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**Precocious Life Course Transitions, Exits From, and Returns to the Parental Home**

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**ABSTRACT**

Residential independence has long been considered a core feature of the transition to adulthood in contemporary American society. But in recent years a growing share of young adults are living in their parents' household, and many of these have returned home after a spell of residential independence. Recent research on exits and returns to the parental home has focused on the role of concurrent life-course transitions, young adult social and economic status, family background, and family connectivity. We know little, however, about how precocious, or early, life course transitions during adolescence affect leaving or returning home. We use longitudinal data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (1997 Cohort) to examine the association between precocious transitions to adult roles during adolescence and home-leaving ( $n = 8,865$ ) and home-returning ( $n = 7,704$ ) in the United States. Some, but not all, precocious transitions are tied to residential transitions, and often in competing ways. Our findings contribute to growing research on young adults living in the parental home, and shows how adolescent experiences can contribute to inequality in the transition to adulthood.

**Keywords:** life-course, precocious transitions, transition to adulthood, residential independence, returning to the parental home

## Precocious Life Course Transitions, Exits From, and Returns to the Parental Home

### INTRODUCTION

In the United States, leaving the parental home is a key marker of the transition to adulthood (Furstenberg 2010, Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999), and often signifies economic and social independence (Sironi and Furstenberg 2012). But in recent years, the percentage of young adults living in the parental home has increased, and more young adults ages 18 to 34 now live in their parents' home than live with a spouse or partner in their own home (Fry 2016, Settersten and Ray 2010). This suggests that more young adults are either returning to, or not exiting, the parental home. Researchers seeking to understand the rise in parental co-residence have begun to interrogate the causes and consequences of exiting and returning to the parental home (e.g. Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999, Hartung and Sweeney 1991, Sassler, Ciambone and Benway 2008, South and Lei 2015, Stone, Berrington and Falkingham 2014), but key questions remain unanswered. For example, despite life course scholars' understandings that early or precocious life course transitions in adolescence have consequences for life course trajectories (Harley and Mortimer 1999, Hogan 1980, Wickrama, Merten and Elder 2005, Wickrama et al. 2008, Wickrama, Wickrama and Baltimore 2010), no work to our knowledge has considered how experiences at the critical period of adolescence are linked with these residential transitions among a contemporary cohort of young adults.

In this paper, we contribute to the growing body of research on leaving and returning home and examine the link between precocious life course transitions (e.g., teen parenthood, teen marriage/cohabiting, dropping out of high school), home leaving, and returning to the parental home among a recent cohort of young adults in the U.S. Previous research on this topic has focused on how contemporaneous young adult characteristics are associated with residential transitions, as well as parental and family background characteristics (South and Lei 2015). But

adolescent experiences may also play a role in these residential transitions, especially given that what happens in adolescence often sets the stage for outcomes during the transition to adulthood (Hogan and Astone 1986, Marini 1978, Marini 1984, Shanahan 2000).

## BACKGROUND

The Life Course Perspective provides a useful framework for understanding the rise in co-residence with parents among recent cohorts of young adults. The Life Course Perspective emphasizes that the timing (and ordering) of life events and transitions are structured by access to resources, historical and geographic context, and social relationships. Importantly, the Life Course Perspective highlights that life course transitions are interconnected, and embedded within a broader series of normative, age-graded transitions (Elder 1998). Exiting the parental home, for example, is part of a normative series of life transitions, that includes completing one's education, getting a job, and getting married—all of which are considered part and parcel of the Transition to Adulthood (Hogan and Astone 1986, Shanahan 2000, South and Lei 2015).

### *Prior Research on the Correlates of Exiting and Returning to the Parental Home*

Motivated by the Life Course Perspective, recent research on exiting and returning to the parental home has focused on how contemporaneous life course transitions and trajectories, socioeconomic resources in young adulthood, family connections and background, and historical context shape residential transitions among the current cohort of young adults.<sup>1</sup> For example, the transition from high school to college or from school to work often triggers a decision to leave home (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999, South and Lei 2015), while dropping out of college can trigger a return to the parental home (Houle and Warner 2017). Similarly, transitions such as

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, we focus primarily on research conducted on contemporary cohorts of young adults, who experienced the recent rise in co-residence with parents. For a review of previous research on earlier born cohorts, see (White 1994; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999)

cohabitation or marriage and becoming a parent can foster home-leaving, while dissolving a romantic union can delay home-leaving and foster home-returning (Da Vanzo and Goldscheider 1990, Goldscheider and Hofferth 2014, Sandberg-Thoma, Snyder and Jang 2015, South and Lei 2015, Treas and Batalova 2011). More broadly, scholars have argued that recent delays in marriage, and extended education, have contributed to the rise in parental co-residence (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999, Settersten and Ray 2010). With a few exceptions, this research suggests that exits from the parental home are hastened by transitions into other adult roles, while returning home may be triggered by either failing to transition to adult roles or reversals in adult role transitions.

Much attention has also been focused on how young adults' socioeconomic resources influence exits and returns to the parental home (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999). Young adults' income is negatively associated with parent-child co-residence (Smits, Van Gaalen, and Mulder 2010), but findings specifically targeting home-leaving and home-returning have been mixed. South and Lei (2015) find little evidence that socioeconomic indicators were linked with exits or returns to the parental home, though other researchers find that young adults with higher incomes are less likely to co-reside with parents (Treas and Batalova 2011). In addition, Sandberg-Thoma and colleagues (2015) find that full-time employment is associated with an increased risk of returning home while poverty and unemployment were associated with lower risk of returning home.

Scholars have also drawn on the life course principle of 'linked lives' to emphasize how relationships with family members and their resources shape exits and returns to the parental home. Previous research shows that parental support, both instrumental and emotional, are important during the transition out of the parental household, and may allow young adults greater

flexibility in creating and maintaining an independent household (Avery, Goldscheider and Speare 1992, Goldscheider and Hofferth 2014, Schoeni and Ross 2005, Swartz 2008, Swartz et al. 2011). The parent-child bond also predicts returning home, as emotional closeness with parents and having a parent in poor health increase the likelihood of home-returning (South and Lei 2015).

Larger social and structural forces faced by young adults, such as the Great Recession, also play a role in the growing share of parental co-residence, demonstrating the importance of historical context for these recent changes in the transition to adulthood (South and Lei 2015). Finally, gender also plays a role in residential transitions, with women generally exiting the parental home earlier than men (Sandberg-Thoma, Snyder and Jang 2015, White 1994). This is important to keep in mind because gender may also play a role in the experience of precocious transitions, as well as any consequences of these transitions for home-leaving or home-returning. Finally,

#### *Precocious Transitions, Home-Leaving, and Home-Returning*

Scholars have drawn from principles of the Life Course Perspective to motivate research on the linkages between social resources, concurrent life events, family ties, and exits from and returns to the parental home. However, no research to our knowledge has considered how early role transitions in adolescence are linked with exits from and returns to the parental home (but see Billette, Le Boudais and Laplante 2011). The Life Course Principle of ‘timing in lives’ emphasizes that “the developmental impact of a succession of life transitions or events is contingent on when they occur in a person’s life” (Elder 1998:3). Although the transition to adulthood has become more diverse in the contemporary U.S., life course scholars argue that age-graded transitions that occur early according to normative expectations—also referred to as

“precocious” transitions—can be detrimental for development (Harley and Mortimer 1999, Hogan 1980, Wickrama, Merten and Elder 2005, Wickrama et al. 2008, Wickrama, Wickrama and Baltimore 2010), and consequences of these early transitions can reverberate across the life course (Elder 1994, Elder, Johnson and Crosnoe 2004). In this literature, early transitions include teen parenthood, teen marriage/cohabiting, dropping out of high school, and full-time employment prior to the age of 18 (Hagan and Foster 2001, Roche et al. 2006, Wickrama, Wickrama and Baltimore 2010). Below, we motivate our research questions regarding the potential impact of precocious adolescent role transitions and exiting and returning to the parental home.

The most intuitive expectation is that – compared to those who make age-normative transitions – young adults who experience precocious transitions to adulthood will leave the parental home earlier and will be more likely then return to the parental home after a short period of residential independence. For example, because life course transitions are interconnected (Elder, Johnson and Crosnoe 2004, Hogan and Astone 1986, South and Lei 2015), young adults who experience other early adult role transitions are likely to also exit the parental home earlier than youth who transition into adult roles later (Goldscheider and Hofferth 2014). Young adults who experience precocious transitions are also more likely to perceive themselves as ‘adults’ compared to their peers, and may feel that they should no longer live at home given their adult roles (Billari and Liefbroer 2007). As such, we expect youth who experience precocious transitions to adult roles to leave home earlier than their peers who do not, and early independence itself is a precocious transition.

Precocious transitions may also set residentially independent young adults on a trajectory that puts them at a high risk to experience other forms of social and economic disadvantage later



in life, which could lead them back to the parental home. Early exits from education and early entries into parenthood and cohabitating/marriage relationships are associated with subsequent struggles in employment, education, and earnings (Bramlett and Mosher 2002). Youth who experience precocious transitions are also at a greater risk for experiencing depression, emotional instability (Harley and Mortimer 1999, Wickrama et al. 2008), substance use, and physical health problems (Wickrama, Merten and Elder 2005, Wickrama, Wickrama and Baltimore 2010). These socioeconomic and well-being setbacks in young adulthood could compromise independent living. Furthermore, marriage or cohabitating relationships that start during adolescence are more likely to dissolve (Bramlett and Mosher 2002), and relationship dissolution could push young adults back to the parental household (South and Lei 2015). Indeed, Goldscheider and colleagues (1999) argue that the process of returning home is strongly linked to the manner in which adolescents left the parental home —suggesting that these adolescent experiences may play an important role in the risk of returning home.

It is also plausible, however, that young adults who experience precocious transitions are less likely to return home than their counterparts. Research on transitions to adulthood among vulnerable youth—including teen parents—shows that the parents of these young adults are often unable or unwilling to provide financial, social, or emotional support (Gitelson and McDermott 2006). Moreover, prior research shows that a return to the parental home is unlikely in the absence of a supportive, warm, and instrumental relationships with parents (South and Lei 2015). If young adults who experience precocious transitions tend to have more volatile and less supportive relationships with their parents, they may also be less likely to return to their parental home (Carbone-Lopez and Miller 2012, Hagan and Foster 2001, Siennick 2011, Simons and Whitbeck 1991, Swartz 2008, Swartz et al. 2011).

In sum, in this study we draw from the Life Course Perspective and ask whether early or precocious adolescent role transitions are linked with home-leaving and home-returning. As we outline above, prior research and theory provides somewhat competing expectations regarding the link between precocious transitions and exits/returns to the parental home. Therefore our primary goal is to provide a better descriptive understanding of the relationship between precocious transitions to adulthood and exits and returns to the parental home—to answer research questions rather than test hypotheses. For this reason, we also ask if the relationship varies across types of precocious transitions. While we recognize that off-time transitions may be experienced simultaneously — and thus are linked theoretically and empirically (Krohn, Lizotte and Perez 1997, Wickrama, Merten and Elder 2005) — we examine the independent contribution of each precocious transition to home-leaving and home-returning, and allow for the possibility that these transitions may have different associations with residential transitions. Thus, we ask not just whether precocious transitions are linked to home leaving and returning, but also which transitions. Specifically, we examine if precocious adolescent role transitions are associated with the timing of exits and returns to the parental home, and examine whether these associations are robust to known covariates of these residential transitions, including family social background, young adult attainment, and concurrent life course transitions and events.

## DATA & METHODS

Data for this study are drawn from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 Cohort (NLSY97). The NLSY97 is a nationally representative sample of 8,984 respondents born in the United States between 1980 and 1984. Survey respondents have been interviewed a maximum of 16 times since the original round of data collection in 1997 (annually from 1997-

2011, and in 2013). Respondents were aged 12-18 during the 1997 interview, and 28-34 at the 2013 interview. Data collection is overseen by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), and public-use data can be accessed at <https://www.nlsinfo.org/investigator>.

The NLSY97 data are ideal for examining home-leaving and home-returning for a number of reasons. First, respondents were originally surveyed in 1997, with respondents as young as 12 years old. Subsequent yearly interviews thus cover theoretically important points during and after the transition to adulthood. Second, longitudinal data collection covers the period from 1997 to 2013, providing monthly information on young adults' residential transitions. Existing research in this area has typically drawn on data available at yearly or semi-yearly intervals (Sandberg-Thoma, Snyder and Jang 2015, South and Lei 2015). Thus, we can better pinpoint when life-course transitions occur, thus improving temporal ordering.

#### *Dependent Variables*

Beginning with the 2003 round of data collection, respondents are asked to report the dates of residential transitions including becoming head of a household (home-leaving) and returning to the parental household (home-returning). These measures are then updated at each subsequent wave of data collection as more respondents experience these transitions (for more information, see Dey and Pierret 2014). Respondents are first asked if they have ever been the head of a household, or had shared that role equally with others for at least three months.<sup>2</sup> If applicable, respondents report the month and year that this first occurred. Respondents who have lived independently are then asked if they ever moved back in with their parents or into someone

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<sup>2</sup> To avoid bias via shorter-term living situations (such as dorms), respondents are first prompted with a definition of permanent housing: "Sometimes people live in places temporarily while attending school or working a job or for some other reason, but they consider their permanent residence to be elsewhere. Do you consider the place you are currently living to be your permanent house?"

else's household for at least three months.<sup>3</sup> If applicable, respondents report the month and year that they stopped living independently. We use this series of questions to create monthly time series data for each respondent covering both home-leaving and (if applicable) home-returning. For home-leaving, we created a flag coded 1 in the person-month the respondent first reported being the head of a household for at least three months (and 0 otherwise). We also include a time-varying count of the number of person-months since the first interview and up until either the home-leaving month or the end of the observation period. We then created corresponding measures for home-returning: a flag coded 1 in the person-month the respondent reported returning to the parental home, and a time-varying count of number of person-months since the respondent first reported living independently (if applicable).

#### *Precocious Transitions*

Precocious transitions are life course transitions into adult roles that occur earlier than is normative or typical (Hagan and Foster 2001, Roche et al. 2006, Wickrama, Wickrama and Baltimore 2010). We focus on roles associated with education, cohabitation and marriage, parenthood, employment, and independent living (for home-returning only). To capture the precocious aspect of each transition, we define early as occurring before a respondent turns 18, except for high school dropout.<sup>4</sup> Our measure of dropout is coded 1 in all observations following a respondent's 19<sup>th</sup> birthday if the respondent has not yet graduated high school and is not currently enrolled. Precocious parenthood is defined by parenthood before age 18 and is

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<sup>3</sup> While the wording of "someone else's household" may contribute some bias to this measure, it has been used conceptually and empirically by the Bureau of Labor statistics (Dey and Pierret 2014) and recent research (Houle and Warner 2017) to capture residential transitions.

<sup>4</sup> The literature lacks consistency in the measurement of precocious transitions, with studies using younger definitions, older definitions, or simply those that occur between data collection periods (Hagan and Foster 2001; Hagan and Wheaton 1993; Haynie et al. 2009; Krohn et al. 1997; Roche et al. 2006; Wickrama et al. 2005, 2010). Importantly, our results are consistent if we use both younger and older age cut-offs for the precocious transitions (analyses not shown, available on request).

determined by a series of questions listing the birth month and year for each biological child. We use this information to create a time-varying measure coded 1 in all observations following the reported birth of a child before age 18, and 0 otherwise. Early marriage or cohabitation<sup>5</sup> is coded 1 in all observations following entrance into a marriage or co-residence with a romantic partner prior to a respondent's 18<sup>th</sup> birthday. Precocious full-time employment is coded 1 in all subsequent observations following the time point a respondent worked 35 or more hours per week for at least six consecutive months prior to turning 18. Finally, precocious residential independence is coded 1 if and when respondents report living independently before the age of 18. This measure is only used to predict home-returning, as it essentially captures the outcome variable of interest for analyses of home-leaving.

#### *Control Variables*

We control for an array of theoretically and empirically relevant variables that may confound or otherwise explain the relationship between precocious transitions and residential transitions. These include time-varying measures of young adult's social and economic characteristics, time-varying and time-constant measures of family connectivity, and sociodemographic background characteristics.

Existing research has documented several contemporaneous young adult social and economic characteristics theoretically or empirically associated with home-leaving and home-returning. We are primarily interested if the associations between precocious transitions and residential transitions are robust to these established relationships. Drawing from this research (Houle and Warner 2017, Lei and South 2016, Sandberg-Thoma, Snyder and Jang 2015, South and Lei 2015, Stone, Berrington and Falkingham 2014), we control for monthly (time-varying)

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<sup>5</sup> The NLSY97 defines cohabitation (or a marriage-like relationship) as a sexual relationship in which the partners have lived together for at least one month (and before 2004 was limited to partners of the opposite sex).

measures of young adults' marital status (never married [referent]; cohabiting; married; divorced or separated), educational attainment (less than a high school degree [referent]; high school degree or GED; some college-currently enrolled; some college-not currently enrolled; and postsecondary degree), and employment status (1=respondent is employed full-time for at least six months out of the year; 0=otherwise), and annual measures of wages in thousands of dollars (logged). We also include two measures of respondent's emotional well-being: problem-drinking (1=respondents reported binge-drinking in the last 30 days; 0=did not report problem drinking), and emotional distress. Emotional distress is measured biannually (2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010) with a composite score of the amount of time respondents reported: (1) being nervous, (2) feeling calm and peaceful (reverse coded), (3) felt downhearted/blue, (4) been a happy person (reverse coded), and (5) felt so down that nothing could cheer them up ( $\alpha=.78$ ). Higher scores indicate more emotional distress. Survey waves where these indicators are not measured were backfilled from the next available wave.

We also control for family connectivity, as adolescents who experience precocious transitions tend to have lower levels of family connectivity (Siennick 2011, Swartz 2009), and young people with fewer family connections are both more likely to leave home and less likely to return home (South and Lei 2015). Family connectivity is measured with indicators of instrumental support and emotional attachment to parents. Instrumental support is an annual (time-varying) dichotomous variable coded 1 if respondents report receiving financial support from parents in the past year, and 0 if they did not. Emotional attachment is a time-constant variable coded from a series of questions where respondents are asked how they perceive their relationship with their mother and father. Respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed with the following statements regarding their parents (measured on a 5-point Likert

agree/disagree scale): (1) I think highly of him/her; (2) He/She is a person I want to be like; and (3) I really enjoy spending time with him/her ( $\alpha=.85$ ). Respondents rate this set of statements a maximum of 5 times throughout the survey period (1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, and 2003). We take the average of a respondents' available responses for each question, and then create a time-constant parental attachment scale by combining the measures into a single summed scale.

We also include a vector of time-varying and time-constant sociodemographic and family background characteristics that are associated with both precocious transitions (Wickrama, Merten and Elder 2005) and exits from and returns to the parental home (Lei and South 2016, Sandberg-Thoma, Snyder and Jang 2015, South and Lei 2015, Treas and Batalova 2011). Time-constant controls include gender (female [referent], male), race (white [referent], black, other), parents' highest educational attainment in 1997 ( $\leq$  high school degree [referent], some college, 4-year college degree or higher), parents' net worth in 1997 in thousands of dollars, family structure in adolescence (two-parent biological parents [referent], single-parent, step-parent family, and other family structure), and region of residence at baseline (Northeast [referent], North Central, South, West). We also include a time-varying (annual) indicator of residence in an urban area (nonurban [referent]). Finally, given the potential impact of the Great Recession on the job prospects of young adults in this cohort, we include a time-varying measure coded 1 if an observation fell during the United States recessionary period (2007-2010) and 0 otherwise.

### *Analytic Strategy*

Across all available interviews, the NLSY97 respondents provide over 1.7 million person-month observations, but we make a few sample restrictions for our empirical models. For home-leaving, the time series starts at the month of the first interview (when respondents are 12-18 years old), and we dropped 119 respondents who reported their first spell of residential

independence before the first survey round. As such, our empirical models predict the timing of home-leaving for 8,865 of the 8,984 total respondents. Most, but not all respondents live independently at least once, and a total of 7,747 (88%) report a first spell of residential independence. This means that 1,118 respondents are omitted from the home-returning analyses because they “fail to launch” (i.e., never leave the parental home in the first place). We then dropped 43 additional respondents who reported their period of residential independence started before age 16. This leaves us with a sample of 7,704 respondents who became the head of a household for more than three months, and who are at risk for returning to the parental home. To maximize the number of available observations, missing values for all independent variables were imputed using the ICE command in Stata 14 (Royston 2005).

Our dependent variables (home-leaving and home-returning) are dummy indicators for having experienced a change in residential status since the previous month. Our data is thus well suited for event history analyses, and we model the timing of home-leaving and home-returning using Cox proportional hazard models. In this approach, the hazard can be defined as follows:

$$h_i(t) = \Pr(T_i = t \mid T_i \geq t)$$

The hazard represents the probability that an event ( $T$ ) occurs at time  $t$ , given that did not occur in the prior observation ( $t - 1$ ). In this case, it represents the probability that a respondent makes a residential transition (either leave home or return home) given previous continuity in their residential status. This probability is typically expressed as a function of time and the group of explanatory variables using the logistic regression function (Allison 1984, Cox 1972):

$$\ln \left[ \frac{h_i(t)}{1 - h_i(t)} \right] = \alpha(t) + \beta_1 Prec_{it} + \beta_2 W_i + \beta_3 X_{it}$$

where  $Prec$  is a vector of precocious transitions to adulthood,  $W$  is a vector of time-constant covariates, and  $X$  is a vector of time-varying covariates. Cox models are commonly used to



express the hazard as a function of the observed variables because no underlying assumption is made about the shape of the hazard.<sup>6</sup>

For our first dependent variable, home-leaving, respondents enter the risk set at the month of their initial interview. They remain at-risk for home-leaving until they (a) move out of the parental home or (b) the observation period ends (when respondents are aged 28-34). Only those who become residentially independent (88% of all respondents) enter the risk set for home-returning. These respondents remain in the home-returning risk set until (a) the month they report moving back to the parental household, or (b) the end of the observation period. Models begin by regressing the respective dependent variable on only the precocious transitions (Model 1), before adding in controls for sociodemographic background (Model 2), young adult characteristics (Model 3), and family connectivity (Model 4). All event history models are estimated using Stata v.14. We use the Efron method to handle ties (or events that occur at the same time), and standard errors are clustered within individual respondents to adjust for within-person correlation of observations.

## RESULTS

[Table 1 about here]

We begin our presentation of results with descriptive statistics on home-leaving and home-returning in the NLSY97 data. Table 1 shows the percentage of respondents who leave and

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<sup>6</sup> We tested the proportionality of hazards for our focal independent variables by interacting each precocious transition with time. For home-leaving, the interactions were generally negative and were statistically significant for union formation and full-time employment. The main effects for all early transitions with the exception of high-school dropout are large and positive, indicating that the effects of these transitions are most pronounced at the beginning of the observation period and then decline. For home-returning, on the other hand, the coefficients for the early transitions are largely unaffected by the proportional hazards test. We leave the interactions out of the final models, and coefficients thus represent the average effect of a given variable across all observations (Allison, 1984).

return home, for both the full sample as well as among those who experience each of the precocious transitions. The majority of NSLY97 respondents report living independently for more than three months at least once. Of those respondents with a valid residential history, 88% report a first spell of residential independence that lasts at least three months, while 58% of respondents who attain residential independence report returning to the parental home (these respondents are residentially independent for 29 months, on average, before returning home). Descriptive statistics showing the monthly rates of exits and returns to the parental home (using the person-month data), as well as descriptive statistics for all other variables, are shown in Table 2.

[Table 2 about here]

The descriptive data show that those who experience precocious transitions are more likely to exit the parental home and return to the parental home, in the total sample (Table 1) and in any given month of observation (Table 2). For example, those who marry or cohabit early, become parents early, or enter full-time employment early are more likely to leave home. Moreover, those who drop out of high school and those who leave the parental home early are also more likely to return to the parental home than their counterparts. We next turn to a series of Cox proportional hazard models in Tables 3 and 4. Table 3 shows results for models predicting home-leaving, and Table 4 shows results for models predicting home-returning.

[Table 3 about here]

The results in Table 3 shows broad support for the notion that youth who experience (some) precocious transitions are also more likely to leave the parental home early. Model 1 indicates that youth who make early union formations, become parents early, and enter full-time employment early are all more likely to leave the parental home than youth who do not make

these transitions. These associations are robust to the addition of family background and demographic controls in Model 2.

The coefficients of interest change substantially after controlling for contemporaneous young adult characteristics. For instance, in Model 3, the coefficient for early exits from education becomes positive and significant after adjusting for contemporaneous young adult characteristics, suggesting that these factors suppress the association between early exits from education and leaving home.<sup>7</sup> Additional analyses (not shown, available upon request) reveal that contemporaneous young adult earnings, employment, and educational attainment suppress the association between early exits from education and home leaving. As such, once we account for the fact that high school dropouts have lower wages, worse employment prospects and lower educational attainment than their peers (all of which are associated with a reduced risk of leaving home), they are more likely to leave home than their peers. We also find some evidence that the association between early parenthood and leaving home is suppressed, as this coefficient increases in size and becomes statistically significant after adjusting for young adult characteristics. Moreover, adjusting for young adult characteristics reduces the coefficient for early cohabitation and marriage to non-significance, suggesting that those who marry or cohabit early are more likely to leave home early, in part because they are more likely to have transitioned into other adult roles or are “further along” into adulthood than their counterparts. These findings remain largely unchanged after controlling for family connectivity in Model 4. Overall, we find that precocious transitions—particularly early exits from education, early parenthood, and early full-time employment—are associated with earlier exits from the parental

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<sup>7</sup> To examine if shifts in coefficients is due multicollinearity between the precocious transitions and the contemporaneous characteristics, we examined correlations between estimated coefficients. While the correlations were largest between coefficients of similar measures (e.g., precocious union formation and contemporaneous relationship status), none of the correlation coefficients exceed 0.40.

home in the full models. Thus, these findings show support for the general life course principle that life transitions and events are interconnected, and that youth who transition into some adult roles early, or precociously, are also more likely to leave the parental home earlier than their peers.

Table 4 shows the results of models that estimate the association between precocious transitions and returning to the parental home. Because we consider leaving the parental home early itself as a precocious transition, we also include here residential independence before age 18 as a predictor of home-returning.

[Table 4 about here]

The results in Table 4 show support for the notion that (some) precocious transitions are linked with returning to the parental home. In Model 1, we find evidence that early exits from high school and leaving the parental home early are associated with an increased risk of returning home (conditional on attaining residential independence), while early parenthood is associated with a reduced risk of returning to the parental home. Youth who drop out of high school are 18% more likely to return home than those who finish high school ( $e^{.162} = 1.18$ ). Similarly, youth who leave home before age 18 are 24% more likely to return home than are those who leave home after age 18. Teenage pregnancy, on the other hand, is associated with a 19% reduction in the odds of returning home at any given observation ( $e^{-.212} = 0.81$ ). Teenage cohabitation or marriage also slightly reduces the likelihood of home-returning, while an early entrance into full-time employment is unrelated to home-returning. These results are largely robust to controls for sociodemographic background characteristics added in Model 2.

Adjusting for contemporaneous young adult characteristics (after they achieve residential independence) in Model 3 alters the size and significance of some of the coefficients of interest.

For example, the coefficient for early residential independence is reduced by 63% and falls below conventional levels of statistical significance. One interpretation of this finding is that youth who attain residentially independence early struggle in the labor market and in their adult roles, and are thus at an increased risk to return home. Moreover, young adult characteristics suppress the association between early cohabitation/marriage and returning home, which becomes positive and statistically significant after controlling for young adult social and economic status in Model 3. Additional analyses reveal that concurrent young adult relationship status is the key suppressor of the association between early cohabitation/marriage and returning home. This suggests that once we account for the fact that those who entered early into marital cohabiting relationships precociously are more likely than their peers to be married in young adulthood (which is linked with a lower risk of returning home), that these young people are more likely to return home. This may in part reflect the volatility of precocious marital relationships, which are more unstable and more likely to dissolve (Booth and Edwards 1985). Finally, the relationships between early parenthood, early exits from education, and returning home are basically unchanged after controlling for young adult social and economic characteristics. All of the associations between precocious transitions and returning home are robust to controls for family connectivity in Model 4.

Finally, given that pathways to adulthood are gendered, and that prior research suggests exits and returns to the parental home vary by gender (Buck and Scott 1993, Stone, Berrington and Falkingham 2014) we also tested for moderation of the association between the precocious transitions and the residential transitions by gender, shown in Table 5.

[Table 5 about here]

For both home-leaving (Model 1) and home-returning (Model 2), we find no evidence that these relationships varied by gender. Thus, while young men and women may experience these precocious transitions differently, it does not appear that the link between these transitions and exiting and returning to the parental home vary by gender.

### *Supplementary Analyses*

We conducted several supplementary analyses to ensure the robustness of our results and test for heterogeneity in the association between precocious transitions and residential transitions across social groups. First, because there is variation in how scholars measure precocious transitions in previous literature (see footnote 4), we examined whether our results were robust to different age cut-offs for early transitions (i.e., parenthood by age 18 versus parenthood at other cut-offs). Regardless of the cut-offs used, our results were remarkably consistent across specifications. Finally, we also explored for heterogeneity in precocious transitions across race, young adult social and economic characteristics, and family connectivity. There was no evidence of heterogeneity in the effects of the precocious transitions, and we make these supplementary results available upon request.

## DISCUSSION

The rise in the share of young adults living in the parental home (Fry 2015, Fry 2016) has spurred research that examines the correlates of residential independence and returning to the parental home. This research primarily focuses on how family background and relationships, and contemporaneous life course transitions and socioeconomic status in young adulthood shape exits and returns to the parental home. Largely neglected, however, are the role of early, or precocious transitions into adult roles. This is a notable oversight because these precocious

transitions to adulthood can have consequences for life course trajectories, and jeopardize health and well-being into adulthood (Roche et al. 2006; Thornberry et al. 2016; Wickrama et al. 2005, 2010). As such, we ask whether and which precocious transitions to adulthood are linked with exits from or returns to the parental home. Specifically, we examine whether precocious adolescent role transitions are associated with the timing of exits and returns to the parental home, and examine whether these associations are robust to known covariates of these residential transitions, including family social background, young adult attainment, and concurrent life course transitions and events. Expanding on prior research that examines the long-term consequences of precocious transitions empirically (Krohn, Lizotte and Perez 1997, Wickrama, Merten and Elder 2005), we also ask whether the association varies across different types of precocious transitions. Ultimately, our findings show a complex relationship between precocious transitions and exits from and returns to the parental home that should be interrogated with further research. We have three key sets of findings.

First, we find that many precocious transitions are associated with an increased likelihood of early departures from the parental home, as well as an increased likelihood of returning home. Dropping out of high school, for instance, increases both the likelihood of leaving and returning home. This indicates that youth who drop out of high school have fragmented starts to their residential trajectories, perhaps because this group tends to struggle in the labor market due to the lack of educational credentials. Early union formations are also linked to an increased likelihood of home-leaving and home-returning. That youth who cohabit or marry early also leave home early likely reflects their accelerated move into adult roles, while their increased risk of returning home in part reflects the instability and volatility of these relationships (Booth and Edwards 1985). And finally, early residential independence emerges as a risk factor for home-

returning, likely a result of socioeconomic struggles after young people leave home. These findings align with prior research that argues precocious transitions can be detrimental for development (Harley and Mortimer 1999, Hogan 1980, Wickrama, Merten and Elder 2005, Wickrama et al. 2008, Wickrama, Wickrama and Baltimore 2010), and consequences of these early transitions can reverberate across the life course (Elder 1994, Elder, Johnson and Crosnoe 2004).

Our second finding, however, is that not all precocious transitions are linked with exits and returns to the parental home in the same manner. For example, we find that early full-time employment is linked with exits, but not returns to the parental home. In addition, we find that early parenthood is linked with an accelerated exit from the parental home, but reduces the likelihood of home-returning. One interpretation of this finding is that early parenthood strains adolescent's relationship with parents, and thus increases the risk of exiting the home and not returning home. However, we would note that this finding is robust to controls for instrumental support from parents and parental attachment (though these measures are limited), suggesting alternative mechanisms. That the association between early parenthood and returning home persists after adjusting for all observable covariates suggests that perhaps unobserved theoretical mechanisms—such as stigma (Geronimus 2003)—may explain the link between early parenthood and returning home. It is also possible that the linkages between early childbearing and residential transitions are gendered, though we do not find support for gender interactions in our study (see Table 5). For instance, previous research shows that young men who are parents are more likely than young women to return home following the end of a romantic relationship (Stone, Berrington and Falkingham 2014). The interaction term of gender\*early parenthood in Model 2 of Table 5, while not statistically significant, is in the direction suggested by this



previous research. Broadly, these findings suggest that the link between precocious transitions and exits and returns to the parental home vary across types of transitions, and that therefore the mechanisms linking these two phenomena may also differ across transitions.

Third, while not a central focus of the study, we did not find any evidence of heterogeneity in the effects of precocious transitions on home-leaving or home-returning across social groups—by race, gender, family connectivity, young adult socioeconomic status, or family background. Of note is that we do not find any evidence that the association between precocious and residential transitions varies by gender. Although prior research clearly demonstrates that the pathways to residential independence are gendered (Stone, Berrington and Falkingham 2014), we do not find any evidence that the association between precocious and residential transitions are gender-specific. That is, while gender may play a role in the overall transition to residential independence, experiencing life-course transitions early does not appear to affect the residential transitions of men and women differently.

Overall, our findings demonstrate diverse associations between precocious adolescent transitions and residential transitions, and that the mechanisms linking these two phenomena may differ across different types of precocious transitions. We would note that while our study is not explicitly focused on causal mechanisms, future research should continue to explore the mechanisms that link (some) precocious transitions with exits and returns to the parental home.

By focusing on the link between early entries into adult roles and residential transitions, our study makes several contributions to life course research on the Transition to Adulthood. First, we build on emerging research that asks why record shares of young adults are now co-residing with their parents. While some individuals never leave the parental home, the more common pathway is to leave for a spell of residential independence and then return, as the vast

majority of youth (88%) exit the parental home, and most young adults return home (58%) for at least three months. This suggests that the recent rise in parental co-residence is driven more by returns home than it is by “failures to launch.”

Second, our findings build on research on exits and returns to the parental home by broadening the scope of analyses beyond family background characteristics and concurrent life events and transitions. Missing from studies that examine family origins and young adult destinations are events and transitions that happen during the critical period of adolescence. Experiences during adolescence that set individuals on an early path to adult roles are also relevant for residential transitions, though, as we show, the relationship between precocious transitions and home-leaving/returning vary across different types of precocious transitions. Indeed, our results expand upon and complicate research that shows that precocious role transitions in adolescence have deleterious consequences (Harley and Mortimer 1999, Hogan 1980, Wickrama, Merten and Elder 2005, Wickrama et al. 2008, Wickrama, Wickrama and Baltimore 2010), by showing that some, but not all precocious transitions increase the risk of home-leaving and home-returning. Our supplementary analyses reveal that this may be in part because early entrances into some adult roles can set youth on a trajectory that creates unstable adult relationships, and limit social and economic attainment.

Finally, our study raises important questions about, and contributes to larger discussions on social inequalities in the transition to adulthood. Previous research on precocious transitions suggest that these transitions are mechanisms of intergenerational social inequality: youth from disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to experience these transitions, and these transitions are linked to social disadvantage in adulthood (Furstenberg 2008, Wickrama, Merten and Elder 2005). Moreover, precocious transitions and their consequences can accumulate as adolescents

move into adulthood (Krohn et al. 1997; Wickrama et al. 2005). For example, high school dropouts are more likely to cohabit early, and teen parenthood is associated with early union formation. Supplementary analyses in our study (not shown, available upon request) reveal two additional findings: first, that youth from disadvantaged backgrounds have an increased risk of experiencing multiple precocious transitions; and second, that youth who experience more precocious transitions have an increased risk of leaving home early and returning to the parental home than those who experience fewer precocious transitions. Taken together, this suggests that precocious adult transitions during adolescence may be a mechanism of intergenerational social inequality (Furstenberg 2008). Future research is needed to understand the complicated links between social inequality and the rise in parental co-residence among young adults.

Our study provides novel findings on the correlates of residential independence and subsequent returns to the parental household among the current generation of young adults in the U.S., but it is not without limitations. Primarily, because our study relies heavily on event history data at the monthly level of observation, there may be some concerns of recall bias and subsequent error in the timing of life course transitions. However, we would argue that such bias is limited. The NLSY97 data provide an alternative measure of the residential transitions, one based on the composition of the yearly household roster, and our results are consistent when we use this measure instead of the residential history questions. This would suggest that the measurement of the residential transitions is robust to recall error, and speaks to temporal ordering between the independent and dependent variables. That is, the association is the same with the more detailed monthly data and the more conservative yearly data. Our measure of parental attachment is also limited. The availability of responses to the questions in this scale was not consistently available across survey waves, and as a result we were unable to create a

valid time-varying measure. As such, we cannot speak to if or how precocious transitions affect parental attachment, and the role this may play in leaving or returning to the parental home. Finally, and given the important role of parental resources for both home-leaving and home-returning, the data do not provide for time-varying measures of family characteristics such as net worth. These are available only at the initial interview.

Our study also raises important questions about the causes and consequences of residential transitions that can be addressed by future research. That the associations between some precocious transitions and home-leaving/returning are not robust to concurrent young adult statuses suggests the need for additional research to shed light on the pathways between early transitions to adulthood and later outcomes. Further, while we find that adolescent experiences are linked to exiting and returning home, it is unclear whether youth who return home suffer later social and economic consequences. For example, returning home may be a stumbling block for young adults, and lead to reduced employment, wages, and well-being. Alternatively, it may provide young adults with a much-needed safety net, whereby those who return back to the parental home may go on to flourish after they regain their footing.

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## TABLES

**Table 1. Proportion of respondents with a history of precocious transitions who leave and return to home**

	Exit the parental home		Return to the parental home <sup>a</sup>	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Full sample</i>	0.88	0.12	0.58	0.42
HS Dropout (1=yes)	0.88	0.12	0.62	0.38
Cohabitation / Marriage (1=yes)	0.95	0.05	0.58	0.42
Parenthood (1=yes)	0.93	0.07	0.56	0.44
Full-time Employment (1=yes)	0.91	0.09	0.56	0.44
Residential Independence (1=yes)	--	--	0.70	0.30
Persons	8,865		7,704	

NOTES. a – among respondents with report leaving the parental home at least once. Bivariate statistics corrected for survey design effects. Data are multiply imputed.

**Table 2. Descriptive statistics for all variables**

Variables	Home leavers		Home returners	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Home-leaving, home-returning</i>				
Home-exit rate	0.010			
Home-return rate			0.008	
<i>Precocious transitions</i>				
HS Dropout	0.100		0.174	
Cohabitation / Marriage	0.039		0.179	
Parenthood	0.030		0.069	
Full-time Employment	0.065		0.131	
Residential Independence	--		0.125	
<i>Young adult characteristics</i>				
Unmarried (referent)	0.943		0.507	
Cohabiting	0.030		0.177	
Married	0.024		0.282	
Divorced / Separated	0.003		0.034	
Parent	0.100		0.403	
Full-time worker	0.185		0.456	
Wages (logged)	5.282	4.127	8.110	3.780
Less than HS degree (referent)	0.594		0.128	
HS degree	0.164		0.280	
Some college, enrolled	0.113		0.143	
College degree	0.038		0.237	
Some college, not enrolled	0.090		0.212	
Problem drinking	0.278		0.386	
Emotional distress	9.549	2.573	9.275	2.455
<i>Family connectivity</i>				
Instrumental support	0.183		0.187	
Parental attachment	8.625	2.020	8.471	2.163
<i>Background &amp; demographic controls</i>				
Two-parent family (referent)	0.560		0.492	
Step-family	0.125		0.156	
Single-parent	0.269		0.292	
Other family structure	0.046		0.059	
Parent net worth	125.858	170.335	129.484	175.917
Parent HS degree or less (referent)	0.462		0.443	
Parent some college	0.277		0.280	
Parent 4-year degree	0.261		0.277	
Gender (male = 1)	0.544		0.499	
White (referent)	0.698		0.750	
African American	0.173		0.149	
Other race	0.129		0.101	
North east region (referent)	0.203		0.167	
North central region	0.245		0.266	

*(continued, Table 2)*

Southern region	0.339	0.350
West region	0.213	0.218
Residence in urban area	0.567	0.592
Recession year	0.091	0.304
Persons	8,865	7,704
Person-Observations	787,291	559,190

NOTES: Standard deviations shown for continuous variables only. Bivariate statistics corrected for survey design effects. Data are multiply imputed and descriptive statistics reflect averages across person-observations.

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**Table 3. Event history models predicting home-leaving.**

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
<i>Precocious Transitions</i>				
HS Dropout	-0.021 (0.036)	0.063+ (0.038)	0.469*** (0.047)	0.456*** (0.047)
Cohabitation / Marriage	0.785*** (0.052)	0.747*** (0.053)	-0.077 (0.066)	-0.085 (0.066)
Parenthood	0.104+ (0.058)	0.105+ (0.061)	0.179* (0.085)	0.177* (0.084)
Full-time Employment	0.343*** (0.044)	0.351*** (0.045)	0.122* (0.054)	0.125* (0.054)
<i>Young Adult Characteristics</i>				
Cohabiting			1.671*** (0.057)	1.682*** (0.057)
Married			1.108*** (0.074)	1.123*** (0.074)
Divorced / Separated			1.057*** (0.186)	1.079*** (0.186)
Parent			0.011 (0.050)	0.010 (0.050)
Full-time worker			-0.007 (0.030)	-0.001 (0.030)
Wages (logged)			0.032*** (0.004)	0.033*** (0.004)
HS degree			1.235*** (0.041)	1.203*** (0.042)
Some college, enrolled			1.653*** (0.045)	1.606*** (0.045)
College degree			1.817*** (0.073)	1.769*** (0.074)
Some college, not enrolled			1.257*** (0.053)	1.227*** (0.053)
Problem drinking			0.279*** (0.028)	0.270*** (0.028)
Emotional distress			0.002 (0.006)	0.002 (0.006)
<i>Family Connectivity</i>				
Instrumental support				0.198*** (0.029)
Parental attachment				0.001 (0.007)
<i>Background and Demographic Controls</i>				
Step-family		0.267*** (0.037)	0.283*** (0.044)	0.281*** (0.043)
Single-parent		0.142*** (0.030)	0.154*** (0.035)	0.157*** (0.036)
Other family structure		0.241*** (0.053)	0.262*** (0.061)	0.270*** (0.062)
Parent net worth (X10)		0.267*** (0.037)	0.283*** (0.044)	0.281*** (0.043)

*(continued, Table 3)*

Parent some college		0.136*** (0.029)	0.036 (0.034)	0.033 (0.034)
Parent 4-year degree		0.258*** (0.034)	0.119** (0.040)	0.113** (0.040)
Gender (male=1)		-0.173*** (0.024)	-0.087** (0.029)	-0.086** (0.029)
African American		-0.189*** (0.031)	-0.027 (0.036)	-0.036 (0.036)
Other race/ethnicity		-0.269*** (0.038)	-0.280*** (0.046)	-0.278*** (0.046)
North central region		0.256*** (0.038)	0.275*** (0.044)	0.273*** (0.044)
Southern region		0.186*** (0.034)	0.220*** (0.040)	0.217*** (0.040)
Western region		0.052 (0.038)	0.075+ (0.045)	0.078+ (0.044)
Urban residence		0.293*** (0.028)	0.144*** (0.030)	0.145*** (0.030)
Recession year		0.071 (0.136)	0.073 (0.141)	0.077 (0.141)
Total Person Observations	787,291	787,291	787,291	787,291
Total Persons	8,865	8,865	8,865	8,865
<i>F</i>	85.62***	42.92***	113.14***	110.24***

+  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; Numbers represent coefficients (not hazard ratios) derived from Cox proportional hazard models, with standard errors in parentheses (adjusted for clustering); Source: NLSY97; Multivariate results are unweighted; Data are multiply imputed.

**Table 4. Event history models predicting home-returning.**

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
<i>Precocious Transitions</i>				
HS Dropout	0.162*** (0.039)	0.228*** (0.041)	0.209*** (0.048)	0.213*** (0.048)
Cohabitation / Marriage	-0.084+ (0.044)	-0.068 (0.045)	0.182*** (0.050)	0.182*** (0.050)
Parenthood	-0.212*** (0.060)	-0.205*** (0.061)	-0.215** (0.067)	-0.214** (0.067)
Full-time Employment	-0.061 (0.047)	-0.050 (0.047)	0.003 (0.048)	0.008 (0.048)
Residential Independence	0.217*** (0.045)	0.224*** (0.046)	0.084+ (0.050)	0.084+ (0.050)
<i>Young Adult Characteristics</i>				
Cohabiting			-0.884*** (0.054)	-0.880*** (0.054)
Married			-0.709*** (0.054)	-0.707*** (0.054)
Divorced / Separated			0.248* (0.098)	0.253** (0.098)
Parent			-0.010 (0.046)	0.002 (0.046)
Full-time worker			-0.403*** (0.039)	-0.396*** (0.039)
Wages (logged)			0.000 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)
HS degree			0.001 (0.055)	-0.004 (0.055)
Some college, enrolled			0.054 (0.064)	0.024 (0.064)
College degree			-0.208** (0.078)	-0.225** (0.078)
Some college, not enrolled			0.068 (0.065)	0.064 (0.065)
Problem drinking			0.110** (0.034)	0.106** (0.034)
Emotional distress			0.035*** (0.006)	0.036*** (0.007)
<i>Family Connectivity</i>				
Instrumental support				0.173*** (0.036)
Parental attachment				0.019* (0.008)
<i>Background and Demographic Controls</i>				
Step-family		-0.056 (0.046)	-0.074 (0.047)	-0.054 (0.048)
Single-parent		-0.111** (0.038)	-0.159*** (0.039)	-0.142*** (0.039)
Other family structure		-0.240*** (0.068)	-0.290*** (0.070)	-0.239*** (0.072)

*(continued, Table 4)*

Parent net worth (X10)		0.002*	0.001	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Parent some college		0.113**	0.061	0.053
		(0.037)	(0.039)	(0.039)
Parent 4-year degree		0.117**	-0.022	-0.035
		(0.042)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Gender (male=1)		-0.041	-0.036	-0.036
		(0.031)	(0.033)	(0.033)
African American		0.093*	-0.013	-0.014
		(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.041)
Other race/ethnicity		0.021	0.010	0.016
		(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.048)
North central region		0.008	-0.016	-0.024
		(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.049)
Southern region		-0.017	-0.023	-0.036
		(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Western region		-0.103*	-0.137**	-0.147**
		(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Urban residence		0.125***	0.167***	0.169***
		(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)
Recession year		-0.178***	-0.037	-0.031
		(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.041)
Total Person Observations	551,596	551,596	551,596	551,596
Total Persons	7,704	7,704	7,704	7,704
<i>F</i>	10.38***	7.64***	29.90***	29.25***

+  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; Numbers represent coefficients (not hazard ratios) derived from Cox proportional hazard models, with standard errors in parentheses (adjusted for clustering); Source: NLSY97; Multivariate results are unweighted; Data are multiply imputed.

**Table 5. Event history models predicting home-leaving and home-returning; interactions with gender.**

Variables	<i>Model 1</i> (Home-leaving)	<i>Model 2</i> (Home-returning)
<i>Precocious Transitions</i>		
HS Dropout	0.448*** (0.074)	0.135* (0.067)
Cohabitation / Marriage	-0.061 (0.079)	0.233*** (0.061)
Parenthood	0.177+ (0.103)	-0.247** (0.081)
Full-time Employment	0.054 (0.091)	0.104 (0.073)
Residential Independence	-- --	0.044 (0.066)
Gender (male = 1)	-0.093** (0.030)	-0.047 (0.039)
<i>Transition*Gender Interactions</i>		
HS Dropout	0.011 (0.092)	0.139+ (0.083)
Cohabitation / Marriage	-0.075 (0.116)	-0.127 (0.099)
Parenthood	0.005 (0.155)	0.146 (0.132)
Full-time Employment	0.127 (0.112)	-0.170+ (0.096)
Residential Independence	-- --	0.089 (0.090)

NOTES: +  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; Numbers represent coefficients (not hazard ratios) derived from Cox proportional hazard models, with standard errors in parentheses (adjusted for clustering); Models include all study covariates (coefficients and standard errors not shown). Source: NLSY97; Multivariate results are unweighted; Data are multiply imputed.