Failure to Launch? Exits from and Returns to the Parental Home among Emerging Adults in the U.S.

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Introduction

Economic and social trends at the macro level have widespread implications for American family life. Most notably, the stubbornly high unemployment rate and slow pace of economic recovery in recent years is thought to have translated into widespread disadvantages for young adults in the job market (Smeeding, Thompson, Levanon & Bural, 2011). As a result fewer young adults are heading their own households and a rising share are co-residing in their parental home (Bell, Burtless, Gornick & Smeeding, 2007; Morgan, Cumberworth & Wimer, 2011), which in turn has increased the economic and emotional costs of parenthood (Furstenberg, 2010). A recent report from the Pew Foundation finds that about 30% of young adults aged 25–34 lived with their parents at some point during the Great Recession, and 24% of 18–34 year olds returned to their parental home during this period after living apart, due to economic conditions (Pew Social Trends, 2011). Using U.S. Census data, others find that compared to 2006, young adults in 2009 were significantly more likely to be living with their parents, and this occurred for all SES groups considered (Morgan, Cumberworth & Wimer, 2011).

The combination of increased post-secondary schooling, delays in family formation, and a decline in economic opportunities for young adults in general has resulted in heightened research focus on the young adult period of the life course, which is now commonly referred to

as emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000). A key developmental task of emerging adulthood is the exploration and formation of one's identity (Arnett 2004; Arnett et al. 2011). Although little is known about the role of residential mobility and migration in forming one's identity during emerging adulthood, leaving the parental home and establishing independence is considered one of the key life events experienced during emerging adulthood (Arnett 2000; DeMarco & Berzin 2008; Sassler, Ciambone & Benway, 2008). Prior studies find that most American youth leave their parental home in their late teens or early twenties after finishing high school (Goldschneider & Goldschneider 1994). For several years after moving out of the parental home, they live alone or with friends or partners while in part relying on parents emotionally and economically (Goldschneider & Goldschneider 1994; Garasky, Haurin, & Haurin 2001). Through these living arrangement experiences, young adults learn economic and emotional independence from their parents and prepare to take full responsibility as an adult (Garasky, Haurin, & Haurin 2001). Thus, the rise in co-residence with parents suggest a shift in the typical living arrangement experiences of emerging adults and signals a need for studies that prospectively examine exits from and returns to the parental home among a recent cohort of young adults to better understand this process. *Prospective studies are necessary because current studies on coresidence with parents rely on cross-sectional data (*Pew Social Trends, 2011; Morgan, Cumberworth & Wimer, 20), *and so we really don't know how emerging adults experience exist from and returns to the parental home, if delayed exits from the parental home and increased returns are more common features of the life course for today's emerging adults, or if these experiences differ significantly from those of an earlier cohort of young adults.*

Theoretical Framework

Life course theories of human development inform our thinking about how significant period effects that occur during important stages of human development can shape outcomes related to residence, work, schooling and family formation (Elder, 1974). Indeed, one of the central themes of life course theory is the recognition that historical time and place shapes life course trajectories across multiple domains of human developmental (Elder, 1998). Numerous empirical studies demonstrate how periods of historical economic crisis can both constrain and provide opportunities for people to exercise their aspirations in reaching their life goals (Elder, 1974; Shanahan, Elder & Miech, 1997; Shanahan, Miech & Elder, 1998).

Emerging adulthood is a critical period of human development when some of the most salient life events related to future status attainment occur. One of the key features of the emerging adult period is a sense of instability that occurs largely as a result of frequent residential changes (Arnett, 2007). Indeed, residential change is a part of the process through which emerging adults grow from a dependent adolescent to an independent adult; a process referred to as recentering (Tanner, 2007). Independent living, nonmarital cohabitation, an dliving with roommates are common and also typically short-term episodes that arguably provide emerging adults with life experiences that help them learn how to become an independent adult (Arnett, 2007).

The Current Study

Despite the numerous studies mentioned above, we don't have empirical evidence about the *dynamics* of co-residence with parents during the emerging adult period on a recent sample of emerging adults in the United States. Recent estimates of living with parents rely on cross-sectional data and time-series designs that provide only snapshots of the prevalence of living in the parental home (see Furstenberg, 2011; Pew Social Trends, 2011; Morgan et al., 2011) and do not specifically examine delayed exits from the parental home or returns among those who exit. Moreover, few of the existing studies that do examine delayed exits from the home (see Sassler et al., 2008 and Settersten, 1998), also examine return events. An exception is Goldscheider, Goldscheider, St Claire and Hodges (1999) who document changes in the prevalence of returning home in early adulthood between 1925 and 1985 in the United States. Using retrospective data from the NSFH, they find that nearly 50% of those who exit the parental home will eventually return home in a process referred to as "circular migration" (Goldscheider et al., 1999, p. 713). They also find that while home leaving is tied to life course events, returns are not, and can be best explained by the age at home leaving. More recent cohorts of young adults experience varied routes out of the parental home (via schooling, independent living and cohabitation) that are considered less permanent states, at least compared to marriage, and should result in a rise in returning to the parental home. The current study will add to the existing literature by carefully examining exits from and returns to the parental home prospectively among two cohorts of American emerging adults. The findings will inform us about both the dynamics of home leaving and returning and if this process has changed across two recent cohorts of young adults in the U.S. The main research questions are:

1. What are the patterns of home leaving and returning among emerging adults?

2. How have patterns of leaving and returning to the parental home changed across two cohorts of emerging adults?

3. How does home leaving vary by gender, race/ethnicity and reasons for exit?

4. What predicts leaving and returning to the parental home?

Methods

Data

This study uses public and geocode data from the National Longitudinal Surveys of Youth (NLSY79 and NLSY97). The NLSY79 interviewed 12,682 individuals who were born in 1957 to 1964 from their ages 14 to 21 in 1979 up to ages 45 to 53 in 2008. The NLSY97 interviewed 8,984 individuals annually who were born in 1980 to 1984, and then provides information from their ages 12 to 18 through 24 to 30. For the NLSY97 cohort we examine exits from and returns to the parental home up to age 35 in order to compare the young adulthood period of NLSY79 cohort with that of NLSY97 cohort. For the NLSY79 data, omit a military sample of 1,280 individuals who have unique moving patterns and 1,648 individuals from the sample of economically disadvantaged non-Hispanic and non-Blacks who have not been interviewed since 1990. For both data sets, we only include those living in parental home in the first wave. The final samples include 7,990 and 8,454 respondents for the NLSY79 and the NLSY97, respectively. The analyses are conducted using the survey setting command in Stata

because this accounts for the complicated sampling strategy of the NLSY (Cleves et al. 2010; Center for Human Resource Research 2008).

Measures

The main variables of interest are exits from and returns to the parental home. To create these variables, we use information from the household record from both data sets. The household record provides detailed data on all individuals sharing the respondent's residence at the time of interview, such as relationships between household members, age, gender, employment status, and educational attainment (Center for Human Resource Research, 2011). Using this information, we define exits from and returns to the parental home based on whether individuals report parents as household members or not. In the NLSY79, 94.5% of the sample ever exited their parental home while 84.1% of the respondents in the NLSY97 ever exited their parental home. When considering returns, 33.6% and 40.3% of those who make a first exit ever returned to parental home in the NLSY79 and 97, respectively.

When measuring exits and returns, we recognize that our measurement probably underestimates actual incidents of the events for two main reasons. First, we assume that those who did not live with parents in the first interview left home in the year of the first interview. This way, we are able to capture higher order home leaving and returning events among those whose first home exit occurred prior to the first wave of data. Since the NLSY79 respondents were ages 14-21 in the first interview, about 20% of them are assumed to leave home in 1979. On the other hand, only 2% of the entire sample is assumed to leave home in the first interview

in the NLSY97 because of the younger wave 1 ages of the NLSY97 sample (i.e., ages 12-18). Second, exits and returns among college students are perhaps underestimated. This is because both NLSY data sets collect household information based on the respondent's permanent residence (Center for Human Resource Research, 2011). College students, who live in temporary living units such as a dormitory or a rental apartment with roommates, are assumed by the NLSY to live with parents because they provide household information based on their parental home (Center for Human Resource Research, 2011). Thus, a college student could have left home and returned for summers multiple times throughout their college career, but these moves are not captured in the NLSY studies. Table 1 reveals that most college students indeed answer that they are living with parents when they enroll in college in the NLSY79 and especially in the 97 sample.

Table 1. Exit home among college students in the NLSY79 and NLSY97

	NLSY79	**NLSY97**
College enrollment	4,843 (49.61)	5,214 (58.04)
Left home	1,465 (30.25)	454 (8.71)
Living with parents	3,378 (69.75)	4,760 (91.29)

Notes: Numbers are respondents. Numbers in parentheses are percent.

Individuals may leave their parental home for various reasons and prior studies have found that these reasons are associated with both the transition to successful work and family

roles (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998), and the likelihood of a return (Goldscheider et al., 1999). So, we consider major life course events as reasons for exiting and returning to parental home. The reasons for home leaving in this study include union formation (i.e., cohabitation and marriage), child birth, enrollment in college, employment full-time and independent living while union dissolution, child birth, finishing college, and being unemployed are considered reasons for returning home. The household record is only available yearly in the NLSY studies, and thus we cannot be certain that the life course events result in either leaving or returning to parental home. We, therefore, consider life course events occurring plus or minus 6 months of the home leaving or returning event as the reasons for the exits or returns.

Results

Descriptive statistics from our preliminary data analyses are listed in Table 2. Details about the first exit are presented in the top panel, followed by details about the first return at the bottom. Those from the NLSY97 cohort make a first exit approximately one year before those from the NLSY79 cohort, 20.9 and 22.0 years, respectively. There are also differences in the number of exits between cohorts. Notably, a larger percent of the NLSY79 cohort makes only one exit (68% compared to 59.6%) and a smaller share makes two or more exits. The average number of exits is less for the NLSY97 compared to the NLSY79 cohort, 1.13 and 1.25, respectively. When considering the reasons for a first exit, a larger share from the NLSY97 cohort leave due to union formation, full-time employment and independent living, and a larger share from the NLSY79 leave to enroll in college.

When considering a first return, a larger share of the NLSY97 return at least once, about 40%, and they return at an earlier age, 22.4 years compared to 23.7 years for first returns from the NLSY97. The average number of returns for the NLSY79 is higher than for the NLSY97, .5 compared to .4. Another factor to consider is the duration away until a first return, and here we also see differences, with the mean duration until a first return nearly 2.3 years for the NLSY97 versus 2.5 years for NLSY79. The duration at home for the first return is also longer for the NLSY97 cohort, 2.1 years compared to 1.9 years. Thus, we find that there are some similarities and differences in the home leaving and returning behaviors of young adults in the NLSY79 and NLSY97 data sets. Next, we turn to Kaplan-Meier estimates of first exits and returns to better understand the patterns of home leaving and returning across these two cohorts.

Kaplan-Meier Estimates

Figures 1 and 2 describe survival estimates for first exits and first returns. Figure 1 starts with overall survival estimates of a first exit from the parental home. The survival curves are similar, although there is a slightly higher risk of failure for the 1997 cohort in the late teen years and early 20's. Figure 2 describes survival estimates from a first exit until a first return. Both cohorts returns happen relatively soon after a first exit–within about two years for 25% of both cohorts. Differences in the survival function emerge at about 2 years after a first exit, when we see noticeably lower survival rates among the NLSY97 cohort. These figures thus tell us that cohort differences exist in both first exits from and first returns to the parental home. The NLSY97 cohort exits slightly later and returns significantly earlier compared to the NLSY79 cohort.

Multivariate Models

We will estimate multivariate Cox regression models that will examine predictors of exits from and returns to the parental home for the NLSY79 and NLSY97 cohorts to better understand this process and determine if significant cohort differences exist in home leaving and returning after controlling for key characteristics. These results will tell us what predicts exits and returns, and if these predictors are different between these two cohorts.

Table 3 describes those who exit from their parental home in both cohorts. In the 1979 cohort a higher proportion of exits are female, non-Hispanic White, college educated, employed part time, experienced all the family formation events have better educated mothers, and did not grow up in an intact family. Descriptive findings for the 1997 cohort are similar, although a higher proportion of exits in this cohort have also completed high school and are employed full-time.

Table 4 describes those who return to the parental home. In the 1979 cohort a higher proportion are male, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, did not complete high school or college, were employed part time, had ever cohabited and lived in an urban area. A smaller share of those who returned in the 1979 cohort were employed full time and had ever experienced pregnancy, parenthood or marriage. The findings are similar for the 1997 cohort except a larger share experienced all family formation events other than marriage and there were no employment differences.

Table 5 presents Cox regression models that examine first exits from the parental home. For both cohorts, females and non-Hispanic Whites exit the parental home earlier than males and other racial and ethnic groups. Completing both high school and college is associated with

earlier exits as is full and part time employment. Higher maternal education and living in an intact family increase the hazard of exiting from the parental home. Living in an urban area is only associated with earlier exits for the 1997 cohort. In both cohorts all reasons for exiting increase the hazard of an earlier exit, although the effect of a birth is stronger for the 1979 cohort (HR=2.41 compared to 1.93) and being enrolled in college or employed full time is more strongly associated with an earlier exit in the 1997 cohort.

Table 6 estimates the same model as in Table 5, but includes both the 1979 and 1997 cohorts and includes cohort interaction terms to determine if there are cohort differences in exits from the parental home, and also predictors of exits from the parental home. As shown thre is a significant cohort interaction term, which indicates that compared to those in the 1997 cohort, being in the 1997 cohort is associated with later exits from the parental home (HR=.79). In addition, non-Hispanic Blacks in 1997 exit earlier than those in 1979 and completing high school and college are associated with earlier exits in the 1997 cohort compared to the 1979 cohort. Living in an urban area is associated with earlier exits in 1997 compared to 1979, as is being enrolled in college and employed full time. Living in an intact family in 1997 is associated with later exits from the parental home in 1997 compared to 1979.

Table 7 turns our attention to returns to the parental home among those who exited. Overall, significant predictors of a return home are similar across both cohorts. For example, being female lowers the hazard of a return in both cohorts (HR=.77 and .85), and being non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic increases the hazard of a return. Completing high school and college lowers the hazard of returning to the parental home as does being employed full time, but only for the 1979 cohort (HR=.71 for the 1979 cohort). Living in an urban area is associated with earlier returns to the parental home in both cohorts. Household characteristics are only

associated with returns to the parental home in the 1997 cohort, and older age at first exit is associated with a lower hazard of returning in both cohorts. This finding is consistent with earlier studies (Goldscheider et al., 1999). In contrast to exits, family formation events (union formation and birth) lower the hazard of returning to the parental home.

Table 8 estimates the same model as in Table 7, but includes both the 1979 and 1997 cohorts and includes cohort interaction terms to determine if there are cohort differences in returns to the parental home, and also predictors of returns to the parental home. In this table we see that there is a marginally significant cohort interaction term which indicates that the 1997 cohort returns to the parental home earlier than the 1979 cohort, but the effect is not strong. Other findings in Table 8 are that being non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic in 1997 is associated with a later return compared to their counterparts in the 1979 cohort. Completing high school in 1997 is associated with an earlier return compared to those in 1979, as does being employed full time. Higher maternal education and living in an intact family in 1997 is associated with later returns compared to 1979, and there are significant cohort differences in the effect of age at first exit on a return to the parental home—older age in 1997 is associated with an earlier return to the parental home, compared to older age in 1979. Reasons for exiting have the same impact on a first return to the parental home for all variables considered except a birth. Experiencing a birth increases the hazard of a return to the parental home for those in the 1997 cohort (HR=1.38) compared to the 1979 cohort.

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Table 2. Description of home-leaving and returning patterns in the NLSY79 and 97

Variables	NLSY79	NLSY97
First exit		
Percent of first exit	94.5	84.1
Mean age at first exit (years)	22.0 (.06)	20.9 (.07)
Total number of exits		
0	5.46	15.93
1	68.04	59.60
2	22.73	20.58
3	3.48	3.52
4	0.29	0.37
5	-	5.4e-05
average number of exits	1.25 (.01)	1.13 (.02)
Reasons for first home leaving		
Union formation	16.83	19.16
Birth	7.05	6.70
Enroll in college	18.69	6.07
Employed full-time	19.23	23.75
Independent living	38.20	44.32
First return		
Percent of first return	33.6	40.3
Mean age at first return (years)	23.7 (.07)	22.4 (.06)
Total number of returns		
0	68.2	59.7
1	25.9	32.3
2	5.2	7.1
3	0.7	0.8
4	5.2e-04	4.9e-04
average number of returns	.4 (.01)	.5 (.01)
Reasons for first return		
Union dissolution	11.4	12.2
Birth	4.2	5.2
Finish college	10.9	12.0
Unemployed	19.3	24.2
Others	54.2	46.4
Duration		
Mean duration away during first exit(years)	2.5 (.04)	2.3 (.03)
Mean duration at home for first return(years)	1.9 (.04)	2.1 (.04)
[NLSY79] number of person years = 390520, Design df = 196, Strata =2, PSUs = 198, Observations = 9,763		
[NLSY97] number of person years = 143744, Design df = 198, Strata =1, PSUs = 199, Observations = 8,984		

Note. All numbers are percent except those indicated. All statistics were adjusted under survey setting in Stata which accounts for the complexity of the NLSY sampling, and also weights the analysis to be representative of the overall U.S. population. Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 3. Characteristics of those exiting from parental home

Variables	NLSY79			NLSY97		
	Non-exit (n=815)	**Exit** (n=8948)	**Total** (n=9763)	**Non-exit** (n=1512)	**Exit** (n=7472)	**Total** (n=8984)
Age_while R is at the risk of home-leaving (yrs)	19.94 (.07)	19.74 (.02)	19.75 (.02)**	18.67 (.04)	18.94 (.02)	18.90 (.02) ***
Age at first exit (yrs)		21.98 (.06)			20.92 (.07)	
Ever exit from parental home		94.54			84.07	
Female	37.01	50.60	49.86***	40.18	50.29	48.68***
Black	29.17	12.92	13.81***	17.03	15.10	15.41
Hispanic	8.39	6.21	6.33*	16.12	12.24	12.86***
Education						
Completing high school	46.78	47.46	47.42	40.69	51.52	49.80***
Completing college	8.23	10.97	10.82*	5.22	10.45	9.62***
Employment						
Employed part-time	57.95	61.17	60.99**	61.87	73.61	71.74***
Employed full-time	35.96	38.13	38.01†	17.15	30.51	28.38***
Family formation						
Ever giving a birth	9.40	23.36	22.60***	5.21	18.24	16.16***
Ever getting pregnant	10.50	25.97	25.13***	5.87	20.52	18.19***
Ever married	3.95	25.70	24.52***	0.69	8.45	7.22***
Ever cohabited	1.03	11.15	10.60***	4.26	23.34	20.30***
Residence						
Living in urban areas	82.23	78.09	78.31	78.60	75.13	75.55†
Household characters						
Maternal education (yrs)	10.94 (.19)	11.63 (.08)	11.59*** (.08)	12.57 (.11)	12.91 (.09)	12.85** (.08)
Living in an intact family	70.42	62.51	62.94**	63.46	50.95	52.94***
[NLSY79] number of person years = 390520, Design df = 196, Strata =2, PSUs = 198, Observations = 9,763						
[NLSY97] number of person years = 143744, Design df = 198, Strata =1, PSUs = 199, Observations = 8,984						

Note. All numbers are percent except those indicated. All statistics were adjusted under survey setting in Stata which accounts for the complexity of the NLSY sampling, and also weights the analysis to be representative of the overall U.S. population. Standard errors are in parentheses.

†p≤.10, * p≤.05, ** p≤.01, *** p≤.001

Table 4. Characteristics of those returning to parental home

Variables	NLSY79			NLSY97		
	Non-return (n=5749)	**Return** (n=3199)	**Total** (n=8948)	**Non-return** (n=4346)	**Return** (n=3126)	**Total** (n=7472)
Age at first return (yrs)		23.67			22.37	
		(.07)			(.06)	
Ever return from parental home		33.60			40.27	
Reasons for 1st exit home						
Union formation	73.54	26.46	-	65.50	34.50	-
Birth	72.62	27.38	-	61.47	38.53	-
Enrolled in college	67.08	32.92	-	58.65	41.35	-
Employed full-time	62.71	37.29	-	57.88	42.12	-
Independent living	63.63	36.37	-	58.11	41.89	-
Female	52.51	46.84	50.60***	51.49	48.51	50.29*
Black	11.06	16.60	12.92***	13.45	17.55	15.10***
Hispanic	5.51	7.60	6.21***	11.29	13.65	12.24***
Education						
Completing high school	48.54	45.32	47.46***	52.67	49.83	51.52***
Completing college	11.64	9.64	10.97***	11.90	8.30	10.45***
Employment						
Employed part-time	60.35	62.79	61.17***	73.68	73.52	73.61
Employed full-time	39.23	35.96	38.13***	30.52	30.48	30.51
Family formation						
Ever giving a birth	24.59	20.93	23.36***	17.56	19.24	18.24*
Ever getting pregnant	27.37	23.23	25.97***	19.83	21.54	20.52*
Ever married	28.50	20.17	25.70***	9.26	7.26	8.45***
Ever cohabited	10.16	13.12	11.15***	21.83	25.57	23.34***
Residence						
Living in urban areas	76.68	80.83	78.09***	74.38	76.22	75.13†
Household characters						
Maternal education (yrs)	11.63	11.62	11.59***	13.02	12.73	12.85**
	(.09)	(.11)	(.08)	(.09)	(.09)	(.08)
Living in an intact family	63.73	60.12	62.51*	53.71	46.84	50.95***
[NLSY79] number of person years = 390520, Design df = 196, Strata =2, PSUs = 198, Observations = 9,763						
[NLSY97] number of person years = 143744, Design df = 198, Strata =1, PSUs = 199, Observations = 8,984						

Note. All numbers are percent except those indicated. All statistics were adjusted under survey setting in Stata which accounts for the complexity of the NLSY sampling, and also weights the analysis to be representative of the overall U.S. population. Standard errors are in parentheses.

†p≤.10, * p≤.05, ** p≤.01, *** p≤.001

Table 5. Cox model predicting the first exit from parental home (models are separately estimated by cohort)

Variables	NLSY79			NLSY97		
	coefficients	Hazard ratio		coefficients	Hazard ratio	
Female	.13 (.03)	1.14	***	.14	1.15	***
Black	-.29 (.04)	.75	***	-.22	.81	***
Hispanic	-.12 (.05)	.89	*	-.22	.81	***
Education						
tv_Completing high school	.64 (.04)	1.90	***	.39	1.48	***
tv_Completing college	.27 (.05)	1.30	***	.22	1.25	***
Employment						
tv_Employed part-time	.29 (.06)	1.34	***	.17	1.19	***
tv_Employed full-time	.45 (.07)	1.57	***	.25	1.28	***
Residence						
tv_Living in urban areas	-.12 (.04)	.89	**	-.03	.97	ns
Household characters						
Maternal education (yrs)	-.01 (.01)	.99	*	-.02	.98	**
Living in an intact family	-.12 (.04)	.75	***	-.36	.70	***
Reasons for 1st exit home (reference: independent living)						
Union formation	.59 (.05)	1.80	***	.61	1.83	***
Birth	.88 (.07)	2.41	***	.66	1.93	***
Enrolled in college	.41 (.04)	1.51	***	.71	2.02	***
Employed full-time	.45 (.04)	1.57	***	.70	2.02	***

Note. All numbers are percent except those indicated. All statistics were adjusted under survey setting in Stata which accounts for the complexity of the NLSY sampling, and also weights the analysis to be representative of the overall U.S. population. Standard errors are in parentheses. The sample from the NLSY79 has been restricted to age30.

ns: not significant, †p≤.10, * p≤.05, ** p≤.01, *** p≤.001

Table 6. Cox model predicting the first exit from parental home (both cohorts are estimated in the same model)

Variables	coefficients	Hazard ratio	
Female	.13 (.03)	1.14	***
Black	-.31 (.03)	.75	***
Hispanic	-.13 (.04)	.89	**
Education			
tv_Completing high school	.57 (.04)	1.90	***
tv_Completing college	.19 (.05)	1.30	***
Employment			
tv_Employed part-time	.29 (.06)	1.34	***
tv_Employed full-time	.42 (.06)	1.57	***
Residence			
tv_Living in urban areas	-.11 (.03)	.89	**
Household characters			
Maternal education	-.01 (.01)	.99	†
Living in an intact family	-.28 (.03)	.75	***
Reasons for 1st exit home (reference: independent living)			
Union formation	.62 (.04)	1.80	***
Birth	.92 (.06)	2.41	***
Enrolled in college	.43 (.04)	1.51	***
Employed full-time	.46 (.04)	1.57	***
Cohort effect (1=nlsy97)	-.23 (.11)	.79	*
Female1997	-.03 (.04)	.97	ns
Black1997	.13 (.04)	1.14	**
Hispanic1997	-.06 (.06)	.94	ns
Education			
tv_Completing high school1997	.21 (.04)	1.23	***
tv_Completing college1997	.16 (.07)	1.17	*
Employment			
tv_Employed part-time1997	-.07 (.06)	.93	ns
tv_Employed full-time1997	-.08 (.07)	.92	ns
Residence			
tv_Living in urban areas 1997	.09 (.04)	1.09	*
Household characters			
Maternal education1997	-.01 (.01)	.99	†
Living in an intact family 1997	-.08 (.04)	.92	*
Reasons for 1st exit home (reference: independent living)			
Union formation1997	-.07 (.05)	.93	ns
Birth1997	-.27 (.07)	.76	***
Enrolled in college1997	.22 (.06)	1.25	***
Employed full-time1997	.17 (.05)	1.19	***

Note. All numbers are percent except those indicated. All statistics were adjusted under survey setting in Stata which accounts for the complexity of the NLSY sampling, and also weights the analysis to be representative of the overall U.S. population. Standard errors are in parentheses. The sample from the NLSY79 has been restricted to age30.

ns: not significant, †p≤.10, * p≤.05, ** p≤.01, *** p≤.001

Table 7. Cox model predicting the first return to parental home (models are separately estimated by cohort)

Variables	NLSY79			NLSY97		
	coefficients	Hazard ratio		coefficients	Hazard ratio	
Female	-.26 (.05)	.77	***	-.17 (.04)	.85	***
Black	.41 (.05)	1.51	***	.19 (.05)	1.22	***
Hispanic	.36 (.07)	1.43	***	.14 (.05)	1.15	**
Education						
tv_Completing high school	-.13 (.06)	.88	*	-.20 (.06)	.82	**
tv_Completing college	-.60 (.16)	.55	***	-.27 (.32)	.76	ns
Employment						
tv_Employed part-time	.08 (.05)	1.09	ns	-.06 (.04)	.94	ns
tv_Employed full-time	-.34 (.09)	.71	***	-.03 (.10)	.97	ns
Residence						
tv_Living in urban areas	.18 (.06)	1.19	**	.13 (.05)	1.14	*
Household characters						
Maternal education	.02 (.01)	1.02	*	-.01 (.01)	.99	†
Living in an intact family	.16 (.05)	1.18	**	.02 (.04)	1.02	ns
Age at 1st exit home	-.15 (.01)	.86	***	-.11 (.01)	.90	***
Reasons for 1st exit home (reference: independent living)						
Union formation	-.43 (.07)	.65	***	-.29 (.06)	.75	***
Birth	-.53 (.10)	.59	***	-.21 (.07)	.81	**
Enrolled in college	-.11 (.07)	.89	ns	-.04 (.08)	.96	ns
Employed full-time	.02 (.06)	1.02	ns	-.04 (.05)	.96	ns

Note. All numbers are percent except those indicated. All statistics were adjusted under survey setting in Stata which accounts for the complexity of the NLSY sampling, and also weights the analysis to be representative of the overall U.S. population. Standard errors are in parentheses. The sample from the NLSY79 has been restricted to age30.

ns: not significant, †p≤.10, * p≤.05, ** p≤.01, *** p≤.001

Table 8. Cox model predicting the first return to parental home (both cohorts are estimated in the same model)

Variables	coefficients	Hazard ratio	
Female	-.25 (.05)	.77	***
Black	.41 (.05)	1.50	***
Hispanic	.36 (.06)	1.43	***
Education			
tv_Completing high school	-.14 (.05)	.87	*
tv_Completing college	-.71 (.18)	.49	***
Employment			
tv_Employed part-time	.08 (.06)	1.09	ns
tv_Employed full-time	-.36 (.09)	.70	***
Residence			
tv_Living in urban areas	.18 (.06)	1.19	**
Household characters			
Maternal education	.02 (.01)	1.02	**
Living in an intact family	.17 (.05)	1.19	**
Age at 1st exit home	-.17 (.01)	.84	***
Reasons for 1st exit home (reference: independent living)			
Union formation	-.43 (.07)	.65	***
Birth	-.52 (.10)	.59	***
Enrolled in college	-.10 (.07)	.90	ns
Employed full-time	.02 (.06)	1.02	ns
Cohort effect (1=nlsy97)	-.55 (.31)	.57	†
Female1997	.09 (.06)	1.09	ns
Black1997	-.21 (.07)	.81	**
Hispanic1997	-.21 (.08)	.81	*
Education			
tv_Completing high school1997	.13 (.08)	1.14	ns
tv_Completing college1997	.72 (.38)	2.06	†
Employment			
tv_Employed part-time1997	-.11 (.08)	.89	ns
tv_Employed full-time1997	.44 (.14)	1.56	**
Residence			
tv_Living in urban areas 1997	.09 (.04)	.96	ns
Household characters			
Maternal education1997	-.04 (.01)	.96	**
Living in an intact family 1997	-.16 (.07)	.85	*
Age at 1st exit home1997	.06 (.01)	1.06	***
Reasons for 1st exit home (reference: independent living)			
Union formation1997	.14 (.09)	1.15	ns
Birth1997	.32 (.13)	1.38	*
Enrolled in college1997	.06 (.11)	1.07	ns
Employed full-time1997	-.06 (.08)	.94	ns

Note. All numbers are percent except those indicated. All statistics were adjusted under survey setting in Stata which accounts for the complexity of the NLSY sampling, and also weights the analysis to be representative of the overall U.S. population. Standard errors are in parentheses. The sample from the NLSY79 has been restricted to age30.

ns: not significant, †p≤.10, * p≤.05, ** p≤.01, *** p≤.001

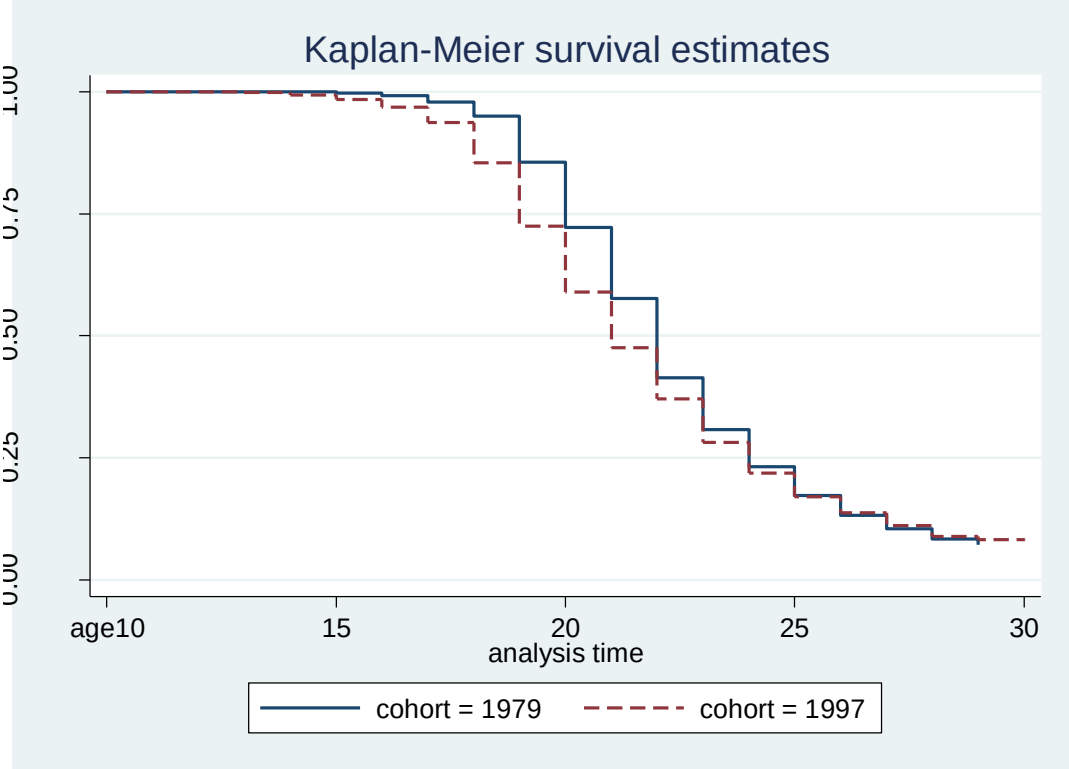

Figure 1. Timing to First Exit from the Parental Home for both Cohorts

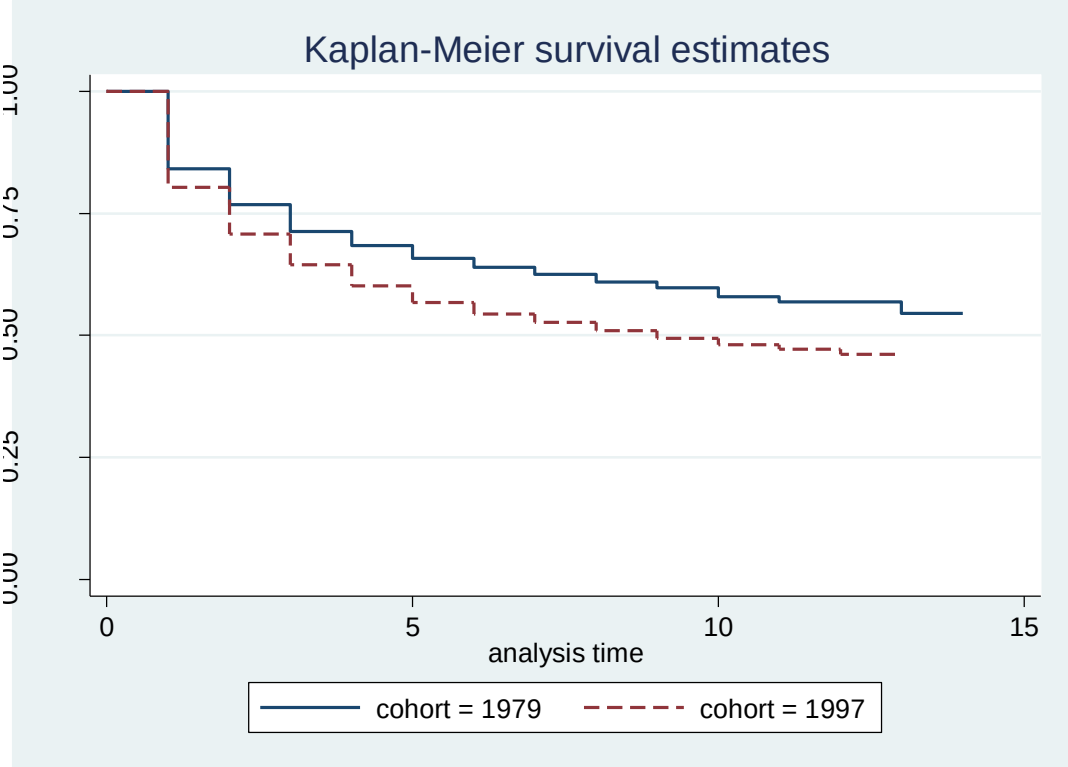

Figure 2. Timing of Returns to the Parental Home for both Cohorts