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# Leaving home in Slovenia: A quantitative exploration of residential independence among young adults



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#### ABSTRACT

The present paper analyzes and contextualizes the phenomenon of prolonged coresidence of parents and young adult children in Slovenia. It analyzes the process of moving out or staying at home on the basis of a subsample of young people between 19 and 29 who are no longer at school included in the representative Slovenian field survey *Youth 2010*. Young people still living in the household of their parents or (legal) guardians are compared with those who have already left. The analysis considers factors associated with the status transitions from youth to adulthood; the demographic, social and economic background; and the perception of the parent—child relationship quality and parenting style by the children. Our findings point to the importance of possibilities for independent housing and the economic capacity of young people and their family. The most important factor behind moving out seems to be a stable partnership.

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#### Slovenia – country background and trends in youth transitions

Slovenia was one the first countries with a socialist past that joined the European Union in the year 2004. As one of the former Yugoslav republics it also represents the unique case of a Mediterranean country that transformed from state socialism to market society in less than 15 years. The rapid institutional transformation is reflected in some of the country-specific peculiarities of transitions to adulthood. A first pan-Yugoslav study from the 1980s (Vrcan et al., 1986) indicates that Slovenia used to be the most 'Western' country of the socialist bloc: it shared with its capitalist neighbors some societal trends like destandardization, individualization and pluralization as well as aspects of 'modern youth'.

After the breakup of Yugoslavia, Slovenia maintained its special status: it was not affected by ethnic violence and war in the 1990s and soon joined the European Union. During the first years of the transformation, youth transitions to adulthood in Slovenia appeared to be continuously smooth and little affected by the post-socialist institutional revamp. Yet in the years that followed, youth transitions started to be postponed: within the European Union, Slovenia has become one of the countries with the highest average age of young men and women when leaving the parental household (Eurostat, 2009, p. 29).

The proportion of young people between 25 and 29 years living in the same household with their mother increased from 44.4% in the year 2000 to 66.2% in 2010 (Lavrič Flere, Tavčar Krajnc et al., 2010b, p. 283). European value surveys from

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1999 to 2008 indicate that, including those who also live in the same household with their partner/spouse and/or child/ren, up to two thirds of young people between 18 and 34 years continue to live with their parents (see Table 1).

These shares used to be much lower during socialism: the Slovenian Public Opinion survey of 1980 indicates that about 40% of the 18–34 age group used to live together with their parents as well as together spouse/partner or/and child; 25% lived with their parents only. Nowadays these shares correspond to the average of the former Yugoslav countries and are considerably higher than in other EU countries. For instance, in the EU 15 little more than one third of the same age group lived with parents in 2008.

With regard to the socio-economic context of growing up in Slovenia, extended participation in education, difficulties entering the labor market and the tight housing market are common explanations of young people postponing leaving home. The prolonged stay within the family of origin is first of all an outcome of severe housing shortages that followed the breakdown of Yugoslavia (Mandič, 2009). The construction and distribution of new dwelling places did not meet the growing demand that could satisfied only temporarily by privatizing public housing. The market for renting is small due to the culture of owning one's residence: after the privatization of the formerly state owned housing, which amounted to more than onethird, some 90% of flats and houses in Slovenia are privately owned (Mandič, 2007). Especially young adults cannot afford the rising prices of independent housing. Another reason why transitions out of the parental home are 'frozen' is related to their extended participation in education (Kuhar & Reiter, 2012). Around 90% of young people remain in education at tertiary levels. In this way, they benefit from many advantages associated with studying like social insurance or tax incentives for student employment, which is increasingly popular and has become a regular form of low-paid employment outside the 'official' labor market. This utilitarian approach of combining politically granted advantages of the status of being a student with the benefits of living at home results in long average durations of studies, in high drop-out and low completion rates. The regular Slovenian labor market at the other end of the school-to-work transition is saturated with over- and ill-qualified academics; it holds too few appropriate jobs for the mass of highly-educated university graduates. From 2010 to 2012, the unemployment rate for young people between 25 and 29 years increased from 12.2% to 17.7%; the overall unemployment rate increased from 7.1% to 11.7% and (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2013).

All these context factors contribute to the tightening of relationships between parents and children and the extended dependence of children. The majority of young Slovenians perceive family of origin as the most important source of all kinds of support and their reliance on the family is strong and increasing. Research indicates that prolonged co-residence is associated with exceptionally supportive and relatively high quality relationships between parents (especially mothers) and young people (Rener, 2006; Ule & Kuhar, 2003), also in international comparison (Pokrajac, 2006). The majority of young Slovenians appreciate parental emotional and material support while at the same time enjoying personal freedom and independence. Less than one out of five young people indicate that they do not feel good at home or wish for greater parental support (Rener, 2006). The perceived autonomy and comfort of "hotel mama" turns staying at home into a lifestyle of choice (Ule & Kuhar, 2003). This trend is not the same in all former Yugoslav countries. For instance, in Serbia tensions are common despite otherwise very strong intra-family relations (Tomanović, 2002), and young people express dissatisfaction with paternalizing and infantilizing strategies of parents (Tomanović, 2006).

The process of residential emancipation of young people is a very important issue at the political level (e.g., the policy document about housing problems of young people, published by the National Youth Council of Slovenia, 2010) as well as in youth research (e.g., Kuhar, 2012; Rener, 1995; 2006; Ule & Kuhar, 2003) and in research on housing (e.g., Mandič, 2007, 2009; Mandič & Gnidovec, 1999). However, as Kuhar (2012) notes, the question of leaving the family of origin has not yet been comprehensively addressed at the micro level. Compared to other countries, where the issue of leaving home has become an established field of research (Mulder, 2009), there is little knowledge about how the timing of leaving home is affected by various socio-economic, relational and other transitional characteristics in Slovenia.

In this article we want to take a step in the direction of understanding the prolonged co-residence of young adult children and their parents through an in-depth analysis of potential determining aspects at the level of individuals. We want to add a logistic regression analysis comprising potential predictors of the living situation of emerging adults in Slovenia available from the study *Youth 2010* to the rather descriptive analysis of Lavrič et al. (2010) who cross tabulated residential autonomy of young people from 25 to 29 with 'still living at home or not', 'employment status (of young people)' and 'parental ownership of property'.

The following part introduces our tentative research hypotheses as well as the data set and method used for the analysis. Then we present and discuss our findings from the descriptive as well as multivariate analyses and reflect how they can inform our understanding of the situation in Slovenia within the Mediterranean context.

**Table 1**Percentage of young people living with their parents, % (answers of 18–34 year-olds).

	Slovenia	Ex-yu	EU 15	EU postsoc
European Values Survey, 1999/2001 — with parents, including those with partner/spouse/child	64.6	62.3	37.6	47.0
European Values Survey, 1999/2001 — with parents only	56.8	52.1	36.1	38.0
European Values Survey 2008 — with parents, including those with partner/spouse/child	63.8	69.8	34.0	51.8
European Values Survey 2008 — with parents only	53.6	57.4	31.1	42.1

Note. Own calculations.

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