Out of context? The effect of deep-rooted cultural traits on the transition to adulthood among the Italian second generations in France.

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Abstract

Several studies tried to evaluate the effect of cultural traits such as familism on demographic behaviours but the estimated effects may be biased by the different context, mainly in terms of welfare and legislation. An interesting strategy in order to disentangle the effect of long term cultural factors from the influence given by the legislative and structural context takes into account international migrations and in particular the characteristics of second generations of migrants, i.e. individuals born and grown in the country of arrival but influenced by a different cultural background. In this paper we focus on demographic behaviours of the Italian's second generations in France.

Relevant differences emerge between Italian G2 and autochthones, in particular among women and cohorts born after the Second World War. Therefore, our results are in contrast with the hypothesis that the familistic perspective is entirely due to the Welfare and the institutional setting. On the other hand, they indicate the persistence of deep-rooted cultural developed in Italy during the parent's childhood and transmitted to their children born and growth in a foreign country.

1. Introduction

Following the "second demographic transition approach" (Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa 1986), cultural factors, such as rising individual autonomy and secularism, have given rise to many transformations in demographic behaviours. In particular, this revolution in values, and the parallel changes in gender role and the rising of female labour-market participation, were at the basis of a postponement of marriage and fertility and a rise in the frequency of informal cohabitation, non-marital fertility and marital dissolution. However, these changes have not spread uniformly across Europe and the Mediterranean countries still remain a vast exception in this framework. In comparison to many other European countries, Italy has been characterized by a more intense postponement in the exit from parental home and a lower diffusion of cohabitations and children out-of-wedlock. For example, in the mid-1990s more than one woman in four in France was cohabiting and less than one woman in 20 in Italy (Kiernan 1999).

According to some scholars, the failure in a prompt convergence towards the behaviours of northern countries is due to anthropological differences rooted far in the past and persistent over time. In his seminal paper on family ties, Reher's (1998) distinguishes between a weak family system in the centre and northern Europe, where individualistic values tend to dominate and the provision of care to the more vulnerable family members is largely accomplished through public and private institutions, and a strong family system in the Mediterranean area, where collectivistic values predominate and much of the care to the elderly comes from the family itself. Focusing on timing and sequencing of transition to adulthood, he underlined that the leaving home early by young people in northern Europe reflects the habit, in the past centuries, of young adults to leave home as servants in urban households or to work in agriculture, a practice far less common in southern Europe. Not only: the strong-family system in Mediterranean Europe is rooted in the Late Roman Empire and reinforced during the middle Ages. According to Reher, the strength of kinship is based mainly on cultural rather than economic factors, which are linked to moral obligations aimed at regulating the ties between subsequent generations. This idea was already stressed by Weiler (1986) in her study on New York families during 1920s: where American and Western European families focus on individualism and independence between generations, families from South Europe highlight the value of children as insurance in old age.

At the base of the strong-family system described we have the concept of familism. According to Dalla Zuanna's definition (2001 p. 139), in a familistic oriented society throughout their life most people seek their own family and at the same time that of their nuclear family. The underlying idea is that the familistic way of life, and consequently the strong-family system, is transmitted from parents to their children generation after generation, i.e. through an inter-generation cultural

transmission of deep-rooted traits. Following the suggestions given by Hammel (1990): "Culture may explain why communities or persons living under apparently identical economic conditions but differing in language or tradition, often behave very differently demographically". Moreover, "Individuals who produce the demographic patterns are members of a communicative system, sharing the pattern and transmitting it, one to another, in some degree. This transmission can be thought of as occurring between generations as part of the process of socialization, with some possibility of change in pattern during that process" (Hammell 1990).

It is well accepted in the literature the idea that the familistic perspective may explain many kinds of social behaviours, including those related to the transition to adulthood. In a Mediterranean country like Italy, where kinship ties are more important and diffused than bonds with neighbours and friends (Micheli 2000), parents can to exert, directly or indirectly, a strong influence on the choices of young children in their pattern to adulthood. The familistic viewpoint may be an obstacle to leaving the parental home since parents do not encourage their children to leave because they are reluctant to see their children suffer in material terms (Dalla Zuanna 2001). This is why Castiglioni and Dalla Zuanna (1994) described the parental family as the "golden cage" of the Italian youth. Moreover, the relatively scarce occurrence of non-marital cohabitation in Italy should be addressed to the very strong family ties because this choice depends on the acceptability of parents: the diffusion would then not be due to the limited interest of the Italian youth towards this type of union, but to the "convenience of the children in the Mediterranean area to avoid choices which openly clash with the values of parents" (Rosina and Fraboni 2004, 162). Rosina and Micheli (2006) found that during the process of forming a new household, Italian parents are very willing to provide support to their children if they conform to parental expectations. The relevance of the parents' view have also been underlined for other countries (Axinn and Thornton 1993, Manning et al 2009, Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1993) even though the role of the old generation is particularly important in a country like Italy where there are such strong ties between parents and their grown children (Di Giulio and Rosina 2007; Gabrielli and Hoem 2010).

However, in all these studies the link between parents' attitudes and children behaviours has been explained both in terms of cultural factors and institutional context, welfare in particular (on the relationship between welfare and familism in Italy see Saraceno 1994, Naldini 2003). Thus, it remains unclear if specific behaviours observed in the Mediterranean countries are based on deep-rooted cultural traits or simply depend on the different economic and legislative context. In order to disentangle the effect of these two aspects, we follow an interesting strategy which takes into account international migrations and the characteristics of second generations of migrants, i.e. individuals born and grown in the country of arrival. Second generations represent a sort of social

experiments: the comparison between them and the children of "autochthones" may reveal the effects of the long term cultural factors transmitted from parents to children taking constant other possible causes mainly linked to the institutional and economic context such as the effect of specific policies directed toward younger people, the characteristics of the educational system and the labour market, the housing market. In particular, in this paper we focus on Italian's second generations in France, a country that gives us at least three favourable opportunities. Firstly, nowadays a large number of people have Italian origin since many Italian immigrant families arrived in France between the end of XIX century and the middle of XX century. Secondly, in France we have crucial differences with Italy in terms of timing in the process leading to adulthood and diffusion of new patterns of family formation (Iacovou, 2002; Mencarini et al 2010). Generally speaking, France fits the northern European model (with UK, Belgium, Germany, and Austria) characterized by early home leaving and multiple patterns in the union formation, Italy is characterized by late home leaving and a more direct transition from family of origin to marriage and parenthood (Billari 2004; Billari and Liefbroer 2007). Thirdly, the retrospective survey called "ètude de l'histoire familiale" (EHF) carried out during 1999 together with national census, gives us the rare opportunity to study the transition to adulthood of thousands of individual with Italian origin over the last century.

The point is that for the Italian families, both in Italy and in France, the ties between parents and children tend to be much stronger than to french families and that this cultural trait may influence the choices of young children in their transition to adulthood.

It should be emphasized that we refer only to the deep-rooted cultural traits. And not cultural in general, being aware of the fact that culture, as a set of rules and expectations, is subject to continuous changes and contamination (Viazzo 2010).

2. Data, methods, and hypotheses

Our analysis is based on data coming from the survey called "ètude de l'histoire familiale" (EHF) conducted by the *Institut national de la statistique et des etudes éeconomiques* (INSEE). In the 1999 together with the population census, 380,000 men and women living in private dwellings filled out an additional schedule on the subject of their "family history," including questions about children, partnerships, and parents. All the information contained in the census questionnaire, as level of education, date and place of birth, are available together with dates of occurrence for the most important events concerning the transition to the adulthood. Through the place of origin for parents and the time of arrival in France for who is born abroad, we have all the needed information

to define the second generation of Italian immigrants[1]. In particular, we call "second generation of immigrants" (G2) those individuals born in France with both parents born in Italy. This group have been compared with "autochthones" (AUT): those people born in France with both parents born in France, i.e. individuals living in France since at least three generations. In the EHF dataset, we have 3406 individuals identified as Italian second generation representing the 0.9% of the total sample born between 1898 and 1979 (358790 cases). Where possible, the behaviours experienced in France have been compared to those experienced in Italy for the correspondent cohort and sex. For this purpose, we use the survey called "Famiglia e soggetti sociali"(FSS) carried out at the end of 2003 by the Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (ISTAT) as part of the broader Generations and Gender Programme coordinated by the UNECE (Vikat et al., 2007).

This paper is framed within the literature concerning the study of the second generation of migrants. The increasing interest in this group of people is not surprising since they are reshaping the European societies. Following the established line of American studies, many studies in Europe have been devoted to the their educational and career outcomes (see, among others, Crul et al., 2003;Heath et al, 2008; Timmerman et al, 2003). However, an increasing interest has been focused on their demographic behaviours (Bernhardt et al., 2007; de Valk and Milewski 2011; Milewski, 2007; Hushek et al., 2010). The idea to take into account second generation to evaluate cultural factors net of the context has been already used by Giuliano (2007). However, this research was based on census data and the only available information was the percentage of young adults living with their parents between 18 and 33 years of age among different ethnic group. Compared to this research, the use of EHF survey gives us two main advantages: firstly, it contains longitudinal data allowing us to trace all the main events experienced in the early stages of the life course (leaving parental home, end of education; entering the labour market, union formation, fertility, union dissolution); secondly, the large sample gives us not only the opportunity to study Italian second generations but also to analyse variations over time though a birth cohort analysis over the XX century. The analyses are carried out using event history techniques such as survival curves and hazard models as well as logistic regression models.

Assuming that the family of origin is a place where norms and values are transmitted from parent to children, if familistic cultural norms are persistent over time (even after a migration) and transmitted from parents to children (*hp1*), then the timing and the pattern of the transition to adulthood of second generations of Italians in France should be parallel their counterparts in Italy. Otherwise, if the familism is more linked to the Welfare regime or the institutional setting than cultural traits (*hp2*), then we should not find any differences between Italian second generations and

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[1] More information on http://www-ehf.ined.fr/ . Data were cordially supplied by the *Institut national d'études démographiques* (INED).

the rest of French population belonging to the same cohorts. In our causal scheme, the observation of the demographic behaviours of Italian second generations and their French counterparts, give us the opportunity to test these two hypotheses. In other word, the extent to which second generations of Italians differ from autochthones might constitute a measure of the importance of deep-rooted cultural traits in shaping the transition to adulthood.

3. Results

Our first step is the analysis of median ages for the most important events in the transition to adulthood: leaving parental home, end of education, first job, first union, first marriage, and first child. Median ages are obtained through the development of Kaplan-Meier life tables. Following this strategy we may take into account for censored cases, particularly relevant for the younger cohorts, and we can also test the statistical significance of the different values (for the tests of significance see table A1 in appendix). Since EHF data contain information on individual born through the whole XX century, we may trace an evolution over several birth cohorts. The second step consists in the observation of the diffusion of "new" or secularized behaviours among our groups of interest and over time. In particular, we will focus on the spread of cohabitation as first union, first child out-of-wedlock, and first marriage dissolution. In the last step, we develop multivariate models in order to check the robustness of the observed differences taking into account several control factors that may create potential spurious effect.

3.1 Timing of the events of the transition to adulthood

Figure 1 shows median ages according to birth cohorts and sex for AUT, G2 and Italians in Italy. The first step in our comparison relates to the timing of the exit from parental home (figure 1a): median ages generally follow a U-shaped pattern over different cohorts bot in Italy and France. The well-known delay among Italians is clearly confirmed. However, here we want to stress that also G2 show a systematically delay compared to AUT with a median age that is 1.2 years higher among men. Among women, the differences increase over time and become significant for cohorts born

after the II world war[2]. It is interesting to note that these differences do not depend on the timing related to the end of education and the entry into the labour market. Indeed, for these two events we still find significant differences between G2 and AUT but in the opposite way: G2 stay longer with their parents even though they finish school earlier (figure 1b) and enter more quickly in the labour market (figure 1c). Besides, the dissimilarities of the trends in Italy (green line) clearly suggest that the timing in the education and job career are shaped by institutional context rather than deep-rooted cultural traits. In particular, the decreasing trends in the median age at the first job among women in Italy is due to the high percentages of women who never entered in the labour market among the older cohorts (36% for cohorts -29; 33% for cohorts 30-39; 28% for cohorts 40-49).

The delay in the exit from parental home observed for G2 does not mean a postponement in the family formation given that the median ages at the union formation are not significantly different between G2 and AUT (figure 1d), with the only exception of the cohorts 70-79. This result also suggests that among G2 living outside the parental home but not in union is less common than among AUT. Focusing on the transition to the first marriage we have a similar trend up to the cohorts 50-59 whereas among the cohorts 60-69 G2 show a faster occurrence of the event. As we will see in the next section, this depends on a higher proportion of (not married) cohabitors among AUT for these cohorts. Finally, even though the first child tends to be postponed in Italy, we do not see substantive differences between G2 and AUT in terms of median age at first child birth.

[FIGURE 1]

3.2 The diffusion of secularized behaviours

Descriptive findings are shown in figure 2. In a picture characterized by a strong increase in the diffusion of cohabitation and births out-of-wedlock, G2 clearly show an increasing gap with AUT over cohorts and in particular among women in relation to the choice of cohabitation as first union (figure 2a) and having the first child out-of-wedlock (figure 2b). As well as the timing of leaving parental home, G2 born in the second half of XX century, are situated in the middle between AUT and Italians. Once again, even though the context emerges as a crucial factor in the shaping of demographic behaviours, it cannot explain the lower propensity among children of Italians in France in adopting the new behaviours such as cohabitation and children out-of-wedlock. Figure 1b

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[2] Results remain substantially unchanged if we consider the percentage of individuals still living with parents at 25 years of age instead of median age at the exit from parental home.

also suggests that G2 start a union more often with a marriage than AUT and this is true especially for the cohorts 60-69.

Looking at marriage dissolution (figure 2c), the two French groups follow a similar trends and the values are very close for women whereas for men we have an higher percentage of divorces among autochthones born between 1940 and 1959 even though for cohorts 1960-69 values converge again. The lower difference found for this behaviour is probably due to the fact that the influence given by parents on marital disruption cannot be as important as that of partner. In this case, it might be interesting to consider the migration history of partners but, unfortunately, EHF survey does not contain this kind of information.

[FIGURE 2]

3.3 Multivariate analysis

We have developed the following multivariate models:

1. A hazard regression model considering the risk of experiencing the exit from parental home. Episodes starts at the 14th birthday and end at the date of leaving parental home or at the interview (censored episodes). The baseline has been modelled as a piecewise constant function. The following (time-constant) control variables have been included in the model: socio-economic category of parents, birth cohort, number of siblings, birth order, living with both parents at 14 years of age, area of residence, urban dimension. Moreover, we have also included the following time-varying control variable: current level of education, to be a student, having entered the labour market.

2. A logistic regression model considering the probability that the first child birth occurred out of marriage among who experienced at least one union before the interview. The control variable included in the model are: socio-economic category of parents, birth cohort, number of siblings, living with both parents at 14 years of age, level of education (at the interview), area of residence, urban dimension.

3. A logistic regression modelling the probability of having experienced cohabitation as first union. The control variables included in the model are the same as point 2.

4. A hazard regression model focusing on the transition to the first child birth. Episodes start at the 14th birthday and end at the date of first child birth (if any) or at the interview (censored episodes). The baseline has been modelled as a piecewise constant function. The time-constant control variables are: socio-economic category of parents, birth cohort, number of

siblings, living with both parents at 14 years of age, area of residence, urban dimension. The time-varying control factors are: current level of education, to be a student, having entered in the labour market, having entered in the first union.

Multivariate models have been computed separately for each sex and for two groups of cohorts: cohorts born before the 1950 and cohorts born in that year or after. The last choice is not random: the second group experience the transition to adulthood during the early Seventies, i.e. a period characterized by a wide change in the familiar and reproductive behaviours in France. Indeed, since 1972 onwards, we assist in a decline of marriages and in a growing of divorces, families without children or with only one child, child born outside marriages and people that live alone (Le Bras, 1986).

[TABLE 1]

Table 1 summarize the most relevant estimates obtained from the application of regression models to EHF data. Generally speaking, the evidence highlighted in the previous analyses is widely confirmed in the multivariate approach. Focusing on the exit from parental home, we see that, *ceteris paribus*, AUT tends to leave parental home earlier than G2 for any sexes and cohort groups. Crucial differences among group cohorts appear for the first child out-of-wedlock and cohabitation as first union: the probability to experience these events is significantly higher for AUT in the younger cohorts (1950-1979), women in particular, whereas, among the older cohorts, the odds ratio for G2 compared to AUT is not significant (for men), significantly negative (first child out of marriage for women) or even positive (cohabitation as first union for women). Finally, the propensity to become parent is lower among women G2 both for older and younger cohorts whereas no significant differences emerge for men.

4. Discussion

The analysis of the second generation of Italian immigrant in France allows us to disentangle the effect of context from the effect of deep-rooted cultural traits on the choices related to the transition to adulthood. In a frame characterized by a generalized delay in the transition to adulthood and in the spread of secularized behaviours, relevant differences emerge between children of Italian immigrants in France and the rest of French population with no immigrant parents. Following the

terminology used to indicate the aspects of the second demographic transition (Van de Kaa, 1987), the results show that G2 have less "modern" value orientations compared to the autochthones or, in in any case, that the spreading of these behaviours is slower. Say differently, children of Italian immigrants show traits that are commonly linked to the familistic perspective, i.e. the cultural background that characterizes Italy, even though their behaviours are far from those observed in the country of departure of their parents, children of Italian immigrants.

Trying to summarize our results, we found that Italian second generation show a generalized delay in the exit from parental home; a lower probability to have a child outside marriage and to start a union with a cohabitation among the cohorts born in the second half of the XX century; a delay in the timing of the first child birth among women. On the other hand, no relevant differences have been noted in the timing of first union and in the percentage of first marriage dissolution. This suggests that the distance between G2 and AUT is higher in the early stages of the life course (exit from parental home and union formation), when the influence of parents is higher, and tends to reduce for those events that are experienced later in life when the influence of parents decreases also because it is mediated through the influence of the partner.

Our results are in contrast with the hypothesis that the familistic perspective is entirely due to the Welfare and the institutional setting. On the other hand, they indicate the persistence of deep-rooted cultural developed in Italy during the parent's childhood and transmitted to their children born and growth in a foreign country. However, differences between children of immigrants and autochthones are particularly evident among women and cohorts born after the Second World War and tend to increase over time. This is an almost unexpected result. A possible explanation relates to the composition of migrant families: the last immigrant flows from Italy, i.e. those arrived in France after the Second World War, came mainly from the Italian southern regions that are characterized by a more traditional view of the family with more rigid gender roles. Thus, in the families coming from the South of Italy, we may expect a stronger normative pressure towards the children and especially to the young daughters and then a greater use of sanctions to discourage behaviours that parents considers as socially unacceptable. According to anthropological analyses, the reluctance of parents to accept the cohabitation with a partner without being married is driven by the same historical factors behind the unwillingness to send their young daughters to work for wealthy families (Viazzo, 2003). Another possible explanation for the divergent trend between G2 and AUT is suggested by Micheli (2000): familism could be a specific answer to some specific stimulus like modernisation, secularization, and fast changes in the socio-economic system. Following this perspective, the effect of familism in terms of demographic behaviours emerged only in the last

decades highlighting the gap with the non-familistic viewpoint owned by non-immigrant French population.

In conclusion, we want to address three points that could be useful in order to drive future research on the field of intergenerational transmission of deep-rooted cultural traits.

Firstly, it is remarkable that we can better understand the cultural context of a country, in our case Italy, also looking beyond its border. Evidence suggest that in Italy deep-rooted cultural traits, such as strong family ties and familism, are still at work since they continue to drive the most important phases in the transition to adulthood If in Italy the unfavourable economic conditions were the unique cause of the late leaving from parental home and the low diffusion of cohabitation and out-of-wedlock births, then pattern followed by the children of Italian immigrants in France should not be so distinctive. Nevertheless, differences between children of Italian immigrants in France and Italians in Italy are even more evident underlying that the relevance of the economic, legislative and political context is indisputable.

Second, results also suggest that the familistic perspective followed by Italian families may reduce higher order fertility. In our analysis we found that among second generations both the mean number of children (here not shown) and the propensity to became mother are lower. Thus, deep-rooted cultural traits could be considered as an additional factor in order to reduce fertility level together with contextual factors, such as scarce child rearing service and nursery facilities, no State support to face expenses incurred by a new child, the higher costs of a child, and difficulties in the balance family-work for working mothers. However, this point has not been investigated in details and requires further research.

Third, the strategy followed in this paper requires specific hypotheses that must be made explicit. Probably the most important is related to selection. We consider Italian migrants in France as a non-selected group in terms of family ties. However, the intergenerational transmission of cultural traits within immigrant family may be higher than average. In the American Literature, for example, has been noted that the factor that often motivate migration is the children social mobility (Portes e MacLeod, 1996). This purpose may strengthen the ties within family parents and children. The second underlying hypothesis relates to the links between the familistic perspective and the specific demographic behaviours. In the first part of this paper we saw that familistic parents may postpone the residential autonomy of their children as long as they are sure that this event will not worst their economic conditions. Moreover, the stronger ties mean that the parents' opinion is more relevant in the choices of children reducing, therefore, the propensity to adopt behaviours that may create a conflict between children and parents. In our approach, we assume that these mechanisms persist even after a dramatic event such as an international migration.

Fourth, considering the patterns of strong family ties, we should shift from a country to a sub-country level of analysis. Indeed, it has been underlined by several authors (Reher 1998, Micheli 2012, Smith 1981) that two distinct patterns of strong family divide the regions in the south of Europe. In particular, the southern fringes of Italy often show distinct characteristics from the northern parts (Reher 1998 p 203). Within our strategy, in order to refine our analysis we need not only the country of birth but also the region of birth in the foreign country, a level of details that is difficult to obtain with available data.

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APPENDIX

[TABLE A1]

MEN   WOMEN

a. *Leaving parental home*

b. *End of education*

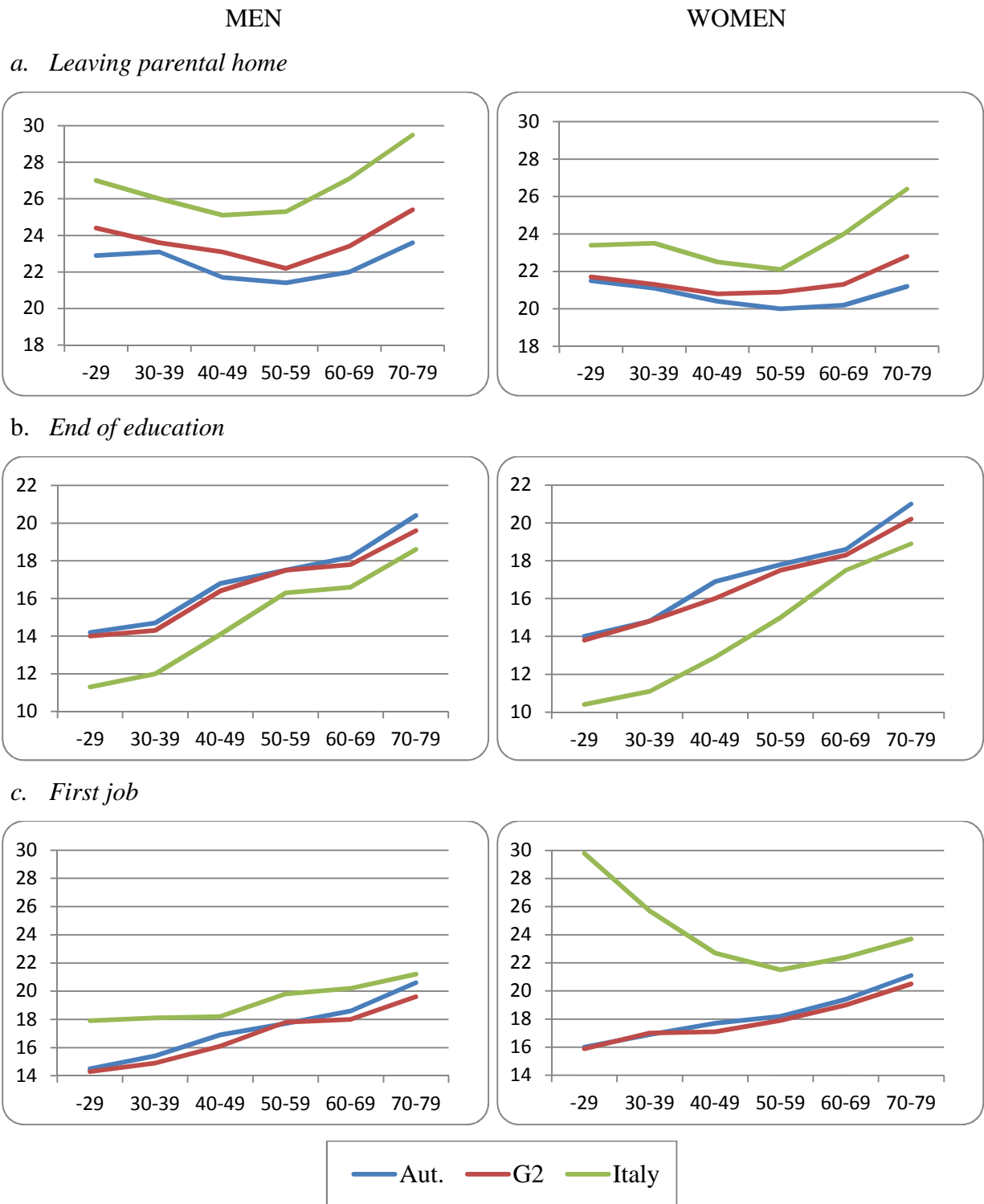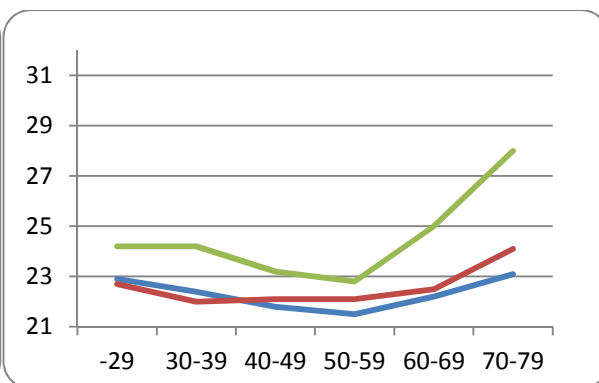c. *First job*

Aut.   G2   Italy
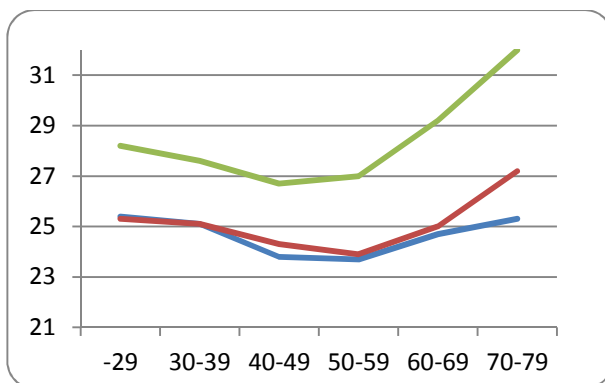
Figure 1. Median age (by birth cohort and sex) for the most relevant events in the transition to adulthood.
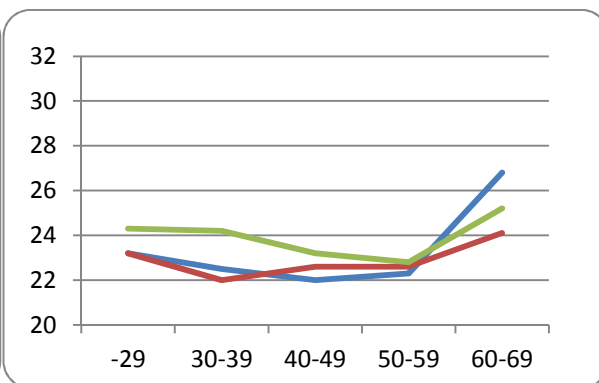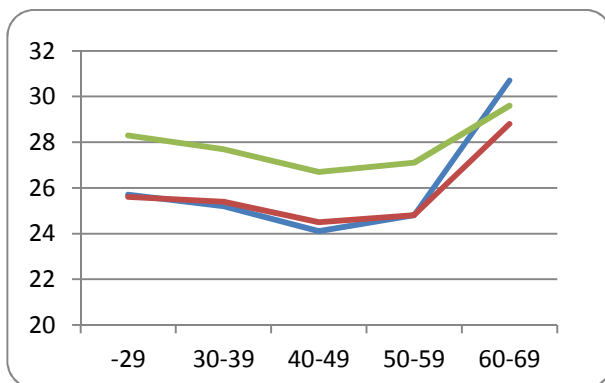
MEN   WOMEN

d. First union

e. First marriage

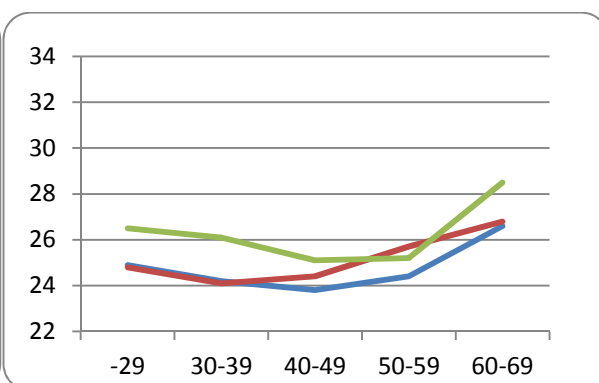f. First child birth

Aut. — G2 — Italy

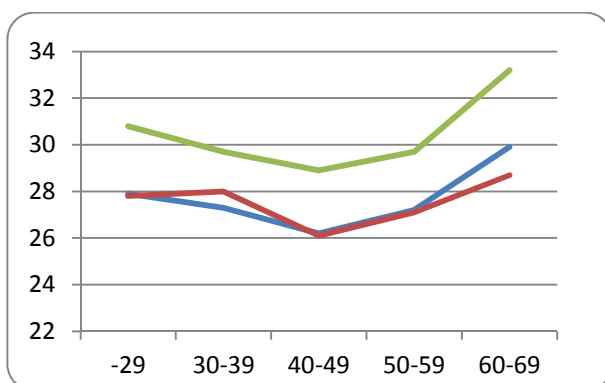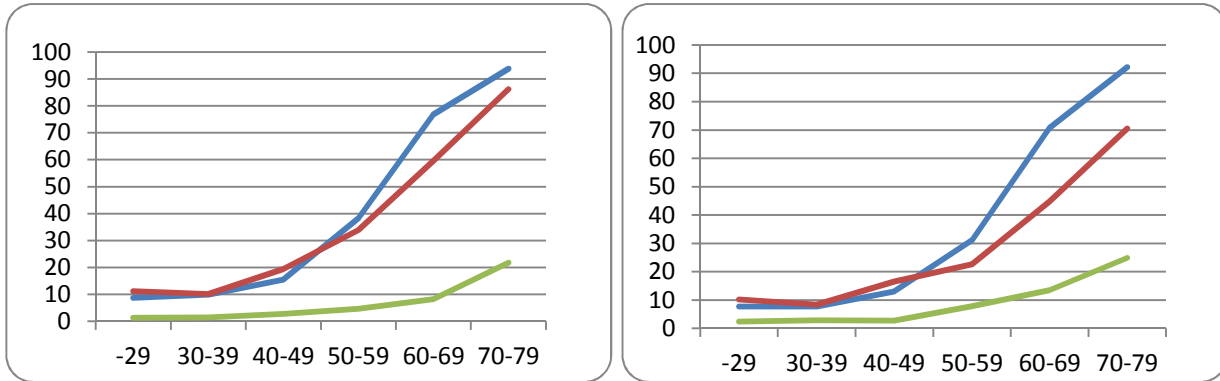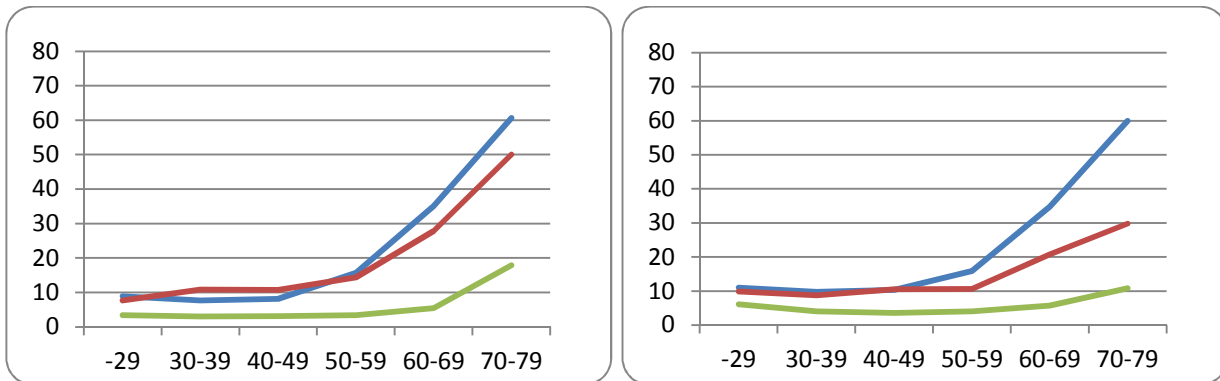*Figure 1(cont.). Median age (by birth cohort and sex) for the most relevant events in the transition to adulthood.*

a. Cohabitation as a first union (among those who have been in union at least once)

b. First child born out-of-wedlock (among parents)

c. First marriage dissolution (divorce - among those who have been married)
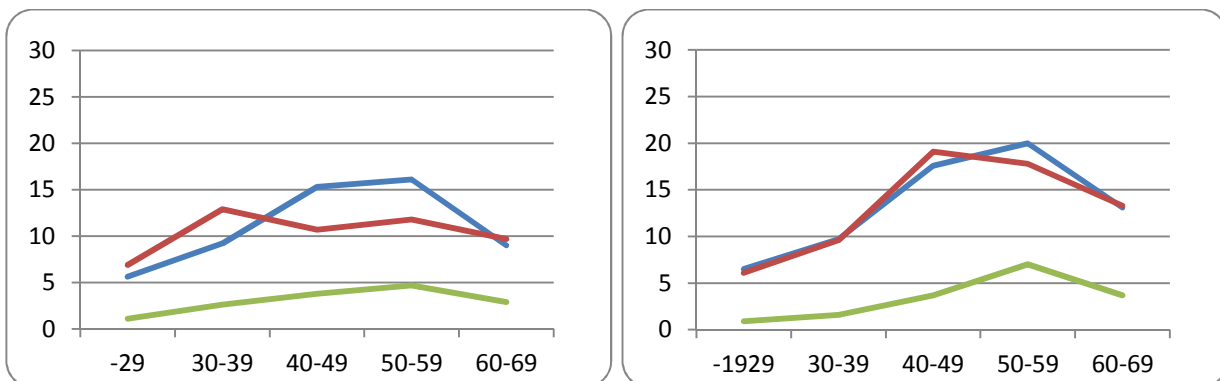

Figure 2 *Percentage of people experiencing secularized behaviours by birth cohort and sex.*

Table 1. Multivariate analysis.

	Cohorts up to 1949				Cohorts 1950-1979			
	Men		**Women**		**Men**		**Women**	
	Exp(B)	**Sig.**	**Exp(B)**	**Sig.**	**Exp(B)**	**Sig.**	**Exp(B)**	**Sig.**
a. Exit from parental home (whole sample)								
Piecewise constant exponential model.								
G2 Italy (ref *AUT*)	0.80	***	0.87	***	0.82	***	0.74	***
b. First child out of marriage (among parents)								
Logistic regression model.								
G2 Italy (ref *AUT*)	1.05		0.8	***	0.71	***	0.47	***
c. Cohabitation as first union (among who lived a union)								
Logistic regression model.								
G2 Italy (ref *AUT*)	1.2		1.24	**	0.64	***	0.45	***
d. First child (whole sample)								
Piecewise constant exponential model								
G2 Italy (ref *AUT*)	0.92	*	0.87	***	0.96		0.78	***

Significance: '***' ≥99%; '**'≥95%; '*' ≥ 90%.

NOTE: Other covariates included in the models:

1. socio-economic category of parents, birth cohort, number of siblings, birth order, living with both parents at 14 years of age, level of education (time-variable), to be a student (time-variable), entered in the labour market (time-variable), area of residence, urban dimension.

2. and 3. socio-economic category of parents, birth cohort, number of siblings, living with both parents at 14 years of age, level of education (at the interview), area of residence, urban dimension.

4. socio-economic category of parents, birth cohort, number of siblings, living with both parents at 14 years of age, level of education (time-variable), to be a student (time-variable), entered in the labour market (time-variable), entered in the first union (time-variable), area of residence, urban dimension.

Table A1. Median ages for the most relevant events in the transition to adulthood according to birth cohort and sex and tests of significance for the difference between autochthones and Italian second generation.

		Men						Women					
		-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79
Leaving parental home													
	Autochthones	22.9	23.1	21.7	21.4	22.0	23.6	21.5	21.1	20.4	20.0	20.2	21.2
	G2 Italy	24.4	23.6	23.1	22.2	23.4	25.4	21.7	21.3	20.8	20.9	21.3	22.8
		**	**	***	***	***	***			***	***	***	***
	Italy	27.0	26.0	25.1	25.3	27.1	29.5	23.4	23.5	22.5	22.1	24.0	26.4
End of education													
	Autochthones	14.2	14.7	16.8	17.5	18.2	20.4	14.0	14.8	16.9	17.8	18.6	21.0
	G2 Italy	14.0	14.3	16.4	17.5	17.8	19.6	13.8	14.8	16.0	17.5	18.3	20.2
		***	***	**		***	***	***	**	***	***	***	**
	Italy	11.3	12.0	14.1	16.3	16.6	18.6	10.4	11.1	12.9	15.0	17.5	18.9
First job													
	Autochthones	14.5	15.4	16.9	17.7	18.6	20.6	16.0	16.9	17.7	18.2	19.4	21.1
	G2 Italy	14.3	14.9	16.1	17.8	18.0	19.6	15.9	17.0	17.1	17.9	19.0	20.5
		***	***	***		***	***		*	**	***	***	***
	Italy	17.9	18.1	18.2	19.8	20.2	21.2	29.8	25.7	22.7	21.5	22.4	23.7
First Union													
	Autochthones	25.4	25.1	23.8	23.7	24.7	25.3	22.9	22.4	21.8	21.5	22.2	23.1
	G2 Italy	25.3	25.1	24.3	23.9	25.0	27.2	22.7	22.0	22.1	22.1	22.5	24.1
				**			***		*		**		**
	Italy	28.2	27.6	26.7	27.0	29.2	32.0	24.2	24.2	23.2	22.8	25.0	28.0
First marriage													
	Autochthones	25.7	25.2	24.1	24.8	30.7	-	23.2	22.5	22.0	22.3	26.8	-
	G2 Italy	25.6	25.4	24.5	24.8	28.8	-	23.2	22.0	22.6	22.6	24.1	-
				*		***			*			***	***
	Italy	28.3	27.7	26.7	27.1	29.6	-	24.3	24.2	23.2	22.8	25.2	-
First child													
	Autochthones	27.9	27.3	26.2	27.2	29.9	-	24.9	24.2	23.8	24.4	26.6	-
	G2 Italy	27.8	28.0	26.1	27.1	28.7	-	24.8	24.1	24.4	25.7	26.8	-
				**							**		
	Italy	30.8	29.7	28.9	29.7	33.2		26.5	26.1	25.1	25.2	28.5	31.7

NOTE: The tests for the significance of the differences are: Log-Rank (Savage),Wilcoxon(Breslow), Wilcoxon(Tarone-Ware), Wilcoxon(Prentice).
"***" >99% (at least 3 tests); "**" >95% (at least 3 tests); "*" >90% (at least 3 tests).