Leaving the Parental Home in Australia Over the 20th Century: Evidence from the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey*

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Revised Paper

HILDA Conference

Melbourne
March 13, 2003

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Introduction

The decision to (remain in or) leave the parental home represents the first housing career choice of young people. In making this decision, young people are influenced by the drive for independence, the security (or otherwise) of the home environment, and partnering decisions. In addition, they are also influenced by broader education, housing market and labour market forces (e.g., education participation trends, unemployment rates); religious and cultural norms; and, external shocks (e.g., war or famine). [1] These latter forces represent wide-ranging societal influences and clearly change with the times. If the former causal factors dominate, then we would generally expect rough constancy in the trend in leaving the parental home over time. If the latter determinants dominate, however, then we would expect significant time-specific trends to emerge in the pattern of home leaving consistent with the time-specific trends in the underlying societal determinants. There is, of course, the third and real possibility that significant time-related trends offset each other leading to long-term stability in leaving home patterns.

In this paper, we examine the decision of Australians to leave the parental home in the 20th Century, or to be a little more precise, since the 1920s. The paper has three main aims. First, to examine what have been the key (observable) determinants in the pattern of parental home leaving over the 20th Century in Australia? Our second aim is to assess whether parental home leaving has followed a roughly constant pattern in Australia over the 20th Century or whether there has been a significant movement in this pattern over time? Have recent generations of young Australians left home earlier or later than previous generations? Our third objective is to analyse, in depth, both the parental home leaving experience and the early housing career choices of the current generation of young people.

We utilise the first wave of the *Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia* (HILDA) survey to examine these questions. The HILDA dataset contains information on the age at which individuals leave the parental home for the first time. When this information is combined with other recall questions included in the HILDA survey questionnaire, a picture can be drawn of patterns of home leaving over a number of generations in Australia. While only the first wave of the HILDA database has been released, the use of *recall* questions converts a cross-sectional database (as HILDA is in the first wave) into a quasi-panel database. It can be argued that a quasi-panel design is a particularly efficient instrument in acquiring long-term perspectives of social processes (see Myers, 1999 for further discussion).

Previous Australian research on social issues (confirmed again utilising HILDA in this paper) reveals significant shifts in a number of Australian social series.[2] Both the age first married and age of first child series, for example, move sharply upwards from the mid-1980s. Has the age at which Australians leave home also significantly risen in the last two decades? If so does this trend primarily reflect students staying longer in education and young adults having children later? What of trends in previous generations? To answer these questions we undertake a hazard analysis of the home leaving process across generations of Australians in the HILDA sample and test for significant cohort effects.[3]

Section 2 of the paper surveys the literature on the leaving home process and includes a review of the Australian research on the subject. Section 3 provides an overview of the HILDA database and clarifies the nature of the leaving home data in HILDA. Section 4 presents an empirical survival analysis and estimates a hazard model of the leaving home decision over the generations in Australia. In section 5 of the paper, we provide a detailed examination of the leaving home, household formation and early housing tenure decisions of the 15 to 24 age cohort.

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[1] See Jones (1995) and Heath (1999) for general reviews of the literature on leaving the parental home.

[2] For surveys of Australian social trends see Weston, Stanton, Qu and Soriano (2001), Winter and Stone (1998), (1999), McDonald (1994), and Hugo (2001).

[3] The 'hazard' referred to is the exit from the parental home while the 'survival' process reflects the continued maintenance of the child in the parental home.

1. A Review of the Literature

Determinants of Leaving the Parental Home

An apparently timeless natural urge on the part of people is to make their own way in life. This desire to be independent becomes stronger as the individual leaves their teenage years. The balancing force to this drive for independence is the need for security. The drive for independence acts to encourage exit from the parental home while the need for security acts to support the decision to stay in the parental home. Mediating this process is the home environment. Poor home environments — poor living conditions or family relationship dynamics — may prompt an early exit from the parental home, good ones may delay that exit. The existence of instability, stress, parental-child conflict, and parental death or dissolution within the home is more likely to result in young people leaving the parental home earlier than expected (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1989; Mitchell, Wister, and Burch, 1989; and Kiernan, 1992). Poor quality housing and overcrowding within the parental home (large number of siblings in a small house) can have the same effect.

The level and type of resources provided by parents to their children is also a potentially important influence on the decision to leave the family home (De Gierveld, Liefbroer, and Beekink, 1991; Ermisch and Di Salvo, 1997; and Holdsworth, 2000). Transferable resources (e.g., untied cash payments) are resources that young people may utilise outside the parental home. The higher the level of transferable resources, the more likely it is that the individual decides to leave the family home. Non-transferable resources, on the other hand, are by definition, resources tied to the parental home. These resources come in a variety of forms including in-kind support such as washing, cooking and cleaning, family support and care together with rent-free accommodation. The higher the level of non-transferable resources, the greater is the probability of exit from the parental home.

The role of partnering decisions represents a third important determinant of parental home leaving outcomes. Young people, who enter into a strong relationship with a partner are more likely to leave the parental home (and cohabit with that partner in a separate dwelling) than otherwise identical young people who have not formed such relationships. The joint decision of partnering and leaving the parental home may be strongly influenced by social norms. A norm of the form 'You should stay in the parental home until you are married' can act to constraint parental home leaving if it is generally accepted throughout society (or just as likely, to result in earlier marriage and no upward trend in the age of first leaving the parental home).

In considering the partnering decision, it is important to distinguish between trends in formal marriage arrangements and trends in cohabitation. Australian social mores, influenced strongly by religious belief and practice, traditionally dictated that formal marriage was the passport to cohabitation. In other words, the decision to live with a partner required, as a pre-condition, formal marriage. As we shall clearly show in this paper, however, the nexus between legal marriage and cohabitation weakened considerably from the late 1960s in Australia. An increasing gap between legal marriage and cohabitation with a partner becomes evident from the mid-1970s. As such it is the desire for cohabitation per se that has become the critical partnering determinant in the leaving home decision in recent times rather than legal marriage.

In addition to independence, home environment and partnering decisions, the parental home leaving decision is also influenced by broader education, housing market and labour market influences. If young people continue on in full-time education for longer periods then we might expect that the age at which children first leave the parental home will rise. Of course, students may actually leave home for study-related reasons. In such cases, it is difficult to know whether the decision to leave the parental home is a permanent one or rather reflects short-term accommodation decisions. Obtaining stable employment can act as an important catalyst to parental home exit. The inability to find work may, on the other hand, constrain the individual to stay at home longer than otherwise. Family dissolution may have a similar effect.

There are important housing-related influences on the decision to leave the family home. The price of living outside the parental home relative to the price of living in the parental home (generally a rent-free arrangement) is one important housing-related factor. If the relative price of living outside the parental home rises, then the individual is more likely to stay at home all other things being equal.

Here, the individual wishes to remain in the parental home because it represents a cheaper housing option than independent living and provides a means to accumulate wealth, perhaps to provide a downpayment for home purchase.

The parental home may act as a refuge when an individual experiences labour market, health, housing or personal difficulties in the outside world. Unemployment, family dissolution and an inability to meet housing payments may force individuals back to the parental home. The relevant decision here is not to stay or leave the parental home but to return to it (see Mitchell, Wister and Gee, 2000). As with the labour market, where individuals may churn between spells of unemployment and jobs, individuals may churn between the parental home and independent living. The boomerang effect (leaving the parental home and then returning it) is an issue that we shall investigate in the final section of the paper when we place the process of leaving the parental home in the context of the boarder range of early housing career moves of young people.

Australian Studies

The study of the parental-home leaving process in Australia is of fairly recent origin and is associated, at least in the first 25 years with the work of Christabel Young. Her work on the issue began with the Australian National University's (ANU) Family Formation Project survey conducted in Melbourne in 1971 (see, Young, 1977). The *1971 Melbourne Family Survey* included responses from 2,652 once married and currently married women aged between 18 and 60 living in Melbourne. Questions were asked (of mothers) concerning the age at which their sons and daughters left home, the reasons they felt their children left home, and the destinations of children once they had left home. Young (1977) found that daughters on average left home earlier than sone (21.5 years compared with 23.8 years for sons).[4] The dominant reason for children leaving the parental home, given by their mothers, was that of marriage (71 per cent for sons; 82 per cent for daughters) followed by job, education and independence reasons. Domestic difficulties represented a relatively minor reason for leaving the parental home. Children leaving for marriage reasons tended to leave home later than children leaving for non-marriage reasons.

The *1977 Melbourne Family Survey* was again based on the Melbourne metropolitan area but used a different sampling frame comprised of three components: A follow-up of respondents to the 1971 Survey; recently married women, and never married males and females aged 18 to 25. As compared with the *1971 Melbourne Family Survey*, respondents were asked questions on their *own* leaving the parental home experience rather than their sons or daughters experience. These questions included age first left the parental home, geographical destination, living arrangements following departure, reason for leaving, and parental response to their leaving. There appears to be very little analysis of the 1977 Melbourne Survey results other than a brief reference by Young (1987, 1989) to the leaving home experience of a sub-sample of women aged 18 to 25. Here she makes a reference to the apparent slight reduction in the age at which women left the family home (as compared with the relevant birth cohort of the *1971 Melbourne Family Survey*) and to the fact that young women leaving home for family conflict, job, and education reasons tended to leave at an earlier age than those leaving for marriage and partnering reasons.

Young's (1987,1989) study of the Australian Institute of Family Studies (AIFS) *1982 Family Formation Project Survey* provides the most detailed picture of the leaving the parental home process published to-date. The AIFS *1982 Family Formation Project Survey* sample contained 18-34 year olds residing in private dwellings (2544 respondents). This sample can be divided into three birth cohorts; namely, those born in the 1948-52 period, those born in the 1953-57 period, and those born in the 1958-62 period. Young's (1987, 1989) findings from the AIFS *1982 Family Formation Project Survey* present a pattern of relative stability across these three cohorts in terms of age first left the parental home. The median parental home leaving age for men is 21 and for women 20. These estimates are somewhat lower than those for the 1971 Melbourne Family Survey suggestive of a decline in the age of parental home leaving in the 1970s.

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[4] The *1977 Melbourne Family Survey* question on age left the parental home does not specifically refer to the age children *first* left home and so responses could be a mixture of first and last departures from the parental home.

As with the *1971 Melbourne Family Survey*, marriage remains a dominant reason for leaving the parental home; for those aged 26 or older at the time of the 1982 AIFS survey, around 45 per cent of women listed marriage as the reason they left home while 31 per cent of men cited marriage as the reason for leaving the parental home. These estimates are, however, less than half those found in the *1971 Melbourne Family Survey* suggesting a decrease in the role of marriage in the leaving home process (though the figures on marriage as the reason for leaving the parental home in the 1971 Melbourne Family Survey may be artificially boosted due to the fact that they reflect the responses of mothers). The significance of marriage to the leaving the parental home process is further reduced when we examine the reasons given by those under 25 at the time of the 1982 AIFS Survey who had already left the parental home. Among men in this category, the main reasons provided for leaving the parental home are, in fact, independence, job, and family conflict followed by marriage whereas for young women marriage assumes an important role from the age of 20 though a range of other reasons including family conflict and independence issues are important prior to that point.

The AIFS *1982 Family Formation Project Survey* also provides the first complete picture of the boomerang effect—the process of leaving the parental home and then returning to it. Young (1987,1989) found that half of all men aged 18-25 and 40 per cent of women in this age group return home at least once. Lower return-to-home proportions were found among those aged 26 to 34 in the sample (compared to those under 26) suggesting that the return to the parental home phenomenon had become more prominent in the late 1970s. A strong association is found between the incidence of returning to the parental home and the reason for leaving the parental home. Those leaving for marriage reasons have a much lower probability of returning to the parental home than those leaving for other reasons (e.g., those leaving because of conflict are more likely to return and to stay away from home for shorter periods) and the returning home phenomenon is more common among those who left at an earlier age than those who left at a later age. Factors influential in the return-to-home outcome include housing-cost related reasons (housing is cheaper in the parental home environment), employment-related reasons (the loss of a job prompts a return to the parental home), and education-related reasons (the completion of study away from home). Marriage breakdown can also cause a return to the parental home.

The *1982 AIFS Family Formation Project Survey* marked the first time in which a detailed picture of the parental-home leaving process could be established. Since then there have been a relatively large number of major Australian surveys that have covered the issue of the leaving of the parental home. They include The Australian Bureau of Statistics' *1982 Family Survey* and *1992 Family Survey,* the ANU *1986 Family Project Survey*, the *1991 AIFS Family Formation Project Survey*, representing the second wave of the *1982 AIFS Survey, the 1996 AIFS Australian Families Life Course Survey, the 1997 Negotiating the Life Course Survey,* and the *1998 AIFS Young Adults' Aspirations Survey.* In addition to the above surveys, information on the living arrangements of young people (which allows for a time profile to be developed of the proportion of young people who are living with their parents) is available from Census publications and from the Australian Bureau of Statistics Labour Force Surveys.[5]

Analyses based on these surveys do not provide detailed survival analysis based trends in the median age of leaving the parental home (although the strong suggestion is that the 1980s witnessed the point where the median age at which young people left home for the first time ceased to decline, Young, 1996 p. 146), but what is clear from these analyses is that the proportion of young adults returning to the parental home increased through the 1980s as did the proportion of young adults living at home.[6] In terms of the proportion of young people at home series, in 1981, 34.1 per cent of 20-24 year olds were living with their parents while in 1991 40 per cent were living with their parents. An increase in this ratio was also evident for the 25-34 age group. A contributing factor to this trend was the rise in the proportion of young people in full-time education, particularly tertiary education. In the 1990s, however, trends in the proportion of young adults living in the parental home series were unstable. Kilmartin's (2000) analysis of the *1998 AIFS Young Adults' Aspirations Survey* suggests that parental support for their children leads to a postponement of the leaving home process while

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[5] See Young (1996) for a discussion of the ABS data on the living arrangements of young people.

[6] See Australian Bureau of Statistics (1994, 2000, 2002), McDonald (1994), Young (1996), Winter and Stone (1998), (1999), Kilmartin (2000), and Weston, Stanton, Qu and Soriano (2001).

childhood disadvantage leads to a greater probability of leaving before the age of 18. Both relationship break-ups and a profile of not having a relationship are associated with higher returning to the parental home outcomes. Financial insecurity also leads to a greater probability of return to the parental home.

3. HILDA, Housing Formation and Housing Tenure

The Household Income and Labour Dynamics (HILDA) dataset provides a unique opportunity to examine the housing formation decisions and trajectories of Australians. As a panel dataset, the key benefit of the HILDA dataset arrives with the arrival of future waves of the data, as these will enable the tracking of individuals over time. Nevertheless, the first wave of the data, treated as a cross-section, provides an impressive snapshot of the housing formation decisions of both young *and* older Australians (given the utilisation of recall questions). The HILDA database contains information on a 6872 fully-responding private dwelling households and 13159 fully responding persons (aged 15 or over) in these households. The size of the HILDA dataset is five times that of the Australian datasets listed in the previous section. It also has the advantage of not being restricted to a particular age or gender category. It, therefore, affords the researcher the ability to follow the family formation and housing career trajectories of all current Australian birth cohorts.

Our key point of interest is in determining the age at which a respondent first left the parental home and the pattern of independent and non-independent living among respondents (defined here as not living in the parental home). A personal household relationships grid is provided in the HILDA dataset from which it is possible to establish whether an individual in the household is a child, step-child or foster child of another resident in the dwelling. We use this information to designate persons as a child of a parent in resident in the household (or not as the case may be).

The second crucial piece of information on household formation that we use is a question in the Person Questionnaire (PQ) of the HILDA survey (administered by a trained interviewer) relating to the age when the respondent first left the parental home. This is the means by which we determine when a person leaves the parental home. Hence, age when *first* left the parental home is measured by using a self-identified indicator rather than on the basis of tracking information. The precise wording of the question (B5; PQ) is:

> *How old were you when you first moved out of home as a young person (or are you still living at home with your [parents/guardians])?*

The first part of the question is clear enough as to its intention. However, the second part of the question (if put by the interviewer) opens up a number of potential interpretations. It is possible that the question was misconstrued by some respondents as referring simply to whether they are residing in the same dwelling as their parents. Respondents who have left the parental home but have now returned may, on this interpretation, answer that they had not yet left the parental home. A matching of responses from the personal relationships grid and this question of age first left the parental home reveals the presence of returnees (defined as individuals who are currently residing in the parental home but who left the parental home some time in the past) so that clearly these respondents recognised the emphasis on the question was related to the age at which the respondent first left the parental home. However, we do not know whether or not any problem of interpretation occurred and if so how large the problem was.

The second interesting feature of the data is that some respondents are recorded as never left the parental home even when they reside in a dwelling that does not contain their parents. This outcome could have occurred because the person believed that they were only temporarily outside the parental home and had not 'left' the home in the sense of making a break from it. Alternatively, they were still living in the parental home but their parents had died or had left the home and they were residing in the parental home by themselves or with others (including with other relatives such as grandparents) or with their own-formed family. Whatever the reason, we accept this response as given and treat this group as not having left the parental home in the analysis of age since leaving the parental home. We shall, however, separately identify these individuals when we consider other housing formation issues and refer to this group as identifying to the parental home but having left it.

One final issue in the interpretation of data flowing from the question is that the question refers to moving out of home as a young person. Those that moved much later in life may not

recognise the question as being relevant to them. Interviewing prompting should, however, overcome this difficulty in the main. The question on age first left the parental home is asked of all respondents to the HILDA survey. Importantly, that means that we can assess the issue of leaving the parental home across all currently living generations in Australia. We divide up respondents into five year age intervals beginning with those aged 15 to 19 through to those aged 75 to 79. An open-ended category of those aged 80 and over is also used defined. This means that we have 14 cohorts corresponding to different periods in which a decision to leave the parental home is being made. These cohorts are specified in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Age Cohorts in the HILDA Wave 1 dataset

Current Age	Birth Cohort	Birth Cohort in their Early 20s
15-19	Mid-1980s	Early 2000s
20-24	Early-1980s	Late 1990s
25-29	Mid-1970s	Early 1990s
30-34	Early-1970s	Late 1980s
35-39	Mid-1960s	Early 1980s
40-44	Early-1960s	Late 1970s
45-49	Mid-1950s	Early 1970s
50-54	Early-1950s	Late 1960s
55-59	Mid-1940s	Early 1960s
60-64	Early-1940s	Late 1950s
65-69	Mid-1930s	Early 1950s
70-74	Early-1930s	Late 1940s
75-79	Mid-1920s	Early 1940s
80 +	Pre-1920s	Late 1930s

The vast majority of those located in the middle age and older generations have, of course left the parental home prior to the interview date. That means we face very few difficulties in plotting the age-related profile of the leaving the parental home trajectory for these cohorts (the survival curves). In the language of time analysis, there exist few problems of 'right-censoring' (i.e., at the interview date the respondent has yet to leave the parental home and so we don't know when or even if they will ever leave). While right-censored spells (the spell is defined as the time since birth the person remained in the parental home) are not an issue for the older age cohorts there is one potential selection bias problem that occurs for older age cohorts. Namely, as a cohort ages over time more people are lost from it due to death. This is a sample selection problem when the age at which those who leave the parental home is correlated with age of death. (In effect this 'survivor' bias is there for all age groups but one suspects it is a greater potential problem for older age groups.) Individuals are also increasingly 'lost' over a certain age category because they may not easily complete a long survey. This may create a sample selection bias problem, but this bias cannot be reduced using the HILDA data.

For younger generations, the problem of right censoring looms larger as an issue. The 15 to 19 age cohort in particular and to a lesser extent the 20 to 24 age cohort is affected by right censoring problems. Consider the 18 year old who still resides with their parents. Their spell is right censored in the sense that their time spent in the parental home has not come to an end. We cannot answer precisely the question: How long will the person aged 18 who has not yet left the parental home stay there for? We shall study the leaving the parental home process for these age-groups in some detail in section 5 of the paper.

One of the unique properties of the HILDA dataset is that we have some information on the parental background and early life of the respondent. This information allows us to assess the role of a variety of causal factors that have influenced the leaving home decision in Australia over a number of generations. For all persons, we know, the country of birth of both the individual and their parents, the number of siblings the individual had, the early schooling background of the person, the age the individual left full-time education, whether the parents of the person were separated prior to age 15,

whether the father and/or mother were present in the household at the age of 14, the occupational background of both the mother and the father and whether the father had been unemployed. This list of early-life determinants allow us to consider a range of causal factors such as family structure, family dissolution, culture background, socio-economic status and income (via occupation) in affecting the exit process from the parental home.

One natural limit to a cohort-based analysis of leaving the parental home is that most of the data in the HILDA is contemporaneous data. Contemporaneous information is, of course, crucial when considering the position of younger generations making their early housing formation decisions (and is particularly relevant when future waves of HILDA arrive) but cannot be used when considering the position of older generations. Hence we shall incorporate more of this contemporaneous data in the analysis of the parental home leaving process of those in the 15-24 age category in section 5.

4.   Leaving the Parental Home in Australia in the 20th Century

Our first piece of analysis of HILDA sets the leaving the parental home in the context of other key life cycle events. Figures 1a and 1b present HILDA-based information on trends in key life cycle events for all cohorts in the 20 and over age categories. The four life cycle events selected are: (1) age first left the parental home, (2) age first left full-time education, (3) age first time cohabited with a partner, and (4) age first time legally married. In each case, the life event is measured in terms of median age the event first occurred where the median age has been derived from survival analyses of each life cycle event. Appendix Tables 1a and 1b present the full survival tables (at least to the age of 33) for men and women in the case of the age first left the parental home series. There are, of course, significant right-censoring bias issues with the median age value for the 15-19 age cohort for all these life cycle series and so this category has been omitted from the median age life cycle graphs (figures 1a and 1b).[7]

We focus attention first on the leaving the parental home series. As evident from Figures 1a and 1b, the median age at which Australians first left the parental home was relatively high for the first birth cohort specified (those aged 80 and over). For men in the 80+ cohort, the median age at which men left the parental home was 21.64, while for women the median age was slightly higher at 21.73 years. Those aged in their 80s were considering the question of leaving the parental home during the depression years and the experience of high unemployment may have delayed exit. The median age at which men aged 75-79 left the left the parental home then dramatically drops to 18.86, while for women the median age also falls but only to 21.05. The reason for this structural break is that those aged 75-79, were in their late teens at the time of mass mobilisation for the Second World War. Leaving the parental home to begin service clearly affected men more than women.

In the immediate post-war period, the median age at which people left the parental home increased over what it had been in the war but did not return to the average pre-war period level. For women aged 70-74, the median age for leaving the parental home was 20.81, while for men the median age was 21.12. The median age at which young people left the parental home then proceeded to decline throughout the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and even into the 1980s. The minimum point occurs for those aged 25-29 at the time of the HILDA survey. For women aged 25-29, the median age of leaving the parental home was 18.92 almost a full year below the corresponding age for men of 19.72. This gap between women and men evident since the mid-1950s reflects the joint influence of women cohabiting with a partner younger on average than men and a drop in the age of cohabitation during much of the relevant period. Among those aged under 25, the median age and corresponding survival table analysis (see Appendix Tables 1a and 1b) suggests a rise in the median age at which young people are leaving the parental home. We shall examine this issue in some detail in the following section.

How do these trends on median age of leaving the parental home in Australia over the 20th Century compare with those for other pivotal life cycle events? We shall first examine trends in terms of cohabitation with a partner (age first partnered) and legal marriage (see Figures 1a and 1b). The age first partnered series shows a wave-like trend across the various cohorts. Median age first partnered falls slightly as we move from the older to the middle-aged cohorts (no doubt fuelling, to some extent,

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[7] Right censoring significantly affects the age first married series for the 20-24 and 25-29 age cohorts but in a very real sense the right censoring in this case is a function of the underlying upward trend in the series itself.

the slow drop in the age first left the parental home series during the corresponding period). For men, the median age of first partnering was 26.00 for those aged 80 and over at the time of the HILDA survey. For women, the corresponding age was 23.30. Among those aged in their early 50s, these ages had fallen to 23.89 (men) and 21.43 (women). A drop of two years in both cases. The age first partnered series then begins to rise among those aged in the 30s and 40s at the time of the HILDA survye, increasing almost back to the point found for 80+ age cohort. The series then falls for those aged under 30. An even more dramatic effect occurs when we consider the age first legally married series. Prior to the 50-54 age cohort (the 60s teenage generation), the age first cohabited series tracks precisely the age first legally married series. At the point of the 50-54 age cohort, the two series break apart. More and more young people begin cohabiting first prior to legal marriage (if they legally marry at all) so that the age of first legal marriage rises significantly.

The age at which individuals first leave the parental home is also influenced by the age first left full-time education. This series shows a very clear strong upward trend for both women and men over the 20th Century. For those aged 80 and over the median age for leaving full-time education was 15 whereas among those currently aged 20-24, the median age was 17.7. For both women and men, a rise in the median age at which the individual left full-time education would, all other things being equal raise the age at which people left the parental home.

In summary: the median age at which Australians have left the parental home has drifted over time falling slowly, stabilising and then apparently rising recently. This series has, however, exhibited much more stable patterns than any of the other life course trends examined.

We now move on to model the process of exit from the parental home (the 'hazard') for all those aged 20. The hazard function in this case gives the probability that an individual leaves the parental home at a particular age conditional on being in the parental home prior to that point. We shall utilise Cox's proportional hazards model, where we model the hazard function using the following functional form:

$$h\ (t, X) = h\ (t,0)\ \exp(\mathbf{b'X})$$

where $h\ (t,0)$ is the baseline hazard rate. The baseline hazard rate reflects the influence of spell duration on the hazard rate and is independent of the set of determinants. Correspondingly, the second component of the hazard function $\exp(\mathbf{b'X})$ is independent of time but is dependent on the set of regression coefficients and the associated $\mathbf{X}$ determinants.

The set of covariates in the model must reflect information on the individual and their parental background that is relevant to the decision made to leave the parental home. We, therefore, only include variables on the family and educational background the respondent that may have influenced the leaving home decision and which is common across all age cohorts. As indicated above, for all persons, we have information on country of birth, the number of siblings the individual had, the early schooling background of the person, the age the individual left full-time education, whether the parents of the person were separated prior to age 15, whether the father and/or mother were present in the household at the age of 14, the occupational background of both the mother and the father and whether the father had been unemployed. We do not know where the individual lived in their formative teenage years. However, to test the hypothesis that the leaving home process is influenced by regional location (through possibly a housing costs channel) we estimate a separate model including current location. Clearly given in and out migration patterns such a test will only be suggestive of regional impacts.

Table 2 presents the Cox Proportional Hazards results. The easiest way to interpret these results is to read off estimates from the hazard ratio column. If the hazard ratio is greater than one (and the effect is significant), people with the designated characteristic are exiting the parental home state more quickly than the relative default category (their relative risk of an exit from the parental home is higher than the default) and if it is less than one, individuals with a given characteristic have a greater chance of 'survival' in the parental home.

Figure 1a Median Age of Major Life Events, Male Age Cohorts, HILDA Wave 1

50% 20-24 Men Not Married

50% 25-29 Men Not Married

Leaving the Parental Home ▪ Leaving Full-time Education Partnered in Own Dwelling (inc. Legal Marriage) Legal Marriage
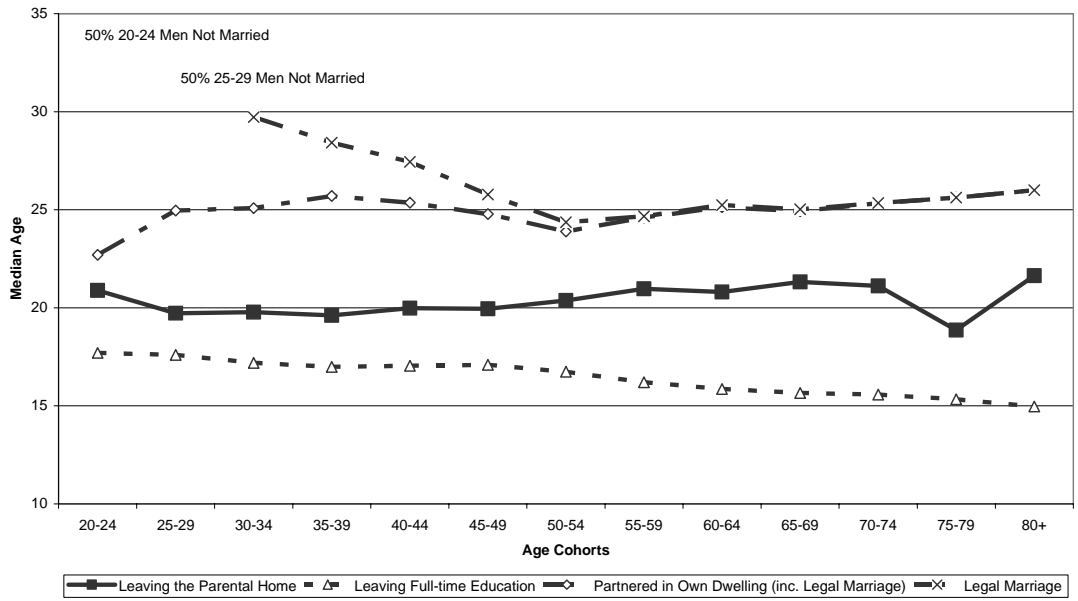
Figure 1b Median Age of Major Life Events, Women Age Cohorts, HILDA Wave 1

50% 20-24 Women Not Married

Leaving the Parental Home ▪ Leaving Full-time Education Partnered in Own Dwelling (inc. Legal Marriage) Legal Marriage

9
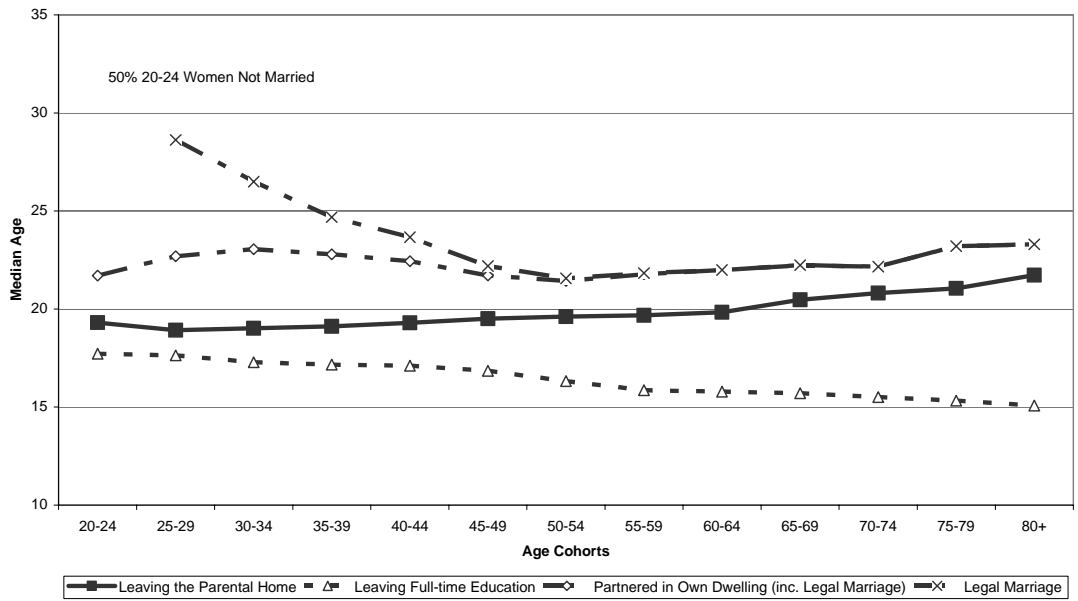
The results presented in Table 2 suggest that, all other things being equal, women exit the parental home more quickly than do men (the default). The hazard ratio is 1.2 in the case of women indicating that women have a 20 per cent higher 'risk' of leaving the parental home than men controlling for all other factors. While we have described the leaving home process as a more stable social series than other key life course events the results do throw up some significant differences between the various age cohorts. The omitted category is the 40-44 age cohort. The older age cohorts have *lower* relative risks of exit than the 40-44 age cohort with the relative risk declining as we move to older age cohorts (i.e., the hazard ratio increasingly falls below 1). The difference between the 40-44 age cohort and the older age cohorts is significant. There is, however, no significant difference between the 25-29 through to 40-44 age cohorts suggesting relative stability through the 1980s and into the early 1990s in the leaving home process. However, the 20-24 age category again displays a lower hazard of leaving the parental home than does the control 40-44 age cohort with the difference being statistically significant at the 10 per cent level.

Higher crowding levels in the parental dwelling (more siblings) increases the risk of exit from the parental home as does being the oldest sibling. Indigenous Australians also display a significantly higher risk of leaving the parental home. Significant cultural factors appear to have influenced the risk of exit from the parental home. Those born in non-main-English-speaking countries and those who went to a Catholic school tend to have a lower relative risk of leaving the parental home than those born in Australia and those who went to a non-Catholic school. In terms of the former effect, country of birth has less impact in the second generation (the Australian born of parents from non-main-English speaking countries) as compared to the first (born in non-main-English speaking countries) as is evident in the higher relative risk of exiting the parental home in the second generation as compared to the first.

The hypothesis that living in a home where one or more parents is absent increases the relative risk of exit is borne out in the Table 2 results. The relative risk of exit from the parental home is significantly higher for those whose parents separated prior to them reaching their 15th birthday (not separated the default). A higher risk is also found for those whose father was unemployed for at least 6 months or more prior to the respondent reaching the age of 15. Relative to the default of father (mother) not in paid employment at 14, all other father (mother) occupational effects are positive on the risk of exit from the parental home. Finally, in terms of regional effects, we find that those *currently* residing in Sydney and Melbourne have a lower hazard of exiting the parental home (i.e., they stay at home longer) than the ACT default while those currently residing in inner and outer regional areas have a higher hazard than a capital city default. Whether high relative home purchase costs in Sydney and Melbourne over the generations lies behind lower exit rates from the parental home, however, remains an open question.

4.   Leaving the Parental Home, Household Formation, and Housing Tenure Patterns in Recent Generations

We now move on to consider in more detail the leaving the parental home, household formation, and housing tenure patterns of *those currently aged 15-24*.

The analysis of the leaving the parental home process for the current generation of young people is difficult as a result of severe right censoring bias problems in the 15-19 age category and (to a lesser extent, the 20-24 age category). However, these problems can be reduced through appropriate statistical techniques. The most transparent of these is to construct a matrix that shows the number and cumulative proportion of those of a particular age that leave the parental home in the years up to their current age. This is done in Table 3. To interpret this table, consider the position of those currently aged 21. Using data from the HILDA survey we can map out the number of 21 year olds that left the parental home prior to their turning 21. Hence, 9 of the 21 year old age cohort left at the age of 14, 7 at the age of 15 and 10 at the age of 16, and so on. The cumulative proportion of those that had left the parental home by 16 years is 12 per cent. Performing the same task across each of the age groups, we can compare the cumulative proportion of those leaving the parental home for a given common year. By comparing cumulative proportions for a given year for different age groups, we can begin to get a better picture of whether any time-related home leaving pattern emerges for the 15 to 24 age group.

Table 2 Cox Proportional Hazard Equation, Time to First Left Home, HILDA Wave 1

	Model Exc. Current Location				*Model Inc. Current Location*				
	Coeff.	*St. Error*	*Sig. Level*	*Hazard Ratio Exp(B)*	*Coeff.*	*St. Error*	*Sig. Level*	*Hazard Ratio Exp(B)*	*Mean*
Female	0.182	0.018	0.000	1.199	0.185	0.018	0.000	1.203	0.529
Age *(default 40-44)*									
Age - 20 to 24	-0.132	0.048	0.006	0.877	-0.122	0.048	0.012	0.885	0.080
Age - 25 to 29	-0.040	0.041	0.321	0.960	-0.034	0.041	0.399	0.966	0.094
Age - 30 to 34	-0.024	0.038	0.535	0.977	-0.017	0.038	0.651	0.983	0.109
Age - 35 to 39	0.026	0.037	0.478	1.027	0.029	0.037	0.430	1.030	0.117
Age - 45 to 49	0.016	0.039	0.669	1.017	0.020	0.039	0.607	1.020	0.099
Age - 50 to 54	0.018	0.040	0.644	1.019	0.021	0.040	0.605	1.021	0.091
Age - 55 to 59	-0.095	0.043	0.027	0.909	-0.089	0.043	0.038	0.915	0.071
Age - 60 to 64	-0.100	0.045	0.027	0.905	-0.101	0.045	0.025	0.904	0.061
Age - 65 to 69	-0.225	0.049	0.000	0.799	-0.219	0.049	0.000	0.803	0.049
Age - 70 to 74	-0.299	0.050	0.000	0.741	-0.260	0.050	0.000	0.771	0.046
Age - 75 to 79	-0.265	0.056	0.000	0.767	-0.236	0.056	0.000	0.790	0.035
Age - 80 and over	-0.523	0.060	0.000	0.593	-0.481	0.060	0.000	0.618	0.030
Siblings									
Number of Siblings	0.045	0.004	0.000	1.047	0.044	0.004	0.000	1.045	3.037
Oldest Sibling	0.053	0.020	0.008	1.055	0.053	0.020	0.008	1.055	0.314
Indigenous	0.374	0.072	0.000	1.454	0.339	0.072	0.000	1.404	0.017
First Spoke Language other than English	-0.085	0.067	0.200	0.918	-0.052	0.067	0.437	0.950	0.134
Country of Birth (*default Aust. Born and Parents Aust. Born***)**									
Australian Born - Parent(s) Born Main Eng. Sp. Countries	0.042	0.040	0.301	1.043	0.046	0.041	0.259	1.047	0.058
Australian Born - Parents Born in Other Countries	-0.173	0.030	0.000	0.841	-0.129	0.030	0.000	0.879	0.122
Main English Speaking Country of Birth	0.171	0.030	0.000	1.186	0.191	0.030	0.000	1.211	0.116
Other Countries of Birth	-0.255	0.064	0.000	0.775	-0.184	0.065	0.004	0.832	0.149

Table 2 Cox Proportional Hazard Equation, Time to First Left Home, HILDA Wave 1 (Cont'd)

| | Model Exc. Current Location | | | | Model Inc. Current Location | | | | |
	Coeff.	St. Error	Sig. Level	Hazard Ratio Exp(B)	Coeff.	St. Error	Sig. Level	Hazard Ratio Exp(B)	Mean
Education									
Never Went to School	0.029	0.179	0.872	1.029	0.049	0.180	0.786	1.050	0.003
Catholic Non-Government School	-0.126	0.026	0.000	0.882	-0.105	0.026	0.000	0.901	0.149
Other Non-Government School	-0.029	0.032	0.370	0.972	-0.016	0.032	0.611	0.984	0.099
Never Left Full-time Education	-0.938	0.189	0.000	0.391	-0.724	0.189	0.000	0.485	0.006
Age Left Full-time Education	-0.034	0.005	0.000	0.966	-0.026	0.005	0.000	0.975	16.423
Parental Background *(Father and Mother Defaults – Not in Paid Employment at 14)*									
Parents Separated Prior to Age 15	0.452	0.032	0.000	1.572	0.444	0.032	0.000	1.559	0.111
Father Deceased at 14	0.377	0.063	0.000	1.457	0.364	0.063	0.000	1.440	0.039
No Father Present at 14	0.378	0.077	0.000	1.460	0.376	0.077	0.000	1.457	0.023
Father Unemployed - 6 Months or More - Growing Up	0.101	0.029	0.001	1.107	0.113	0.030	0.000	1.120	0.110
Father - Manager and Administrator	0.356	0.048	0.000	1.428	0.311	0.049	0.000	1.365	0.180
Father - Professional	0.315	0.052	0.000	1.371	0.327	0.052	0.000	1.387	0.107
Father - Associate Professional	0.368	0.051	0.000	1.445	0.368	0.051	0.000	1.445	0.108
Father - Tradesperson or Related Worker	0.330	0.047	0.000	1.391	0.323	0.047	0.000	1.382	0.195
Father - Advanced Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	0.337	0.112	0.003	1.400	0.370	0.112	0.001	1.448	0.007
Father - Intermediate Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	0.257	0.057	0.000	1.294	0.251	0.057	0.000	1.285	0.057
Father - Intermediate Production and Transport Worker	0.344	0.050	0.000	1.411	0.331	0.050	0.000	1.392	0.112
Father - Elementary Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	0.164	0.069	0.018	1.178	0.169	0.070	0.015	1.184	0.027
Father - Labourer or Related Worker	0.330	0.053	0.000	1.391	0.302	0.053	0.000	1.353	0.085
Mother Deceased at 14	0.368	0.071	0.000	1.445	0.395	0.071	0.000	1.485	0.017
No Mother Present at 14	0.356	0.115	0.002	1.427	0.362	0.115	0.002	1.436	0.007
Mother - Manager and Administrator	0.104	0.061	0.090	1.110	0.100	0.062	0.106	1.105	0.024
Mother - Professional	0.140	0.038	0.000	1.150	0.163	0.038	0.000	1.178	0.072
Mother - Associate Professional	0.115	0.045	0.012	1.121	0.102	0.046	0.025	1.108	0.046
Mother - Tradesperson or Related Worker	0.026	0.055	0.636	1.026	0.019	0.055	0.727	1.019	0.028
Mother - Advanced Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	0.174	0.051	0.001	1.190	0.195	0.051	0.000	1.215	0.035

Table 2 Cox Proportional Hazard Equation, Time to First Left Home, HILDA Wave 1 (Cont'd)

| | *Model Exc. Current Location* | | | | *Model Inc. Current Location* | | | | |
	Coeff.	St. Error	Sig. Level	Hazard Ratio Exp(B)	Coeff.	St. Error	Sig. Level	Hazard Ratio Exp(B)	Mean
Mother - Intermediate Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	0.083	0.039	0.031	1.087	0.100	0.039	0.010	1.105	0.066
Mother - Intermediate Production and Transport Worker	-0.061	0.066	0.355	0.941	-0.005	0.066	0.944	0.995	0.020
Mother - Elementary Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	0.081	0.041	0.047	1.084	0.097	0.041	0.017	1.102	0.055
Mother - Labourer or Related Worker	0.084	0.035	0.016	1.088	0.102	0.035	0.004	1.107	0.080
Region									
Sydney					-0.286	0.075	0.000	0.751	0.174
Balance of NSW					-0.116	0.079	0.145	0.891	0.138
Melbourne					-0.270	0.075	0.000	0.763	0.179
Balance of Victoria					-0.140	0.084	0.096	0.870	0.077
Brisbane					0.027	0.078	0.730	1.027	0.084
Balance of QLD					0.072	0.082	0.379	1.075	0.105
Adelaide					-0.203	0.081	0.012	0.816	0.062
Balance of SA					-0.115	0.096	0.229	0.891	0.031
Perth					-0.042	0.079	0.597	0.959	0.073
Balance of WA					-0.004	0.099	0.966	0.996	0.028
Tasmania					-0.196	0.094	0.038	0.822	0.029
Northern Territory					0.071	0.158	0.655	1.073	0.005
Inner Regional Australia					0.115	0.031	0.000	1.121	0.278
Outer Regional Australia					0.134	0.043	0.002	1.143	0.117
Remote & Very Remote Australia					0.105	0.088	0.233	1.111	0.016
Initial Log-likelihood	210429.1				210429.1		Cases	12786	
Final Log-likelihood	209291.8				209019.0		Events	12199	
Chi-square	1171.1				1458.8		Censored	587	
df	50.000				65.000				
Significance	0.000				0.000				

Figure 2 Cumulative Proportion Leaving Home by Age Category
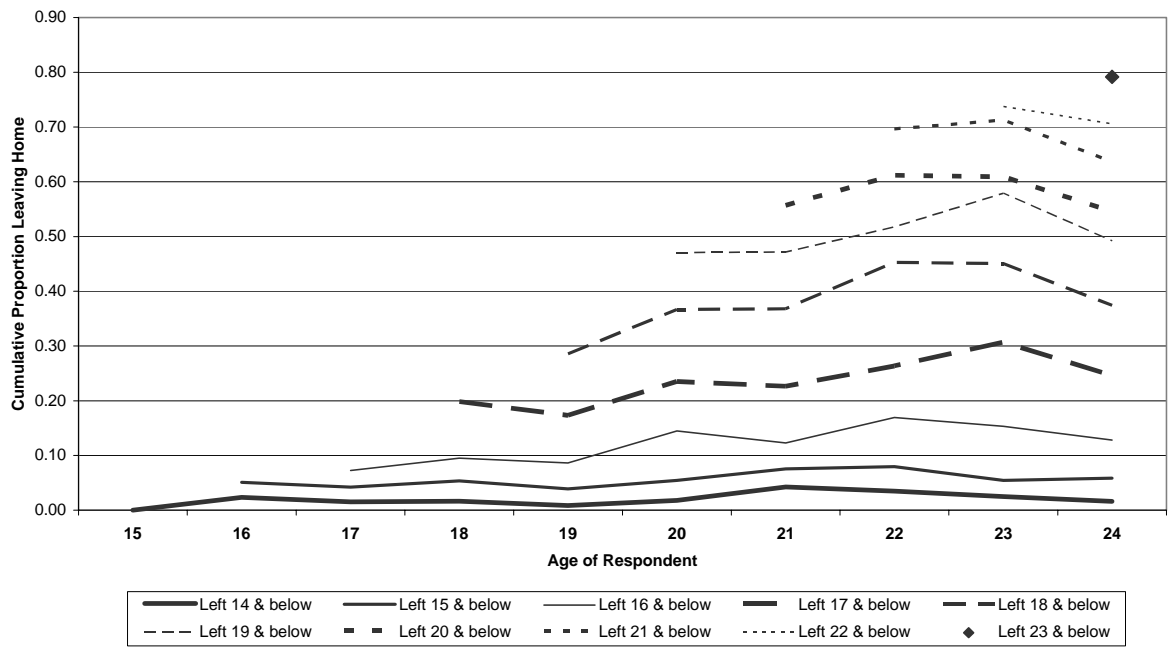
Table 3 Age First Left Home by Age of Respondent, HILDA, Wave 1

Age Left Home	Current Age									
	15	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*20*	*21*	*22*	*23*	*24*
			Number							
Left 14	0	6	4	4	2	4	9	7	5	3
Left 15		7	7	9	7	8	7	9	6	8
Left 16			8	10	11	20	10	18	20	13
Left 17				25	20	20	22	19	31	22
Left 18					26	29	30	38	29	24
Left 19						23	22	13	26	22
Left 20							18	19	6	10
Left 21								17	21	17
Left 22									5	13
Left 23										16
Total in Age	**193**	**255**	**261**	**242**	**231**	**221**	**212**	**201**	**202**	**187**

Age Left Home	Current Age									
	15	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*20*	*21*	*22*	*23*	*24*
					Cumulative Proportion					
Left 14 & below	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.02
Left 15 & below		0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.08	0.05	0.06
Left 16 & below			0.07	0.10	0.09	0.14	0.12	0.17	0.15	0.13
Left 17 & below				0.20	0.17	0.24	0.23	0.26	0.31	0.25
Left 18 & below					0.29	0.37	0.37	0.45	0.45	0.37
Left 19 & below						0.47	0.47	0.52	0.58	0.49
Left 20 & below							0.56	0.61	0.61	0.55
Left 21 & below								0.70	0.71	0.64
Left 22 & below									0.74	0.71
Left 23 & below										0.79

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The rows in the top panel of Table 3 represent the age at which individuals left the parental home while the columns are the current ages of respondents. In the bottom panel of Table 3, the corresponding cumulative proportions of those leaving the parental home are presented. The cumulative proportions data is displayed again in Figure 2. As is evident in Figure 2, specific age-left- the-family- home curves are positively sloped against the current age for all ages up to 23. In other words, the cumulative proportion of individuals who had left the family home at a specific age is *higher* for the older age group than for the younger aged group. For, example, among current 19 year olds, 29 per cent had left by age 18 whereas 45 per cent of current 23 year olds had left by age 18. The evidence from this matrix, therefore, points towards a recent trend of staying in the family home longer before leaving for the first time. The one deviation from this pattern occurs for those aged 24 who stayed in the parental home longer than 23 year olds. This may represent a statistical artefact arising from smaller numbers when using individual ages rather than cohort intervals but may also reflect an impact from the 1991 recession.

Figure 3 provides a point of comparison between HILDA age-related data on children in the parental home and previous results from the ABS Labour Force survey. In this case, we are looking at the proportion of an age category that remain in the family home and not at the rate of exit. The two series are different in the sense that those who leave can return thus increasing the proportion in the parental home at any one time. The HILDA data point surprisingly shows that, relative to the 2000 ABS series, there was a decline and not a rise in the proportion of respondents in the 20 to 24 age group that were still living at home. This decline could however reflect the different sample bases of the two surveys. An alternative explanation is that the mid-1990s groups of 20-24 year olds experienced higher return to the family home rates thus boosting the proportions at home.

We now move on to an examination of the broader household formation and housing tenure patterns of the current generation. Table 4 provides a descriptive snapshot of the current living arrangements of those respondents aged 15-24.

School students in the 15-19 age category remain largely in the parental home. The majority of those aged 15 to 19 year who are no longer still at school, also continue to reside in the parental home but the proportion falls as we move from full-time tertiary students to part-time tertiary students. Among the latter we also pick up evidence of the parental home boomerang effect with 7.9 per cent of part-time tertiary students having left the parental home at some point in the past and then returned so that at the time of the HILDA survey they were residing in the parental home. This figure only represents a point-in-time estimate of the boomerang phenomenon; the proportion of respondents who had returned to the parental home at some point during their history is a potentially much larger number (particularly as we move into older age categories).

When we consider the position of non-students in the 15-19 age category, we find a lower proportion of those currently unemployed, and those marginally attached to the labour force in the never left the parental home category, but a higher proportion in the return to the parental home category. This suggests that those who are less successful in the labour market (ex post) actually leave home earlier than others but that the parental home acts as a refuge magnet for this group. The vast majority of full-time employed persons aged 15-19 remain in the parental home and have never left it (65 per cent). When they do leave the parental home they are likely to be either in a group house or a partnering formation rather than on their own. They will also typically reside in the private rental market. (both in the private rental market). The same is also true of tertiary students who had left the parental home.

As we move from the 15-19 age category into the 20-24 age category, the proportion of those still in the home falls dramatically. It still remains somewhat higher for tertiary students and part-time employees than full-time employees and the unemployed. What also begins to take on greater importance (and is clearly linked to the leaving of the parental home) is the role of partnering. While around 7.5 per cent of 15-19 year old respondents are either with a partner or are a sole parent, among the 20-24 age group that proportion rises to 38.6 per cent and by the early 30s close to 80 per cent are in the household formation category.

Figure 3 Proportion of Age Group Living at Home with Parents, HILDA Wave 1 and ABS Labour Force Status and Other Characteristics of Families (Weston et al., 2001)
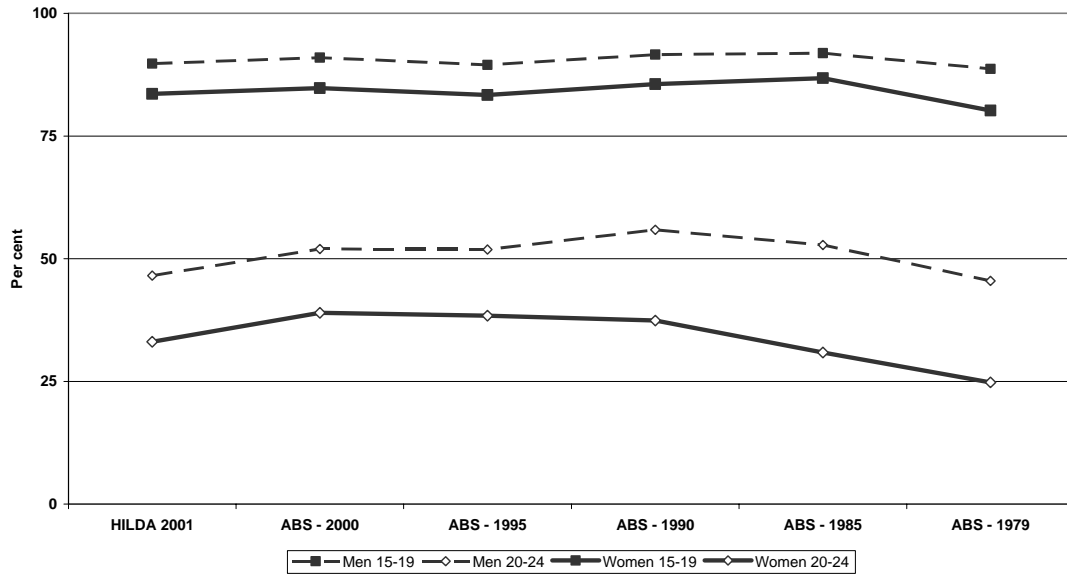
Among those aged 20-24, private rental tenancies compete with living in the parental home as the dominant housing tenure position. The private rental market has its strongest impact in the 25-29 age category before home ownership takes over decisively in the 30 to 34 age group. However, even among 20-24 year olds, close to 15 per cent of full-time employed persons have made the transition to home ownership. Slightly even more of those in the NILF category have made this transition. On the surface, this appears to be an anomaly. However, the majority in this category are in fact partners of full-time employees. Public housing provides a supporting role to the unemployed and the NILF-marginally attached group who reside outside the parental home although by far the most important form of housing assistance to this group comes from Commonwealth rent assistance payments to those in the private rental market.

We complete our study of the parental home leaving process among the current generation by modelling the probability that those in the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups had *never left* the parental home. Table 5 reports results from a probit model where the dependent variable takes a value of 1 if the person has never left the parental home (measured at the time of the HILDA survey) and zero otherwise. Marginal effects are calculated as the change in the probability of never leaving the parental home for a marginal change in the independent variable (but in the case of binary variables it is the effect of moving from 0 to 1 that is evaluated). Explanatory variables include gender, the log of income unit income, age, education, birthplace, family background, partnering decisions, and regions.

As expected, the probability of women never leaving the parental home is lower than for men in both the case of 15-19 year olds and 20-24 year olds. There is also an obvious age effect. The older the individual, the lower the probability of never having left the parental home. (Notice, however, that in the 20-24 age cohort model, the value on the age 24 variable is lower than for the age 23 variable confirming our descriptive statistics result of a delayed leaving home process among 24 year olds compared to 23 year olds.) Being still at school has an expected large negative effect on the probability of never having left the parental home but other education variables have a muted impact. Never having been married, or not currently living in a de facto relationship, significantly increases the probability of never leaving the parental home. Residing in a large family home increases the probability of leaving the parental home as does coming from an indigenous background. Surprisingly, very few birthplace or regional effects are evident. The one exception is that among 15-19 year olds, living in outer regional Australia increases the probability of having left the parental home.

As with our previous hazard model, parental background matters. When fathers and mothers are not in paid employment at the age of 14, the individual is likely to remain in the parental home

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longer. Finally, there is only patchy evidence that differences between labour market states matter when age, demographic and family background effects are taken into account. This is in contrast to what appeared to be relatively clear patterns from the descriptive analysis. The longer the duration of a current spell of unemployment among those aged 15-19, the lower is the probability of never leaving the parental home (an offset is provided by the fact that the unemployment state variable has the opposite sign). Those employed full-time among the 20-24 age group have a lower probability of never having left the parental home.

6. Conclusion

Extant Australian research on the leaving the parental home process has relied on datasets focussed on particular age cohorts. In this paper, we have utilised the HILDA dataset to study the parental home leaving process. HILDA not only covers all relevant age cohorts, but increases by a factor of 5 the size of the sample (over existing relevant Australian) surveys and includes a large array of relevant determinants providing greater scope to researchers to model housing career movements.

Our findings on the parental home leaving process can be summarised as follows. Judged against trends in a number of other life-cycle events (such as age of first marriage), the age at which people leave the parental home has not changed markedly in Australian society over the last 60 odd years. Nevertheless, some differences can be found between different age cohorts. In general terms, the post-war cohorts left the parental home earlier than their pre-war counterparts. The move to earlier parental home leaving continued through the post-war generations up to the present generation of young people. In terms of the current generation, however, the evidence presented in this paper suggests a gradual rise in the age at which those in their teens and early 20s are leaving the parental home. Increases in school retention rates are clearly one important factor pushing this trend in an upwards direction. Those at school invariably live at home and have never left home. The same is not always true of tertiary students.

Table 4 Household Formation and Housing Tenure Positions by Age by Study and Labour Force Status, Per Cent, HILDA Wave 1, Aged 15 to 24

	Studying			Not Studying					
	Student at School	*Tertiary Full-time Student*	*Tertiary Part-time Student*	*Employed Full-time*	*Employed Part-time*	*Unemployed*	*NILF - Marginally Attached*	*NILF - Not Marginally Attached*	*Total*
Household Formation									
Aged 15 to 19									
Living at Home with Parents - Never Left	96.2	74.9	69.8	65.0	77.9	57.1	43.3	53.3	84.0
Living at Home with Parents - Returnees	0.6	2.9	7.9	4.9	2.6	10.7	13.3	6.7	2.7
Not Living at Home with Parents - Person Identifies to Parental Home	0.6	0.6	1.6	3.9	0.0	5.4	0.0	13.3	1.3
Single Person Household	0.3	5.1	3.2	3.9	3.9	3.6	6.7	6.7	2.1
Group Household - Unrelated Persons	0.2	5.7	4.8	8.7	3.9	5.4	0.0	0.0	2.5
Family Household - Partners & Sole Parents	2.1	10.9	12.7	13.6	11.7	17.9	36.7	20.0	7.4
	100.0	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Aged 20 to 24									
Living at Home with Parents - Never Left	100.0	39.4	38.5	27.7	35.3	28.4	15.3	29.3	32.2
Living at Home with Parents - Returnees	0.0	6.6	6.4	6.5	8.6	11.9	6.8	14.6	7.4
Not Living at Home with Parents - Person Identifies to Parental Home	0.0	1.2	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.5
Single Person Household	0.0	10.0	10.1	12.2	11.2	10.4	1.7	2.4	10.2
Group Household - Unrelated Persons	0.0	13.3	11.0	13.2	7.8	11.9	3.4	0.0	11.1
Family Household - Partners & Sole Parents	0.0	29.5	33.0	40.4	37.1	35.8	72.9	53.7	38.6
	100.0	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*

Table 4 Household Formation and Housing Tenure Positions by Age by Study and Labour Force Status, Per Cent, HILDA Wave 1, Aged 15 to 24 (Cont'd)

	Studying			Not Studying					
	Student at School	*Tertiary Full-time Student*	*Tertiary Part-time Student*	*Employed Full-time*	*Employed Part-time*	*Unem-ployed*	*NILF - Marginally Attached*	*NILF - Not Marginally Attached*	*Total*
Housing Tenure Position									
Aged 15 to 19									
Living at Home with Parents	96.8	77.7	77.8	69.9	80.5	67.9	56.7	60.0	86.7
Outright Owner	0.9	0.6	3.2	1.0	2.6	1.8	3.3	6.7	1.3
Owner with a Mortgage	0.8	2.3	3.2	1.0	0.0	1.8	3.3	0.0	1.2
Private Renter	1.1	17.1	14.3	22.3	13.0	25.0	26.7	20.0	8.8
Public Renter	0.2	0.6	0.0	2.9	1.3	3.6	6.7	6.7	0.9
Other Rent Payer	0.3	0.6	1.6	1.9	1.3	0.0	3.3	6.7	0.8
Rent-free	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
	100.0	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Aged 20 to 24									
Living at Home with Parents	100.0	46.1	45.0	34.2	44.0	40.3	22.0	43.9	39.6
Outright Owner	0.0	5.4	1.8	3.6	3.4	4.5	0.0	9.8	3.9
Owner with a Mortgage	0.0	3.3	9.2	13.5	11.2	6.0	5.1	14.6	9.4
Private Renter	0.0	41.5	33.9	45.3	34.5	40.3	50.8	24.4	41.0
Public Renter	0.0	0.8	2.8	0.8	3.4	6.0	6.8	4.9	2.2
Other Rent Payer	0.0	1.2	2.8	1.0	1.7	0.0	5.1	2.4	1.6
Rent-free	0.0	1.7	4.6	1.6	1.7	3.0	10.2	0.0	2.4
	100.0	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*

Table 5 Probit Model, Never Left the Parental Home, HILDA Wave 1

	15-19 Year Olds				20-24 Year Olds			
	Coeff.	St. Error	Sig. Level	DF/dx	Coeff.	St. Error	Sig. Level	DF/dx
Constant	0.966	0.934	0.301		0.996	0.638	0.119	
Female	-0.348	0.142	0.014	-0.027	-0.254	0.121	0.036	-0.067
Log of Income Unit Income	-0.024	0.018	0.191	-0.002	0.035	0.015	0.023	0.009
Age								
16	-0.684	0.417	0.101	-0.076				
17	-0.759	0.409	0.064	-0.087				
18	-1.082	0.416	0.009	-0.151				
19	-1.429	0.426	0.001	-0.239				
21					-0.511	0.170	0.003	-0.115
22					-0.809	0.184	0.000	-0.164
23					-1.059	0.206	0.000	-0.201
24					-0.999	0.217	0.000	-0.188
Education								
Still at School	0.848	0.242	0.000	0.078				
Tertiary Full-time Student	0.002	0.198	0.991	0.000	-0.321	0.172	0.062	-0.077
Tertiary Part-time Student	0.064	0.272	0.814	0.005	0.075	0.183	0.684	0.020
Catholic Non-Government School	0.128	0.202	0.527	0.009	-0.022	0.158	0.889	-0.006
Other Non-Government School	0.100	0.243	0.681	0.007	-0.107	0.170	0.529	-0.027
Siblings								
Number of Siblings	-0.142	0.042	0.001	-0.011	-0.088	0.042	0.035	-0.023
Oldest Sibling	-0.135	0.145	0.352	-0.011	0.253	0.123	0.039	0.068
Indigenous	-0.933	0.316	0.003	-0.149	-0.662	0.518	0.202	-0.124
First Spoke Language other than English	-0.928	0.573	0.105	-0.138	0.013	0.489	0.979	0.003
Country of Birth (*default Aust. Born and Parents Aust. Born*)								
Australian Born - Parent(s) Born Main Eng. Sp. Countries	0.149	0.281	0.596	0.010	-0.108	0.207	0.603	-0.027
Australian Born - Parents Born in Other Countries	0.293	0.206	0.155	0.020	0.147	0.166	0.375	0.040
Main English Speaking Country of Birth	-0.337	0.358	0.346	-0.035	-0.368	0.296	0.214	-0.081
Other Countries of Birth	0.173	0.551	0.753	0.012	-0.444	0.464	0.339	-0.099
Parental Background *(Father and Mother Defaults – Not in Paid Employment at 14)*								
Parents Separated Prior to Age 15	-0.179	0.175	0.307	-0.015	-0.098	0.160	0.541	-0.025
Father Deceased at 14	-2.207	0.548	0.000	-0.614	-0.581	0.903	0.520	-0.113
No Father Present at 14	-1.049	0.318	0.001	-0.174	-1.277	0.359	0.000	-0.176
Father Unemployed - 6 Months or More - Growing Up	-0.400	0.227	0.078	-0.042	-0.967	0.210	0.000	-0.175
Father - Manager and Administrator	-1.028	0.270	0.000	-0.157	-1.400	0.229	0.000	-0.213
Father - Professional	-0.602	0.269	0.025	-0.068	-1.250	0.217	0.000	-0.206
Father - Associate Professional	-0.995	0.291	0.001	-0.155	-1.565	0.248	0.000	-0.220
Father - Tradesperson or Related Worker	-0.755	0.272	0.005	-0.096	-1.415	0.220	0.000	-0.228
Father - Advanced Clerical, Sales or Service Worker					-1.354	0.770	0.079	-0.169
Father - Intermediate Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	-0.419	0.377	0.266	-0.045	-0.937	0.285	0.001	-0.156
Father - Intermediate Production and Transport Worker	-0.820	0.310	0.008	-0.115	-1.022	0.251	0.000	-0.173
Father - Elementary Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	-0.004	0.637	0.995	0.000	-0.743	0.414	0.072	-0.133
Father - Labourer or Related Worker	-1.451	0.326	0.000	-0.305	-1.569	0.319	0.000	-0.195
Mother Deceased at 14	-2.445	0.618	0.000	-0.698	-0.627	0.683	0.358	-0.119
No Mother Present at 14	-0.169	0.542	0.755	-0.015	0.397	0.641	0.536	0.121
Mother - Manager and Administrator	-0.128	0.371	0.731	-0.011	-0.526	0.533	0.324	-0.106

Table 5 Probit Model, Never Left the Parental Home, HILDA Wave 1

	15-19 Year Olds				20-24 Year Olds			
	Coeff.	St. Error	Sig. Level	DF/dx	Coeff.	St. Error	Sig. Level	DF/dx
Mother - Professional	-0.410	0.208	0.049	-0.041	-0.115	0.178	0.519	-0.029
Mother - Associate Professional	-0.018	0.278	0.950	-0.001	-0.310	0.259	0.230	-0.071
Mother - Tradesperson or Related Worker	0.526	0.920	0.568	0.026	-1.157	0.480	0.016	-0.166
Mother - Advanced Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	-0.162	0.340	0.634	-0.014	-0.665	0.282	0.018	-0.127
Mother - Intermediate Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	-0.471	0.227	0.038	-0.051	-0.690	0.190	0.000	-0.138
Mother - Intermediate Production and Transport Worker	-0.382	0.468	0.415	-0.041	-0.275	0.469	0.558	-0.063
Mother - Elementary Clerical, Sales or Service Worker	0.681	0.427	0.111	0.031	-0.587	0.302	0.052	-0.117
Mother - Labourer or Related Worker	-0.292	0.348	0.401	-0.029	-0.627	0.300	0.037	-0.123
Resident Children Aged 0-4	-0.444	0.850	0.601	-0.035	-1.024	0.452	0.024	-0.267
Labour Market								
Time in Paid Employment	0.024	0.106	0.818	0.002	0.030	0.032	0.355	0.008
Time Unemployed	-0.397	0.192	0.038	-0.031	-0.081	0.105	0.439	-0.021
Permanently Unable to Work	1.724	0.997	0.084	0.036	0.841	0.849	0.322	0.289
Employed Full-time	0.300	0.271	0.268	0.019	-0.462	0.278	0.096	-0.120
Employed Part-time	0.772	0.225	0.001	0.053	-0.369	0.262	0.159	-0.089
Unemployed	0.786	0.281	0.005	0.037	-0.322	0.327	0.324	-0.074
NILF - Marginally Attached	0.378	0.234	0.107	0.024	-0.718	0.362	0.047	-0.137
Never Married and Not De Facto	2.645	0.478	0.000	0.745	1.994	0.223	0.000	0.375
Long Term Health Condition or Disability	-0.568	0.216	0.008	-0.066	-0.164	0.209	0.431	-0.040
Region								
Sydney	0.070	0.650	0.914	0.005	-0.172	0.509	0.735	-0.043
Balance of NSW	0.150	0.685	0.827	0.011	-0.051	0.548	0.926	-0.013
Melbourne	-0.393	0.637	0.538	-0.038	-0.203	0.499	0.684	-0.050
Balance of Victoria	0.263	0.712	0.711	0.017	-0.472	0.592	0.425	-0.099
Brisbane	-0.446	0.668	0.504	-0.049	-0.470	0.528	0.373	-0.101
Balance of QLD	-0.205	0.683	0.764	-0.018	-0.919	0.586	0.117	-0.164
Adelaide	-0.136	0.672	0.840	-0.012	-0.514	0.530	0.331	-0.107
Balance of SA	-0.020	0.769	0.979	-0.002	-0.801	0.791	0.311	-0.138
Perth	-0.690	0.661	0.297	-0.090	-0.614	0.528	0.245	-0.124
Balance of WA	-0.151	0.805	0.851	-0.013	-1.140	1.189	0.338	-0.164
Tasmania	-0.144	0.765	0.851	-0.013	-0.456	0.614	0.458	-0.096
Northern Territory	0.008	0.937	0.993	0.001	-0.773	1.009	0.444	-0.134
Inner Regional Australia	-0.191	0.244	0.433	-0.016	-0.349	0.230	0.129	-0.083
Outer Regional Australia	-0.871	0.320	0.006	-0.120	-0.503	0.318	0.113	-0.108
Remote & Very Remote Australia	-1.033	0.847	0.223	-0.182	0.699	1.008	0.488	0.232

1=Never Left the Parental Home; 0= Left

	15-19 Year Olds	20-24 Year Olds
Observations	1143	934
Initial Log-likelihood	-455.52	-606.00478
Final Log-likelihood	-241.43	-338.77398
Psuedo R Squared	0.47	0.44
Chi-square	428.17	534.46
df	67	67
Significance	0.000	0

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Appendix Table 1a Time Spent in the Parental Home Prior to First Leave, Cumulative Survival Curves, by Age Cohort and Gender, HILDA Wave 1, 2001

	Age Cohort													
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 +
Age left home	Born Mid-1980s	Born Early-1980s	Born Mid-1970s	Born Early-1970s	Born Mid-1960s	Born Early-1960s	Born Mid-1950s	Born Early-1950s	Born Mid-1940s	Born Early-1940s	Born Mid-1930s	Born Early-1930s	Born Mid-1920s	Born Pre-1920s
Men														
	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
14	0.99	0.97	0.99	0.98	0.97	0.98	0.98	0.97	0.97	0.96	0.97	0.95	0.94	0.92
15	0.97	0.94	0.94	0.93	0.92	0.94	0.94	0.93	0.92	0.89	0.91	0.90	0.88	0.87
16	0.95	0.88	0.87	0.85	0.83	0.86	0.86	0.86	0.84	0.84	0.86	0.84	0.85	0.83
17	0.90	0.79	0.73	0.73	0.70	0.75	0.74	0.77	0.76	0.74	0.80	0.78	0.73	0.78
18	0.83	0.67	0.58	0.57	0.56	0.59	0.58	0.63	0.66	0.62	0.66	0.64	0.46	0.69
19	0.72	0.56	0.47	0.48	0.46	0.50	0.49	0.53	0.59	0.55	0.61	0.58	0.37	0.63
20		0.49	0.42	0.41	0.39	0.41	0.39	0.44	0.50	0.49	0.54	0.51	0.34	0.54
21		0.39	0.35	0.33	0.32	0.32	0.29	0.32	0.37	0.36	0.42	0.42	0.30	0.47
22		0.35	0.31	0.26	0.25	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.31	0.29	0.33	0.35	0.28	0.40
23		0.28	0.24	0.20	0.20	0.18	0.18	0.16	0.23	0.23	0.25	0.27	0.23	0.33
24		0.25	0.19	0.17	0.16	0.14	0.14	0.13	0.18	0.17	0.19	0.22	0.19	0.28
25			0.15	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.11	0.09	0.15	0.14	0.16	0.19	0.16	0.23
26			0.11	0.11	0.09	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.10	0.12	0.16	0.11	0.17
27			0.08	0.09	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.08	0.08	0.10	0.12	0.09	0.16
28			0.07	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.04	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.10	0.08	0.13
29			0.05	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.07	0.12
30				0.06	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.09
31				0.05	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.08
32				0.05	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.06
33				0.04	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.06

Appendix Table 1b Time Spent in the Parental Home Prior to First Leave, Cumulative Survival Curves, by Age Cohort and Gender, HILDA Wave 1, 2001

	Age Cohort													
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 +
Age left home	Born Mid-1980s	Born Early-1980s	Born Mid-1970s	Born Early-1970s	Born Mid-1960s	Born Early-1960s	Born Mid-1950s	Born Early-1950s	Born Mid-1940s	Born Early-1940s	Born Mid-1930s	Born Early-1930s	Born Mid-1920s	Born Pre-1920s
Women														
	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
14	0.98	0.97	0.98	0.99	0.98	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.98	0.96	0.99	0.97	0.96
15	0.94	0.93	0.94	0.95	0.95	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.96	0.94	0.93	0.96	0.92	0.91
16	0.89	0.83	0.84	0.85	0.87	0.87	0.89	0.90	0.88	0.87	0.87	0.90	0.87	0.85
17	0.78	0.71	0.69	0.70	0.71	0.72	0.73	0.76	0.74	0.73	0.81	0.82	0.79	0.79
18	0.65	0.53	0.48	0.50	0.51	0.54	0.57	0.58	0.57	0.61	0.68	0.67	0.65	0.71
19	0.55	0.43	0.40	0.39	0.41	0.42	0.44	0.45	0.47	0.48	0.58	0.57	0.59	0.65
20		0.37	0.33	0.32	0.33	0.32	0.32	0.31	0.34	0.37	0.41	0.48	0.51	0.58
21		0.28	0.25	0.22	0.24	0.23	0.19	0.18	0.23	0.24	0.28	0.33	0.38	0.47
22		0.23	0.20	0.16	0.18	0.17	0.13	0.11	0.15	0.17	0.18	0.24	0.30	0.36
23		0.16	0.16	0.12	0.12	0.14	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.14	0.12	0.18	0.24	0.27
24		0.12	0.13	0.10	0.09	0.11	0.08	0.07	0.06	0.09	0.09	0.15	0.16	0.20
25			0.09	0.07	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.10	0.12	0.17
26			0.08	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.09	0.10	0.14
27			0.06	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.07	0.09	0.11
28			0.05	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.08	0.09
29			0.05	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.08
30				0.03	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.06
31				0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.05
32				0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.05	0.05
33				0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.04