Population, Space and Place

WILEY

RESEARCH ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

Leaving Home in Finland: A Comparison by Migration Origin and Neighbourhood Context

Katrin Schwanitz[1,2] | Elina Kilpi-Jakonen[1] | Aleksi Seger[1]

[1]INVEST Research Flagship Centre, University of Turku, Turku, Finland | [2]Estonian Institute for Population Studies, School of Governance, Law and Society, Tallinn University, Tallinn, Estonia

Correspondence: Katrin Schwanitz (katrin.schwanitz@utu.fi)

Received: 17 January 2025 | **Revised:** 5 December 2025 | **Accepted:** 9 December 2025

Funding: Turku Urban Research Programme; Academy of Finland Fellowship (Decision No. 316247); Research Council of Finland Flagship Programme (Decision No. 320162)

Keywords: Finland | leaving the parental home | migrant background | neighbourhood

ABSTRACT

This paper examines how immigrant origin and neighbourhood environment intersect to shape the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home in Finland, a comparatively new migration destination. Using large-scale longitudinal Finnish register data for the 1990–1995 birth cohorts ($N = 369{,}629$), we analyse the dynamics of leaving home among majority and immigrant-origin young adults. Our study demonstrates, for the first time, that the socio-spatial environment shapes leaving-home behaviour among different immigrant-origin groups in Finland, providing a more nuanced understanding of this emplaced process. We employ discrete-time competing-risks event history models to analyse three transitions out of the parental home: independence, cohabitation and marriage. The results reveal that as the proportion of majority Finns in their neighbourhood increases, young adults with an immigrant background increasingly resemble their majority peers in their leaving-home behaviour, except for those from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, the Balkans and former Yugoslavia. Furthermore, we find no evidence of a differential effect of the neighbourhood environment on men's and women's leaving-home pathways.

1 | Introduction

Leaving the parental home is a key marker in the transition to adulthood, signalling autonomy from the family of origin, a degree of financial and residential independence, as well as a step towards one's own family formation. Prior research has shown racial/ethnic or migrant background to be an important determinant of both the timing and pathways of leaving home in many countries (e.g., Lei and South 2016, for the US; Kleinepier and Valk 2017; Zorlu and Mulder 2011, for the Netherlands; Ferrari and Pailhé 2017; McAvay and Pailhé 2022, for France; Skovgaard Nielsen 2015, for Denmark; Santiago et al. 2025, for Norway). The observed differences in leaving home are theoretically often linked to diverging cultural norms or socioeconomic circumstances that shape decisions about home-leaving (e.g., Aassve et al. 2002; de Valk and Billari 2007; Treas and Batalova 2011).

A smaller body of demographic research has recently highlighted the role of the neighbourhood context in shaping ethnic and migrant background differences in the timing and pathways of leaving home (Zorlu and Mulder 2011; Zorlu and van Gaalen 2016; McAvay and Pailhé 2022). A central premise of this literature—and of our study—is that neighbourhoods are not merely structural opportunity environments for socioeconomic mobility (e.g., skills acquisition) but are also socialisation contexts where cultural

Previous versions of this paper were presented at the European Population Conference 2024, a European Consortium for Sociological Research conference and at the University of Turku.

norms are transmitted and reinforced. These localised sociocultural dynamics may influence young adults' decisions about when and how to leave home, beyond the effects of individual or family-level characteristics. Drawing on the life course perspective (Elder et al. 2003) and the spatial opportunity structure framework (Galster and Sharkey 2017), we argue that the sociocultural environment of a neighbourhood—conceptualised here as the proportion of majority-group[1] residents—can, if not exclusively, shape leaving-home behaviour through cultural social interactive mechanisms.

Socioeconomic factors at the individual, family and neighbourhood levels—such as income, education and housing conditions—are well-established influences on young adult outcomes, including home-leaving behaviour (Wodtke 2013; Chetty et al. 2014; Chyn and Katz 2021; Santiago et al. 2025). Our focus, however, is on cultural social interactive mechanisms that may operate alongside, but independently from, structural socioeconomic influences. We argue that the proportion of majority-group residents in a neighbourhood serves as a proxy for the dominant cultural norms in the local environment. In majority-dense areas, young adults of immigrant origin may be more frequently exposed to Finnish mainstream expectations regarding independence and cohabitation, which can shape their behaviour through everyday interactions, peer networks and normative pressures.

This article, therefore, investigates how the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home are shaped by both migrant background and neighbourhood context. Specifically, we ask: what is the relationship between immigrant origin, neighbourhood environment and the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home? Moreover, do young adults with an immigrant origin living in more majority-dense neighbourhoods resemble the majority more in terms of their leaving-home behaviour than their peers living in more minority-dense neighbourhoods? To address these questions, we use unique individual-level administrative panel data from Statistics Finland, covering the years 2006–2020 and focusing on young adults born between 1990 and 1995. Our analyses employ discrete-time hazard models with competing risks, distinguishing between three types of transitions out of the parental home: independence, cohabitation and marriage.

We contribute to the literature by offering a comprehensive account of leaving-home behaviour among young adults in Finland. Building on McAvay and Pailhé (2022), we address prior data limitations by leveraging annually measured register data with near-complete population coverage, enabling more precise estimation of the timing and pathways of leaving home. Furthermore, we extend comparative research by examining less-studied migrant groups in Europe, such as those from the former Yugoslavia and Asia, and contribute novel insights into migrant background differences in home-leaving behaviour in a Nordic context with a relatively recent immigration history, marked by a significant rise in migration beginning in the 1990s. Today, Finland is home to a diverse range of migrant communities, including people from Russia, Estonia, the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria and Vietnam. An empirical assessment of the timing and patterns of leaving home that includes young people with a migratory background is therefore warranted.

2 | Literature Review

2.1 | Ethnic and Migrant Background Differences in Leaving Home

Research on ethnic and migrant background differences in the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home often highlights the role of cultural norms (Zorlu and Mulder 2011; Skovgaard Nielsen 2015; Windzio and Aybek 2015; Ferrari and Pailhé 2017; Kleinepier and Valk 2017). From a life course perspective, normative timetables, age expectations and age deadlines shape when and how young adults leave home (Elder et al. 2003). While cultural norms are not inherently tied to ethnicity or migrant background, these characteristics reflect distinct expectations around home-leaving (Skovgaard Nielsen 2015). Migrants from non-Western countries are thought to prioritise kinship and intergenerational obligations over autonomy in family-life transitions, especially compared to native Western European populations (de Valk and Billari 2007; Zorlu and Mulder 2011; Berrington 2020). Segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993) helps explain why such norms persist across generations, as selective incorporation can reinforce origin-country values concerning family and residential transitions (Nauck 2001).

To contextualise these cultural influences, we examine home-leaving patterns across origin countries and regions. In Finland, young people typically leave home around age 21 (Eurostat 2023), often for independence or cohabitation rather than marriage. This mirrors broader trends in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand, where early home-leaving (typically 20–26.4 years; Eurostat 2023) is linked to autonomy and non-marital partnerships. Europe shows clear north–south and east–west divides: in Southern and Eastern Europe, later home-leaving is often tied to marriage and economic dependency. In the Balkans and former Yugoslavia, it is significantly delayed—up to 33.4 years in Croatia (Eurostat 2023)—due to strong family ties, traditional norms and economic constraints. Similar patterns are found in Russia and other former Soviet states (average 23–25 years), where multigenerational living is common.

In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), home-leaving—especially for women—is strongly tied to marriage, typically occurring in the late 20s to early 30s, shaped by gender roles and structural barriers like housing shortages and youth unemployment. Sub-Saharan Africa shows greater variation, with transitions influenced by marriage, work or education, often occurring within extended family networks. Asian patterns also differ regionally: in East Asia (e.g., Japan, South Korea), young adults leave late (around 28–29 years), often after achieving job stability or marriage; in South Asia, home-leaving, especially for women, is also late and marriage-driven; Southeast Asia varies, showing earlier transitions (around 20–25 years) linked to labour migration or education (Juárez and Gayet 2014; Clark and Agnant 2025).

These origin-country patterns are reflected in destination countries. Studies show persistent disparities in home-leaving behaviour across ethnic and migrant groups. Foreign-born youth often leave later than their native-born peers, a delay that frequently persists across generations in countries like France, the Netherlands and the US (de Valk and Billari 2007;

Van Hook and Glick 2007; Treas and Batalova 2011; Ferrari and Pailhé 2017). However, other studies from the Netherlands, Norway and the US find that certain minority or migrant-background youth leave earlier (Zorlu and Mulder 2011; Lei and South 2016; Zorlu and van Gaalen 2016; Kleinepier and Valk 2017; Santiago et al. 2025).

These differences reflect both cultural norms—concerning family obligations, independence and autonomy—and structural conditions, such as unequal access to jobs and housing. For example, youth from Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa often maintain stronger cultural influences in their living arrangements (Gabrielli and Impicciatore 2020). Moroccans in Spain (Liu et al. 2019) and the Netherlands (Zorlu and Mulder 2011; Zorlu and van Gaalen 2016) tend to leave home earlier than natives, though not in France (Ferrari and Pailhé 2017). Notably, for migrants from North Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, home-leaving is more often linked to marriage and family formation than to independence (Skovgaard Nielsen 2015; Windzio and Aybek 2015; Ferrari and Pailhé 2017; Kleinepier and Valk 2017; Gabrielli and Impicciatore 2020).

2.2 | Other Determinants of Leaving Home

To account for migrant background differences in home-leaving patterns, we consider other structural factors that often intersect with cultural influences and shape both the timing and pathways of leaving home (Skovgaard Nielsen 2015; Ferrari and Pailhé 2017): socioeconomic resources like income, education and employment are central to achieving financial independence (Aassve et al. 2002; Mulder et al. 2002; Iacovou 2010). While higher income and employment generally facilitate earlier home-leaving, strong welfare systems (such as in Finland) can moderate this effect (Remes et al. 2022). Education plays a dual role: it can promote early departure due to future earning potential, but continued studies or financial dependence may delay it (Mulder and Hooimeijer 2002; South and Lei 2015). Furthermore, income and employment more strongly influence union-related moves, whereas higher education is associated with leaving for independence rather than leaving for cohabitation (Holdsworth 2000; Iacovou 2010; Mulder et al. 2002; Schwanitz et al. 2017). Parental characteristics also shape home-leaving. Young adults are more likely to leave if their parents rent, if housing is crowded, if they have more siblings or if they live in single-parent or stepfamilies (Mulder et al. 2002; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Chiuri and Del Boca 2010). Aging parents' declining health, however, may delay departures due to caregiving responsibilities (Choi 2003; Smits et al. 2010). Parental income can delay early departure but facilitate later independence, while parental education tends to accelerate leaving and favour independence over union-related moves (Schwanitz et al. 2017; Billari et al. 2019).

Gender, in particular, plays a critical role, as a consistent finding in the literature is that women tend to leave the parental home earlier than men—regardless of nativity or migrant background—often due to earlier union and family formation (e.g., Billari et al. 2001; South and Lei 2015). What remains less clear, however, is whether the pathways out of the parental home among individuals with a migrant background are systematically shaped by neighbourhood- or municipality-level cultural and structural factors in gender-specific ways (McAvay and Pailhé 2022; Santiago et al. 2025).

2.3 | Neighbourhood Environment and Leaving Home: A Life-Course and Spatial Opportunity Perspective

Demographic scholarship increasingly recognises neighbourhood effects as an important determinant of the timing and pathways of leaving home (Zorlu and Mulder 2011; Zorlu and van Gaalen 2016; McAvay and Pailhé 2022). Residential neighbourhoods are key spatial contexts where young people interact with others, observe social norms and navigate life transitions. Neighbourhoods can extend beyond immediate residential areas to include schools, community centres or hangouts. A broader interdisciplinary literature—particularly in economics, sociology and human geography—highlights the substantial impact of neighbourhood conditions on young adult outcomes such as health, well-being, educational attainment (Chyn and Katz 2021), intergenerational mobility (Chetty et al. 2014) and teenage parenthood (Wodtke 2013).

Building on insights from demographic and population geography literature (Mulder and Hooimeijer 1999; Coulter et al. 2016), we utilise two complementary theoretical perspectives to understand how neighbourhoods influence leaving-home behaviours through social interactive mechanisms. The life-course perspective (Elder et al. 2003) emphasises how structural forces—economic, institutional and cultural—shape demographic decisions across the life span. Norms and expectations are learned through observation, peer influence and local role models shared within neighbourhoods. The spatial opportunity structure, a theoretical concept suggested by Galster and Sharkey (2017), highlights how spatial environments enable or constrain individual choices and life transitions by shaping access to the resources and evaluative frames young adults use to interpret their social context and select culturally appropriate courses of action—such as leaving home for independence, cohabitation or marriage.

A central focus of this study is the proportion of majority residents in a neighbourhood as an indicator of its sociocultural environment. We contend that it shapes the normative climate surrounding family transitions: in majority-dense neighbourhoods, young adults of immigrant origin may be exposed to mainstream expectations about leaving home—such as leaving earlier for independence or cohabitation—which may differ from their family's cultural norms. This exposure can lead to adaptive behaviour aligned with majority norms (de Valk and Liefbroer 2007). In minority-dense neighbourhoods, young adults may encounter norms more consistent with their familial and cultural background, potentially reinforcing original socialisation patterns (Nauck 2001). Such dynamics resonate with spatial assimilation theory, which posits that residential integration into majority-group environments can lead to the adoption of mainstream cultural behaviours (Alba and Nee 2003).

Neighbourhoods also shape leaving-home decisions through structural opportunities and constraints, as envisaged by both the life-course perspective and the spatial opportunity structure

argument. Access to local resources (quality schools, jobs or affordable housing) can shape young adults' aspirations and enable earlier home-leaving. Limited opportunities in disadvantaged areas may delay independence, though lower housing costs can ease departure (Matsudaira 2016). Conversely, high housing costs in affluent neighbourhoods may postpone leaving or lead to alternative pathways like cohabitation or marriage. Significantly, minority-dense neighbourhoods often overlap with economically disadvantaged areas due to historical settlement patterns, discriminatory housing markets and socioeconomic inequalities (van Ham et al. 2021).

Isolating sociocultural mechanisms from structural ones (or other confounders, such as socioeconomic disadvantage, social capital, housing market conditions and urban location; McAvay and Pailhé 2022) requires carefully selected measures that capture the spatial inequality of the neighbourhood itself. Another key challenge is determining whether differences in the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home can be attributed to the neighbourhood context (specifically, the share of majority residents) or whether they reflect compositional differences between individuals and families across neighbourhoods. Residential sorting (e.g., affluent migrant families choosing to live in majority-dense neighbourhoods) can bias estimates of neighbourhood effects (Troost et al. 2022). It is therefore essential to control for such selection effects.

2.4 | The Finnish Study Setting

Finland has a relatively short immigration history and modest immigration flows compared to other European countries. As of 2021, immigrants and their descendants represent approximately 470,000 individuals of the resident population of around 5.5 million (Statistics Finland 2025). This marks a tenfold increase over the past 30 years. Finland has received migrants from across Europe, including the Balkans and former Soviet states; from the MENA region, particularly Iraq and Iran; from Sub-Saharan Africa, notably Somalia and Ethiopia; and from Asia, including China, Vietnam and the Philippines. Migration from North America, Australia and New Zealand remains relatively limited.

Although ethnic and migrant background differences in home-leaving are widely studied internationally, there is virtually no research on this topic in the Finnish context. However, insights can be drawn from related literatures—particularly studies on residential segregation and mobility. Research shows that immigrants, including young people, exhibit distinct residential patterns compared to native Finns. For example, Vaalavuo et al. (2019) found that upward income mobility is more strongly linked to moving out of low-income areas for natives than for immigrants. While migrants in Helsinki do access wealthier neighbourhoods, homeownership remains less attainable (Torpan et al. 2022), partly due to economic and demographic factors (Kauppinen et al. 2015). Nevertheless, Kauppinen et al. (2015) suggest that socioeconomic factors alone do not fully explain the homeownership gap between natives and immigrants in Nordic capitals.

Since the 1970s, Finnish housing policy has aimed to curb ethnic segregation by establishing a diverse mix of both 4owner-occupied and rental dwellings within residential neighbourhoods (Dhalmann and Vilkama 2009; Dhalmann 2013; Torpan et al. 2022). Nevertheless, clear patterns of ethnic clustering still exist in major cities. Immigrant populations, particularly those from non-Western countries, tend to concentrate in neighbourhoods characterised by lower incomes, higher unemployment rates and greater reliance on social benefits (Dhalmann and Vilkama 2009). These neighbourhoods often have fewer resources and opportunities, which can perpetuate socioeconomic disadvantages for residents.

2.5 | The Current Study: Summary of Hypotheses

Aligned with existing theory and prior work on ethnic and migrant background differences in leaving home, our study tests the following hypotheses: young adults with immigrant origins from the Balkans and former Yugoslavia, and other non-Western origin groups are expected to least resemble their majority peers in the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home (H1a). Specifically, they will be less likely to leave the parental home for independence or cohabitation and more likely to leave home for marriage. In contrast, young adults with immigrant origins from Europe and other Western origin groups are expected to closely resemble their majority peers in the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home (H1b). Compared with their peers in minority-dense neighbourhoods, young adults in majority-dense neighbourhoods (i.e., neighbourhoods with higher proportions of majority residents) will be more likely to leave home for independence and cohabitation, but less likely to leave home for marriage (H2). In majority-dense neighbourhoods, the differences in leaving-home pathways between immigrant-origin groups and the majority are expected to diminish (H3). Thus, the resemblance between immigrant-origin groups and their majority peers is likely to increase as the share of majority Finns in the neighbourhood grows. We do not have specific expectations about whether the relationship between immigrant origin and neighbourhood environment in the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home will vary by gender. Instead, this is examined exploratively.

3 | Data, Variables and Methods

We use register-based longitudinal data from Statistics Finland that combine yearly information on residential events with variables measuring individual sociodemographic characteristics and the neighbourhood environment. The data have been derived from the population register, which covers all persons registered in Finland between 1987 and 2020. Our analytical sample ($N = 369{,}629$) comprises young adults of the 1990–1995 birth cohorts who lived with at least one parent at age 16 and for whom we have complete information on all variables of interest. (This corresponds to approximately 91% of the 1990–1995 birth cohorts in the Finnish population register).[2] We followed the respondents until they left the parental home, exited the sample due to emigration or death, or reached the end of the observation period in 2020. This way, we capture the most dynamic period of leaving home in Finland (ages 16–30) while avoiding potential effects of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The dependent variable measures three different pathways of leaving the parental home. The reference category is living with one or both parents (coded 0), determined through the record linkage of parents and children. The other three categories are for respondents who have left the parental home:

1. Leaving for independence: transitioned from the parental home in year t to live alone in an independent residence in year t + 1;
2. Leaving for cohabitation: transitioned from the parental home in year t to live with a cohabiting partner at t + 1;
3. Leaving for marriage: transitioned from the parental home in year t to live with a married partner in year t + 1.

These different pathways are identified by checking which individuals are registered at the same address: those who were registered with at least one parent at the same address are considered as not having left the parental home; those who were registered at a different address than either of their parent(s) and without a partner registered at the same address are considered to live in an independent residence[3]; those who were registered at the same address with a partner and classified as 'unmarried cohabiting' according to the standard decision rules used by Statistics Finland are considered to cohabit with an unmarried partner; and, finally, those who were registered as married and living at the same address as their spouse are considered to be living together with a married partner.

We consider two key independent variables: first, we include the immigrant origin. An individual is defined as having an immigrant origin if both parents (or the only known parent) are foreign-born—encompassing both native-born descendants of immigrants (2G) and individuals born abroad who migrated to Finland during childhood (1.5G). We prioritise the mother's country of birth to construct seven categories by broad world regions: Finland (the majority reference category), Russia and the former Soviet Union, Balkans and former Yugoslavia, Other Western,[4] MENA, Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. If the mother's country of birth is not in the registers, the father's country of birth is used. For clarity, 'immigrant origin' includes both 1.5G and 2G immigrants, while 'Finnish majority' henceforth refers to young adults with two Finnish-born parents. Second, we include the share of the majority Finns in the neighbourhood (as defined by the postal code) to capture the migrant background composition of the neighbourhood environment.

We include an extensive set of control variables, with all time-varying variables lagged (t–1) to prevent endogeneity. We account for lack of information with an 'unknown' category where necessary. Individual-level controls: gender (male = 1; female = 0), employment status (student, unemployed, employed; *reference:* inactive), having income (yes = 1, no = 0), annual logged income, having been born abroad (yes = 1, no = 0), age of the older parent (mother or father) when R was born, parents' highest achieved level of education (*reference:* low; medium, high), parents' annual logged income, number of children in the parental household, number of rooms in the parental household (*reference:* 2 or fewer; 3, 4, 5 or more, unknown), parents' family type (*reference:* couple; single mother, single father) and tenure type of the parental home (*reference:* owner-occupied; rented, other). Neighbourhood-level controls: (1) socioeconomic disadvantage (unemployment rate, share of the population in the lowest income decile, share of highly educated adults (25+), and share in managerial/professional occupations); (2) local marriage trends (shares of married individuals and families); (3) housing market (share of renters); and (4) urbanity (neighbourhood's location in the Greater Helsinki area; yes = 1, no = 0). This operationalisation largely follows McAvay and Pailhé (2022). Table 1 presents descriptive statistics of the variables by immigrant origin. Descriptive statistics broken down by leaving home pathway are provided in Tables A1 and A2.

We model the different pathways of leaving the parental home using a discrete-time duration model with competing risks (Allison 1982). For each discrete-time interval t there is a multinomial response, indicating occurrence and pathway of leaving home. By modelling the pathways of leaving home as competing risks, we allow covariates and the baseline hazard to vary for each outcome. The process time is assumed to start at age 16 and to end when a respondent leaves the parental home for the first time. It is censored for a respondent still living with the parent(s) in the last observation year or at the last observation age, for a respondent who emigrated from Finland or died during the observation period. Duration dependency is assessed by including time and the natural logarithm of time (in years).[5] This approach accounts for the fact that the leaving home hazard rises particularly fast up until the early 20s and slows down afterwards. Repeated spells are not considered. Because adult children may be from the same family, and the assumption of independence of observations is thus violated, we adjust the standard errors for clustering in families. Another feature of our study sample is the relatively small number of young adults with an immigrant origin overall (see Table 1). We confirmed that small cell counts among the different immigrant-origin groups did not lead to unstable estimates or model convergence issues.

To fully address our research questions, our analysis was conducted in two main stages. First, we ran two models on a pooled sample of men and women. Model 1 examined the main effects of immigrant background and the share of majority Finns in the neighbourhood. Model 2 then added an interaction term between these two variables to determine if the effect of neighbourhood environment varied by immigrant background. Second, recognising that gender may significantly influence the process of leaving home, we performed a parallel analysis by running the same models for men and women separately. This approach allowed us to investigate potential gender-specific differences in the pathways and timing of leaving the parental home.

4 | Results

4.1 | Descriptive Results

Figure 1 shows the Kaplan–Meier survival estimates by origin group and gender. Young men and women in both the Finnish majority and the immigrant-origin group, Russia and the former Soviet Union, tend to leave home earliest (compared to all other groups). In contrast, young men and women of the immigrant-origin groups, Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, leave home later (compared to all other groups). Women leave the parental home earlier than men in almost all of the eight origin groups: the survival curves clearly diverge between young men

TABLE 1 | Descriptive statistics of the sample by immigrant origin (means and standard deviations at exit or censoring).

	Finland ($n = 358{,}677$)		Russia and former Soviet Union ($n = 2985$)		Balkans and former Yugoslavia ($n = 953$)		Other Western ($n = 2126$)		MENA ($n = 1748$)		Sub-Saharan Africa ($n = 1417$)		Asia ($n = 1723$)	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Sub-episodes with event	0.93	0.25	0.86	0.35	0.76	0.43	0.80	0.40	0.76	0.43	0.63	0.48	0.77	0.42
Young adults' characteristics														
Male gender	0.51		0.50		0.52		0.51		0.54		0.51		0.52	
Born abroad			0.70		0.69		0.55		0.77		0.60		0.60	
Employment status														
Employed	0.43		0.33		0.38		0.33		0.26		0.27		0.36	
Student	0.42		0.50		0.41		0.48		0.50		0.45		0.45	
Unemployed	0.08		0.08		0.10		0.07		0.09		0.09		0.07	
Inactive	0.07		0.09		0.10		0.13		0.15		0.18		0.12	
Has income	0.94		0.89		0.92		0.85		0.88		0.86		0.89	
Logged income	7.76	2.36	7.17	2.85	7.71	2.63	7.00	3.15	7.15	2.86	7.15	3.06	7.45	2.89
Age	20.64	2.49	20.53	2.88	20.73	2.97	20.46	2.95	20.55	2.81	20.78	3.01	21.17	3.18
Parents' characteristics														
Age of the older parent when R was born	31.97	5.68	29.12	6.60	30.39	5.35	28.46	6.45	31.03	6.41	31.94	7.31	31.16	7.03
Parents' highest achieved level of education														
Low	0.05		0.13		0.33		0.23		0.52		0.56		0.53	
Medium	0.40		0.38		0.45		0.43		0.30		0.28		0.29	
High	0.55		0.49		0.22		0.34		0.18		0.16		0.18	
Parents' logged income	10.83	0.52	10.29	0.85	10.39	0.54	10.31	1.17	10.24	0.88	10.34	0.83	10.15	1.18
Parent's number of children	1.99	1.17	1.73	0.92	2.53	1.25	1.96	1.10	2.91	1.52	4.11	2.05	2.36	1.33
Parent's number of rooms														
2 or less	0.09		0.18		0.07		0.16		0.06		0.06		0.10	
3	0.21		0.41		0.41		0.37		0.30		0.21		0.35	
4	0.32		0.28		0.44		0.29		0.50		0.49		0.41	
5 or more	0.37		0.12		0.07		0.17		0.14		0.24		0.14	
Unknown	0.01		0.01		0.00		0.01		0.01		0.00		0.01	
Family type														
Couple	0.73		0.57		0.76		0.52		0.69		0.50		0.61	

(Continues)

TABLE 1 | (Continued)

	Finland ($n = 358{,}677$)		Russia and former Soviet Union ($n = 2985$)		Balkans and former Yugoslavia ($n = 953$)		Other Western ($n = 2126$)		MENA ($n = 1748$)		Sub-Saharan Africa ($n = 1417$)		Asia ($n = 1723$)	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Single mother	0.21		0.39		0.20		0.42		0.26		0.45		0.34	
Single father	0.06		0.04		0.04		0.06		0.05		0.05		0.05	
Parent's housing														
Owner-occupied	0.82		0.44		0.28		0.46		0.18		0.04		0.35	
Rental	0.15		0.50		0.69		0.49		0.77		0.93		0.61	
Other	0.04		0.06		0.03		0.05		0.05		0.03		0.04	
Neighbourhood characteristics														
Share of majority (%)	95.68	5.00	89.50	8.46	85.73	8.68	89.87	8.56	87.21	8.71	83.86	8.09	86.96	9.21
Unemployment rate (%)	11.11	4.62	12.81	5.36	12.60	5.84	11.17	5.36	12.84	5.78	11.78	4.74	12.32	5.31
Share of renters (%)	21.23	14.42	33.84	15.80	37.08	13.13	32.20	16.90	38.43	13.36	43.97	12.42	37.75	15.30
Share of married (%)	38.69	5.45	35.38	5.44	34.74	4.58	35.68	5.90	33.92	4.98	32.30	4.88	34.11	5.49
Share of families (%)	78.40	9.12	74.06	8.54	73.55	7.26	74.98	9.24	72.59	8.50	71.47	7.87	72.95	8.90
Share of persons in lowest income decile (%)	9.26	4.36	11.00	4.74	11.16	5.25	9.94	4.50	11.88	5.46	10.80	4.27	10.99	5.02
Share of persons aged 25+ with higher education (%)	22.93	7.87	23.35	7.81	23.53	6.84	24.21	8.10	25.09	6.79	26.08	7.33	24.51	7.39
Share of persons in managerial/professional occupation (%)	9.32	4.84	9.58	5.00	9.78	4.59	10.35	5.15	10.57	4.47	11.36	4.78	10.36	4.78
Greater Helsinki area	0.16		0.41		0.44		0.42		0.41		0.77		0.49	

Note: All time-varying variables have been lagged (t–1) in the analysis. *N* Sub-episodes = 2,084,977; *N* Persons = 369,629; *N* Events = 342,251. *Source:* Finnish register data. Birth cohorts 1990–1995. Authors' calculations.
Abbreviation: SD = standard deviation.

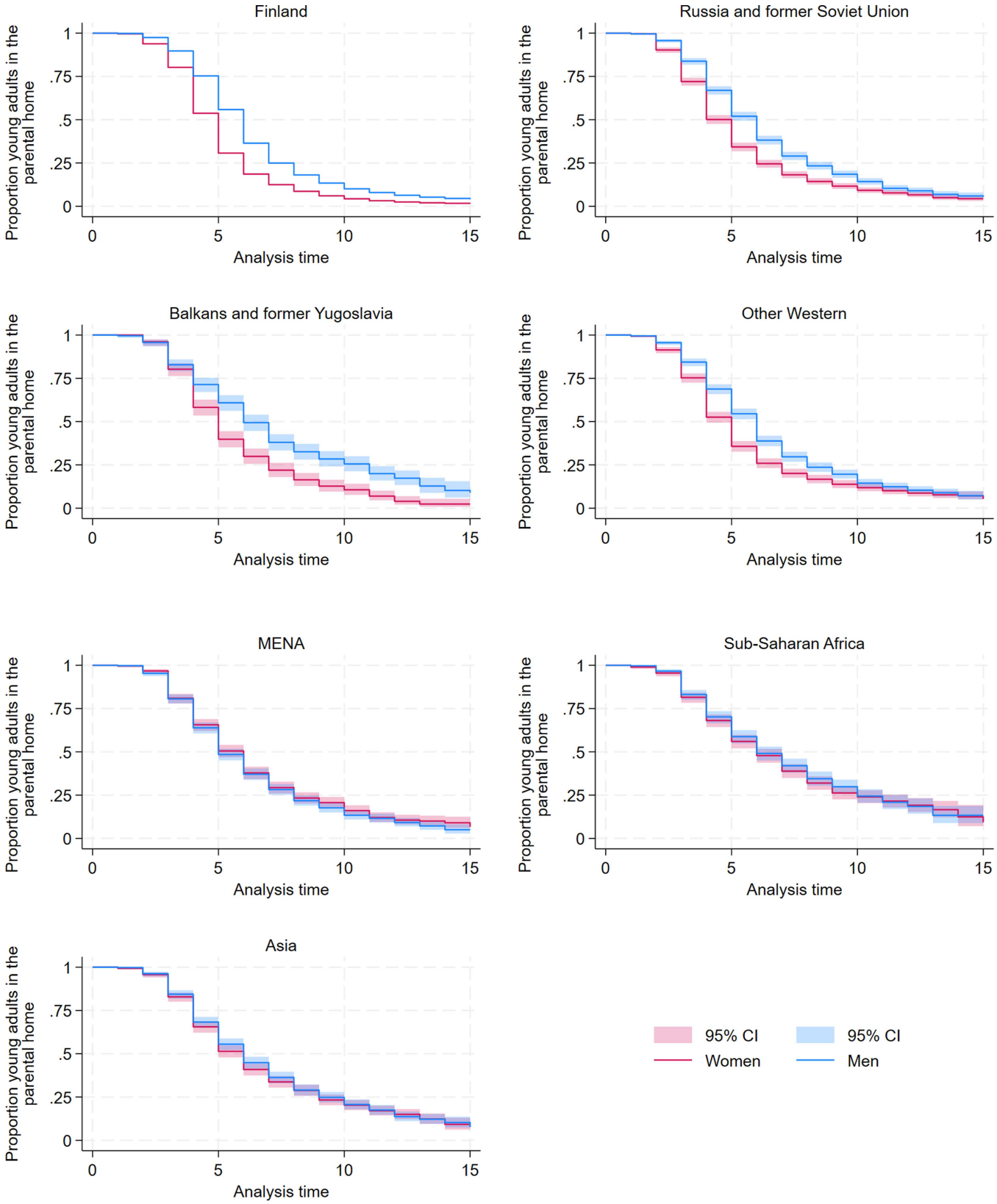

FIGURE 1 | Survival estimates. *Note:* A log-rank test (χ^2 [13] = 20,858.15, $p < 0.001$) leads us to reject the null hypothesis that the survivor functions are the same across men and women in all immigrant-origin groups.*Source:* Finnish register data. Birth cohorts 1990–1995 ($N = 369{,}629$). Authors' calculations.

and women in the Finnish majority and the immigrant-origin groups Russia and former Soviet Union, Balkans and former Yugoslavia and Other Western. The divergences between the survival curves are less visible for the immigrant-origin groups, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia, but are supported by (marginally) higher incidence rates for women relative to men. The sole exception to this pattern is observed for the MENA immigrant-origin group, where young men's survival curves are steeper than young women's, suggesting that young men leave earlier (incidence rate = 0.139) than young women (incidence rate = 0.133).

4.2 | Immigrant-Origin Differences in Leaving-Home Pathways (H1a & H1b)

Table 2, Model 1, shows that immigrant origin is significantly associated with home-leaving pathways, independent of neighbourhood environment and other controls. Immigrant-origin young adults are generally less likely than majority Finns to leave home for independence—particularly those from Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Balkans and former Yugoslavia (AMEs ≈ -0.025, $p < 0.001$). Similarly, young adults with origins from the Balkans and former Yugoslavia, MENA, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia are less likely to leave for cohabitation (AMEs range from -0.035 to -0.041, $p < 0.001$). In contrast, leaving home for marriage is more likely among groups from the Balkans and former Yugoslavia, Russia and former Soviet Union, MENA and Asia (AMEs range from 0.003 to 0.014, $p < 0.001$). Notably, Sub-Saharan African origin is associated with a slightly lower likelihood of leaving for marriage (AME $= -0.001$, $p < 0.05$), all else equal and compared to the majority Finns. Overall, these findings support H1a: non-Western origin groups differ the most from the majority Finns. H1b, however, receives only partial support. While AMEs for Western origin groups are closer to the majority benchmark—particularly for independence and cohabitation—they remain substantial, suggesting that migrant background differences in home-leaving patterns are not confined to non-Western origins.

4.3 | Neighbourhood Environment and Leaving-Home Pathways (H2)

Table 2, Model 1, shows that the neighbourhood share of majority Finns is positively associated with all home-leaving pathways, independent of immigrant origin and other controls. The average marginal effect is strongest for leaving home for independence and cohabitation (AME $= 0.001$, $p < 0.001$ for both). This translates to a 0.10 percentage point increase in the probability of these pathways for a 1 percentage point increase in the share of majority residents in the neighbourhood. The average marginal effect is weakest for marriage, aligning with H2: young adults in majority-dense neighbourhoods are more likely to leave home for independence and cohabitation, but not for marriage.

4.4 | Associations of Control Variables

Most control variables in Model 1 show associations consistent with prior research, but three findings merit a brief discussion. First, being a student decreases the likelihood of leaving for independence compared to inactive young adults, but not for other pathways. Contrary to previous studies (Zorlu and Mulder 2011; McAvay and Pailhé 2022), students also differ from unemployed young adults, showing a lower likelihood of leaving home via any pathway. Second, the parents' number of children in the household is negatively associated with leaving home for independence and cohabitation, but positively associated with leaving home for marriage. This suggests that young adults from larger families delay independent living or cohabitation but may leave earlier to marry. In the Finnish context, this may reflect that family size does not dilute parental resources (due to social support policies) or that larger families foster different expectations around early independence. Third, higher parental home quality (measured by the number of rooms) is associated with a lower likelihood of leaving home for independence or cohabitation, with no consistent association for marriage. This aligns with findings from Sweden and Norway (Schwanitz et al. 2017), suggesting that young adults are more likely to stay in a comfortable and supportive parental home (the 'feathered nest' effect).

4.5 | Interaction Between Immigrant Origin and Neighbourhood Environment (H3)

Table 3, Model 2, provides evidence of an interaction between immigrant origin and the share of majority residents in the neighbourhood, although it is not statistically significant across all groups. A joint Wald test (χ^2 [18] = 123.77, $p < 0.001$) leads us to reject the null hypothesis that all interaction coefficients are equal to zero. Model 2 (with interaction effects) is therefore considered to provide a better fit to the data than Model 1.

For easier interpretation, the predicted margins from Model 2 (Table 3) are graphically depicted in Figure 2, shown in two panels for clarity. The general pattern among all immigrant-origin groups mirrors that of the majority: the probability of not leaving the parental home decreases as the share of majority residents in the neighbourhood increases, while the probability of leaving home for independence and cohabitation increases. However, the groups differ in terms of the strength of these associations.

Overall, the more minority-dense (diverse) the neighbourhood, the more dissimilar immigrant-origin groups become compared to their majority peers. For the outcome of not leaving the parental home, groups from Other Western origins and from Russia and the former Soviet Union converge fully with the majority as the share of majority residents increases, while the Sub-Saharan African group shows partial convergence—this group also appears most influenced by neighbourhood diversity. In contrast, groups from the MENA region, Asia, the Balkans and former Yugoslavia remain consistently different. A similar pattern emerges for leaving home for independence: the Sub-Saharan African group now shows full convergence, and the Asian group partial convergence. Again, the Sub-Saharan African group is the most influenced by neighbourhood diversity. For cohabitation, the influence of neighbourhood diversity seems to be more equal across all groups. Only the Other Western group aligns with the majority, while there are

TABLE 2 | Multinomial logistic regression predicting pathways out of the parental home (Model 1).

	Base outcome: Has not left parental home					
	Independence		Cohabitation		Marriage	
	β	AME	β	AME	β	AME
Intercept	−7.560***		−8.041***		−16.050***	
	(0.150)		(0.177)		(0.620)	
Young adults' characteristics						
Immigrant origin (ref. Finland)						
Russia and former Soviet Union	−0.139**	−0.009**	−0.226***	−0.011***	0.759***	0.005***
	(0.042)		(0.051)		(0.123)	
Balkans and former Yugoslavia	−0.422***	−0.025***	−1.170***	−0.041***	1.366***	0.014***
	(0.072)		(0.099)		(0.127)	
Other Western	−0.230***	−0.015***	−0.212***	−0.009**	−0.026	0.000
	(0.047)		(0.055)		(0.166)	
MENA	−0.269***	−0.014***	−1.089***	−0.040***	0.684***	0.005***
	(0.055)		(0.087)		(0.138)	
Sub-Saharan Africa	−0.413***	−0.023***	−1.027***	−0.037***	−0.468**	−0.001*
	(0.057)		(0.091)		(0.148)	
Asia	−0.421***	−0.024***	−0.942***	−0.035***	0.347**	0.003**
	(0.050)		(0.071)		(0.129)	
Men (ref. women)	−0.464***	−0.028***	−0.817***	−0.041***	−0.963***	−0.004***
	(0.005)		(0.006)		(0.022)	
t	−0.594***	−0.038***	−0.874***	−0.042***	−0.460***	−0.001***
	(0.004)		(0.006)		(0.016)	
ln(t)	4.025***	0.263***	5.343***	0.250***	3.939***	0.012***
	(0.022)		(0.031)		(0.090)	
Employment status (ref. inactive)						
Employed	0.359***	0.023***	0.732***	0.035***	0.693***	0.002***
	(0.012)		(0.015)		(0.049)	
Student	−0.077***	−0.008***	0.226***	0.011***	0.236***	0.001***
	(0.011)		(0.015)		(0.052)	
Unemployed	0.321***	0.023***	0.474***	0.020***	0.298***	0.001**
	(0.014)		(0.018)		(0.065)	
Logged income	0.019***	0.000	0.103***	0.005***	0.238***	0.001***
	(0.003)		(0.003)		(0.014)	
Young adult has income (ref. no)	0.229***	0.021***	−0.265***	−0.017***	−1.228***	−0.010***
	(0.022)		(0.028)		(0.118)	
Born abroad (ref. no)	0.032	0.004	−0.167***	−0.009***	0.614***	0.004***
	(0.037)		(0.049)		(0.104)	
Parents' characteristics						
Parents' age	−0.018***	−0.001***	−0.040***	−0.002***	0.001	0.000**
	(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.002)	
Parents' highest achieved level of education (ref. low)						
Medium	−0.128***	−0.008***	−0.165***	−0.008***	−0.385***	−0.002***
	(0.014)		(0.015)		(0.047)	
High	−0.091***	−0.014**	−0.298***	−0.016***	−0.530***	−0.002***
	(0.014)		(0.016)		(0.049)	
Parents' logged income	0.080***	0.006***	0.044***	0.002***	−0.036	0.000*
	(0.006)		(0.007)		(0.023)	

(Continues)

TABLE 2 | (Continued)

	Base outcome: Has not left parental home					
	Independence		Cohabitation		Marriage	
	β	AME	*β*	AME	*β*	AME
Parents' number of children	−0.019***	0.000*	−0.130***	−0.007***	0.440***	0.002***
	(0.003)		(0.003)		(0.008)	
Parents' number of rooms (ref. 2 or less)						
3	−0.082***	−0.007***	−0.035**	−0.001	0.025	0.000
	(0.011)		(0.013)		(0.053)	
4	−0.129***	−0.010***	−0.053***	−0.001*	−0.117*	0.000
	(0.011)		(0.013)		(0.051)	
5 or more	−0.168***	−0.013***	−0.122***	−0.005***	0.087	0.001**
	(0.011)		(0.013)		(0.050)	
Unknown	0.291***	0.024***	0.241***	0.010***	0.460**	0.002*
	(0.037)		(0.042)		(0.140)	
Family type (ref. couple)						
Single mother	0.219***	0.018***	0.031***	−0.001	−0.289***	−0.001
	(0.008)		(0.009)		(0.038)	
Single father	0.189***	0.015***	0.067***	0.002*	−0.082	−0.001*
	(0.012)		(0.014)		(0.059)	
Parents' housing (ref. owner-occupied)						
Rental	0.283***	0.021***	0.210***	0.009***	0.322***	0.001***
	(0.009)		(0.011)		(0.042)	
Other	0.152***	0.011***	0.089***	0.003**	0.122	0.000
	(0.014)		(0.018)		(0.067)	
Neighbourhood characteristics						
Share of majority	0.016***	0.001***	0.020***	0.001***	0.043***	0.000***
	(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.004)	
Unemployment rate	0.026***	0.002***	0.019***	0.001***	0.008*	0.000
	(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.003)	
Share of renters	−0.001*	0.000**	0.003***	0.000***	0.013***	0.000***
	(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.002)	
Share of married	−0.012***	−0.001***	−0.008***	0.000***	−0.031***	0.000***
	(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.004)	
Share of families	0.007***	0.000***	0.011***	0.001***	0.046***	0.000***
	(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.003)	
Share of persons in lowest income decile	0.012***	0.001***	0.010***	0.000***	0.022***	0.000***
	(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.004)	
Share of persons aged 25+ with higher education	0.024***	0.002***	0.014***	0.001***	−0.032***	0.000***
	(0.001)		(0.002)		(0.005)	
Share of persons in managerial/professional occupation	−0.023***	−0.002***	−0.025***	−0.001***	0.008	0.000
	(0.002)		(0.003)		(0.009)	
Greater Helsinki area (ref. no)	−0.244***	−0.016***	−0.226***	−0.009***	−0.332***	−0.001***
	(0.011)		(0.013)		(0.053)	
Person-years	2,084,977					
Log pseudolikelihood	−1,014,385.7					
Pseudo R^2	0.1534					

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. All time-varying variables have been lagged (t–1) in the analysis. *Source:* Finnish register data. Birth cohorts 1990–1995 ($N = 369{,}629$). Authors' calculations.
***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$.

TABLE 3 | Multinomial logistic regression predicting pathways out of the parental home (Model 2).

	Base outcome: Has not left parental home		
	Independence β	**Cohabitation** β	**Marriage** β
Intercept	−7.405***	−7.960***	−17.306***
	(0.151)	(0.178)	(0.668)
Young adults' characteristics			
Immigrant origin (ref. Finland)			
Russia and former Soviet Union	−1.452***	−0.925*	3.247**
	(0.359)	(0.446)	(0.998)
Balkans and former Yugoslavia	−0.702	−1.185	6.110***
	(0.746)	(1.056)	(0.915)
Other Western	−2.296***	−1.308*	3.733**
	(0.453)	(0.528)	(1.287)
MENA	−0.777	−2.398**	3.296**
	(0.492)	(0.861)	(0.925)
Sub-Saharan Africa	−2.800***	−2.523*	−3.387*
	(0.580)	(1.005)	(1.530)
Asia	−1.916***	−2.065**	4.375***
	(0.455)	(0.689)	(1.008)
Men (ref. women)	−0.464***	−0.817***	−0.964***
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.022)
t	−0.594***	−0.874***	−0.461***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.016)
ln(t)	4.024***	5.342***	3.952***
	(0.022)	(0.031)	(0.090)
Employment status (ref. inactive)			
Employed	0.359***	0.732***	0.690***
	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.049)
Student	−0.077***	0.226***	0.233***
	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.052)
Unemployed	0.322***	0.474***	0.298***
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.065)
Logged income	0.019***	0.103***	0.238***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.014)
Young adult has income (ref. no)	0.230***	−0.265***	−1.229***
	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.118)
Born abroad (ref. no)	0.030	−0.166**	0.598***
	(0.037)	(0.049)	(0.101)
Parents' characteristics			
Parents' age	−0.018***	−0.040***	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Parents' highest achieved level of education (ref. low)			
Medium	−0.127***	−0.164***	−0.393*
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.047)
High	−0.089***	−0.297***	−0.539**
	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.048)

(Continues)

TABLE 3 | (Continued)

	Base outcome: Has not left parental home		
	Independence β	**Cohabitation** β	**Marriage** β
Parents' logged income	0.080***	0.044***	−0.037
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.023)
Parents' number of children	−0.019***	−0.130***	0.440***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.008)
Parents' number of rooms (ref. 2 or less)			
3	−0.082***	−0.035**	0.03
	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.053)
4	−0.129***	−0.053***	−0.121**
	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.051)
5 or more	−0.168***	−0.122***	0.083
	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.050)
Unknown	0.291***	0.240***	0.471**
	(0.037)	(0.042)	(0.139)
Family type (ref. couple)			
Single mother	0.218***	0.030***	−0.285***
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.038)
Single father	0.189***	0.067***	−0.081
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.059)
Parents' housing (ref. owner-occupied)			
Rental	0.285***	0.211***	0.322***
	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.042)
Other	0.151***	0.088***	0.128*
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.067)
Neighbourhood characteristics			
Share of majority	0.014***	0.019***	0.057***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)
Unemployment rate	0.026***	0.019***	0.007*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Share of renters	−0.001*	0.003***	0.014***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Share of married	−0.012***	−0.008***	−0.032***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
Share of families	0.007***	0.012***	0.045***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Share of persons in lowest income decile	0.013***	0.010***	0.021***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
Share of persons aged 25+ with higher education	0.024***	0.014***	−0.031***
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Share of persons in managerial/professional occupation	−0.023***	−0.025***	0.008
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.009)
Greater Helsinki area (ref. no)	−0.247***	−0.228***	−0.312***
	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.053)
Interactions			
Russia and former Soviet Union * Share of majority	0.015***	0.008	−0.027*
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.011)

(Continues)

TABLE 3 | (Continued)

	Base outcome: Has not left parental home		
	Independence β	**Cohabitation** β	**Marriage** β
Balkans and former Yugoslavia * Share of majority	0.003	0.000	−0.053***
	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Other Western * Share of majority	0.023***	0.012*	−0.041**
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.015)
MENA * Share of majority	0.006	0.015	−0.029*
	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Sub-Saharan Africa * Share of majority	0.028***	0.018	0.036*
	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.018)
Asia * Share of majority	0.017**	0.013	−0.045***
	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.012)
Person-years		2,084,977	
Log pseudolikelihood		−1,014,309.2	
Pseudo R^2		0.1535	

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. All time-varying variables have been lagged (t–1) in the analysis. *Source:* Finnish register data. Birth cohorts 1990–1995 ($N = 369{,}629$). Authors' calculations.
***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$.

indications that the group from the Balkans and former Yugoslavia is only minimally influenced by neighbourhood diversity.

Regarding leaving home for marriage, there is less consistency across origin groups. Among the majority and those with origins from Sub-Saharan Africa, the MENA region and Russia and the former Soviet Union, the probability of leaving home for marriage marginally increases as the neighbourhood majority share increases (i.e., diversity decreases). In contrast, it decreases among those of immigrant origins from Other Western, Asia and the Balkans and former Yugoslavia. However, many of these trends are not statistically significant, as indicated by the strongly overlapping confidence intervals. The only exception is the group from the Balkans and former Yugoslavia, which shows a statistically significant decrease in the likelihood of leaving home for marriage as the share of majority residents in the neighbourhood increases. Despite these varying trends for marriage, the overall conclusion aligns with our hypothesis (H3): differences between groups tend to diminish as neighbourhood majority-density increases.

4.6 | Intersecting Influences of Immigrant Origin, Neighbourhood Environment and Gender

As outlined in the methods, we estimated separate models for men and women to explore potential gender differences. Table 4 presents only the AMEs as well as the p value for the t-test assessing the equality of AMEs between men and women for our key variables of interest. Panel (a) of Table 4 shows gender differences in the main effect of immigrant origin. Except for young adults with an origin background from Russia and the former Soviet Union, women show a greater (negative) divergence from their majority counterparts than their male peers regarding leaving for independence ($p < 0.05$). A gender difference is also observable regarding the pathways 'cohabitation' and 'marriage': women with an origin background from Russia and the former Soviet Union, Balkans and former Yugoslavia, MENA and Asia are both less likely to leave for cohabitation and more likely to leave for marriage compared to their majority counterparts than their male peers ($p < 0.05$). The average marginal effects of the share of majority residents in the neighbourhood for any of the three pathways to leave home are not substantially different between men and women.

Regarding gender differences in the interactive effect of immigrant origin and the share of majority Finns in the neighbourhood on the different pathways out of the parental home (Table 4, Panel b), the results largely do not support systematic differences once the interaction is included and the equality of AMEs between men and women is assessed. There are three exceptions: for the majority of Finnish young adults, there is a statistically significant gender difference in how the majority share in the neighbourhood is associated with leaving home for cohabitation and for marriage. In both cases, the AME for women is larger than for men (1.81 times greater for cohabitation; 1.44 times greater for marriage). For young adults from Sub-Saharan Africa, there is a statistically significant gender difference in how the share of the majority in the neighbourhood is associated with leaving home for marriage. The AME for men is extremely close to zero (< 0.0001), whereas the AME for women is 0.0012. Nonetheless, the interactive effect of immigrant origin and the share of majority residents in the neighbourhood on the different pathways out of the parental home does not generally seem to differ between men and women.

5 | Discussion and Conclusion

This study set out to examine two key questions. (1) What is the relationship between immigrant origin, neighbourhood

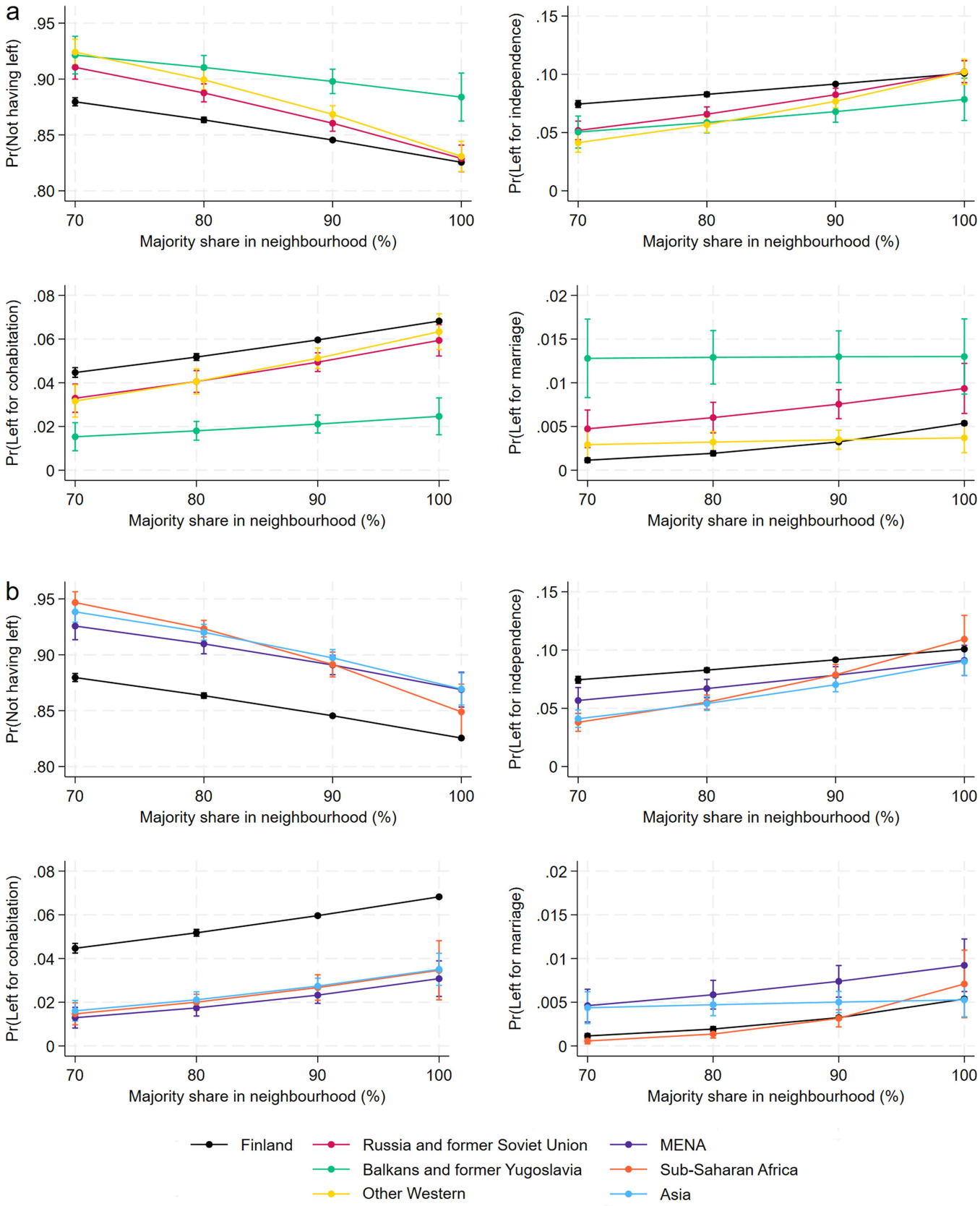

FIGURE 2 | Pathways of leaving home (predicted margins). *Note:* Predicted margins are based on Model 2 and shown with 95% confidence intervals. *Source:* Finnish register data. Birth cohorts 1990–1995 ($N = 369{,}629$). Authors' calculations.

TABLE 4 | Cross-model comparison of selected main and interaction effects (AMEs based on Models 1 and 2).

(a)	Model 1 (Main effects)								
	Independence			Cohabitation			Marriage		
Marginal effect of …	**AME_{Men}**	**AME_{Women}**	***t*-test**	**AME_{Men}**	**AME_{Women}**	***t*-test**	**AME_{Men}**	**AME_{Women}**	***t*-test**
Immigrant origin (ref. Finland)									
Russia and former Soviet Union	−0.006	**−0.012**	0.300	**−0.006**	**−0.016**	0.038	**0.003**	**0.007**	0.039
	(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.004)		(0.001)	(0.002)	
Balkans and former Yugoslavia	**−0.016**	**−0.035**	0.019	**−0.032**	**−0.054**	0.000	**0.004**	**0.026**	0.000
	(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.004)	
Other Western	−0.007	**−0.024**	0.006	−0.005	**−0.013**	0.155	−0.001	0.001	0.334
	(0.004)	(0.005)		(0.003)	(0.004)		(0.001)	(0.001)	
MENA	**0.017**	**−0.042**	0.000	**−0.021**	**−0.059**	0.000	0.000	**0.010**	0.000
	(0.006)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.001)	(0.002)	
Sub-Saharan Africa	−0.003	**−0.037**	0.000	**−0.022**	**−0.051**	0.000	**−0.002**	−0.001	0.330
	(0.006)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.000)	(0.001)	
Asia	−0.006	**−0.040**	0.000	**−0.020**	**−0.051**	0.000	0.000	**0.006**	0.000
	(0.005)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.001)	(0.002)	
Share of majority (in the neighbourhood)	**0.001**	**0.001**	0.089	**0.001**	**0.001**	0.000	**0.000**	0.000	0.028
	(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)	

(b)	Model 2 (Main effects + interactions)								
	Independence			Cohabitation			Marriage		
Marginal effect of share of majority (in the neighbourhood) by …	**AME_{Men}**	**AME_{Women}**	***t*-test**	**AME_{Men}**	**AME_{Women}**	***t*-test**	**AME_{Men}**	**AME_{Women}**	***t*-test**
Immigrant origin									
Finland	**0.001**	**0.001**	0.095	**0.001**	**0.001**	0.000	**0.000**	**0.000**	0.043
	(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)	
Russia and former Soviet Union	**0.002**	**0.002**	0.213	**0.001**	**0.001**	0.158	0.000	0.000	0.249
	(0.000)	(0.001)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)	
Balkans and former Yugoslavia	0.001	0.001	0.680	0.000	0.000	0.775	0.000	0.000	0.549
	(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)	
Other Western	**0.003**	**0.002**	0.293	**0.001**	**0.002**	0.222	0.000	0.000	0.291
	(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.000)	(0.001)		(0.000)	(0.000)	
MENA	**0.002**	0.001	0.119	**0.001**	0.001	0.568	0.000	0.000	0.227
	(0.001)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)	
Sub-Saharan Africa	**0.002**	**0.003**	0.501	0.001	0.001	0.724	0.000	**0.001**	0.016
	(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.000)	(0.000)	
Asia	**0.003**	**0.001**	0.147	**0.001**	**0.001**	0.972	0.000	0.000	0.343
	(0.001)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)	

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Bold indicates that the AME's respective p value is < 0.05. The column t-test presents the p value for the t-test assessing the equality of AMEs between men and women. *Source:* Finnish register data. Birth cohorts 1990–1995 ($N = 369{,}629$). Authors' calculations.

environment and the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home? (2) Do young adults with an immigrant origin living in more majority-dense neighbourhoods resemble the majority more in their leaving-home behaviour than their peers in more minority-dense neighbourhoods?

In response to our first research question, our findings show that immigrant origin plays a significant role in shaping leaving-home pathways. In Finland, young adults with an immigrant background are generally less likely to leave home for independence than their majority peers, consistent with prior research conducted in other European contexts (e.g., de Valk and Billari 2007; Zorlu and Mulder 2011; McAvay and Pailhé 2022). For certain non-Western groups—such as those from Russia and the former Soviet Union, MENA, the Balkans and former Yugoslavia—marriage is a notably more common route out of the parental home. These individuals are more likely to transition through marriage and less likely via independence or cohabitation. Separate analyses further reveal

gendered patterns within migrant groups: young women from MENA and Asian backgrounds in Finland are comparatively more likely than their male counterparts to leave home for marriage rather than for cohabitation.

These patterns—particularly the strong association between residential independence and marriage among certain non-Western immigrant groups, and the gendered differences within them—persist even within the Finnish context, where the transition to adulthood typically involves independence and cohabitation rather than early marriage (van den Berg and Verbakel 2022), and where generous welfare state provisions facilitate leaving the parental home (Santiago et al. 2025). This suggests a degree of continuity in 'traditional' demographic behaviours among young adults with immigrant origins, supporting segmented assimilation theory. Economic disparities could offer another explanation. However, if such disparities persist after adjusting for various socioeconomic indicators, it remains unclear why the pattern is pronounced along gender lines.

Neighbourhood composition also matters: those in majority-dense areas were more likely to leave for independence or cohabitation, echoing findings on the role of spatial social environments in shaping life-course transitions (e.g., Wodtke 2013; McAvay and Pailhé 2022; Wachter and Costa 2023; Santiago et al. 2025). Similar to findings from France (McAvay and Pailhé 2022), we observed a neighbourhood effect: a higher share of majority residents is associated with a faster transition out of the parental home across all three pathways. Given that we have controlled for a comprehensive set of individual, parental and neighbourhood characteristics—and assuming these controls sufficiently account for neighbourhood selection—our findings are consistent with the argument that neighbourhoods, as spatial opportunity structures (Galster and Sharkey 2017), may influence home-leaving behaviour through cultural mechanisms. However, we cannot establish a causal relationship with full certainty.

In response to our second research question, we found that differences in leaving-home pathways between immigrant-origin groups and the Finnish majority diminished in majority-dense neighbourhoods. Young adults from immigrant backgrounds, particularly those from Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, tended to resemble the majority more closely in their home-leaving behaviour in areas with a higher share of majority residents, with the strongest convergence among the Sub-Saharan African group. Notable exceptions include youth from the Balkans and former Yugoslavia, whose patterns varied less with neighbourhood composition, and to some degree those from the MENA region, who showed less convergence across outcomes, especially outside leaving home for marriage. In sum, neighbourhood context can moderate cultural influences. The observation that some immigrant-origin young adults are less susceptible to—or buffered from—the influence of a higher proportion of majority residents can be interpreted through segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993). Immigrants may not uniformly adopt demographic behaviours typical of the Finnish host society, resulting in diverse life-course trajectories, including variations in the timing and nature of leaving the parental home. Our results also show that the effect of neighbourhood composition is not exclusive to immigrant-origin youth; the leaving-home behaviour of the majority Finns also varies with the share of majority residents in the neighbourhood. This suggests a reciprocal dynamic where the social norms and behaviours of both immigrant and majority populations can influence one another. Interestingly, our results do not support a within-origin, gender-specific impact of the majority share in the neighbourhood on leaving-home behaviour, contrasting with findings from France (McAvay and Pailhé 2022). Perhaps this reflects the lower levels of immigrant and co-ethnic concentration in Finnish neighbourhoods compared to those in France. This means that stronger co-ethnic ties are less likely to develop, and consequently, individuals may be less buffered from the influence of the majority population.

Our results have limitations. First, we revisit our earlier assumption that neighbourhood selection has been comprehensively accounted for. While various methodological approaches address this issue (Chetty and Hendren 2018; Troost et al. 2022), we argue that, given Finland's relatively low residential segregation—partly due to the integration of owner-occupied and rental dwellings within neighbourhoods (Dhalmann 2013; Torpan et al. 2022)—our controls for a range of observable, time-varying characteristics of young adults, their parental homes and neighbourhoods offer a reasonably robust approach. Nonetheless, we acknowledge ongoing calls for more sophisticated strategies to address selection bias and strengthen causal inference in neighbourhood effects research (Troost et al. 2022). Importantly, we reiterate that our findings do not provide definitive causal evidence of neighbourhood effects on the timing and pathways of leaving home. Further research is needed to identify unobserved factors and assess their relevance. One possible explanation for between-group differences (and potentially also within-group variation) is religion and religiosity (Windzio and Aybek 2015).

Second, we delineated neighbourhoods using postal codes, which may not fully capture the 'true' local environments where socialisation occurs or where structural opportunities and constraints are experienced. While 'individualised' neighbourhoods (a specific radius around individuals) improve on this (e.g., Wachter and Costa 2023), they are complex to construct, less comparable with postal-code-based data, and may still not reflect young adults' perceptions or actual social dynamics. Our conservative measurement using administrative boundaries aligns with established neighbourhood effects research (Zorlu and van Gaalen 2016; McAvay 2018; Vaalavuo et al. 2019; McAvay and Pailhé 2022; Puur et al. 2022; Torpan et al. 2022). Third, register data reflect formally recorded residential moves per calendar year, which may miss short-term moves (such as leaving and returning to the parental home within the same year), potentially introducing measurement error. Fourth, neighbourhoods may not be the only relevant socialisation contexts for leaving home. Schools and workplaces, for example, shape union formation through peer networks and social interactions (e.g., Huschek et al. 2010). Future work should explore the full range of socialisation and network contexts to better understand which mechanisms matter most for the timing and pathways of leaving the parental home.

To conclude, we have shown for the first time that young adults of immigrant origin in Finland tend to leave their parental home later and by different pathways than their majority counterparts, even after extensive controls for various structural

factors. This suggests an intergenerational persistence of values and norms related to the appropriate age for residential independence and the departure routes. In Finland, these norms favour a relatively young age and independence over marriage, compared to many other countries. This is particularly evident among young women, whose differences relative to their majority counterparts are larger than those of young men. Moreover, we have shown that neighbourhood environments can moderate cultural influences on leaving the parental home. The more segregated the neighbourhood, the greater the minority–majority difference. The Sub-Saharan African group is the most influenced, while groups with origins in the MENA region and the Balkans and former Yugoslavia are the least. This suggests that cultural integration occurs at the local level, even if some groups are less receptive. By integrating immigrant origin, neighbourhood context, and gender in a single framework and using high-quality Finnish register data, we contribute valuable insights to the literature, further emplacing life-course transitions such as leaving the parental home within neighbourhoods.

Acknowledgements

The research was conducted as part of the 'Contexts of Youths' Inclusion' project, funded by the Turku Urban Research Programme. Financial support was also provided by an Academy of Finland Fellowship (Decision No. 316247) and the Research Council of Finland Flagship Programme (Decision No. 320162). Open access publishing facilitated by Turun yliopisto, as part of the Wiley - FinELib agreement.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Data Availability Statement

The Finnish register data supporting the findings of this study are available from Statistics Finland, subject to a fee and licensing restrictions. The data were accessed and used under license TK/2181/07.03.00/2024.

Endnotes

[1]We use 'majority' to denote the numerically and socially dominant population group within the Finnish national context.

[2]The remaining 9% comprises 20,270 persons who were not resident in Finland with their parent(s) at age 16; 13,102 persons who had one parent born in Finland and one parent born abroad (2.5G); and 1757 persons who either left the parental home before age 16 or had completely missing background information on their parents.

[3]This category may include young adults who were registered at the same address with people other than their parents or partners.

[4]We grouped the United States, Australia and New Zealand with Europe under the category 'Other Western' due to similarities in leaving-home behaviour (see Section 2.1).

[5]Supplemental analyses using a piece-wise constant specification for the duration dependency yielded similar results.]

References

Aassve, A., F. C. Billari, S. Mazzuco, and F. Ongaro. 2002. "Leaving Home: A Comparative Analysis of ECHP Data." *Journal of European Social Policy* 12: 259–275. https://doi.org/10.1177/a028430.

Alba, R. D., and V. Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Harvard University Press.

Allison, P. D. 1982. "Discrete-Time Methods for the Analysis of Event Histories." *Sociological Methodology* 13: 61–98. https://doi.org/10.2307/270718.

Berrington, A. 2020. "Expectations for Family Transitions in Young Adulthood Among the UK Second Generation." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46: 913–935. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1539276.

Billari, F. C., N. Hiekel, and A. C. Liefbroer. 2019. "The Social Stratification of Choice in the Transition to Adulthood." *European Sociological Review* 35: 599–615. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcz025.

Billari, F. C., D. Philipov, and P. Baizán. 2001. "Leaving Home in Europe: The Experience of Cohorts Born Around 1960." *International Journal of Population Geography* 7: 339–356. https://doi.org/10.1002/ijpg.231.

Blaauboer, M., and C. H. Mulder. 2010. "Gender Differences in the Impact of Family Background on Leaving the Parental Home." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 25: 53–71. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-009-9166-9.

Chetty, R., and N. Hendren. 2018. "The Impacts of Neighborhoods on Intergenerational Mobility I: Childhood Exposure Effects." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 133: 1107–1162. https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjy007.

Chetty, R., N. Hendren, P. Kline, and E. Saez. 2014. "Where Is the Land of Opportunity? The Geography of Intergenerational Mobility in the United States." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129: 1553–1623. https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qju022.

Chiuri, M. C., and D. Del Boca. 2010. "Home-Leaving Decisions of Daughters and Sons." *Review of Economics of the Household* 8: 393–408. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11150-010-9093-2.

Choi, N. G. 2003. "Coresidence Between Unmarried Aging Parents and Their Adult Children Who Moved in With Whom and Why?" *Research on Aging* 25: 384–404. https://doi.org/10.1177/0164027503025004003.

Chyn, E., and L. F. Katz. 2021. "Neighborhoods Matter: Assessing the Evidence for Place Effects." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 35: 197–222. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.35.4.197.

Clark, S., and K. Agnant. 2025. "Charting New Courses to Adulthood in the Global South." *Population and Development Review* 51: 181–211. https://doi.org/10.1111/padr.12711.

Coulter, R., M. Ham, and A. M. Findlay. 2016. "Re-Thinking Residential Mobility: Linking Lives Through Time and Space." *Progress in Human Geography* 40: 352–374. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515575417.

De Valk, H. A. G., and A. C. Liefbroer. 2007. "Parental Influence on Union Formation Preferences Among Turkish, Moroccan, and Dutch Adolescents in the Netherlands." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 38: 487–505. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022107302316.

De Valk, H. A. G., and F. C. Billari. 2007. "Living Arrangements of Migrant and Dutch Young Adults: The Family Influence Disentangled." *Population Studies* 61: 201–217. https://doi.org/10.1080/00324720701340129.

Dhalmann, H. 2013. "Explaining Ethnic Residential Preferences—The Case of Somalis and Russians in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area." *Housing Studies* 28: 389–408. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2013.759178.

Dhalmann, H., and K. Vilkama. 2009. "Housing Policy and the Ethnic Mix in Helsinki, Finland: Perceptions of City Officials and Somali Immigrants." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 24: 423–439. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-009-9159-8.

Elder, G. H., M. K. Johnson, and R. Crosnoe. 2003. "The Emergence and Development of Life Course Theory." In *Handbook of the Life Course*, edited by J. T. Mortimer and M. J. Shanahan, 3–19. Springer. http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-0-306-48247-2_1.

Eurostat. 2023. "When Do Young Europeans Leave Their Parental Home?" https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/ddn-20230904-1.

Ferrari, G., and A. Pailhé. 2017. "Transition to Adulthood in France: Do Children of Immigrants Differ From Natives?" *Advances in Life Course Research* 31: 34–56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2016.10.001.

Gabrielli, G., and R. Impicciatore. 2020. "Living Arrangements of Adult Children of Immigrants in Selected European Countries." *Demographic Research* 43: 889–928. https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2020.43.30.

Galster, G., and P. Sharkey. 2017. "Spatial Foundations of Inequality: A Conceptual Model and Empirical Overview." *RSF: Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 3: 1–33. https://doi.org/10.7758/rsf.2017.3.2.01.

Holdsworth, C. 2000. "Leaving Home in Britain and Spain." *European Sociological Review* 16: 201–222. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/16.2.201.

Huschek, D., H. A. G. de Valk, and A. C. Liefbroer. 2010. "Timing of First Union Among Second-Generation Turks in Europe: The Role of Parents, Peers and Institutional Context." *Demographic Research* 22: 473–504. https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2010.22.16.

Iacovou, M. 2010. "Leaving Home: Independence, Togetherness and Income." *Advances in Life Course Research* 15: 147–160. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2010.10.004.

Juárez, F., and C. Gayet. 2014. "Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries." *Annual Review of Sociology* 40: 521–538. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-052914-085540.

Kauppinen, T. M., H. Skifter Andersen, and L. Hedman. 2015. "Determinants of Immigrants' Entry to Homeownership in Three Nordic Capital City Regions." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 97: 343–362. https://doi.org/10.1111/geob.12085.

Kleinepier, T., and H. A. G. de Valk. 2017. "Leaving Home of Migrant and Dutch Young Adults: Parent-Child and Peer Relations." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 48: 15–39. https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.48.1.15.

Lei, L., and S. South. 2016. "Racial and Ethnic Differences in Leaving and Returning to the Parental Home: The Role of Life Course Transitions, Socioeconomic Resources, and Family Connectivity." *Demographic Research* 34: 109–142. https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2016.34.4.

Liu, C., A. Esteve, and R. Treviño. 2019. "The Living Arrangements of Moroccans in Spain." *Demographic Research* 40: 1063–1096. https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2019.40.37.

Matsudaira, J. D. 2016. "Economic Conditions and the Living Arrangements of Young Adults: 1960 to 2011." *Journal of Population Economics* 29: 167–195. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-015-0555-y.

McAvay, H. 2018. "The Ethnoracial Context of Residential Mobility in France: Neighbourhood Out-Migration and Relocation." *Population, Space and Place* 24: e2138. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2138.

McAvay, H., and A. Pailhé. 2022. "Leaving the Nest in Immigrant Neighbourhoods: Gender and Origin Differences in France." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48: 4622–4647. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.2020628.

Mulder, C. H., W. A. V. Clark, and M. Wagner. 2002. "A Comparative Analysis of Leaving Home in the United States, the Netherlands and West Germany." *Demographic Research* 7: 565–592. https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2002.7.17.

Mulder, C. H., and P. Hooimeijer. 2002. "Leaving Home in the Netherlands: Timing and First Housing." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 17: 237–268. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020264417389.

Mulder, C. H., and P. Hooimeijer. 1999. "Residential Relocations in the Life Course." In *Population Issues. An Interdisciplinary Focus*, edited by L. J. G. van Wissen and P. A. Dykstra, 159–186. Springer.

Nauck, B. 2001. "Social Capital, Intergenerational Transmission and Intercultural Contact in Immigrant Families." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 32: 465–488. https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.32.4.465.

Portes, A., and M. Zhou. 1993. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530: 74–96. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716293530001006.

Puur, A., L. Rahnu, and T. Tammaru. 2022. "What Is the Association Between the Ethnic Composition of Neighbourhoods, Workplaces and Schools and the Formation of Mixed-Ethnic Unions?" *Population, Space and Place* 28: e2504. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2504.

Remes, H., O. Sirniö, and P. Martikainen. 2022. "Early Home-Leaving (HL) and Educational Attainment: The Moderating Role of HL in the Intergenerational Transmission of Education." *Acta Sociologica* 65: 313–331. https://doi.org/10.1177/00016993211028905.

Santiago, A. M., L. Magnusson Turner, and H. C. Sandlie. 2025. "Spatial Opportunity Structures and Final Home Leaving Among Young Adults in Norway." *Population, Space and Place* 31: e70018. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.70018.

Schwanitz, K., C. H. Mulder, and L. Toulemon. 2017. "Differences in Leaving Home by Individual and Parental Education Among Young Adults in Europe." *Demographic Research* 37: 1975–2010. https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2017.37.63.

Skovgaard Nielsen, R. 2015. "Leaving Home in Denmark: A Comparison of Differences Between Turks, Somalis and Danes." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 30: 613–630. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-014-9433-2.

Smits, A., R. I. van Gaalen, and C. H. Mulder. 2010. "Parent–Child Coresidence: Who Moves in With Whom and for Whose Needs?" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 72: 1022–1033. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00746.x.

South, S. J., and L. Lei. 2015. "Failures-to-Launch and Boomerang Kids: Contemporary Determinants of Leaving and Returning to the Parental Home." *Social Forces* 94: 863–890. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sov064.

Statistics Finland. 2025. "Key Figures on Population by Region, 1990-2024." https://pxdata.stat.fi/PxWeb/pxweb/en/StatFin/StatFin__vaerak/statfin_vaerak_pxt_11ra.px.

Torpan, K., A. Sinitsyna, A. Kährik, T. M. Kauppinen, and T. Tammaru. 2022. "Overlap of Migrants' Housing and Neighbourhood Mobility." *Housing Studies* 37: 1396–1421. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2020.1849574.

Treas, J., and J. Batalova. 2011. "Residential Independence: Race and Ethnicity on the Road to Adulthood in Two US Immigrant Gateways." *Advances in Life Course Research* 16: 13–24. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2011.01.001.

Troost, A. A., M. van Ham, and H. J. Janssen. 2022. "Modelling Neighbourhood Effects in Three Dutch Cities Controlling for Selection." *Applied Spatial Analysis and Policy* 15: 455–482. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12061-021-09411-5.

Vaalavuo, M., M. van Ham, and T. M. Kauppinen. 2019. "Income Mobility and Moving to a Better Neighbourhood: An Enquiry Into Ethnic Differences in Finland." *European Sociological Review* 35: 538–551. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcz017.

Van den Berg, L., and E. Verbakel. 2022. "Trends in Singlehood in Young Adulthood in Europe." *Advances in Life Course Research* 51: 100449. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2021.100449.

Van Ham, M., T. Tammaru, R. Ubarevičienė, and H. Janssen. 2021. *Urban Socio-Economic Segregation and Income Inequality: A Global Perspective*. Springer Nature.

Van Hook, J., and J. E. Glick. 2007. "Immigration and Living Arrangements: Moving Beyond Economic Need Versus Acculturation." *Demography* 44: 225–249. https://doi.org/10.2307/4137253.

Wachter, G. G., and R. Costa. 2023. "Union Formation of the Children of Immigrants: Does the Ethnic Composition of the Childhood Neighbourhood Matter?" *Population, Space and Place* 29: e2686. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2686.

Windzio, M., and C. M. Aybek. 2015. "Marriage, Norm Orientation and Leaving the Parental Home: Turkish Immigrant and Native Families in Germany." *Comparative Population Studies* 40: 105–130. https://doi.org/10.12765/CPoS-2015-07.

Wodtke, G. T. 2013. "Duration and Timing of Exposure to Neighborhood Poverty and the Risk of Adolescent Parenthood." *Demography* 50: 1765–1788. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-013-0219-z.

Zorlu, A., and R. I. van Gaalen. 2016. "Leaving Home and Destination of Early Nest Leavers: Ethnicity, Spaces and Prices." *European Journal of Population* 32: 267–291. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-016-9375-3.

Zorlu, A., and C. H. Mulder. 2011. "Ethnic Differences in Leaving Home: Timing and Pathways." *Demography* 48: 49–72. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-010-0012-1.

Appendix

TABLE A1 | Variables and the pathway-specific percentages or means at exit or censoring.

Variable	Not having left	Independence	Cohabitation	Marriage
Young adults' characteristics				
Gender				
Women	36.94	46.13	54.44	56.04
Men	63.06	53.87	45.56	43.96
Immigrant origin				
Finland	91.16	97.30	98.29	91.10
Russia and former Soviet Union	1.53	0.78	0.64	1.59
Balkans and former Yugoslavia	0.84	0.21	0.09	1.85
Other Western	1.57	0.50	0.48	0.61
MENA	1.55	0.44	0.16	2.43
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.91	0.32	0.12	0.92
Asia	1.45	0.44	0.23	1.50
Born in Finland				
Yes	94.59	98.20	98.94	92.95
No	5.41	1.80	1.06	7.05
Employment status				
Employed	37.83	40.35	45.96	52.05
Student	34.07	44.00	42.02	37.01
Unemployed	7.02	8.21	6.88	5.57
Inactive	21.09	7.44	5.14	5.37
Has income				
Yes	86.77	93.12	94.80	96.05
No	13.23	6.88	5.20	3.95
Income (log)	7.64 (3.22)	7.64 (2.38)	7.87 (2.18)	8.28 (2.03)
Age	23.77 (4.15)	20.42 (2.21)	20.32 (1.99)	20.86 (2.43)
Parents' characteristics				
Age of the older parent when R was born	32.98 (5.91)	32.05 (5.72)	31.53 (5.61)	31.39 (6.38)
Parent's highest education				
Low	8.92	6.10	5.94	9.58
Medium	37.53	38.08	42.20	43.23

(Continues)

TABLE A1 | (Continued)

Variable	Not having left	Independence	Cohabitation	Marriage
High	53.55	55.82	51.86	47.19
Parents' income (log)	10.71 (0.96)	10.82 (0.51)	10.82 (0.47)	10.81 (0.47)
Household number of children	1.80 (1.09)	2.01 (1.18)	1.95 (1.04)	3.26 (2.14)
Parent's number of rooms				
2 or less	9.85	9.74	9.12	5.88
3	21.69	22.05	21.49	15.79
4	31.72	32.08	33.23	26.92
5 or more	36.15	35.43	35.52	50.66
Unknown	0.60	0.70	0.64	0.74
Family type				
Couple	70.41	71.73	74.75	85.10
Single mother	22.63	22.41	19.70	11.38
Single father	6.95	5.86	5.54	3.53
Parent's housing				
Owner-occupied	78.13	79.51	81.86	82.44
Rental	18.24	16.80	14.77	14.66
Other	3.63	3.69	3.38	2.90
Neighbourhood characteristics				
Share of majority (%)	93.10	95.52	95.76	96.15
Unemployment rate (%)	9.63	11.33	11.19	11.05
Share of renters (%)	23.67	22.05	20.98	18.16
Share of married (%)	37.76	38.46	38.86	39.18
Share of families (%)	76.87	78.03	78.68	80.81
Share of persons in lowest income decile (%)	9.08	9.39	9.23	9.40
Share of persons aged 25+ with higher education (%)	24.98	23.14	22.51	20.11
Share of persons in managerial/professional occupation (%)	10.35	9.43	9.11	8.06
Greater Helsinki area				
No	73.86	82.86	84.15	88.17
Yes	26.14	17.14	15.85	11.83
N	27,378	200,093	132,604	9554

Note: All time-varying variables have been lagged (t–1) in the analysis. Standard deviations in parentheses. *Source:* Finnish register data. Birth cohorts 1990−1995 ($N = 369{,}629$). Authors' calculations.

TABLE A2 | Categorical variables and the pathway-specific counts at exit or censoring.

Variable	Not having left	Independence	Cohabitation	Marriage	*N*
Gender					
Women	10,113	92,307	72,195	5354	179,969
Men	17,265	107,786	60,409	4200	189,660
Immigrant origin					
Finland	24,957	197,686	130,330	8704	358,677
Russia and former Soviet Union	418	1570	845	152	2985
Balkans and former Yugoslavia	230	427	119	177	953
Other Western	429	1005	634	58	2126
MENA	424	886	206	232	1748
Sub-Saharan Africa	522	644	163	88	1417
Asia	398	875	307	143	1723
Born in Finland					
Yes	25,898	196,500	131,192	8880	362,470
No	1480	3593	1412	674	7159
Employment status					
Employed	10,357	80,731	60,946	4973	157,007
Student	9327	88,042	55,726	3536	156,631
Unemployed	1921	16,437	9121	532	28,011
Inactive	5773	14,883	6811	513	27,980
Has income					
Yes	23,757	186,322	125,708	9177	344,964
No	3621	13,771	6896	377	24,665
Parent's highest education					
Low	2443	12,197	7881	915	23,436
Medium	10,274	76,199	55,958	4130	146,561
High	14,661	111,697	68,765	4509	199,632
Parent's number of rooms					
2 or less	2698	19,499	12,087	562	34,846
3	5937	44,130	28,501	1509	80,077
4	8683	64,187	44,070	2572	119,512
5 or more	9897	70,883	47,101	4840	132,721
Unknown	163	1394	845	71	2473
Family type					
Couple	19,278	143,532	99,128	8130	270,068
Single mother	6197	44,835	26,125	1087	78,244
Single father	1903	11,726	7351	337	21,317
Parent's housing					
Owner-occupied	21,391	159,103	108,549	7876	296,919
Rental	4994	33,613	19,579	1401	59,587
Other	993	7377	4476	277	13,123
N	27,378	200,093	132,604	9554	369,629

Note: All time-varying variables have been lagged (t−1) in the analysis. *Source:* Finnish register data. Birth cohorts 1990–1995 ($N = 369{,}629$). Authors' calculations.