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LIVING WITH PARENTS AND WELL-BEING IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD

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Abstract

Whether moving back home after a period of economic independence, or having never moved out, the share of emerging adults living with parents is increasing. Yet we know little about the associations among coresidence, motivations for coresidence and young adult well-being. Using data from the Toledo Adolescent Relationships Study (TARS) (n = 908), we analyzed depressive symptoms among young adults who (1) never left the parental home; (2) returned to the parental home; and (3) were not currently living with a parent (i.e., living independently). Individuals who returned to the parental home reported significantly higher levels of depressive symptoms. Among coresident young adults, both intrinsic and utilitarian motivations (i.e., enjoy living with parents and could not support oneself) partially mediated the association between coresidence and depressive symptoms. Returning to the parental home was associated with depressive symptoms only among young adults experiencing employment problems.

In contemporary American society, the transition to adulthood is far from uniform. The life stage of emerging adulthood is wrought with uncertainty as young people navigate educational and employment opportunities, living arrangements, as well as relationships with parents and intimate partners (Arnett, 2004). Unlike members of earlier generations who were eager and able to be independent from parents, individuals in recent cohorts are delaying marriage and parenthood (Furstenberg, 2010), often embarking on a journey of self-exploration and identity formation (Arnett, 2004). Unburdened by the responsibilities brought on by marriage and parenthood (Qian, 2010), many emerging adults are relatively free to experiment with life choices with the understanding that their parents' home is a viable safe-haven should difficulties arise.

As such, many young adults take advantage of the opportunity to coreside with parents. In 2007, 32% of young adults ages 18-31 lived with their parents, compared with 36% in 2012 (Parker, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2013). Prior studies have considered motivations and correlates of coresidence (e.g., Britton, 2013; Chisholm & Hurrelmann, 1995; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1998; Hallquist et al., 2011; Kins et al., 2009; Painter, 2010; Qian, 2010; Settersten, 1998; Settersten & Ray, 2010), and some studies have examined the consequences of coresidence on young adults' well-being (e.g., Aseltine & Gore, 1993; Dubas & Petersen, 1996; Galambos et al., 2006; Seiffge-Krenke, 2006; Smetana, Metzger, & Campione-Barr, 2004). Yet these studies did not (1) control for prior well-being, which may affect selection into specific living arrangements, and (2) distinguish between never leaving the parental home and moving back home. Moreover, although the majority of prior studies concluded that moving out of the parental home increased young adults' well-being (e.g., Aseltine & Gore, 1993; Dubas &

Petersen, 1996; Smetana, Metzger, & Campione-Barr, 2004), this conclusion is not unequivocal. For example, some researchers found lower levels of well-being (e.g., Seiffge-Krenke, 2006), while others found no relationship between home-leaving and well-being (e.g., Galambos et al., 2006). Because markers reflecting achievement of adult status were found to influence young adults' well-being (Kins & Beyers, 2010), the conditions under which coresidence has positive, negative, or no effect on well-being is important in shedding light on whether a traditional criterion for adulthood, independent living, still matters for the transition to adulthood.

Additionally, some researchers have suggested that perhaps motivations that underlie young adults' living arrangements are more important for well-being than the actual living arrangements themselves (Kins et al., 2009). Yet prior studies may not have considered whether motivations associated with coresidence influenced variation or exacerbated the effects of two distinct types of coresidence – never leaving home, and returning home.

Using data from the Toledo Adolescent Relationships Study (TARS) (n = 908), we examined young adults' living arrangements and self-reported well-being. The TARS data included questions on why young adults returned to or never left their parents' home, as well as why they were motivated to coreside, including intrinsic and utilitarian considerations (i.e., socioemotional needs, not earning enough to support oneself, and unemployment). We analyzed the extent to which never leaving the parental home, returning home after independent living, and independent living influenced depressive symptoms. We then examined motivations underlying young adults' living arrangements, and whether these specific considerations influenced the association

between living arrangements and well-being. This research contributes to our understanding of young adult well-being and provides a more nuanced assessment of the implications of young adult parental coresidence.

Background

Emerging Adulthood: Trends for Staying or Returning Home

Prior research has concluded that the majority of 18-25 year olds in the U.S. do not consider themselves to be adults (Arnett, 1997; Arnett, 2001; Arnett & Schwab, 2012), and researchers have begun to focus on the specific criteria young adults view as necessary to achieve adult status (e.g., Arnett, 1998; Buchmann, 1989; Nelson & Barry, 2005; Nelson et al., 2007; Shanahan, 2000). Although emerging adulthood is characterized by varied and indirect routes to adulthood (Arnett 2000; Furstenberg, 2010; Shanahan, 2000), at the top of the list of criteria for adulthood is self-reliance, including financial independence from parents (Arnett, 2001; Arnett & Schwab, 2012).

Yet in recent years, the prevalence of adult children living with parents has increased, and appears to contradict a traditional marker associated with self-reliance -- independent living (Shanahan, 2000; Shanahan et al., 2005). In the U.S., marriage was the turning point signaling the establishment of independent living (Furstenberg, 2000). The average age of first marriage, however, in 2012, reached a highpoint of 28 for men and 26 for women (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that delays in marriage influenced delays in leaving the parental home.

Rather than marriage, young adults are increasingly leaving their parents' home for other reasons (Buck & Scott, 1993; Furstenberg, 2000; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999; Goldscheider et al., 1999) including employment and educational opportunities,

and to cohabit with intimate partners. One difference between earlier and more recent generations is that in the past, young adults who moved out for reasons other than marriage were rarely welcomed back into the parents' home (Goldscheider et al., 1999). In contrast, many young adults currently rely on their parents' home as a safety net because these increasingly common non-marital paths to independence are characterized by high levels of instability that may jeopardize independent living.

National data, for example, indicated that poor employment opportunities and the increasing cost of housing, have contributed to a recent uptick in coresidence (Painter, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau, 2009; Wang & Morin, 2009). Thus, these structural changes in the broader economy and the housing market, in addition to delayed first marriage (Settersten, 1998; Settersten & Ray, 2010), have extended the average length of coresidence with parents and have increased the likelihood of returning home.

This extension of the parental role is increasingly necessary in the American context given the barriers to making a "timely" transition to adulthood (i.e., rising educational requirements, limited job opportunities, student debt) coupled with limited governmental resources for young adults (Mortimer, 2012). Researchers have begun to investigate if financial and residential (coresidence) supports provided by parents facilitate the transition to adulthood or if they result in increased and continued dependence (Swartz et al., 2011).

Whether a parent's home is a "home base" during periods of transition or a "safety net" in response to marital or economic failures (DaVanzo & Goldscheider, 1990), it is unclear how coresidence affects young adult well-being. Some researchers have found that coresidence is not related to increased dissatisfaction or conflict (e.g.,

Ward & Spitze, 1992). Rather, the experience of coresidence is generally positive for young adults (see Cherlin, Scabini, & Rossi, 1997). This view, however, may underestimate the potential for variability in the effect of these living arrangements. Coresidence, after all, is not a universal option. Furthermore, conclusions regarding coresidence were drawn using data that did not separate those who have never left from those who have left and later returned to their parents' home (e.g., Arnett & Schwab, 2013; Pew Research Center, 2013; Qian, 2010). Although these two groups share a common feature, currently residing with their parents, there is likely much diversity among them—particularly their motivations for coresiding.

Motivations for Residing with Parents and Emerging Adults' Well-Being

Studies that report a link between living arrangement and well-being often do not describe the mechanisms underlying that relationship (see Kins et al., 2009; Kins & Beyers, 2010 for exceptions). Researchers have suggested that perhaps the motivation for the living arrangement is more important for well-being than the actual living arrangement. Kins and colleagues (2009), for example, found that the subjective well-being of young adults is more about autonomous motivations (i.e., wherein the individual actively chooses to live with parents rather than being 'forced' based on economic necessity). We argue that motivations for coresiding with parents represent an important conceptual bridge between living arrangement and well-being. Although these motivations represent discrete decisions (from a snapshot in time) to either stay in or return to the parents' home, they map onto subjective understandings of criteria for adulthood and represent individual progress towards achieving adult status.

Given that financial and residential independence are important milestones in the transition to adulthood (Shanahan, 2000; Shanahan et al., 2005), moves away from—and returns to—the parental home necessarily contain an element of discontinuity. As such, individuals may carry with them a heightened awareness of the reasons or motivations for this shift in their living arrangements. These reasons may condition the nature of the effect of the move itself on well-being. Returning to the parental home may be indicative of failure to reach important developmental markers associated with the transition to adulthood (i.e., financial independence).

Even those who remain in their parents' home are likely to have thought about these issues because as time goes by, they recognize that many of their peers have established independent residences. They may begin to question, "Why am I still residing here?" To the extent that motivations for residing with parents provide a window to self-assessments of progress toward achieving adult status, answers to this question influence well-being.

Following graduation from college or new employment, for example, periods of coresidence are common—sometimes even expected—experiences. But often the decision to move in with parents is much more sudden and made in response to a negative life event (Swartz et al., 2011). This might include such experiences as divorce, loss of employment, and unintended pregnancy. Although these life events may be the catalyst, they are not necessarily directly related to the move. It is in confronting these experiences, rather, that individuals make determinations as to how to proceed. These particular situations may not only be damaging to an individuals' self-conceptions, but may conflict with self-images as independent, self-sufficient adults. Individuals become

especially cognizant of the stigma attached to moving home as they consider how society and their more immediate network respond to this living arrangement.

Given the high level of uncertainty associated with many young adult experiences, individuals are often confronted with situations in which they are not quite sure about the appropriate or desired course of action. As such, a comprehensive treatment of the impact of living arrangements on well-being must move beyond examinations of the link between family background, life course transitions, and well-being to consider the role of cognitive processes, including specific intrinsic and extrinsic motivations (Holtforth, Thomas, & Caspar, 2011) underlying the decision to leave or return to the parental home.

Among emerging adults, coresidence is often associated with parental support. This support may encompass tending to the socioemotional needs of their young adult children or providing them with direct financial support following employment or financial struggles. Although these motivational processes are conceptualized in terms of a rather concrete residential decision, we argue that they involve much broader cognitive processes. That is, to the extent that motivations underlying coresidence are indicative of individual assessments of progress towards achieving criteria for adulthood, such considerations may be particularly salient predictors of well-being. Attention to the motivations that result in residential decisions will provide us with a more thorough understanding of the impact of young adult living arrangements on well-being.

Current Study

Extending prior work on parent-adult child coresidence, the current analyses addressed two key objectives. We examined the association between parent-adult child

coresidence and depressive symptoms among young adults who (1) stayed in the parents' home, (2) returned after a period of living independently, and (3) currently lived on their own. In assessing the role of living arrangement as a predictor, we overcame an important limitation of prior work by distinguishing between those who had never left and those who had returned to the parents' home. Another contribution of our work is that by using longitudinal data we controlled for prior depressive symptoms. Previous studies have not accounted for earlier depressive symptoms.

A secondary objective was to focus on the subset of young adults who lived with their parents and determine whether motivations for departures from, and returns to, the parents' home were systematically linked to variation in well-being. Analyses explored the degree to which intrinsic and extrinsic motivations mediated the relationship between living arrangement and young adults' well-being, and whether such motivations conditioned the effect of living arrangement on well-being. Thus, our analyses not only documented the basic patterns, but focused on potential reasons for depressive symptoms.

Our analyses included a set of covariates that have been associated with young adult well-being and coresidence. These included parental closeness, gender, race, family background, socioeconomic status, relationship type, and parenthood status. Parental closeness was associated with young adults' well-being (Whiteman, McHale, & Crouter, 2011). Both gender and race were linked to emotional well-being, including depressive symptoms, during young adulthood (McLeod & Owens, 2004). Furthermore, researchers have found racial and ethnic differences in patterns of home-leaving (e.g., Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999; Mitchell et al., 2004) and women leave earlier and were less likely to return to their parental home (White, 1994). Family structure was also

a salient predictor of early departures from the parental home (Aquilino, 1991). Numerous studies have identified associations between poverty and poor psychosocial functioning during the transition to adulthood (e.g., Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 1997; Haveman, Wolfe, & Spaulding, 1991). Education and employment, historically, were important markers of adulthood, and emerging adults often actively pursue education (Alvira-Hammond et al., forthcoming; Settersten & Ray, 2010). Finally, relationship factors, including whether young adults were married or cohabiting, and presence of children influenced the residential decisions of young adults (Evenson & Simon, 2005).

Data and Methods

Data

The current study used data from the Toledo Adolescent Relationships Study (TARS), based on a stratified, random sample of adolescents who were registered for the 7th, 9th, and 11th grades in Lucas County, Ohio based on enrollment records from the year 2000. The initial sample (n=1, 321), devised by the National Opinion Research Center, was drawn from 62 schools across seven school districts with over-samples of Black and Hispanic students. Data were first collected from adolescents in 2001 using structured in-home interviews with preloaded questionnaires on laptop computers, as well as a parent or guardian using pencil and paper questionnaires. Respondents were re-interviewed in 2002, 2004, and 2006. While the current study drew primarily on data from the fourth interview (2006), some of the sociodemographic characteristics, including parent education and family structure, were from the parent questionnaire administered at the time of the first interview (2001), and prior depressive symptoms were measured at the

third interview (2004). The data from the fourth interview comprised 83% of the original sample.

The analytic sample (n = 908) consisted of all respondents from the fourth interview with a few exclusions including respondents who did not report either coresiding with parents or living independently (i.e., dorms, barracks, prison/jail, etc.) and those reporting their race as “other.” Additionally, respondents who reported that they were still in high school or under the age of 18 at the time of the fourth interview were excluded from the analyses. Finally, we limited the sample to respondents with valid responses on the dependent variable, depressive symptoms. For analyses of motivations to coreside we included respondents who were living with their parents (n = 479).

Measures

Dependent variable

Depressive symptoms, measured using a six-item version of the Center for Epidemiological Studies’ depressive symptoms scale (CES-D) (Radloff, 1977), asked respondents how often each of the following statements was true during the past seven days: (1) “you felt you just couldn’t get going;” (2) “you felt that you could not shake off the blues;” (3) “you had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing;” (4) “you felt lonely;” (5) “you felt sad;” and (6) “you had trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep.” Responses ranged from 1 (*never*) to 8 (*every day*) (alpha = .82). *Prior depressive symptoms* were measured using an identical scale from the third interview

(alpha = .82). The third interview was conducted approximately 2 years prior to the fourth.

Independent variables

Parent residence dynamics. The focal independent variables were respondents' living situations at the time of the fourth interview. Respondents were asked, "Where do you live now? That is, where do you stay most often?" Those who reported that they were living with their parents were subsequently asked, "Have you ever moved out on your own, meaning away from your mom and dad?" Those living with parents and reporting that they had never moved out on their own were categorized as *stayed in the parental home*. Those who responded affirmatively to the question regarding moving away from the parental home were asked, "Have you ever moved back in with your parent(s)/guardian?" Respondents reporting that they (1) were living with their parents at the time of the interview, (2) had moved away from their parents at some point in the past, and (3) had moved back in with their parents were categorized as *returned to the parental home*. Finally, those who reported that they were not living with their parents at the time of the interview and, subsequently, that they had never moved back in with their parents, were categorized as *living independently*.

Motivations to reside with parents. Respondents were asked a series of questions reflecting intrinsic and utilitarian considerations regarding living arrangements—specifically their motivations for coresiding with parents. We focused on the following three: (1) "I enjoy living with my parent(s);" (2) "I couldn't support myself," and (3) "I

lost my job or couldn't find a job." Each is a dichotomous variable (1 = yes).

Respondents could cite any of these considerations; responses were not mutually exclusive.

Control variables

Parental closeness was a single interval item assessing the extent to which respondents felt close to their parents. *Gender* was a dichotomous variable with female as the contrast category. *Age* was respondents' age in years at the time of the fourth interview. Three dichotomous indicators were used to measure respondents' *race/ethnicity* including non-Hispanic White (contrast category), non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic. Family structure during adolescence and parents' reports of the highest level of education that they completed at the time of the first interview were used to measure parents' resources.

Family structure was composed of dichotomous variables indicating the household type in which respondents lived during adolescence including two biological parents (contrast category), stepfamily, single-parent family, and any "other" family type at the first interview. Because the parental sample consisted primarily of women, this measure is referred to as "*mother's education*" and included the following categories: less than high school, high school (contrast category), some college, and college or more. *Gainful activity* was a dichotomous indicator defined as being currently enrolled in school or employed. *Relationship status* was a dichotomous variable indicating union type including married, cohabiting, dating, and single. *Children* was a continuous variable indicating the number of children the respondent had at the time of the fourth interview.

Analytic Strategy

We presented the descriptive statistics in Table 1. The multivariate analyses proceeded in two stages. In the first stage, presented in Table 2, we used ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to examine the relationship between parent residence dynamics and young adults' depressive symptoms. Next, the models examined the extent to which parent residence dynamics affected young adults' depressive symptoms net of parental closeness, gender, age, race, family structure during adolescence, mothers' education, gainful activity, relationship status, parenthood, and prior depressive symptoms.

Second, we examined variation in motivations to reside with parents. These analyses were limited to respondents who never left the parental home ($n = 306$) or who returned after a period of independent living ($n = 173$). We presented the zero order relationships between living arrangement, motivations, and depressive symptoms. The subsequent regression models examined the association between living arrangement and depressive symptoms net of motivations, control variables and prior depression. We examined whether motivations mediated the relationship between parent residence dynamics and depressive symptoms. Finally, interactions were tested to determine whether the impact of parent residence dynamics on depressive symptoms was a function of motivations to reside with parents.

Results

Descriptive Analysis

Table 1 displayed descriptive statistics for all variables by parent residence dynamics. There was a detrimental effect of returning to the parental home on young adults' well-being. Respondents who returned to the parental home reported higher levels of depressive symptoms than those who either never left the parental home or lived

independently. Depicted graphically in Figure 1, mean levels of depressive symptoms were highest among those who returned home (mean levels of depression were significantly higher than both other groups). Table 1 also included the distribution of the covariates according to parent residence dynamics. Because both living arrangement and well-being were likely related to a number of individual characteristics, including prior levels of depressive symptoms, we examined regression models to assess living arrangements and depressive symptoms, net of these factors.

Zero-Order and Multivariate Analyses

Parent Residence Dynamics and Depressive Symptoms.

In Table 2 at the zero order, the coefficients for *stayed in the parental home* and *living independently* were significant and negative suggesting that those who returned to the parental home as compared to those who never left and those who lived independently reported higher levels of depressive symptoms. The relationships between staying in the parental home, living independently, and depressive symptoms persisted net of prior depressive symptoms (Model 2). Adding the other covariates, the association between living independently and depressive symptoms was marginally significant, and the coefficient for *stayed in the parental home* remained significant. Furthermore, parental closeness, gender, gainful activity, and relationship status appeared to exert independent effects on depressive symptoms. Young adults who reported higher levels of parental closeness and those who were either employed or attending school reported lower levels of depression. Consistent with prior work, women reported higher levels of depressive symptoms. Young adults who were in a relationship, dating, cohabiting or married, scored lower on depressive symptoms. Supplemental analyses (available from

authors) revealed that the addition of relationship status to the model partially mediated the association between living arrangement and depressive symptoms. This finding suggested that relationship status (cohabiting or married young adults less often lived with their parents) partially explained the association between returning to the parental home and depressive symptoms.

In summary, the results in Table 2 provided evidence of a link between returning to the parental home and depressive symptoms. Furthermore, this relationship was not explained by prior levels of depression. The key correlates associated with depressive symptoms, net of living arrangements, were parental closeness, gender, gainful activity, and relationship status. The significant negative relationships between staying in the parental home and living independently versus returning to the parental home and depressive symptoms were partially explained by relationship status. That is, involvement in a romantic relationship--whether dating, cohabiting or married--was negatively related to depressive symptoms, and those returning to the parental home were more likely to be single. Nevertheless, the relationship between staying in the parental home and depression remained significant net of controls for prior levels of depression, parental closeness, sociodemographic characteristics, gainful activity, relationship status, and number of children.

Motivations to Reside with Parents.

Next we examined the role of three motivations to reside with parents among young adults coresiding with parents at the time of the fourth interview (n = 479). Figure 2 provided a graphic representation of the percent of respondents who cited each of the

motivations for coresiding by living arrangement. These differences were statistically significant indicating that individuals who moved back with parents were significantly more likely to report *employment problems* and *couldn't support myself* as motivations to coreside, and less likely to cite *enjoy living with parents*.

Results of the regression models shown in Table 3 included zero order relationships between all independent variables and depressive symptoms in the first column. Individuals returning to the parental home, as compared to staying in the parental home, reported higher levels of depressive symptoms. In terms of motivations, young adults who enjoyed living with their parents reported lower depressive symptoms while those not able to support themselves or those who had employment problems experienced higher depressive symptoms.

Model 2 presented the OLS regression for the association between living arrangement and depressive symptoms, net of prior depression. Both living arrangement and prior depression were positively related to depressive symptoms. These associations persisted net of controls for the parent-child relationship, sociodemographic characteristics, family factors, and adult status characteristics. Model 4 introduced the motivations for living with parents as a block. Parental closeness, gender, and relationship status were associated with depressive symptoms. Net of the other variables, the relationship between living arrangement and depressive symptoms remained marginally significant and positive. The effect of living arrangement on depressive symptoms, however, decreased in magnitude. Further analyses revealed that the addition of the motivation 'enjoy living with parents' to the model reduced the magnitude of the coefficient for living arrangement. Additionally, respondents who cited 'enjoy living

with parents' as a motivation for coresidence reported lower levels of depressive symptoms, and respondents who indicated that they lived with parents because they could not support themselves reported higher levels of depressive symptoms (marginally significant) net of other factors.

Finally, we assessed the moderating role of motivations to reside with parents on parent residence dynamics and depressive symptoms. Supplemental analyses (available from authors) examining mean levels of depressive symptoms across motivations by living arrangement revealed stark differences between those who never left and those who returned home citing employment problems as a motivation for their living circumstance. Furthermore, results in Table 3 indicated a strong positive association between employment problems and depressive symptoms at the bivariate level. This relationship, however, was explained after controlling for other factors. As such, in model 5 we examined whether the effect of returning to the parental home differed for those who cited employment problems as a motivation for their return as compared to those who did not cite such problems. The interaction term was significant and positive indicating that the effect of returning home on depressive symptoms was significantly more positive for those citing employment problems as a motivation for returning home. Returning home was associated with depressive symptoms only for young adults who returned due to employment problems (0.76 in Model 5). The effect of returning home was positively related to depressive symptoms among those citing employment problems as a motivation for their return, but not among those who do not cite such problems. The other motivations had similar associations with depressive symptoms regardless of whether they had never left or returned home.

Discussion

The prevalence of adult children living with parents is increasing, and in response, scholars are beginning to focus on the relationship between coresidence and a number of outcomes related to the well-being of young adults. A major limitation of much of the prior work was that it employed data that did not differentiate between young adults who never left the parental home and those who returned after a period of living independently. In this study, we distinguished between these two groups to unmask important variation. Recent studies have concluded that coresiding young adults are faring quite well—they were generally satisfied with their living arrangements and optimistic about the future (Parker, 2012). The findings from this study suggest that although emerging adults who returned home and those who stayed in the parental home shared a common residential status, their experiences were often quite different. Additionally, the limited amount of work examining the relationship between living arrangement and well-being often has failed to control for individual characteristics that were likely associated with both living arrangement and depressive symptoms. Because of the longitudinal nature of the TARS data, we controlled for prior levels of depressive symptoms.

Moreover, most studies examining coresidence primarily examined relationships between young adults' living arrangements and a number of structural and demographic factors. Findings from this research suggest that there is an association between coresidence and well-being, but do little in the way of describing the processes or mechanisms driving this relationship. Our study incorporated several motivations for residing with parents, and examined whether these motivations both mediated and

moderated the relationship between parent residence dynamics and depressive symptoms. We argued that motivations to reside with parents represent an important conceptual bridge between young adults' living arrangements and depressive symptoms. In this study, such motivations were associated with depressive symptoms. Additionally, motivations to coreside partially explained the association between living arrangements and depressive symptoms, and in the case of employment problems, exacerbated the influence of parent residence dynamics on depressive symptoms. These findings contribute to our understanding of the great diversity in emerging adulthood and emphasize the importance of examining how a broader range of experiences relate to young adults' well-being.

Although these analyses added to prior work that has largely been limited to cross-sectional snapshots, there were some limitations. The current study explored several key motivations to coreside with parents, however, future work should encompass a broader range of motivations to further develop an understanding of how motivational dynamics relate to both the living arrangements of young adults and their emotional well-being. This study provided a cross-sectional examination of the relationships between parent residence dynamics, motivations to coreside with parents, and depressive symptoms. Future research should consider how these patterns develop longitudinally. In addition, the current study examined a small piece of the young adult period (ages 18-24). Future work should consider the impact of age on patterns of leaving and returning home among older emerging adults. In these analyses, age did not emerge as a significant predictor either of depression net of living arrangement, nor did age differ significantly across groups. As young adults move forward in the transition to adulthood,

age may become an increasingly important factor in the relationship between living arrangement and well-being. Lastly, it would be useful to know how parents' view these living arrangements. It is likely that parents' attitudes, whether positive or negative, would have implications for young adults' well-being.

Young people are the most diverse group in the United States (Settersten, 2012), and thus we should not expect their experiences to be unidimensional. Although the broad picture may indicate that coresidence is inconsequential for the well-being of young adults, this perspective does not encompass the potential for variability in the link between living arrangement and well-being, nor does it provide potential mechanisms associated with variation in this relationship. The current study demonstrated that living arrangements have implications for young adults' emotional well-being. Once these varied pathways and motivations were taken into account, the analyses specified a number of mechanisms that were systematically associated with both the living arrangements of young adults and well-being, providing an important starting point for future work in this area.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics, by Parent Residence Dynamics (n = 908)^a

Dependent Variable	Full Sample			Stayed in the Parental Home (n = 306)	Returned to the Parental Home (n = 173)	Living Independently (n = 429)
	Mean/Percentage	SD	Range			
Depressive Symptoms	14.48	30.07	0-48	13.68	16.29	14.31
Independent Variables						
<i>Parent Resident Dynamics</i>						
Returned to the parental home	19.62%			--	--	--
Stayed in the parental home (Living independently)	34.69%			--	--	--
Prior depressive symptoms	14.78	28.88	0-48	14.11	15.27	15.08
<i>Controls</i>						
Parental closeness	4.13	3.10	1-5	4.23	4.12	4.06
Female	50.39%			44.38%	48.89%	55.60%
Age	20.48	6.19	18-24	19.48	20.75	21.13
Race (White)						
Black	22.86%			20.36%	22.51%	24.90%
Hispanic	6.87%			5.65%	8.04%	7.30%
Family structure (Two bio)						
Single parent	22.07%			18.39%	23.31%	24.34%
Step-parent	13.53%			10.26%	12.72%	16.36%
Other	11.23%			10.05%	8.52%	13.29%
Mother's education (HS)						
Less than HS	9.73%			7.14%	11.68%	10.86%
Some college	35.33%			35.22%	32.11%	36.79%
College or more	23.16%			23.32%	22.28%	23.41%
Gainfully active	73.48%			80.16%	67.65%	70.91%
Relationship Status (Single)						
Dating	40.73%			51.23%	55.18%	26.54%
Cohabiting	19.25%			1.63%	6.52%	38.09%
Married	6.21%			0.36%	3.09%	12.00%
Children	0.24	2.12	0-5	0.05	0.15	0.41

^a All means and standard deviations are weighted

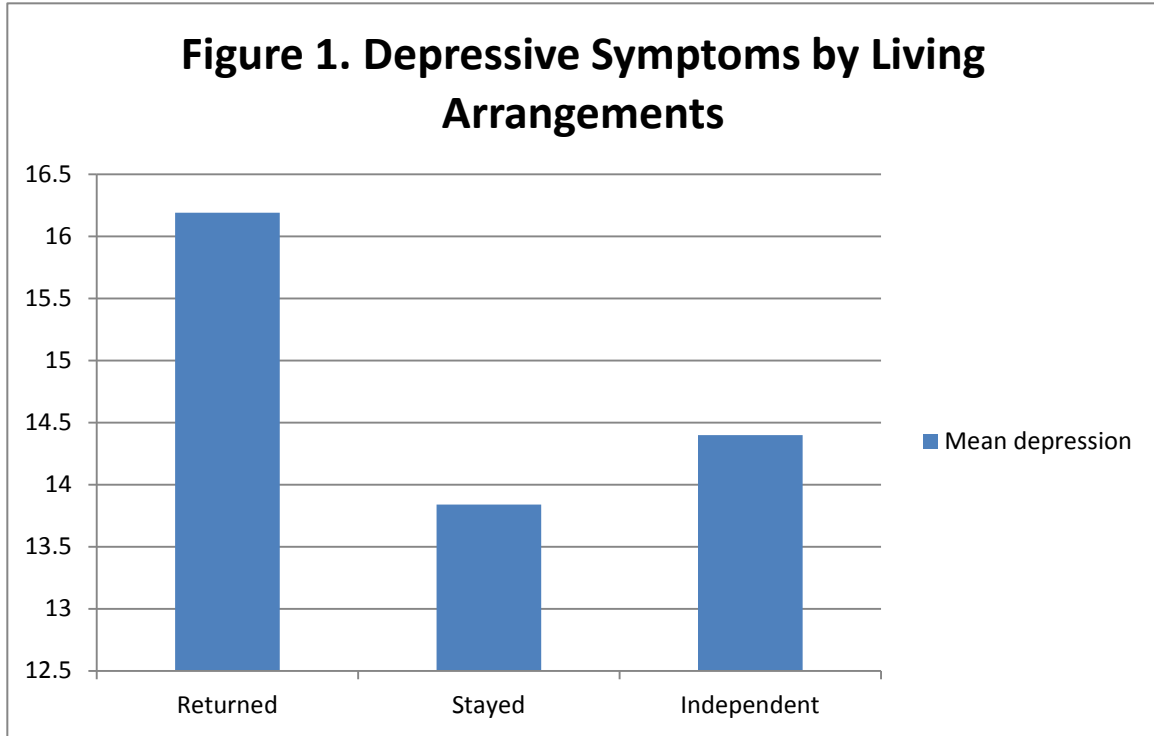
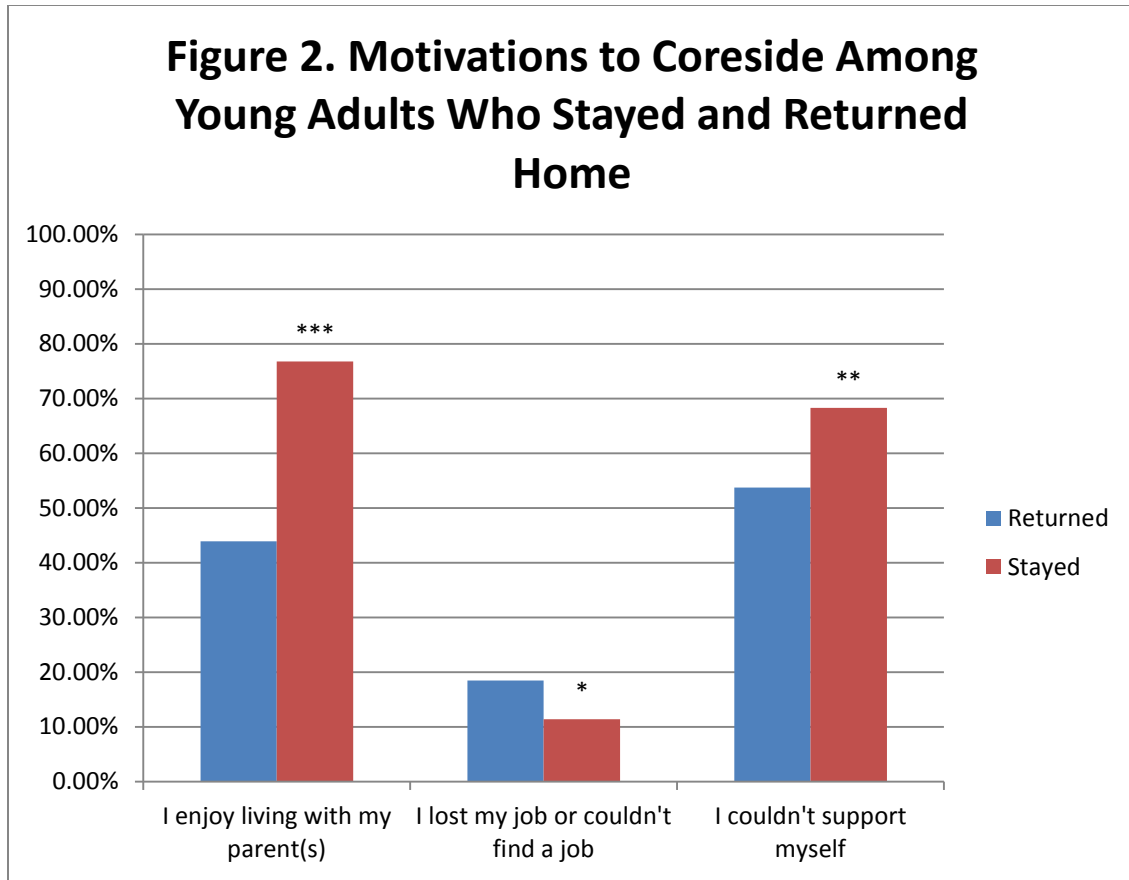


Table 2. Coefficients for the OLS Regression of Depressive Symptoms on Parent Residence Dynamics (n = 908)

	Zero Order		Model 2		Model 3	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
<i>Parent Residence Dynamics</i>						
Stayed in the parental home	-2.35**	0.76	-1.82**	0.66	-1.57†	0.68
Living independently (Returned to the parental home)	-1.79*	0.72	-1.66**	0.63	-1.30*	0.67
<i>Prior depressive symptoms</i>	0.51***	0.03	0.50***	0.03	0.46***	0.03
<i>Controls</i>						
Parental closeness	-1.99***	0.31			-1.09***	0.28
Female	1.29*	0.53			0.98*	0.46
Age	0.04	0.16			0.06	0.15
Race (White)						
Black	1.66*	0.65			0.36	0.61
Hispanic	1.18	0.86			0.87	0.77
Family structure (Two bio)						
Single parent	0.87	0.67			-0.77	0.61
Step-parent	2.41**	0.79			0.81	0.70
Other	1.76*	0.87			-0.30	0.79
Mother's education (HS)						
Less than HS	2.13*	0.93			0.61	0.83
Some college	0.27	0.65			0.32	0.55
College or more	-1.05	0.73			-0.23	0.64
Gainfully active	-3.52***	0.59			-2.18***	0.56
Relationship Status (Single)						
Dating	-1.66**	0.62			-1.95***	0.53
Cohabiting	-1.89*	0.75			-3.11***	0.73
Married	-1.52	1.10			-2.71**	1.04
Children	1.53***	0.45			0.53	0.46
R^2			0.25		0.30	

† p < .01; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001



* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 3. Coefficients for the OLS Regression of Depressive Symptoms on Parent Residence Dynamics and Motivations to Reside with Parents: Main and Interaction Effects (n = 479)

	Zero Order		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
<i>Parent Residence Dynamics</i>										
Returned to the parental home (Stayed in the parental home)	2.35**	0.77	1.79**	0.67	1.78*	0.74	1.34†	0.76	0.64	0.81
<i>Prior depressive symptoms</i>	0.54***	0.04	0.53***	0.04	0.49***	0.04	0.47***	0.04	0.47***	0.04
<i>Motivations to Reside with Parents</i>										
Enjoy living with parents	-4.55***	0.75					-2.44***	0.73	-2.28**	0.73
Employment problems	4.06***	1.06					0.89	0.96	-1.11	1.27
Couldn't support myself	1.29†	0.77					1.27†	0.68	1.23†	0.68
<i>Controls</i>										
Parental closeness	-2.36***	0.50			-1.20**	0.45	-0.76†	0.45	-0.80†	0.45
Female	0.73	0.75			1.22†	0.65	1.35*	0.65	1.44*	0.64
Age	0.11	0.22			-0.10	0.21	-0.15	0.21	-0.12	0.20
Race (White)										
Black	2.17*	0.94			0.94	0.87	0.91	0.86	1.02	0.86
Hispanic	1.09	1.28			0.77	1.14	0.56	1.12	0.55	1.11
Family structure (Two bio)										
Single parent	1.54	0.96			-0.54	0.87	-0.84	0.87	-0.73	0.86
Step-parent	2.76*	1.19			0.62	1.06	0.57	1.05	0.66	1.04
Other	2.23†	1.30			0.40	1.16	0.27	1.14	0.32	1.14
Mother's education (HS)										
Less than HS	2.32†	1.35			0.41	1.24	0.66	1.23	0.65	1.22
Some college	0.85	0.90			1.00	0.78	1.03	0.77	0.99	0.77
College or more	-1.52	1.00			-0.43	0.88	-0.35	0.87	-0.33	0.86
Gainfully active	-2.98***	0.86			-1.54	0.82	-1.07	0.82		
Relationship Status (Single)										
Dating	-1.72*	0.77			-1.72*	0.67	-1.54*	0.66	-1.59*	0.66
Cohabiting	0.18	2.05			-2.83	1.84	-3.08†	1.81	-3.08†	1.80
Married	0.42	3.13			-2.67	2.84	-3.40	2.83	-3.13	2.82
Children	1.77	1.15			0.82	1.13	0.71	1.12	0.79	1.11
Employment problems x Returned to the parental home									4.40*	1.83
R ²			0.27		0.31		0.34		0.35	

† p < .01; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001