Leaving Home for Marital and Non-Marital Reasons in the Netherlands, 1850-1940 – The Impact of Parental Death and Parental Remarriage

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Abstract

Previous research shows that parentally bereaved children in north-western Europe in the past left home earlier than children who lived together with both biological parents. This article analyses the mechanisms behind this phenomenon with a special focus on the routes out of the parental household and the entry of step-parents and step-siblings. The Historical Sample of the Netherlands (HSN) is exploited which contains detailed information about household composition and life courses of more than 22,000 female and male adolescent and young adult children born between 1850 and 1922. Event-history analysis is applied and two exclusive routes out of the parental household, for marital and non-marital reasons, are studied in a competing risk design. The results show that parental loss does not increase the risk of early marriage before age 23, but strongly enhances the chances for leaving home for non-marital reasons, which are mainly work-related. This is especially true in case of maternal loss. No support is found for the hypothesis that the entry of a step-parent and step-siblings increases the risk of leaving home compared to living with a single widowed parent. Tensions with step-parents therefore do not suffice to explain why parentally bereaved children left earlier for non-marital reasons. Instead, we argue that children's exit was in the interest of both the single widowed parent and the bereaved child.

Keywords

Leaving home, life-course, historical demography, parental death, competing risk

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1 INTRODUCTION

In north-western Europe in the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, children often moved out of the parental home at young ages to work as domestic servants or farmhands with other families, a phenomenon which is referred to as life-cycle service (Hajnal 1983; Laslett 1977; van Poppel, Oris, and Lee 2004). Those who stayed at the parental home during adolescence and early adulthood typically left upon marriage to establish an own independent household with their partner. In contrast to today's western societies, where leaving the parental household is typically associated with individual autonomy and higher education, leaving home in the past was therefore mainly related to either employment or family formation.

An important determinant of the age at leaving home in both historical and contemporary societies is the family structure in which the child grows up. Studies on western Europe in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century found conclusive evidence that parental death was associated with earlier exit out of the parental home (Alter and Capron 2004; Bras and Kok 2004; Bras and Neven 2007; Dribe 2003; Lundh and Öberg 2018). The mechanisms behind this phenomenon, however, remain unclear. Historical demographers have argued that the loss of a parent resulted in earlier home leaving because of high remarriage rates and tensions with step-parents that pushed the children out of the parental household (Bras and Kok 2004; Dribe 2003), a phenomenon which is often found in studies on contemporary western populations (Aquilino 1991; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1998; van den Berg, Kalmijn, and Leopold 2018). Indeed, remarriage was very common in the Netherlands and other European countries in the period of consideration (van Poppel 1995) and could be an important determinant in the children's leaving home behaviour. However,

to our knowledge the role of step-parents on leaving home in the past has never been studied empirically, mostly due to rather small sample sizes (Bras and Kok 2004; Dribe 2003). This article therefore contributes to the existing literature by accounting for the arrival of step-fathers, step-mothers, and step-siblings in the household. The inclusion of step-parents and step-siblings in the analysis allows us to study if the high risk of home leaving associated with parental death might be attributed to tensions in the family home triggered by the entry of a step-parent or to parental death and single parenthood per se. Furthermore, we will control for the child's age at parental loss and for the age at the entry of the step-parents to analyse if losing a parent and experiencing the arrival of a step-parent in early childhood has different effects on leaving home than experiencing these events in adolescence.

As a second major contribution, we study two mutually exclusive pathways out of the parental home in a competing-risk model: Leaving home with a partner to live in a marital union and leaving home without a partner, mostly for work-related reasons. Research on contemporary populations shows that the determinants of leaving home differ considerably by the specific route chosen (Bernhardt, Gähler, and Goldscheider 2005; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Cherlin, Kiernan, and Chase-Lansdale 1995; de Jong Gierveld, Liefbroer, and Beekink 1991; Dribe and Stanfors 2005; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1998; Holdsworth 2000). Nevertheless, previous research on home leaving in historical western and northern European populations grouped all available routes together or considered only one specific route (for a recent exception see Lundh and Öberg 2018 on the Swedish city Gothenburg). As we expect that the determinants of the leaving home process vary considerably between marital and non-marital exit, we will

study both pathways within a competing-risk framework, which allows us to regard the routes as alternative options.

Finally, it has recently been criticized that determinants of leaving home in historical populations have only been studied by using small regional samples (Day 2018). This article will therefore additionally contribute to the existing literature on leaving home in the past by being the first one that exploits a nationally representative sample. We use the Historical Sample of the Netherlands (HSN) which contains detailed information on the life courses of roughly 37,000 boys and girls born in the whole of the Netherlands between 1850 and 1922. As will be described in the data section, the HSN is well-suited for studying the impact of family structure and other determinants on first leaving home in childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood in a historical period.

2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Life-Cycle Service and Leaving Home in the Past

Early home leaving in contemporary Western society is considered problematic because it generally interferes with obtaining educational attainment (McLanahan and Percheski 2008). In north-western Europe in the nineteenth century, in contrast, it was common practice that sons and daughters left the nuclear family home at a relatively early age to live and work in another family as domestic servant, agricultural worker, or apprentice (Dribe 2000; Mönkediek, Kok, and Mandemakers 2016; van Poppel et al. 2004). Youth migration rates in the Netherlands in the period of consideration began to increase slowly from the age of 12 onwards, when the majority of children finished school (Kok 1997). Education until the age of 12 became compulsory in 1901 but even prior to that reform many Dutch children went to school up until this age (Dasberg and Jansing

1978; van der Voort 1994). This was especially the case after the Labour law of 1889 was introduced, which strictly prohibited working below age 12 in factories and workshops (de Regt 2004). Only privileged children from the upper classes, and particularly boys, got the opportunity to prolong education at boarding schools and universities.

In the Dutch province of Utrecht in the period of consideration, about 30-55 percent of unmarried children up until the age of 26 migrated at least once without their parents.

On average, youth migrants left the parental home for the first time at the age of 19 and the age at leaving home remained more or less stable during the nineteenth century (Kok 1997). Working-age children were usually hired by their employers on a yearly basis (Dribe 2000; Paping 1999) and children working in service often returned to their parental home between employments (Kok 1997). Young adults typically worked in service until they had accumulated enough savings to contract a marriage (de Moor and van Zanden 2010; Dribe, Manfredini, and Oris 2014). Dutch children who did not leave home during childhood and young adulthood typically exited the parental household upon marriage and founded an independent nuclear household with their partner. Life-cycle service and the social norm to establish an own household upon marriage were important explanatory factors for the western European marriage pattern which is characterized by comparatively high ages at first marriage and high proportions of never-marrying individuals (Dribe et al. 2014; Hajnal 1965, 1982).

Not only the leaving home behaviour, but also the social norms concerning the resource flow between generations have changed remarkably in north-western Europe over time. Whereas offspring in the contemporary western world is often supported financially by their parents up until adulthood, children in the period of consideration were expected to contribute to the family economy from an early age onwards (de Regt 2004). Parents

were also entitled to the entire earnings of their living-in children and generally made full use of this right (Bras and Kok 2004). After having left the parental home, some children still had to hand over their wage, but others were allowed to keep their earnings. This procedure depended among others on parental social class. For instance, children's income was especially important to working class families in order to obtain a reasonable standard of living. Only after entry into marriage, children were not expected to contribute to the parents' household budget any longer and as a consequence the parental household lost the newly wed child as a productive asset (Bras and Kok 2004).

Consequently, the decision to enter life-cycle service was directed by mutual obligations and dependencies between parents and children (Dribe 2000). The decision of leaving home was subject to a bargaining process in which costs and benefits both for the parental household and the child were taken into consideration. The final decision about entrance into life-cycle service, however, was typically made by the parents (Bras and Kok 2004), as children below the age of 23 (below the age of 21 after 1905) were regarded as minors and had to be under the authority of an adult, typically a parent (van Solinge, Walhout, and van Poppel 2000). The power relations between parents and children are also symbolized by the fact that parents were entitled to object to their children's partner choice (Vulsma 1988): Up until the age of 30, children who intended to get married needed their parent's consent and for children below the age of 23 parental objection could not even be overruled by the court.

Earlier research on the Netherlands indicates that the determinants of leaving home differ substantially between sons and daughters (Bras and Kok 2004). For instance, sons of elite members reported very high risks of leaving the parental home, whereas their sisters did not, which might be related to elite boys' higher chance to go to boarding

schools. In addition, girls' leaving home behaviour was generally more affected by the presence of older and younger siblings than boys', and particularly the presence of many younger sisters pushed girls out of the parental household. Due to these gender differences, in the empirical analysis we run regressions for sons and daughters separately. Moreover, based on the historical context described above, in our empirical analyses we study the leaving home behaviour for children aged 12 to 23. We consider children from age 12 onwards as working-age children which is in line with earlier research on the Netherlands (Bras and Kok 2004). Furthermore, only the leaving home behaviour of children below age 23 will be studied as this allows us to thoroughly examine the power relations between the widowed parent and his/her minor children.

2.2 The Impact of Parental Death on Leaving Home Behaviour

Whereas parental divorce was a very exceptional event in the Netherlands in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century (Kalmijn 2008), many children were confronted with parental death. Nearly one out of four children born between 1850 and 1879 had lost a mother and/or father by the age of 15. Even though this share decreased over time due to lower adult mortality risk, more than 13% of children born in the period 1900-1922 had lost a parent before the age of 15 (van Poppel, Schenk, and van Gaalen 2013). After the death of a parent, a co-guardian was appointed to half-orphaned children under the age of 23 (after 1905 the age of 21). Only males were chosen as co-guardians as Dutch law did not allow women to be selected for this position (van Solinge, Walhout, and van Poppel 2000). The co-guardians functioned as supervisors of the main guardian (typically the surviving parent), but were usually not engaged in the upbringing of the minor children.

Earlier studies on historical Western populations unambiguously found that parental death had a disruptive effect and was associated with children's earlier exit out of the parental home. In the Netherlands, Bras (2003, 2004) studied the migration behaviour of girls born in the South Western coastal province of Zeeland. She estimated that both maternal and paternal death increased daughter's risk of entering service outside the parental home and the risk of migrating across provincial borders. Similar effects of parental death were found for the leaving home process of Zeeland boys and children in the Central Dutch province of Utrecht (Bras and Kok 2004; Kok 1997). Also children born in Eastern Belgium (Alter and Capron 2004; Bras and Neven 2007), in rural Southern Sweden (Dribe 2000, 2003), and in the United States (Galenson 1987; Steckel 1996) in the nineteenth century revealed higher risks of leaving home following the death of a parent.

Research on individuals born in the second half of the twentieth century has shown that the family structure has different effects on the available routes out of the parental home (Bernhardt et al. 2005; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Cherlin et al. 1995; de Jong Gierveld et al. 1991; Dribe and Stanfors 2005; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1998; Holdsworth 2000). In their recent study on the leaving home process in Gothenburg in the first half of the twentieth century, Lundh and Öberg (2018) showed that this also applied to historical populations. Their results suggest that living with a widowed parent increased daughter's chances to leave for non-marital reasons but not for entering a marriage. In studies on the impact of family structure on leaving home in historical populations it is therefore important to differentiate between leaving home for marital and non-marital reasons.

In line with earlier research on the Netherlands we assume that parental death increased the chances for leaving the parental household for non-marital reasons (Bras and Kok 2004). The loss of a parent might have reduced the claims and the control of the parental family and generated possibilities to leave the household (Bras 2003). Furthermore, parental death might be associated with severe consequences that push the child out of the parental home because parental absence in general is expected to be accompanied with decreasing living standards (Oris and Ochiai 2002) and a reduction of parental quality and quantity (Bernhardt et al. 2005). As a consequence, bereaved children had to find work more rapidly than was anticipated in order to provide for themselves and also for their family (Bras and Kok 2004). If work was not available in the community itself, children were sent away to find an occupation elsewhere.

On the contrary, we expect that parental death did not play an important role when it comes to leaving home for union formation. Marriage in the Netherlands in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century was highly determined by financial, religious, and social constraints (Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge and Debiasi 2019; Suanet and Bras 2010). As parental death in childhood introduced financial instabilities (Oris and Ochiai 2002), adult children might have delayed marriage until a certain standard of living was regained that facilitated entry into marriage. Parental death is therefore expected not to be associated with a rush into marriage. Moreover, widowed parents themselves did not have an interest in their children's early marriage because married children usually did not contribute to the household income any longer (de Regt 2004). As a result, widowed parents who were dependent on their adult children's earnings might have objected to their children's desire for marriage. Accordingly, we formulate the following hypotheses:

1a: Parental death is associated with earlier home leaving for non-marital reasons.

1b: Parental death is not associated with earlier home leaving for marital reasons.

Even though a clear link between parental death and early leaving of the parental household in historical populations has been established in previous work, the mechanisms behind this relationship remain unclear. Bras and Kok (2004) as well as Dribe (2003) suggested that half-orphaned children left the parental household earlier because of potential tensions with step-parents and step-siblings, but in their studies the authors did not control for their arrival. Remarriage occurred frequently in the Netherlands and especially widowers with young children had a strong interest in finding a new partner because they needed support with childcare services and domestic work. Accordingly, it has been found that remarriage rates were highest for widowers with young children and some even re-married only a couple of months after the death of their wife (Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge 2018). In the Dutch city of Breda in the Southern part of the Netherlands roughly 87% of the widowers below age 30, 69% of those between ages 30 to 44, and 34% of those between ages 45 and 59 entered into a remarriage. Corresponding numbers for widows were considerably lower with 73%, 43% and 8%, respectively, and remarriage was much less likely when they had to take care of young children (van Poppel 1995).

In line with earlier research on contemporary Western populations we assume that the entry of a step-parent and step-siblings increased the risk of leaving the parental home in childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood as parental remarriage has been associated with tensions in the family (Aquilino 1991; Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1998; van den Berg, Kalmijn, and Leopold 2018).

Therefore, parental remarriage as well as the entry of step-siblings are expected to increase the risk of home leaving even compared to living with a single widowed parent. Furthermore, we assume that the timing of the entry of the step-parent mattered. Step-parents who had entered before the research person turned 12 years are expected to have a less disruptive impact than step-parents that entered after age 12. These considerations lead to the article's final three hypotheses:

2a: The entry of a step-parent both after and before the age of 12 accelerates the leaving home process compared to one-parent families.

2b: The presence of step-siblings is generally associated with a faster transition to first leaving home.

2c: The entry of a step-parent after age 12 is associated with a faster transition to first leaving home than the entry of a step-parent before age 12.

3 DATA, METHODS AND VARIABLES

3.1 Data and Sample Selection

The 2010.01 release of the Historical Sample of the Netherlands (HSN) follows the life courses of a representative sample of more than 37,000 male and female individuals, so-called research persons, who were born in the period 1850-1922. The HSN is based on birth, marriage and death certificates as well as on population registers which were introduced in the whole of the country in 1850. Population registers are a unique data source as they contain continuously updated information about demographic events of all the household members, such as birth, migration, and death (Mandemakers 2002).

This enables us to identify changes in the research persons' household composition, for example the death of a parent, the entry of a step-parent, and most importantly the age at leaving home. In addition, information about occupation and religion is available in the registers, which are considered important predictor variables. The sampling strategy ensured that research persons are not clustered within households, which implies that each research person has a unique set of parents. Moreover, research persons who migrated within the country are followed and not lost from observation. From the end of the 1930s onwards, population registers were replaced by personal cards that do not contain information about the household structure. Therefore, the period of observation ends in 1940.

Research persons need to satisfy the following four criteria to be included in the analysis. First, they have to survive and have to be observed until the starting age of 12 years old. Especially due to high infant and child mortality risk, this reduces the number of research persons considerably from 37,173 to 26,736 individuals. Second, household information must be available in order to identify changes in the household composition, which further reduces the number of research persons by 1,838. Third, research persons whose parents could not be identified without ambiguity, such as illegitimate children, and who were not living in the parental home at the age of 12 were excluded. Moreover, we decided to remove research persons that were abandoned by one of their parents for unknown reasons. This results in a sample size of 22,265. Finally, 43 individuals are removed because we do not have any information about their father's socioeconomic status. The final sample therefore includes 11,040 female and 11,182 male research persons, which amounts to a total of 22,222 research persons whose leaving home behaviour is studied in this article. Individuals that leave the parental household and move to

a household where no partner is present are defined as non-marital movers. Individuals are defined as marital movers when they leave the parental household and move into a household where a partner is present. Children who get married but do not leave the parental household are therefore not regarded as home leavers as long as they stay in the parental home.

3.2 Methods

Event-history analysis (Cox proportional hazard models) is employed to examine the effect of family structure on first leaving the parental home. Event-history analysis calculates the expected duration of time until a certain event like leaving home occurs given a set of control variables such as the family structure or socioeconomic status. In the regression tables hazard ratios are presented. A coefficient above 1.00 is associated with a higher chance of home leaving, whereas a coefficient below 1.00 is associated with a reduced chance of home leaving. Higher chance of home leaving actually means that the event occurs earlier and/or more often compared to a reference group. Hence, in the regression models not only the timing but also the propensity of home leaving is studied.

As described above, the observation period starts with the 12th birthday of the research person and ends with the first occurrence of one of the following events: the event of interest (first home leaving for either marital or non-marital reasons), death of the research person, loss from observation, 23rd birthday, or January 1st 1940 when personal cards were introduced in the entire country. Moreover, research persons are obviously censored when their second biological parent dies which would automatically lead to the exit out of the parental household.

Children below marriage age (12-17) and children of marriage age (18-23) will be considered separately and among the second group we will differentiate by the route out of the parental home. This will be done by running competing risk models which measure the relative risks of leaving home for marital or non-marital reasons (Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Buck and Scott 1993; Fine and Gray 1999; Lundh and Öberg 2018). Unfortunately, the data do not allow us to separate the second group into leaving for work-related purposes on the one hand and for schooling and further education on the other. Nevertheless, the large majority of children that left for non-marital reasons left for work-related purposes as studying at boarding schools and universities was restricted to children (and especially sons) originating from the upper class and to those going to Catholic boarding schools. Male children that were drafted to serve in the army typically did not inform the municipality of residence about a change in address.

3.3 Variables

The main independent variable of interest is the child's family structure which is introduced as a time-varying variable. In section 4.1, which tests the first set of hypotheses, we introduce a time-varying dummy variable measuring whether a child experienced parental death or not. In section 4.2, which tests the second set of hypotheses, we introduce two different time-varying categorical variables in two separate models. The first categorical variable differentiates between the sex of the deceased parent and the child's age at parental death (0-5, 5-12, 12-18, 18-23). The second categorical variable controls for the presence of step-parents and the child's age at which the step-parent entered the household (before or after age 12 in line with Hypotheses 2a and 2c).

In the regression analyses, we control for several other variables that are expected to be associated with the age at leaving home. First, earlier research has shown that parental social class is an important determinant for the transition to adulthood in general and the age at leaving home in particular, both among historical and contemporary populations (Blaauboer and Mulder 2010; Bras and Kok 2004; Furstenberg 2008). We will use the father's highest occupational status ever recorded on the civil certificates and the population registers as a proxy for the family's socioeconomic status. With the help of a dataset provided by Mandemakers et al. (2013) the occupations are translated into the categorical classification scheme HISCLASS which groups occupations into twelve, seven, or five hierarchical social classes (van Leeuwen and Maas 2011). Five social classes are used in this article in order to avoid small numbers in the specific categories. These classes are called elite, lower middle class (mainly white-collar workers), skilled workers, self-employed farmers and fishermen as well as unskilled workers.

In the period of consideration, religious denomination played a very important role in Dutch society and daily life. For instance, Catholic women typically married much later than their Liberal Protestant counterparts because they relied on marriage restraint as a traditional Malthusian method to limit family size (Engelen and Kok 2002; Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge and Debiasi 2019). In the analysis, religious denomination is divided into five categories: Catholic, liberal Protestant, orthodox Protestant, Jewish, and unknown/other. Members of the Dutch Reformed Church living in communities that solely elected orthodox ministers are regarded as orthodox Protestants (Kok 2017). Household variables of interest are the number of older and younger sisters and brothers who survived until the age of 10, and the mother's age at the research person's birth. It

is expected that the presence of many siblings generally reduces the age at leaving the parental home due to the high competition for resources within the household.

Finally, we also control for context characteristics. First, we differentiate between individuals born in the countryside and in cities. Municipalities are considered urban when they had more than 10,000 inhabitants and less than 2,5% of the population employed in the agricultural sector according to a nationwide census taken in 1899 (Kooij 1985).

Second, in order to cover cultural and economic differences within the country, the birth provinces are classified into four regions: North (Groningen, Friesland), West (North Holland, South Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht), South (North Brabant, Limburg), and East (Overijssel, Gelderland, Drenthe). To conclude, in line with earlier research we divide the period of observation in three birth periods (van Poppel et al. 2013): 1850-1879, 1880-1899, and 1900-1922. Bras and Kok (2004) found that the age of leaving home increased in the beginning of the twentieth century and explain this result with educational expansion, extended means of transportation, and the general decline in life-cycle service. The summary statistics of the variables by sex of the research person are depicted in Table 1. There are no considerable differences between male and female research person. Slightly more than 80% of the person-years were spent with both parents and children were more likely to experience the entry of a step-mother than of a step-father. Only very few children were growing up with step-siblings.

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

4 RESULTS

4.1 The Determinants of the Routes of Leaving Home

In this section, we closely examine the determinants of leaving home for marital and non-marital reasons. Figure 1 shows Kaplan-Meier curves representing the male (blue) and female (green) individuals who left either for non-marital (upper graph) or marital (lower graph) reasons between the ages 12 and 23. The dashed lines represent children that lost a parent and the solid lines represent those who did not experience parental death. As in the event-history analysis presented below, parental death is treated as a time-varying dummy variable. The upper graph shows that the first children left the parental home for non-marital reasons at around age 14 and that both half-orphaned daughters and sons left home earlier than their non-orphaned counterparts. This is in line with Hypothesis 1a. The lower graph reveals that Dutch children in the period of consideration basically did not marry before age 18. Furthermore, the graph indicates that the marriage behaviour of half-orphaned and non-orphaned children did not differ considerably, which supports Hypothesis 1b. In addition, the graphs in Figure 1 also show that daughters generally moved out of the parental household earlier than sons, which is also found in research on contemporary western populations (Billari, Philipov, and Baizán 2001). Due to these gender differences in ages at leaving home, it is reasonable to run separate regressions for daughters and sons.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Table 2 depicts the regression results for female and Table 3 the results for male research persons. Model 1 in both tables studies children below the age of 18 and only

analyses leaving home for non-marital reasons as marriage basically did not occur before the age of 18. In Model 2 and Model 3, we study the age range 18-23 and introduce competing risk models with leaving home for non-marital and marital reasons as competing outcomes. In both tables, parental death is introduced as a time-varying dummy variable.

In accordance with Hypothesis 1a and Figure 1, Model 1 shows that parental loss during childhood and adolescence was significantly associated with earlier home leaving among sons and daughters below age 18. The effect sizes are 1.66 for daughters and 1.72 for sons. The age at leaving home for non-marital reasons is also reduced by parental death for children aged 18 to 23, as shown in Model 2. Again, the effect sizes for daughters and sons are similar, but a little bit lower compared to Model 1. Model 3 supports Hypothesis 1b because parental death among daughters and sons was not associated with leaving home for early marriage. Consequently, there is strong evidence for Hypotheses 1a and 1b which state that experiencing parental death was associated with earlier home leaving for non-marital reasons, but did not increase the chance for early marriage.

With regard to the remaining covariates, the results show that social class was a very important determinant for children's leaving home behaviour and that the effect of social class varied by the sex of the child and the route out of the parental home. First of all, children of the elite were least likely to enter into an early marriage. Family controls on partner selection were strongest among this group to prevent early marriages which were considered socially inappropriate (Janssens 2014). As family controls were less strong among the lowest social class and also material thresholds of starting a household were lower, children of unskilled workers were most likely to enter into an early

marriage. Children of unskilled workers, and daughters in particular, were also most likely to leave the parental household for non-marital reasons which points to the importance of life-cycle service within the life course of lower skilled individuals. Daughters of farmers were most likely to stay with their parents during adolescence, whereas farmer's sons somewhat surprisingly also participated in life-cycle service and probably worked at other farms to gain experience. Remarkably, elite sons had the highest risk of leaving the parental home for non-marital reasons compared to all other social groups. This is explained by the fact that the upper-classes often sent their male children to boarding schools and universities (Janssens 1993).

Catholic children and also orthodox protestant girls were much less likely to marry before the age of 23 because early marriages were not in the line with the social norms dominant within these groups (Engelen and Kok 2002). Catholicism had the opposite effect on leaving home for non-marital reasons during adolescence and was associated with higher risk of leaving, which might be explained with the prominence of Catholic boarding schools. Jewish daughters were least likely to leave their parents before the age of 18. The number of siblings generally increased daughters' risks of leaving home, especially for non-marital living and for those who had many older and younger sisters. Sons' leaving home behaviour was generally not affected by the sibship size. Only sons with older brothers were more likely to leave the parental household to enter into a union. Mother's age at birth did not have an impact on the age at leaving home for non-marital living, but having a young mother strongly increased the chances for early marriage, both for male and female children. This indicates that marriage behaviour was to a certain degree transmitted between generations and is in line with earlier findings (van Bavel and Kok 2009).

With regard to the context characteristics, the propensity of early marriage did not change over time, neither for men nor for women. But being born between 1900 and 1922 was associated with a lower chance for leaving for non-marital reasons. This points to the decline in life-cycle service in the beginning of the twentieth century (Bras and Kok 2004). Living in an urban area had opposing effects on leaving home behaviour than living in a rural area. Boys and girls born in rural areas were significantly more likely to leave the parental home below age 18 than children born in cities. On the contrary, being born in an urban area conveys higher hazard ratios for early entry into marriage. Finally, also the region of residence mattered with regard to leaving home. Particularly daughters born in the Northern and Eastern parts were less likely to enter marriage before the age of 23. With regard to leaving for non-marital reasons, however, the opposite pattern was observed because children born in the North and the East of the country were most likely to leave for work. This finding is surprising as earlier research on the Netherlands assumed that children in the East generally remained longer in the parental home (Mönkediek et al. 2016; Riswick 2018). More research about regional differences is required, but our results indicate that a general assumption about leaving home in the Eastern parts of the Netherlands is not supported in this article, at least with regard to leaving for non-marital reasons.

[INSERT TABLE 2 AND TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

4.2 The Impact of the Family Structure on Age at Leaving Home

In Table 4 and Table 5, we study the role of the family structure in more detail for daughters and sons, respectively. In this section, only leaving for non-marital reasons is considered as it has been shown that leaving for marriage is not affected by the loss of a

parent. As before, we run separate models for children younger and older than 18 years old as splitting the analysis in two age ranges results in a non-violation of the proportional hazards assumption. Furthermore, parental death is considered as a time-varying categorical variable. In Model 1 and Model 2 we differentiate between maternal and paternal death and the age at which the child experienced parental death. In Model 3 and Model 4, we take the presence of step-siblings and of step-parents into account who entered before and after the age of 12. In Tables 4 and 5 we control for the same covariates as above, but they are not shown in the output tables because they convey basically the identical information as the first two models in Tables 2 and 3.

Model 1 in Table 4 and 5 reveals that both maternal and paternal death are significantly associated with earlier home leaving among children aged 12 to 18. Only daughters and sons who experienced a father's death before age 5 were not more likely to leave the parental household than their non-bereaved counterparts. Apart from that, there are generally no further age differences observed in Model 1. Model 2 investigates home leaving for children aged 18 to 23 and indicates that particularly maternal death is associated with earlier home leaving in young adulthood, whereas the death of a father is rarely associated with a higher risk of leaving the parental household in this age group. Particularly for male children above age 5 the differences between maternal and paternal death in Model 2 are statistically significant, meaning that sons losing a mother after age 5 are more likely to leave the parental household between ages 18 and 23 than those losing a father. A similar gender difference is also observed for daughters who experienced parental death before the age of 5. Once again, there are hardly any age differences to be observed. Only boys who lost a mother before age 5 were significantly less likely to

leave the parental household after the age of 18 than those who experienced maternal death in later childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood.

Models 3 and 4 indicate that children who shared a household with step-parents and step-siblings generally showed a very similar leaving home behaviour compared to children whose widowed parent had not remarried yet. According to the joint tests performed, only daughters below age 18 left the parental household earlier who lived together with a step-father that entered after their twelfth birthday, compared to living with a single widowed mother ($F = 7.90, p > F = 0.00$) and compared to having a step-father who entered before the age of 12 ($F = 11.72, p > F = 0.00$). In addition, the presence of step-siblings increased the likelihood of home leaving only for daughters above age 18. Apparently, in most cases it was not the entry of a step-parent and step-siblings that made the children leave their parental home, but the death of a parent as such.

Taken together, this does not support Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c.

[INSERT TABLE 4 AND TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE]

5 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

In this article we analysed the leaving home behaviour of more than 22,000 minor children born in the Netherlands in the period 1850-1922. As described in the results section, the covariates were mostly in line with earlier research on the Netherlands and showed that especially the socioeconomic and religious background had a strong impact on leaving home in the period of consideration (Bras and Kok 2004; Engelen and Kok 2002). Furthermore, urban children displayed a very different leaving home behaviour than rural children as they were less likely to leave the parental home below age 18 for non-marital reasons, but more likely to enter an early marriage.

In line with research on contemporary western societies, this article shows that the availability of pathways out of the parental home also plays an important role when studying leaving home behaviour in the past. In the period of consideration, the majority of children had fewer opportunities to leave the parental household compared to children growing up in contemporary Western society. Premarital cohabitation was not in accordance with the social norms at that time and only privileged children had the chance to leave for educational purposes. All other children basically only had the choice between leaving home for work-related reasons or, once they had reached age 18, marriage. The access to marriage, however, was strongly restricted by the prevailing religious norms and financial constraints. Religious denominations such as the Catholic Church and orthodox Protestants as well as higher social classes disapproved of early marriages, and children additionally had to accumulate enough savings to establish their own nuclear household upon marriage. Beyond that, parents had a crucial influence on their offspring's marital decisions as they were entitled to object to the marriages of their adult children up until age 30. Therefore, leaving the parental household for marriage was for many children not a reasonable option in early adulthood. As a consequence, also children aged 18 to 23 predominantly left the parental home for non-marital reasons. The results of the article therefore show that the opportunity structures directed by society's norms and constraints strongly shaped the leaving home behaviour of adolescent and adult children. These opportunity structures additionally varied between rural and urban areas, thereby indicating that children's leaving home opportunities were also directed by local labour and marriage markets.

The findings of the article also suggest that the effect of parental death differed by the pathway out of the parental home. First, the results indicate that the marriage behaviour

in young adulthood was unaffected by parental death. As discussed before, this might be explained by the strict constraints imposed on marriage in the period of consideration. Early parental death often resulted in the family's lower standard of living (Oris and Ochiai 2002), which in turn complicated an early and smooth transition to marriage (Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge and Debiasi 2019). Moreover, widowed parents probably did not support the early marriage of their offspring because married children did not contribute to the household budget any longer and were lost as productive assets (de Regt 2004). Accordingly, it is not surprising that children did not hasten into marriage after having experienced the untimely death of a parent.

Second, and in line with the expectations, the loss of a parent was associated with a much higher chance of leaving the parental household for non-marital reasons. Remarkably, maternal death frequently resulted in higher risks for leaving home than paternal death. In contrast to our expectations, the entry of a step-parent and step-siblings was generally not associated with a higher likelihood of leaving the parental home compared to children who were living with a single widowed parent. Only the entry of step-fathers after the twelfth birthday was associated with an increased chance of home leaving for daughters below age 18. Our results therefore point to the direction that tensions caused by the entry of a step-parent and step-siblings in the household do not fully explain parentally bereaved children's higher likelihood of leaving the parental household. This finding is at odds with suggestions provided by earlier research (Bras and Kok 2004; Dribe 2000).

If it is not tensions with the step-parents, what else could cause the earlier home leaving of parentally bereaved children? As described earlier, leaving home for non-marital reasons was subject to a joint decision made by parents and their offspring and therefore

based on mutual interests (Dribe 2000). In the following, we therefore argue that both the child and the widowed parent had an interest in the offspring's earlier home leaving. From the parental perspective, the exit of the working-age child can firstly be seen as a budgetary relief because parents saved expenses on food and clothing (Bras and Kok 2004). As unmarried children living outside the parental home often contributed to the family budget, parents had an increased interest in sending their working-age children to employers to save money and still generate some income. Second, life-cycle servants were typically hired for an entire year. Sending children away to work as a life-cycle servant therefore minimized the short-term risk of unemployment and ensured a steady source of income (Paping 1999). In contemporary developing countries where insurance markets and welfare states are underdeveloped, work migration of adolescent and adult children is often seen as a way to diversify risks (Massey et al. 1993). A similar phenomenon is possibly observed in the Netherlands in the period of consideration where widowed parents had a strong interest in their children finding stable jobs in different economic sectors to be able to support the family financially even in times of economic hardship.

From the child's perspective, the loss of a parent was first and foremost a disrupting event that caused economic strains and most probably resulted in decreasing living standards. Possibly, bereaved families without property were also forced to move to a smaller dwelling as residential moves were a typical coping strategy frequently applied by the urban poor (Kok, Mandemakers, and Wals 2005). A drop in living standards, in turn, made staying at the parental home less attractive and increased the children's incentive to leave to provide to a certain extent for themselves. The results also indicate that living with a widowed father was less attractive than living with a widowed mother

as maternal death was associated with a very high risk of leaving the parental home. This finding is in line with earlier research showing that widowed mothers were better able to prevent the dissolution of the family unit than widowed fathers (Humphries 2010; Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge 2018).

With regard to limitations, just as Bras and Kok (2004) we want to emphasize the potential shortcomings of the population register as a source for studying children's leaving home behaviour for non-marital reasons. Even though the registration of migratory moves to another municipality was compulsory in the study period, quite a few persons failed to comply with the registration of their migration. In that case, their absence was noted with reference to the date of the census conducted every ten years. Accordingly, the exact timing of home leaving may be registered incorrectly on the population register to some extent. This limitation, however, does not apply to home-leaving for marital reasons as the date of marriage available on the marriage certificate usually corresponds with the date of leaving home as stated on the population register.

In conclusion, the present article showed that children's leaving home behaviour in the Netherlands in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century was determined by socioeconomic constraints, religious norms, geographic contexts, and changes in the household composition. While we are confident that our results are generalizable for other areas characterized by the Western European marriage pattern in the past (see also Lundh and Öberg 2018), future research could extend the scope of our analysis by studying the determinants of home leaving in other regions frequently studied by historical demographers such as Southern and Eastern Europe as well as East Asia. Finally, research on leaving the parental home in the Netherlands so far is divided into the period before and after World War Second (see for instance Blaauboer and Mulder 2010 for

leaving home in the second half of the twentieth century). Combining both periods in one analysis that covers more than 150 years would certainly enhance our knowledge about long-term trends in leaving home in Western Europe.

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Table 1. *Summary Statistics of the Independent Variables, by Sex of the Research Person*

	Women	Men
Family structure, %		
Both parents	81.8	80.6
Only father	4.8	4.8
Father and step-mother	3.4	4.3
Only mother	8.4	8.6
Mother and step-father	1.5	1.7
Stepsibling ever present, %		
No	98.9	98.5
Yes	1.1	1.5
Highest paternal HISCLASS, %		
Elite	4.3	3.6
Lower middle class	22.6	21.7
Skilled worker	35.3	34.6
Self-employed farmer and fisherman	16.9	17.4
Unskilled worker	20.9	22.7
Religion, %		
Catholic	32.8	32.8
Liberal Protestant	42.1	42.0
Orthodox Protestant	15.3	15.5
Jewish	1.5	1.6
Unknown/Other	8.2	8.1
Total number siblings	5.1	5.2
Mother's age at birth, %		
<25	13.5	14.0
25-35	58.8	60.4
>35	27.7	25.6
Period of birth, %		
1850-1879	26.2	25.9
1880-1900	37.6	37.4
1901-1922	36.2	36.8
Birth region, %		
North	15.2	15.0
West	52.7	52.8
East	17.4	17.4
South	14.8	14.8
Birth municipality, %		
Rural	65.9	66.6
Urban	34.1	33.4
Number of individuals	11,040	11,182
Number of events	4,725	3,280
Person years	94,519	102,527

Table 2. *Event-History Analysis for First Leaving Home for Marital and Non-Marital Reasons, Women*

	(1) Non-marital living Ages 12-18		(2) Non-marital living Ages 18-23		(3) Marriage Ages 18-23	
	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI
Parental death						
Yes	1.66***	1.49 - 1.84	1.38***	1.23 - 1.54	1.03	0.90 - 1.18
No	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Father's highest HISCLASS						
Elite	0.95	0.74 - 1.22	1.06	0.83 - 1.35	0.53***	0.37 - 0.77
Lower Middle Class	0.94	0.82 - 1.07	0.99	0.87 - 1.13	0.82*	0.70 - 0.96
Skilled Worker	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Farmer or Fishermen	0.82**	0.71 - 0.94	0.70***	0.60 - 0.83	0.82*	0.68 - 1.00
Unskilled Worker	1.31***	1.16 - 1.47	1.26***	1.11 - 1.43	1.44***	1.24 - 1.66
Religion						
Liberal protestant	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Catholic	1.17*	1.04 - 1.33	1.03	0.90 - 1.17	0.70***	0.60 - 0.82
Orthodox Protestant	0.89	0.77 - 1.03	0.93	0.80 - 1.08	0.79**	0.66 - 0.94
Jewish	0.42*	0.21 - 0.84	0.93	0.62 - 1.39	0.70	0.43 - 1.13
Unknown/Other	0.93	0.77 - 1.11	1.00	0.83 - 1.21	1.08	0.88 - 1.31
Number older brothers						
	0.98	0.95 - 1.02	1.01	0.97 - 1.05	1.09***	1.04 - 1.13
Number older sisters						
	1.09***	1.05 - 1.13	1.04	1.00 - 1.08	1.03	0.99 - 1.08
Number younger brothers						
	1.04*	1.00 - 1.08	1.04*	1.00 - 1.08	0.99	0.95 - 1.04
Number younger sisters						
	1.16***	1.12 - 1.20	1.12***	1.08 - 1.16	1.03	0.99 - 1.07
Period of birth						
1850-1879	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
1880-1899	1.07	0.95 - 1.19	1.10	0.98 - 1.24	1.05	0.91 - 1.21
1900-1922	0.80***	0.71 - 0.91	0.74***	0.65 - 0.85	0.98	0.84 - 1.14
Mother's age at birth						
<25	0.88	0.76 - 1.02	0.90	0.77 - 1.05	1.70***	1.45 - 1.98
25-35	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
>35	0.92	0.81 - 1.05	0.99	0.86 - 1.13	0.88	0.75 - 1.04
Municipality of birth						
Urban	0.64***	0.57 - 0.72	1.02	0.91 - 1.15	1.21**	1.06 - 1.38
Rural	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Region of birth						
West						
North	1.47***	1.29 - 1.67	1.39***	1.21 - 1.60	0.66***	0.55 - 0.79
East	1.14*	1.01 - 1.30	1.20**	1.05 - 1.37	0.61***	0.51 - 0.73
South	1.02	0.87 - 1.19	0.77**	0.64 - 0.92	1.06	0.87 - 1.28
Number of subjects	11,040		8,599		8,599	
Number of failures	1,847		1,627		1,251	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 3. *Event-History Analysis for First Leaving home for Marital and Non-Marital Reasons, Men*

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	Non-marital living Ages 12-18		Non-marital living Ages 18-23		Marriage Ages 18-23	
	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI
Parental death						
Yes	1.72***	1.52 - 1.96	1.45***	1.28 - 1.63	0.94	0.79 - 1.13
No	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Father's highest HISCLASS						
Elite	2.33***	1.82 - 2.99	1.55***	1.21 - 1.99	0.23***	0.10 - 0.52
Lower Middle Class	1.46***	1.24 - 1.71	1.04	0.90 - 1.19	0.90	0.74 - 1.11
Skilled Worker	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Farmer or Fishermen	1.31**	1.11 - 1.56	0.65***	0.54 - 0.78	0.45***	0.33 - 0.62
Unskilled Worker	1.28**	1.09 - 1.51	0.86	0.75 - 1.00	1.35**	1.12 - 1.63
Religion						
Liberal protestant	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Catholic	1.30***	1.11 - 1.51	0.88	0.75 - 1.02	0.71**	0.57 - 0.88
Orthodox Protestant	0.88	0.74 - 1.06	0.91	0.77 - 1.08	1.04	0.83 - 1.29
Jewish	0.70	0.38 - 1.28	1.32	0.92 - 1.90	1.00	0.60 - 1.68
Unknown/Other	0.95	0.76 - 1.19	0.88	0.71 - 1.09	0.77	0.56 - 1.06
Number older brothers	1.03	0.99 - 1.08	1.03	0.99 - 1.07	1.12***	1.05 - 1.19
Number older sisters	0.99	0.95 - 1.04	1.01	0.96 - 1.05	1.05	0.98 - 1.11
Number younger brothers	1.04	1.00 - 1.08	0.99	0.95 - 1.03	1.04	0.98 - 1.10
Number younger sisters	1.03	0.98 - 1.07	0.98	0.94 - 1.02	1.01	0.95 - 1.07
Period of birth						
1850-1879	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
1880-1899	1.12	0.97 - 1.28	1.08	0.94 - 1.23	0.89	0.73 - 1.08
1900-1922	0.84*	0.72 - 0.97	0.97	0.84 - 1.12	0.88	0.72 - 1.07
Mother's age at birth						
<25	0.90	0.75 - 1.09	0.96	0.81 - 1.15	1.71***	1.38 - 2.11
25-35	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
>35	1.04	0.89 - 1.21	0.97	0.83 - 1.13	0.87	0.68 - 1.10
Municipality of birth						
Urban	0.75***	0.65 - 0.86	0.93	0.82 - 1.06	1.38***	1.16 - 1.64
Rural	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Region of birth						
West	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
North	1.89***	1.62 - 2.20	1.43***	1.23 - 1.66	0.84	0.66 - 1.06
East	1.24**	1.06 - 1.46	1.18*	1.01 - 1.37	0.75*	0.59 - 0.96
South	1.06	0.88 - 1.28	0.86	0.70 - 1.06	0.85	0.63 - 1.14
Number of subjects	11,182		9,396		9,396	
Number of failures	1,260		1,355		665	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 4. *Event-History Analysis for the Impact of Family Structure on First Leaving Home for Non-Marital Reasons, Women^a*

	(1) Age and sex Ages 12-18		(2) Age and sex Ages 18-23		(3) Presence of step-parents Ages 12-18		(4) Presence of step-parents Ages 18-23	
	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI
Age at parental death and sex of deceased parent								
No parental death	ref	ref	ref	ref				
Maternal death, 0-5	1.75***	1.35 - 2.27	1.79***	1.34 - 2.40				
Paternal death, 0-5	1.12	0.83 - 1.51	1.19	0.88 - 1.63				
Maternal death, 5-12	1.80***	1.49 - 2.18	1.50***	1.18 - 1.90				
Paternal death, 5-12	1.52***	1.24 - 1.85	1.32*	1.04 - 1.67				
Maternal death, 12-18	2.05***	1.62 - 2.60	1.46**	1.13 - 1.88				
Paternal death, 12-18	1.73***	1.36 - 2.20	1.21	0.96 - 1.53				
Maternal death, 18-23			1.60**	1.15 - 2.23				
Paternal death, 18-23			1.29	0.92 - 1.80				
Presence of step-parents								
No parental death					ref	ref	ref	ref
Maternal death					1.91***	1.60 - 2.28	1.50***	1.24 - 1.80
Maternal death, Stepmother <12					1.71***	1.36 - 2.15	1.76***	1.35 - 2.28
Maternal death, Stepmother ≥12					1.82**	1.23 - 2.69	1.23	0.85 - 1.79
Paternal death					1.47***	1.25 - 1.72	1.21*	1.03 - 1.41
Paternal death, Stepfather <12					1.02	0.68 - 1.53	1.27	0.86 - 1.90
Paternal death, Stepfather ≥12					2.91***	1.84 - 4.59	1.55	0.88 - 2.76
Presence of step-siblings								
No					ref	ref	ref	ref
Yes					1.19	0.84 - 1.67	1.48*	1.00 - 2.18
Individuals	11,040		8,599		11,040		8,599	
Failures	1,847		1,627		1,847		1,627	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

^a Controlled for father's highest HISCLASS, religious denomination, number of younger and older brothers and sisters, period of birth, mother's age at birth, municipality of birth, and region of birth

Table 5. *Event-History Analysis for the Impact of Family Structure on First Leaving Home for Non-Marital Reasons, Men^a*

	(1) Age and sex Ages 12-18		(2) Age and sex Ages 18-23		(3) Presence of step-parents Ages 12-18		(4) Presence of step-parents Ages 18-23	
	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI
Age at parental death and sex of deceased parent								
No parental death	ref	ref	ref	ref				
Maternal death, 0-5	1.84***	1.37 - 2.47	1.17	0.81 - 1.67				
Paternal death, 0-5	1.34	0.96 - 1.86	0.72	0.48 - 1.09				
Maternal death, 5-12	1.63***	1.29 - 2.04	1.67***	1.32 - 2.11				
Paternal death, 5-12	1.60***	1.26 - 2.02	1.26	0.97 - 1.63				
Maternal death, 12-18	2.10***	1.56 - 2.82	2.00***	1.58 - 2.52				
Paternal death, 12-18	2.10***	1.60 - 2.75	1.20	0.93 - 1.56				
Maternal death, 18-23			2.61***	1.93 - 3.53				
Paternal death, 18-23			1.40*	1.00 - 1.97				
Presence of step-parents								
No parental death					ref	ref	ref	ref
Maternal death					1.90***	1.53 - 2.35	1.92***	1.60 - 2.31
Maternal death, Stepmother <12					1.63***	1.24 - 2.14	1.45*	1.09 - 1.94
Maternal death, Stepmother ≥12					1.64*	1.02 - 2.64	1.96***	1.45 - 2.65
Paternal death					1.85***	1.55 - 2.20	1.13	0.95 - 1.35
Paternal death, Stepfather <12					0.85	0.49 - 1.49	1.09	0.67 - 1.78
Paternal death, Stepfather ≥12					0.68	0.22 - 2.12	1.69	0.99 - 2.90
Presence of step-siblings								
No					ref	ref	ref	ref
Yes					1.12	0.76 - 1.63	0.96	0.63 - 1.48
Individuals	11,182		9,396		11,182		9,396	
Failures	1,260		1,355		1,260		1,355	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

^a Controlled for father's highest HISCLASS, religious denomination, number of younger and older brothers and sisters, period of birth, mother's age at birth, municipality of birth, and region of birth

FIG. 1 KAPLAN-MEIER CURVES FOR LEAVING THE PARENTAL HOME FOR NON-MARITAL AND MARITAL REASONS, BY SEX OF THE RESEARCH PERSON AND HAVING EXPERIENCED PARENTAL DEATH