

Home is where the heart is: living arrangements of young adults in Brazil.*

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INTRODUCTION

Changes in family size and composition have been observed in the last decades such in developed countries as in developing countries. Among them are the postponement of marriage and fertility, decrease in the proportion of individuals getting married and the increase in the rates of separation and divorce, as well as cohabitation. In addition, family size has shrunk and new types of families have become more common (Arriagada, 1997). In developed countries, these changes are being discussed as part of the Second Demographic Transition. In developing countries, these situations are also being observed, despite differences in intensity and motivations (Alfonso de Armas, 2008).

One of these changes in family composition is the increase of intergenerational living inside household arrangements, because youth delay their decision to leave their parents' households to constitute their own households. Thus, this study has the purpose of analyze the living arrangements formed by the young people of both sexes, with age between 15 and 34 in Brazil. Using data from the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD/ IBGE) for the years of 1986, 1996 and 2006, we attempted to identify possible associated factors to co-residence of young adults with their parents using a model of logistic regression (logit).

BACKGROUND

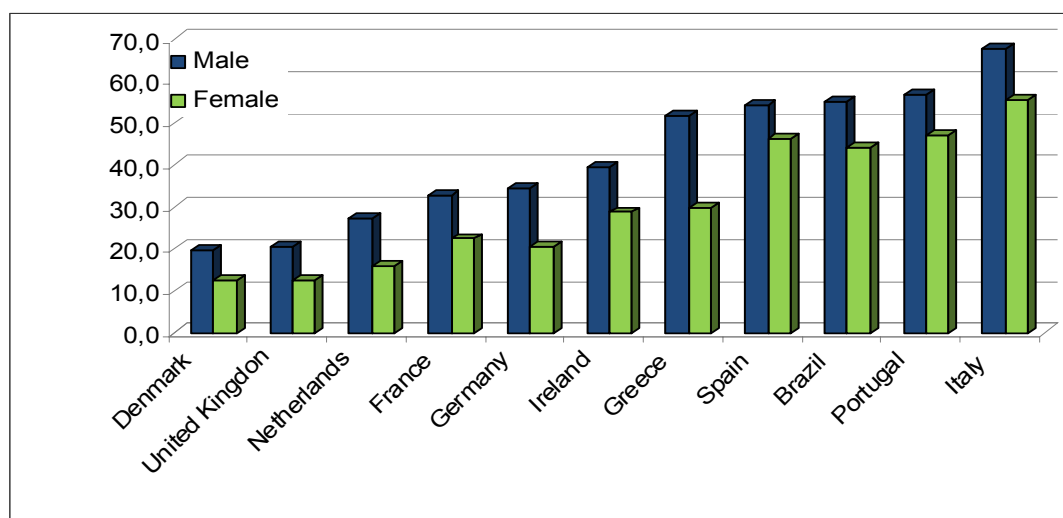
Due to a delay in marriage, the relationship among generations was modified and a new question has been posed: where should young adults live? The

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options would be: alone, in union (cohabitation or formal marriage), in non-familiar arrangements, or with their parents (Goldscheider, 2000). In countries in Europe and North America, contrary to what was being observed until recently, youth has opted for the extended co-residence with their parents, delaying (sometimes indefinitely) the moment of leaving the parental household. This trend and the determinants of increase on the average age in which sons and daughters leave their household of origin to live under other types of arrangements have been investigated in countries such as Italy (Manacorda and Moretti, 2005), England (Murphy and Wang, 1998), Netherlands (Billari and Liefbroer, 2007; De Jong et al., 1991), United States (Aquilino, 1991; Buck and Scott, 1993; Whittington and Peters, 1996) and Canada (Card and Lemieux, 1997), among others.

FIGURE 1 – Percentage of children living with parents, by sex, aged 18-34., 1996.



Sources: National Survey of Sampled Households, 1996 and ECHPS, 1996.

In development countries, including Brazil, there are still few studies regarding this issue and its possible determinants (DeVos, 1989; Johnson and Davanzo, 1998; Camarano et al 2006). In Brazil, studies about living arrangements are mainly concentrated in the arrangement for elderly (Yazaki, 1992; Saad, 1999; Camarano and Ghaouri, 2002; Camargos, 2008). However, despite the concern about household arrangements of the youth is still recent, the interest on this

subject has increased. Nowadays, it has been analyzed as part of process of transition to adulthood (Mello, 2005; Nascimento, 2006, Vieira, 2008).

TABLE 1 – Proportion of youth accordingly to their relationship to the household head, age groups and sex, 1986, 1996 e 2006.

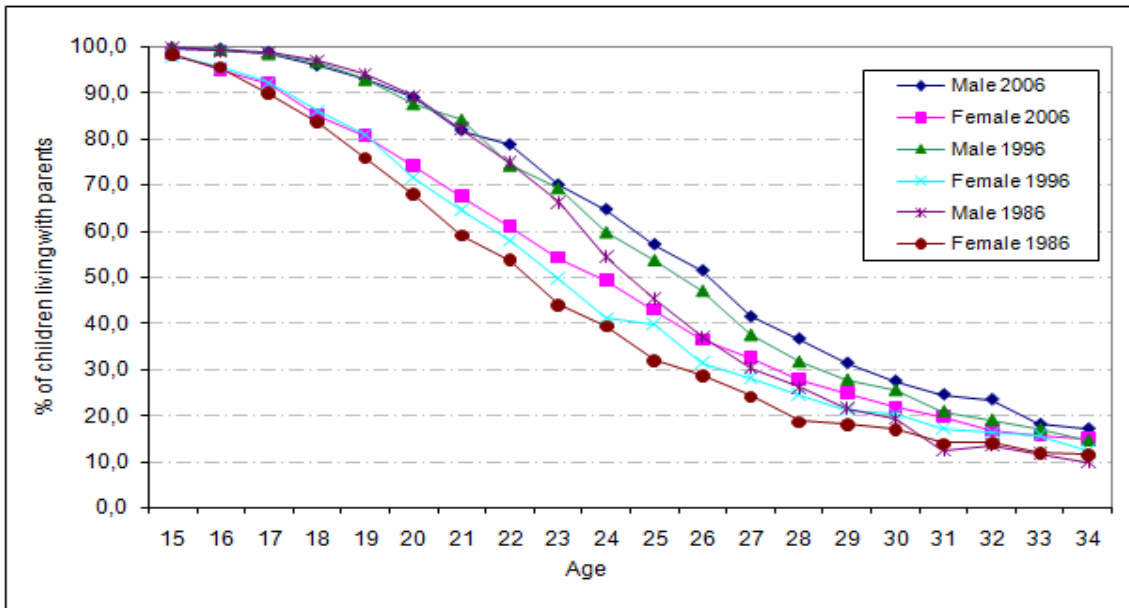
	1986				1996				2006			
	Head	Spouse	Child	Total	Head	Spouse	Child	Total	Head	Spouse	Child	Total
Males												
15 a 19	2,1	0,1	97,8	100,0	2,2	0,1	97,7	100,0	2,4	0,3	97,3	100,0
20 a 24	26,2	0,1	73,7	100,0	23,9	0,6	75,5	100,0	21,3	2,1	76,6	100,0
25 a 29	67,6	0,2	32,2	100,0	58,9	1,6	39,5	100,0	50,9	5,1	44,0	100,0
30 a 34	86,0	0,3	13,7	100,0	78,7	1,8	19,5	100,0	71,5	6,3	22,2	100,0
	42,3	0,2	57,5	100,0	38,0	1,0	61,0	100,0	35,3	3,3	61,4	100,0
Females												
15 a 19	0,5	10,6	88,9	100,0	0,6	8,4	91,0	100,0	1,3	8,5	90,2	100,0
20 a 24	3,1	44,1	52,8	100,0	4,0	38,9	57,1	100,0	7,5	31,5	61,0	100,0
25 a 29	6,4	69,3	24,3	100,0	8,1	62,8	29,1	100,0	13,8	53,2	33,0	100,0
30 a 34	9,2	77,1	13,7	100,0	11,7	71,7	16,6	100,0	18,7	63,4	17,8	100,0
	4,6	49,1	46,3	100,0	6,0	44,4	49,6	100,0	10,4	39,2	50,4	100,0

Sources: IBGE, National Household Sample Survey, 1986, 1996 and 2006

Between 1980 and 2000 there have been a reduction in the households of young heads or spouse and an increase in the proportion of households in which a young adult occupies other position related to the head of the household. This could be observed mainly among the young adults from age 25 to 34, suggesting that in Brazil - as it has been observed in other countries - it is also taking place a delay in their departure from their parent's home. Nevertheless, especially in the Brazilian case, this delay does not necessarily imply in the delay in the process of constitution of a family, as it could be observed as the increase in the number of different families living together in the same household (Camarano et al, 2006).

In FIG. 2 it is evident the increase in the proportion of youth stated as son/daughter of the head of the household. In 1986, more than a half of the women (56%) have already leaved their parents' home at the age of 23. In 2006, a same proportion can be observed only close to 25 years old. For men, this increase has changed from the average of 25 to 27 years old. That difference can be explained due to the fact that women usually form a new household through marriage, and it usually happens earlier for women.

FIGURE 2 – Percentage of children living with parents, by sex, aged 15-34.



Sources: IBGE, National Household Sample Survey, 1986, 1996 and 2006.

METHODOLOGY

The database used in this paper is the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD/IBGE) for the years of 1996 and 2006. The analysis was done for youth between 15 and 34 years old that are living in households in urban areas of Brazil. Only the urban areas were selected because this database only collected information for urban areas from the north region of Brazil after 2004, so comparisons using these years could not be done.

The event to be analyzed was leave or not leave parents' household to create a new one. The response variable is "leaving parents' household" and it admits two cases: 0 (zero) if the youth have not leaved his parents' household (he/she was in the condition of son/daughter); and 1 (one) if the youth have leaved his/her parents' household (he/she is the household head or its spouse). So, we used a logistic regression model (logit). In addition, some social and demographic variables were used to predict the odds of the youth leave or not their parents' household. So, the model used in this paper is:

$$g(x) = \beta_0 + \beta_{1age} + \beta_{2men} + \beta_{3brown} + \beta_{4black} + \beta_{5yearseduc} + \beta_{6mothernotealive} + \beta_{7nonmetrop} + \beta_{8NO} + \beta_{9NE} + \beta_{10SU} + \beta_{11CO}$$

Although this model is consistent, it is not sufficient to explain the decision of leaving parents' home, because this decision is tight related to the kind of household arrangement in which the youth lives and due to the family background. The database does not have information like: mother educational background, father occupation, number of brothers/sisters, or the kind of familiar arrangement for the youth that have already leaved their parents' households, so it is not possible to use household variables in the model.

RESULTS

Table 2 presents the odds ratio for the estimated model from two sub-samples for the studied group (15 to 24 years old and 25 to 34 years old) and for the years of 1996 and 2006. The models show statistically significant (Wald test $p < 0,01$), as well as most of the included variables, which have significant statistical differentials.

TABLE 2 - Estimated odds ratio for youth between 15 to 24 years old and 25 to 34 years concerned to leave their original household – 1996 and 2006.

	1996				2006			
	15-24		25-34		15-24		25-34	
	S.E	O.R	S.E	O.R	S.E	O.R	S.E	O.R
Age	(0,0011)	1,1901 ***	(0,0012)	1,2384 ***	(0,0008)	1,1611 ***	(0,0009)	1,1936 ***
Men	(0,0246)	0,1352 ***	(0,0176)	0,4426 ***	(0,0179)	0,1833 ***	(0,0143)	0,4390 ***
Brown	(0,0220)	0,9524 **	(0,0202)	0,9086 ***	(0,0172)	1,1002 ***	(0,0158)	1,0604 ***
Black	(0,0445)	0,6695 ***	(0,0396)	0,6668 ***	(0,0306)	1,2006 ***	(0,0275)	1,1835 ***
Years of education	(0,0025)	0,9824 ***	(0,0023)	0,9859 ***	(0,0020)	1,0066 ***	(0,0019)	1,0010
Mother not alive	(0,0382)	3,3300 ***	(0,0346)	3,2528 ***	(0,0322)	3,6210 ***	(0,0298)	3,4248 ***
Non-Metropolitan	(0,0194)	1,1346 ***	(0,0177)	1,1144 ***	(0,0158)	1,1567 ***	(0,0145)	1,1541 ***
North	(0,0397)	1,0186	(0,0364)	1,0303	(0,0266)	1,2516 ***	(0,0243)	1,2167 ***
Northeast	(0,0255)	0,9104 ***	(0,0232)	0,9494 **	(0,0202)	1,0648 ***	(0,0185)	1,0197
South	(0,0271)	1,5726 ***	(0,0248)	1,5625 ***	(0,0238)	1,4140 ***	(0,0218)	1,3446 ***
Center-West	(0,0321)	1,5630 ***	(0,0294)	1,5520 ***	(0,0259)	1,4797 ***	(0,0238)	1,4055 ***
Constant	(0,0370)	0,0096 ***	(0,0387)	0,0037 ***	(0,0326)	0,0114 ***	(0,0328)	0,0066 ***

Note: S.E Standard Error of coefficients B, O.R odds ratio

*** $p < 0,01$; ** $p < 0,05$; * $p < 0,10$

Source: IBGE, National Household Sample Survey (PNAD), 1996 e 2006.

Controlling for other variables, the chance of leaving home is positive related to age, i.e., the chance of leaving home is higher for each year added. Concerning sex, several studies have already pointed that women have more chance of leaving home in comparison to men, because they became married earlier.

In 1996, black and brown youth have a lower chance of leave home, if they are compared to white youth. But in 2006, the coefficient of the variable race is reverse and black and brown have, then, more chance of leave their original home. More educated youth also increase their chance of leaving home.

Though, the effect of the variable education become lower and turns not significant for the age group 25 to 34 years old. This is probably related to the fact that higher education is general, with no relation with the position of the youth inside the household.

The variable “have” or “not have mother alive” was used as a proxy of the household formation and presented a high effect over the decision of leaving home. As expected, the presence of the mother in the household acts as an attractive factor for children not leave their homes. For both periods considered, not have the mother alive was the most important factor to increase the chance of leaving their original household. If the mother is not alive, it is possible that the father have become married again and formed a new family. The presence of a step-mother is a factor that possible anticipates the decision of leaving home, due to more frequent conflicts between families not intact. So, a broke in the family accelerates the beginning of a transition to an independent household as showed in other papers (Aquilino, 1991; Murphy e Wang, 1998).

Due to more restricts educational opportunities in non-metropolitan areas, it is more likely that youth choose leaving home to marry early, because they have different aspirations from the youth that live in a metropolitan area. It can be possible that leave home for youth in non-metropolitan areas is motivated to the necessity of migration to seek for better educational or employment opportunities.

In Northeast region, a less developed region in the country, youth have a lower chance of leaving home, which can be related to economical restrains to form an independent household. The result of this process can be the formation of cohabitating families in the original household. In other hand, in 2006, this variable was not statistically significant. In 1996, to live in the North Region was not significant in relation of the Southeast Region and in 2006. And the youth that are living in the North, South and Center-East Regions presented a higher chance of leaving their original households.

DISCUSSION

It is clear that in the last decades young adults have delayed the age in which they leave their parents' homes to form their own households. Among the related factors for this behavior that could be analyzed in this paper, "not have the mother alive" had the higher effect to explain the leaving of the youth. It can be an effect of a possible substitution by a step-mother, what can cause more intense and frequent familiar conflicts; but, especially because the fact that the mother is the most responsible to promote the comfort of "home, food and washed clothes" to children and, in her absence, the attractiveness of the familiar environment could be reduced. So children do not have incentives to stay in the household.

The decision of leaving home is not taken by a person by himself and, such as other social relationships, could not be thought without considering the context that motivates it. Beyond the factors related to individual characteristics of the youth considered in this paper, leaving original home is also associated with some of the household and family characteristics. The family, in special, because of being the first way of integrations in society, has an important role in the definition of the moment of leaving home and the route after this.

The causes and consequences of this delay can be more investigated in the Brazilian context. Not only because of its impact in the demographic dynamics, but also because it is related to intergenerational transfers, to job opportunities, real estate opportunities, welfare state, and matrimonial market, among others.

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