Session S13: New Living Arrangements

Chair: Michael Murphy

'Late-Stayers': who are they? - The home leaving process in Brazil and Denmark'

Isabella G. Carneiro
Danish Center for Demographic Research
Sdr. Boulevard 23A, Odense C
5000 Denmark
Email: isabella@demfo.sdu.dk

Lisbeth B. Knudsen
Danish Center for Demographic Research
Sdr. Boulevard 23A, Odense C
5000 Denmark
Email: lbk@demfo.sdu.dk

Rafael G. Osório
Applied Economics Research Institute - IPEA-
SBS - Quadra 01 - Bloco J - Ed. BNDES
Brasília, DF - 70076-900, Brazil
Email: rafaelg@ipea.gov.br

ABSTRACT

The present paper attempts to shed light into the process of parental home leaving by observing the 'flip side of the coin' in terms of departure in Brazil and Denmark. A longer stay in parental home has implications in several life events, among them nuptiality, fertility, and in other non-demographic areas, such as housing market, labor market, welfare system, intergenerational relationships and policies related to those areas.

The paper analyses women born from 1943 to 1968 in both countries and establishes a cut-off for Late-Stayers based on the populations' probabilities of being in parental home. The use of this relative cut-off is particularly important when observing different countries. Some socio-economic characteristics of those women still in the parental home beyond the 'Late-Stayer's cut-off' established are analyzed.

The Brazilian data source is the National Survey of Sampled Households, whereas the Danish data is from the Fertility of Women and Couples Data set, a register based data set with national coverage. The analysis is performed cross-sectionally in 1981, 1987 and 1993.

Key words: Leaving Parental Home; Brazil; Denmark.

'Late-Stayers': who are they? - The home leaving process in Brazil and Denmark'

Isabella G. Carneiro[1] Lisbeth B. Knudsen[2] Rafael G. Osório[3]

'Be daring, be different, be impractical; be anything that will assert integrity of purpose and imaginative vision against the play-it-safers, the creatures of the commonplace, the slaves of the ordinary'

—Cecil Beaton

"When we lose the right to be different, we lose the privilege to be free."

—Charles Evans Hughes

1 - INTRODUCTION

The process of leaving parental home has captured the attention of the sociological, economical, geographical and demographic literature. It is easy to understand why, given its importance in understanding the life course, the family formation process and intergenerational relationships. The increasing complexity of living arrangements, which has been observed not only in developed countries but also in developing countries has been igniting increasing interest on the topic. Many countries have experienced delayed departure from parental home. In some cases, there is great concern about the relatively high age of departure and its effect on below replacement fertility. Such is the case, for instance, of Italy, where the process has been the focus of recent researches (Aasve et al., 2000; Billari et al., 2001 ; Menetti et al., 2001) **.** In the present paper, we do not focus on home leaving determinants nor its timing, but rather on delayed departure from parental home. The relevance of observing delayed departures rests on its implications on nuptiality and fertility, labor market, welfare system, intergenerational relationships, policies related to those areas and vice-versa. Despite its fascinating facet, the fact that departure (and in this paper's context, late departure) presents this bi-directional causality adds to the complexity of the phenomenon. Hence, the task of studying leaving home is neither an easy nor trivial task. Problems that range from availability of suitable data, to correlation and heterogeneity between variables are many of the obstacles in establishing such effects. However, our intention here is not to tackle such issues. We rather concentrate on observing those women who are staying in parental home longer than the normal in the country of reference in terms of some characteristics that may play a part on their decision to leave parental home. The paper attempts to shed light into the process through this characterization of those we call 'late-stayers'. In order to do so, we will observe the

[1] PhD student in the Danish Center for Demographic Research at the University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark. Email: Isabella@demfo.sdu.dk

[2] Associate Research Professor at Danish Center for Demographic Research at the University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark. Email: lbk@demfo.sdu.dk

[3] Researcher at the Applied Economics Research Institute (IPEA), in Brasilia, Brazil and Student at the Master Program at the Sociology Department of the University of Brasilia, in Brasilia, Brazil. Email: rafaelg@ipea.gov.br

phenomenon in two countries with very distinct social, economic and demographic experiences: Brazil and Denmark. As it will be later shown, each of these countries is undergoing different transitions. Brazil is now reaching its replacement level fertility and is believed to be in its First Demographic Transition. Its present fertility levels are similar to the ones experienced by Denmark in the 1940s. In fact, Denmark experienced two fertility declines, the last one beginning in the 1960s and continuing until mid-1980s, from which point the fertility started to increase. Given the differentiated characteristics of these periods in Denmark, this country is considered as being in its Second Demographic Transition (Knudsen, 1999). Nonetheless, it is not our intention with this paper to engage in the debate related to the First and Second Demographic Transition and their critiques. What is evident and relevant here is the very differentiated demographic profile of both countries. Since these very distinct trends found in Denmark and Brazil, these two different scenarios provided by both countries give excellent possibilities for observation of the phenomenon under such focus. Hence, we will use these frameworks for analyzing the late-stayers in both countries. Moreover, the literature on leaving home *per se* in both countries is scarce, not to say inexistent. This study aims at providing a first step towards bridging this gap.

2 - BRAZIL AND DENMARK

2.1 – Geographically

The Federative Republic of Brazil is situated in South America and is the fifth largest country in the world, with a population of 169,590,693 according to the 2000 census, where 81% of the population lived in urban areas. Its total area is 8,514,215 square kilometres, which means a population density of 19.92 inhabitants per km^2.

The Kingdom of Denmark[4], occupies an area of 43,090 square kilometres in the northern part of Europe. According to Statistics Denmark, its official statistics agency, the population in 2000 was 5,303,020, a population density of 123.1 inhabitants per km^2.

[4] The Kingdom of Denmark includes Denmark, Faeroe Islands and Greenland. However, in the present study the data analyzed and information provided for Denmark exclude Faeroe Islands and Greenland.

As table 1 below shows, the two countries are quite different demographically. Brazil presents a much younger age structure due to the high percentages of population in the 0-14 year old group and the low proportion in the 65+ group, which is precisely the opposite in Denmark. In Brazil, fertility is still slightly above replacement, whereas in Denmark it is below replacement and has been so since 1969. The death rate is higher in Denmark than in Brazil, and here its older age structure plays an important role in this higher level. Infant mortality is very high in Brazil in respect to the Danish reality. Hence, the expectancy of life at birth is significantly lower in Brazil than in Denmark (8, 10 and 7 years of difference between total, male and female rates, respectively). The gap between males and females is present in both, as in other countries, but in Brazil it is much wider (a difference of about 8 years compared to 5 years in Denmark).

Table 1 - Some Demographic Indicators in year 1999/2000.

	Age Distribution**			Pop. Growth Rate*	Birth Rate* (/1000)	Total Fertility Rate*	Death Rate** (/1000)	Infant Mort. Rate*	Life Expectancy at Birth*			Net Migr. Rate** (/1000)
	0-14	15-64	65+						Total	M	F	
Brazil	29%	66%	5%	0.94%	18.84	2.2	9.37	32.2	67.2	63.3	71.2	-0.03
Denmark	18%	67%	15%	0.5%	12.16	1.8	11	4.7	75.9	73.4	78.4	1.95

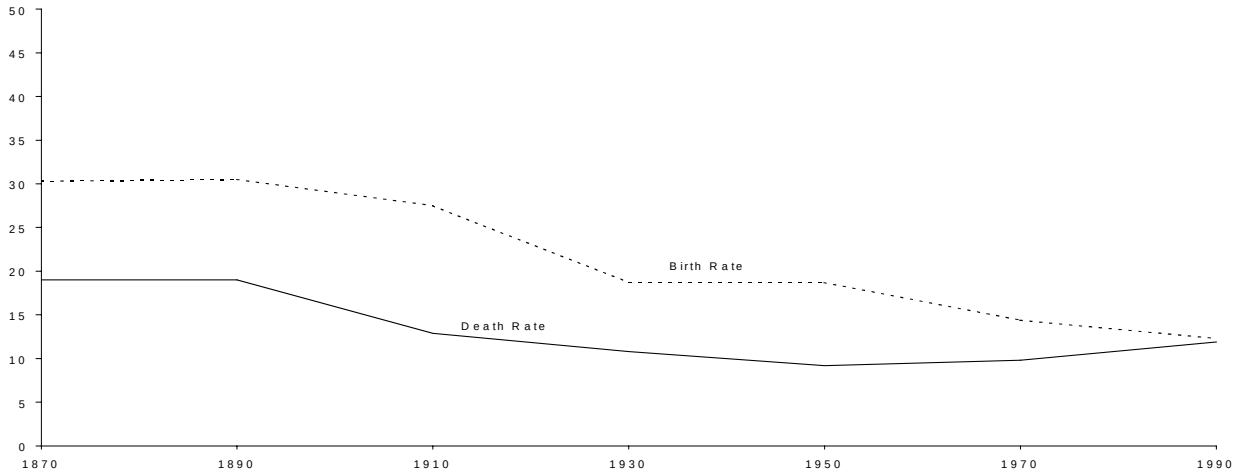
**World Development Indicators Database – World Bank - April 2001. Information available for 1999.*

***Britannica, 2001. Information available for 2000.*

Looking at the transition in both countries, we can observe that the two are also in different demographic momentums. The First Demographic Transition began in Denmark with a mortality decline that was a result of improvements in hygiene, public health and the combating of diseases in the end of half of the 18th century (Matthiessen, 1984). Such trend was followed by a decline in fertility that began shortly before 1900. Total Fertility Rate decreased steadily up until the mid-1930s, but the levels were still above a TFR of 2.1-replacement level fertility. Afterwards, there was an increase up until the mid-1960s. The strong decline up until 1930s was especially seen among women aged 25 and over. The number of children in the families was drastically reduced. The decline from mid-1960s, on the other hand, was seen in all age groups

and the strongest decline was among younger women. The levels reached were significantly below replacement. In 1983, fertility lowest point in Denmark, the total fertility rate was 1.38 (Knudsen, 1999). On the basis of the two different nature of fertility declines observed in the 20th century, Denmark is said to be in its Second Demographic Transition. The graph below shows the trends in fertility and mortality after 1946.

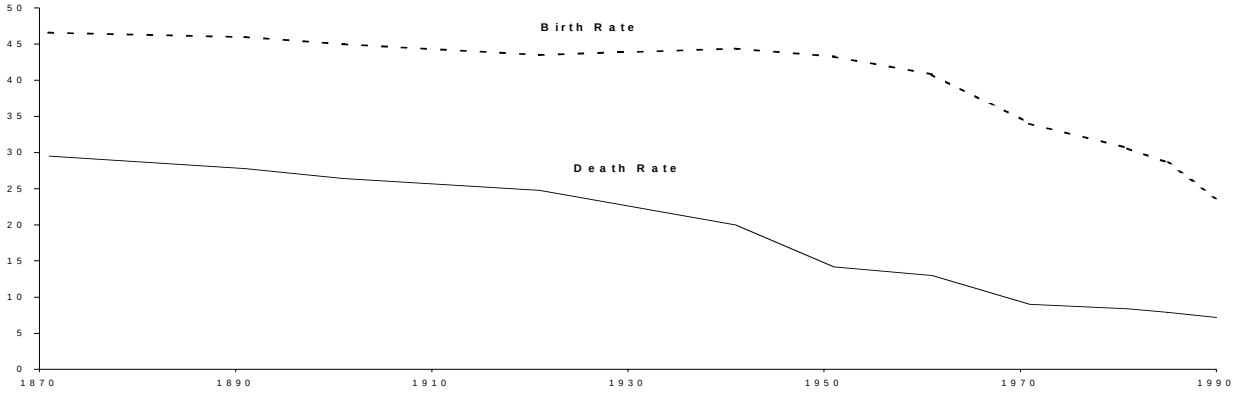
Figure 1 – Crude Birth and Death Rates in Denmark (1870-1990)



Source: Vital Statistics, several years.

As stated by Camarano and Beltrão (In print), population history in Brazil can be broadly grouped into three phases. The first one beginning in the 18th century and extending until 1930s, which was represented by high mortality and high fertility. The second period starting in 1940 was marked by a decline in the levels of mortality and maintenance of the fertility levels, leading to peaks of population increase in the 1950s and 1960s. Life expectancy at birth increased from 44 to 54 years between 1940 and 1960, which accounted for the high population growth rates observed in that period, which increased from 2.4% to 3.0% (Carvalho, 1997). The beginning of the decline in fertility in the end of the 1960s indicates the beginning of the third stage, characterized by a reduction in population growth. Figure 2 shows the trends in Crude Birth Rates and Crude Death Rates in Brazil from 1860 to 1990, where the three phases mentioned can be observed. Between 1970 and 1990, Total Fertility Rate fell more than 50 percent, from 4.97 (1970-1975) to 2.48 (1990-1995), according to Martine (1996), who closely studies the possible explanations for such fertility decline.

Figure 2 - Crude Birth and Death Rates in Brazil (1870-1990)



Source: Birth and Death Rates from Camarano & Beltrão (In print)

Regarding their economies, and what this means for their people, Brazil and Denmark are also very different. In 1999, according to the World Development Report 2000/2001 (World Bank, 2001), Brazil had a Gross National Product (GNP) of $1,061.7 billions of dollars, more than eight times that of Denmark, $129.1 billions. On the other hand, given its smaller population, the per capita GNP of Denmark, $24,280 dollars, is almost four times higher than the Brazilian one, $6,317. The way income is distributed stresses distinction. Brazil had, in 1996, one of the three most unequal distributions of income amongst the countries for which this information was available, bearing a Gini index of 60, in a scale ranging from zero (perfect equality) to one hundred (perfect inequality). As a mirror, Denmark's distribution of income, in 1992, ranked third amongst the three most equal distributions, with a Gini index of 24.7. While the richer 20% of Brazilian population had a share of 63.8% of national income%, due to their per capita household income, the equivalent Danish group share was 34.5%. In 1997, 17.4% of the Brazilians were living under a poverty line of $2 dollars a day. For Denmark, the World Development report does not even show information on poverty.

In whatever concerns living conditions, differences are even greater. Whereas in Denmark there is no report of child malnutrition and the infant mortality rate (as seen in table 1) is 5 per 1,000 live births, almost 33 out of 1,000 live births do not surpass their first year of birth. In Denmark, there is no illiteracy, whereas in Brazil 16% of the population aged 15 and above was illiterate in 1998. In both countries the population is predominantly urban, but in Denmark the access to sanitation in urban areas is universal and in Brazil only 74% of urban population have access to it. Access to running water is also universal in Denmark, whereas in Brazil it is only available to 72% of the entire population. Danish have proportionally more radio receivers, more TV sets, more fixed and mobile telephones, more personal computers and they also read more newspapers than Brazilians.

Given such differentiated patterns, it becomes even more significant and interesting to observe 'Late-Stayers' in both countries, and see whether, despite the differences there are similar trends in this group or if the differences persist also in this sphere.

3 - LEAVING PARENTAL HOME

Considering the universality of the fact that we are sons and daughters (for everyone has a father and a mother, even if unaware of their identities), and that most of the people are raised in a home with their parents, we can assume that the majority of individuals experience the event of departure from parental home. Naturally, there are those that never reside with any of their parents, but such cases are not the norm. Considering such high incidence of the event leaving parental home, it is to be wondered why the lag in interest in such topic in the demographic literature. As pointed out by some researchers, among them Goldscheider (2000), part of the delay was due to the synchronization of the event with the formation of unions. Therefore, nuptiality literature had been dealing directly or indirectly with this process. Only with the increasing lag between these events observed in modern western societies did the topic achieve its due attention.

Some studies have focused on the housing outcomes of leaving parental home. Most researchers have concentrated on the timing of departure and the factors affecting the decision process (Aasve et al, 2000; Avery et al, 1992, Whittington & Peters, 1997; Goldscheider et al, 1993; Goldscheider & Da Vanzo, 1989).

Many of those have also shown that factors affecting living home are different when the destinations are taken into consideration. More and more researchers in the field turn to models of multiple destinations. Holdsworth (1998), for instance, looks into regional patterns of leaving home in Spain and finds considerable differences in destination across regions but also in timing given a specific destination. She finds that in Spain the leaving home process is, in general, closely related to union formation, however in some regions other reasons appear to be relevant factors, such as migration out of region of origin. Some studies address the issue of available economic resources (parental or individual) on the decision and timing of home leaving. When looking into this issue Avery et al. (1992) find personal income to have a significant positive effect on leaving home and that high parental income has a negative relation with transition into marriage in the United States but no significant effect in the transition to independent living. Mulder (2000), when looking into parental home departure in the Netherlands, shows that education is the most important factor when leaving home and such factor has a strong effect among those with a university education. That same factor is five times weaker when the group with primary education is considered. Her findings point to a strong incompatibility between enrolment in education and leaving to be with a partner. When looking across sexes, the effect of socio-economic status and having a job is weaker among women than among men. Also, the gap in age of departure between men and women is much wider when the destination involves a union: women depart much earlier to form a union than their sex counterpart.

The decision to move out of parental home can be seen as one that occurs when the expected costs are overcome by available resources, regardless of the origin of resources (parental or individual). Naturally, the context must allow for opportunity to leave parental home. In a context of, for instance, lack of housing, or lack of educational institution available at place of residence, such scenario is affected by outside constrains and a rational decision may be affected.

Parental home leaving varies with age and in a context where education is a strong factor, it might be concentrated between the ages of 18 to 21, when individuals start university education. Although in some context this does not hold, like in Italy, for instance. In that respect, the same rationale can be applied to entrance into the labor market, which is in general concentrated in those ages following the end of secondary school. When the patterns of home leaving are related to union formation, the timing of departure is quite different between man and woman, the latter departing much earlier than the former However, many studies have shown a similar younger departure of women towards independent living (Mulder, 2000; Holdsworth, 1998).

More individualistic and self-fulfilling orientations are related to the Second Demographic Transition, which points to a reduction in patterns of departure towards a legal or a consensual union and an increase in the independent living arrangements after departure from parent's home.

The leaving home literature presents individual income as positively acting towards leaving home. Aasve et al (2000), for instance, when looking at leaving home in US, find a strong significant positive effect of personal income on departure to both destination, independent and in a union. We expect to find a stronger effect when departure to a union than departing to an independent living arrangement, since individuals are in general expected to be able to support themselves in the former type of arrangement. On the other hand, the establishment of a non-family arrangement is often connected with university education, regardless of labor force participation. In many cases these individuals are sponsored by the parents or by stipendiums from the social system, from foundations or even from student loans. In that respect, policies of

subsidy during those years of education may play an important role in the departure towards this type of destination.

Parental income has a much more ambiguous facet in the home leaving process. Parents may use their resources towards establishing their offspring in their route out. However, they may do so in accordance with their own judgment, using their resources as a deterrent of action until they find their children are mature enough to depart or until they want them to depart. In that sense, parental income may 'bribe' the young adults into staying longer in the parental home. Avery et al (1992) and Whittington & Peters (1996) focus specially on such effect on nest leaving.

Naturally, education can be a strong factor, depending in the context. When looking at home leaving in six South American countries, and Brazil is not among them, De Vos (1989) observed that education is not a strong factor, but it is relevant since it is used as a social class indicator in those countries. However this is not the case in the European context. Nevertheless, one must distinguish between ongoing education and attained education since their effects in general have shown different directions. Some studies have found contrasting effects of ongoing education given specific destinations: a strong positive effect in leaving home to live independently and a negative one when leaving to be with a partner (Mulder, 2000). Attained education, on the other hand, delays departure into both destinations (Aasve et al, 2001).

4 - THE CONCEPT OF LATE-STAYERS

All individuals share at least a similar characteristic throughout their lives: the fact of being someone's son or daughter. There is no exception to this rule. Up to the present, conception is not possible without and egg and a sperm, despite the fact that it can be performed outside the body. Sons and daughters, in general, become parents themselves, although there are those that may not experience this transition, be it for lack of opportunity, wish or due to a biological problem. The succession of generations plays an important role in our representation of the human life cycle. Sons and daughters may become parents. They may later become grandparents and, with some help from fortune, they can become great-grandparents. But they still remain sons and daughters.

Distinct human cultures have established different ways of measuring the passage of time for several purposes. Many times, among such reasons was the measurement of the lifetime of a person, her age. However, measuring the age of a person does not need advanced and precise techniques to capture the passage of time, since time itself deteriorates our bodies impressing its marks till death. Perhaps that is why age is one of the most universal criteria of social stratification. There is no account of a society that has not used age as a classification criterion. To this respect, Sorokin (1968) affirms that the differentiation of a population in real age groups is one of the most ancient and universal. He claims that this subdivision is found in all known past and present societies.

An important dimension of life that is highly affected to the age of individuals is their position in the household and in the family. Several trajectories through household positions in distinct living arrangements are possible in contemporary western societies. But these societies, in general, have, at least until recent times, shared and enforced the ideal of a conjugal family, formed by an heterosexual couple and their offspring living in a private household (Goode, 1969). Therefore we can assume that most of the young adults that are living their parental home probably depart from the same initial position, that of a son or daughter in the household where their parents are the nucleus. This is further supported by the empirical evidence

from the studied data sets, which clearly shows that the majority of the young lives in a household headed by a couple, most probably their parents.

We could draw an ideal pathway for the movement though the positions of households according to age following the western pattern. From birth, those individuals are expected to live for sometime with their parents, or even with one of them, when possible. Children with no parents or relatives responsible for them are sent to institutions where other families can adopt them. In summary, it is expected that young children live with adult individuals in a household. When such children become teenagers and adults, the expectations in regards to their presence in the parental household, or in the household of those responsible for them, become conditioned to several factors. In Brazil, for instance, those women leave the household at and earlier age than the male ones. This is possibly due to the synchronization of departure and union formation and the fact that women in union are usually younger than their spouses. In some cases, not frequent ones, the young couple remains as a secondary nucleus in their parent's household. However, such situation is probably temporary and is mirrored in the Brazilian popular saying "quem casa quer casa" (those that marry want a home of their own). After sometime the expectations regarding young adults and their place of living seem to point to a situation outside their parent's house, whether they are in a union or living independently, as a person living alone or in a group. In the adult phase, one would expect individuals to be able to self-support. However, the age frontiers between childhood, teenage and adulthood vary considerably across societies, and even within societies. People may have different conceptions of what the limits are in regards to age of entrance into these stages.

The transition from a condition of son or daughter in a household to another position in another household is a milestone for almost all individuals and there are expectations and social orientations towards a transition within a given time. Although most individuals follow such orientation, a part remains sons or daughters in ages where they are deviations from the contemporary pattern in their country. We consider those individuals 'Late-Stayers'.

In the present study, we define 'Late-Stayers' in order to allow for an observation of this phenomena in the different settings of the two countries under analysis. They are those people that remain in their parental household beyond the age where their probability of being in parental home is very small. Here our arbitrary cut-off is at probability 0.25 of being in parental home. Furthermore, Late-Stayers are defined relatively to the overall pattern of being in parental home of the society in question. Such definition is applied for methodological purposes. Hence, we cannot affirm that those Late-Stayers or their families perceive them as such. In other words, a person can be studied in this paper as a Late-Stayer but they may not be so, given their own group. The more multicultural a society, the more relevant such consideration becomes.

5 - METHODS

Given the factors raised by the literature as affecting the departure and time of departure from parental home, we look into the characteristics of 'Late-Stayers' females in respect to some of them. The characteristics analyzed are ongoing education and level of attained education, occupational status (ongoing work), conjugal status (lives/doesn't live with partner) and type of family. The analysis is limited to these variables, given the availability of information in both countries' data. Also, the categories chosen are relatively broad ones. In that sense, it is a broad look into the process and the analysis may loose on precision but it gains accuracy. Furthermore, we must stress the fact that the analysis was performed on a

country level and given the diversity between regions, particularly in the Brazilian case, further analysis on the topic in each context is necessary and it is our intention to continue in that direction. However, again, for the purpose of the comparison, we must keep the analysis on a more general ground.

Descriptive analysis is performed to observe the female population born from 1943 to 1968, cross-sectionally in three points in time, 1981, 1987 and 1993. Note that the age is computed in the Brazilian data as of 1st September (reference date of the interview), whereas in Denmark the age here is computed as of 1st December of each year.

5.1 - DATA

5.1.1 - BRAZIL

The Brazilian data comes from the National Survey of Sampled Households[5] (NSSH). The first NSSH was conducted on the last trimester of 1967 by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) with the purpose of setting up a series of surveys based on small samples and questionnaires, following guidelines established by the United Nations and the US Bureau of Census. The original drawing was quickly modified towards a survey with more statistical strength, a bigger sample, with more information and yearly instead of quarterly periodicity, something that was accomplished in 1971 (after the 1970 break due to the national census). However at that times the NSSH was not truly national, for it did not cover the federated units of Brazil, only part of the southeastern region. From 1973 on, the NSSH became truly national covering almost the whole country, except the sparsely populated rural areas of the Northern and the Central Western regions. In 1981, the rural areas of the latter region were incorporated (Medeiros & Osorio, 2001).

The NSSH is accomplished through a three-stage probabilistic household sample. The primary unit is municipalities, which are selected in first stage. Notwithstanding, some municipalities such as states' capitals and the ones situated in so considered metropolitan areas, where Brazilian population is concentrated, are necessarily included in the sample. In the second stage, municipalities are divided into sectors, which are selected with probabilities proportional to the number of households in them. The third stage is the selection of the households, which will make the sample from the selected sectors. In the latter stage, all households have the same probability of being included in the sample. All residents of the sampled households are interviewed (Medeiros & Osorio, 2001).

Although the NSSH is of indisputable quality and it is considered a reliable source of information, there are some critiques to it and its use. Some of them are about the sample design and the computing of the weights. Particularly about the sampling design it is said that its third stage is privileged, something that results in a great number of sampled households of a small number of municipalities, when the contrary could be a better choice, but there are logistical issues related with this option. Other critique, made by Fletcher & Ribeiro (1988), is over the fact that as the sample is based on projections of population, it becomes hard to estimate sampling errors, because the information supplied by IBGE does not take in account the errors that may arise from the projections.

An interview of the NSSH starts with an inquiry on the characteristics of the household. Then the interviewer asks the person interviewed to point who, among the residents, is considered to be the head of the household. After that, all other permanent residents are classified regarding their relationships with the

[5] In Portuguese, "Pesquisa Nacional Por Amostra de Domicílios" (PNAD).

head of the household, which may be classified in 7 distinct categories: spouse, son/daughter, relative, other that doesn't pay for room or board, other that pays for room and/or board, domestic servant, and relative of domestic servant. Therefore, considering the head of the household, the residents of a sampled unit can be classified in 8 categories. As pointed out by Medeiros & Osorio (2001) the great majority of the individuals surveyed (never less than 97% from 1977 to 1998) are classified as head of the household, spouse, son/daughter or relative, with the prominence of the first three.

We used this classification for the purpose of identifying if women born from 1943 to 1968 were or not living in their parental home in the 1981 to 1993 period. We considered as living in their parental home women classified as daughters in the household, and women in all other positions as not living with parents. By doing this we may be slightly underestimating the number of women that live in their parental homes, because in the situations where a parent is by some reason not pointed as head of the household, a daughter can be classified in other category. But as the greater part of the individuals are classified as head, spouse or son/daughter, never less than 87% from 1977 to 1998 according to Medeiros & Osorio (2001), this underestimation must not be significant.

Its also important to notice that as the Brazilian data comes from surveys and not from registry, as the Danish, whenever we talk about cohorts it must be understood that we are talking about pseudo-cohorts defined by the age of the interviewees in each survey year, because we are not effectively following selected individuals across time. This also implicates that the subtle variations in Brazilian data should not be taken into account, because they can be an effect of sample variations.

5.1.2 - DENMARK

The information on Denmark is based on public, population-based registers with national coverage. They contain accurate and detailed individual-level data, which are collected administratively. Moreover, any individual in the registers is identified by a 10-digit unique person number introduced in Denmark in 1968, and which is used as an identifier in almost all administrative respects in the country. This person number, which includes the birthday (day, month and year), is assigned to every person with a residential permit in Denmark. It is the existence of the person numbers in the registers, which provides the possibilities of performing longitudinal studies as the same people, or groups of people (cohorts defined in various ways), can be traced over a number of years. At the same time, the linkage of various registers covering different aspects facilitates both longitudinal and cross-sectional studies on a variety of characteristics of the study population, such as family situation and educational attainment.

Any linkage is carried out in accordance with strict rules of confidentiality issued by the Data Surveillance Authority and the authority responsible for the register in question. Researchers who get access to individual level data are obliged to handle the data as specified in these rules, even though the person numbers are substituted by a unique random number (necessary to link data registers) in the research data sets.

Data presented in this study is drawn from the 'Fertility of Women and Couples Data Set' - FWCD - (Knudsen & Murphy, 1999), which is primarily based on the Fertility Database - FTDB - (Knudsen, 1998), which is a register based data set. The FWCD includes annual data for women in fertile ages for the years 1980-1994 (and their partners), while for men only for 1994. The fertile age span is defined as the age range from 13-49 for women. Consequently, the same age limitations exist in the FWCD. The FWCD has been

established as a tool for the fertility research at the Danish Center for Demographic Research and it includes annual socio-economic information since 1 January 1981 and family information since 1980.

For each person in the FTDB, information on the co-resident family and the composition of the household is available as of each 1 January. The family is defined in such a way that consensual unions are included as a separate category, including cases in which the couple has no joint child; also a single person is labeled as a family for this statistical purpose. Statistics Denmark classifies two co-resident persons who are not married as a couple in all cases in which they are of different sex, the age difference is less than 15 years, they are not biologically related, and if there are no other adult people, apart from a child of either one or both of the people, living at the same address. The address code is very detailed as it identifies each single apartment (based on a national register of buildings and dwellings) and as such is used as a unique identifier of any dwelling in Denmark (Eurostat/Statistics Denmark, 1995; Knudsen & Murphy, 1999). All the people leaving in the same address form a household. Some households may be composed of one family, and generally is so, or more than one family.

In order to observe if a young adult was still living in their parental home we have used the variable FM-MARK, which gives information on whether this individuals lives with both parents, with mother, with father, or independently. Hence, the first three cases are comparable to those categorized as 'daughter' in respect to the head of the family and the last being comparable to those in other positions. The only discrepancy would be in the case of those living with parents that are not the head of the family in the Brazilian case. Therefore, we may conclude that the group of late stayers in Brazil may be slightly underestimated.

5.3 – Operationalizing the Concept of 'Late-Stayer'

The Brazilian information, due to its lack in availability of longitudinal or retrospective data on the event leaving home, will be extracted from the question 'relationship with the head of the family'. We consider those whose position was that of 'son' as still living in parental home and those coded in other positions in that questions as 'others'. Such consideration may present problems in itself. In cases where a child was living with the mother and/or father in a home where the head was none of the two, this child is coded in the NSSH in other positions, like, for instance the position of relative of the head (if he is the grandfather, for example). We must then bear in mind the possible slight underestimation of 'sons' in the Brazilian context.

As previously mentioned, the Danish data includes a variable FM-MARK that provides information on the living status of each woman and is coded as: living with both parents, living with mother who is in a new couple, living with single mother, living with a father who is in a new couple, living with a single father and living without parents. Hence, the last coding is our category 'others' and the remaining are the equivalent of 'son'.

In order to establish the probability of being in parental home, we analyzed both data sources (NSSH and FCCD) yearly, from 1981 to 1993. The probabilities were obtained by following the women born from 1943 to 1968. Such probabilities can be best seen in the graph below.

Figure 3 - Probability of being in parents' household at age "a" - Denmark - Selected Cohorts from 1943 to 1968

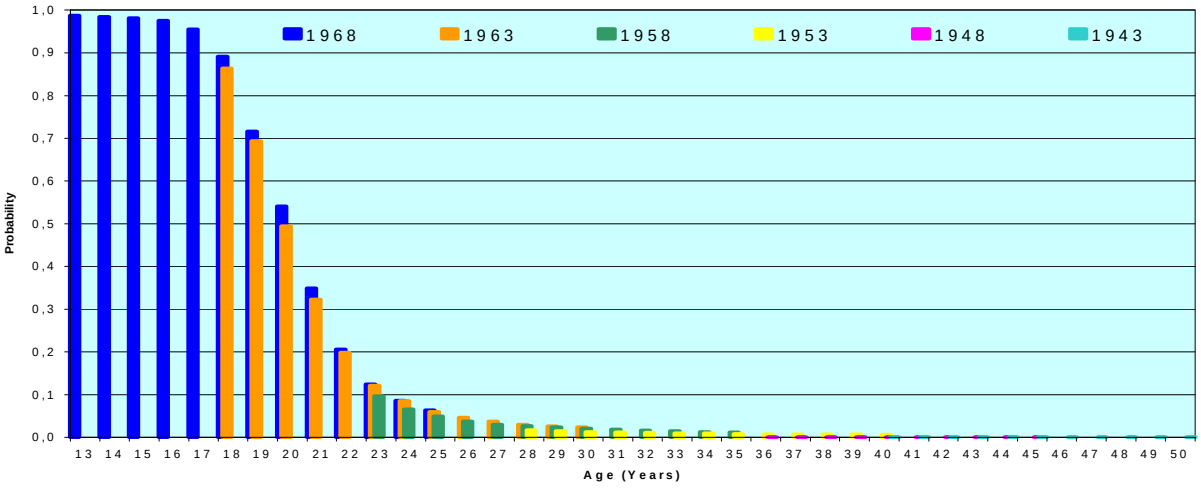
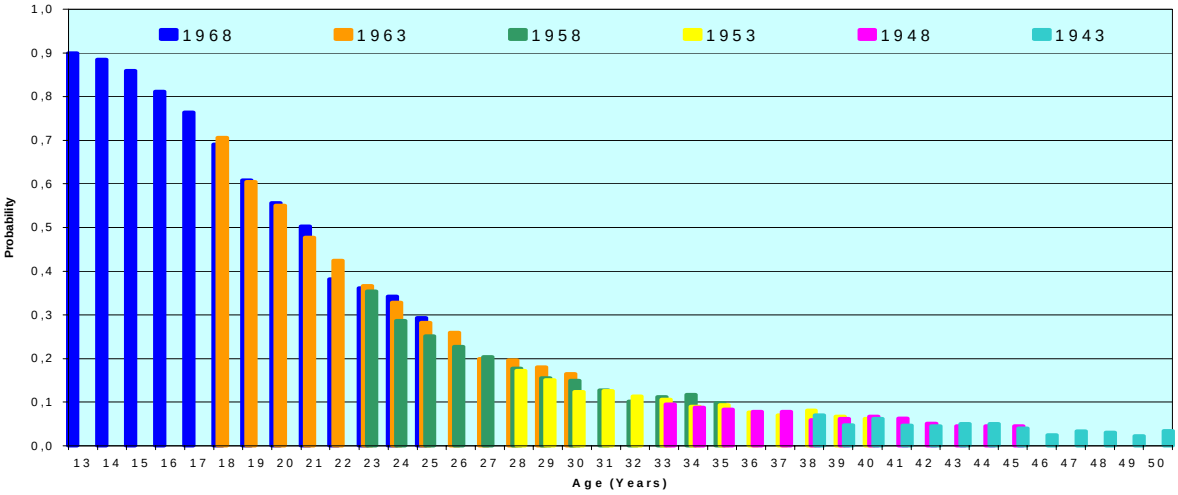


Figure 4 - Probability of being in parents' household at age "a" - Brazil - Cohorts 1943 to 1968

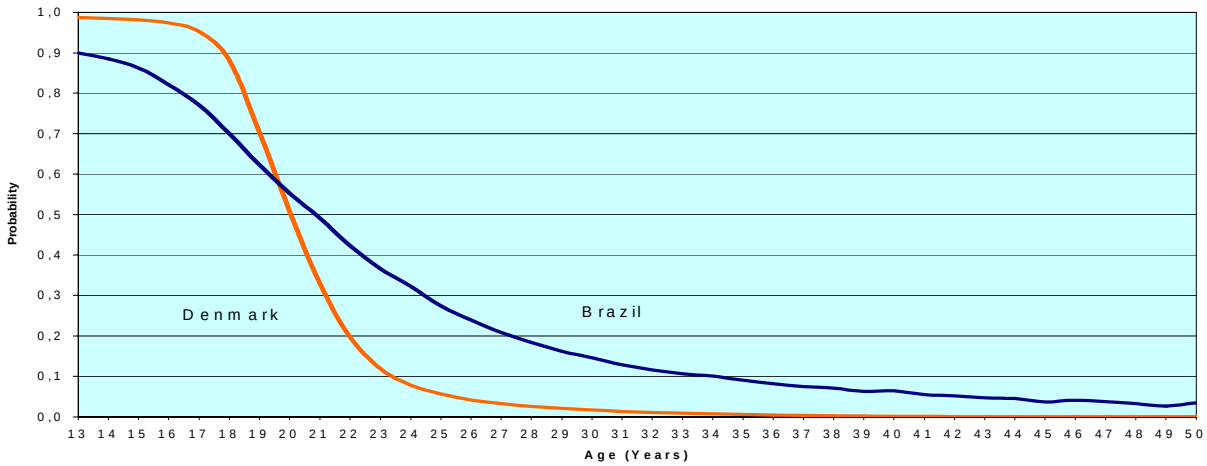


As can be observed from the figures on both countries, the cohort of 1968 is the youngest one and the only one that really experienced the age of 13 among in the period observed. In Denmark, the probability of being in parental home is 0.99 at this age, however in Brazil this probability is lower, 0.90. This is partly due, like in Denmark, to those that have in fact left parental home, but in the Brazilian case, it is mostly due to the measurement problem mentioned previously: those children living with parents in a family where neither mother nor father are the head cannot be captured in the survey. We also observe that the last cohort, born in 1943, and the only to experience the age of 50 are almost entirely gone from parental home in Denmark (probability at age 50 of 0.0004). The same cohort in Brazil still presents a probability at that age of 0.0348.

From those overlapping bars a single curve was obtained by finding the mean probability at any given age. Note that this mean probability is calculated for those groups of women that have experienced the age in

question. Hence, the probabilities in the extremes of the curve are representatives of fewer cohorts than the middle of the curve. Since the purpose here is to establish the age cut-off of late-stayers and that limit probably does not fall at the ends of the curve, this is not a problem in itself. Below you can observe the curve derived from the mean probabilities.

Figure 5 - Mean Probability of being in parents' household at age "a" for cohorts with age "a" observed - Brazil & Denmark - Cohorts 1943 to 1968



We arbitrarily adopt a cut-off based on the probabilities. Hence, the probability 0.25 of being in parental home is our limit for defining late-stayers. In other words, we consider late-stayers all those women that are in parental home from the age where the probability of being in parental home is 0.25 or less in our mean probability curve. This cut for Brazil is at the age of 26 years of age and more and for Denmark it is 22 years of age and more.

Table 2, following, shows yearly in what ages the quartiles and the last decile of probabilities fall. In this table one can also see the mean age cut for the probabilities in both Brazil and Denmark. The shaded area refers to the probability selected as limit in this paper for the definition of late-stayers. The table also shows how much more concentrated the leaving home process is in Denmark than in Brazil. Between ages 19 and 23, young adults in Denmark go from a probability 0.70 of being in parental home to a probability around 0.10. The equivalent drop for the Brazilian case would be between ages 18 and 34. This gradual decline for Brazil and steep decline for Denmark we have seen graphically in Figure 5.

Table 2 - Yearly age boundaries for probability quartiles, Brazil and Denmark, 1981-1993

Year	Brazil	Denmark	Brazil	Denmark	Brazil	Denmark	Brazil	Denmark
	Prob. 0.75		Prob. 0.50		Prob. 0.25		Prob. 0.10	
1981	*18*	*19*	21	20	***26***	***22***	33	23
1982	*18*	*19*	21	20	***26***	***22***	33	23
1983	*18*	*19*	21	20	***26***	***22***	33	24
1984	*18*	*19*	21	20	***26***	***22***	33	24
1985	*18*	*19*	22	21	***26***	***22***	34	24
1986	*18*	*19*	21	21	***27***	***22***	35	24
1987	*17*	*19*	22	21	***27***	***22***	34	24
1988	*18*	*19*	22	21	***27***	***22***	35	24
1989	*18*	*19*	22	21	***27***	***22***	35	24
1990	*16*	*19*	21	21	***26***	***22***	35	24
1991	*17*	*19*	21	21	***26***	***22***	35	24
1992	*17*	*19*	21	21	***27***	***22***	36	24
1993	*17*	*20*	21	21	***26***	***22***	35	24
Mean	*17.5*	*19.1*	21.3	20.7	***26.4***	***22.0***	34.3	23.8

Table 3 shows the study population 13-50 in each country by age. The shaded area corresponds to those we here consider 'late-stayers'. Notice that the initial age is different between the countries since the age where probability 0.25 falls in the mean probability curve is very distinct for each country. Like mentioned before, this relative concept of late-stayers is unique and relevant in order to establish the cut-off in respect to the countries own population and reality. A cut-off of 22 for both countries would be of little meaning for Brazil, where many young adults would still be at home. Similarly, a limit of 26 would be meaningless for the Danish case, an age where few 'daughters' are still at the home of their parents. As it can be seen, the proportion of late-stayers in respect to the entire population 13-50 (c/b) is smaller in Denmark than in Brazil. Considering the differences in social systems, economic conditions and benefits to young adults in terms of education, housing and demographic momentums, such differential is not surprising. However, it is interesting to observe that among those still in parental home, the share of late-stayers (c/a) is increasing to both countries, and quite accentuated in Denmark where this proportion more than doubled (from 5.4% to 11%) in the period in question.

Table 3 - Population 13-50 Living with Parents, Brazil and Denmark (1981, 1987 and 1993)

Age	Brazil			Denmark		
	1981	1987	1993	1981	1987	1993
13	1290610	1345072	1578207	35460	34609	28401
14	1235219	1299357	1506432	38804	34624	29235
15	1252290	1269253	1381928	41742	36337	30452
16	1162523	1190412	1260371	40030	35656	30333
17	1065031	1057554	1085967	37905	33436	31264
18	962128	949987	1001135	34344	31016	33265
19	787273	792867	843086	25432	26070	27258
20	630001	740296	750967	17460	21023	19350
21	574737	684060	648669	10697	15384	13438
22	471172	557420	570367	5778	8937	8046
23	386368	506860	483811	3488	5116	4509
24	331168	427521	437913	2103	3418	3085
25	276990	382157	361509	1532	2216	2352
26	213832	289547	305643	1079	1622	1978
27	203799	250276	271046	812	1328	1759
28	157509	222795	263461	643	955	1403
29	139477	176317	216737	416	864	1108
30	127953	166937	214071	61	617	956
31	106021	129255	159667	46	535	724
32	87860	124136	151497	19	472	616
33	73082	98566	158433	6	414	617
34	66210	88264	112656	8	356	473
35	69127	89405	106988	13	268	437
36	58097	83061	96876	13	50	361
37	46818	77182	81538	8	46	371
38	44952	68538	71702	6	32	309
39	35110	47626	77724	6	25	268
40	35865	55739	56584	3	27	246
41	33228	44577	52088	2	21	176
42	31385	44192	48537	5	15	40
43	23633	33598	43015	0	16	53
44	24286	32068	36567	3	21	29
45	18765	19611	34396	0	13	23
46	15619	25318	31798	7	10	22
47	12915	24052	25675	6	9	20
48	16527	13639	23286	4	13	15
49	12259	14567	18918	1	7	15
50	13065	20897	21682	1	7	16
13-50 with Parents (a)	12,092,904	13,442,979	14,590,947	297,943	295,585	273,023
Total 13-50 (b)	33,408,146	39,475,741	43,268,637	1,350,113	1,395,465	1,402,313
Total Late-Stayer (c)	1,667,394	2,240,163	2,680,585	16,069	27,430	30,027
% (c/a)	13.79	16.66	18.37	5.39	9.28	11.00
% (c/b)	4.99	5.67	6.20	1.19	1.97	2.14

Source: NSSH 1981, 1987 and 1993 and FCCD 1981, 1987 and 1993

Note:

1) Shaded area refers to the ages included in the definition of late-stayers.

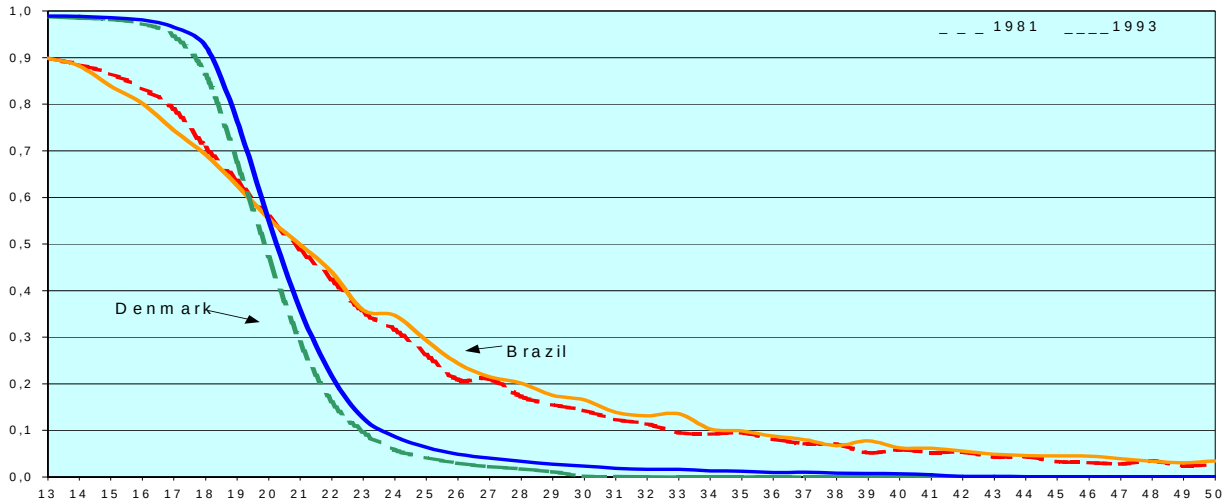
2) Due to the validity of the register between parents and children, there might be slight underestimation of those children at home that were born before 1960. For further details, see Knudsen (1993).

6 - FINDINGS

6.1 - Probability of Being in Parental Home

The following graph shows the probability of being in parental home cross-sectionally in 1981 and 1993. The country curves are quite distinct. The Brazilian one, starting at a lower probability level than the Danish (partly due to the problem of capturing daughters that are with parents in household headed by others, as already mentioned), thereafter undergoing a relatively slow fall, with a probability of 0.03 at age 50. Denmark, on the other hand, experiences a much faster and steeper decline in its probability curves, with almost all having left parental home at age 50 (p=0.0004). Furthermore, by looking at these two curves we get a glimpse of the cohort development in each country. In that respect, the age of 22 and 26 are marked in the 1981 curves and their equivalent 13 years later, in the 1993 curves, 34 and 38 years of age, respectively. In Brazil, the probability of being in parental home, up to the age of 20 has been lower in 1993 than in 1981, after that point the probability is higher for all ages. Denmark shows higher probabilities for the later year in all age groups, the difference narrowing towards the later ages. When looking at the ages 22 and 26 for Denmark and Brazil, respectively, we observe that the probability of being in parental home is higher in the Brazilian case, 0.20, compared to 0.16 in Denmark. In 1993, at the ages of 34 and 38, respectively, Brazil still shows a higher probability of being in parental home (0.07 compared to 0.01 for Denmark). Hence, the drop in probability experienced by the Danish cohort was steeper than in the Brazilian case.

Figure 6 – Probability of Being in Parental Home at a Given Age, Brazil and Denmark, 1981 and 1993



6.2 - 'Late-Stayers'

From this moment on, we engage in analyzing the characteristics of those we call late-stayers. Due to the fact that for older age groups the frequencies become quite small, particularly in Denmark (see table 3), we here group the late-stayers together. That means those still in parental home after the age of 22 in Denmark, and after the age of 26 in Brazil. The trends in these groups can be observed by looking at the vertical bars in the figures that follow for both countries, in 1981, 1987 and 1993. Those bars show the percentage of late-stayers that have a given characteristic among all late-stayers. The figures also include curves that denote an index comparing the number of late-stayers with a given characteristic divided by the remaining population with that characteristic in the same age group. When looking at this index we can capture whether the trends

among late-stayers go in the same or in different direction from those that have left parental home in the same age group.

6.2.1 - Living Arrangements

What are the living arrangements of the late-stayers? Figures 7, 8 and 9, give us an insight into that question. In these figures we have subdivided those arrangements into single family households, which are subdivided and presented here as 'Couple with Child', 'Woman with Child', since they are the two most frequent arrangements, and grouped the remaining into what we call 'Other Arrangements', duet to its much lower frequency. Within these arrangements we find those where there are 'Man with Child', although in quite smaller proportions, but also multi-family households. The figure below shows those living in a 'Couple with Child' family. In both countries there is a decrease in the proportions through these 13 years. However, the decrease is much more pronounced in Denmark and it goes along with the Second Demographic Transition trends of more complexity in living arrangements and a decrease in the nuclear family model (Kuijsten, 1996).

Figure 7 – Proportion of Late-Stayers Living in 'Couple with Child' Family, Brazil and Denmark, 1981, 1987 and 1993.

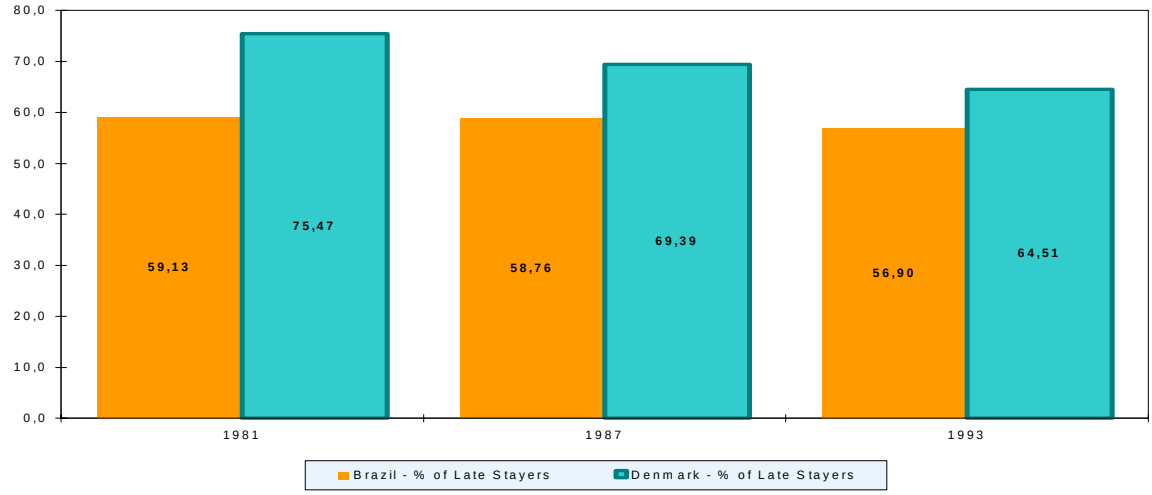
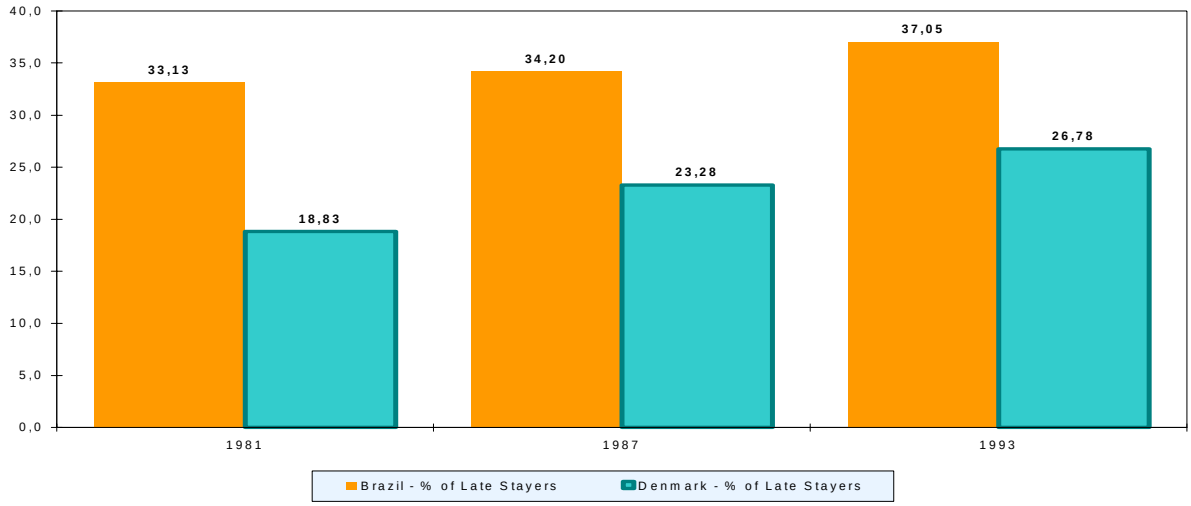


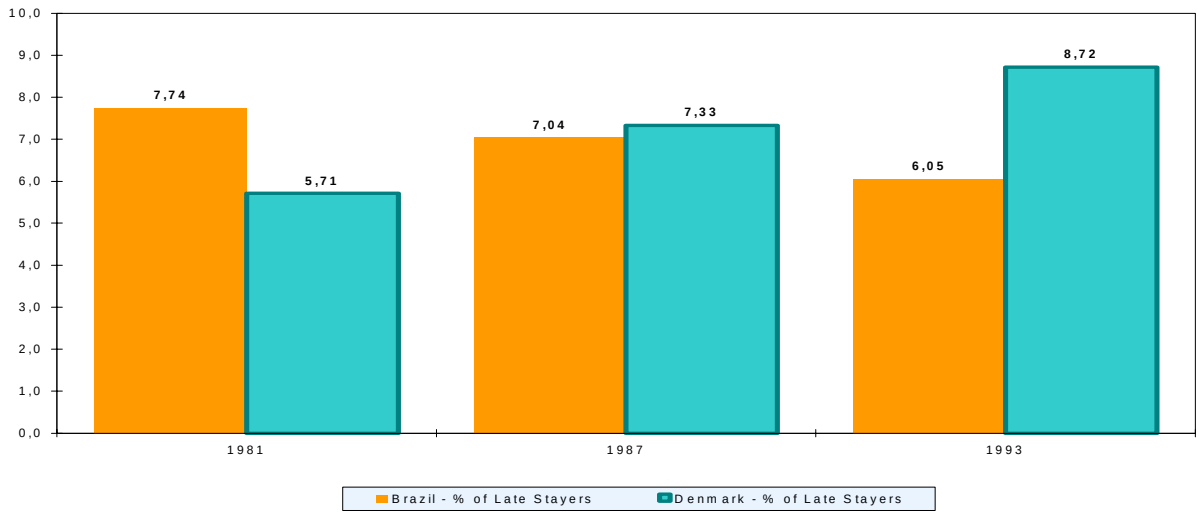
Figure 8 shows the increase in both countries of families composed of mother and child. Such increase is more pronounced among the Danish late-stayers, again following the departure from the nuclear family experienced particularly with the Second Demographic Transition.

Figure 8 – Proportion of Late-Stayers Living in a 'Woman with Child' Family, Brazil and Denmark, 1981, 1987 and 1993.



In regards to those in the so-called 'other arrangements', we can observe the trends in Figure 9. There was almost a 4% increase in those arrangements in Brazil, whereas Denmark experienced approximately twice that increase.

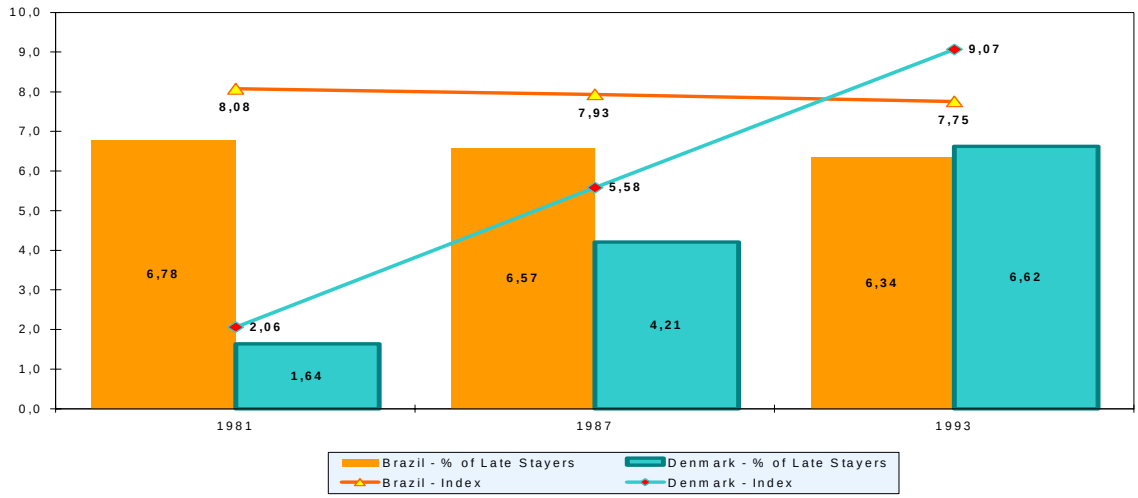
Figure 9 – Proportion of Late-Stayers Living in 'Other Arrangements', Brazil and Denmark, 1981, 1987 and 1993.



6.2.2 –In Union

When looking at the profile of late-stayers in respect to nuptiality (Figure 10), we observe almost constant proportions between 1981 and 1993 for Brazil. When considering such trend in terms of the remaining population in those age groups, the ones we call others, we can see also an almost constant tendency, which indicates that the trends in nuptiality among late-stayers in Brazil followed that of the population. In Denmark, however, such did not occur. Not only was there a steep increase in those late-stayers in union, but also, as shown by the index, such increase was in opposite direction to that of the remaining population in those age groups, where the proportion of those in union slightly decreased. This very different trends in the two countries and the increasing tendency of late stayers to be in a union could be due to the increasing immigration in Denmark, which compared to Brazil is a much more recent phenomena. Therefore, we investigated a bit further about those in union and with parents in Denmark and we observed that in fact, 14% in 1981, 19% in 1987 and 18% in 1993 were foreigners. Also, a large proportion of late-stayers in union have children (57% in 1981, 67% in 1987 and 74% in 1993). Further analysis, investigating in which stage of the family formation process these late-stayers are in is necessary to bring light into the determinants of the process.

Figure 10 – Proportion of Late-Stayers in Union and Index of Late-Stayers in Union by Others in Union, Brazil and Denmark, 1981, 1987 and 1993.



6.2.3 - Ongoing Education

The figure below shows that the proportion ongoing education among late-stayers, in both countries, has surprisingly decreased, despite the literature on leaving home pointing to increases in educational requirements as one of the important factors for delayed departure. The decrease in the proportion studying is in the opposite direction to the strong increase perceived among the remaining population, which can be seen by the drop to almost half in the index curves of both Brazil and Denmark.

Figure 11 – Proportion of Late-Stayers Ongoing Education and Index of Late-Stayers Ongoing Education by Others Ongoing Education, Brazil and Denmark, 1981, 1987 and 1993.

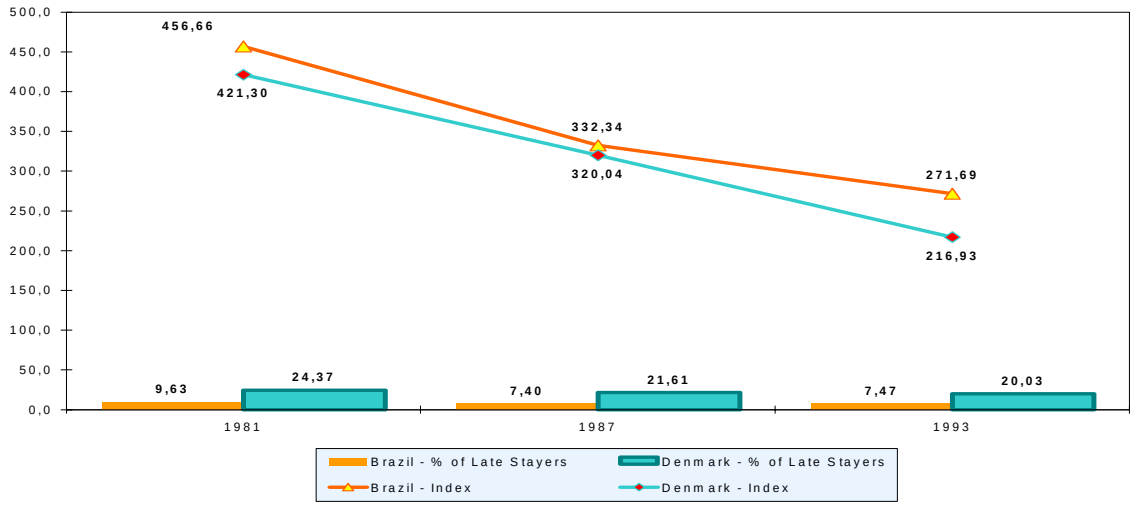


Table 4 below shows the distribution of late-stayers ongoing education according to age groups (biannual age groups). Note that the variation in the proportions for older age groups in Denmark is due to the few number of late-stayers in those ages in that country (base of such calculation), as can be seen in table 3. We see that those ongoing education are a minority in each age group and there is much higher concentrations of them in the first 3 or 4 age groups. The proportion of late-stayers women studying also generally decreases in the age groups throughout the years of analysis.

Table 4 - Proportion of Late-Stayers Ongoing Education, by age groups, Denmark and Brazil, 1981, 1987 and 1993

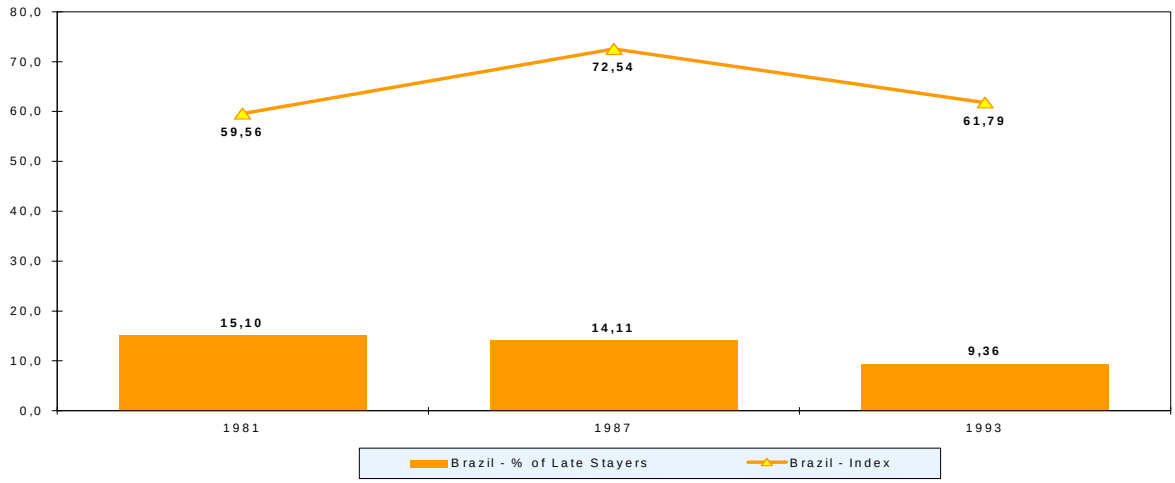
Ongoing Education						
Age Group	Denmark			Brazil		
	1981	1987	1993	1981	1987	1993
22 a 23	29.10	29.14	30.06	na.	na.	na.
24 a 25	22.95	18.94	21.64	na.	na.	na.
26 a 27	14.41	13.78	12.92	13.67	12.87	15.03
28 a 29	10.16	9.37	9.74	13.55	9.06	8.80
30 a 31	8.49	6.59	6.35	10.50	8.41	8.58
32 a 33	0.00	4.76	5.21	7.95	7.55	5.48
34 a 35	5.26	3.22	4.89	6.73	3.46	3.89
36 a 37	10.00	4.17	4.93	5.75	4.65	2.68
38 a 39	0.00	0.00	3.34	5.69	1.14	2.22
40 a 41	0.00	6.38	2.40	3.60	1.62	1.16

42 a 43	0.00	3.23	3.45	3.17	0.00	2.59
44 a 45	0.00	5.88	2.00	2.04	2.64	1.09
46 a 47	0.00	0.00	5.00	2.65	0.46	0.44
48 a 50	0.00	0.00	7.69	0.90	0.00	2.27

6.2.4 - Attained Education

In order to standardize the measure of levels of attained education, ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education) was used. Under this classification, we have grouped the population into no education (ISCED 0), basic education (ISCED 1 and 2), Medium education (ISCED 3 and 4) and Higher education (ISCED 5 and 6).[6] Note that those with ISCED 0, for the age groups under analysis, were only found in Brazil, not in Denmark. The proportion of those late-stayers with ISCED 0 in Brazil is shown in Figure 12. A decrease of about 6% of those was observed, which also happened in much accentuated terms in the remaining population, particularly in the first 7 years, as shown by the index curve. It also shows that the occurrence of late-stayers with no education is below the occurrence in the remaining population, but its relative weight is increasing when compared to the remaining population.

Figure 12 – Proportion of Late-Stayers with No Education and Index of Late-Stayers with No Education by Others with No Education, Brazil, 1981, 1987 and 1993.



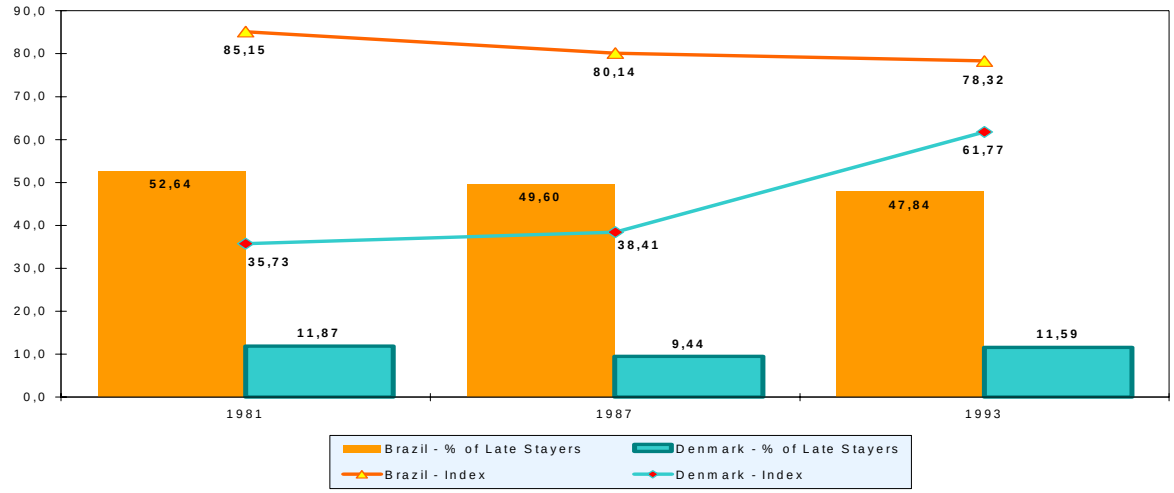
The first part of table 5 shows the distribution of those with no education according to biannual age groups. Interestingly, there seems to be a higher concentration off women with no education in the older age groups of late-stayers in Brazil, despite the decreasing proportion throughout the years.

[6] More precisely, ISCED 0 refers to education preceding the first level of ISCED, where it is provided, which usually begins at age 3, 4 or 5 and lasts from one to three years. ISCED category 1 refers to the education that begins around 5 or 6 years old and lasts 5 years, approximately. ISCED 2 is the first stage of secondary school, which begins at age 11 or 12 and lasts for 3 years. ISCED 3 is the second stage of secondary school, and begins at the age of 14 or 15 and lasts for approximately 3 years. ISCED 4 is related to post-secondary education, which may take place at the age of 17 or 18, and lasts for some 4 years, but does not include university level education. ISCED 5 and 6 are university and postgraduate level education or equivalent.

In respect to basic education, Denmark has shown almost the same low levels of late-stayers with basic education in 81, 87 and 93, with a slight decrease in 87. The index curve from 81 to 87 indicates that this decrease was also observed in the remaining population but more pronouncing among those, since the index increased from 36 to 38%. Furthermore, from 87 to 93 the trends where opposite among late-stayers (a decreasing trend among those in other position in the family), since the increase in the index was much steeper than what could be accounted for the increase in the proportion of late-stayers with basic education. Brazil, distinctly, showed a decrease in those late-stayers attending basic education, whereas in the remaining population the proportions remained almost unchanged. However, the proportions in 93 were still significantly higher than in Denmark. The index curves also indicate that the incidence of those with basic education is lower in both countries among late-stayers than among the remaining population, especially in the Danish case.

The second part of table 5 shows the distribution of that characteristic according to age groups. In Brazil, the proportions are quite higher and represent around 40-50% in each age group. There is not an increasing proportion of late-stayers with basic education as age increases, as would be expected. Denmark, on the other hand shows much lower proportions, which increases with age throughout the period of analysis.

Figure 13 – Proportion of Late-Stayers with Basic Education and Index of Late-Stayers with Basic Education by Others with Basic Education, Brazil and Denmark, 1981, 1987 and 1993.

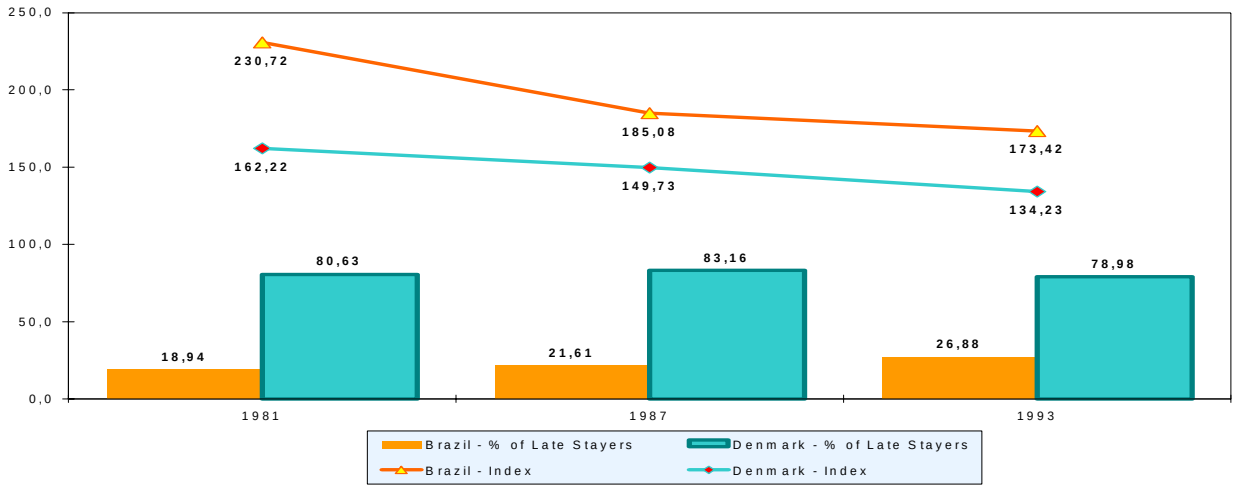


The figure underneath refers to medium level education, which has increased in Brazil and decreased in Denmark, comparing 81 to 93, although the levels are much higher in Denmark. In Denmark, there was an increase from 81 to 87 but a decrease till 93. The index for Denmark shows that the increase from 81 to 87 was more pronounced in the remaining population, but that in the trend from 87 till 93 the two groups

followed similar pace. Brazil showed a steady increase. Such increase was in the opposite direction observed by the population, since the index fell from 231 to 173%. The index curves also show that medium education is more a characteristic among those in parental home than those not in parental home, in both countries, particularly for Denmark, since both curves are above the 100% mark, but the gap is closing in both.

Table 5 also shows the distribution of medium education among late-stayers. As previously mentioned the proportions are much higher in Denmark than in Brazil, and they are increasing in both countries over time. As expected, the proportions decrease with age groups.

Figure 14 – Proportion of Late-Stayers with Medium Education and Index of Late-Stayers with Medium Education by Others with Medium Education, Brazil and Denmark, 1981, 1987 and 1993.



In regards to higher education, one can observe that there has been a very small increase in the proportion of late-stayers with higher education in both countries and that the remaining population observed much higher increases. In the Brazilian case, in fact, there was a significant increase in the proportion of others with higher education. However, what is most interesting to observe is the very differentiated incidence in regards to the remaining population in both countries. Whereas Brazilian late-stayers much more often hold a higher degree than the remaining population, the opposite is true for Denmark. In Brazil, 3 (in 81) or 2 (in 93) late-stayers hold a higher education, out of 1 not in parental home with higher education. Similar ratio is only around 1/2 late-stayer in Denmark with a higher degree compared to the remaining population. Table 5 also shows the distribution of higher education by age.

Figure 15 – Proportion of Late-Stayers with Higher Education and Index of Late-Stayers with Higher Education by Others with Higher Education, Brazil and Denmark, 1981, 1987 and 1993.

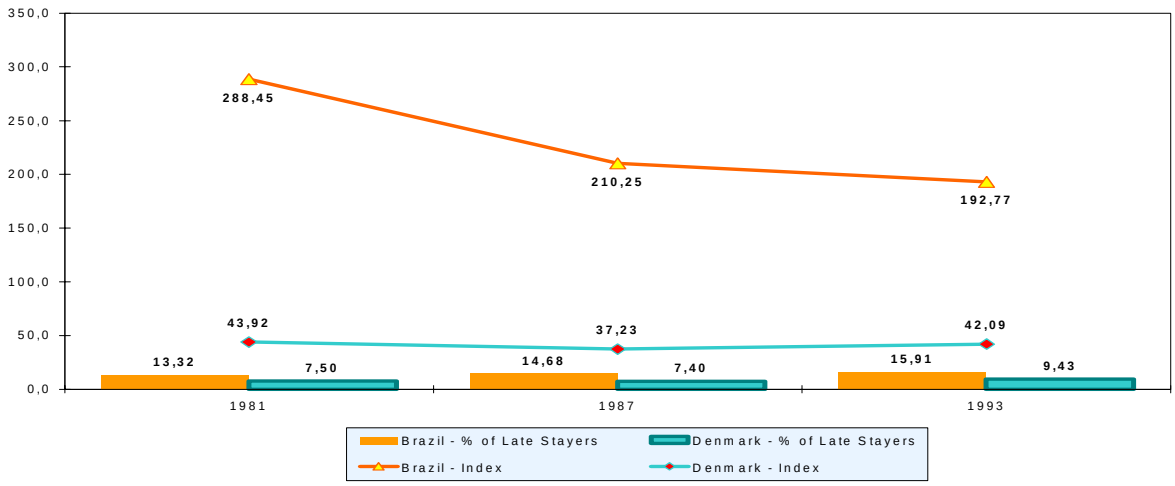


Table 5 - Proportion of Late-Stayers according to highest level of Attained Education, by age groups, Denmark and Brazil, 1981, 1987 and 1993

No Education

Age Group	Denmark			Brazil		
	1981	1987	1993	1981	1987	1993
22 a 23	-	-	-	na.	na.	na.
24 a 25	-	-	-	na.	na.	na.
26 a 27	-	-	-	9.47	8.22	6.57
28 a 29	-	-	-	10.74	10.85	6.07
30 a 31	-	-	-	12.46	11.36	7.70
32 a 33	-	-	-	15.50	15.73	7.35
34 a 35	-	-	-	17.16	16.80	11.33
36 a 37	-	-	-	20.04	13.73	13.44
38 a 39	-	-	-	18.30	19.21	12.25
40 a 41	-	-	-	25.99	20.48	14.72
42 a 43	-	-	-	21.31	28.52	14.79
44 a 45	-	-	-	33.66	24.37	19.02
46 a 47	-	-	-	29.63	29.63	15.78
48 a 50	-	-	-	34.75	33.89	17.49

Basic Education

Age Group	Denmark			Brazil		
	1981	1987	1993	1981	1987	1993
22 a 23	9.34	6.07	10.25	na.	na.	na.
24 a 25	12.50	9.74	9.82	na.	na.	na.
26 a 27	17.67	13.67	11.45	52.14	51.74	48.73
28 a 29	19.61	13.63	13.18	51.08	48.31	47.93
30 a 31	29.07	14.74	14.50	52.39	51.22	46.22
32 a 33	41.18	20.03	15.60	52.87	49.25	47.34
34 a 35	26.67	24.35	15.47	54.42	49.45	49.66
36 a 37	27.78	33.33	12.86	50.57	47.09	49.19
38 a 39	33.33	52.27	18.24	57.08	51.07	46.57
40 a 41	75.00	36.84	19.21	55.51	49.88	46.43
42 a 43	25.00	48.28	25.00	56.82	44.04	45.38
44 a 45	50.00	62.50	38.46	48.85	45.59	47.66
46 a 47	72.73	52.94	34.38	53.76	42.82	48.15
48 a 50	25.00	61.90	54.84	54.14	52.45	50.44

Middle Education

Age Group	Denmark			Brazil		
	1981	1987	1993	1981	1987	1993
22 a 23	88.30	91.55	88.29	na.	na.	na.
24 a 25	77.23	82.43	82.41	na.	na.	na.
26 a 27	62.65	73.07	74.90	24.07	24.81	28.93
28 a 29	57.14	69.57	70.07	23.00	24.62	29.61
30 a 31	48.84	63.69	63.94	19.44	23.03	29.03
32 a 33	47.06	55.69	62.92	16.00	20.65	29.53
34 a 35	46.67	58.63	62.26	15.56	17.23	22.73
36 a 37	55.56	46.03	60.48	16.38	24.37	24.69
38 a 39	16.67	34.09	51.29	14.39	15.03	28.07
40 a 41	25.00	52.63	49.09	11.20	19.49	24.47
42 a 43	50.00	41.38	39.71	15.41	15.07	20.74
44 a 45	50.00	29.17	38.46	8.77	15.27	18.05
46 a 47	18.18	41.18	40.63	9.08	13.51	13.75
48 a 50	75.00	38.10	38.71	8.10	6.78	14.91

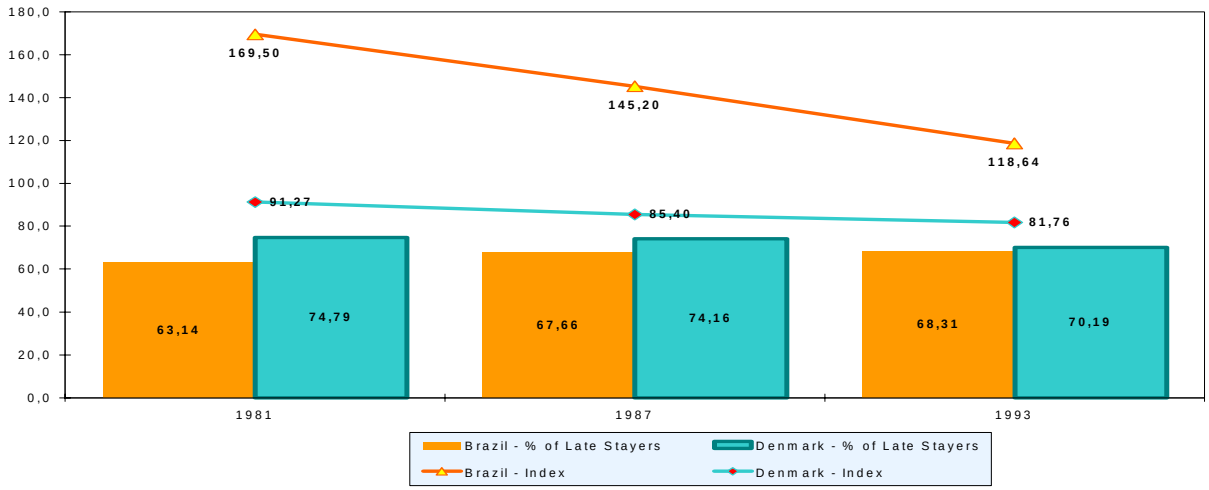
Higher Education

Age Group	Denmark			Brazil		
	1981	1987	1993	1981	1987	1993
22 a 23	2.36	2.38	1.47	na.	na.	na.
24 a 25	10.27	7.82	7.77	na.	na.	na.
26 a 27	19.68	13.27	13.65	14.31	15.22	15.77
28 a 29	23.24	16.80	16.75	15.17	16.21	16.39
30 a 31	22.09	21.56	21.56	15.70	14.39	17.05
32 a 33	11.76	24.28	21.48	15.63	14.37	15.78
34 a 35	26.67	17.02	22.26	12.86	16.52	16.28
36 a 37	16.67	20.63	26.67	13.01	14.80	12.68
38 a 39	50.00	13.64	30.47	10.23	14.69	13.11
40 a 41	0.00	10.53	31.71	7.31	10.14	14.38
42 a 43	25.00	10.34	35.29	6.46	12.37	19.10
44 a 45	0.00	8.33	23.08	8.72	14.76	15.27
46 a 47	9.09	5.88	25.00	7.53	14.05	22.32
48 a 50	0.00	0.00	6.45	3.01	6.88	17.16

6.2.5 – Work

Looking at the working status of late-stayers, we see a different picture for the two countries. On one hand, in Brazil there was an increase in the proportion of late-stayers undergoing work, but not as much as among the remaining population, which showed a higher increase. In Denmark, on the other hand, there was a decrease in those late-stayers working, although in all three years it showed a higher proportion of women working than Brazil. When looking closer at those late-stayers working, we notice that 40% of them are undergoing education in 1981, however that is decreasing to 37.2% and 33.8%, for 1987 and 1993, respectively. In contrast, among those not working, the group ongoing education is predominant but slightly decreasing from 75.2% in 1981, to 72.2% in 1987 and 72.4% in 1993. The decrease in both groups of late-stayers undergoing education in Denmark is in line with the picture presented in figure 16.

Figure 16 – Proportion of Late-Stayers Working and Index of Late-Stayers Working by Others Working, Brazil and Denmark, 1981, 1987 and 1993.



We can observe from table 6 that in most age groups the proportion of women late-stayers working is higher than not working. Such proportions are higher in Denmark where women labor force participation is among the highest in the World. However, from the index curve in figure 16, we notice that this group analyzed shows a lower participation than the rest of the female population in those age groups, which is opposite in the Brazilian case. Although Brazilian late-stayers show a decreasing curve, the participation in the labor force is higher than among the remaining population.

Table 6 - Proportion of Late-Stayers Working, by age groups, Denmark and Brazil, 1981, 1987 and 1993

Working						
Age Group	Denmark			Brazil		
	1981	1987	1993	1981	1987	1993
22 a 23	78.05	75.71	70.06	Na.	na.	na.
24 a 25	73.28	75.76	72.11	Na.	na.	na.
26 a 27	68.52	74.36	71.60	64.46	70.33	66.54
28 a 29	65.94	71.04	70.42	64.62	64.54	69.82
30 a 31	53.33	68.37	69.32	66.75	70.04	64.63
32 a 33	50.00	63.82	70.46	66.20	68.96	72.10
34 a 35	70.00	63.82	68.43	66.11	67.65	69.97
36 a 37	71.43	58.95	67.83	62.00	71.58	70.73
38 a 39	58.33	62.50	62.77	59.66	68.99	63.03
40 a 41	60.00	65.96	61.78	54.37	68.50	59.29
42 a 43	80.00	70.97	58.70	60.52	62.00	62.33
44 a 45	33.33	50.00	61.54	48.18	61.30	62.93
46 a 47	69.23	61.11	66.67	50.97	56.50	63.04
48 a 50	50.00	69.23	56.52	49.53	55.19	44.93

7 - CONCLUSION

The present study uses a relatively simple and efficient methodological tool to observe across two different countries, Brazil and Denmark, those women that are in parental home beyond a certain limit of age. The establishment of a relative age cut for each country, based on the probability of being in parental home, allows for the uniqueness of the process in both countries. Hence, the age limit where the probability of being in parental home is equal or below to 0.25 is 22 and 26, for Denmark and Brazil, respectively.

From the analysis, we can observe that the probabilities of being in parental home are higher in the ages between 13-20 in Denmark than in Brazil, but after that period there is a steep drop in that probability in Denmark. The probability curve for Brazil, after the age of 20 lowers at a much slower pace and the last age groups studied shows a much higher probability of still being in parental home for Brazilians than for Danish.

When observing the characteristics of those we here call 'late-stayers', we can conclude that, although overall they are very distinct groups, there are some similar trends, despite the different levels. Interestingly, the group of late-stayers ongoing education is decreasing both in Brazil and Denmark, although the levels were much higher in the later. It is possible that ongoing education has a stronger effect for those in higher quartiles of probability ('not-so-late-stayers'). Also when looking at type of living arrangements of the late-stayers we observe similarities in tendencies and trends. The most common arrangement for both countries was 'couple with children', although there was a decreasing trend for both, and in particular for Denmark. Late-stayers living with mother increased in both countries, especially in Denmark. Similarly, other arrangements showed an upward trend in both countries.

In terms of attained education among late-stayers, we see that this group had higher levels of attained education in Denmark than in Brazil. Most of the Danes still living in parental home after the age of 22, about 80% in 93, had a medium level education. The majority of late-stayers in Brazil had completed basic education. Despite the high proportions of those with basic education, this trend does not keep up with the trends in basic education of the remaining population. It is indeed among those late-stayers that we observe a much higher proportion of those with medium level and higher education in Brazil. In Denmark, however this is only true for those with medium level education. Interestingly, the proportion of those with higher education in Denmark is much below that of the remaining population. In Brazil, there was a decreasing

percentage of those with no education (about 10% in 93), characteristic that did not occur in Denmark. When looking at the age distribution of those late-stayers with no education in Brazil, we observe a concentration among the older ages, which may indicate that this is a group of women that might not have had much opportunity in terms of work and education.

The trends in nuptiality among those late stayers in Brazil have been quite stable for the period under analysis, and much below that of the remaining population. The trends in Denmark, however, have significantly increased, in fact in different direction from the trends in the remaining population.

In respect to labor market activity, Denmark showed a higher percentage of women late-stayers working, however the difference was becoming narrower throughout the period since there was an increasing labor market participation in Brazil and decreasing one in Denmark.

The factors generally mentioned by the literature as affecting the home leaving process, like work, ongoing education, union formation etc, seem to play a smaller, or differentiated role in respect to the late-stayers group. Further analysis into how the determinants of departure from parental home act in this specific group of individuals is needed in order to understand some of the trends encountered here, particularly the decreasing proportion of those attending education in both countries, the decreasing proportion of those working women who are late-stayers, as well as the increasing proportion of those late-stayers in union, in Denmark.

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