

Parental background and housing outcomes in young adulthood

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Abstract

British commentators and policymakers are concerned that young adults' housing opportunities are becoming more dependent on their family background. In the long run this could hinder social mobility and exacerbate inequality by strengthening the intergenerational transmission of (dis)advantage. Using data from three cohorts of young adults drawn from the Office for National Statistics Longitudinal Study of England and Wales, this study examines how parental attributes in childhood are linked to young adults' housing outcomes two decades later. The results show that young adults' housing outcomes are stratified by parental characteristics in ways that vary by gender. Housing outcomes have become more polarised by parental tenure over time as the children of renters became increasingly likely to remain renters and decreasingly likely to enter homeownership. This suggests that renters became a 'marginalised minority' in the late twentieth century, with consequences for their children's housing careers and the future distribution of housing wealth.

Keywords: housing; intergenerational transmission; longitudinal analysis; stratification; young adults

Introduction

British policymakers are becoming increasingly concerned about young adults' housing careers. Faced with rising rates of private renting, the Coalition government intervened to support owner-occupation by providing mortgage guarantees and equity loans to first-time buyers through the 'Help to Buy' scheme¹. At the same time commentators have argued that a lack of affordable housing options is stretching household budgets and compelling young people to adjust their living arrangements, often by sharing their dwelling or staying in the parental home (Gardiner and Alakeson, 2014; Shelter, 2014). These trends are expected to persist and make the transition to adulthood more diverse, protracted and precarious (Clapham et al, 2012; Stone et al, 2011).

Evidence that housing is a major component of wealth holdings indicates that current and future socio-economic inequalities are shaped by young adults' housing trajectories (Dorling, 2014; McKee, 2012). Many authors argue that the timing of homeownership transitions is particularly crucial because owner-occupancy typically reduces lifetime housing costs whilst providing security, collateral and the opportunity to accumulate and release equity (Appleyard and Rowlingson, 2010; Lersch and Luijkx, 2015; Saunders, 1990). In *The Pinch* (2011), David Willetts developed these ideas to argue that the 'Baby Boom' cohort born immediately after the Second World War benefited uniquely from affordable homeownership and subsequent house price inflation. Willetts proposed that these gains deepened inter-generational inequality as they came at the expense of pricing later cohorts out of owner-occupancy. This problem was then exacerbated by tighter mortgage lending after the Global Financial Crisis.

¹ In 2015 the Chancellor announced the extension of this policy through the creation of Help to Buy Individual Savings Accounts (ISAs). These will help people amass deposits "by providing a government bonus to each person who has saved into a Help to Buy: ISA at the point they use their savings to purchase their first home" (HM Treasury, 2015: 58). The recent Conservative electoral victory suggests that these types of intervention are likely to be a continuing theme in housing policy.

Many commentators are concerned that these trends mean that young adults are finding it increasingly difficult to enter and navigate the housing system without family support (McKee, 2012; NHF, 2014). On the one hand increased enrolment in higher education, curtailed welfare support² and an insecure labour market mean that many young people use the parental home as ‘safety net’ accommodation (Stone et al, 2014). Unemployment and economic inactivity thus increase the odds that young Britons live with their parents (Stone et al, 2011), although delayed home-leaving is also a strategy to save up for homeownership (Ermisch and Halpin, 2004). Importantly, partnership patterns and welfare policies mean that men and women draw differently on parental safety nets (Stone et al, 2014). For example, most lone parent households are headed by women who thus benefit from the high priority social housing providers assign to families with dependent children.

Families may also be becoming more important for young adults’ housing careers because credit constraints, high rents and house prices, low wages and the burden of student debt mean that a growing proportion of young people need financial assistance when buying a dwelling (NHF, 2014; Tatch, 2007). This often comes in the form of familial gifts or loans towards mortgage deposits (Helderman and Mulder, 2007). Many young people also require financial and ‘in-kind’ support from their parents just to live independently (Heath and Calvert, 2013). Taken together, these trends suggest that family and especially parental background increasingly shapes the housing options open to young people (McKee, 2012; Spilerman and Semyonov, 2012). Testing how parental attributes configure the housing position of young adults is therefore the central concern of this paper.

Parental effects on young adults’ housing trajectories could have ramifications for the British government’s espoused commitment to social mobility. Although much social mobility research concentrates on the intergenerational transmission of human capital or occupation, the volatility and spatial polarisation of house prices and rents means that young people’s long-term economic prospects are strongly influenced by their housing trajectory (Hamnett, 1999; Lyons, 1999). Housing options also shape human capital and career progression by enabling or constraining residential mobility (Ermisch and Halpin, 2004). Analysing how families influence housing tenure and living arrangements in young adulthood is therefore important for understanding intergenerational transmissions of (dis)advantage (Kurz and Blossfeld, 2004).

In Britain, comparatively little is known about three aspects of the link between family background and young adults’ housing outcomes. First, there is considerable uncertainty about the *relative importance* of different parental attributes and the mechanisms through which these operate. On the one hand, Saunders (1990) argued that parental tenure is crucial as owners and renters have different property rights and relations to the state. Homeowners’ lower housing costs and their ability to accumulate, access and bequeath equity mean that they tend to have greater means and opportunity to support their children than tenants (Mulder and Smits, 2013). Homeowning parents may also socialise their children towards owner-occupation and away from renting by actively or passively shaping their tenure knowledge, preferences and aspirations (Henretta, 1984). Resource and socialisation effects both seem to explain intergenerational continuities in homeownership in continental Europe (Blaauboer, 2010; Lersch and Luijckx, 2015; Mulder and Smits, 1999; Spilerman and Semyonov, 2012), although inheritance may become relevant late in the life course (Appleyard and Rowlingson, 2010).

While Di Salvo and Ermisch (1997) showed that parental owner-occupancy accelerates young adults’ homeownership transitions, there has been considerable debate about how intergenerational tenure continuities are affected by the sorting of parents into tenures on the basis of socio-economic position (Forrest and Murie, 1995). In one view it is the weaker socio-economic position of tenants, rather than their tenure, that explains the lower likelihood of their children becoming homeowners (Jenkins and Maynard, 1983). Indeed, Watt (1996) showed that both class and tenure matter for young people’s

² Single people under 35 who rent privately and do not live with children have their Housing Benefit support capped at the local cost of renting a room in a shared dwelling. The Conservatives have also pledged to make unemployed 18-21 year olds ineligible for Housing Benefit.

housing outcomes. Similarly while growing up in a lone parent household is associated with socio-economic disadvantage (Lampard, 2012), it is not known whether childhood family structure matters for housing outcomes once parental socio-economic position and tenure are taken into account (Blaauboer, 2010; Öst, 2012). Disentangling the effects of different parental attributes is tricky because these may be mediated or moderated by young adults' life course development (Buxton et al, 2005), for example through intergenerational continuities in occupation or the tendency for people to choose partners with similar characteristics (Ermisch and Halpin, 2004; Mulder and Smits, 1999).

A second neglected issue is the *long-term association* between parental attributes and housing outcomes. Although several British studies have examined the association between parental attributes and young people's housing trajectories, these relied on small non-representative samples gathered when a large proportion of households rented from Local Authorities (Ineichen, 1981; Jenkins and Maynard, 1983; Murphy, 1984; Payne and Payne, 1977). More recent nationally representative analyses have, by contrast, tended to use relatively short portions of panel data to examine parental effects on moves in and out of the parental home or transitions into homeownership (Andrew, 2012; Ermisch, 1999; Stone et al, 2014). These studies have shown how contextual forces shape young adults' housing experiences. For example, high house prices and unemployment rates inhibit young people's household formation and homeownership (Clark and Mulder, 2000; Di Salvo and Ermisch, 1997; Ermisch, 1999).

Whilst valuable, analysing specific transitions can tell us little about the cumulative long-term impacts of parental characteristics. This is problematic because parental attributes may have divergent short- and long-term effects, for example if parental affluence discourages early home-leaving while increasing the eventual odds of homeownership (Ermisch, 1999). As studies of occupational social mobility have shown, it is these long-term intergenerational associations that best measure the changing fluidity of British society (Platt, 2005).

Due to data constraints, few studies have assessed whether the impacts of parental background have *changed over time*. Although cross-sectional data show declining homeownership and a rise in shared living in young adulthood (Andrew, 2012; Stone et al, 2011), it is not clear whether family background stratifies these broad patterns. As welfare, labour market and housing systems shape young people's life courses we cannot assume that trends documented for the Netherlands (Smits and Mulder, 2008) and Sweden (Öst, 2012) apply equally to Britain. In any case it is important to assess whether cohort effects are due to the changing nature of young adults' life courses (for instance delayed partnership formation or longer enrolment in full-time education) or contextual factors (such as house prices, tenure mix or labour market structures) (Clark and Mulder, 2000). Such knowledge is important for designing interventions to support young adults' housing careers.

In light of the above this study asks *how are young adults' housing outcomes influenced by the attributes of their parents and have these effects changed over time?* Particular attention is paid to two issues. First, the paper considers how the absolute and relative odds of housing outcomes vary by cohort and parental background. While the absolute odds of each outcome matter to individuals (Watt, 1996), comparing the odds of young people from different backgrounds attaining each outcome enables us to measure inequalities in life chances while controlling for changes in the opportunity structure (Platt, 2005). Second, the study examines how the associations between parental background and young adults' housing outcomes are affected by life course trajectories and contextual conditions. The paper concentrates on England and Wales as these countries have similar tenure structures and a largely shared history of housing policy.

Data and methods

Data and sample

Data are drawn from the Office for National Statistics Longitudinal Study of England and Wales (LS). The LS is a relational database containing the linked decennial census records of a one percent sample of the population of England and Wales. The initial sample comprised all individuals in the 1971 census born on one of four days of the year. Immigrants and new babies with these dates of birth are continuously added to the sample so that it remains representative of the population (Buxton et al, 2005). Census data about individuals living with Longitudinal Study Members (LSMs) are included in the LS, although these individuals are not followed through time.

The LS is ideal for this project as it tracks a large sample of individuals over long periods of the life course. This makes it possible to link childhood conditions to later life outcomes without relying on retrospective reports. As the LS spans a long period of historical time we can also examine how housing outcomes vary by birth cohort. A final advantage is the low level of attrition. Although some gaps in coverage are inevitable due to under-enumeration and unrecorded deaths or emigration, over 85% of eligible LS records have been successfully linked across each intercensal period. This compares very favourably with the retention rates of most longitudinal surveys.

The sample consists of all LSMs aged 10-14 and usually resident in a private household with one or two parents at the 1971, 1981 or 1991 censuses. Children aged fifteen and above were excluded to ensure that all were dependent at their baseline census³. LSMs were dropped if they were not enumerated at their $t+1$ and $t+2$ census when aged 20-24 and 30-34 respectively, or if they entered a communal establishment such as prison or institutional care. A handful of cases missing key data were removed to leave a final sample of 72120 individuals.

This sample was divided into three cohorts: *Baby Boomers* born 1956-1961 during the post-war peak in the birth rate (13205 men and 13698 women tracked 1971-1991); *Post Boomers* born 1966-1971 during the subsequent downturn in births (11904 men and 13648 women tracked 1981-2001); and *Generation X* born 1976-1981 during a trough in the birth rate (9280 men and 10385 women tracked 1991-2011). Baby Boomers, Post Boomers and Generation X were thus aged 10-14 in 1971, 1981 and 1991 respectively. In each cohort the sample is slightly larger for women because LS linkage rates are lower for men⁴.

Measures

The dependent variable was measured when LSMs were aged 30-34. By this age many people have completed their formal education, started labour force careers and formed partnerships and families (Mulder and Smits, 1999). Residential mobility rates also fall from the late twenties and thus the housing circumstances of individuals aged 30-34 tends to signpost the longer-term direction of housing trajectories (Clark and Mulder, 2000; Di Salvo and Ermisch, 1997). Focusing on outcomes at a consistent age permits direct cohort comparison but can tell us less about how the timing of events may have changed over time.

The dependent variable has four categories. LSMs living alone and those living only with a partner and/or their own children were coded as owner-occupiers, social tenants and private tenants according to household tenure. These people live in single-family households where they can be assumed to be (partly) responsible for the dwelling. Those enumerated as living with a parent or other adult(s) were coded as sharing their dwelling, regardless of household tenure. Sample size limitations and some uncertainty about relationships within complex households mean that LSMs living with their parent(s)

³ Children could leave compulsory education at fifteen until 1972.

⁴ This probably partly reflects gendered migration patterns.

are not disaggregated from those sharing only with other adults⁵. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify ‘who lives with who’ in sharing households as the census does not gather information on which individual owns or rents the dwelling. Information on the identity of the householder cannot be used to proxy dependency as the way the census classifies householders has changed over time.

Parental attributes were measured when LSMs were aged 10-14. As lone parenthood correlates with lasting socio-economic disadvantage a dummy distinguishes children living with one parent from those living with two parents. To capture differences in class background and family resources, parental occupational class is coded using the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SeC) schema introduced in 2001 and approximated for earlier censuses⁶. Four categories are distinguished: higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations (NS-SeC 1-2); a heterogeneous group of intermediate occupations (NS-SeC 3-4); routine and manual occupations (NS-SeC 5-7); and a few individuals where NS-SeC could not be defined. Where the LSM lived with two parents the higher occupational class (lower NS-SeC) was assigned (Platt, 2005)⁷.

Parental tenure is divided into owner-occupation, social tenancy and private tenancy in order to capture intergenerational correlations in homeownership and the potential inheritance of some types of social tenancy. A variable measures the age gap between the LSM and their youngest co-resident parent as younger parents have had less time to accumulate resources to support their children (Mulder and Smits, 2013). It was not possible to define a robust variable to capture the number of siblings at baseline as the LS does not contain data on kin living outside the household.

Control variables were defined for age and ethnic minority status. A dummy captures whether the LSM had a long-term limiting illness or disability aged 30-34 as this could increase their eligibility for social housing and propensity to live with a carer. Dummies identify LSMs living with their children when aged 20-24 and 30-34 as families with children are allocated a high priority for scarce social housing.

Partnership and labour force participation variables are defined when aged 20-24 and 30-34. These classify singles by whether or not they are working and couples according to the employment participation of both partners. Educational attainments are measured with a dummy recording whether the LSM has a higher degree, while occupational status is defined when 30-34 using the procedure outlined for parents. Dummies are defined for intercensal migration between regions.

As housing outcomes are constrained by tenure structures a variable measures the percentage of owner-occupier households in the Local Authority (LA) district. Higher levels of owner-occupation mean that there is less rental housing available and individuals who are unable to buy may be compelled to share. Mean regional house prices for first-time buyers are controlled as Ermisch (1999) showed that higher house prices increase intergenerational co-residence and lower young adult homeownership⁸. Gender-specific regional unemployment rates amongst 30-34 year olds are included to capture the association between labour market conditions and housing outcomes. Due to data constraints all contextual variables are measured when 30-34. The effects of these variables should thus be interpreted as correlations rather than the impact of conditions experienced earlier in life. Summary statistics for all independent variables are shown in Appendix Table A1.

⁵ Further analysis suggested that roughly two thirds of ‘sharers’ lived with a parent. This proportion changed little over time and men were consistently more likely to share with a parent than women.

⁶ Values are derived from the person’s current job or their most recent occupation if not in work.

⁷ The census does not record income and comprehensive information on educational qualifications was not collected until 1991.

⁸ The average price paid by first-time buyers should capture the cost of the types of dwelling accessible to young adults better than the average overall house price.

Analysis

The paper begins by examining how the associations between parental attributes and housing outcomes vary by gender and cohort. First, the odds of each outcome are calculated to assess trends in housing outcomes. Odds ratios are then used to evaluate how the relative chances of each housing outcome vary by family background. Odds ratios take into account changing structural conditions, allowing us to assess how inequalities in life chances have changed over time (Jenkins and Maynard, 1983; Platt, 2005).

Next, multivariate models assess how these associations are affected by life course trajectories and contextual conditions. Multinomial logistic regression is used as the dependent variable consists of four distinct unordered categories (Long and Freese, 2006). Six separate models are estimated to allow the effects of each independent variable to vary by gender and cohort⁹. Independent variables that did not contribute to any model (for example parental neighbourhood characteristics) were not retained.

Model estimates are reported as Average Marginal Effects (AMEs). AMEs estimate the population average change in the probability of a specified outcome produced by changing a predictor by one unit, holding the rest of the variables at their observed values (Williams, 2012). Unlike log-odds coefficients AMEs can be directly compared across samples without assuming constant unobserved heterogeneity (Mood, 2010).

Results

Descriptive analysis

Figures 1a and 1b show the percentage of men and women in each cohort who were in each housing state aged 10-14 and 30-34. In line with national trends the proportion of 10-14 year olds living in owner-occupation increased dramatically across the cohorts, while the proportion living in private and especially socially rented accommodation fell. Young adults' housing outcomes when aged 30-34 have also changed over time. Homeownership has become decreasingly common with the biggest fall occurring for Generation X (most notably amongst men). Although young women were consistently more likely than men to be social tenants, the proportion of young adults living in social housing declined over time as the sector contracted through Right to Buy sales and low levels of construction.

These declines have been counterbalanced by a renaissance in private renting amongst Generation X. This shift to private renting accounts for most of the decline in homeownership and social renting amongst women, for whom there was only a small increase in shared living between the Post Boomer and Generation X cohorts. This increase may reflect greater participation in higher education and the postponement of partnership (Table A1). By contrast, young men have become increasingly more likely than young women to share their dwelling over time. This is probably partly because women gain a 'head start' in their housing careers as they tend to form partnerships at younger ages with older men. Rising lone motherhood during the 1980s and 1990s may also be relevant as the welfare state supports lone parents to live independently through the benefit system and by providing priority access to the dwindling supply of social housing.

*** Figures 1a and 1b about here ***

⁹ This also allows the 'meaning' of variables to change over time. For example, higher degrees may have become weaker indicators of socio-economic advantage as the proportion of adults attending university has risen (Table A1).

Tables 1a and 1b show how the absolute and relative chances of each housing outcome vary by cohort and family background. Looking first at the absolute odds, the tables document a universal fall in owner-occupation across the cohorts. This is particularly pronounced for Generation X who may have been constrained from entering homeownership by secular trends in affordability as well as the credit constraints and housing market stagnation induced by the Global Financial Crisis. Nevertheless, even in Generation X owner-occupation was the most likely housing outcome for most young people.

The odds of private renting and sharing amongst men increased considerably in Generation X. By contrast the odds of social renting fell across the cohorts, except for children whose parents were social tenants where the odds remained steady (for men) or increased (for women). In fact, Generation X women growing up in social housing are the only group for whom owner-occupation was not the most likely housing outcome. These women were most likely to be social tenants aged 30-34, while their male peers were almost as likely to be sharing as in owner-occupation. Over time the children of social renters seem to have become particularly unlikely to enter owner-occupation as a greater proportion remain social tenants (women), become private renters (both genders) or share (men).

Comparing the outcomes of children from different backgrounds using odds ratios (ORs) allows us to evaluate the changing openness of the housing system. ORs greater than one indicate that a group has higher odds of experiencing an outcome than the reference category, while ORs less than one indicate lower relative odds. ORs for each outcome are shown in Tables 1a and 1b alongside their 95% confidence intervals.

*** Tables 1a and 1b about here ***

Although a greater proportion of children in the later cohorts came from lone parent families, the odds of owner-occupation are consistently and significantly lower for the children of lone parents as compared with children from two parent families. By contrast, the ORs of social renting are significantly greater than one for the children of lone parents and this relationship has strengthened over time for women. For women, the relative odds of private renting are also significantly higher in more recent cohorts for the children of lone parents.

As the NS-SeC 3-4 category pools a varied group of occupations, focusing on the falling proportion of children with parents with routine occupational status (NS-SeCs 5-7) provides the best way to assess the changing importance of class background. Across the cohorts and for both genders roughly one child from a routine occupational background is an owner-occupier when 30-34 for every two with managerial and professional parents (NS-SeCs 1-2). Social renting is much more likely for children with parents with a routine occupational background than for children with managerial and professional parents. Men and to a lesser extent women are also more likely to be sharing if their parents had a routine occupational background. This indicates that children from working class backgrounds are both less likely to own and live independently in early adulthood than their peers from more advantaged classes.

The ORs for parental tenure are particularly striking. For both genders the odds of owner-occupation are much lower for children whose parents were social tenants as compared with the children of owner-occupiers (the opposite is true for social tenancies). Furthermore, the ORs of owner-occupation for the children of social tenants have declined significantly across the cohorts while the ORs of social tenancy have significantly increased. This indicates strengthening intergenerational continuity in social tenancy and a decreasing relative propensity for the children of social tenants to become owner-occupiers. These patterns are gendered as Generation X men whose parents were social tenants are significantly more likely than men whose parents were owner-occupiers to subsequently live in privately rented or shared accommodation. By contrast, Generation X women whose parents were social tenants are less likely to be sharing than those whose parents were owner-occupiers. In all cohorts the relative odds of owner-occupation are lower and the relative odds of becoming a tenant are greater for the diminishing proportion of children growing up in privately rented accommodation.

Multinomial models

Tables 2a and 2b present AMEs from multinomial models examining whether contextual conditions or life course trajectories affect how family background is associated with housing outcomes. AMEs are reported for each category of the dependent variable so that the relative impacts of each independent variable can be compared across cohorts and outcomes. As AMEs estimate population average changes in probability the four AMEs for each variable sum to 0.

The models show that parental attributes are independently associated with housing outcomes in early adulthood. Lone parenthood has the weakest effect, reducing the probability of sharing for Post Boomer men and Generation X while decreasing the probability of ownership for Post Boomer women. By contrast parental class has much sharper effects. Young adults in all cohorts are significantly less likely to become owner-occupiers and more likely to rent socially or share (excepting male Baby Boomers) if their parents worked in routine occupations (NS-SeC 5-7) as compared with managerial and professional jobs (NS-SeC 1-2). Interestingly, the class gap in the predicted probabilities of owner-occupation has diminished over time for men but increased for women. Women from a routine occupational background have also become increasingly likely to share their dwelling over time. This implies that working class women are finding it increasingly difficult to enter the housing system.

*** Tables 2a and 2b about here ***

The AMEs for parental tenure suggest that the late twentieth century expansion of owner-occupation was accompanied by the marginalisation of renting. The predicted probability of owner-occupation is significantly lower for the children of renters as compared with homeowners and this relative gap has widened across the cohorts. Without data spanning a longer period it is impossible to tell whether this is because the children of renters are taking comparatively longer to attain homeownership or because they are becoming relatively less likely ever to own.

For both genders there is a strong intergenerational association of social tenancy in all cohorts, as well as a strengthening link between parental tenancy and the probability of subsequent private renting. One interpretation of this is that renting became increasingly 'residualised' during the late twentieth century as those who could afford it increasingly moved into owner-occupation. While we cannot rule out the possibility that selection explains the observed effects of parental tenure (Aratani, 2011), the fact that these are net of life course characteristics as well as parental class and family structure hints that any selection effects are likely to be quite minor.

Many life course variables have close links to housing outcomes. Ethnic minorities in recent cohorts have a significantly lower probability of owning and a higher probability of sharing than whites. The latter effect is particularly pronounced amongst more recent cohorts of men. Women have a significantly lower probability of owner-occupation and a greater probability of renting socially (and privately for Generation X) if they had children when 20-24. This might reflect the allocation of scarce social housing to young lone parents. Living with children when 30-34 is associated with a higher probability of owner-occupation and social renting, as well as a lower probability of sharing (or renting privately for men). In all cohorts having a degree increases the probability of owner-occupation while reducing the probability of social tenancy.

Being single and not working aged 20-24 and especially when 30-34 reduces the probability of owner-occupation and increases the probability of renting socially relative to working singles. Living as a couple when 30-34 greatly reduces the probability of sharing, even if neither partner is in work. By contrast, the probability of owner-occupation is higher relative to working singles if living in a dual- or to a lesser extent single-earner partnership when 30-34. The particularly strong effects for dual-earner couples may reflect the need for two incomes to sustain homeownership. The relative

probability of renting socially is greater if living as a workless couple, although the relative chance that workless couples rent privately has risen across time.

Unsurprisingly, the predicted probability of owner-occupation is lower if individuals have a routine (NS-SeC 5-7) as compared with a managerial or professional occupational class (NS-SeC 1-2). Men and women with a routine occupational class are also relatively more likely to rent socially (particularly women) and share their dwelling (especially men). Recent migration is associated with a significantly higher probability of renting privately and this effect has strengthened over time.

Adding contextual variables significantly improved the fit of all models (tests not shown). As expected, a greater proportion of owners in the LA raises the probability of owning and lowers the probability of renting. In all cohorts higher regional house prices dampen the probability of owner-occupancy, although these effects have weakened over time. Gender seems to mediate how young people adapt to housing costs as high house prices more strongly increase the probability that men share their dwelling as compared with women. By contrast, the probability that Baby Boomer and Generation X women (but not men) rent privately is higher in more expensive regions. Higher regional unemployment is linked to a greater probability of owner-occupancy. Although this effect is hard to explain it is in line with well-documented correlations between rates of homeownership and unemployment.

Conclusions

In the run up to the 2015 General Election all major political parties promised reforms to support young people's housing careers. These proposals were motivated by concerns that young adults' housing options and access to owner-occupation are becoming more constrained and dependent on family support. As housing is a major component of household outgoings and assets, growing reliance on family support could hinder social mobility and exacerbate inequality. In consequence, this paper examined how the housing outcomes of three cohorts of young adults are linked to the attributes of their parents.

The results show that parental class is associated with young adults' housing position when aged 30-34. Owner-occupation is less likely and social tenancies or sharing are more likely for young people whose parents worked in routine or manual jobs. Although the proportion of young people with managerial and professional parents has increased over time, this has not been accompanied by class polarisation of housing outcomes. For men, the relative probabilities of each housing outcome by parental class have changed little over time. By contrast, the relative probability of owner-occupation has declined over time while the relative probability of sharing has increased for women with parents from a routine occupational background. This suggests that working class women are finding it increasingly difficult to enter the housing system, perhaps due to the contraction of the social rental sector.

Two factors complicate this picture. As the proportion of children with managerial and professional parents increased over time it is likely that this group became more diverse and relatively less advantaged in ways that are hard to measure. Furthermore, the parental NS-SeC effects probably underestimate the cumulative importance of parental class. Intergenerational continuities in educational attainment, labour force attachment and occupation mean that much of the impact of parental class may be indirectly transmitted through young adults' life course development (Ermisch and Halpin, 2004).

There are particularly strong links between parental tenure and child housing outcomes. In general, housing outcomes in young adulthood appear to be polarising by parental tenure. The children of renters have become increasingly likely to become renters over time both in absolute terms and relative to the children of owner-occupiers. Although Generation X has been dubbed 'Generation

Rent', the odds of owner-occupation declined most strongly over time for the children of renters (particularly social tenants). This suggests that renters became a marginalised minority and that this may have constrained their children's housing options and prospects for social mobility.

Several aspects of these patterns require further analysis. First, public debates about the impacts of postponed homeownership on fertility and young families highlight how it may be the timing rather than the occurrence of housing transitions that varies by cohort and/or parental tenure. For example, the children of renters may take longer to enter owner-occupation than children with homeowner parents. The impact of parental tenure may thus change as children age, although any duration effects will still have financial and thus policy implications. Moreover, parental tenure is not necessarily constant over time (for example some parents may have split up or exercised the Right to Buy after their children were aged 10-14) and it is not clear when it is most relevant to young people. Examining these issues and disentangling them from the period effects of the Global Financial Crisis will require very long periods of longitudinal data gathered retrospectively or at frequent intervals from both parents and children.

Care is also required when interpreting the parental tenure effects. Intergenerational associations richly describe social fluidity but they cannot reveal the mechanisms through which parental tenure affects children's housing outcomes. Given the strong British ideology of homeownership it seems probable that differential access to resources rather than socialisation is the key mechanism. Owners and renters may also differ in unobserved ways which could have changed over time, for instance if renting has become an increasingly strong proxy for unmeasured disadvantage. However, even if this were the case the results demonstrate that this disadvantage could be compounded by inequalities in young adults' subsequent housing trajectories. Finally, parental tenure may have different effects for different groups which are not captured by AMEs (Aratani, 2011). In this study this drawback was outweighed by the fact that AMEs can be compared across cohorts, but further research into interaction effects remains necessary.

The results emphasise that gaining a richer understanding of current and future housing inequalities also requires looking beyond intergenerational transmission. Demography plays a central role in the stratification of young adults' housing outcomes, with divergence by gender (men are more likely to share than women), ethnicity (ethnic minorities are more likely to share and less likely to own than whites) and partnership trajectory (ownership is most common for couples). Housing outcomes are also configured by house prices and tenure mix, implying that the geography of housing markets strongly affects young adults' housing outcomes and the money they spend, gain and lose in the housing system. Evaluating the open- and fairness of Britain's housing system requires considering how inequalities are generated within cohorts as well as how they are transmitted across generations.

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The derivation of NS-SeC classes is provided in Bukodi and Neuburger (2009) “Data Note. Job and occupational histories for the NSHD 1946 Birth Cohort” as part of the ESRC Gender Network Grant, Project 1 ‘Changing occupational careers of men and women’ (RES-225-25-2001). The code was kindly provided by Erzsebet Bukodi and adapted for use in the LS by Franz Buscha and Patrick Sturgis as part of the ESRC grant ‘Inter-cohort Trends in Intergenerational Mobility in England and Wales: Income, status, and class (InTIME)’ [ES/K003259/1].

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Figures and tables

Figure 1a. Housing origins and outcomes by cohort: Men

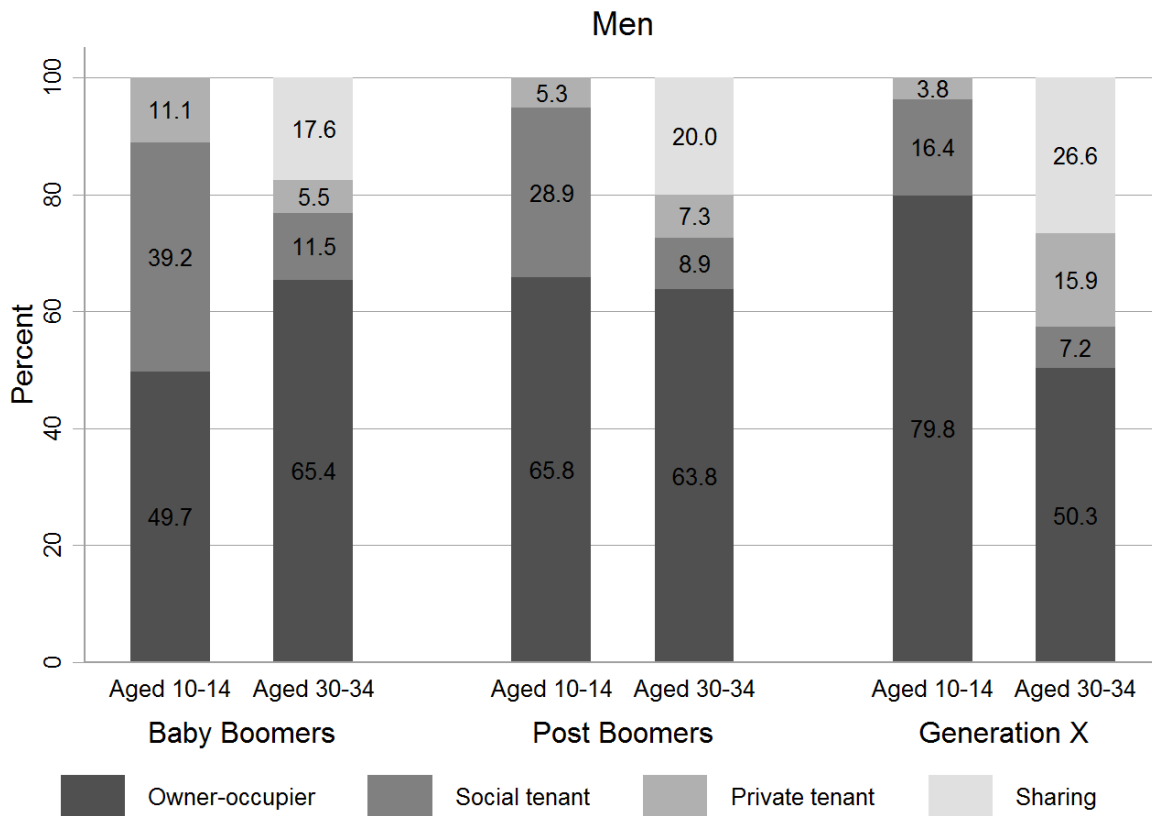
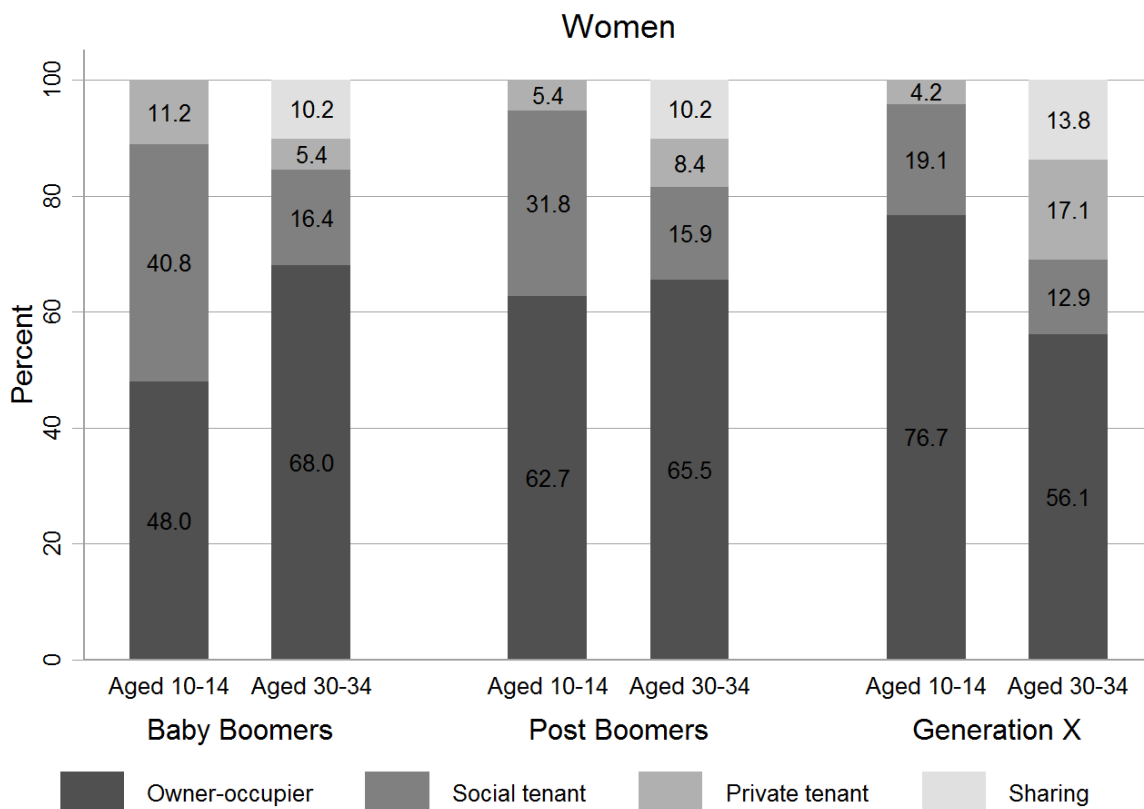


Figure 1b. Housing origins and outcomes by cohort: Women



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study (own analysis).

Table 1a. Parental attributes and housing outcomes by cohort: Men

Characteristics aged 10-14			Housing outcomes aged 30-34											N	
Parental attribute	Cohort	Cohort %	Owner-occupation			Social tenancy			Private tenancy			Sharing			
			Odds	OR	95% CI	Odds	OR	95% CI	Odds	OR	95% CI	Odds	OR	95% CI	
Two parents (ref)	BB	92.22	1.95			0.12			0.06			0.21			12177
	PB	88.71	1.80			0.09			0.08			0.25			10560
	GX	84.16	1.06			0.07			0.19			0.36			7810
Lone parent	BB	7.78	1.35	0.69	0.61-0.79	0.20	1.59	1.33-1.89	0.07	1.26	0.97-1.63	0.24	1.14	0.97-1.34	1028
	PB	11.29	1.47	0.81	0.72-0.91	0.15	1.67	1.40-1.98	0.09	1.17	0.95-1.44	0.24	0.93	0.81-1.08	1344
	GX	15.84	0.78	0.74	0.66-0.82	0.13	1.89	1.57-2.27	0.20	1.05	0.91-1.22	0.39	1.10	0.97-1.25	1470
NS-SeC 1-2 (ref)	BB	25.17	2.85			0.05			0.06			0.19			3324
	PB	33.32	2.40			0.04			0.09			0.20			3966
	GX	38.50	1.34			0.03			0.20			0.30			3573
NS-SeC 5-7	BB	48.77	1.59	0.56	0.51-0.61	0.18	3.62	3.04-4.30	0.05	0.92	0.76-1.11	0.23	1.20	1.07-1.34	6440
	PB	40.45	1.43	0.60	0.54-0.65	0.13	3.07	2.57-3.67	0.07	0.80	0.69-0.94	0.29	1.44	1.29-1.60	4815
	GX	28.91	0.77	0.58	0.52-0.64	0.13	4.12	3.29-5.16	0.18	0.88	0.77-1.01	0.43	1.43	1.28-1.61	2683
Owner-occupier (ref)	BB	49.72	2.55			0.06			0.06			0.21			6566
	PB	65.82	2.23			0.05			0.07			0.23			7835
	GX	79.83	1.19			0.05			0.18			0.35			7408
Social tenant	BB	39.18	1.39	0.55	0.51-0.59	0.23	3.91	3.45-4.44	0.05	0.85	0.72-1.00	0.22	1.08	0.98-1.19	5174
	PB	28.92	1.09	0.49	0.45-0.53	0.22	4.10	3.59-4.69	0.08	1.07	0.92-1.25	0.29	1.25	1.13-1.37	3443
	GX	16.40	0.47	0.39	0.35-0.44	0.25	5.35	4.53-6.33	0.21	1.17	1.01-1.36	0.44	1.27	1.12-1.43	1522
Private tenant	BB	11.09	1.67	0.66	0.58-0.74	0.13	2.13	1.76-2.59	0.09	1.49	1.20-1.85	0.22	1.08	0.93-1.25	1465
	PB	5.26	1.53	0.69	0.58-0.81	0.09	1.72	1.27-2.32	0.13	1.71	1.31-2.22	0.25	1.06	0.86-1.30	626
	GX	3.77	0.82	0.69	0.56-0.86	0.09	2.01	1.36-2.97	0.30	1.64	1.27-2.12	0.31	0.87	0.68-1.12	350

Notes: BB=Baby Boomers, PB=Post Boomers, GX=Generation X, OR=odds ratio, CI=OR confidence interval.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study (own analysis).

Table 1b. Parental attributes and housing outcomes by cohort: Women

Characteristics aged 10-14			Housing outcomes aged 30-34												N
Parental attribute	Cohort	Cohort %	Owner-occupation			Social tenancy			Private tenancy			Sharing			
			Odds	OR	95% CI	Odds	OR	95% CI	Odds	OR	95% CI	Odds	OR	95% CI	
Two parents (ref)	BB	91.92	2.22			0.18			0.06			0.11			12591
	PB	87.35	2.07			0.17			0.09			0.11			11922
	GX	81.69	1.41			0.12			0.20			0.17			8483
Lone parent	BB	8.08	1.32	0.59	0.52-0.67	0.36	1.97	1.71-2.27	0.06	0.98	0.74-1.29	0.13	1.14	0.94-1.38	1107
	PB	12.65	1.10	0.53	0.48-0.59	0.37	2.22	1.97-2.50	0.11	1.23	1.04-1.46	0.12	1.07	0.90-1.26	1726
	GX	18.31	0.84	0.60	0.54-0.66	0.30	2.54	2.24-2.89	0.24	1.20	1.05-1.36	0.13	0.80	0.69-0.93	1902
NS-SeC 1-2 (ref)	BB	24.43	3.27			0.08			0.07			0.11			3347
	PB	31.18	2.99			0.08			0.09			0.11			4256
	GX	36.46	1.87			0.06			0.20			0.14			3786
NS-SeC 5-7	BB	49.51	1.76	0.54	0.49-0.59	0.27	3.49	3.02-4.03	0.05	0.69	0.58-0.82	0.12	1.09	0.95-1.26	6782
	PB	41.83	1.47	0.49	0.45-0.53	0.27	3.41	2.99-3.89	0.09	1.03	0.89-1.19	0.12	1.16	1.02-1.32	5709
	GX	30.92	0.91	0.49	0.44-0.54	0.24	4.29	3.63-5.07	0.22	1.10	0.97-1.24	0.17	1.18	1.03-1.36	3211
Owner-occupier (ref)	BB	48.01	3.17			0.09			0.06			0.11			6577
	PB	62.74	2.82			0.09			0.08			0.11			8563
	GX	76.69	1.65			0.08			0.19			0.17			7964
Social tenant	BB	40.80	1.46	0.46	0.43-0.50	0.34	3.57	3.22-3.97	0.05	0.91	0.78-1.07	0.12	1.06	0.95-1.20	5589
	PB	31.84	0.99	0.35	0.33-0.38	0.45	5.04	4.56-5.57	0.10	1.17	1.03-1.34	0.11	0.99	0.87-1.11	4346
	GX	19.09	0.50	0.30	0.27-0.33	0.53	6.67	5.89-7.56	0.25	1.33	1.17-1.50	0.14	0.81	0.70-0.94	1983
Private tenant	BB	11.18	1.90	0.60	0.53-0.68	0.21	2.25	1.93-2.64	0.08	1.37	1.09-1.70	0.11	0.97	0.80-1.17	1532
	PB	5.41	1.62	0.57	0.49-0.67	0.17	1.93	1.55-2.39	0.15	1.79	1.42-2.25	0.12	1.02	0.80-1.31	739
	GX	4.22	0.86	0.52	0.43-0.63	0.20	2.52	1.94-3.29	0.33	1.74	1.39-2.18	0.14	0.84	0.63-1.12	438

Notes: BB=Baby Boomer, PB=Post Boomer, GX=Generation X, OR=odds ratio, CI=OR confidence interval.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study (own calculations).

Table 2a. Average Marginal Effects from multinomial logit models of housing outcomes aged 30-34: Men

Variables	Baby Boomers (n=13205)				Post Boomers (n=11904)				Generation X (n=9280)			
	OO	ST	PT	SH	OO	ST	PT	SH	OO	ST	PT	SH
Lone parent (ref=two parents)	-0.011	0.003	0.009	-0.001	0.024	-0.006	0.013	-0.031**	0.015	0.003	0.005	-0.022*
Parental NS-SeC (ref=NS-SeC 1-2)												
NS-SeC 3-4	-0.029**	0.010	0.015*	0.004	-0.036**	0.022**	-0.013	0.026**	-0.017	0.020**	-0.009	0.006
NS-SeC 5-7	-0.038***	0.025***	0.001	0.012	-0.035***	0.017**	-0.011	0.029***	-0.029*	0.021**	-0.016	0.025**
Parental tenure (ref=owner-occupier)												
social tenant	-0.054***	0.051***	-0.007	0.011	-0.077***	0.051***	0.007	0.018*	-0.085***	0.051***	0.040***	-0.006
private tenant	-0.060***	0.025**	0.024**	0.012	-0.079***	0.022	0.041***	0.016	-0.067**	0.027*	0.069***	-0.029
Ethnic minority (ref=white)	-0.036	-0.023	-0.019	0.078**	-0.058**	-0.022	-0.050***	0.130***	-0.074***	-0.025**	-0.070***	0.168***
Children when 20-24 (ref=no)	-0.060***	0.032**	0.005	0.023	-0.029	0.050**	0.005	-0.026	-0.020	0.014	0.017	-0.011
Children when 30-34 (ref=no)	0.020	0.063***	-0.028***	-0.054***	0.065***	0.078***	-0.039***	-0.104***	0.099***	0.068***	-0.064***	-0.104***
Higher degree (ref=no degree)	0.085***	-0.058***	-0.015*	-0.012	0.060***	-0.046***	0.000	-0.013	0.085***	-0.033***	-0.020	-0.032***
Partnership when 20-24 (ref=single, working)												
single, not working	-0.098***	0.072***	0.017*	0.009	-0.099***	0.047***	0.020**	0.032***	-0.065***	0.023**	0.022*	0.019*
couple, both work	0.054***	-0.009	0.002	-0.047***	0.046***	-0.024***	0.006	-0.028*	0.047**	0.002	-0.009	-0.040*
couple, man works	-0.001	0.015	0.013	-0.026	-0.006	0.009	0.037	-0.040	-0.002	0.020	0.015	-0.033
couple, woman works	0.021	0.073**	-0.006	-0.088**	0.056	0.050*	0.063	-0.058	0.053	0.033	-0.020	-0.065
couple, neither work	-0.123***	0.081***	0.020	0.023	-0.142***	0.052**	0.055*	0.035	-0.024	0.053*	0.011	-0.039
Partnership when 30-34 (ref=single, working)												
single, not working	-0.190***	0.098***	0.040**	0.052*	-0.241***	0.169***	0.039**	0.033	-0.204***	0.104***	0.012	0.088***
couple, both work	0.422***	0.024*	-0.004	-0.442***	0.352***	0.003	-0.015*	-0.340***	0.341***	0.012	0.080***	-0.433***
couple, man works	0.359***	0.068***	0.010	-0.436***	0.236***	0.047***	0.02	-0.303***	0.177***	0.061***	0.153***	-0.392***
couple, woman works	0.278***	0.120***	0.020	-0.418***	0.213***	0.078***	0.027	-0.318***	0.148***	0.090***	0.208***	-0.446***
couple, neither work	0.125***	0.234***	0.068***	-0.428***	-0.050	0.159***	0.184***	-0.294***	-0.173***	0.193***	0.397***	-0.417***
NS-SeC (ref=NS-SeC 1-2)												
NS-SeC 3-4	-0.062***	0.010	0.020***	0.032***	-0.054***	0.023***	-0.009	0.040***	-0.087***	0.029***	0.001	0.057***
NS-SeC 5-7	-0.188***	0.117***	0.015*	0.056***	-0.136***	0.062***	0.018*	0.057***	-0.147***	0.070***	0.017	0.060***
Migrated since age 20-24 (ref=no)	-0.005	-0.018*	0.056***	-0.033***	-0.024*	-0.001	0.064***	-0.039***	-0.031*	-0.017*	0.086***	-0.038**
% owner-occupiers in LA	0.004***	-0.003***	0.000	0.000	0.003***	-0.002***	-0.001*	0.000	0.003***	-0.001***	-0.002***	0.000
Regional house price (£10,000)	-0.014***	0.008***	0.001	0.005**	-0.006***	0.002	0.000	0.004***	-0.003*	0.001	-0.002*	0.004***
Regional unemployment rate	0.004*	-0.004**	-0.002*	0.002	0.004	-0.004	-0.006**	0.006*	0.013**	-0.002	-0.011**	0.000
McFadden's pseudo r^2 (adj. count r^2)	0.340 (0.332)				0.285 (0.272)				0.296 (0.352)			

Notes: *** $p < 0.001$ ** $p < 0.01$ * $p < 0.05$. OO=owner-occupation, ST=social tenancy, PT=private tenancy, SH=sharing. All models control for age, parental age, health status, migration aged 20-24 and missing NS-SeC (parameters not shown).

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study (own analysis)

Table 2b. Average Marginal Effects from multinomial logit models of housing outcomes aged 30-34: Women

Variables	Baby Boomers (n=13698)				Post Boomers (n=13648)				Generation X (n=10385)			
	OO	ST	PT	SH	OO	ST	PT	SH	OO	ST	PT	SH
Lone parent (ref=two parents)	-0.006	0.012	0.000	-0.006	-0.024*	0.018*	0.008	-0.001	0.003	0.006	0.013	-0.022**
Parental NS-SeC (ref=NS-SeC 1-2)												
NS-SeC 3-4	-0.021	0.016	-0.002	0.007	-0.017	0.015	-0.004	0.006	-0.016	0.011	-0.018*	0.023**
NS-SeC 5-7	-0.028**	0.030***	-0.015**	0.013*	-0.046***	0.034***	-0.005	0.017**	-0.048***	0.022*	-0.011	0.037***
Parental tenure (ref=owner-occupier)												
social tenant	-0.065***	0.050***	0.004	0.011*	-0.081***	0.078***	-0.003	0.005	-0.096***	0.070***	0.034**	-0.008
private tenant	-0.055***	0.027**	0.020**	0.007	-0.077***	0.031*	0.037**	0.010	-0.100***	0.039**	0.069***	-0.008
Ethnic minority (ref=white)	0.016	-0.028*	0.003	0.010	-0.048**	0.008	-0.024*	0.063***	-0.042*	-0.004	-0.052***	0.098***
Children when 20-24 (ref=no)	-0.051***	0.066***	0.001	-0.016	-0.059***	0.059***	0.013	-0.013	-0.099***	0.076***	0.068***	-0.045***
Children when 30-34 (ref=no)	0.037***	0.100***	-0.020**	-0.117***	0.024**	0.099***	-0.010	-0.113***	0.076***	0.064***	-0.019	-0.121***
Higher degree (ref=no degree)	0.081***	-0.078***	-0.005	0.002	0.038***	-0.039***	0.009	-0.007	0.093***	-0.067***	-0.016	-0.010
Partnership when 20-24 (ref=single, working)												
single not working	-0.100***	0.063***	0.022**	0.014	-0.073***	0.062***	0.012	-0.001	-0.040***	0.030***	-0.004	0.013
couple, both work	0.055***	-0.035***	0.003	-0.024***	0.048***	-0.007	-0.009	-0.032***	0.068***	-0.023**	-0.025**	-0.020*
couple, man works	0.004	0.001	0.026**	-0.031***	0.005	0.020*	-0.001	-0.024*	0.011	0.008	-0.012	-0.007
couple, woman works	-0.072**	0.058**	0.021	-0.007	-0.053	0.047	0.028	-0.023	-0.022	0.063**	-0.005	-0.037
couple, neither work	-0.114***	0.109***	0.012	-0.007	-0.110***	0.100***	0.043*	-0.034*	-0.070*	0.014	0.055*	0.000
Partnership when 30-34 (ref=single, working)												
single not working	-0.083***	0.120***	0.017	-0.055***	-0.226***	0.116***	0.149***	-0.039**	-0.212***	0.068***	0.164***	-0.020
couple, both work	0.329***	-0.090***	-0.006	-0.232***	0.340***	-0.107***	-0.048***	-0.186***	0.332***	-0.062***	-0.039**	-0.231***
couple, man works	0.288***	-0.051***	-0.010	-0.227***	0.263***	-0.062***	-0.032**	-0.169***	0.266***	-0.013	-0.041**	-0.212***
couple, woman works	0.197***	0.038	0.001	-0.236***	0.197***	0.015	-0.028	-0.185***	0.117***	0.048*	0.060	-0.225***
couple, neither work	0.075**	0.113***	0.023	-0.212***	-0.045	0.111***	0.105***	-0.171***	-0.054	0.113***	0.136***	-0.195***
NS-SeC (ref=NS-SeC 1-2)												
NS-SeC 3-4	-0.064***	0.037***	0.017**	0.010	-0.045***	0.029***	-0.002	0.018**	-0.055***	0.029***	0.008	0.018*
NS-SeC 5-7	-0.165***	0.136***	-0.001	0.031***	-0.137***	0.096***	0.012	0.029***	-0.146***	0.073***	0.047***	0.027**
Migrated since age 20-24 (ref=no)	0.013	-0.035***	0.039***	-0.017*	-0.035***	-0.022*	0.068***	-0.011	-0.038**	-0.046***	0.090***	-0.006
% owner-occupiers in LA	0.004***	-0.003***	0.000	0.000	0.002***	-0.002***	-0.001*	0.000	0.001	-0.001*	0.000	0.000
Regional house price (£10,000)	-0.019***	0.011***	0.005**	0.003*	-0.005***	0.004***	-0.001	0.001	-0.007***	0.002***	0.002**	0.002***
Regional unemployment rate	0.007*	-0.001	-0.005*	-0.001	0.015***	-0.002	-0.014***	0.001	0.018***	-0.008*	-0.008	-0.002
McFadden's pseudo r^2 (adj. count r^2)	0.299 (0.279)				0.303 (0.271)				0.282 (0.255)			

Notes: *** $p < 0.001$ ** $p < 0.01$ * $p < 0.05$. OO=owner-occupation, ST=social tenancy, PT=private tenancy, SH=sharing. All models also control for age, parental age, health status, migration aged 20-24 and missing NS-SeC (parameters not shown).

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study (own analysis)

Appendix Table A1. Descriptive statistics

Categorical variables (%)	Baby Boomers		Post Boomers		Generation X	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Parental family type (ref= two parents)						
lone parent	7.8	8.1	11.3	12.6	15.8	18.3
Parental NS-SeC (ref=1-2, managerial/professional)						
3-4 (intermediate)	21.3	21.0	20.7	20.7	27.2	25.2
5-7 (routine and manual)	48.8	49.5	40.4	41.8	28.9	30.9
undefined/missing	4.8	5.0	5.5	6.3	5.4	7.5
Parental tenure (ref=owner-occupation)						
social tenant	39.2	40.8	28.9	31.8	16.4	19.1
private tenant	11.1	11.2	5.3	5.4	3.8	4.2
Ethnicity (ref=white)						
ethnic minority	2.4	2.4	3.7	4.3	8.0	7.7
Health status (ref=no LLTI)						
LLTI	4.8	4.4	8.1	7.8	7.0	7.5
Children when 20-24 (ref=no children)						
children	11.9	27.1	8.0	24.1	4.6	19.9
Children when 30-34 (ref=no children)						
children	55.7	74.3	45.2	67.0	38.1	60.2
Higher degree (ref=no degree)						
higher degree	11.8	7.9	20.1	18.0	39.2	43.1
Partnership when 20-24 (ref=single, working)						
single and not working	15.4	12.1	16.9	17.2	26.6	28.9
couple, both work	14.7	24.0	15.7	25.8	10.3	20.5
couple, man works	9.9	19.3	4.8	9.6	3.2	6.0
couple, woman works	1.2	2.0	0.9	1.5	0.7	1.3
couple, neither work	2.9	4.7	2.0	3.4	1.5	2.6
Partnership when 30-34 (ref=single, working)						
single and not working	5.3	8.4	6.1	10.2	7.0	9.0
couple, both work	43.4	45.7	48.5	49.4	49.3	51.5
couple, man works	24.1	24.3	15.3	15.6	9.9	10.6
couple, woman works	2.1	2.5	1.8	2.1	1.9	2.2
couple, neither work	4.5	4.6	2.4	3.1	1.9	2.8
NS-SeC (ref=1-2, managerial/professional)						
3-4 (intermediate)	28.2	29.2	20.0	21.4	20.3	22.1
5-7 (routine and manual)	31.8	28.5	28.4	27.3	21.7	19.5
undefined/missing	1.0	3.9	1.1	1.7	1.5	1.9
Migration since age 10-14 (ref=no migration)						
migrated	11.6	13.4	12.0	13.8	17.7	19.1
Migration since age 20-24 (ref=no migration)						
migrated	17.0	15.7	15.8	15.4	20.2	21.1
Continuous variables (mean)						
Age of parent at LSM's birth	27.9	27.9	26.7	26.6	27.0	26.7
Age of LSM	32.0	32.0	32.1	32.1	31.9	31.9
% owner-occupiers in LA district	68.3	68.4	70.1	70.0	65.0	65.3
Mean regional house price (£2011/10,000)	7.5	7.5	10.8	10.8	17.0	16.7
Regional unemployment rate	10.0	6.0	5.4	4.4	6.6	5.9
N cases	13205	13698	11904	13648	9280	10385

Notes: LLTI=long-term limiting illness or disability. Non-parental variables measured when aged 30-34 unless otherwise stated.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study (own analysis).