Ethnic differences in pathways out of the parental home: second generation migrants in the UK

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Motivation

Historically, leaving home in the UK has been at relatively early age as compared with many other developed countries (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010). Young adults from socio-economic advantaged backgrounds often leave home at around age 18 to attend higher education, whilst those from poorer socio-economic backgrounds are more likely to leave early for family formation (Holdsworth & Morgan, 2005). Recent research suggests that increasing housing costs, labour market insecurity and reductions in welfare support have reduced the ability of young adults to achieve and maintain residential independence from their parents (Berrington et al. 2009; Stone et al., 2013). However, current debates on structure versus agency in transitions to adulthood in the UK have paid little attention to the role of international migration and ethnic differences in youth transitions. This paper fills a gap in our knowledge by focusing on pathways out of the parental home for UK born minority ethnic young adults.

The UK experienced significant immigration in the second half of the 20th century, particularly from former colonies. Migrants from the Caribbean, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh who arrived in the 1960s, 70s and 80s produced a second generation of young adults now in their twenties and thirties. The existing UK literature on ethnic minority youth focuses on specific topics where ethnicity is collected within administrative data. Thus we see persistent ethnic inequalities in school attainment (e.g. Owen et al., 2000; Modood, 2003; O'Connor et al., 2004); employment rates (e.g. DWP, 2012), and involvement in crime & incarceration (e.g. Fitzgerald, 2008). Higher education statistics suggest that, despite lower average school attainment, there is an over-representation of minority ethnic groups in Higher Education (HE) (apart from Black Caribbean men who are much less likely to attend college) (O'Connor et al., 2004; Torgerson et al., 2008). However ethnic minorities, especially South Asian women, are significantly less likely than Whites to leave home, or to move outside the geographical region to attend university (HEFCE, 2009; Khambhaita and Bhopal, 2013). This suggests that the timing and pathways out of the parental home will be significantly different for minority ethnic youth in the UK than for the white majority.

The present paper examines these ethnic differences, moving beyond existing UK research in the following ways: First we examine household formation patterns of *all* ethnic minority young adults (not just students); Second we compare UK born, second generation minority groups with White youth; Third, we focus on a specific life course stage – establishing residential independence from the parental home. Previous research for the Netherlands (Bolt, 2002; de Valk, 2011; Zorlu & Mulder, 2011) and Canada (Boyd, 2000; Mitchell, 2004) has found contrasting patterns of home leaving between the host population and second generation migrants, but there is a lack of

evidence regarding the UK situation. In part this relates to the lack of representativeness of non-white groups in national data. Newly available data from the United Kingdom Household Longitudinal Panel (UKHLS) provides a new opportunity to look at demographic transitions of minority ethnic groups from a life course perspective.

Theoretical background

Most of the existing research investigating ethnic differences in family formation in the UK focuses on first generation migrants. As in the United States (Glick, 2010), much of the research has focused on the relative importance of cultural/attitudinal factors versus economic factors in influencing family formation (Berthoud, 2000; Dale and Ahmed, 2011). Among the first generation of migrants, the more traditional family values of South Asian immigrants (and custom of very early marriage in the Indian sub-continent) resulted in higher marriage rates and an earlier age at marriage, especially for those from Pakistan and Bangladesh (Berthoud, 2000; Berrington, 1994). The importance of economic factors in influencing family formation is also recognised for this group, especially the low labour force attachment of South Asian female migrants to the UK (Dale et al., 2006; Dale & Ahmed, 2011). Black Caribbean first generation migrants have been characterised as having higher rates of singlehood and cohabitation, with over half of births taking place outside of marriage (Berrington, 1996; Shaw, 2004). These patterns (which mirror those found for Caribbean migrants to the US (Landale et al.; 2011) have sometimes been interpreted as a continuation of traditional "visiting relationships" and cohabitation in Caribbean culture (Berthoud, 2000) but have also been seen as a response to the shortage of suitably qualified men to fulfil the role of husband (Phoenix, 1987) and the lower economic incentives for Black women to marry given their higher levels of labour market participation and low wage differentials between Black men and (Farley, 1988).

Much less research has focused on patterns of family formation among second generation migrants born in the UK. In part, this is due to a hitherto lack of large scale representative data. From a theoretical perspective we might expect that the greater levels of education and labour market participation of UK-born South Asian women will have translated into a delay to family formation and an increase in leaving the parental home for reasons other than marriage. However, Finney (2011), using anonymised individual data from the UK 2001 Census, found that the high rates of geographical mobility experienced by young white adults as they move away from the parental home to study at university (generally at age 18) are not seen among minority ethnic groups. This is consistent with recent qualitative research which suggests that South Asian

men and women are much less likely to be living alone or sharing with unrelated others in young adulthood but tend to remain with their parents until forming their own family unit (Ahmed, 2011; Mohee, 2011).

Having a degree is thought by UK South Asians to confer certain personal and social advantages, and second generation South Asian women are generally encouraged to pursue higher education (Ahmad, 2001; 2012). However, greater proportions of students of Pakistani (61%) and Bangladeshi (66%) ethnic origin remain in the family home during their first year of higher education, compared their white counterparts (17%) (HEFCE, 2009). Leaving home to attend HE is more of an option for non-Muslim Indian women due to issues surrounding clothing practices and socialising with boys (Khambhaita and Bhopal, 2013). According to Basit (2012, p. 417) "Young Muslim women are cognisant of the concept of family honour which is deeply embedded in Islamic ideology. They are socialised from a young age to sustain this honour by refraining from actions that could jeopardise it. "Young women were able to win more freedom in certain areas, such as attaining education, by behaving in accordance with parental wishes in other ways, for instance by not going out with boys" Basit (2012, p. 412).

For some minority ethnic groups, co-residence with parents may continue into adulthood. South Asian men, particularly Pakistani men, are less likely to leave home upon marriage since it is sometimes traditional that the bride joins the husband's family (Shaw & Charsley, 2006).

UK-born Black men and women are significantly more likely to suffer from higher unemployment levels. For example, estimates of the percentage unemployed for 2011 for those aged 16-24 in Britain range from 44% among Black youth to 33% for Pakistani and Bangladeshi youth, 24% for Indians and 20% for White youth (DWP, 2012). Given the financial costs associated with maintaining residential independence from the parental home we might expect Black men and women to be more likely than their white counterparts to be co-resident with their parents, especially at younger ages. At the same time we expect significant gender differences in the housing careers of Black men and women given the tendency of Black mothers not be co-resident with the father of their child(ren). Welfare benefits and access to social housing for lone parents in the UK might mean that young black mothers are able to maintain residential independence from the parental home to the same degree as white women. Non-resident fathers however, since they are not recorded as living with their children, do not have access to additional welfare benefits or access to social housing based on their children's needs and so will be more likely to be living at home.

The Research Questions

In this paper we put forward three research questions:

1. How do the living arrangements of UK-born ethnic minority young adults differ from white UK-born young adults?

2. Are there differences between UK-born ethnic minority groups and White young adults in the likelihood of making the transition to residential independence? Can these ethnic differences be explained by ethnic differences in locality, parent's socio-economic background, or the individuals own characteristics?

3. Do young teenagers from minority ethnic groups hold different ideals regarding the ideal age at home leaving as compared with White teenagers?

We utilize a life course perspective which views young adults' living arrangements as being shaped by parental and early life course experiences and current family and individual resources. Cultural beliefs and preferences for family and household formation operate within structural constraints. These include a shortage of affordable housing and economic precariousness e.g. as a result of low levels of low parental socio-economic resources, no or low education qualifications, unemployment and economic inactivity. Geographical context is also an important factor, given the over-concentration of minority ethnic youth in urban areas, most importantly London, and metropolitan areas of the West Midlands and the North West. Given that universities tend to be located in these areas, there is less of a need for young adults living in metropolitan areas to leave home to attend higher education. In the paper we examine the factors associated with the likelihood of leaving the parental home using the analytical framework shown in Figure 1 which identifies parental background factors, individual characteristics and region of residence as potential explanatory variables.

Figure 1 around here

Challenges in studying ethnic differences in transitions to adulthood

There are numerous theoretical and methodological challenges to analysing ethnic differences in transitions to adulthood including difficulties in interpreting the meaning of ethnicity; the practical challenge of finding surveys with a large enough sample of ethnic minorities; and the intersection of ethnicity, class and gender.

Ethnicity is a complex, dynamic and relational construct which encompasses people's ethnic origin, culture, religion, and way of life (Webster, 2009). Young second generation ethnic minority men and women adapt aspects of their ethnic, religious and national habitus, "adopting what they like and rejecting what they dislike, thus creating multiple and individualised identities" (Basit, 2012, p. 420). Such nuances are not captured within a single- item measure of ethnic group of the sort asked in censuses and surveys. It would be preferable to break down ethnic groups into their religious affiliations – since Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations are predominantly Muslim, whilst UK Indians may be Sikh, Hindu or Muslim. Given the sample sizes of UK social surveys this, however, is not possible (although future insight may be gained when individual level data from the 2011 census are released). Second, young adulthood is a 'demographically dense' phase of the life course and most social surveys do not contain a large enough sample of minority ethnic young adults in order to make inference about particular ethnic groups, stratified by age. The situation is made more complex by the rapid growth of a large, young population of 'Mixed' (generally Black/White) ethnicity who cannot easily be categorised into one of the main groups[1].

Third, in order to understand ethnic differences we need to take into account the multiple disadvantages faced by minority ethnic groups and how these interact with each other. Young adults are experience increasing socio-economic uncertainties in their transitions to adulthood (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007; Stone et al., 2013). However, increased precariousness disproportionately affects some ethnic minority youth more than others (Webster, 2009). For example Bangladeshi and Pakistani young people are geographically concentrated and segregated in de-industrialized urban centres in the West Midlands and North West. Young black youth are disproportionately more likely to have low educational qualifications and to be unemployed or economically inactive. In this paper we examine these issues directly by comparing the educational, employment patterns of young adults from different ethnic groups. We also build up our regression analyses step by step, first including ethnicity and age and then including other control variables bit by bit. In so doing we attempt to identify the extent to which ethnic differences in home leaving can be accounted for by compositional differences e.g. in parental household income or the respondent's level of education.

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[1] Even with the ethnic boost sample there are relatively few UK-born young adults who describe themselves as 'Black Caribbean' or 'Black African' and for the second research question we are not able to distinguish them as a separate group.

Data and Methods

We use new data from the first two waves of Understanding Society - UKHLS, a longitudinal prospective survey following up all adult (aged 16+) members of around 40,000 households annually. Individuals are followed up when they leave original households to form new households (or join existing ones)[2]. Youth (aged 10-15) living in sampled households are invited to complete a youth questionnaire. The latter includes a question "At what age would you like to leave home?" In subsequent waves, when youth reach age 16 they join the main adult survey. The UKHLS is unique in the UK in that it is the only longitudinal survey in the UK to contain an ethnic minority boost of an additional 1000 households of each of the following groups: Indian; Pakistani; Bangladesh; Caribbean; and African. (For details of the sample design and follow-up rules within UKHLS see www.understandingsociety.ac.uk)

The UKHLS thus provides a first opportunity to assess ethnic differences in the timing and nature of transitions to adulthood in the UK. For the first research questions we select UK-born men and women aged 16-34 at wave 1 in 2009/10 (n=12,221) and examine ethnic differences in current living arrangements. These UK-born ethnic minority young adults are, in the vast majority of cases, second generation migrants with at least one parent born outside the UK. It is only among the Black ethnic group that a significant number have both parents born in the UK and hence are third generation.[3] Respondents are asked to identify their own ethnic group using the possible categories in Box 1. The challenges involved in defining ethnicity are beyond the scope of this paper but the reader who is interested in the debates and development of ethnic group questions in the UKHLS and 2011 census are referred to the recent work e.g. (Burton et al., 2010; Williams & Husk,2013)
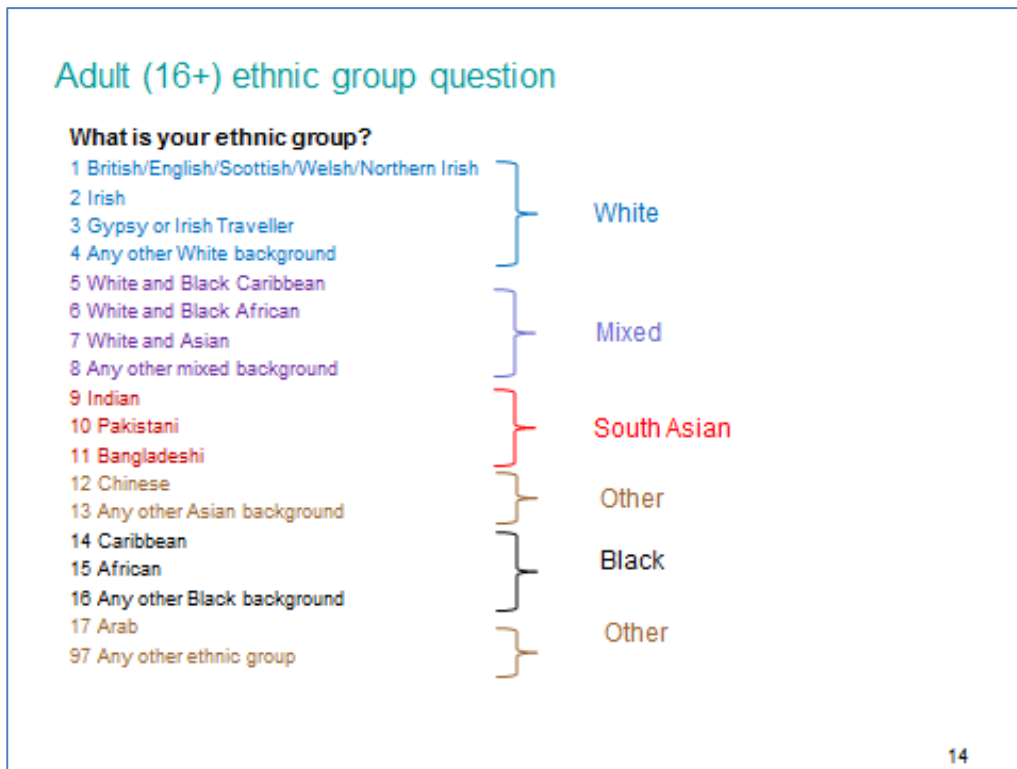
We have grouped together ethnic groups in the manner shown in Box 1. In this paper we do not consider the "Other" and "Mixed" ethnic groups since, although they are important, they are too heterogeneous in their nature to permit interpretation. Ideally, we would like to contrast the experience of youth from India, Pakistan and Bangladeshi separately. Especially given that there are significant religious differences between these groups. Pakistanis and Bangladeshis tend to is in contrast the greater number of Sikhs and Hindus among young Indians (Basit, 2012; Khambhaita and Bhopal, 2013). Where sample sizes allow us to do so we attempt to keep these ethnic groups distinct but group them together into a "South Asian" category where this is not possible.

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[2] Young adults are followed up if they leave home, even if they leave to attend University and live in an institutional hall of residence.
[3] We decided not to focus solely on second generation migrants in this version of the paper since this would exclude the black group from the analysis due to insufficient numbers in the survey. By adding second and third generation black young adults together, inference can be made.

Box 1: Defining Ethnic Group – Adult questionnaire question wording with groupings used in this paper

Adult (16+) ethnic group question

What is your ethnic group?

1 British/English/Scottish/Welsh/Northern Irish
2 Irish
3 Gypsy or Irish Traveller
4 Any other White background — White

5 White and Black Caribbean
6 White and Black African
7 White and Asian
8 Any other mixed background — Mixed

9 Indian
10 Pakistani
11 Bangladeshi — South Asian

12 Chinese
13 Any other Asian background — Other

14 Caribbean
15 African
16 Any other Black background — Black

17 Arab
97 Any other ethnic group — Other

14

Transitions away from parental home

Those living in the same household as at least one natural or step-parent are deemed to be living in the parental home (even if they have a partner or a child of their own). Among those not living with a parent the following living arrangements are identified: "Living as a couple" identifies those with a cohabiting or marital partner. Those without a partner but who have a child are classified as lone parents. Those living outside of a family are divided further into those who are living alone and those who are sharing with others. For the second research question we focus on UK born young adults who in wave one were living with a parent, who gave a full interview in wave one and for whom we know whether or not they were still living with a parent in wave two (n=4217)[4]. Although a significant number of these young adults were not actually interviewed in wave two, almost all are enumerated by the interviewer as either remaining living with their parents, or having left the parental home. Leaving the parental home is seen to be highly associated with non-contact or refusal in wave two. However, by relying on the reports of other members of the

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[4] 5132 of the 12,221 young adults were enumerated as living with a parent in wave 1. Of the 5132, 4307 gave a full interview in wave one. Of the 4307, 32 became ineligible e.g. because they move out of scope prior to wave two. We are unsure about the wave two whereabouts and/or living arrangement of 58 individuals. These have been excluded from the regression analysis of leaving home which is based on a sample of 4217.

original household (e.g. parents) and significant others whose telephone numbers were provided by respondents in wave one as useful contacts) survey staff were able to identify whether or not the young adult had left to form a new household. Given that many young adults (especially those who had left home) were not contacted and/or fully interviewed themselves in wave two we have decided not to attempt to identify the type of living arrangement that the young adult is living in at wave two. Thus we focus on a binary outcome whether or not they had left home.

The definition of the background covariates is as follows. *Age* is included as a categorical variable with two categories (16-22) and (23-29)[5]. *Parental Household Income* is measured in quantiles of gross equivalized income. The household income measure is age-group specific (i.e. quartiles are calculated for each five-year age group of young adults) and take into account the number of persons, and ages of persons in the household. *Maternal education* is based on the mother's own report of her highest educational qualification. 'High' refers to individuals whose mothers held degrees, A levels or other advanced level qualifications. 'Low' refers to individuals whose mothers had school leaving age qualifications such as GCSE's or equivalent or lower. The 'not known' category includes cases where there is no mother currently living in the household, cases where the mother did not give a full interview, and cases of item non-response for this qualifications question. The same classification is used for the *individuals' own level of education* identified as either 'high' or 'low'. *Economic activity* identifies whether the respondent is employed; unemployed or economic inactive (not including family care); a full-time student; or undertaking family care. No young men living at home in wave one reported themselves to be undertaking family care so the economic activity variable only has four levels for men and five levels for women. There is no missing data for these last three respondent characteristics because our sample of young adults used in the regression analysis only includes those who gave a full interview in wave one. *Urbanicity* differentiates young people according to whether they are living in London, other urban areas, or rural areas of the UK.

Binary logistic regression models of the likelihood of leaving the parental home between wave one and wave two are fitted manually in a series of steps. First only ethnicity and age are entered into the analysis, then parental household characteristics are included, followed by the individuals own socio-economic circumstances. Following this urbanicity is controlled for. All two-

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[5] We attempted to use a) a wider age range 16-34 and b) finer age grading but the sample sizes of leavers within the narrower age bands especially the 30-34 age group was insufficient e.g. for testing interactions between age and ethnicity, and age and the other covariates. Since there were so few leavers in the age 30-34 age group, in this paper we only focus on those aged 16-29 in wave one.

way interactions between age and each of the other covariates, and between ethnic group and each of the other covariates are tested for (but are generally not found to be significant). In order to facilitate the identification of possible differences in the impact of covariates according to gender, the models are run separately for males and females. This also allows us to separate out 'family carers' from other economically inactive young women and to include them as a separate category in the models for women. The statistical models take account of the clustering of young adults within households and primary sampling units.

Findings

Table 1 around here

Intersection of ethnicity, class and gender

Before we examine transitions to residential independence by ethnicity, it is important to understand ethnic differences in education, employment and spatial distribution (Webster, 2009). The education literature has made particular progress in highlighting the intersectionality of race, class and gender (Bhopal and Preston, 2011). Table 1 compares the educational, employment and spatial distribution of young adults aged 25-34 from different ethnic groups.

In all ethnic groups, women are more likely to have a degree than men, but there are large differences across ethnic groups. Second generation Indian men and women are the most likely to hold a degree (over 50%) whilst the figure for other ethnic groups is similar to the White population. However, at the other end of the educational spectrum, proportions with low education are highest for Pakistani and Bangladeshi youth and for Black men. Among men employment rates are highest for Indians and significantly lower for Black men who are more likely to be unemployed. Among women, employment rates are highest for White and Indian women in their late twenties and early thirties and lower for Black women and for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women who are more likely to be unemployed or economically inactive.

There are large differences in urbanicity according to ethnic group with over two thirds of Black young adults living in London. South Asian groups are also largely found in urban areas, whilst the White population has a wider distribution across rural areas.

Ethnic differences in the living arrangements of young adults

Figures 2a and 2b around here

The age profile of those living in the parental home can be seen for young men and women from white and minority ethnic groups in Figures 2a and 2b. For white men and women, the proportion living with their parents falls steeply among those in their late teens and early twenties such that by age 25-28 only one in five males and one in eight females remains living with a parent.

In contrast, young South Asians do not experience fast leaving in their late teens and early twenties, but show more of a steady pace of leaving home across their late twenties and early thirties. This is consistent with previous findings which suggest that there is no "student mobility affect" among Asian youth since they tend not to leave home to attend higher university (Finney, 2011). By their early thirties, co-residence with a parent is a minority practice for white men and women, women of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin and Black men and women. However, a significant number of Indian women remain living with a parent (around one in four) as do around 40% of South Asian men. We might speculate that by their early thirties a higher proportion of Paksitani and Bangladeshi women have left home to live in a married couple family and this is confirmed in Figure 3.

Figure 3 around here

Among those young adults who have made the transition from the parental home, current living arrangements differ dramatically according to ethnicity. For example, far fewer Black men and women live in a co-residential union, with more either living alone (in the case of Black men) or as a lone parent (in the case of Black women). Sharing households with unrelated individuals is more common among the White (and Other and Mixed groups).

Regression analysis of factors associated with leaving the parental home

Tables 2 and 3 around here

Tables 2 and 3 show the odds ratios for the likelihood of leaving the parental home for males and females respectively. The models are built up sequentially first including ethnic group and age (Model 1), then additionally including parental household characteristics (Model 2), the

individual's own socio-economic characteristics (Model 3) and urbanicity (Model 4). Only one interaction is found to be significant at the 10% level or above - between age and the respondent's economic activity. The results for this interaction model are shown in Model 5 in the final column.

Among men, when age is controlled, Pakistani and Bangladeshis are the least likely to have made the transition out of the parental home, followed by Indian men and other ethnic minorities. Comparison of the estimates for ethnicity from Model 1 with those from Models 2-5 suggests that these ethnic differences do not change a great deal once other parental background and individual level factors are controlled. The model estimates suggest that living in London is associated with lower rates of leaving as compared with other urban areas. Controlling for urbanicity reduces the ethnic differences but only slightly. For women, it is those of Indian heritage who are the least likely to leave home at age 16-29, although ethnic differences in the likelihood of leaving are not so large as for the men. As for men, the significant ethnic differentials do not change when parental household income, or maternal education are controlled for. Even controlling for the individuals' level of education and economic activity only makes a small difference to the ethnic effect. As for men, controlling for urbanicity reduces the ethnic difference, but only slightly. We conclude therefore that ethnic differences in the likelihood of leaving the parental home at age 20-29 do not relate to ethnic differences in parental socio-economic status, or the young adults' level of education, economic activity status or region of residence. The explanation lies in variables not included in the analysis including ethnic differences in cultural norms and preferences for leaving home. In order to get some idea of the extent to which ethnic groups may differ in their norms regarding leaving home we now turn to the data on ideal age at leaving home collected from young teenagers in the UK.

Ethnic differences in the ideal age for leaving home

Table 4 around here

Table 4 shows the mean ideal age for home leaving as reported by white and ethnic minority youth (aged 10-15). The means (and distributions not shown) are consistent with the observed behaviour of older cohorts shown in Figures 2a and 2b. White men and women report the youngest ideal age (mean 19.7), whilst South Asians report the highest mean age (between 22 and 23 years). The ideal age for Black men and women is intermediate. We note however, the

significant number of youth who did not provide a numerical answer to this question. This item non-response is higher than that for other questions e.g. relating to whether the young adult has ever smoked, or whether they quarrel with their parents. In particular, item non-response on the ideal age at leaving home is higher among ethnic minority groups as compared to the White youth. In part, this non-response may result from the fact that the youth are only aged 10-15 and hence still at school. It may be difficult for them to imagine themselves leaving home. Item non-response may also reflect the fact that leaving home tends not to be an event (at least in the UK) but more of a process, with young adults often first "living away from home" e.g. in supported university accommodation, returning home and then leaving again. It may be however, that the notion of leaving home is less meaningful for some South Asian groups where traditional patterns of household formation often see a bride join her husband's extended family. Thus many South Asians, particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi men, start their married life within their parent's household.

Table 5 around here

This can clearly be seen in Table 5, where we take the sample of young adults aged 25-34 who are living with a spouse (or cohabiting partner). We then calculate the percentage of this group who also have a parent living in the same household. Only a tiny minority – between 1 and 2% of white men and women are living with both a spouse/partner and a parent. None of the Black men and between 4% and 7% of the Black and minority ethnic women were living in this sort of intergenerational household. However, around 17% of Indian men and 43% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi men were found to be living with both a partner (almost always a spouse) and a parent. This suggests that a question on "the ideal age at leaving home" may be culturally inappropriate to ask for some, especially South Asian men. This may explain in part the higher proportions who did not provide an answer to this question.

Discussion

This paper has shown that hitherto reported general patterns of transition to residential independence mask important ethnic differences within the second generation. There are significant ethnic differences in the speed of departure and the percentage who are living outside the parental home in their early thirties. UK-born South Asians, especially Pakistani and Bangladeshi men, are the slowest to make the transition to residential independence. Consistent with the findings of Finney (2011) we find that it is only for White young adults that leaving home accelerates at around age 18, associated with living away from home to attend university. This is despite the fact that enrolment rates in HE are higher among ethnic minority groups. Hence, we need to reconsider the assumption that increased enrolment in HE is associated with increased leaving home at young ages when we consider the experiences of minority ethnic groups.

These cross-sectional estimates are consistent with our dynamic findings from the panel data where we find that Pakistani and Bangladeshi men, and Indian women were the least likely to make a transition away from the parental home between 2009/10 and 2010/11. We have shown that these large ethnic differences cannot be explained by compositional differences, for example in parental resources, levels of education or economic activity. The fact that more ethnic minority youth live in metropolitan areas, particularly London only provides a small part of the explanation. We speculate that those living in London and other metropolitan areas are less likely to leave home due to the fact that there are more educational and job opportunities in these areas. In the case of London it is also likely that extremely high housing costs will also deter home leaving.

Among those who have left the parental home we find that South Asian men and women, particularly Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are most likely to be living in a partnership, whilst Black men are more likely to be living alone. Many of these men will be non-resident parents given the relatively high levels of single motherhood among second generation Black Caribbean and Black African women. It would seem then that the higher rates of single motherhood seen among first generation Black Caribbean migrants (Berthoud, 2000) are still present among the second generation. These continuities have important implications e.g. for the life chances of children brought up in single parent families and require further consideration and explanation.

At the same time there is a large discontinuity in the demographic behaviour of second generation South Asian women, compared to the first generation, particularly among those who experience higher education who postpone leaving the parental home and entry into marriage.

The higher rates of enrolment in HE and employment among non-Muslim Indian women means that they have later ages at leaving home than Pakistani and Bangladeshi women who tend to marry earlier. In ethnographic work, South Asian women consistently report that having a degree confers a number of advantages including economic independence and an ability to "stand on one's own two feet" and greater bargaining power when it comes to the choice of marriage partner (Ahmad et al 2003). However, having a high level of education also creates a competing set of tensions for second generation South Asian women and can lead to difficulties in finding a marriage partner - with South Asian women in their late twenties finding themselves "too old" and /or "too educated" for marriage (Ahmad, 2012; Mohee, 2011). We will have to wait until these highly educated cohorts of second generation South Asian women reach their late thirties until we can say whether a significant number of them will end up never marrying.

In this paper we have provided some unique evidence as to ethnic differences in ideal ages at leaving home. The mean ideal age and distribution of ideal ages (not shown but available from the authors) reported by younger teenagers replicate the current behaviour of their older peers. Thus, differential patterns of home leaving are influenced by cultural preferences and norms as well as structural constraints. This evidence would suggest that the next generation of young adults will also exhibit significant ethnic differences in home-leaving behaviour.

Finally we urge caution when researchers talk about whether young adults make a 'successful' transition to residential independence. It may not make sense to talk about "failure to launch" (e.g. Gibram-Hesse and McCracken, 2009) when referring to adult child-parent co-residence for ethnic groups where multiple generation households are normative, and perhaps preferred (Murphy, 1996).

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Figure 1: Analytical framework

Living arrangement at t0

Living in the parental home

Parental characteristics
Parental education
Parental HH income

Individual characteristics
Ethnic group
Sex
Age
Educational qualifications
Economic Activity status

Urbanicity
London/ Other urban/Rural

Living arrangement at t1

Living in the parental home
Living outside parental home
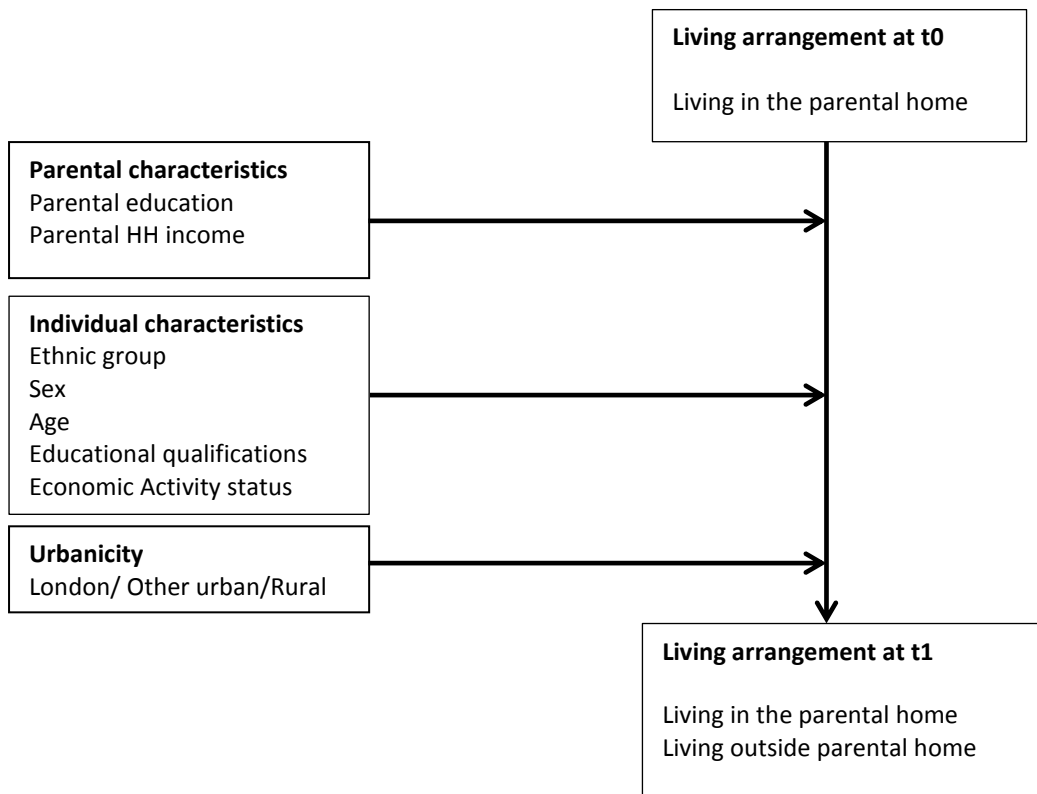
Table 1: Selected socio-economic characteristics of all UK-born men and women aged 25-34 by ethnicity

	Men				Women			
	White	Black	Indian	Pakistani & Bangladeshi	White	Black	Indian	Pakistani & Bangladeshi
% Distribution of highest educational qualification								
High e.g. Degree	30	33	54	30	33	40	59	36
Medium e.g. A level	36	31	29	30	34	37	27	24
Low e.g. GCSEs only	34	36	17	40	33	23	13	40
% Distribution of current economic activity								
Employed	83	61	90	80	68	57	65	40
Unemployed	11	23	6	14	7	11	16	15
Economically inactive	5	15	4	6	26	32	19	45
% Distribution of urbanicity								
London	10	66	42	30	10	71	31	27
Unweighted total (100%)	**2012**	**72**	**84**	**109**	**2878**	**104**	**96**	**179**

Source: Authors' analysis of UKHLS wave 1 2009/10

Figure 2a: Percentage of UK-born young men co-residing with parent(s) by age group and ethnicity.
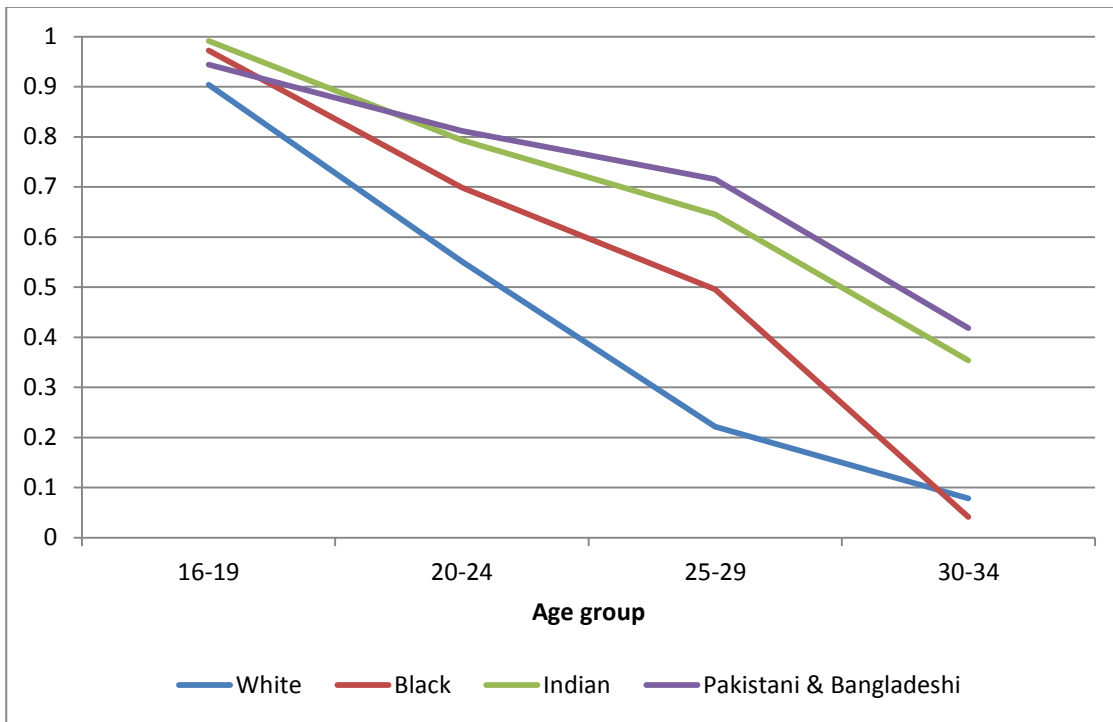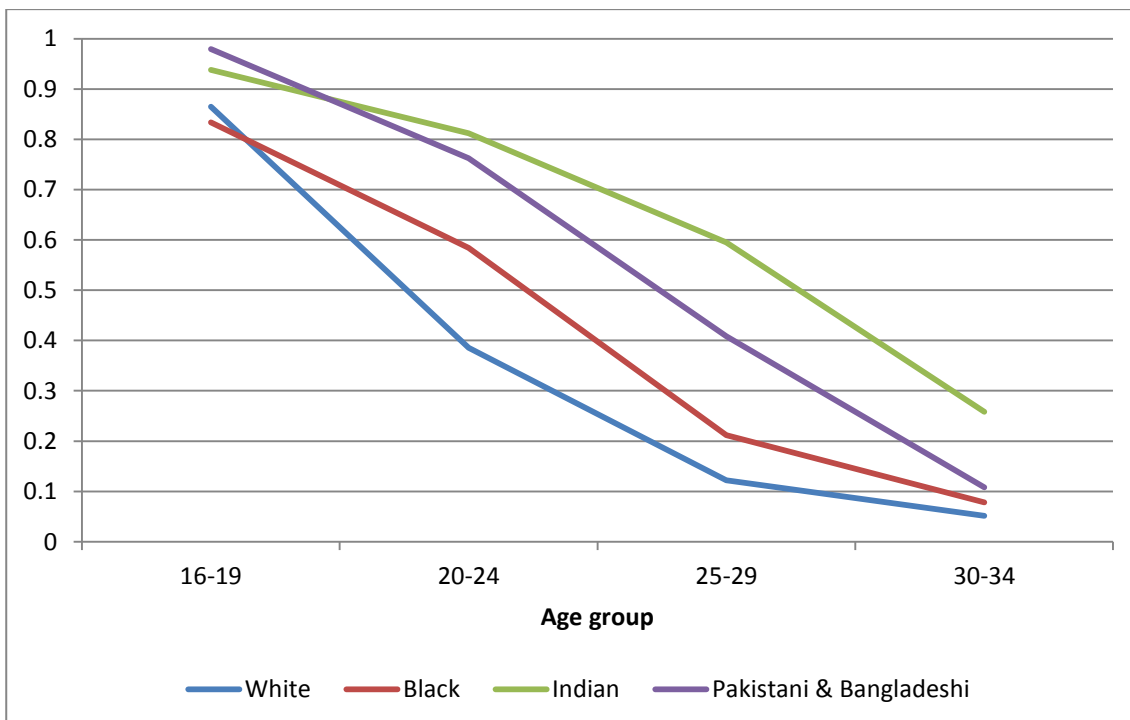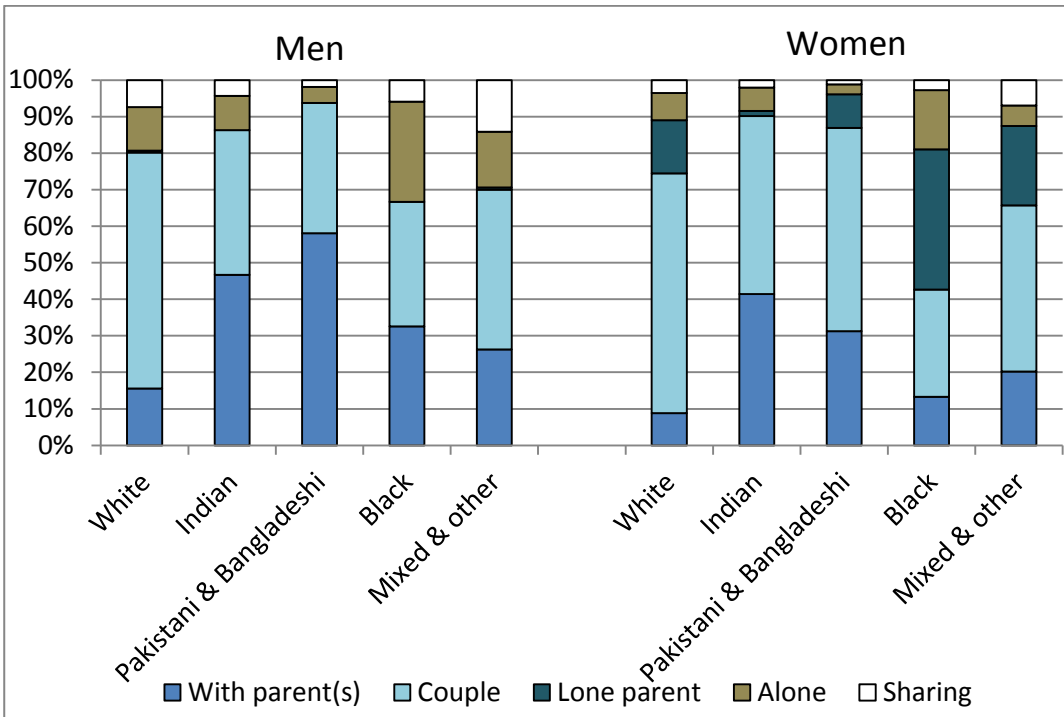

Figure 2b: Percentage of UK-born young women co-residing with parent(s) by age group and ethnicity.

Source: Authors' analysis of UKHLS wave 1

Figure 3: Living arrangements among UK-born men and women aged 25-34, by ethnicity.

Source: Authors' analysis of UKHLS wave 1

Table 2: Odds ratios for likelihood of leaving the parental home between 2009/10 and 2010/11. UK-born men aged 16-29.

	Model 1: Ethnic Group and Age	Model 2 + Parental Characteristics	Model 3 + Individual Characteristics	Model 4 + Urbanicity	Model 5 + Interactions
Ethnic Group (ref. = White)					
Indian	0.29**	0.31**	0.31**	0.35*	0.34*
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	0.14***	0.15***	0.14***	0.16***	0.16***
Other non-White	0.34***	0.34***	0.33***	0.46**	0.46**
Age Group (ref. = 16-22)					
23-29	1.88***	1.79***	1.50**	1.53**	1.84**
Equivalized Household Income Quartile(ref. = Highest)					
3rd highest income quartile		0.52***	0.54***	0.53***	0.54***
2nd highest income quartile		0.56***	0.62**	0.58***	0.59**
Lowest income quartile		0.73	0.85	0.81	0.84
Maternal education (ref = High)					
Low		0.73	0.74	0.73	0.73
Unknown		1.15	1.12	1.07	1.06
Educational level young adult (ref = High)					
Low			0.72*	0.73*	0.74*
Economic Activity (ref. = Employed)					
Unemployed & Inactive			0.78	0.78	1.12
Full-time student			0.70**	0.71*	0.74
Urbanicity (ref. = London)					
Urban outside London				2.21*	2.24*
Rural				1.49	1.51
Economic Activity *Age Group					
Unemployed * 23-29					0.30*
Full time student * 23-29					1.84
Constant	0.085	0.139	0.190	0.101	0.09
Number of observations	1988	1988	1988	1988	1988

*Significant at 105 level, ** significant at 5% level, *** significant at 1% level

Table 3: Odds ratios for likelihood of leaving the parental home between 2009/10 and 2010/11. UK-born women aged 16-29.

	Model 1: Ethnic Group and Age	Model 2 + Parental Characteristics	Model 3 + Individual Characteristics	Model 4 + Urbanicity	Model 5 + Interactions
Ethnic Group (ref. = White)					
Indian	0.24***	0.24***	0.27***	0.32***	0.31***
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	0.43***	0.43***	0.40**	0.51*	0.53*
Other non-White	0.52***	0.51***	0.51***	0.77	0.79
Age Group (ref. = 16-22)					
23-29	3.03***	3.17***	2.20***	2.22***	2.97***
Equivalized HH Income Quartile(ref. = Highest)					
3rd highest income quartile		1.08	1.10	1.08	1.08
2nd highest income quartile		1.32	1.31	1.29	1.29
Lowest income quartile		1.23	1.12	1.11	1.12
Maternal education (ref = High)					
Low		0.88	0.81	0.80	0.80
Unknown		0.78	0.71	0.71	0.72
Educational level young adult (ref = High)					
Low			0.85	0.84	0.83
Economic Activity (ref. = Employed)					
Unemployed & Inactive			1.30	1.30	1.86**
Full-time student			0.56**	0.57***	0.66
Family care			5.03***	4.78***	7.42***
Urbanicity (ref. = London)					
Urban outside London				2.21***	
Rural				2.11**	
Economic Activity *Age Group					
Unemployed * 23-29					0.39**
Full time student * 23-29					0.69
Family care * 23-29					0.40
Constant	0.103	0.096	0.138	0.066	0.056
Number of observations	2036	2036	2036	2036	2036

*Significant at 105 level, ** significant at 5% level, *** significant at 1% level

Table 4: Mean ideal age at leaving home as reported by youth aged 10-15, together with percentage who did not give a numerical answer

Ethnic Group	Men		Women	
	Mean (se)	% who did not give a numerical response	Mean (se)	% who did not give a numerical response
White	19.7 (0.1)	11%	19.7 (0.1)	13%
Black	20.3 (0.3)	17%	21.0 (0.3)	16%
Indian	22.0 (0.4)	11%	22.4 (0.5)	17%
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	22.3 (0.4)	20%	23.6 (1.1)	22%
Other and Mixed	20.3 (0.3)	14%	20.3 (0.3)	12%

Note: the mean is based on those who gave a numerical response.
Source: authors analyses of UKHLS wave 1 2009-10

Table 5: Percentage of partnered UK-born men and women aged 25-34 who also live with a parent.

Ethnic Group	Men		Women	
	Weighted % of those in a partnership who are living with a parent	Unweighted number who have a co-residential partner	Weighted % of those in a partnership who are living with a parent	Unweighted number who have a co-residential partner
White	2%	1369	1%	1894
Black	0%	23	4%	26
Indian	17%	42	5%	60
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	43%	69	6%	112
Other and Mixed	6%	38	7%	59

Source: authors' analyses of UKHLS wave 1 2009-10