicitly controls for time-constant individual confounders (for details on the estimation procedure, see e.g., Allison, 2009; Brüderl & Ludwig, 2014). Additionally, as effect heterogeneity over time is expected in this application, impact function modeling is used to illustrate temporal changes in the effect after the parental home has been left. The following model is assumed for the level effect:

$$SE_{it} = \beta lh_{it} + \beta x'_{it} + \alpha_i + \varepsilon_{it}$$

In this model, the self-esteem of person i at time t (SE_{it}) is a linear function of a home-leaving dummy (lh_{it} , 0 before moving out, 1 after moving out) and a vector of time-varying covariates (x'_{it} , see “confounding factors” below). The model specifies a change of approximately β scale points in young men’s and women’s self-esteem after the parental home is left. The individual intercept (α_i) subsume s all time-constant variables that affect a young adult’s self-esteem in the same way over time (e.g., migration background, family structure). Other unobserved time-varying variables that influence the mean level of self-esteem are captured by the idiosyncratic error term ε_{it} .

The second part of this analysis focuses on the development of self-esteem over time, as it is assumed that life events have different effects on an individual over time (Luhmann et al., 2014). In this case, the home-leaving dummy variable from the FE model presented above is replaced by a set of dummy variables for each year since the parental home has been left. Analyzing the time-path is intended to evaluate the *decline and rise hypothesis*.

4.2.5 Confounding Factors

In order to estimate the total causal effect of leaving the parental home on young adults’ self-esteem, confounding factors must be considered, and mediating mechanisms must explicitly not be included. In the absence of information on the causal structure of the research question at hand, however, it is difficult to correctly identify exactly which factors should be included (see VanderWeele, 2019). One significant advantage of FE regression estimation is that individual time-constant factors are implicitly controlled for by model design. Nevertheless, some time-variant factors and a moderating effect of gender must be taken into account. In the following, a short overview of potential time-varying confounders is provided, whereby the necessity for robustness checks is also highlighted.

First, other major life events must be taken into account, since they usually take place in close temporal relation to the move-out. Transitions within the education system or from school to work, as well as changes in partnership status are relevant here (Holdsworth, 2000; Mulder & Clark, 2002). Second, health status must be considered, as it influences both the decision to move out of the parental home (Seiffge-Krenke, 2006; South & Lei, 2015) and self-esteem (Antonucci & Jackson, 1983; Li, Chan, Chung, & Chui, 2010). Third, the parent-child relationship must also be discussed as a potential confounding factor. The family environment during childhood (e.g., parenting style, parent-child relationship) has proven to be crucial for later self-esteem development (Krauss, Orth, & Robins, 2020; Orth, 2018; R. E. L. Roberts & Bengtson, 1996). In addition, an emotionally distant and conflictual family climate can be expected to push children out of the parental home, but this idea has not received empirical support (Herzig, 2020; R. A. Ward & Spitze, 2007). As a result, the parent-child relationship does not represent a common cause of both home-leaving and self-esteem development, and should therefore not be controlled for in the analytical models. However, the selection of confounding on the basis of the common cause principle is controversial. VanderWeele (2019) proposes a selection of variables that are causes of either the exposure or outcome, or both, while discarding any known instrumental variables. According to this approach, the parent-child relationship must be included. As this dilemma cannot be solved methodically, robustness checks are carried out with both the inclusion and omission of parent-child relationship indicators.

Finally, a potentially moderating effect of gender will be accounted for by separate models for young women and men. The timing and routes out of the parental home differ markedly between women and men (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999). In Germany, women leave the parental home about two years earlier than do young men (Konietzka & Tatjes, 2018). There is also evidence of differences in the level and development of self-esteem between women and men in late adolescence and early adulthood (for a meta study, see Zuckerman, Li, & Hall, 2016), so that leaving the parental home may affect young men and women differently.

4.3 Methods

4.3.1 Data and Sample

Data used in these analyses are from Release 10.0 of the German Family Panel (pairfam) (Brüderl, Drobnič, et al., 2019). The pairfam study began in 2008/09 as a longitudinal study of individuals from three birth cohorts (1971-73, 1981-83, and 1991-93) randomly selected from the German resident population. In the annually conducted surveys, extensive information on personal and family characteristics such as residential mobility and partnerships, activity status (e.g., education, employment), and a variety of personality measures were collected. During the

analysis period (2008/09-2017/18), an Event History Calendar (EHC) was used as part of the computer assisted personal interviews (CAPI) to collect detailed data on relocations and household composition at the main residence. With the information of the EHC, the departure from the parental home can be determined on a monthly basis. In each wave, participants also indicated their activity and partnership status and provided information on their overall level of self-esteem. Sensitive information, including self-esteem and other personality measures, were gathered in a computer assisted self-administered section of the interview (CASI).

The analytic sample is selected as follows: First, the 4,338 respondents from the youngest cohort (aged 15-17 years at the first interview) serve as the initial sample. The respondents from the two older birth cohorts (25 years and older) are discarded for reasons of selectivity, as moving out from the parental home typically occurs at an earlier age. Second, respondents who did not live with their parents at the time of the first interview or who stated that they had moved out once before the survey started are removed (n=122). Third, after a list-wise deletion of observations with missing values on the dependent or confounding variables, some respondents are excluded (n=50). Fourth, respondents who only one available wave (due to attrition or deletion of missing values) are discarded (n=635), as FE models require participation in at least two interviews.¹² The final sample thus consists of 3531 respondents, who provide a total of 22,360 person years for the longitudinal analysis.

4.3.2 Measures

Self-Esteem

In the pairfam study, global *self-esteem* is assessed annually with a shortened and adapted version of the Rosenberg (1965) self-esteem scale (see Thönnissen, Wilhelm, Alt, Greischel, & Walper, 2019). The items are: “Sometimes I believe that I am worthless” (reversed coded), “I like myself just the way I am”, and “All in all, I am pleased with myself”. Responses were presented on a five-point Likert answer scale that ranged from 1 (“does not apply at all”) to 5 (“applies absolutely”). An additive index is created from the three items with Cronbach's alpha $\alpha = 0.78$. In the first interview the questions were assessed by the interviewer. From wave two onwards the self-esteem items were directly answered by the respondent. The CAPI to CASI mode switch generated a method effect with upwardly biased self-esteem scores in the first wave of the pairfam study (see Sonntag, Mund, Schubach, & Neyer, 2014), which has been accounted for in the FE models.

¹² A mean-comparison test revealed that in the first wave, the self-esteem of the drop-out cases is slightly higher compared to the panel cases (4.19 vs. 4.12 scale points). The difference in self-esteem is statistically significant at the 5% error level, but potential (treatment) selectivity of the drop-out cases cannot be further investigated.

Leaving the Parental Home

Leaving the parental home, the independent variable of main interest, is a time-varying dummy variable indicating whether a young person is currently living in a household without co-resident parents for the first time. Information from the household grid of the EHC is used to identify whether a respondent co-resides with the parents. This procedure is more reliable than using the corresponding question from the main questionnaire (“type of household”), which shows some inconsistencies with the data contained in the EHC. The distance to the parents’ house is accounted for in a second independent variable (*short/long-distance move*). Respondents who do not live with their parents were asked to indicate how much time it takes to travel to their parents on a normal day via normal means of transportation. Moves that are less than 1 hour away from the parental home are defined as short-distance moves, those that take 1 hour and more are classified as long-distance moves.¹³ For the time-path analysis, additional monthly episode data from the residential module of the EHC is used to calculate the time since the parental home was left. The monthly duration is annualized and rounded up to the next integer. Dummy variables for each year since moving out from home are then used to model the time-varying effect of home-leaving.

Confounder Variables

The time-varying confounder variables reflect the situation at the time of the interview, i.e., no lagged or lead versions were created. First, the respondents’ *main activity status* is constructed with information on the current education and employment situation: respondents in education are coded to their corresponding educational level, i.e., in secondary education or attending university. The category vocational training represents respondents in vocational training and young people in a situation between education and employment (e.g., traineeships and internships, attending a university of cooperative education). Participants in full-time or part-time employment and self-employed persons form the employed category. A fifth category comprises respondents neither employed nor in education, including unemployment, and military and civil service. Next, *relationship status* indicates whether the respondent is single, living-apart-together (LAT) with a partner, or cohabitating with a partner (regardless of the marital status) at the time of the interview. Furthermore, the quality of the relationship with the parents is reflected by scales for both *emotional distance* and *conflict frequency*. Both scales refer to the parent(s) the respondent previously lived with at the parental home. In the first wave of the survey, only the quality of the relationship with the biological parents is available, whereas from the second wave on, the relationship quality with stepparents was also collected.

¹³ Note that 24 respondents known to be leaving the parental home cannot be classified and analyzed due to missing information on the moving distance.

For two-parent families, a parental average is calculated for the analysis.¹⁴ For single-parent families, the relationship quality to the corresponding parent is generated. The *emotional distance* to the parent(s) is constructed as an additive index from three five-point Likert response scale items concerning (a) the degree of emotional closeness, (b) the frequency of sharing thoughts, and (c) the frequency of sharing secrets and private feelings with (a) parent(s). *Conflict frequency* with the parent(s) is created from two five-point Likert scaled items assessing the frequency of (a) being annoyed or angry at each other and (b) disagreeing and quarrelling (1 “never” to 5 “always”). Higher values indicate either a greater distance from or more frequent conflict with the parent(s). Cronbach’s alpha ranges between 0.73 - 0.85 for the parental subscales. A question concerning the respondents’ general health status during the four weeks before the interview (answer scale: 1 “very good” to 5 “poor”) captures the respondents’ *health status*. The described *mode effect*, which occurs between wave 1 and the following waves, is represented by a dummy variable (1: wave one, 0: otherwise). Lastly, the respondent’s *age* (in years) at the time of each interview is included (as a set of dummy variables) to account for age and maturation effects.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 8 describes the composition of the analysis sample separately for young women and men who continuously stay at the parental home (“stayer”) and those who move out the parental home (“leaver”), as well as the overall variation and variation within respondents for the variables included in the analysis. The descriptive results deliver some insights: In line with previous research, the overall self-esteem of young men is higher than that of young women (4.10 vs. 3.81 scale points). There is only a small difference between the self-esteem values of stayers and leavers (approx. 0.1 scale points), whereby stayers exhibit slightly higher self-esteem than leavers. In the estimation sample, 39% of the young men and 49% of the young women eventually move out of the parental home (see Table 8, bottom section). Among the movers, 40% of the young women and 34% of the young men move to a residence located more than 1 hour from their parents. In terms of the quality of their relationship with their parents and their health status, almost no differences between stayers and leavers can be observed. However, there is a remarkable variation in activity and relationship status, as well as age. Leavers are observed less frequently in secondary education, but more frequently in higher education and employment. Furthermore, more leavers are in a romantic relationship than stayers, and are on average about 1 year older.

¹⁴ For the first wave, only information on relationship quality to the biological parent could be used for respondents from stepfamilies.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics, Estimation Sample.

	Men			Women		
	Stayer	Leaver	Total	Stayer	Leaver	Total
Self-esteem ^a	4.14	4.06	4.10	3.87	3.77	3.81
Leaving parental home	0	0.39	0.19	0	0.46	0.29
Short-distance move	0	0.24	0.12	0	0.25	0.16
Long-distance move	0	0.14	0.07	0	0.20	0.13
Years after leaving home	0	0.87	0.44	0	1.18	0.73
Emotional distance to parents ^a	2.82	2.90	2.86	2.55	2.58	2.56
Conflict frequency with parents ^a	2.53	2.47	2.50	2.69	2.57	2.61
Health status ^a	1.99	2.03	2.01	2.22	2.28	2.26
Activity status: Education	42.07	30.82	36.45	49.70	31.72	38.50
Activity status: University	12.45	23.28	17.87	14.73	24.47	20.80
Activity status: Vocational training	27.12	21.61	24.36	22.91	20.51	21.42
Activity status: Employment	12.49	18.34	15.41	8.51	15.88	13.10
Activity status: Other	5.87	5.94	5.91	4.15	7.42	6.19
Relationship status: Single	72.11	56.83	64.47	60.65	41.86	48.94
Relationship status: LAT	25.99	29.45	27.72	36.99	36.74	36.84
Relationship status: COHAB	1.90	13.72	7.81	2.36	21.40	14.22
Age (in years)	18.95	20.04	19.50	18.66	20.05	19.53
Δ Self-esteem	-0.21	-0.24	-0.22	-0.13	-0.22	-0.18
Δ Leaving parental home	0	1	0.39	0	1	0.49
Δ Short-distance move	0	0.66	0.26	0	0.60	0.29
Δ Long-distance move	0	0.34	0.13	0	0.40	0.20
Δ Years after leaving home	0	2.76	1.09	0	3.35	1.65
Δ Emotional distance to parents	-0.13	-0.08	-0.11	-0.20	-0.14	-0.17
Δ Conflict frequency with parents	-0.09	-0.43	-0.22	-0.08	-0.41	-0.24
Δ Health status	0.16	0.21	0.18	0.08	0.08	0.08
Δ Activity status: Education	-0.55	-0.81	-0.66	-0.53	-0.82	-0.67
Δ Activity status: University	0.13	0.33	0.21	0.17	0.32	0.24
Δ Activity status: Vocational training	0.14	0.00	0.09	0.18	0.04	0.11
Δ Activity status: Employment	0.22	0.43	0.30	0.14	0.38	0.26
Δ Activity status: Other	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.08	0.06
Δ Relationship status: Single	-0.17	-0.37	-0.25	-0.18	-0.35	-0.26
Δ Relationship status: LAT	0.14	0.02	0.09	0.14	-0.13	0.01
Δ Relationship status: COHAB	0.03	0.35	0.16	0.04	0.48	0.25
Δ Age (years)	4.46	7.46	5.64	3.93	7.45	5.66
Number of persons	1,089	704	1,793	883	855	1,738
% of total	60.74	39.26	100	50.80	49.20	100
Number of person-years	5686	5685	11371	4147	6842	10989
% of total	50.00	50.00	100	37.73	62.28	100
Mean person-years per person	3.90	4.84	4.37	3.64	4.83	4.38

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: ^a = range from 1-5, LAT = Living-apart-together, COHAB = Living with the partner. Δ indicates within-person difference of the value observed in the last and first person-year included in the sample.

The middle section of Table 8 shows how much self-esteem and covariates change over respondents' observation window. Stayers and leavers are observed over a period of 4.5 years and 7.5 years (men), and 4 years and 7.5 years (women), respectively (Δ age, the mean age difference of age between the first and last observed person-year). Self-esteem decreases by approximately 0.2 scale points over time for both genders. However, this finding does not represent a substantial development, as it can mainly be traced to the mode change from CAPI to CASI in the assessment of self-esteem between the first and following interviews (see Sonntag et al., 2014). For young men, the decline in self-esteem between stayers and leavers is

very similar (-0.21 vs. -0.24 scale points), while young women who leave the parental home experience a slightly larger decline than those who continue to live with their parents (-0.13 vs. -0.22 scale points). Thus, no descriptive evidence is found for higher self-esteem values among home-leavers.

Looking at within-person changes among the confounder variables, only minor differences in health status and emotional distance to parents between stayers and leaver are evident, whereas major differences in the remaining three covariates are observed. The frequency of conflict with the parents substantially decreases (by almost half a scale point) for home-leavers, but not for home-stayers. There are also considerable changes in partnership status, with the share of singles decreasing much more among the leavers (men: -37% , women: -35%) than among the stayers (men: -17% , women: -18%). The majority of stayers enter LAT relationships, while leavers more frequently move in with their partner (especially young women). Transitions in activity status between the two groups also differ over time. Compared to stayers, leavers more often attend university or enter employment; in contrast, a larger proportion of young adults who continue to live with their parents attend vocational training, which is rarely observed among those who leave home. These findings illustrate that it is crucial to account for time-varying relationship events and educational or employment transitions.

4.4.2 The Average Effect of Leaving Home on Self-Esteem

Figure 5 illustrates results of the FE model analyses (full regression results are reported in the Appendix, Table A8), which provide information on the average change in self-esteem for young men and women before and after leaving the parental home. The left panel of Figure 5 shows the overall effect of moving out, while the right panel shows this effect separately for short and long-distance moves. Leaving the parental home virtually does not affect the self-esteem of young men, while a small negative effect is found for young women (-0.04 scale points). With regard to the spatial distance of home-leaving, some effect heterogeneity is detected: For women, moving far away from the parental home leads to a larger decrease in self-esteem compared to moving only a short distance (-0.06 vs. -0.03 scale points). For men, long-distance moves result in a slight increase in self-esteem ($+0.03$ scale points), while short-distance moves are associated with a small decrease (-0.02 scale points). As these home-leaving effects are mostly weakly negative and non-significant (at the 5% error level), neither the *maturation hypothesis* nor the *long-distance hypothesis* can be confirmed.

Although the confounding variables may not be interpreted causally, they provide some additional insights: The previously mentioned mode effect (see Sonntag et al., 2014) can be seen very clearly in the FE models, as the self-esteem of young women ($+0.1$ scale points) and men ($+0.14$ scale points) is higher in the first wave. In addition, a deterioration in physical health and in the relationship quality with parents leads to a statistically significant reduction in

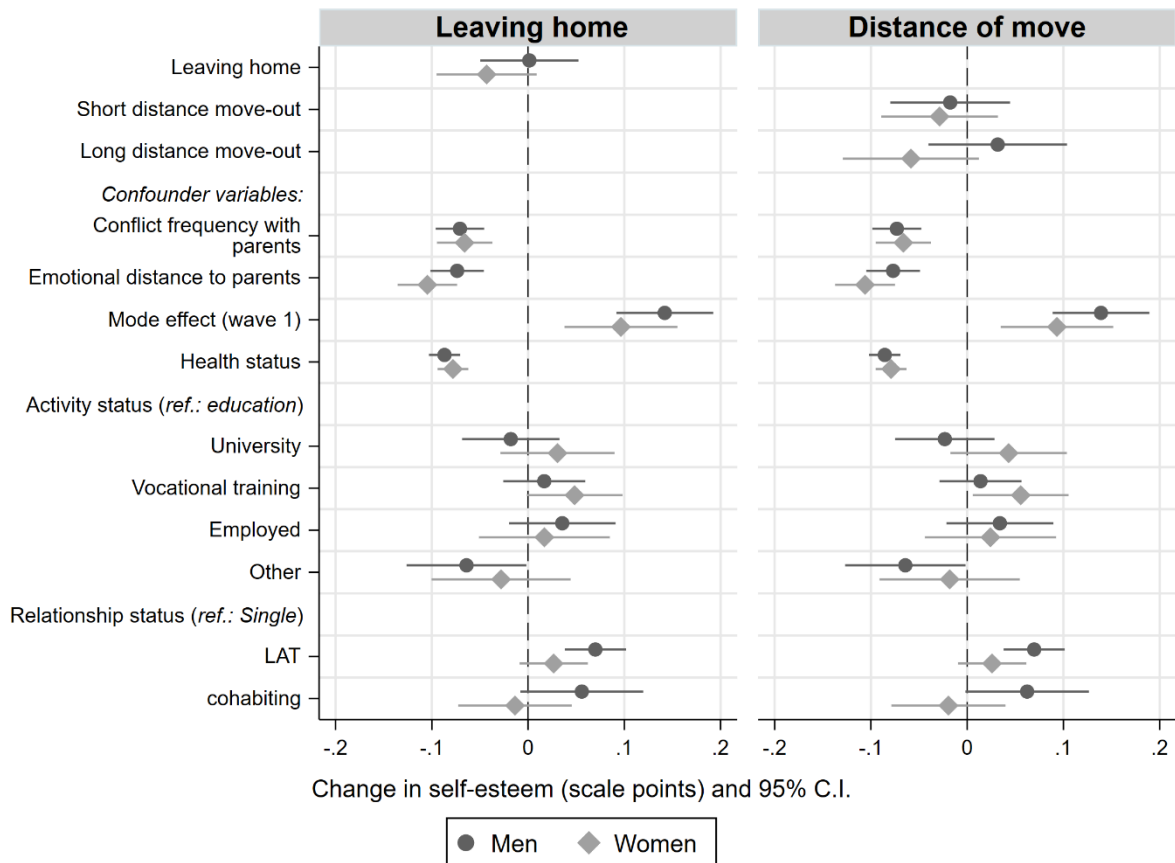


Figure 5. The Average Effect of Leaving the Parental Home on Self-Esteem.

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Effect on self-esteem estimated by linear fixed effects (FE) regressions with panel-robust standard errors. The FE models include age dummies as further covariates. Full regression results are shown in Appendix, Table A8.

self-esteem for both genders. Changes in activity status have only a weak influence on self-esteem, but some gender-specific effects become visible. For example, men's self-esteem is reduced more strongly than women's if they do not enter into higher education or employment directly after school. Women experience a larger increase in self-esteem when starting vocational training as compared to men. Relationship transitions also affect the level of self-esteem, but significant effects are only detected for men, who move from being single into LAT relationships.

Although the results on the effect of leaving the parental home on self-esteem are not in line with the *maturation hypothesis*, the null effects found in the FE models are consistent with existing evidence (see Galambos et al., 2006; J. Wagner et al., 2013). However, if moving out has an opposing effect over time (as assumed in the *decline and rise hypothesis*), the average effect may be distorted. Therefore, the time-path of the effect is analyzed to uncover potential temporal effect heterogeneity.

4.4.3 The Time-Path of Self-Esteem after Leaving the Parental Home

Figure 6 provides evidence for the *decline and rise hypothesis* and offers further information for an evaluation of the *long-distance hypothesis* (see Appendix, Table A9 for full regression results). As discussed earlier, feelings of homesickness and loneliness would predict a decrease in self-esteem shortly after the move, while coping with the developmental task of living independently from one's parents should contribute to an increase in self-esteem in the long term.

For young men, no significant effects are found over time, regardless of whether the move is considered in general or a focus is set on long-distance moves. There is neither a drop in self-esteem within the first year of living independently from the parents, nor a substantial increase over the following years. For long-distance moves, weak positive effects are found for the first year and again from the fifth year onwards, but due to their lower incidence in the analysis sample, none of the effects reaches statistical significance. For women, the results are very similar: Most effects of the time-path are close to zero and non-significant. The only exception is the first year after a long-distance move, for which a significant weak negative effect (-0.09 scale points) is detected. However, as no subsequent increase in women's self-esteem is found over the following years, the *long-distance hypothesis* receives only very limited support.

In summary, the results of the time-path of the home-leaving effect indicate leaving the parental home neither affects the level nor the development of young adults' self-esteem. According to the FE results, it cannot be concluded that moving out of the parental home leads to an overall increase in self-esteem over time, as predicted by the *maturation hypothesis*. With one exception, only non-significant effects were found for both genders. Furthermore, while existing studies on the transition to university find pronounced changes in self-esteem over time (see Chung et al., 2014; Shim et al., 2012), this does not hold true for leaving the parental home. Consequently, the *decline and rise hypothesis* can also not be confirmed. Finally, there is very little evidence to support the hypothesis that a long-distance move leads to more significant changes in self-esteem, as merely one weak negative effect is found for the first year after leaving home among young women.

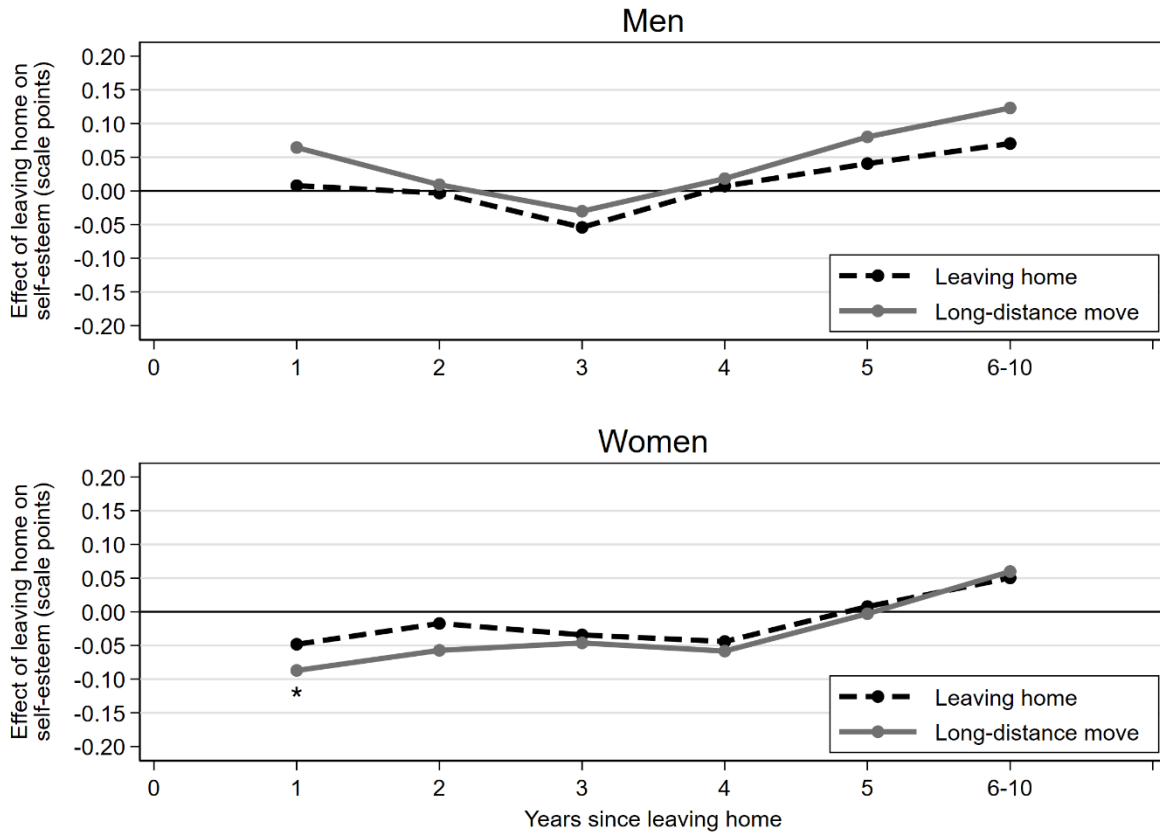


Figure 6. Time-Path of the (Long-Distance) Leaving Home Effect on Self-Esteem.

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Effect on self-esteem estimated by linear fixed effects (FE) regressions with panel-robust standard errors. The FE models include as further covariates frequency of conflict with parents, emotional distance to parents, mode effect (wave 1), health status, activity status (five categories), relationship status (three categories), and age dummies. Full regression results are shown in Appendix, Table A9.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (two-sided test).

4.4.4 Robustness Checks

How much can the results be trusted? In this section sensitivity analyses addressing potential issues with confounding variables, sample selection, and anticipation effects are briefly discussed.

As mentioned as part of the analytical strategy, it remains unclear whether the relationship quality with parents represents a confounding factor or a mediating mechanism of the effect of leaving home on self-esteem. For this reason, additional FE models are calculated excluding relationship quality indicators (i.e., *emotional distance* and *conflict frequency*). The findings on the average effect (see Figure 6) remain virtually identical if the relationship quality with the parents is not controlled for (see Appendix, Table A10). In the additional models, neither leaving the parental home nor a long-distance move affects young adults' self-esteem. The

additional time-path analyses (see Appendix, Figure A1) also yield very similar results compared to those of the main analyses (see Figure 7). However, two remarkable differences regarding the effect in the first year after leaving home emerge: For women, the (only) significant negative effect found in the main analyses ($b = -0.09, t = -2.01$) is slightly weaker and no longer significant ($b = -0.07, t = -1.54$). On the contrary, a significant positive effect emerges for men ($b = 0.09, t = 1.99$), which was non-significant in the main analyses ($b = 0.06, t = 1.50$). The slight decline in self-esteem found within the first year after a long-distance move is therefore not robust and should be interpreted with caution. In sum, the robustness analyses strengthen the insight that leaving the parental home does not have a causal effect on young adults' self-esteem.

Another issue that must be addressed is sample selectivity. Respondents who relocate are more difficult to track and are more likely to drop out of the panel. In addition, it is possible that the willingness to participate is also dependent on a respondent's level of self-esteem, so that selective dropout can distort the true effect of home-leaving on self-esteem. Two tests are conducted to investigate whether sample selection is responsible for the results achieved here.

First, a selection indicator (equals 1 if a respondent is not included in the estimation sample in the next year, 0 otherwise) is added to the FE models (see Appendix, Table A11, M1: selection indicator). The idea of the test is that a significant effect of the selection dummy indicates that the sample is selective in terms of self-esteem; however, the results provide no evidence for sample selection.

Second, the FE models are re-estimated with a sample of respondents observed from wave 1 until wave 10 (see Appendix, Table A11, M2: continuous sample). Per study design, the respondents of the pairfam study are allowed to temporarily drop out for one wave every two waves, resulting in some respondents with less than 10 interviews in this subsample. If the results between the analysis sample and the (reduced) continuous sample are identical, the results are very unlikely to be influenced by panel attrition. As with the first selection test, the results do not indicate a selection bias: Leaving the parental home does not affect the level of self-esteem of young adults in the continuous sample. In summary, sample selection does not explain why no effect of leaving the parental home on self-esteem is found.

Finally, the presented results may be distorted due to an anticipation effect. In this case, future residential status would influence current levels of self-esteem, violating the strict exogeneity assumption for FE models. Although not particularly plausible from a theoretical point of view, it cannot be ruled out that the prospect of leaving the parental home could lead to a change in self-esteem before the actual move occurs. To capture a potential anticipation effect, the time path analyses are recalculated including a dummy variable for the year before the move took place (see Appendix, Table A12 for full regression results). In these models, the reference category is formed by all person years of more than one year before the move. Figure 7 illustrates that no anticipation effect is found for either gender.

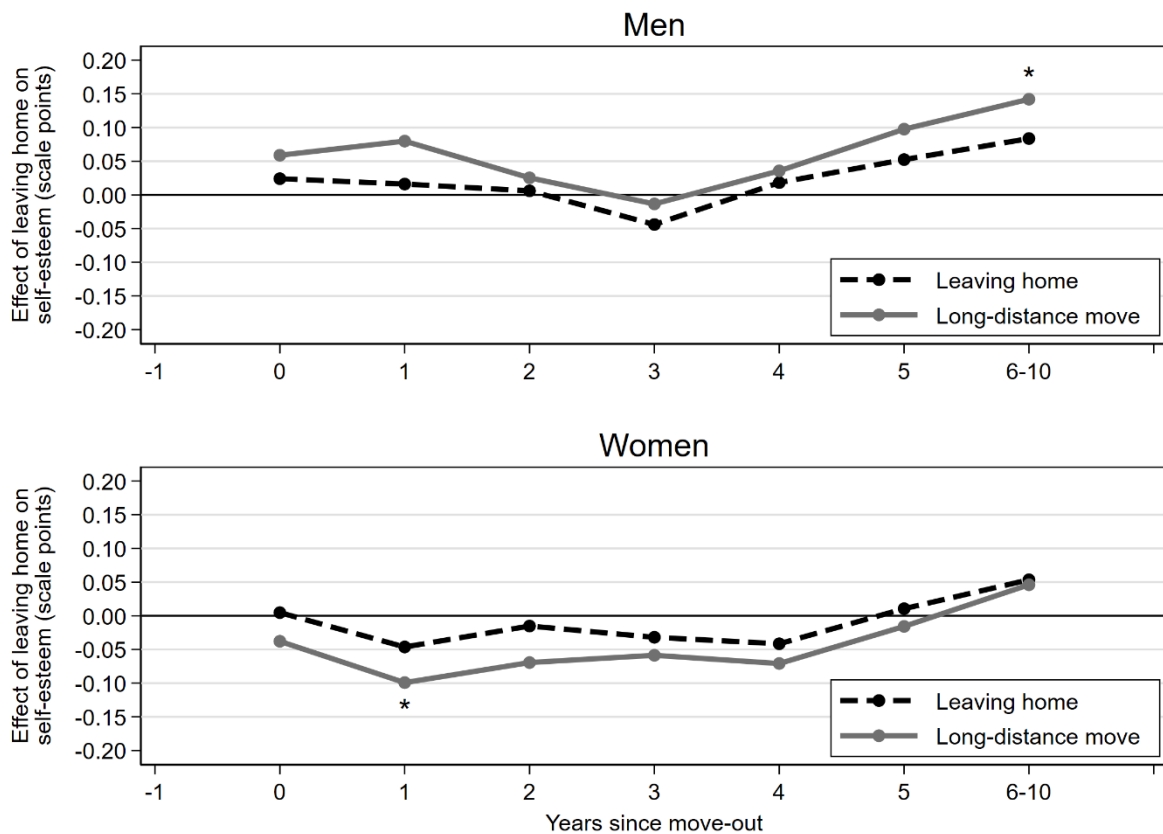


Figure 7. Time-Path of the (Long-Distance) Leaving Home Effect on Self-Esteem (With Anticipation Effect).

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Effect on self-esteem estimated by linear fixed effects (FE) regressions with panel-robust standard errors. The FE models include as further covariates frequency of conflict with parents, emotional distance to parents, mode effect (wave 1), health status, activity status (five categories), relationship status (three categories), and age dummies. Full regression results are shown in Appendix, Table A12.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (two-sided test).

4.5 Conclusions

This study provides new insights into the impact of major life events on the development of self-esteem among young adults. Using panel data from the Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (pairfam) Release 10.0, the development of self-esteem among young adults in Germany who moved out of their parental home for the first time is analyzed. Comparable to findings on personality traits from the Big Five, studies on the development of self-esteem document an increase in self-esteem during late adolescence and young adulthood (e.g., Erol & Orth, 2011). Major normative life events (such as finishing

school) associated with new roles and significant changes in the social environment of young individuals are held responsible for the observed changes in self-esteem.

Using theoretical perspectives from the field of personality trait development, this study argues that leaving the parental home generally increases self-esteem. Due to adaption processes, heterogeneous effects are expected over time, while moving further away from the parental home is assumed to exert more pronounced changes in self-esteem. However, the results do not confirm these theoretical expectations: There is no substantial difference in self-esteem when descriptively comparing “leavers” and “stayers”. More importantly, when linear regression fixed effects panel models are used, neither an average nor a time-varying effect of home-leaving on self-esteem is found. Long-distance moves do also not lead to notable changes in self-esteem.¹⁵

Considering that these results are robust with regard to both model specification and panel attrition, these findings have several implications. First, this study is consistent with the scarce knowledge about the consequences of leaving the parental home on young adults’ self-esteem (Galambos et al., 2006; J. Wagner et al., 2013): Leaving the parental home has no significant effect on the development of self-esteem. In contrast to entering romantic relationships (see, e.g., Lehnart et al., 2010; Luciano & Orth, 2017), leaving the parental home does not help explain the increase in self-esteem during young adulthood. No short-term decline in self-esteem directly after the move was observed, as has been found after the transition to university in the US context (see Chung et al., 2014; Shim et al., 2012). Consequently, feelings of loneliness or homesickness do not seem to play a significant role after young adults’ transition from home in Germany, even if the relocation involves a greater distance from the parental home.

Second, the results provide some insights into the theoretical approaches used to explain the development of self-esteem. In addition to a number of related studies on normative life events, such as the transition to parenthood (e.g., Bleidorn et al., 2016) or from university to work (see Reitz et al., 2020), this study shows that taking on new social roles in young adulthood does not necessarily contribute to an increase in self-esteem in the sense of the social investment principle.

Third, this study shows that the fixed effects methodology might be a useful statistical tool for causal analyzes in the field of developmental psychology. Among other methods, FE modeling is discussed as an alternative to Cross-Lagged Panel Models (see Mund & Nestler, 2019). While the FE methodology is not suited to all research questions in the field of personality psychology (e.g., rank-order differences), it can be a useful tool for research on mean-level change across time, developmental trajectories, and the time-path of events (see Brüderl, Kratz, & Bauer, 2019).

¹⁵ For women who move far away, there is a slight decrease in self-esteem in the first year after move-out, but the effect is not robust to model specification.

Although this study is based on a longitudinal study design and utilizes rich data, it has some limitations. First, the scope of the present study is rather narrow, focusing on mean-level changes, while neglecting potential effects on the rank-order stability of self-esteem. Second, although the pairfam study makes it possible to examine the development of self-esteem over a period of 10 years, only annual interviews and a highly abbreviated self-esteem scale are available. Both factors are likely to contribute to the null effects found: The reduced and adapted three-item version of the Rosenberg self-esteem scale is rather imprecise and prone to measurement errors, and the annual survey mode does not allow for a more fine-grained analysis of the time-path of the effect, which hampers the examination of potential short-term effects occurring around the event of home-leaving. In this respect, the present study falls behind comparable research that has been able to better explore the role of (short-term) micro-processes of self-esteem (see Hutteman et al., 2015). Third, the present study cannot empirically test the theoretical mechanisms and assumptions of the theoretical approaches used. For example, it remains unclear as to how the degree of social inclusion differs before and after leaving the parental home. From this perspective, this study does not respond to demands to “do a better job in terms of assessing environmental variables and transition contexts, and what these actually mean for people” (Fruyt & van Leeuwen, 2014, p. 766) when testing the *social investment theory*. While it is able to incorporate the relationship quality between young adults and their parents, peer influences and changes in the social network cannot be modeled. Finally, the simultaneity of status changes linked to the decision to leave the parental home represents an analytical challenge to the study at hand. The interdependence between the transitions out of the parental home, into romantic relationships, and from education to employment impedes the correct identification of the unadulterated home-leaving effect. In this study, changes in both activity and relationship status are regarded as confounding factors and controlled for in the FE models. However, it remains unclear whether this represents an adequate analytical approach to the simultaneity of processes related to leaving the parental home. An alternative future research design could model the impact of home-leaving paths on self-esteem, defined as interactions between the move and status changes in the partnership or work domain.

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Appendix

(Table A1 and Table A2 omitted; see online appendix of published article; <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-019-09544-x>)

Table A3. Full Regression Results of the Average Effect of Leaving Home on Parental Financial Transfers.

	Men		Women	
Leaving home (<i>ref. at parental home</i>)	1384.3 ^{***}	(256.9)	842.2 ^{***}	(239.9)
Conflict frequency with parents	189.0	(119.6)	-10.1	(152.0)
Emotional distance to parents	-22.0	(124.0)	50.5	(149.0)
Health status	15.5	(62.4)	-14.8	(76.2)
Interview before 2012	173.1	(222.5)	-381.7	(301.7)
Activity status (<i>ref. education</i>)				
University	1127.2 ^{***}	(242.4)	1061.8 ^{***}	(257.9)
Vocational training	19.1	(160.6)	-29.2	(225.7)
Employed	-610.9 [*]	(244.4)	-467.7	(288.7)
Other	420.6	(238.8)	-139.9	(307.6)
Relationship status (<i>ref. single</i>)				
LAT	-183.1	(139.2)	132.8	(158.2)
Cohabiting	-579.8	(332.0)	-181.7	(249.2)
Age in years (<i>ref. 18 years</i>)				
15 years	-972.7 ^{**}	(312.3)	-403.3	(673.9)
16 years	-641.5 ^{***}	(160.0)	-738.6 ^{***}	(199.9)
17 years	-706.5 ^{**}	(258.7)	-78.6	(333.5)
19 years	-440.7	(300.3)	-203.3	(322.6)
20 years	-438.0 [*]	(198.7)	-513.3	(301.8)
21 years	-78.8	(326.9)	-163.3	(480.7)
22 years	-374.1	(308.5)	-529.8	(438.4)
23 years	118.4	(382.0)	-497.2	(499.8)
24 years	-519.4	(341.9)	-618.1	(484.0)
25 years	-229.5	(451.3)	-573.3	(512.3)
26 years	9.7	(495.5)	-988.8	(581.4)
27 years	-208.9	(742.8)	452.2	(4302.4)
R-squared (within)	.08		.06	
Person years	3099		2801	
Number of persons	851		768	

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Linear FE-regression coefficients (in euro) and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses).

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

Table A4. Full Regression Results for the Time-Path of the Leaving Home Effect on Parental Financial Transfers (see Figure 4).

	Men		Women	
Years since move (<i>ref. at parental home</i>)				
1 year	1153.5***	(303.8)	447.8	(303.3)
2 years	1562.1***	(386.2)	1182.6***	(302.8)
3 years	1427.4***	(413.9)	652.9	(333.7)
4 years	1775.6***	(500.4)	1983.7***	(464.4)
5 years	1483.1**	(491.2)	1426.0***	(428.1)
6 to 8 years	1953.8**	(657.0)	2492.4***	(548.3)
Activity status (<i>ref. education</i>)				
University	1137.1***	(242.4)	1124.9***	(259.4)
Vocational training	24.4	(160.8)	31.1	(226.7)
Employed	-589.7*	(243.9)	-298.7	(287.1)
Other	440.8	(238.4)	-80.9	(304.4)
Relationship status (<i>ref. single</i>)				
LAT	-175.3	(137.6)	139.6	(158.7)
Cohabiting	-568.1	(333.7)	-202.9	(252.5)
Conflict frequency with parents	205.2	(120.5)	-1.1	(153.7)
Emotional distance to parents	-21.0	(123.7)	27.9	(148.8)
Health status	20.2	(62.7)	-13.0	(76.0)
Interview before 2012	177.0	(221.5)	-445.4	(300.7)
Age in years (<i>ref. 18 years</i>)				
15 years	-1005.1**	(311.0)	-485.1	(680.1)
16 years	-636.8***	(159.9)	-726.5***	(199.1)
17 years	-710.2**	(260.6)	-73.0	(335.2)
19 years	-459.7	(302.1)	-230.3	(324.1)
20 years	-435.3*	(198.7)	-590.4	(303.1)
21 years	-88.1	(328.3)	-273.8	(480.6)
22 years	-408.0	(307.0)	-798.4	(441.4)
23 years	79.1	(379.2)	-828.3	(517.6)
24 years	-611.7	(336.8)	-1207.2*	(512.5)
25 years	-342.3	(456.4)	-1404.4*	(576.6)
26 years	-182.5	(505.0)	-1960.5**	(658.7)
27 years	-378.9	(717.1)	-603.7	(3991.0)
R-squared (within)	.08		.07	
Person years	3099		2801	
Number of persons	851		768	

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Linear FE-regression coefficients (in euro) and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses).

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

Table A5. Full Regression Results the Average Effect of Leaving Home on Parental Financial Transfers, Estimated without Confounder Variables.

	Men		Women	
Leaving home (<i>ref. at parental home</i>)	1247.5***	(225.0)	811.7***	(209.7)
Age in years (<i>ref. 18 years</i>)				
15 years	-922.7***	(236.6)	-364.9	(710.0)
16 years	-648.2***	(145.1)	-828.0***	(186.3)
17 years	-812.4**	(265.7)	-82.3	(336.4)
19 years	-397.2	(311.3)	9.6	(317.8)
20 years	-336.4*	(156.5)	34.5	(210.8)
21 years	-29.7	(297.8)	541.3	(331.4)
22 years	-446.5*	(174.7)	210.6	(241.8)
23 years	-6.2	(362.9)	82.6	(342.3)
24 years	-728.3**	(233.1)	35.6	(277.9)
25 years	-578.4	(432.1)	-173.6	(348.2)
26 years	-367.8	(416.8)	-507.3	(406.7)
27 years	-430.5	(694.9)	1273.9	(4241.5)
R-squared (within)	.04		.03	
Person years	3099		2801	
Number of persons	851		768	

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Linear FE-regression coefficients (in euro) and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses).

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

Table A6. Full Regression Results of the Average Effect of Leaving Home on Parental Financial Transfers, Estimated with Different Specifications of the Outcome Variable.

	Low specification		High specification	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Leaving home (<i>ref. at parental home</i>)	950.8*** (184.1)	590.6*** (170.3)	1889.6*** (342.9)	1233.0*** (329.1)
Conflict frequency with parents	159.6 (88.7)	-4.7 (105.6)	265.8 (163.1)	-12.8 (207.4)
Emotional distance to parents	21.2 (85.9)	2.5 (101.5)	-37.9 (165.6)	61.0 (202.2)
Health status	-5.0 (42.8)	-4.5 (51.0)	17.1 (84.0)	-50.8 (100.3)
Interview before 2012	82.9 (151.7)	-219.6 (203.2)	206.4 (297.4)	-547.1 (399.6)
Activity status (<i>ref. education</i>)				
University	598.9*** (164.3)	603.0** (186.2)	1417.1*** (314.3)	1482.4*** (357.2)
Vocational training	-29.9 (114.3)	-18.5 (158.1)	12.6 (214.5)	-14.8 (299.9)
Employed	-476.5** (178.9)	-367.9 (206.5)	-921.0** (320.0)	-647.4 (394.3)
Other	144.6 (149.5)	-143.7 (197.4)	488.0 (310.0)	-193.4 (407.4)
Relationship status (<i>ref. single</i>)				
LAT	-156.7 (105.9)	39.9 (104.6)	-302.9 (191.3)	134.5 (210.6)
Cohabiting	-436.2 (249.7)	-114.3 (175.8)	-821.1 (441.1)	-252.8 (338.3)
Age in years (<i>ref. 18 years</i>)				
15 years	-729.7** (224.5)	-223.0 (403.5)	-1611.6** (512.1)	-611.8 (1009.2)
16 years	-438.4*** (111.0)	-505.0*** (137.0)	-878.3*** (216.2)	-991.3*** (265.4)
17 years	-518.5** (185.0)	-65.1 (223.1)	-1049.7** (344.2)	-110.6 (453.7)
19 years	-300.9 (205.9)	-54.4 (212.0)	-642.1 (381.8)	-152.8 (438.1)
20 years	-234.5 (134.4)	-310.7 (213.7)	-517.9* (263.7)	-760.5 (403.7)
21 years	-79.3 (228.1)	-108.9 (325.0)	-118.8 (442.5)	-370.7 (638.2)
22 years	-126.5 (220.5)	-251.8 (302.5)	-328.4 (420.5)	-664.1 (583.4)
23 years	44.1 (265.2)	-208.5 (353.3)	78.2 (503.0)	-642.8 (673.2)
24 years	-275.2 (238.4)	-329.4 (345.9)	-599.2 (458.4)	-889.8 (649.7)
25 years	-66.5 (318.2)	-335.5 (344.8)	-239.4 (608.3)	-825.4 (683.3)
26 years	149.3 (375.1)	-435.6 (432.8)	67.5 (668.6)	-1377.1 (795.8)
27 years	-202.9 (386.4)	-147.7 (2012.6)	-139.0 (988.4)	100.6 (4957.5)
R-squared (within)	.07	.05	.08	.06
Person years	3099	2801	3099	2801
Number of persons	851	768	851	768

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: linear FE-regression coefficients (in euro) and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses).

Low / high specification: Intervals of financial support replaced by the lowest / highest possible value (e.g., 500-1000 euro: low = 500 euro, high = 1000 euro; >10000 euro: low = 10000 euro, high = 15000 euro).

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

Table A7. Full Regression Results for the Time-Path of the Leaving Home Effect on Parental Financial Transfers, Estimated with Anticipation Effect (see Figure 5).

	Men		Women	
<i>Years since move (ref. more than 1 year before move-out)</i>				
0 years (anticipation)	237.7	(283.7)	-356.9	(247.3)
1 year	1187.5***	(302.0)	368.5	(310.9)
2 years	1667.8***	(403.3)	989.8**	(335.7)
3 years	1479.0***	(408.0)	544.2	(344.1)
4 years	1899.2***	(506.2)	1768.6***	(505.2)
5 years	1542.4**	(488.5)	1287.9**	(441.8)
6 to 8 years	2060.6**	(655.5)	2266.8***	(580.7)
<i>Activity status (ref. education)</i>				
University	1136.6***	(242.3)	1131.6***	(259.3)
Vocational training	30.7	(160.3)	29.7	(226.3)
Employed	-586.0*	(243.1)	-292.0	(287.0)
Other	449.5	(237.2)	-72.7	(303.9)
<i>Relationship status (ref. single)</i>				
LAT	-180.6	(137.5)	148.1	(159.3)
Cohabiting	-579.9	(334.4)	-185.2	(254.4)
Conflict frequency with parents	201.0	(120.1)	3.8	(153.7)
Emotional distance to parents	-22.8	(123.8)	21.8	(148.5)
Health status	19.6	(62.8)	-15.3	(76.1)
Interview before 2012	172.0	(221.7)	-454.9	(301.0)
<i>Age in years (ref. 18 years)</i>				
15 years	-1007.5**	(312.3)	-495.7	(679.8)
16 years	-620.7***	(158.5)	-761.6***	(201.7)
17 years	-703.0**	(261.0)	-85.3	(333.9)
19 years	-475.6	(302.5)	-202.6	(323.5)
20 years	-455.9*	(200.8)	-561.6	(301.8)
21 years	-115.8	(327.1)	-220.0	(480.1)
22 years	-446.8	(308.9)	-742.4	(440.8)
23 years	30.2	(380.1)	-755.2	(513.6)
24 years	-650.7	(336.7)	-1139.4*	(508.3)
25 years	-387.4	(459.4)	-1307.3*	(579.2)
26 years	-231.9	(498.2)	-1867.2**	(657.2)
27 years	-423.7	(728.9)	-532.9	(3988.7)
R-squared (within)	.08		.07	
Person years	3099		2801	
Number of persons	851		768	

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: linear FE-regression coefficients (in euro) and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses).

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

Table A8. Full Regression Results for the Average Effect of Leaving Home on Self-Esteem (see Figure 6).

	Leaving home		Long-distance move	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Leaving home (<i>ref. at parental home</i>)	.001 (.026)	-.043 (.026)		
Short-distance move			-.018 (.032)	-.029 (.031)
Long-distance move			.032 (.037)	-.058 (.036)
Conflict frequency with parents	-.071*** (.013)	-.066*** (.015)	-.073*** (.013)	-.066*** (.015)
Emotional distance to parents	-.074*** (.014)	-.105*** (.016)	-.077*** (.014)	-.106*** (.016)
Mode effect	.142*** (.026)	.096** (.030)	.139*** (.026)	.093** (.030)
Health status	-.087*** (.008)	-.078*** (.008)	-.086*** (.008)	-.079*** (.008)
Activity status (<i>ref. education</i>)				
University	-.018 (.026)	.031 (.030)	-.023 (.026)	.043 (.031)
Vocational training	.017 (.022)	.048 (.025)	.014 (.022)	.056* (.025)
Employed	.035 (.028)	.017 (.035)	.034 (.028)	.024 (.035)
Other	-.064* (.032)	-.028 (.037)	-.064* (.032)	-.018 (.037)
Relationship status (<i>ref. single</i>)				
LAT	.070*** (.016)	.027 (.018)	.070*** (.016)	.026 (.018)
Cohabiting	.056 (.033)	-.014 (.030)	.062 (.033)	-.019 (.030)
R-squared (within)	.06	.04	.06	.05
Person years	11371	10989	11330	10948
Number of persons	1793	1738	1793	1738

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Regression coefficients and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses). Models further include dummies for age years.

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

Table A9. Full Regression Results for the Time-Path of the Leaving Home Effect on Self-Esteem (see Figure 7).

	Leaving home		Long-distance move	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>Years since move (ref. not moved out)</i>				
1 year	.008 (.029)	-.048 (.029)	.064 (.043)	-.087* (.043)
2 years	-.003 (.032)	-.017 (.033)	.009 (.047)	-.057 (.044)
3 years	-.054 (.039)	-.034 (.039)	-.030 (.054)	-.046 (.048)
4 years	.007 (.048)	-.044 (.045)	.018 (.068)	-.058 (.052)
5 years	.041 (.053)	.008 (.051)	.080 (.071)	-.003 (.059)
6 to 10 years	.070 (.064)	.050 (.065)	.123 (.068)	.060 (.063)
Conflict frequency with parents	-.071*** (.013)	-.065*** (.015)	-.072*** (.013)	-.066*** (.015)
Emotional distance to parents	-.074*** (.014)	-.105*** (.016)	-.077*** (.014)	-.107*** (.016)
Mode effect	.142*** (.026)	.096** (.030)	.139*** (.026)	.093** (.030)
Health status	-.086*** (.008)	-.078*** (.008)	-.085*** (.008)	-.079*** (.008)
<i>Activity status (ref. education)</i>				
University	-.017 (.026)	.034 (.030)	-.023 (.026)	.049 (.031)
Vocational training	.017 (.022)	.050* (.026)	.013 (.022)	.057* (.025)
Employed	.036 (.028)	.022 (.035)	.033 (.028)	.027 (.035)
Other	-.064* (.032)	-.028 (.037)	-.065* (.032)	-.016 (.037)
<i>Relationship status (ref. single)</i>				
LAT	.070*** (.016)	.028 (.018)	.070*** (.016)	.026 (.018)
Cohabiting	.058 (.032)	-.016 (.030)	.056 (.032)	-.028 (.029)
R-squared (within)	.06	.04	.06	.05
Person years	11371	10989	11330	10948
Number of persons	1793	1738	1793	1738

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Regression coefficients and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses). Models further include dummies for age years.

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

Table A10. Full Regression Results for the Average Effect of Leaving Home on Self-Esteem (Without Parent-Child Relationship Indicators).

	Leaving home		Distance of move	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Leaving home (<i>ref. at parental home</i>)	.017 (.026)	-.028 (.027)		
Short-distance move			.002 (.032)	-.011 (.031)
Long-distance move			.051 (.037)	-.045 (.036)
Mode effect	.126*** (.026)	.083** (.030)	.123*** (.026)	.080** (.030)
Health status	-.091*** (.008)	-.084*** (.008)	-.089*** (.008)	-.085*** (.008)
Activity status (<i>ref. education</i>)				
University	-.016 (.026)	.040 (.031)	-.022 (.026)	.053 (.031)
Vocational training	.021 (.022)	.053* (.025)	.018 (.022)	.060* (.026)
Employed	.039 (.028)	.024 (.035)	.038 (.028)	.032 (.035)
Other	-.069* (.032)	-.025 (.037)	-.070* (.032)	-.015 (.038)
Relationship status (<i>ref. single</i>)				
LAT	.072*** (.016)	.024 (.018)	.072*** (.016)	.024 (.018)
Cohabiting	.053 (.033)	-.003 (.030)	.058 (.033)	-.009 (.030)
R-squared (within)	.05	.03	.05	.03
Person years	11371	10989	11330	10948
Number of persons	1793	1738	1793	1738

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Regression coefficients and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses). Models further include dummies for age years.

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

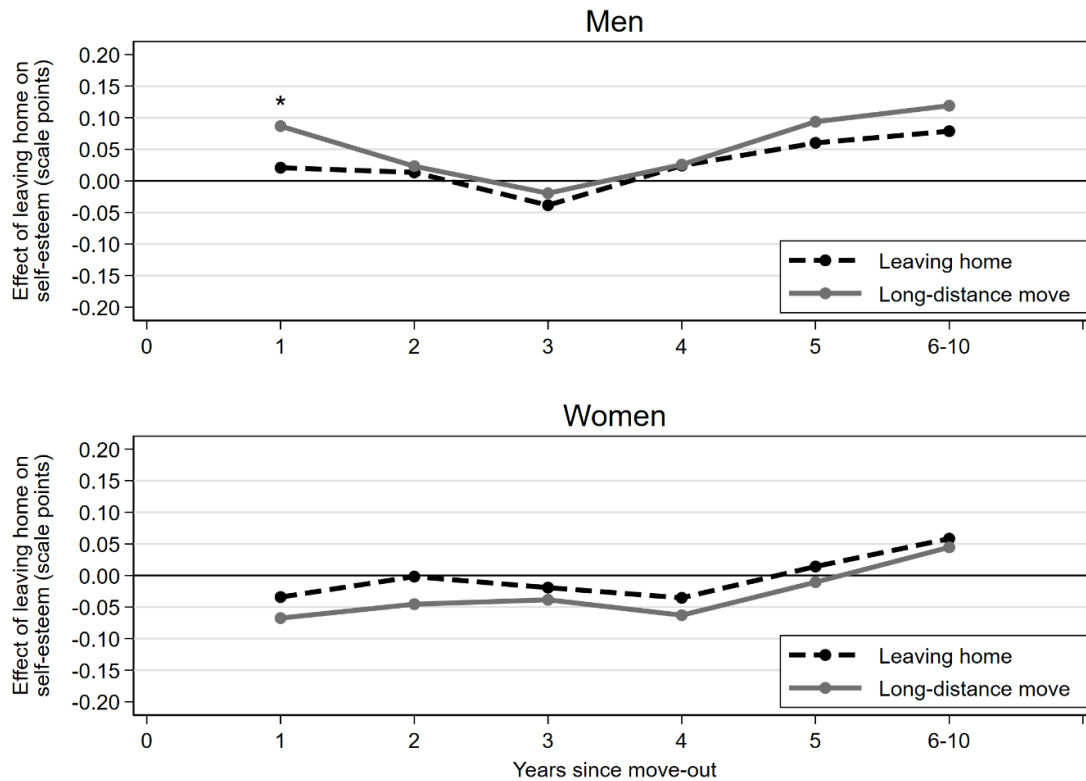


Figure A1. Time-Path of the (Long-Distance) Leaving Home Effect on Self-Esteem, Estimated by FE Models without Parent-Child Relationship Indicators.

Source: pairfam Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Effect on self-esteem estimated by linear fixed effects (FE) regressions with panel-robust standard errors. The FE models include as further covariates frequency of conflict with parents, emotional distance to parents, mode effect (wave 1), health status, activity status (five categories), relationship status (three categories), and age dummies.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (two-sided test).

Table A11. Regression Models Testing for Sample Selection.

	M1: Selection indicator		M2: Continuous sample	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Selection indicator t+1	.021 (.021)	.028 (.022)		
Leaving home	.002 (.027)	-.049 (.027)	-.029 (.033)	.000 (.033)
Conflict frequency with parents	-.071*** (.013)	-.072*** (.015)	-.063*** (.016)	-.057** (.019)
Emotional distance to parents	-.076*** (.015)	-.105*** (.016)	-.074*** (.019)	-.095*** (.021)
Mode effect	.144*** (.026)	.102*** (.030)	.131*** (.039)	.055 (.045)
Health status	-.084*** (.008)	-.076*** (.008)	-.088*** (.011)	-.055*** (.010)
Activity status (<i>ref. education</i>)				
University	-.012 (.026)	.032 (.031)	-.014 (.034)	.008 (.040)
Vocational training	.019 (.022)	.042 (.026)	.002 (.030)	.024 (.037)
Employed	.044 (.029)	.005 (.037)	.016 (.037)	-.019 (.045)
Other	-.056 (.032)	-.019 (.038)	-.067 (.047)	-.087 (.049)
Relationship status (<i>ref. single</i>)				
LAT	.060*** (.016)	.022 (.018)	.109*** (.021)	.029 (.025)
Cohabiting	.065 (.036)	-.020 (.032)	.126** (.038)	.015 (.036)
R-squared (within)	.05	.05	.07	.04
Person years	10755	10366	5919	5966
Number of persons	1793	1738	616	623

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Regression coefficients and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses).

M1: selection indicator for t+1 equals 1 if a person is not contained in the estimation sample in the next year (0 otherwise). Estimation sample excludes the 10th wave of pairfam, for which the selection dummy is not defined. M2: includes all respondents observed from wave 1 to 10 (temporary drop-out of 1 wave is possible every two waves).

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

Table A12. Full Regression Results of the Time-Path of the Leaving Home Effect on Self-Esteem, with Anticipation Effect (see Figure 8).

	Leaving home		Long-distance move	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>Years since leaving home (ref. more than 1 year before move-out)</i>				
0 years	.024 (.027)	.005 (.028)	.059 (.039)	-.038 (.038)
1 year	.016 (.031)	-.046 (.034)	.080 (.045)	-.099* (.049)
2 years	.006 (.035)	-.015 (.038)	.025 (.049)	-.069 (.050)
3 years	-.044 (.041)	-.032 (.044)	-.013 (.056)	-.059 (.052)
4 years	.018 (.050)	-.042 (.050)	.036 (.069)	-.071 (.055)
5 years	.052 (.055)	.010 (.056)	.098 (.072)	-.016 (.062)
6 to 10 years	.084 (.066)	.053 (.069)	.142* (.069)	.046 (.065)
Conflict frequency with parents	-.071*** (.013)	-.065*** (.015)	-.072*** (.013)	-.066*** (.015)
Emotional distance to parents	-.074*** (.014)	-.105*** (.016)	-.077*** (.014)	-.107*** (.016)
Mode effect	.142*** (.026)	.096** (.030)	.139*** (.026)	.093** (.030)
Health status	-.087*** (.008)	-.078*** (.008)	-.085*** (.008)	-.079*** (.008)
<i>Activity status (ref. education)</i>				
University	-.017 (.026)	.034 (.030)	-.024 (.026)	.050 (.031)
Vocational training	.017 (.022)	.050* (.026)	.013 (.022)	.057* (.025)
Employed	.036 (.028)	.022 (.035)	.033 (.028)	.027 (.035)
Other	-.064* (.032)	-.029 (.037)	-.067* (.032)	-.015 (.037)
<i>Relationship status (ref. single)</i>				
LAT	.070*** (.016)	.028 (.018)	.070*** (.016)	.027 (.018)
Cohabiting	.057 (.032)	-.016 (.030)	.056 (.032)	-.028 (.029)
R-squared (within)	.06	.04	.06	.05
Person years	11371	10989	11330	10948
Number of persons	1793	1738	1793	1738

Source: pairfam, Release 10.0 (own calculations).

Note: Regression coefficients and panel-robust standard errors (in parentheses). Models further include dummies for age years.

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 (two-sided test).

