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Title: Young, anchored and free? Examining the dynamics of early housing pathways in Australia

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Young, anchored and free? Examining the dynamics of early housing pathways in Australia

Abstract:

Young people are remaining in the parental home for longer, and returning there more frequently, before they attain residential independence. In Australia, these patterns have prompted concerns about the emergence of a 'boomerang generation' whose housing aspirations and decisions have either been directly questioned, or viewed as symptomatic of broader affordability issues. Employing a longitudinal perspective, we argue that early residential pathways reflect a mix of stable and dynamic influences involving individuals, their families, and their broader relationships. Using data from a large cohort (n=2,082) of young Australians participating in the 'Our Lives' research project, we examine housing pathway formation between the ages of 12/13 and 21/22. Events such as parental dissolution or partnership formation were found to encourage home leaving, whilst being employed at a younger age and having grown up in a rural area predicted both leaving and remaining out of home. There were also signs that close, supportive relationships with family members and friends served to 'anchor' respondents at home for longer, and that parental socioeconomic resources enabled respondents to leave home and return if needed. Overall, our findings suggest that early residential independence reflects various factors, not all of which are in young people's control, and some of which bring the longer-term sustainability of their living arrangements into question.

Keywords: Young adulthood, housing, transition, life course, boomerang generation

Introduction

If we believe the contemporary media, Australia has fostered the emergence of a “boomerang generation” (Critchley 2014; Pennington 2015). Metaphorically evoking the Australian Aboriginal weapon that is thrown and returns, the so-called boomerang generation is characterised by adults in their twenties or thirties returning to live in the parental home.[1] The media warns that the boomerang generation cost their parents too much money and lack responsibility (Critchley 2014), but more sympathetically, are a product of recent economic uncertainty and an unaffordable Australian housing market (Pennington 2015).

The issue has attracted scholarly attention as an example of how young people’s transitions toward adulthood, and independence from their parents, have grown more varied, protracted and unpredictable than in previous generations (Furlong and Cartmel 2007). Census data confirms that in Australia, as in other post-industrial nations such as the United Kingdom (Office for National Statistics, 2015) and United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), there has been an increase in the proportion of young adults living without a partner or child, but with one or both parents, from 21% in 1976 to 27% in 2011 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013).

These patterns, which reflect both delays in first leaving home and the temporary nature of many first departures, raise questions about the state and affordability of Western lifestyles, on the one hand, and the values, aspirations and independence of an emerging generation, on the other. It is easy to construct such trends as signifying problems at both a societal and generational level. Leaving home is widely viewed as a normative sign of independence, whereas returning is sometimes viewed as an undesirable regression (Kenyon and Heath 2001; Roberts et al. 2016). Acknowledging concern about increasing numbers of young British adults “‘boomeranging’ back to the parental home”, Stone, Berrington and Falkingham (2014, 257) note that this trend has significant implications for a range of interactional and relational dynamics between parents and their adult children. Moreover, some young people who take steps towards independent living may see their residential security compromised - particularly if navigating such a process becomes ever more contingent on resources or relationships they or their families do not have.

The purpose of this article is to examine the social determinants of staying in, leaving and returning to the parental home. To understand both the stable and dynamic factors which

[1] For brevity, the ‘home’ is referred to throughout this article as shorthand for the ‘parental home’.

influence these transitions it is necessary go beyond the point-in-time snapshots provided by census data or other cross-sectional studies. For example, census data reveals little about the circumstances of young adults who comprise the boomerang generation, or whether they are delaying leaving home, or moving in and out of the parental home multiple times.

The article presents one of few studies to explore these issues longitudinally, using data collected from a large cohort of young Australians who have been surveyed across a period of almost ten years (between the ages 12/13 and 21/22). Our analysis contributes to the literature by examining, from a dynamic perspective, a range of individual and family determinants underpinning the residential decisions, trajectories and outcomes of young people during early adulthood.

Literature review: causes and dynamics

Staying in or leaving the parental home

Leaving home to enter certain arrangements, such as cohabiting relationships (South and Lei 2015) or home ownership (Tyndall and Christie-Mizell 2016) is consistent with strong social norms regarding the transition to adulthood. While such events retain symbolic importance as milestones signifying the achievement of independence, societal expectations around timing and sequencing of such a transition have become more ambiguous (Billari and Leifbroer 2007). Scholars have demonstrated that transitions in and out of home are determined by a complex interplay of factors located at the individual, household, cultural and societal levels. For instance, gaining well-paid and stable employment are important predictors of leaving home (Flatau et al. 2007; Furlong and Cartmel 2007). Other 'pull factors' include intimate relationship formation, commencing university (South and Lei 2015) and housing assistance programs (Flatau et al. 2007) that act as catalysts for living independently.

Scholars have also identified 'push factors', which contribute to the parental home no longer meeting young people's needs for adequate material, relational, and ontological security in early adulthood. The quality of their familial relationships is critical for young people remaining at home beyond any age at which they are legally entitled to do so. In her seminal work on young people's housing in Scotland, England and Wales, Jones (1995) illustrated the importance of inter-generational relationships based on mutual trust and shared expectations about young people's changing needs during the transition to adulthood. Various studies show that these relationships form a basis upon which the ongoing provision (and acceptance) of parental support is actively and continuously negotiated, including after young

people leave home (Clapham et al. 2014; Jones 1995; Lewis and West 2016). Common reasons young Australians cite for remaining at home into adulthood, such as the ability to save money or the convenience and enjoyment of doing so (ABS 2009), are thus predicated on such relationships. Similarly, the influence of family background factors associated with both leaving and returning home, such as parental education and resources, may also be mediated by these relationships. For instance, in the United States South and Lei (2015, 21) found that young adults whose mothers completed 16 years of school are more likely to move out than those whose mothers completed 12 years of school. At the same time, they observed that closeness to one's mother also reduces the likelihood of leaving. These findings are consistent with evidence from the United Kingdom that young people from more advantaged backgrounds receive greater support during their transitions to residential independence, including help with rent or home purchase and a standing invitation to return home whenever needed (Druta and Arundel 2016; Jones 1995).

Conflict at home, and gender differences in relationship dynamics more generally, remain as prominent in the home departures of young Australians in more recent times (ABS 2009) as they were in Jones' earlier work. According to 2006-07 Australian Bureau of Statistics survey data, 32 percent of young women and 22 percent of young men who had left home before the age of 18 reported doing so because of family conflict. Moreover, while young men who left prior to the age of 21 were likelier than women to leave for employment or career-related reasons, young women who left by this age were likelier to move in with a partner or spouse. Such trends illustrate why the distinction between 'push' and 'pull' factors may be insufficient to capture the more complex ways in which young people's family arrangements shape their early experiences of partnering, employment and housing. Other household factors, such as remoteness, overcrowding, and absence of both biological parents are also theorised as hastening young people's experiences in these domains by encouraging their early exits from home (Flatau et al. 2007; South and Lei 2015).

Cultural and societal norms also play significant roles in young adult's decisions to leave or stay (Roberts et al. 2016). Indeed, South and Lei (2015) found that attitudes and norms may be as important indicators as structural and economic conditions. For example, in the United States, moving interstate to commence university is (not surprisingly) associated with leaving the home (South and Lei 2015), whereas in Australia the majority of people aged 15-34 in fulltime study live with a parent (Flatau et al. 2007).

Returning to the parental home

As noted above, some of the factors associated with young adults staying at home can also enable or trigger returning home after living away. Drawing on the notion of the parental home as a refuge, in Australia Flatau et al. (2007, 55) observe "where people may move between spells of unemployment and short-term jobs, individuals may alternate between the parental home and independent living." Stone, Berrington, and Falkingham (2014) draw a link between unemployment and completing education. From research in the United Kingdom, they found, like others (e.g., Sage, Evandrou and Falkingham 2013), that completing higher education is one of the strongest predictors of returning home The likelihood of returning, however, is further heightened if young adults complete their studies *and* experience unemployment (Stone, Berrington, and Falkingham 2014).

Stone, Berrington, and Falkingham (2014) provide a detailed analysis of the way relationship dissolution constitutes a trigger to returning home, demonstrating the importance of gender and parenting responsibilities in the decision to return.

> For mothers, union dissolution has little effect on the propensity to return to the parental home. Conversely, nonresident fathers are even more likely than nonfathers to return to the parental home following a union dissolution. (Stone, Berrington, and Falkingham 2014, 272)

As Stone, Berrington, and Falkingham (2014) demonstrate, returning home can be a purposeful strategy for achieving other life objectives. Drawing on an English study, Roberts and colleagues (2016) found that returning home after graduation was a deliberate strategy to enable young adults to set up and achieve financial security and broader life objectives.

The parental household composition is also important for the likelihood of young adults returning. South and Lei (2015, 20) found that they "are significantly less likely to move back home if their current family of origin includes a stepparent, and they are significantly more likely to return home if their parents' household includes adult siblings." Moreover, in the same way that closeness to mother predicts staying, being close to one's mother (although not father) predicts returning home (South and Lei 2015).

The significance of individual and cultural drivers of both leaving and returning to the parental home are situated in the structural forces that mediate young people's decisions. Australia has some of the least affordable housing in the world, and similar to places like London and the South-East of England more broadly, the unaffordability of housing shapes whether, and under what conditions, young adults access housing (Fitzpatrick et al. 2016), or

indeed whether they are able to afford home ownership (Hoolachan et al. 2016). In addition to home ownership, Arundel and Ronald (2016) demonstrate how the nature of a country's welfare regime influences the extent of young adult's housing independence. Although Australia has not experienced recent austerity measures and social housing policy change similar to the United Kingdom (not to mention much less social housing stock), unemployment among young people, changes to welfare entitlements and insecurities brought on by the Global Financial Crisis all determine young people's individual decisions about accessing housing (Furlong and Cartmel 2007; Lennartz, Arundel and Ronald 2015). As we demonstrate below, individual and cultural decisions about housing consumption and the meaning people ascribe to their housing are a social product of people's engagement within both family and wider structural systems (Clapham 2002).

Theoretical motivation and conceptual framework

There is no unified theory to explain why adults leave or return home (South and Lei 2015). Life course perspective provides a broad orientating framework for analysing the movement of young adult in and out of the parental home. It recognises that roles and identities evolve and change, and the decision to move out or return to home reflects differential access to resources and opportunities and responses to unanticipated events. Holdsworth and Morgan (2005) conceptualise leaving home as a process involving multiples moves from and returns to the parental dwelling. Leaving home in young adulthood is a turning point in the life course (Stone, Berrington, and Falkingham 2014). Turning points are central to life course perspective, as they focus attention on human agency, and the manner in which young adult's respond to external forces.

On this basis we treat young people's residential independence not as a signifier of adulthood (Tyndall and Christie-Mizell 2016) but rather as part of a broader transition toward adulthood and a diversified life course (Furlong and Cartmel 2007). The importance of the process in the life course instead of the housing outcome is also consistent with Clapham's housing pathways approach (Clapham 2002; Clapham et al. 2014). We recognise that young people ascribe meaning to their housing consumption and mobility, and the meaning they ascribe cannot be readily characterised as 'successful' or 'unsuccessful' signifiers of independence and adulthood. Indeed, the quantitative analysis we present in this article prevents us from engaging with Clapham's analytical model to understand respondents' experiences with housing. We are likewise unable to assess how they make meaning from their housing

transitions. As discussed below we will examine the meaning of, and young adult's experiences with, housing in future qualitative work.

As noted earlier, previous literature has examined empirical links between critical life events, circumstances and relationships that predict leaving home at the early stages of the life course. However, sufficient attention has not been paid to the types of factors that drive young adults' decision-making. Furthermore, the dynamics and complexities of leaving and returning are commonly overlooked by focusing on point-in-time estimates derived from cross-sectional data snapshots. In this paper, we propose a conceptual framework to analyse, from a dynamic perspective, the complex processes that lead to young adult's housing transitions. We use a dynamic lens to observe the drivers of these transitions, both at the familial and individual levels, as well as their outcomes.

Figure 1 presents the conceptual model employed in the paper. We draw on key concepts of the life course perspective to build our model for analysing housing transitions. The life course perspective draws heavily on a dichotomy between stability and change as it attempts to 'understand the continuities as well as the twists and turns in the paths of individual lives' (Hutchison 2015, p.2). We follow this theorising by introducing the distinction between stable and dynamic factors that may drive housing transitions. We also differentiate between factors operating at the individual and family levels. This distinction is important to capture the circumstances that affect young people directly and which they generally have more control over, from those that affect the broader context in which they live and are mostly out of young people's control.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Our key variable of interest describes the living arrangements of young adults at age 21/22, and the trajectories that lead them there. We draw on recent scholars to conceptualise housing trajectories as the consumption of housing and housing circumstances over time (Druta and Ronald 2016; Lennartz, Arundel, and Ronald 2015). Classic literature introduced a "mover-stayer" model useful for analysing residential mobility (Blumen, Kogan, and McCarthy 1955; Speare 1974). While the "mover" group also incorporates those who make multiple moves (Goldstein 1958, 1964), this dynamic aspect of the model has often been overlooked in the literature. Distinguishing between those who only move once, and those who move multiple times is important as the two categories could tap into the difference between achieved stability (after a single move) and ongoing change (for those who continue to move). Given

our interest in studying 'boomeranging' it is also important from the perspective of this paper to establish a separate category for those who initially move out but later return to live with their parents. Such category of 'returners' has been previously used to study mobility of populations (Cebulla et al. 2009).

We therefore propose to extend the theoretical "mover-stayer" model to four categories:

(1) "Stayers" - young adults who have never moved out of home;
(2) "Singular Movers" who left home and never returned;
(3) "Multiple movers" who left and returned home, then left again without returning;
(4) "Returners" who left and returned home without leaving again.

Extending the mover-stayer model in this way offers powerful analytical advantages by introducing opportunities for multiple comparisons. First, we can compare "movers" (groups 2-4) and "stayers" (1). Second, we can make detailed comparisons for different kinds of movers, including comparisons between those who move once (2) and multiple times (3), and those who do not return (2) with those who return at some point (3 and 4). Finally, we are also able to compare those who end up living at home (1 and 4) and those who do not (2 and 3). In other words, this conceptual model allows us to shed new light on the importance of dynamics (such as the number of moves) versus the ultimate position (living in or outside the parental home).

Our conceptual model also clearly distinguishes between different factors that may drive young adult's residential mobility. Specifically, we distinguish factors at the individual level from contextual and family level factors, and differentiate stable and dynamic factors. Table 1 describes the resulting four groups of factors and provides examples for each category.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Our main goal of the paper is to uncover the processes that lead to young adults to transition into independent living and – for some of them – to return to live with their parents. In particular, the paper contributes to the literature by clearly separating the stable factors from the dynamic mechanisms and events that trigger different kinds of residential mobility in young adults.

Data and Methods

The data for this paper are from Waves 1-5 of the Social Futures and Life Pathways ('Our Lives') project, which is a longitudinal cohort survey of young people from Queensland, Australia[2]. This article presents only quantitative data from the research project; we are also currently conducting qualitative research to examine how young adults experience and make meaning from their housing and housing transitions. The broader research project focuses on Queensland in particular for several reasons. First, the average cost of housing (for both rental and owner-occupied households in 2013-14) in Queensland is more typical of Australia as a whole than any other State or territory (ABS 2015a). Similarly, Queensland's growth rate (1.5%) for the same year is also closest to the national average (1.6%), making it Australia's third-fastest growing State (behind Victoria and Western Australia) (ABS 2015b). Much of this growth was concentrated within and around its capital city of Brisbane - a trend likely to be reflected in the housing transitions of its rural youth - but even this pace of urban growth (1.7%) was on par with the national average (1.8%) (ABS 2015b). These data suggest Queensland to be an ideal 'middle-of-the-road' case study for broader extrapolation in the Australian context. Moreover, all respondents in this single-age, single-state cohort study are subject to the same contextual influences of the housing and rental market over the same time-period, which is important given that the supply and cost of housing has varied considerably across Australia's states and territories over the past decade. Finally, by drawing on the Our Lives survey data we are able to access a larger sample and broader range of measures than other longitudinal studies which typically have smaller state-based youth samples and fewer housing-related measures. The survey instrument measures young people's aspirations and experiences in a range of life domains including work, study, relationships and housing, as well as health and social, cultural and political participation.

In 2006, an attempt was made to recruit all Year 8 students (i.e. their first year of secondary schooling, aged 12/13 years) from all 457 secondary schools in Queensland at that time. Access to 71 schools was refused largely due to their participation in other studies. School principals nominated teacher liaisons to assist with collecting consent materials from parents and children, and administering the survey instrument in class. Although this enabled the research to be conducted across the large geographic distances involved, it also placed a logistical burden on schools which likely prevented some from participating. The survey achieved a school-level response rate of 55 per cent (n=213 schools) and a within-school

[2] Although the original cohort was recruited in Queensland, approximately five per cent of respondents were located either elsewhere in Australia or overseas by the time of the Wave 5 survey.

response rate of 34 per cent (n=7,031 students). We have since conducted four follow-up surveys with the same cohort: Wave 2, in the middle of high school (2008, aged 14/15); Wave 3, at the end of high school (2010, aged 16/17); Wave 4, three years after school (2013, aged 19/20); and Wave 5, five years after school (2015, aged 21/22). In these waves participants were contacted directly using contact details they provided during wave 1. The wave-on-wave retention rate for the initial cohort was 52 per cent in wave 2 (n=3,649), 88 per cent in wave 3 (n=3,206), 69 per cent in wave 4 (n=2,206), and 97 per cent in wave 5 (n=2,150). In later waves there has been higher retention of female respondents and those from socioeconomically advantaged backgrounds. However, these rates and patterns of attrition compare favorably to other Australian studies of similar cohorts (Rothman 2009) and we controlled for factors associated with attrition in the multivariate analyses (Winship and Radbill 1994). The survey has employed a multi-method approach consisting of self-completion options (hard copy or online) and Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI)[3].

Dependent variables

As noted earlier, the main dependent variable partitions young people's housing trajectories and outcomes in early adulthood into four main groups: (1) "Stayers"; (2) "Singular Movers"; (3) "Multiple Movers"; and (4) "Returners". It is important to note that this measure accounts for the number of times respondents have left and returned home until the most recent survey collected in 2015 (when participants were aged 21/22). For context, Australian Bureau of Statistics data from 2012-13 indicate that around half (47 percent) of young Australians aged 18-24 had ever left the parental home (ABS 2015c). Yet while most Australians (92 percent) aged 30-34 no longer live with their parents, 27 percent have returned home at least once before leaving permanently (ABS 2009). Over half of the minority still living with parents at this age had also left and returned previously. Therefore, the age period covered in this research reflects an early but important stage in young people's broader transitions toward residential independence. Differences in housing pathway formation and dynamics at this age may have cumulative impacts for young people throughout their housing careers, as well as in interrelated life domains, such as work, partnering, and family formation.

[FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

[3] Since Wave 4 only online and CATI completion options have been provided; in both Waves 4 and 5 around 80 percent of respondents completed online and 20 percent via CATI.

Figure 2 shows that Singular Movers were the most common group (39%) followed by Stayers (34%), Returners (15%) and Multiple Movers (13%). Data from the following three survey items were used to construct our typology measure. First, respondents were asked: "*Which of the following best describes your living situation?*" Responses to a range of options were collapsed into a dichotomous measure indicating whether or not the respondent was currently living at home. Second, respondents were asked: "*Have you ever stopped living with your parents(s) or guardian(s) and moved somewhere else?"* (Yes/No). Finally, respondents were asked: "*Have you ever moved back in with your parent(s) or guardian(s)?* The response options were 1 = "*Yes, I have moved back once*"; 2 = "*Yes, I have moved back multiple times*" 3*= "No, I have not moved back".* The latter two measures differentiate respondents in terms of the trajectories into their current living situations.

Variable selection

Our analysis examines the extent to which several factors predict the housing trajectory of these young adults. The preliminary step of the main analytical stage aimed to reduce the number of predictors in the final model to avoid multicollinearity and to produce a parsimonious model. Four multinomial logistic regression models were estimated, one for each of the four predictor categories (individual-stable; family/relationships-stable; individual-dynamic; family/relationships-dynamic). We decided to retain in the final models predictors that were significant at this preliminary stage, plus the core (stable) individual and family socio-demographic variables. We describe only those variables retained in our final analyses (listed in Table 2).

Independent Variables

Stable individual factors

We examine how young people's housing trajectories vary according to two stable individual factors: gender and geographic remoteness. Gender is controlled with a dummy variable (coded 0 = Male, 1 = Female). Geographic remoteness at Wave 1 (aged 12/13) is included in the analysis by coding respondents' postcodes using the Australian Standard Geographic Classification (ABS 2001).

Stable family context factors

Our analysis also accounts for several characteristics of a respondent's family and relationship context that are relatively stable during the period of their schooling (Waves 1-

3). We measured housing tenure during school in Wave 2 (aged 14/15) by asking respondents if the place they lived most often was owned or rented. In Wave 1, respondents were asked about the number of siblings living with them. This information was used as a baseline measure of respondents' co-resident siblings at the beginning of school. In waves 1-3, we asked respondent's about their parents' education and occupation. While the measures included here are based primarily from Wave 1 data, information from Waves 2 or 3 is used in cases where earlier data was missing or unknown[4]. Parental education level is coded ordinally from 1 to 4: 1=Less than Year 12/Unknown; 2= Finished Year 12; 3=Vocational qualification; 4=University degree or higher. Responses to an open-ended parental occupation question were dichotomously coded as 1 = Managerial and professional occupations, 0=All other occupations.

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

The extent to which young people feel supported by key social and familial relationships, and how these relationships influence their decision-making, may help explain their housing trajectories. In Waves 1-3, respondents were asked: "*How confident are you that the following people won't let you down?*" The final analysis included measures for the following people: friends, best friend, and teachers. Responses on a scale of 1 to 5 (1= "*Not at all confident*"; 5 = "*Very confident*") were averaged across the three waves for each of these items. These averages intend to capture an underlying 'baseline' level of confidence, as opposed to temporal variations. Respondents were also asked: "*How much do the following people influence your decisions about your future?*" Items for the following people were retained in the final models: Father or male carer, mother or female carer, grandparents, and friends. The possible response options were coded as follows: "*Never*" = 0; "*To some extent*" = 1; "*A lot*" = 2; "*Not applicable*" = missing. Based on this, individual scores ranging 0-2 were averaged across the three waves for each of the items, again, resulting in stable 'baseline' scores for the levels of influence. If data on either the confidence or influence items were missing at any given wave, for that wave respondents were assigned the mean of their scores from the other available waves.

Dynamic individual factors

[4] After this imputation occurred, relatively small percentages of unknown or missing data remained on parental education (around 2% for mothers and 4% for fathers) and parental occupation (2% each for mothers and fathers). These cases are included in the 'Less than Year 12/Unknown' category for parental education and the 'All other occupations' category for parental occupation.

Table 2 (right-hand side columns) displays those individual variables which are included in the analysis as dynamic or time-dependent factors relating to housing trajectories and outcomes. The age at which a respondent first began working is an important measure of financial autonomy that may be correlated with residential independence. In Waves 2-5 respondents were asked if they were employed, and this information was used to flag the first survey wave (and corresponding age) in which they reported employment of any kind: (1) Aged 14/15; (2) Aged 16/17; (3) Aged 19/20; (4) Aged 21/22; (5) Never worked. As housing transitions often coincide with participation in post-compulsory education, we include a measure of whether respondents current study status (1 = Still studying; 2 = Studied, completed; 3 = Studied, has not completed; 4 = No post-secondary study).

The relationship between young people's housing trajectories and a range of individual life events was also considered. In Waves 3 and 4 respondents were asked: "*Have the following events ever happened to you*?" Of all the life events considered, only three were significantly correlated with housing outcomes in the final models: "*Broke up with a boyfriend or girlfriend"* (by Wave 3); "*Got in trouble at school"* (by Wave 3); "*Began living with a partner (e.g. boyfriend or girlfriend)"* (by Wave 4).

Given the prevalence of social norms positioning residential independence as a prerequisite for marriage and family formation, young people's housing and partnering transitions are likely to be interrelated. Respondents were asked about their relationship status in Waves 4 and 5. To model basic changes in their relationship status between these two waves, respondents were grouped in categories depending on whether or not they were in a relationship at either wave: (1) "Stable single"; (2) "Partnership began"; (3) "Partnership ended"; (4) "Stable partnered"; (5) "Missing".

Dynamic family context factors

Table 2 also lists the dynamic measures of family and relationship context accounted for in the analysis. Events involving respondents' parents or carers, such as union dissolution and re-partnering, can alter the composition and relationship dynamics within respondents' households in ways that affect their residential trajectories. In Waves 1-3, respondents were asked about their family living arrangement. This information was used to construct a cross-wave parental union variable with the following categories: (1) "Stable couple": where a union between two parents (or a parent and step parent) persisted across waves 1-3; (2) "Dissolved": where such a union was present in wave 1 but not in waves 2 or 3; (3) "Stable

lone/other": where respondents lived with a single parent, or in some 'other' arrangement, across waves 1-3; (4) "Re-partnered": where there was a single parent/'other' arrangement in wave 1 and a union was present by wave 2 or 3.

We also accounted for changes across Waves 1-3 in the relationship confidence and influence measures identified in the previous section. To achieve this, change score variables for each of these measures were generated using the difference between confidence and influence scores at Wave 1 and Wave 3. These measures capture the dynamic aspect of those factors, complementing the stable, baseline measures of relationship confidence and influence derived earlier.

Analytic approach

Our main analytic aim is to illustrate the key stable and dynamic characteristics associated with the identified housing trajectories and subsequent outcomes. It involves estimating a series of multinomial logistic regression models with housing situation as the dependent variable and groups of independent variables from the four categories identified earlier (individual and family static factors, and individual and family dynamic factors) included as predictors in the models. Table 4 present odds ratios with the Stayers group as the reference category for the dependent variable. We estimate the final model in two stages, beginning with stable factors, before incorporating dynamic factors in the second stage. However, as an initial step, we first inspect a range of outcomes in young people at the age of 21/22 (Wave 5 of the Our Lives survey) to check how they correlate with housing trajectories, and outcomes, as captured by our key variable of interest (Table 3).

Results

Correlates of housing outcomes at age 21/22

Table 3 presents mean values (or percentages) for a broad range of indicators capturing employment and income, relationship status and health and wellbeing in young people depending on their housing outcomes and trajectories that took them there.

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

The results highlight significant differences across a range of outcomes between young people who never left home, those who moved out and did not return, those who moved out after multiple episodes of leaving and returning, and those who returned to stay with their

parents. Despite no evidence of differences in employment status (all groups are as likely to be in employment at age 21/22), there are significant variations in the number of hours worked, with young people living outside the parental home (both single and multiple movers) working longer hours (28 and 27 hours per week respectively) than those who never moved out, or those who returned (24 and 22 hours). The differences in income levels between the groups show an even more complex pattern. In particular, singular movers are the most likely of all groups to report higher incomes (over $40,000 per year), significantly more likely than Multiple Movers and Stayers, while Returners are least likely to report higher incomes.

Young people with different housing trajectories and outcomes at age 21/22 also significantly differ in their relationship status. Compared with those who live with their parents, those who moved out (both Singular and Multiple Movers) are much more likely to be married/cohabiting, and less likely to be single. On the other hand, both Stayers and Returners are more likely than other groups to describe their relationship as serious and committed, indicating that many of them might be at the cusp of transitioning into cohabitation or marriage. Similar proportions of respondents in all four groups reported being in a casual or 'other' type of relationship.

Finally, there are several relatively small and borderline significant differences between the four groups with respect to their psychological, health and wellbeing outcomes. Psychological mastery, or the extent to which one's life chances are perceived to be under one's control, is measured using the Pearlin Mastery scale, where a higher score indicates a greater sense of agency (Pearlin and Schooler 1978). Psychological distress is measured using the shortened six-item version of the Kessler Psychological Distress scale, where a higher indicates higher distress (Furukawa et al. 2002). Those who made a single transition moving out of home score higher on the mastery scale, compared with Stayers and Returners; they also report lowest levels of psychological distress, and highest levels of happiness. Returners appear to be at the other end of the spectrum, with lowest reported happiness and mastery, and highest levels of psychological distress. Those who made multiple transitions in and out of home also report high level of distress, despite reasonably high reported levels of mastery and happiness.

Taken together, these associations paint complex picture of the differences between groups of young people who went through different housing trajectories at an early age. In the

multivariate analysis below, we estimate a series of statistical models to unveil the key contextual and individual factors driving young adults' housing trajectories and outcomes.

Multinomial Regression Analyses

Table 4 displays results from regression models predicting the odds of being in each of three categories of home leavers, relative to being in the reference category of Stayers. The coefficients are presented as relative risk ratios, which may be interpreted as the expected change in odds of being a certain type of home leaver (as opposed to being a Stayer) associated with a one unit change in the predictor, net of all other covariates in the model.

Model 1: Stable individual & family context factors

Model 1 regresses these housing outcomes on the final set of static individual and family context variables. Most notably, respondents living outside an urban area at the start of high school (aged 12/13) were more likely than those living in major cities to have left home at least once by the age of 21/22. For instance, respondents living in inner and outer regional areas were around four to five times likelier to be Singular Movers rather than Stayers, and around six to seven times likelier to be Multiple Movers rather than Stayers. The relative odds of respondents from remote areas belonging in these same categories, rather than remaining at home, rose to fourteen and eighteen times those of urban respondents. By contrast, geographic remoteness was notably weaker in differentiating Stayers from Returners. Overall, these associations indicate that while young people from nonurban areas are much more likely to move out, rather than stay at home, they are relatively less likely to return. Female respondents were also 40 per cent likelier than males to be Multiple Movers rather than Stayers, suggesting that young women's pathways out of home may be more protracted or circuitous in nature than their male counterparts.

Several family background factors, including housing tenure, number of siblings, and parental occupation and education, were weakly correlated with respondents' housing trajectories. This suggests that, after accounting for the stable individual and family context measures in the model, young people are equally likely have moved out of home by age 21/22 irrespective of their family's composition and socioeconomic resources.

Several measures of relationship confidence and influence were, however, associated with the housing outcomes measure. Overall, having an 'anchor' where the young person lives, as evidenced by high confidence in friends and teachers, and strong influences from parents and grandparents, makes the young person less likely to move out, rather than stay at home.

Specifically, young people who displayed higher confidence in their friends generally were less likely to be Singular Movers or Returners rather than Stayers. Those who had higher confidence in their teachers during school also had lower odds of being in any of the mover categories. There were also signs that the influence of relatives lowered the odds of respondents leaving home: those who attributed higher levels of influence to their fathers or grandparents were less likely to be Singular Movers rather than Stayers.

A notable exception to this pattern appears to be the role of close friends. Specifically, respondents who expressed higher levels of confidence in their best friend during school were more likely to be Singular Movers or Returners than they were to be Stayers. In addition, those who indicated high level of influence by friends[5], which is likely to be tantamount with the influences by closest friends, were likelier to leave home rather than staying put.

[TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Model 2: Dynamic individual and family context factors

Model 2 incorporates the final set of dynamic individual and family context factors; the pseudo R^2 increased to 12 per cent. Generally speaking, the younger respondents were when they began working, the more likely they were to have left home by the age of 21/22. The age of labour market entry was particularly important in differentiating Stayers from Singular Movers. For instance, when compared against respondents who were working by age 14/15, those who started work in the past two years, or have never worked, were around half as likely to be Singular Movers rather than Stayers. Later entrants to the labour market were also less likely to be Multiple Movers or Returners relative to Stayers (although these associations varied in significance).

Of all the early life events examined, only those pertaining to relationship dynamics significantly correlated with housing outcomes in the final models. Having broken up with a partner by wave 3 (aged 16/17) was associated with higher chances of currently residing out of home (e.g. as either a Singular or Multiple Mover). Understandably, entering into cohabitation was a major determinant of home leaving. Living with a partner by wave 4 (aged 19/20) meant that a respondent was six times likelier to be a Singular Mover rather than a Stayer, as well as seven times likelier to be a Returner, and nine times likelier to be a Multiple Mover. Residential trajectories also appeared to be intertwined with later changes in

[5] The influence question was asked with relation to ‘friends’ in general, without specifically distinguishing ‘best friends’.

partnering status (between ages 19/20 and 21/22). Those who began a new relationship or continued an existing relationship during this period were around 75 per cent more likely to be Singular Movers than Stayers by the end of that period. Remaining partnered across this period also meant that a respondent was around half as likely to be a Returners than to be Stayers. Meanwhile, ending a relationship during this period does not appear to increase the odds of returning home. While these results suggest that partnership formation in early adulthood is a catalyst for transitions into residential independence, there is no sign that partnership dissolution is a hindrance to such transitions once they were underway.

Several developments in families and relationships were important for housing outcomes. Specifically, changes in respondents' family arrangements affected their housing outcomes. Compared to those whose parents remained together while they were in school (i.e. waves 1 - 3) those whose parents separated were around twice as likely to leave home. Of the three home leaver categories, the relative risk ratio is highest for Returners who left home and subsequently moved back, followed by Multiple Movers and Singular Movers. Young people whose parents were already separated, but then re-partnered during school, had higher odds of being Multiple Movers rather than Stayers. If respondents had fewer siblings living at home in wave 3 than in wave 1, which is typically associated with an older sibling leaving home, this increased the odds of being Singular Movers.

Changes in the extent to which certain relationships influenced respondents during school affected their housing outcomes in a way broadly consistent with the patterns identified in the 'stable factors' model. Increases in the influence of parents could be read as indicative of increasing the chances of young person staying, or returning, although the patterns appear to be more complex than in the case of the stable contextual factors. Specifically, if a mother's influence increased over time, this decreased the odds of respondents being Singular Movers or Returners, as opposed to staying. On the other hand, increases in father's influence increase the relative chances of being a Returner.

As with the stable factors, close friendship ties appear to work in the opposite direction to the family ties. If the influence of friends increased between waves 1 and 3, the chances of being a Singular Mover rather than a Stayer also increased significantly. Accounting for the dynamic individual and family context factors in Model 2 affected several of the earlier relationships from Model 1. In particular, the role of mother's education and occupation became significant. Respondents whose mothers were in managerial or professional

occupations were more likely to have left home by the age of 21/22 than those whose mothers were in other (lower) occupations. These respondents had increased odds of being Singular Movers, and even higher odds of being Multiple Movers or Returners, relative to Stayers. In terms of education, two new associations emerged. Compared to those with tertiary-educated mothers, respondents whose mothers only completed school were less likely to be Singular Movers rather than Stayers, and respondents with vocationally educated mothers were likelier to be Multiple Movers than Stayers.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our goal has been to examine the factors influencing residential mobility in early adulthood, by analysing longitudinal data from a large cohort of young Australians now aged 21/22. Employing a conceptual framework informed by life course perspective, the analysis differentiated between influences on youth housing transitions which operate at the family and individual level, and which range from more stable to more dynamic in nature.

The paper directly contributes to, and extends, recent literature on young people's housing transitions (e.g. Clapham et al. 2014; Druta and Ronald 2016; Hoolachan et al. 2016; Lennartz, Arundel and Ronald 2016; Lewis and West 2016). The main contribution of the paper is through introducing, and empirically testing, a conceptual framework that assesses the relative importance of four sets of factors mapped onto two dimensions: stable vs. dynamic, and individual vs. family. This conceptual framework not only considers the extent to which different mechanisms affect young people's housing transitions, but also the extent to which these mechanisms can be influenced by young people themselves and the decisions they make. The empirical evidence presented in the paper provides us with important insights about the relative relevance of these processes, as well as the nuanced ways in which they interact with one another.

In terms of the stable individual factors, geographic location strongly predicts young people's housing trajectories. These results are consistent with earlier Australian research showing that living in a major city tends to delay leaving home (ABS 2009; Flateau et al. 2007). Such findings have previously been attributed to the relatively higher cost of housing in capital cities (Flateau et al. 2007) and this almost certainly remains the case amid more recent evidence of declining housing affordability in Australia (Burke, Stone and Ralston 2014). However, our analysis also finds that young people from regional and remote areas who left home remained out of home at the age of 21/22. This trend toward earlier residential

independence may reflect a ‘tyranny of distance’ unique to the Australian context. In many areas, rural young people have little choice but to move further afield, despite the higher cost, in order to secure a job or find a romantic partner, to further their studies, or to have a more ‘cosmopolitan’ lifestyle. As Gabriel (2006) demonstrates, young adults moving from rural to urban areas of Australia may access housing and other opportunities not available in rural Australia, but migration also means that young adults can feel social distances and threats to identities that moving away from rural areas represents. Indeed, young adults’ desires and aspirations to migrate to urban centres can be driven, not only be housing and resources, but also cultural constructions of place and identities about achieving a lifestyle and identity not perceived to be available in rural or remote areas (Easthope and Gabriel 2008).

Young people’s residential mobility is also affected by their relationships with family and social networks during school. Those who feel they can rely on broader friendship networks and teachers for support, and who are strongly influenced by family members, are more likely to remain at home. Changes over time further reinforce the salience of these ‘anchoring’ relationships. Similar to South and Lei (2015) who observed that emotional closeness to one’s mother decreased young adults’ odds of leaving home, we find that increases in mother’s influence during school made leaving home less likely. Mother’s occupation - and to a lesser extent, education - were the only family resource measures predicting young people’s housing outcomes, and these appear to add another dimension to the ‘anchoring’ influences identified above. Young people whose mothers were in managerial or professional occupations, and who were tertiary educated, were most likely to leave home, but were also likelier to be amongst Returners and Multiple Movers. This is consistent with the greater material support and assistance young people from advantaged backgrounds receive in order to pursue their housing aspirations (Druta and Arundel 2015). Increases in father’s influence during school, though not important for leaving home, did increase the likelihood of returning home – a reminder that the support (including the ‘standing invitation’ to return home) provided during this time remains conditional on the quality of relationships between parents and their children (Jones 1995).

There was one possible exception to these ‘anchoring’ forces, in the form of peer relationships. The more young people feel they can rely on close friendship ties, and the more strongly their friends influence them, the more likely they are to leave home. We offer three explanations for such a finding. First, it seems plausible that many of these earlier, influential friendships may be precursors to future romantic, and ultimately cohabiting, relationships.

Second, for young people who do not envisage cohabiting with a relationship partner, moving in and sharing housing costs with a close friend may be a more appealing reason for leaving home than sharing accommodation with more distant acquaintances or strangers. Third, in addition to these practical benefits, young people with strong friendship ties are likelier to feel more socially secure during the transition out of the parental home.

What is clear in such explanations, and from the broader findings, is that dynamic factors (i.e. changes or events) are of equal or even greater importance than stable factors when accounting for young people's housing trajectories. Consistent with the view that moving in and out of the parental home is part of the broader transition into independence (Furlong and Cartmel 2007), rather than a signifier of adulthood in itself, three types of developments served as important catalysts for young peoples' housing transitions. First, young people who entered new partnerships were much likelier to leave home (in particular when they begin cohabiting). However, there was no sign that partnership dissolution increased their chances of returning home - in fact, breaking up with a girlfriend or boyfriend during school was associated with increased, rather than decreased, odds of leaving home. Second, the earlier young people began working, the more likely they were to move out without returning. Given the high costs associated with living independently from parents, it is understandable that many young people regard achieving financial independence as a key prerequisite for residential independence. Lastly, consistent with previous research on family characteristics and relationship conflict, parental union dissolution was an important trigger for young Australians leaving home (ABS 2009; Jones 1995).

By enabling us to assess the relative importance of these distinct kinds of influences, our conceptual framework provides a useful point of departure for explaining how factors within and beyond young people's control jointly shape their housing and broader life pathways over time. For instance, the earlier home departures of young people due to factors mostly beyond their control, such as living rurally or having less supportive family, may also hasten their entries into other arrangements necessary for maintaining residential independence, such as full-time work and residential cohabitation. As well as more often being married or cohabiting, singular movers at this age (21/22) are earlier labour market entrants who work longer hours and earn more than their peers. There is a subjective sense of achievement associated with this group, as demonstrated by their higher mastery and happiness, consistent with having earned their independence. Yet such a trajectory is also less compatible with young people's participation in education and training, which may in the longer-term affect

their chances of gaining the highly skilled, well-paid employment needed to support their home ownership ambitions, or even to guarantee the security and quality of their housing as they begin to have families of their own. Many singular movers may have chosen not to embark on such early transitions had they grown up in an urban area, supported by various 'anchoring' relationships, enabling them to move more strategically between living in and out of home depending on their work, study and partnering arrangements.

Further tracking of respondents' housing pathways over subsequent waves of the Our Lives project will enable us to determine whether such factors are as important for sustaining young people's longer-term residential independence as they have been in shaping their early housing trajectories. Future studies should attempt to cross-validate the findings presented here using different datasets and focusing on different national or cultural contexts. Moreover, qualitative research is needed to understand the meaning young adults ascribe to their housing transitions and the decisions they make about housing consumption. By undertaking such research with the Our Lives cohort in the near future, we hope to add greater depth to the findings presented here.

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Figure 1. Conceptual model of the drivers and outcomes of housing transitions among young adults

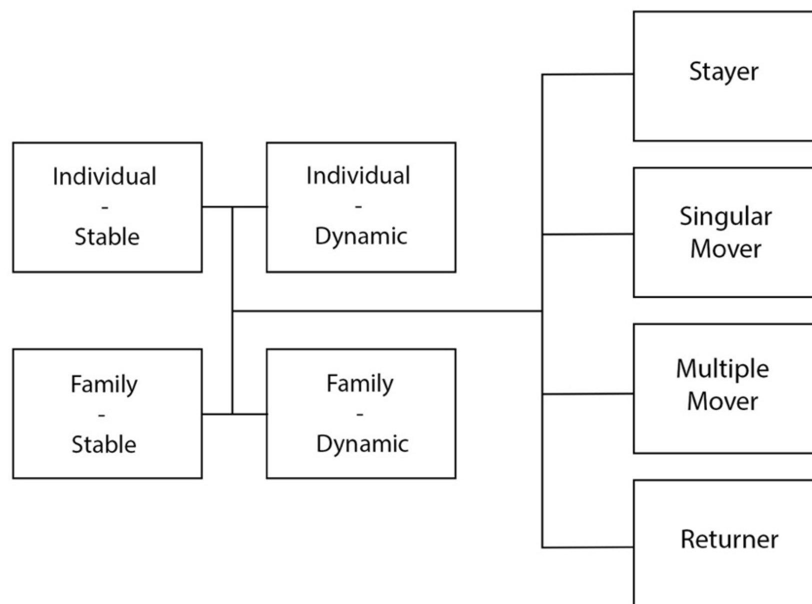

Figure 2: Overall distribution of four main housing trajectory/outcome groups

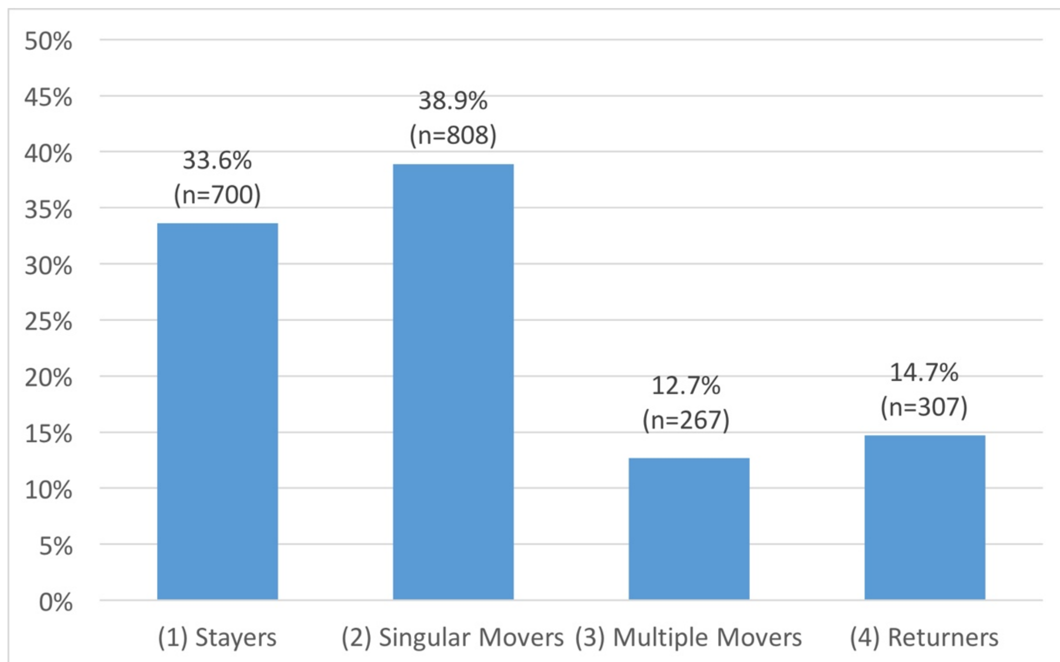

Table 1: Conceptual model of factors influencing residential mobility

	Stable factors[6]	**Dynamic factors**
Individual	*Individual fixed or stable characteristics* (examples gender; ethnicity)	*Factors that change through individual actions of young adults, or events that happen to them* (examples: relationship formation and dissolution; employment and educational trajectories)
Family/context	*Factors that describe family background and other stable or long-term characteristics that are out of individual control* (examples: parental education; tenure status)	*Contextual factors that change over time, largely out of young person's control or events that affect family members* (examples: changes to family income/employment situation; changes to health of family members)

[6] In our analysis, some factors that can change, but which remain relatively stable over time period in which they were measured (e.g. parental education and occupation), are treated as stable background factors

Table 2: Summary statistics for key analytic variables

Stable factors	N	%/Mean (SD)	Dynamic factors	N	%/Mean (SD)
Individual			***Individual***		
Gender			*Age First Started Working*		
Male (Ref.)	747	35.9	Age 14/15 (Ref.)	908	43.6
Female	1,335	64.1	Age 16/17	459	22.1
Geographic Region (12/13^)			Age 19/20	387	18.6
Urban (Ref.)	1,446	69.5	Age 21/22	216	10.4
Inner Regional	373	17.9	Never worked	112	5.4
Outer Regional	212	10.2	*Study Status (21/22)*		
Remote	51	2.5	Still studying (Ref.)	673	32.3
			Studied, completed	840	40.4
Family/Context			Studied, hasn't completed	297	14.3
Household tenure (14/15)			No post-secondary study	272	13.1
Owned (Ref.)	1,839	88.3	*Life events*		
Rented	179	8.6	Broke up w/ bf./gf. (16/17)	1,022	49.1
No info	64	3.1	In trouble at school (16/17)	1,075	51.6
Siblings at home (12/13)			Began cohabiting (19/20)	293	14.1
No siblings (Ref.)	212	10.2	*Partnership status (19/20 - 21/22)*		
1 sibling	949	45.6	Stable single (Ref.)	597	28.7
2 siblings	655	31.5	Partnership began	405	19.5
3+ siblings	266	12.8	Partnership ended	125	6.0
Father's occupation (12/13)			Stable partnered	545	26.2
Other occupations (Ref.)	937	45.0	Missing	410	19.7
Managers/Professionals	1,145	55.0			
Mother's occupation (12/13)			***Family/Context***		
Other occupations (Ref.)	1,052	50.5	*Parental Union Status (12/13 - 16/17)*		
Managers/Professionals	1,030	49.5	Stable couple (Ref.)	1,542	74.1
Father's education (12/13)			Dissolved	116	5.6
Bach. degree or higher (Ref.)	793	38.5	Stable lone/other	191	9.2
Vocational (trade/certificate)	550	26.3	Repartnered	170	8.2
Year 12	406	19.5	Missing	63	3.0
Less than Y12 / Don't know	333	16.0	*Siblings at home (12/13 - 16/17)*		
Mother's education (12/13)			No change	1,649	79.2
Bach. degree or higher (Ref.)	903	43.6	More siblings	86	4.1
Vocational (trade/certificate)	309	14.8	Less siblings	347	16.7
Year 12	553	26.3	*Relationship influence (12/13 - 16/17)*		
Less than Y12 / Don't know	317	15.3	Friends (Diff)		-0.2 (0.8)
Avg. conf. in relationships (12/13 - 16/17)			Mother (Diff)	2,082	-0.1 (0.7)
Best Friend (1-5)		4.3 (0.6)	Father (Diff)		-0.1 (0.7)
Teachers (1-5)	2,082	3.5 (0.7)			
Friends (1-5)		3.8 (0.6)			
Avg. influence of relationships (12/13 - 16/17)					
Father (0-2)		1.5 (0.5)			
Mother (0-2)	2,082	1.6 (0.4)			
Grandparents (0-2)		0.8 (0.5)			
Friends (0-2)		1.1 (0.5)			

^ Wave 1 = Age 12/13; Wave 2 = Age 14/15; Wave 3 = Age 16/17; Wave 4 = Age 19/20; Wave 5 = Age 21/22.

Table 3: Mean differences on various outcomes, by housing trajectory group

	Mean (%)	Std. Err.	[95% CI]	
Employed				
Stayer#	0.83	0.01	0.81	0.86
Singular mover	0.83	0.01	0.81	0.86
Multiple mover	0.82	0.02	0.77	0.86
Returner	0.81	0.02	0.77	0.85
Hours worked (by those employed)				
Stayer	23.91	0.73	22.48	25.34
Singular mover	28.11***	0.74	26.66	29.56
Multiple mover	27.17*	1.45	24.33	30.10
Returner	22.43	1.14	20.20	24.66
Income > $40K				
Stayer	0.31	0.18	0.28	0.35
Singular mover	0.42***	0.18	0.38	0.45
Multiple mover	0.32	0.29	0.26	0.38
Returner	0.24*	0.25	0.19	0.29
Married/cohabiting (%)				
Stayer	0.05	0.01	0.03	0.07
Singular mover	0.41***	0.02	0.37	0.44
Multiple mover	0.34***	0.03	0.28	0.39
Returner	0.08	0.02	0.05	0.11
Serious, committed relationship (%)				
Stayer	0.33	0.02	0.30	0.37
Singular mover	0.16***	0.01	0.13	0.18
Multiple mover	0.13***	0.02	0.09	0.17
Returner	0.30	0.03	0.25	0.35
Casual/other relationship (%)				
Stayer	0.11	0.01	0.09	0.14
Singular mover	0.11	0.01	0.09	0.13
Multiple mover	0.13	0.02	0.10	0.18
Returner	0.13	0.02	0.09	0.17
Single				
Stayer	0.50	0.02	0.47	0.54
Singular mover	0.33***	0.02	0.29	0.36
Multiple mover	0.40***	0.03	0.34	0.46
Returner	0.49	0.03	0.43	0.55
Happiness (1-10)				
Stayer#	7.37	0.61	7.25	7.49
Singular mover	7.51^	0.56	7.40	7.62
Multiple mover	7.39	0.11	7.18	7.61
Returner	7.15^	0.10	6.95	7.35
Mastery (5-35)				
Stayer	27.10	0.16	26.79	27.40
Singular mover	27.83***	0.14	27.55	28.11
Multiple mover	27.42	0.26	26.90	27.94
Returner	27.05	0.25	26.56	27.54
Psychological distress (5-30)				
Stayer	11.48	0.15	11.20	11.77
Singular mover	11.24	0.13	10.99	11.49
Multiple mover	11.96^	0.26	11.45	12.48
Returner	11.97^	0.23	11.51	12.42

Stayer = reference category for significance tests of mean differences

^ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4: Multinomial regression results predicting odds of housing trajectory/outcome (Reference = Stayers)

	Singular Movers		**Multiple movers**		**Returners**	
	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 1*	*Model 2*	*Model 1*	*Model 2*
Individual – Stable						
Male (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Female	1.23	1.12	1.40*	1.36	1.30	1.31
Geographic Region (12/13^)						
Urban (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Inner Regional	4.69***	4.91***	6.95***	6.98***	2.16***	2.30***
Outer Regional	4.47***	4.00***	6.22***	5.05***	1.46	1.27
Remote	14.33***	18.81***	17.91***	20.42***	5.98*	7.52**
Family – Stable						
Household tenure (14/15)						
Owned (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Rented	1.45	1.20	1.40	1.18	1.37	1.17
No info	0.63	0.53	0.83	0.33	0.59	0.47
No. of siblings at home (12/13)						
No siblings (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1 sibling	0.93	0.87	1.06	0.89	1.22	1.15
2 siblings	1.07	1.02	1.11	0.97	1.32	1.29
3+ siblings	0.96	0.77	1.23	0.94	1.49	1.37
Father's occupation (12/13)						
Other occupations (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Managers/Professionals	1.05	1.09	0.94	0.98	0.93	0.98
Mother's occupation (12/13)						
Other occupations (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Managers/Professionals	1.17	1.35*	1.36	1.60**	1.27	1.46*
Father's education (12/13)						
Bach. degree or higher (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Vocational (trade/certificate)	1.11	1.00	0.75	0.70	0.89	0.85
Year 12	0.82	0.81	0.87	0.87	0.93	0.95
Less than Year 12 / Don't know	0.80	0.82	0.72	0.71	0.64	0.66
Mother's education (12/13)						
Bach. degree or higher (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Vocational (trade/certificate)	1.09	1.11	1.56	1.62*	0.76	0.75
Year 12	0.75	0.74*	0.87	0.85	0.84	0.79
Less than Year 12 / Don't know	0.89	0.80	0.98	0.87	1.16	1.03
Avg. confidence in relationships (12/13 - 16/17)						
Friends	0.76*	0.76	0.92	0.95	0.57**	0.59**
Teachers	0.80**	0.90	0.68**	0.79	0.82	0.91
Best Friend	1.37*	1.22	1.25	1.10	1.55**	1.45*
Avg. influence of relationships (12/13 - 16/17)						
Father	0.74*	0.86	0.74	0.88	0.73	0.84
Mother	0.88	0.99	0.94	1.09	1.02	1.18
Grandparents	0.66***	0.60***	0.87	0.76	1.00	0.91
Friends	1.33*	1.17	1.49*	1.29	1.42*	1.24
Individual – Dynamic						
Age first started work						
Age 14/15 (Ref.)		1.00		1.00		1.00
Age 16/17		0.73*		0.76		0.87
Age 19/20		0.64**		0.52**		0.70

Age 21/22		0.53**		0.83		0.49**
Never worked		0.50**		0.45*		0.57
Study Status (21/22)						
Still studying (Ref.)		1.00		1.00		1.00
Studied, completed		1.17		0.98		1.04
Studied, hasn't completed		1.26		1.46		1.40
No postsecondary study		0.90		0.84		0.88
Life events						
Broke up w/ boyfr./girlfr. (16/17)		1.44**		1.80***		1.31
In trouble at school (16/17)		1.06		1.17		1.35
Began living w/ partner (19/20)		5.55***		8.76***		7.24***
Family – Dynamic						
Parental Union Status (12/13 - 16/17)						
Stable couple (Ref.)		1.00		1.00		1.00
Dissolved		1.94*		2.37*		2.74**
Stable lone/other		1.54		1.21		1.48
Repartnered		1.45		1.84*		1.71
Missing		2.16		5.65*		2.31
No. of siblings at home (12/13 - 16/17)						
No change		1.00		1.00		1.00
More siblings		0.64		0.59		0.52
Less siblings		1.44*		1.42		0.91
Partnership status (19/20 - 21/22)						
Stable single (Ref.)		1.00		1.00		1.00
Partnership began		1.77***		1.41		1.39
Partnership ended		1.40		1.49		1.19
Stable partnered		1.73***		0.92		0.56**
Missing		3.21***		2.82***		1.97**
Relationship influence (12/13 - 16/17)						
Mother's Influence (Diff)		0.80*		0.95		0.67**
Father's Influence (Diff)		0.99		0.95		1.37*
Friends' Influence (Diff)		1.19*		1.22		1.12
Observations	2082	2082	2082	2082	2082	2082
Pseudo R^2	0.066	0.122	0.066	0.122	0.066	0.122

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

^ Wave 1 = Age 12/13; Wave 2 = Age 14/15; Wave 3 = Age 16/17; Wave 4 = Age 19/20; Wave 5 = Age 21/22.