

Research Article/Araştırma Makalesi

Leaving the Nest: Inquiring the Determinant Factors of Leaving the Parental Home for Young Individuals in Turkey¹

Yuvadan Ayrılmak: Türkiye'de Gençlerin Ebeveynlerinden Ayrı Yaşamalarını Belirleyen Faktörler Üzerine Bir İnceleme

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Abstract

This paper examines the determinants of young individuals' decision to leave their parental home in Turkey in the last decade. Using data from the Household Income and Living Conditions Survey (HILCS) from 2011 to 2021, we conduct a logit regression analysis to estimate the probability of young people leaving their parental home for reasons other than marriage. In this regard, we examine the household composition in the data, and we take the situation of living away from parental home as the dependent variable. We observe that the tendency to live independently of parents has increased slightly among young people over the past decade. We examine this new household trend at its outset, and our goal is to identify the factors that lead to the decision of young individuals to live independently. The results show the importance of income, education, gender, age, employment status, and regional differences in young individuals' residential choices. In particular, we show that personal income is a determining factor from mid-youth forward, while other factors predominate in early youth, and, for women, income and occupational status appear to be the dominant factors.

Jel Codes: J10, R20, D10

Keywords: Nest Leaving, Residential Choice, Household Composition: Youth, Gender, Economic Independence

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Öz

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de gençlerin ebeveynlerinden ayrı yaşama kararlarını belirleyen faktörleri son on yıl kapsamında incelemektedir. Bu amaçla, 2011 ile 2021 yılları arası Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK) tarafından uygulanan Hanehalkı Geliri ve Yaşam Koşulları Araştırması'ndan (HGYKA) alınan veriler kullanılarak gençlerin ebeveynlerinden ayrı yaşama olasılığını etkileyen evlilik harici faktörleri tahmin etmek için logit regresyon analizi yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, verideki hanehalkı yapısı incelenerek bağımlı değişken olarak ebeveynlerden ayrı yaşama durumu ele alınmıştır. Veriler incelendiğinde, son on yılda gençler arasında ebeveynlerinden ayrı yaşama eğiliminin nispeten arttığı gözlemlenmiştir ve bu artış trendine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu konuyu incelemekteki amacımız, gençlerin bağımsız yaşama kararı almalarını etkileyen faktörleri belirlemektir. Çalışma sonuçları, gençlerin konut tercihlerinde gelir, eğitim, cinsiyet, yaş, istihdam durumu ve bölgesel farklılıkların önemini göstermektedir. Özellikle, kişisel gelirin gençlik yıllarının ortasından itibaren belirleyici bir faktör olduğunu, erken dönemlerde diğer faktörlerin daha öne çıktığı gözlenmiştir. Buna ek olarak, kadınlar için gelir ve mesleki durumun bahsi geçen diğer faktörlerden daha baskın faktörler oldukları ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Jel Kodları: J10, R20, D10

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yuvadan Ayrılmak, Yerleşim Yeri Seçimi, Hanehalkı Yapısı, Gençlik, Cinsiyet, Ekonomik Bağımsızlık



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1. Introduction

The residential choice of individuals is a widely studied subject in economics, sociology, demography, and other related disciplines, mainly because of its significant social and economic implications. Even though the composition of households in a given society may not exactly amount to the existing norms and ideals, it certainly reflects the actual socioeconomic dynamics of that society. For instance, nuclear family households may be valued in general in a certain society, yet this ideal might be hard to maintain in times of economic crisis or lack of appropriate number of housings.

Recently, the decision of young individuals to leave their parental homes, in other words, to leave their nest, has been a focus of research (e.g., Michael et al., 1980; White, 1994; Patacchini & Arduini, 2016). This increasing attention is mostly due to the changes in individual and societal lifestyles, as well as due to the changes in the socio-economic situation of young individuals, which results in what is usually referred to as prolonged youth: that is, the *delay* of young individuals to attain independence from their families of origin and establish independent households (either through cohabitation, singleness, or marriage). The characteristics of independence from family of origin, however, differ from country to country. Whereas in Central and Northern European countries, cohabitation and singleness are more prevalent among youth (Hiekel et al., 2014; Kalmijn, 2007), along with higher rates of young people forming independent households, in Southern Europe, and as a case in point in Italy, the percentage of young people living with their families is considerably higher⁷ and marriage is still the most preferred type of event that marks the forming of an independent household (Saraceno, 2000; Santoro, 2006).

In this sense, when it comes to the relatively low percentage of young individuals forming independent households, Turkey might look like a usual Southern European case. However, as we will demonstrate in this article, there is a curious trend that has evolved in the last decade: Whereas marriage is postponed to later ages for both genders in Turkey as well (in line with the general trends in the Southern European context), the number of young individuals between ages 19-29 forming independent households for reasons other than marriage seems to be on a relative rise. Hence, the aim of this study is to estimate the probability of young people leaving their parental home and choosing to live with peers and/or alone, using the Household Income and Living Conditions Survey (HILCS) microdata set for 2011-2021, using the logit method. In this sense, the study aims to predict the likelihood of young individuals leaving their homes⁸ for reasons other than marriage. We investigate the impact of economic and socio-cultural transformations on the decision of young people to live independently from their parents, either alone and/or with peers. From this perspective, we analyze the influence of various individual characteristics, including gender, age, education, income, and labor force status, on the decision to leave the parental home. In addition, we

⁷ According to Saraceno (2000), for the group of young individuals between the ages of 25-34, the percentage of those who live with their parents were 27% in 1990, whereas this percentage rose to 38% in 1998.

⁸ Throughout the text we use various phrases such as "nest leaving," "leaving the parental home," "living away from the parental home," and "living independently from their families" to describe the residential choices made by young individuals as they transition to live independently.



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explore the impact of household income and the region of residence on this decision. In overall terms, this study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the determinants that lead to the decision of young individuals in Turkey to leave their parental homes.

Although there is a vast body of literature on the subject for other contexts, there is a scarcity of comprehensive research on the determinant factors of young individuals' decision of leaving parental home in Turkey. Among the very few examples, we may find the work of Koç (2007) who investigates the timing of leaving the parental home in Turkey by using the data from the Turkish Demographic and Health Survey. Koç demonstrates that the decision to leave depends on factors such as gender, education, entry into the labor force, marital status, and having children, among others. Similarly, İlhan (2012) studies individuals' decisions to leave their family homes using the short panel data of the 2000-2001 Household Labor Force Survey (HLFS) for Turkey and argues that individual's labor market status and educational status, marital status, the decision to continue education, and mandatory military service (in countries where it exists) are the factors that affect the decision to leave the nest.

The question becomes even more striking when we also consider the fact that the number of one-person households and households composed of unrelated individuals has been on the rise in Turkey between the years 1978 and 2016. As demonstrated by Koç (2019), in 1978, 3% of all households were composed of one-person and 0.1% of unrelated individuals; however, in 2016, the former rose to 11.4% and the latter to 0.4. Clearly, a substantial part of one-person households in the society is composed of widows above the age of 65 (that is, 55.1% of all one person households), yet when we look at the number of households composed of unrelated individuals, the majority of this type of households is observed to be in the age-group of 18-24 (56.1% of all households composed of unrelated individuals) and in the age-group of 24-34 (31.8% of all households composed of unrelated individuals) (Koç, 2019). Therefore, it becomes crucial to identify the elements behind the decision of leaving parental home.

Identifying these elements is not only about explaining the rise in the numbers, but it is also about understanding the population dynamics and its effects on socio-economic processes. The extensive literature on young adults leaving their homes puts forward the fact that the rise in the numbers indeed affect economic growth and welfare through channels such as productivity, labor force participation, and supply-demand balances in the consumer goods market as well as in the housing markets (e.g., Dyrda et al., 2012; Patacchini & Arduini, 2016; Yi et al., 1994). Moreover, the social welfare effects of these decisions are visible through channels such as fertility, social mobility, family, and household structure.

Along these lines, numerous studies have addressed the factors that influence the decision to leave the parental home. Early work such as that of Young's (1975) highlighted the "crossing-over effect" and examined the influence of gender on the decision to leave the parental home. Yi et al. (1994) compared the age patterns of leaving the parental home in East Asian and Western countries and found differences influenced by social and cultural traditions. Beamish et al. (2001) identified several factors such as age, family type, family size, life cycle stage, social class, income, occupation, education, and values that influence the decision to leave the parental home. In addition to that, Buck & Scoot (1993) and De Marco & Berzin (2003) also

examined the effects of family background such as race and region for the case US population. they found out that race, teen parenthood and parents' education background had significant effects on age of home leaving. Aassve et al. (2002), Leopold et al. (2012), Bayrakdar & Coulter (2018), and Gillespie (2020), among many others, also emphasized the interplay between parental socioeconomic status and leaving the nest, and they showed a strong impact of parental characteristics on individuals' decision to leave home, while pointing to the importance of factors such as housing affordability. On the other hand, Van den Berg et al. (2021) and Ferraretto & Vitali (2023) studied European countries and found that the association between parental background and age of leaving is country-specific and is more pronounced in most Southern and Eastern European countries, while this link is less clear in Western and Nordic countries. Likewise, Garasky (2002) pointed out the regional and cultural differences in nest-leaving by studying urban and rural populations and showed that the influence of non-economic factors is greater for rural youth compared to urban youth. Falkingham et al. (2012) attributed the increase in living alone in midlife in the United Kingdom to delayed family formation and economic factors. Vitali (2010) examined regional differences in Spain in young adults' living arrangements, considering socioeconomic and cultural factors. Alesina & Giuliano (2010) analyzed the effects of family ties on economic behavior. Rossi (1997) addressed the reasons for prolonged cohabitation among young Italians. Aassve et al. (2013) documented the impact of the economic recession on European youth, emphasizing increased economic hardship and delayed independence. Hu & Chou (2016) attributed declining independence among young adults in Hong Kong to economic and institutional factors. Tosi (2017) examined the correlation between perceived age norms and leaving the parental home in Italy. Patacchini & Arduini (2016) found that family social structure is one of the main factors in young Americans' decision to live with parents. Van den Berg & Verbakel (2022) found an increasing trend toward singlehood after moving out of the parental home, especially among women, with factors such as rising educational attainment and women's increasing earning capacity contributing to this trend. Taken together, these studies provide insight into the factors that influence young adults moving out of the parental home.

At the theoretical side, it is possible to talk about three different theoretical approaches regarding young people leaving their parental home (White, 1994). The first approach, known as the "life cycle approach," has been extended to include the "family life cycle" to include the family. This approach suggests that human life consists of specific stages from birth to death and that moving out of the parental home is an important decision in the transition to adulthood (Young, 1974; White, 1994; Beamish et al., 2001; Liefbroer & Toulemon, 2010). The second approach is referred to as the "socioeconomic structural approach" In this approach, individuals' decisions to leave the parental home are based on economic, social, institutional, and political factors. Therefore, the focus is on the impact of macro-social factors on this decision rather than on individual characteristics. The third approach is referred to as the "sharing approach". In this approach, it is emphasized that cohabitation is a relationship of sharing and exchange that has benefits and costs for both the individual and the parent. It has been suggested that the decision to leave the parental home also comes with various benefits and costs, so individuals choose to live separately by comparing the benefits and costs of these



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two situations (White, 1994; Beamish et al., 2001). In our research, for young individuals in Turkey, we show that all three approaches play a role in certain aspects of nest leaving.

Our research contributes to the existing and growing literature in multiple disciplines mentioned above. By using national survey data on household income and living conditions, we provide novel insights into temporal trends as well as factors influencing young people's decision to leave their parental homes (leaving the nest) in Turkey over the past decade.

Among other things, our research demonstrates that there is a slightly increasing trend among the young individuals in living independently from their parents in the last decade. We argue that gender, age, education, job status, and region are important determinants of this phenomenon. Especially, we show that personal income is a determinant factor from mid-youth forward, while other factors predominate in early youth. In particular, for women, income and job status appear to be the dominant factors.

The paper is organized as follows: In Section 2, we introduce the data and methodology. In Section 2.1, we explain the data and the definitions we used to identify individuals who have left their parental homes. In Section 2.2, we present the descriptive statistics offering a general overview. In Section 2.3, we provide a concise outline of the logit model implemented for the analysis. In Section 3, we put forward the results of the study and in Section 4, we offer our conclusions.

2. Data and Methodology

2.1. Data

In this study, we use the microdata set of the Household Income and Living Conditions Survey (HILCS) for the years 2011-2021. In fact, this data set starts from 2004, yet we utilize the data for the period 2011-2021 since there is no single age group before 2011. We focus on the 19-29 age group to have a general coverage of the young population in Turkey. To analyze the regional differences, The Turkish Statistical Institute Statistical Regional Units Classification (NUTS- 1st Level) was used in the study. Region coding under Level 1; Istanbul-TR1, West Marmara-TR2, Aegean-TR3, East Marmara-TR4, West Anatolia-TR5, Mediterranean-TR6, Central Anatolia-TR7, West Black Sea-TR8, East Black Sea-TR9, Northeast Anatolia-TRA, Middle East Anatolia- TRB is in the form of Southeastern Anatolia-TRC. In addition, for the education levels in the study, we have used the following codes: “*less than premium*” for a graduate of less than primary school, “*Prim&Second*” for a primary or secondary school graduate, “*High&Voc.High*” for a high school or vocational high school graduate, and “*Uni or Higher*” for a university and graduate level graduate.

In our study, we place emphasis on individual income as one important variable. There are several types of income in the dataset, which are wage income, in-kind income, and self-employment income. To determine the total income level, we aggregate these types of income. However, one needs to be careful when interpreting the income realizations, as the data always includes the previous year's income of the individual. To correct this, we use the

previous year's deflator to adjust income to real values. We then apply a logarithmic transformation to the deflated income. We choose 2011 as the base year for the deflator.

In the dataset, we have access to information about the composition of the household and the relationships between its members. These data prove useful in determining whether a person has moved away from his or her parental home. For instance, Van den Berg et al. (2021) also use a similar approach using data of the European Social Survey (ESS) and they consider young adults as having left home if they do not live in the same household as their parents. It is important to note that several definitions can be introduced to capture different aspects of leaving the nest. To cover this phenomenon comprehensively, we introduce the definitions listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Definitions Used for Nest Leaving

Definition	Variable	Explanation
Nest leaving	leaving_nest0	The individual is not married, lives alone or with someone that is not her/his relative, and participates in the labor force (working full-time, part-time, or seeking a job)
Nest leaving Mid	leaving_nest1	Same as "Nest leaving" with addition that the individual lives with someone that also includes her/his relatives (except for the mother/father), but of the same generation (19-29 aged)
Nest leaving Mid+	leaving_nest2	Same as "Nest leaving Mid" with addition that the individual lives with someone that also includes her/his relatives at any age (except for the mother/father)
Nest leaving Ext	leaving_nest3	Same as "Nest leaving Mid+" with addition that the individual is a student.

As indicated in Table 1, the variable "leaving_nest0" refers to individuals who live alone or with an unrelated person and are actively participating in the labor force, either by working full-time or part-time or by looking for work. This category lies at the core of our research, as it covers the individuals who we assume to have attained full independence⁹. However, to also consider the sociocultural diversity of attaining full independence, we have developed other categories that would cover the diversity of socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. "Nest leaving Mid" (leaving_nest1) includes the same conditions as "Nest leaving" but includes living with a person who is a relative of the same generation (aged 19-29), excluding the mother and father. The focus on generation here stems from the assumption that between the relatives of the same generation, it is less possible to talk about a dependency relationship; whereas between relatives of different generations, a dependency relationship that resembles that of the relationship between parent and children is more likely to be observed. "Nest leaving Mid+" (leaving_nest2) extends the definition of "Nest leaving Mid" to include living with relatives of any age (except mother and father), and hence represents a less dependent category. Finally, "Nest leaving Ext" (leaving_nest3) is the broadest definition, incorporating the conditions of "Nest leaving Mid" and adding the person's status as a student, therefore

⁹ Throughout the text, we use the term independence to refer "economic independence", meaning that the individual participates in the labor market hence not fully dependent on their families economically.

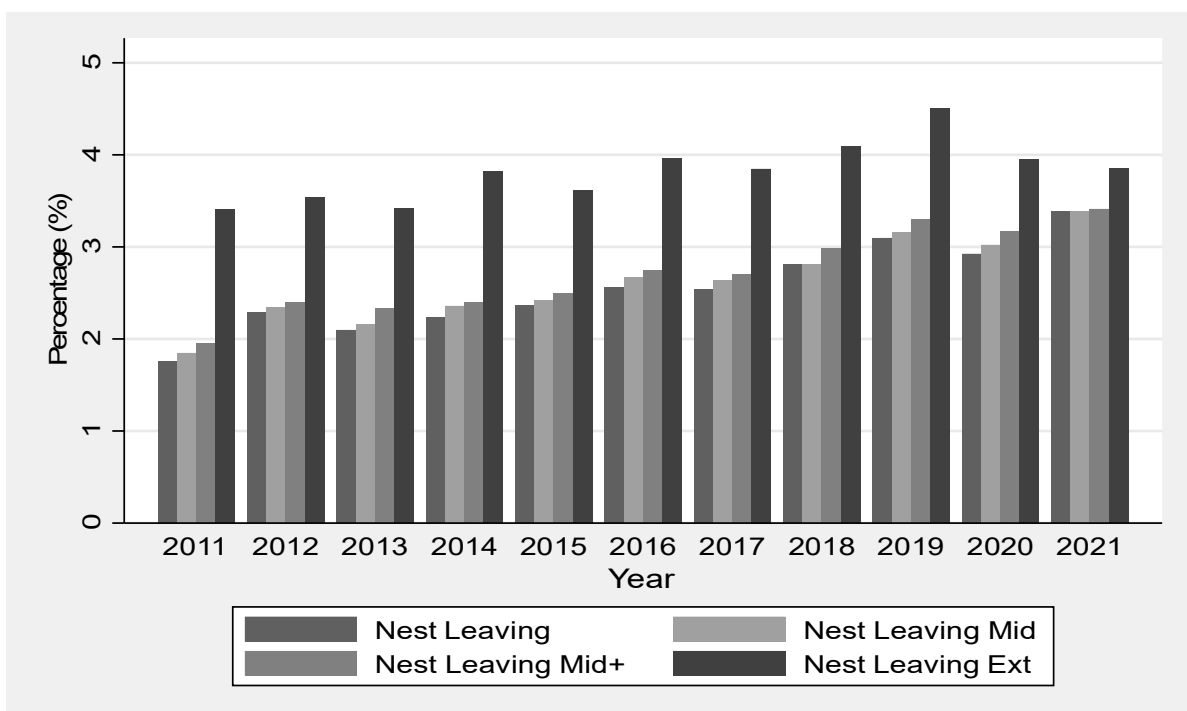
including those individuals who might not necessarily have economic independence, yet do not share the same household with their parents. These definitions allow us to examine different stages and circumstances of leaving the parental nest.

In the next subsection, we will present some descriptive information based on the definitions we made above.

2.2. Descriptive Analysis

This section presents descriptive statistics calculated based on the Household Labor Force Survey (HILCS) in Turkey, aiming to shed light on the factors that influence young people's decision to live apart from their families. By examining various dimensions such as different definitions of leaving the nest (given in Table 1), age, gender, employment status, highest level of education, and statistical region, this analysis aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the determinants that influence young people's housing decisions in Turkey. The results presented here offer new insights into the individual characteristics as well as the socioeconomic factors that influence young people's decisions to live independently. We begin with a general overview of nest leaving for different definitions as a percentage of young population over the years.

Figure 1: Nest Leaving by Years for Different Definitions



Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data.

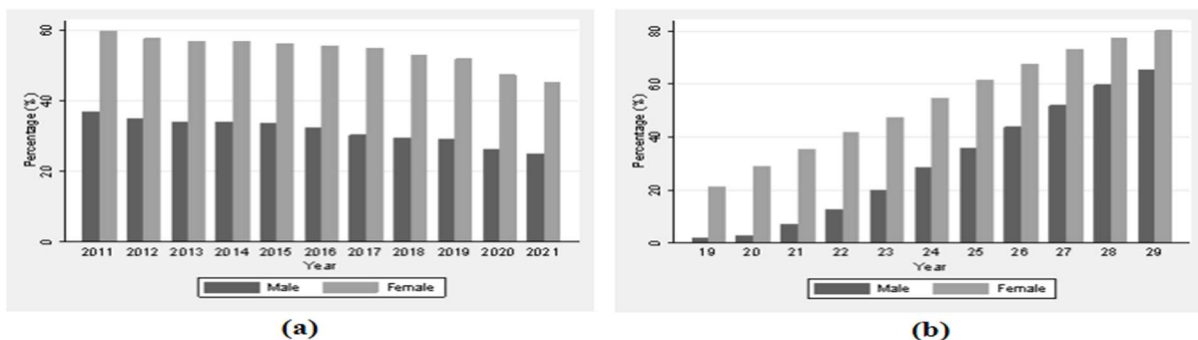
In Figure 1, the horizontal axis represents the time interval, and the vertical axis express the percentage according to our four definitions of individuals' patterns of leaving home. We can see that about 2-3% of the young generation have decided to move from their parents' home in the last decade. Also, although there is differentiation in terms of definitions, it is observed that home leaving has been an increasing tendency over the years. However, when we look

at Leaving_Nest3, expressed as the broadest definition, there is no general trend in the long run. In addition, when the percentages of Leaving_Nest0, Leaving_Nest1 and Leaving_Nest2 are compared according to years, it is observed that there is not much difference. Therefore, in the next stages of the study, only the definitions of Leaving_Nest0 and Leaving_Nest3 are proceeded.

When we look at the category of Leaving_Nest3, we see that the effect of the transition to the online / distance education model in education activities with the 2019 Covid-19 pandemic is clearly reflected in 2020 and 2021. It is observed that the drop effect is higher because students are also included in the broadest definition, Leaving_Nest3. This situation arises due to returning to the family home with the distance education model. In addition, according to the narrowest definition of Leaving_Nest0, which referred to individuals living alone or with a non-relative person and included in the workforce, a decrease was observed in 2020. With the implementation of the short-time working system during the Covid-19 pandemic, the effectiveness of this system has increased throughout the country and has played an important role in the labor market. The effect of this system, which was implemented to alleviate the impact of the pandemic on the labor markets, is observable especially in the decrease in the percentage of living alone among individuals within the scope of the definition of Leaving_Nest0.

The percentages shown in Figure 1 suggest a relatively small proportion of young people who do not live with their parents. These results are consistent with the proportions for some countries found in previous literature, e.g., Van den Berg et al. (2021). They showed that more than 80% of individuals in Italy live with their parents until age 26. Similar patterns emerge for countries such as Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia, Poland, and Portugal, where the share of individuals living with parents until age 26 ranges from 50% to 75% (see Figure 2 in Van den Berg et al. (2021)). Considering that in their study those who left the parental home also included those who were married, the percentages we found in our study can be viewed as similar to those found in some Southern and Eastern European countries. Besides, it is important to keep in mind that our analysis excludes married individuals, as their departure from the parental home is due to a different factor. Looking at marriage rates across different years and age groups (Figure 2), the values and time trends shown in Figure 1 become more meaningful.

Figure 2: Marriage Rate by Year and Age (Leaving_Nest0)

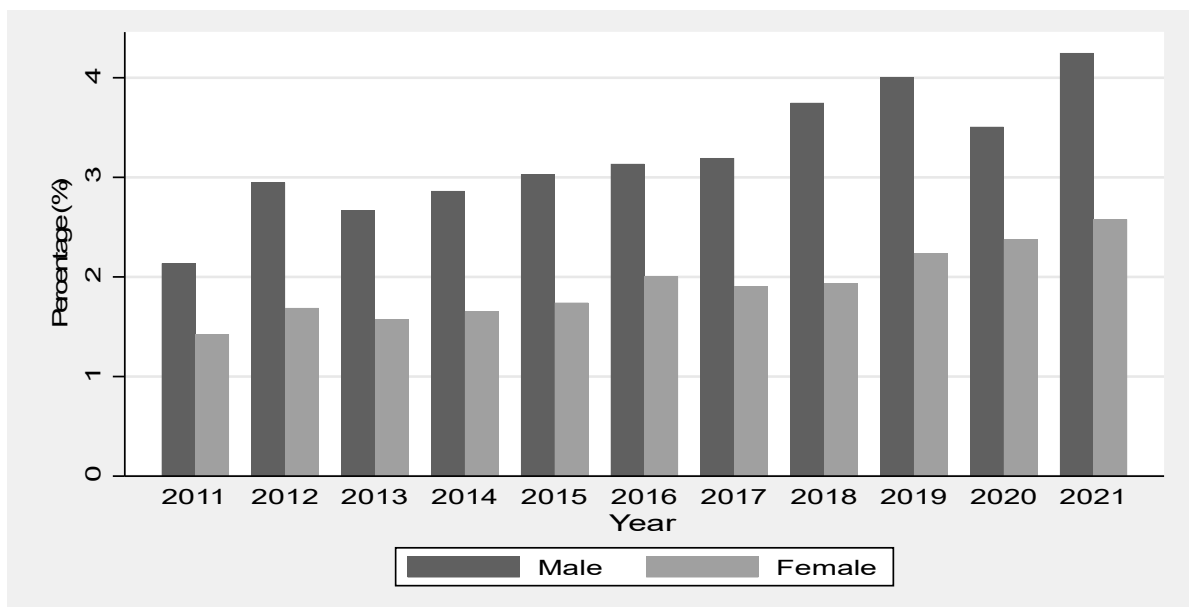


Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data

In Figure 2, the marriage rate by years (*panel a*) and age (*panel b*) is given on the horizontal axis to express the time interval and the vertical axis as percentages. Over the years, the marriage rate is generally higher in women than men. However, there has been a decreasing trend in the marriage rate for both sexes over the years. When looking at age, it is clearly seen that there is an increasing trend in both women and men. As of 2022, the age at first marriage in Turkey was 28.2 for men and 25.6 for women. In addition, the crude marriage rate, expressed as the number of weddings per thousand population, was realized as 6.76 per thousand (TUIK, 2022). In a general assessment, it can be noted that the marriage rate has decreased over the years: same as Cherlin et al. (1997), Cherlin et al. (1995) and Huston & Melz (2004) found out that as marriage rates declined while age at first marriage increased. At the same time, as shown in Figure 1, the proportion of people living alone has increased over time. This observation suggests a possible link between the decline in the marriage rate and the increasing number of people choosing to live independently.

In the following analysis, we will examine the gender comparison of nest leaving across various socioeconomic variables. In doing so, we will consider the different definitions we introduced in Table 1. Figure 1 illustrates that there are minimal changes among the first three definitions (Leaving_Nest0, 1, and 2). However, a significant shift is evident when we include students in the definition (Leaving_Nest3). Therefore, our comparative analysis will focus on the narrowest (Leaving_Nest0) and broadest (Leaving_Nest3) definitions. This approach allows us to gain insight into the role of being a student in our analysis.

Figure 3: Nest Leaving by Years (Leaving_Nest0)



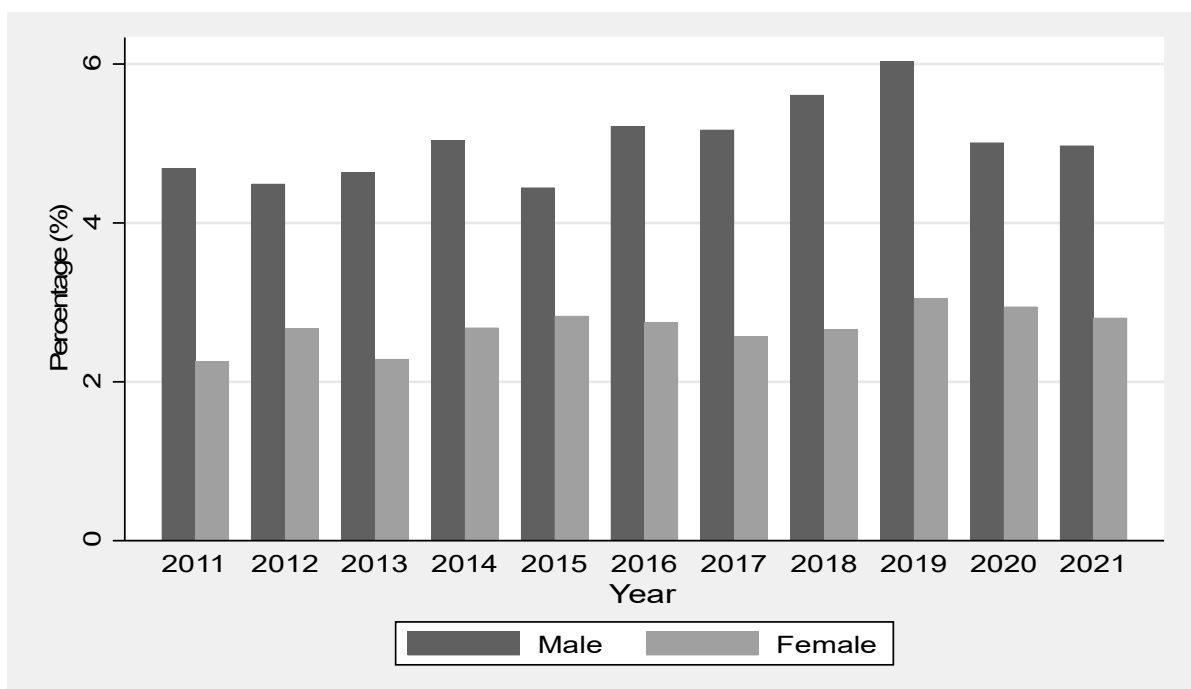
Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data

In Figure 3, the proportions of individuals leaving their parent's home by gender and the definition of Leaving_Nest0 are given as the horizontal axis time interval and the vertical axis as a percentage. Over the years, there has been a slightly upward trend in the percentage of men and women who leave their parental homes. For instance, the percentage of men who

do not live in the parental home has increased from about 2% to 4% within a decade. Similarly, the percentage of women has increased from about 1.5% to about 2.5%. In addition, the remarkable decline in males leaving the parental home in 2020 deserves attention. It is noteworthy that the proportion of females leaving the parental home increased while for men it has decreased during the Covid 19 pandemic.

In the following figure, we are going to look at the same information for the broadest definition.

Figure 4: Nest Leaving by Years (Leaving_Nest3)

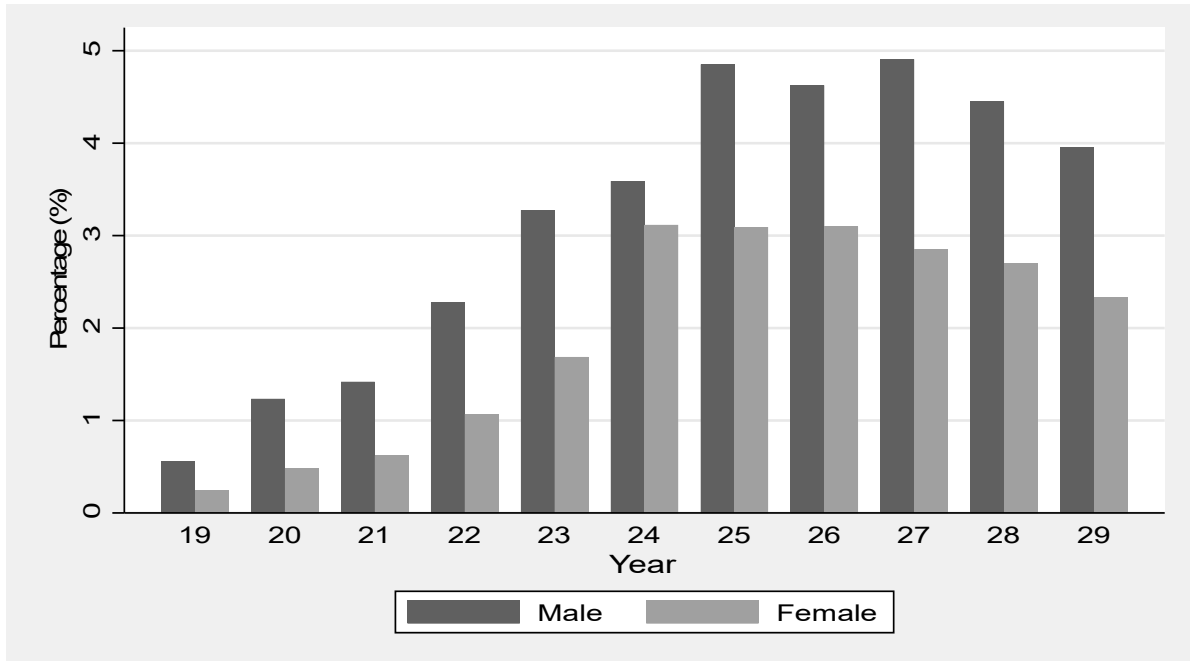


Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data

Figure 4 illustrates that there is no clear long-term trend in gender over the years. However, like Figure 3, there is a decline in the proportion of males leaving their parental homes by 2020. In contrast to Figure 3, however, there is a slight downward trend for women over the same period. This phenomenon is likely due to the inclusion of students in the broadest definition, Leaving_Nest3, and could be influenced by returning to the parental home due to the distance education system mentioned in Figure 1.

In the upcoming figure, we will explore the influence of age as a determinant factor in the decision to leave the parental home.

Figure 5: Nest Leaving by Age (Leaving_Nest0)



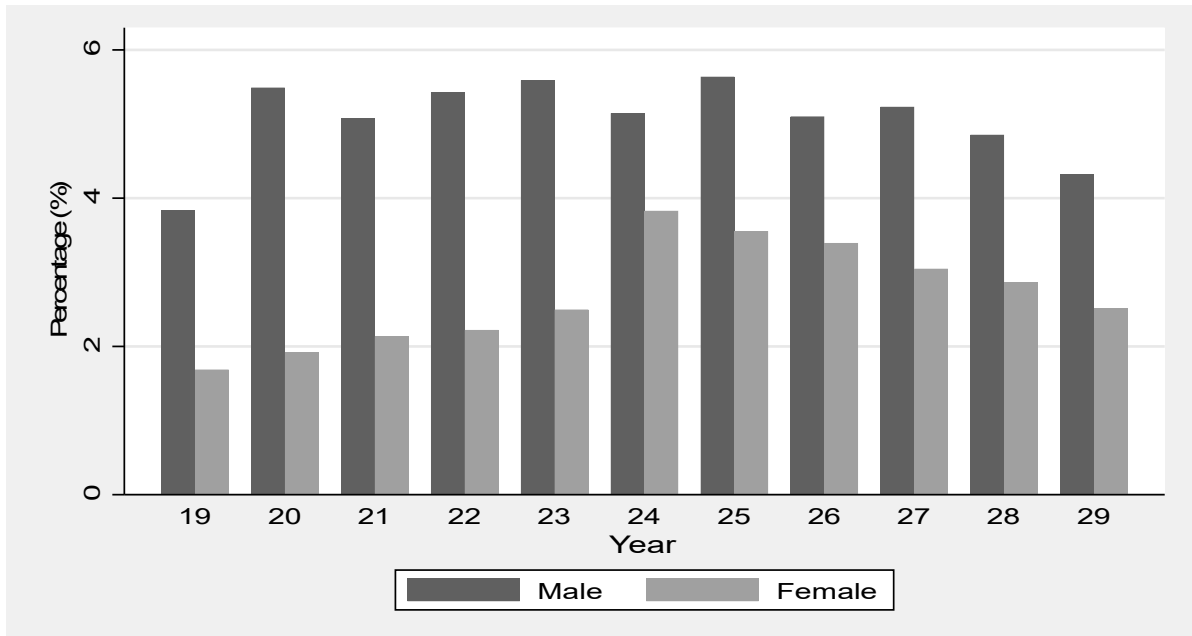
Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data

Figure 5 shows the proportions of individuals leaving their parental home by age, using the definition of Leaving_Nest0. The horizontal axis represents age, while the vertical axis represents the percentage of individuals. We can observe that men tend to leave the parental home at a higher rate than women in all age groups. Moreover, we observe an inverted-U shaped relationship between age and nest leaving for both genders, which is, expectedly, a reflection of life-cycle events. That is, as age increases, first the percentage of individuals leaving the nest increases, then, after the age of 25, it starts to decrease. Hence, of the three theoretical approaches we have mentioned in the introduction, life-cycle approach seems to dominate when it comes to the relation between age and leaving the parental home.

The decline in marriage rates observed around the age of 25, as depicted in Figure 5, aligns with the average age of first marriage for women in Turkey, which is reported as 25.6 in Figure 1. According to the Turkey Family Structure Survey (2021), women tend to marry at an earlier age compared to men (TUIK, 2021). However, it is important to note that the age at marriage has increased over the years due to the significant rise in women's participation in education and professional fields, resulting in a narrower difference between the ages at first marriage for men and women. Extensive research in the demographic domain indicates a continuous postponement of marriage age in Turkey over the past 30 years (Koç et al., 2010).

When considering the same information for the broadest definition, the trend observed in Figure 5 for males no longer persists due to the inclusion of students. Figure 6 provides a comparative illustration that shows this change.

Figure 6: Nest Leaving by Age (Leaving_Nest3)

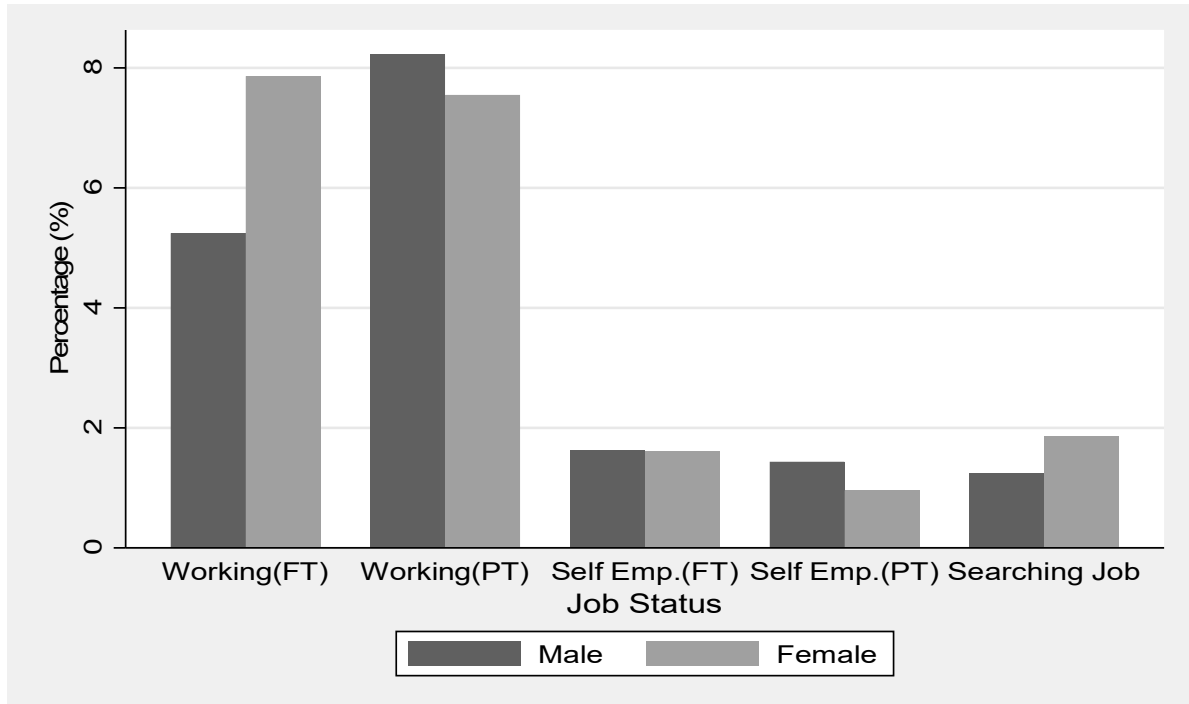


Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data

Figure 6 presents the percentage of individuals leaving their parental homes based on age by using the broadest definition (Leaving_Nest3). Notably, it differs from Figure 5 as there is no discernible general trend for men in this case. Consequently, when students are included, age does not serve as a differentiating factor for the men living away from their parental homes. However, upon examining women, a clear tendency is observed in both Figure 5 and Figure 6, irrespective of the definitions. This trend can be attributed to the fact that women in the workforce tend to live alone at a higher rate than men, while men typically exhibit higher rates of living alone during their student years. This distinction underscores the influence of various factors, such as employment and education status, on the decision to leave the parental home, particularly in the context of gender differences.

To gain a better understanding of this aspect, the upcoming figures will explore the impact of employment status and educational level on the proportion of young individuals living independently from their parental homes.

Figure 7: Nest Leaving by Job Status (Leaving_Nest0)



Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data

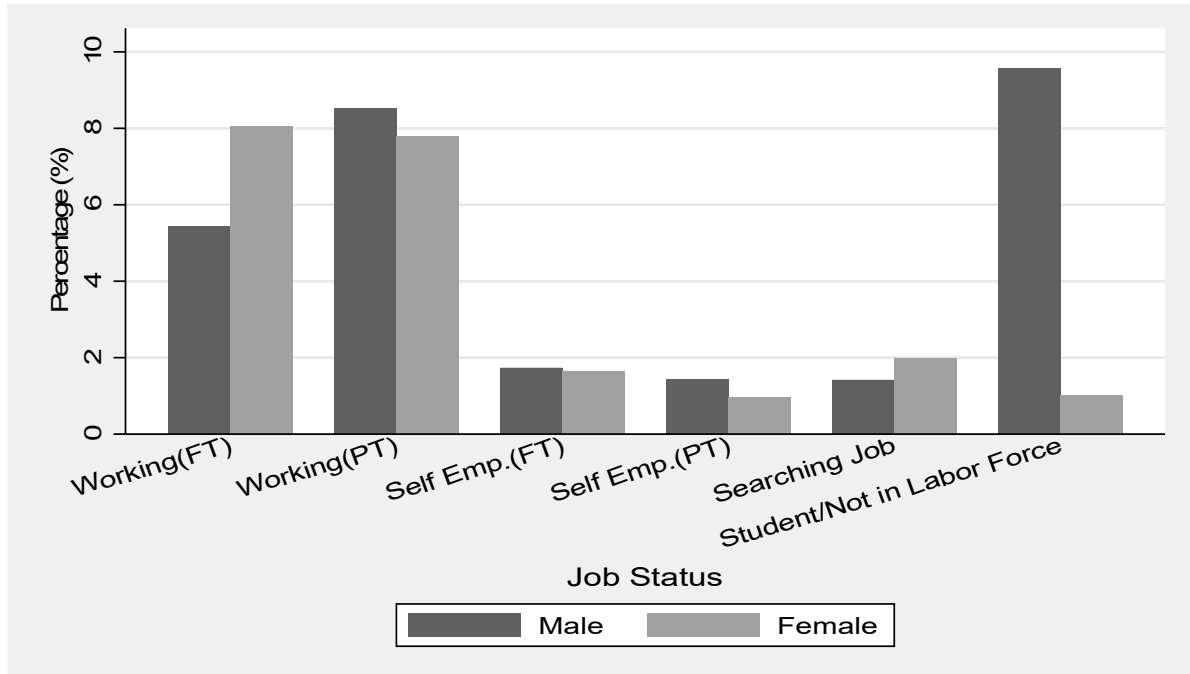
Figure 7 illustrates the analysis of the percentage of men and women who leave their parental homes based on their employment status. In this figure, the abbreviations "ft" and "pt" stand for full-time and part-time employment, respectively, and denote the employment status of individuals in different types of employment. This figure provides interesting results that differ from our earlier comparisons by age and year (Figures 3 through 6).

Previously, we observed that men tend to live away from their parental homes more frequently than women, based on age and year data. However, Figure 7 shows a distinctive pattern related to job status. Specifically, a significantly higher proportion of women engaged in full-time employment chose to live away from their parental homes than men. In numbers, for full-time employees, we have around 8% of women living away from their parental homes and around 5.5% of men. Conversely, when considering other job statuses, the percentage comparisons between women and men exhibit negligible differences. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the percentage of women seeking employment and living away from their parental homes is higher than that of men.

Overall, Figure 7 highlights the role of job status on individuals leaving their family homes, and it displays the notable trend that women working full-time are more inclined to live independently, which may also be connected to earning income and economic independence, indicating a significant correlation between employment, and living arrangements.

The role of employment status in residential choice and the distinction between women and men becomes much more apparent when we look at the same information for the broadest definition, as shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Nest Leaving by Job Status (Leaving_Nest3)

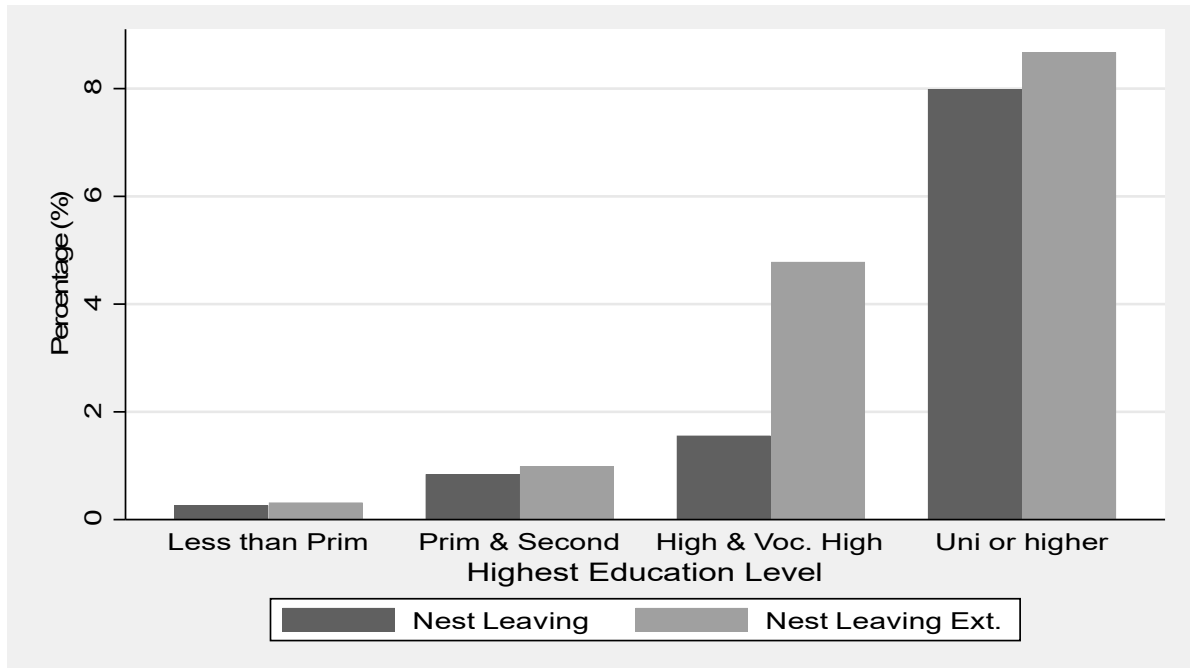


Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data

Figure 8 presents the percentage of individuals living outside their parental homes based on job status, using the broadest definition (Leaving_Nest3) that includes the students. While Figure 7 shows similar findings, the expanded definition in Figure 8 provides a comprehensive perspective of the differences in living arrangements among students. We see that among students who are not part of the labor force, men have a significantly higher rate of living independently compared to women. This observation implies a significant difference. For men, living outside the parental home is not solely contingent on employment status, while for women, having a full-time job is an important factor in determining living arrangements. Thus, it can be deduced that factors other than work contribute to men's propensity to reside independently.

Along with the developments in the social structure, technological change, the increase in the labor force participation rate of women, and the gender-neutralization of the professions, a change has occurred in the dependence of women on men. Especially in terms of the desire to live alone, the continuity in the increase is expected to be continuous in the next ten years (Kaplan, 2021). Based on various research findings in the literature, it is seen that individuals who choose to live alone today have achieved economic freedom to a large extent and are above a certain level of education (Heath & Cleaver, 2003). According to the findings obtained in this study, this situation is observed in women.

Figure 9: Nest Leaving for Different Definitions by Highest Education Level

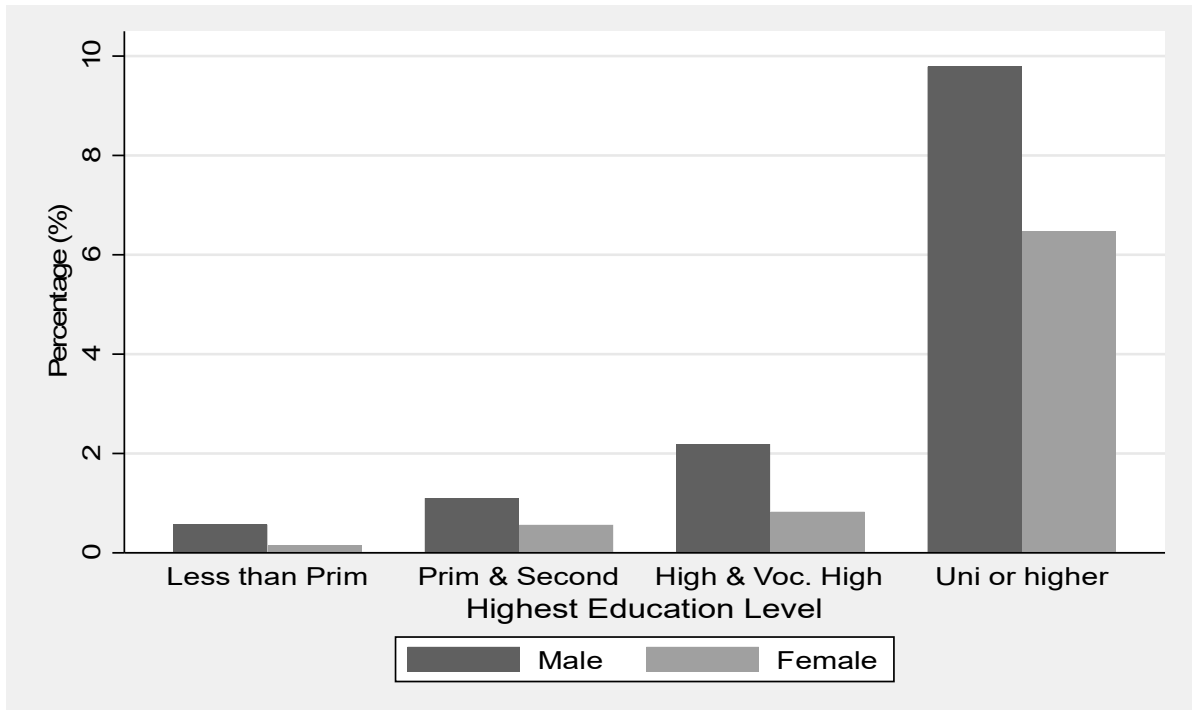


Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data

Figure 9 depicts the rates of individuals leaving their family homes based on education level using both the narrowest (Leaving_Nest0) and broadest (Leaving_Nest3) definitions. The horizontal axis represents education level while the vertical axis represents the percentage of individuals. The data in Figure 9 reveals several notable trends. First, when considering the broadest definition (Leaving_Nest3) which includes students, the rate of living outside the parental home is consistently higher. This finding suggests that including students in the definition contributes to a higher overall percentage of individuals living independently. Furthermore, when comparing the rates based on the last completed school level, individuals with a high school or vocational high school education exhibit significantly higher rates in the Leaving_Nest3 definition than in the narrower Leaving_Nest0 definition. This is most likely due to the large number of university students living outside their parental homes, as shown in Figure 8. Additionally, the data indicates that the rate of living outside parental homes increases as the level of education increases. This finding denotes a possible correlation between educational attainment and propensity to live independently. We shall further examine this link using the logit method in Section 3.

In the following figure, we will study the differences in education level for men and women separately.

Figure 10: Nest Leaving by Highest Education Level (Leaving_Nest3)

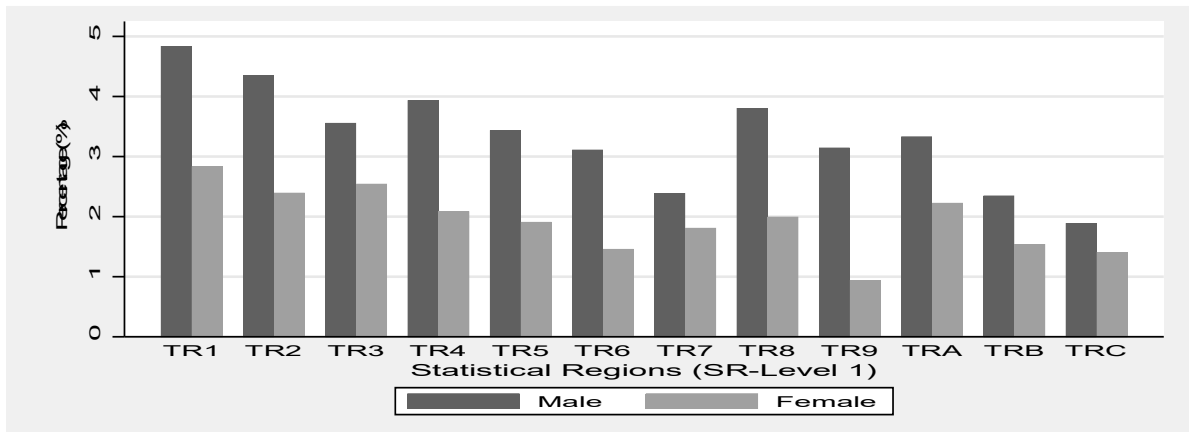


Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data

Figure 10 shows the percentage of individuals leaving their parents' homes based on education level and gender, using the broadest definition (Leaving_Nest3). As education level increases, the gender difference in living outside the parental home decreases, indicating that higher education leads women to make independent living choices. For high school graduates, having larger percentage of males compared to females is mostly due to the large number of male university students living outside their parental homes, as discussed in Figure 8 before.

Finally, in the following, we are going to look at the differences with respect to the statistical region in Figure 11.

Figure 11: Nest Leaving by Statistical Region (Leaving_Nest3)



Source: Authors' calculation using HILCS data.

Figure 11 shows the percentage of individuals based on gender and Level 1 regions using the broadest definition (Leaving_Nest3). Overall, men have a higher rate than women, which aligns with the previous findings in Figure 3. Among all regions, the TRC region (Southeast Anatolia) exhibits the smallest difference in the ratio of men to women living alone, whereas the TR9 region (East Black Sea) has the highest disparity. The high rate of men living alone in TR9 can be attributed to several factors, including lower age at first marriage, relative education levels, and women's labor force participation rate. These factors contribute to the higher percentage of independent living among men in this region. Furthermore, the TR8 region (West Black Sea) showed a significant difference in the ratio of men to women living outside the parental home. Lack of income may be proposed as a contributing factor, as the region experiences the highest unemployment rate among women aged 15-24.

2.3. Methodology

In our analysis we use the logit model, which emerged as a result of Berkson's (1944) studies in the field of biometrics (Cramer, 2003). This method is used when the dependent variable is discrete. The predicted probability values are obtained within the range of 0 to 1, stemming from the logistic function's ability to vary within that range. The model allows for the estimation of the probability of an event occurring between 0 and 1 (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1980: 1043-1049). The general representation equation for the model based on the cumulative logistic probability function is given in equation 1 (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 2000: 5-6). Hence it suits best with our objective of studying the probability of individuals leaving their home as well as the factors that influence this probability. In the following, we will briefly explain the method then we will present the results.

$$P_i = F(\beta_0 + \beta_i X_i) = 1 / (1 + e^{-(\beta_0 + \beta_i X_i)}) \quad (1)$$

$$P_i = F(Z_i) = 1 / (1 + e^{-Z_i}) \quad (2)$$

In the equation above, P_i denotes the the probability of leaving the parental home and X_i is the vector of independent variables that influence this probability, and betas are the coefficients associated to each independent variable. Here the probability P_i of the i -th

individual choosing to leave parental home is not linear with respect to both the parameters and X_i . Due to this nonlinearity, the model faces an identification problem, making the least squares method unsuitable for its use. The process of linearizing Equation 2 is as follows:

$$\text{Given that } P_i = 1/(1 + e^{-Z_i}) \text{ ve } (1 - P_i) = 1/(1 + e^{Z_i}), \quad (3)$$

$$P_i/(1 - P_i) = (1 + e^{Z_i})/(1 + e^{-Z_i}) = e^{Z_i} \rightarrow \text{Odds Ratio} \quad (4)$$

$$\pi(X_i) = \ln(P_i/(1 - P_i)) = Z_i \quad (5)$$

Thus, the logit model is obtained by following the procedure above. The new variable that is defined, Z_i , is in the $[-\infty; +\infty]$ interval, and the value of P_i is between 0 and 1. The same equation is used for interpreting the model coefficients. In the logit model, the effects of independent variables on the dependent variable are determined using marginal effects (Greene, 2012: 806). The odds ratio specified in Equations 4 and 5 enables the linear interpretation of coefficients. Thus, the impact on the probability value can be observed with a one-unit change in the explanatory variables. If the odds ratio is greater than 1, it indicates a strong relationship, and as the ratio increases, the inference can be made that the relationship strengthens.

2.3.1. Maximum Likelihood Estimation

The logit model utilizes the least squares and maximum likelihood methods for parameter estimation. The maximum likelihood method aims to estimate the parameters that maximize the probability of the sample drawn from the population based on the similarity relationship between the population and the sample. In the general representation of the likelihood function, φ_k denotes the parameters of the function to be estimated, and LL denotes the likelihood function, then we have $LL(X_1, X_2, \dots, X_n; \varphi_1, \varphi_2, \dots, \varphi_i)$ (Cramer, 2003: 35). When the variables in X follow a normal distribution, the likelihood function is represented as $LL(X_1, X_2, \dots, X_n; \mu, \sigma^2)$. The maximum likelihood method, which is based on maximizing the likelihood function, requires knowledge of the distribution of the error terms. With this method, in small samples, inefficient but unbiased estimators that are not normally distributed are obtained, while in large samples, asymptotically normal and consistent estimators are obtained. In order to apply, we should obtain the Logit (LL) $_i$ values given by

$$\ln P_i / \varphi_i = \beta_0 \sum_{i=1}^n \beta_i X_i = LL_i \quad (6)$$

Then, the likelihood function associated to the model is obtained as follows:

$$LL(Y|X) = P(Y_i|X) = \sum_{i=1}^n (1 - P_i)^{(1-Y_i)} \quad (7)$$

To estimate the parameters that maximize the function shown in Equation 7, the partial derivatives of the function are taken and set to zero. The significance of the estimated parameters in the model is tested using the t-test, while for overall model significance, Wald, Score, and Likelihood Ratio tests are employed. Hauck & Donner (1977) have indicated that the Wald test exhibits abnormal behavior when examining its performance. Based on the findings, they stated that although the coefficient is significant, the null hypothesis is often not rejected. Therefore, they suggested using the likelihood ratio test for testing the overall model significance.

In the next section we will present the results of the logit analysis conducted on the data.

3. Results

In this section, we present the results of the logit analysis that we explained in the previous section. The results of the analysis are given in Table 2.

We conducted logit analysis to examine the factors influencing individuals' decisions to leave the parental home. The dependent variable, "leave_nest0" indicates whether an individual lives apart from their parental home. We included several independent variables in our analysis. "Female" is a dummy variable with a value of 1 for females and 0 for males. "Age" represents the age of the individuals, while "agesq" represents the square of age, allowing us to capture potential non-linear effects.

In Model 2, we extended the analysis by including "ln_real_totinc," which represents the logarithm of the real total income of individuals. This variable allows us to investigate the relationship between income and the decision to leave the parental home. In Model 3, we introduced the interaction term "fem_lninc," which is the product of the "female" variable and "ln_real_totinc." This interaction term enables us to explore how the relationship between income and leaving the parental home may differ between genders. In Model 4, we further extended the analysis by incorporating education levels. Specifically, we included four education level variables, "0.educ_narrow," "1.educ_narrow," "2.educ_narrow," and "3.educ_narrow," to examine the impact of different educational backgrounds on the decision to leave the parental home. In Model 5, we focus on the regional aspect by including "1.nuts1_num" to "12.nuts1_num" variables, representing the different regions of individuals. This allowed us to explore the regional variations in the likelihood of leaving the parental home.

By analyzing these models, we aim to gain insights into the factors that influence individuals' decisions to leave the parental home, considering variables related to gender, age, income, education, and regional differences.

Table 2: Results of Logit Analysis

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)	
	leave_nest t0		leave_nest 0		leave_nest 0		leave_nest 0		leave_nest 0	
leave_nest0										
female	-0.516***	(0.036)	0.512***	(0.056)	-1.654*	(0.997)	-2.106**	(0.925)	0.063	(0.061)
age	2.308***	(0.128)	1.398***	(0.187)	1.380***	(0.187)	0.907***	(0.189)	0.936***	(0.190)
agesq	-0.044***	(0.003)	-0.028***	(0.004)	-0.028***	(0.004)	-0.019***	(0.004)	-0.019***	(0.004)
2012.year	0.274***	(0.105)	0.283**	(0.127)	0.285**	(0.128)	0.331**	(0.129)	0.349***	(0.130)
2013.year	0.185*	(0.104)	0.191	(0.124)	0.194	(0.124)	0.235*	(0.126)	0.250**	(0.126)
2014.year	0.250**	(0.101)	-0.185	(0.129)	-0.179	(0.130)	-0.136	(0.131)	-0.127	(0.131)
2015.year	0.305***	(0.101)	-0.072	(0.127)	-0.065	(0.127)	-0.025	(0.128)	-0.013	(0.128)
2016.year	0.369***	(0.100)	-0.112	(0.127)	-0.106	(0.127)	-0.125	(0.128)	-0.122	(0.128)
2017.year	0.369***	(0.100)	-0.119	(0.128)	-0.116	(0.128)	-0.123	(0.129)	-0.122	(0.130)
2018.year	0.486***	(0.098)	0.205*	(0.120)	0.211*	(0.120)	0.196	(0.121)	0.203*	(0.122)
2019.year	0.584***	(0.096)	0.329***	(0.117)	0.335***	(0.118)	0.308***	(0.119)	0.313***	(0.119)
2020.year	0.561***	(0.096)	0.305***	(0.118)	0.307***	(0.118)	0.287**	(0.119)	0.301**	(0.120)
2021.year	0.720***	(0.094)	0.357***	(0.119)	0.359***	(0.119)	0.307**	(0.120)	0.332***	(0.120)
ln_real_totinc			0.890***	(0.049)	0.814***	(0.058)	0.551***	(0.053)	0.639***	(0.047)
fem_lninc					0.226**	(0.104)	0.225**	(0.096)		
1.educ_narrow							-0.097	(0.234)	-0.046	(0.235)
2.educ_narrow							0.669***	(0.228)	0.717***	(0.230)
3.educ_narrow							1.728***	(0.228)	1.781***	(0.231)
2.nuts1_num									0.163	(0.123)
3.nuts1_num									0.249***	(0.092)
4.nuts1_num									-0.152	(0.101)
5.nuts1_num									-0.195*	(0.107)
6.nuts1_num									0.043	(0.108)
7.nuts1_num									-0.135	(0.128)
8.nuts1_num									0.306***	(0.113)
9.nuts1_num									-0.284	(0.209)
10.nuts1_num									0.463***	(0.141)
11.nuts1_num									0.293**	(0.129)
12.nuts1_num									0.060	(0.130)
_cons	-33.821***	(1.585)	-28.896***	(2.338)	-27.928***	(2.391)	-19.907***	(2.394)	-21.237***	(2.370)
N	127817		32285		32285		32285		32285	
aic	29411.55		11956.941		11951.721		11325.017		11300.316	
bic	29548.17		12082.676		12085.838		11484.282		11543.404	
ll	-		-5963.470		-5959.860		-5643.508		-5621.158	
chi2type	Wald		Wald		Wald		Wald		Wald	
chi2	977.878		554.471		570.591		1129.442		1216.404	

Standard errors in parentheses. *** Significant at the 1% level; ** significant at the 5% level *significant at the 10% level
* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

For the first model, (Model 1), the coefficient for the "female" variable is -0.516, which indicates that being female is negatively associated with the likelihood of leaving the parental home. Female individuals are less likely to leave the nest compared to males. The "age" variable has a positive coefficient of 2.308, suggesting that as age increases, the probability of

leaving the parental home also increases. Older individuals are more likely to leave their parents' home. The "agesq" variable has a negative coefficient of -0.044, which implies that the effect of age on leaving the nest diminishes as individuals grow older. While older individuals are generally more likely to leave home, the rate at which this likelihood increases decreases as the age becomes higher. The year variables represent different years from 2012 to 2021. The coefficients for these variables indicate the change in the likelihood of leaving the nest over time compared to the reference year (2011). For example, the coefficient for "2012.year" is 0.274, indicating that the probability of leaving the parental home increased in 2012 compared to 2011.

We then extend the model by including a logarithm of the real income of the individual (Model 2). Comparing Model 1 to Model 2, we can see that the inclusion of "ln_real_totinc" affects the coefficient for the "age" variable, suggesting that income has a moderating effect on the relationship between age and leaving the parental home. We shall investigate this in more detail in further analysis where we investigate the marginal effects.

After Model 2, we include the interaction term of female*ln_real_totinc in Model 3, named as "fem_lninc". Comparing Model 2 and Model 3, we can see that the inclusion of the interaction term "fem_lninc" in Model 3 introduces an additional factor that affects the likelihood of leaving the parental home. It indicates that the effect of income on leaving the nest differs between males and females. When considering the interaction term, the positive coefficient for "fem_lninc" suggests that the relationship between income and leaving the nest is stronger for females than for males.

In Model 4, we include the education level of the individual, taking the primary level of education as reference level. Comparing Model 3 and Model 4, we can observe that the inclusion of education level variables in Model 4 further refines the analysis by accounting for the impact of education on the likelihood of leaving the parental home. Additionally, the coefficients for the "female" variable differ between the two models, indicating inclusion of education leads to a different effect of gender on leaving the nest.

In Model 5, we also include the region variables, providing insights into the regional variations in leaving the parental home.

Now we are going to investigate the effect of income and how it differs for gender, age, education level, and region, by looking at the marginal effects below. Instead of just giving the tables and summarizing the numbers, creating figures by using the marginal effects of Income for each age and gender is more friendly. We start by the marginal effects of income and how it changes by age and gender below in Figure 12.

Figure 12: Marginal Effects of Income on the Probability of Leaving Nest by Age and Gender

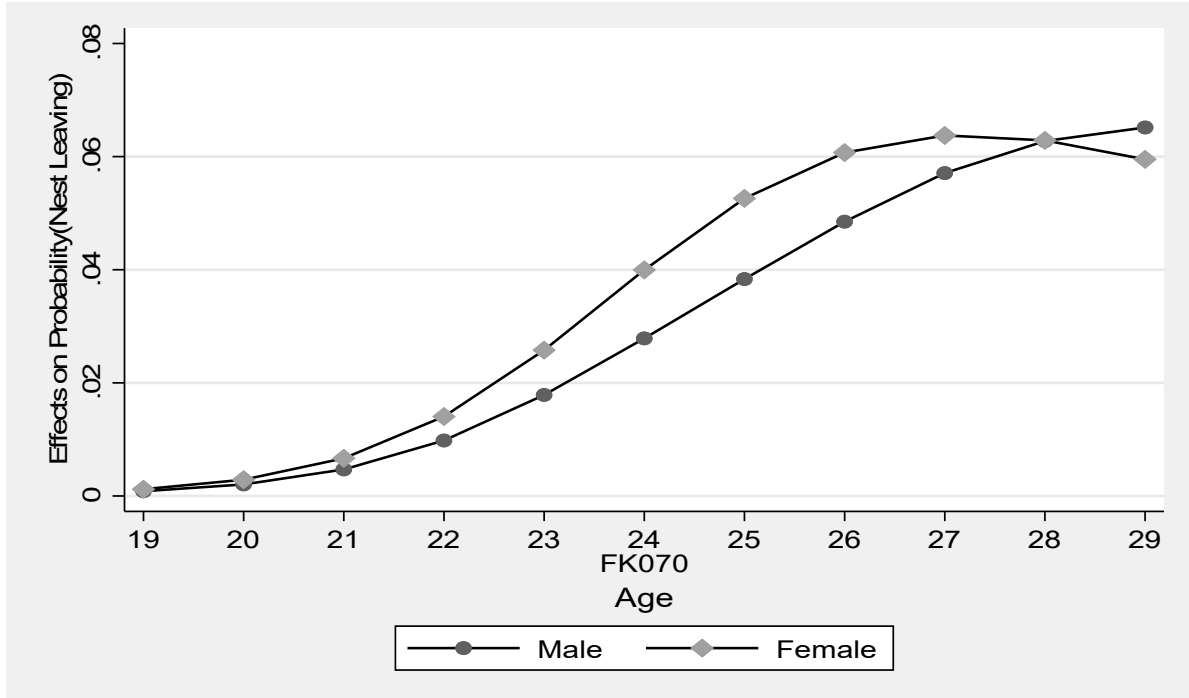
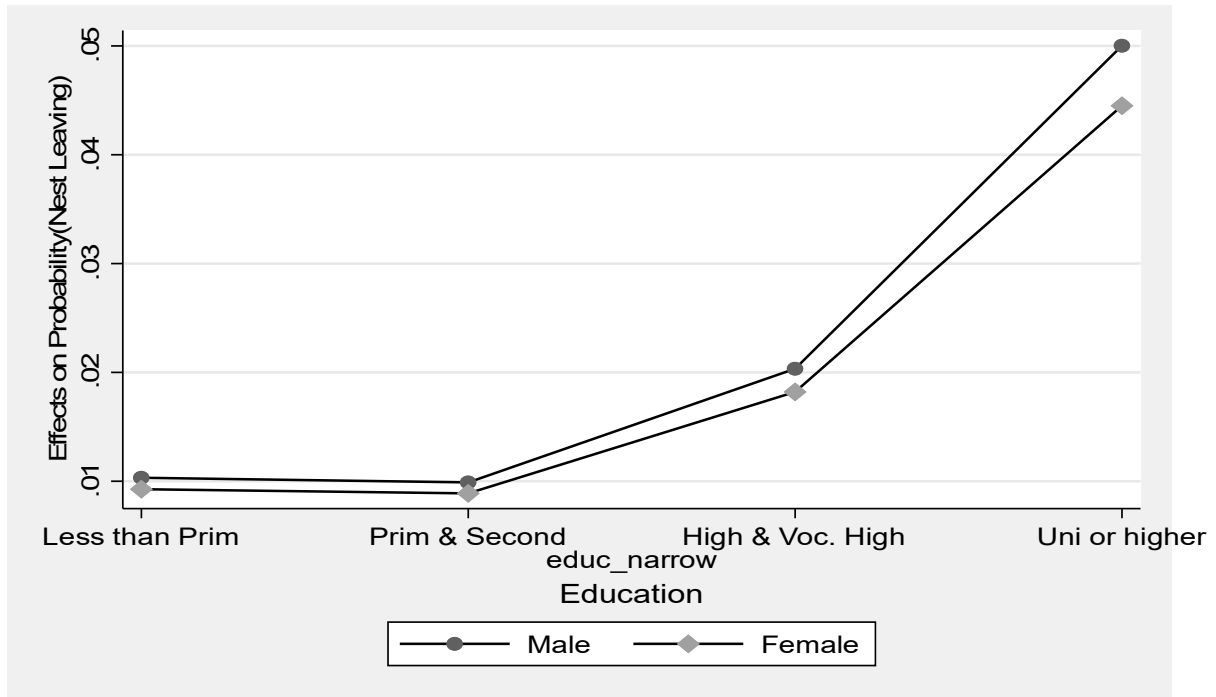


Figure 12 illustrates the estimated impact of income level on the probability of young individuals leaving their parental home, considering their age and gender within the logit model. The results show that, for individuals aged 19 and 20 years, the probability of leaving the parental home appears to be independent of income level, irrespective of gender. This finding suggests that personal income does not significantly influence the decision to live apart from their families at these ages.

However, as we investigate the individuals aged beyond 20 years, we observe a gender difference in the impact of income on the probability of leaving the parental home. Specifically, for women, an increase in income has a greater effect on the likelihood of living independently than for men. This implies that women tend to consider income a more significant factor when making choices about living apart from their families. This result also confirms our findings from the Figures 7 and 8. Another interesting observation is that the impact of income on the probability diminishes for females after the age 27. This means that factors such as age, education, and region, and unobserved variables that are not included in the analysis, are playing more important roles in this decision compared to personal income.

Now we turn to how the marginal effects of income change with the level of education in Figure 13.

Figure 13: Marginal Effects of Income on the Probability of Leaving Nest by Education Level and Gender

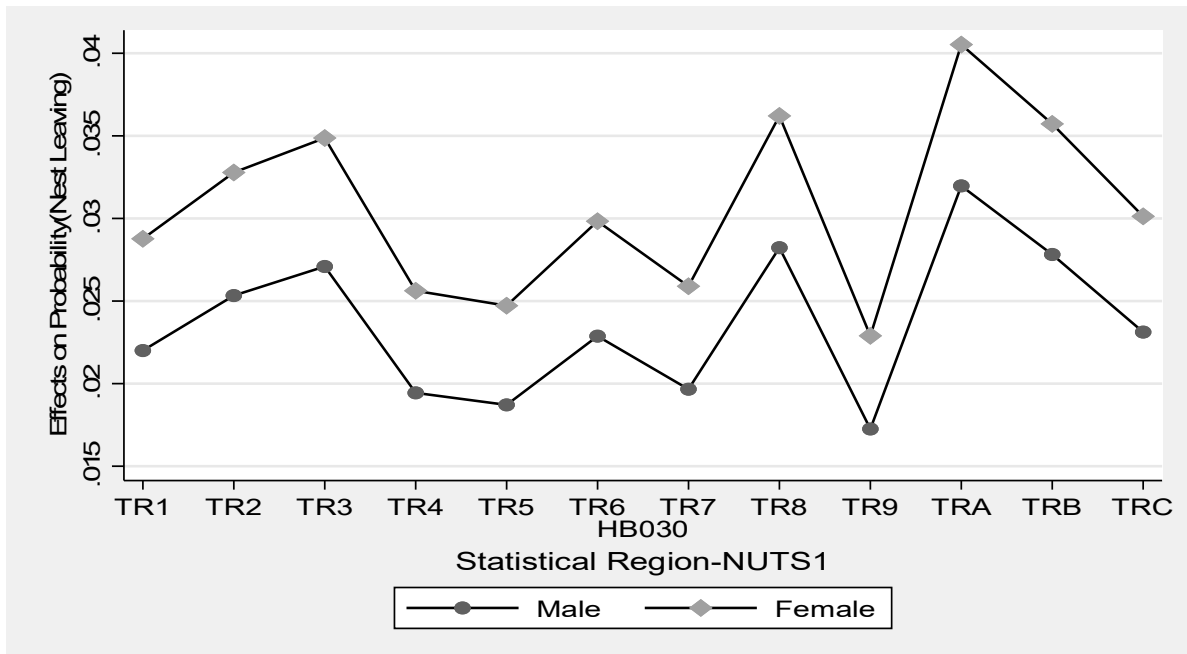


The analysis in Figure 13 reveals that the magnitude of the income effect varies depending on the level of education. Specifically, for individuals with lower education levels, such as "less than primary" and "primary and secondary" education, the marginal effect of income is relatively small. This finding suggests that income plays a lesser role in influencing the decision to leave the parental home for individuals with low educational attainment. However, as we move up the educational to higher levels, such as "high school" and "vocational high school," the effect of income becomes more pronounced. Individuals with these educational backgrounds demonstrate a medium-level sensitivity to income when considering leaving the parental home. The highest impact of income is observed among individuals with "university or higher" education levels. For these individuals, income has the strongest influence on their decision to live apart from their families. This finding emphasizes the significance of income as a determining factor in living arrangements of young adults with higher educational attainment.

By connecting these findings with our previous analysis, we can discern an interesting pattern. While income has a varying impact across education levels, there is a consistent gender difference. When we look at the interplay between the education level and the effect of income, for all of educational backgrounds, the marginal effect of income on the decision to leave the parental home is consistently higher for males than for females.

Finally, we look at the regional differences in the marginal effects of income by gender in the following figure.

Figure 14: Marginal Effects of Income on the Probability of Leaving Nest by Region and Gender



The analysis of the marginal effect of income, taking into account the regional aspect and gender, provides insights into young individuals' decisions to live apart from their families. Figure 13 illustrates these findings at the NUTS1 regional level. The results reveal that the impact of income on the probability of leaving the parental home varies across regions. Specifically, regions such as TR3 (Aegean), TR8 (West Black Sea), and TRA (Northeast Anatolia) show the highest marginal effects of income, indicating that individuals in these regions consider income levels more strongly in their decision-making process of leaving the parental home. On the other hand, regions like TR4 (East Marmara), TR5 (West Anatolia), and TR9 (East Black Sea) show smaller marginal effects, suggesting that income plays a relatively minor role in the decision to leave the parental home in these areas. Interestingly, when examining the impact of gender on the probability of leaving the parental home at the NUTS1 regional level, both genders have similar tendencies to live independently across regions. However, it is noteworthy that the marginal effect of income is consistently higher for females compared to males in all regions. This suggests that women tend to make decisions regarding leaving the parental home based on income considerations relatively more compared to men in all regions of Turkey.

Moreover, building upon the previous findings, it is worth noting that the analysis highlights the influence of regional characteristics on young individuals' choices. Istanbul (TR1), being a metropolis, considering the effect of income, stands out with a mediocre probability of leaving the parental home for both men and women. This could be attributed to various factors associated with urban living, such as employment opportunities, educational institutions, and lifestyle preferences. Yet, this probability is lower than some of the other regions, thus, this

shows that there may be other factors than income playing an important role in the decision to leave the parental home for young individuals in Istanbul.

4. Conclusion

The decision of young individuals to leave their parental homes in the case of Turkey has been an underrepresented area of research until very recently. Even though a relatively small proportion of young people decide to leave their parental home in total, it is still possible to observe a rise in these numbers in the last decade. Hence, our point of departure has been to study this new household trend at its outset, and our goal has been to identify the factors that lead to the decision of young individuals to live independently.

Among other things, we argue that gender, age, education, job status, and region play important roles in the decision of leaving the parental home. Our research highlights that personal income is a determinant factor from mid-youth forward, while other factors predominate in early youth. In particular, for women, income and job status appear to be the dominant factors. This finding is in line with Van den Berg & Verbakel (2022) who investigate that especially among women, increasing earning capacity leads to an increasing trend singlehood. In addition to that, this finding for women is more likely to have links with “the socioeconomic structural approach” since leaving nest decisions are based on economic, social, institutional, and political factors. However, one should take into account that for women who work full time as wage workers are more likely to be more educated. As we also find that the highest impact of income is observed among individuals with “university or higher” education levels. On the other hand, for men, living outside the parental home is not solely contingent on employment status. Thus, it can be deduced that factors other than work contribute to men's propensity to reside independently. This means that men's decision to leave their nests are more likely to be based on the “sharing approach”, since in this approach it is emphasized that cohabitation is a relationship of sharing and exchange that has benefits and costs for both the individual and the parent. Another important finding is that there is an inverted-U shaped relationship between age and nest leaving for both genders, which is, expectedly, a reflection of life-cycle events.

In summary, all three approaches have implications for the behavior of young individuals leaving their nests in Turkey. However, for women, the socioeconomic structural approach is more relevant than the other approaches, especially when a woman works full-time and has achieved a high level of education. On the other hand, the sharing approach is more appropriate in the case of men, while the life-cycle approach seems to apply to both genders.

Our analysis also contributes to the literature methodologically in the sense of data utilization and extraction from existing national surveys. To study the residential status of individuals many studies conduct their own surveys. While this method may lead to the acquisition of more detailed data about the subject, the coverage of the population may remain limited. We show that existing national surveys about household income, spending, and labor status can be utilized to study this subject if they include a question about the composition of members living in the same household. Still, the data we use do not allow for tracking a single



Vardar, N. B., Yanık İlhan, B., Ekal, B., Bozkurt, G. & Erer, E. (2023). Leaving the Nest: Inquiring the Determinant Factors of Leaving the Parental Home for Young Individuals in Turkey. *Fiscaeconomia*, 7(3), 2273-2301. Doi: 10.25295/fsecon.1328687

individual's residential choice over the years, and using panel data at the individual level would enable to study the factors and dynamics that affect the decision to leave the parental home in more detail.

In this study, we only focused on young individuals in Turkey while it may be interesting to look at the patterns for mid-life and elderly, as it would provide us a more in-depth look at household transformation that is being observed in the last decades around the world. In line with that, making international comparisons would be necessary to discern how the impact of these factors we investigated in this paper change in different contexts and to understand whether or not the dynamics we found here for Turkey are valid in other countries as well.

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Çıkar Beyanı: Yazarlar arasında çıkar çatışması yoktur.

Etik Beyanı: Bu çalışmanın tüm hazırlanma süreçlerinde etik kurallara uyulduğunu yazarlar beyan eder. Aksi bir durumun tespiti halinde Fiscaeconomia Dergisinin hiçbir sorumluluğu olmayıp, tüm sorumluluk çalışmanın yazarlarına aittir.

Yazar Katkısı: Tüm yazarlar eşit olarak katkıda bulunmuştur.

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Ethical Approval: The authors declare that ethical rules are followed in all preparation processes of this study. In the case of a contrary situation, Fiscaeconomia has no responsibility, and all responsibility belongs to the study's authors.

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