

EVIDENCE RESPONSE

Extended adolescence: What UK and international research exists on extended adolescence?

A brief evidence report about the existing research on extended adolescence in the UK and other countries

Prepared by About Families for Parenting Across Scotland

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This report was produced by About Families as part of a pilot of an Evidence Request System.

The request concerns the type and extent of existing evidence in relation to extended adolescence. This report outlines key points, the range and type of existing evidence in Scotland, the UK and beyond, and comments on gaps in the evidence. The appendix gives search details, keywords used and references. References are categorised by both place of publication and type of publication. Weblinks for references are included where possible.

A summary of research findings was not requested. However, in the course of carrying out the literature review the research findings were summarised. They are included in section three of this report for interest.

About Families aims to ensure that the changing needs of parents, including families affected by disability, are met by providing relevant and accessible evidence to inform service development.

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Contents

1. KEY POINTS	5
2. COMMENTS ON THE RESEARCH	7
Defining extended adolescence	7
Types and places of publications	8
Research in Scotland/ UK	10
Research in USA and Canada	13
Research in other countries	14
Gaps in evaluation	15
3. FINDINGS FROM EXISTING RESEARCH	16
a) Characteristics of extended adolescence	16
Labour market and employment.....	16
Education.....	17
Living arrangements and housing	18
Relationships and having children.....	19
Leisure activities and life-style.....	20
b) Factors impacting on extended adolescence.....	21
Socio-economic background	21
Gender.....	22
Disability	23
Ethnic minorities.....	24
c) The parental perspective	25
d) Emerging adults' perspective.....	26
3. CONCLUSION	27
4. APPENDIX.....	28
About Families Evidence Request System.....	28
How the research was carried out.....	28
References	39

1. KEY POINTS

There is no consistent definition of extended adolescence. This makes it difficult to examine the research base in different countries and to draw comparisons. A number of different terms are used in the research literature as well as popular culture to describe similar and overlapping concepts (e.g. young adulthood, transitions to adulthood, emerging adulthood).

What do we know about extended adolescence? Statistics and research on youth transitions and related areas (such as disability, gender, ethnic minorities, social inequalities) show this is an important issue. Social changes impact on how the transitions to adulthood are shaped over time.

Different approaches to researching young people are taken in the UK and North America. Research in the UK tends to focus on '*transitions to adulthood*' or '*youth transitions*' and considers how structural issues impact on the lives of individuals. Research in the USA and Canada tends to use the concept of '*emerging adulthood*' which focuses on characteristics of the individual.

Are there gaps in UK research on extended adolescence? Substantial amounts of research, such as qualitative longitudinal studies and statistics, have investigated the changing nature of youth transitions and challenges arising for young people and families in the UK. More evidence is needed on how public policies and extended adolescence interact and how parents and young people can be supported. Finally, research into public attitudes towards extended adolescence would be valuable in understanding how young adults are viewed by society and peers and how this might impact on their experiences.

Extended adolescence can feature a range of characteristics which overlap with, and influence, each other. These include uncertainty over employment, prolonged education, living in and returning to the parental home, non-marital relationships, having children later and lifestyle. Moving to independence can be particularly complicated for young people in rural areas, leaving care, with disabilities, from ethnic minority backgrounds, and for gay and lesbian young people.

Structural factors influence how young people experience the transition to adulthood. Young people from disadvantaged backgrounds tend to experience more disruptive transitions.

Emerging adulthood impacts on the whole family, and parents experience extended adolescence differently. Most parents are happy to see their children become independent but some find this process difficult. Living with their adult children can have a negative impact on the quality of relationships between parents where children had previously left to gain independence. Many emerging adults express feelings of 'being in-between' adolescence and adulthood.

2. COMMENTS ON THE RESEARCH

Defining extended adolescence

No consistent definition of extended adolescence is used in research in the UK or overseas. A number of different terms are used in academic literature and popular culture to describe similar and overlapping concepts.

The term ‘*extended adolescence*’ is mostly used in the media and popular culture. It describes a prolonged developmental phase of adolescence before reaching adulthood, often referred to as ‘people in their twenties taking longer to grow up’. Other terms in use in popular culture to describe similar concepts are ‘*kidults*’, ‘*adultescents*’, ‘*boomerang kids*’ (who move back into the parental home), ‘*tresholders*’ or ‘*twixters*’.

In the research literature, the term ‘*extended adolescence*’ is rarely used. A number of terms are used to describe similar concepts. While they have some general features in common, they explain and study extended adolescence in different ways. This makes it difficult to reach a common definition of extended adolescence.

Research in the UK tends to focus on ‘*transitions to adulthood*’ or ‘*youth transitions*’, or simply ‘*young people*’. This transitional perspective focuses on the underlying causes of prolonged and changed phases of transition (e.g. changes in the labour market) as well as the impact on the lives of young people. It provides a more *sociological* perspective on the issue, looking at how structural issues impact on the lives of individuals.

Research in the USA and Canada uses the concept of ‘*emerging adulthood*’ to explore extended adolescence. This concept views the ages 18-25 as a new developmental phase in the life-course. Characteristic features of emerging adulthood are identity exploration, trying out possibilities in love and work, instability, self-focus and feeling in between adolescence and adulthood (Arnett 2004). It is a more *psychological* way of looking at extended adolescence, focusing on characteristics of the individual. The concept of emerging adulthood has been criticized for not acknowledging structural elements: for example, issues of social disadvantage are ignored because emerging adults’ life transitions are explained through their individual choices.

No consistent age range is used to explore extended adolescence. While there is a general tendency to locate extended adolescence in ‘the twenties’, a variety of ranges are used. The concept of emerging adulthood refers to 18-25 year-olds (Arnett, 2004). The US-American Network on Transitions to Adulthood extends this to 18-34 year-olds. When looking at extended adolescence as a transitional process, as in most of the UK research, it also makes sense to include a wider age group since many changes in youth transitions extend to a later age: for example, Scottish young adults are less likely to live with their parents in their early twenties, but more likely to return to live with their parents in their early thirties than ten years ago.

Definitions of ‘extended adolescence’ are linked to how ‘adult’ is defined. For example, if marriage and the transition to parenthood are seen as markers for adulthood, then someone who lives independently and is in employment, but not in a relationship and does not have children, might still be considered to be in extended adolescence.

Definitions used in this report

This report uses the term ‘extended adolescence’ to refer to a broad definition of the phenomenon as it is described in popular culture as well as research literature. A variety of aspects relating to extended adolescence in the relevant literature are included (i.e. delayed employment, independent living arrangements and having children later in life, prolonged education, changes in relationships and lifestyle). Where possible, the terminology of the cited references is used. The age frames of the literature cited are used, which range from 18-34 years.

Types and places of publications

This report identified publications from Scotland, the rest of the UK, USA, Canada and other counties.

Places of publication	
Scotland	14
Other UK	36
USA	7

Canada	5
Other	11
Total	73

Table 1: Places of publication

The type of the literature used varied by the respective sources.

Types of publication	
Academic journal articles	27
Academic books / book chapters	11
Academic conference paper	1
Scottish Government reports	4
Government statistics (4 Scotland, 1UK)	5
Grey literature (out of which 12 from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation)	22
Websites	3
Total	73

Table 2: Types of publication

See Appendix for detailed references.

Research in Scotland/ UK

Research in Scotland and the UK focuses on transitions to adulthood or youth transitions, rather than extended adolescence. Two publications by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation give a general overview of the changing nature of transitions to adulthood in the UK:

Morrow, V., and Richards, M. (1996). Young people's transition to adulthood. *Joseph Rowntree Foundation Social Policy Research Findings*, 98. Accessed 02/07/2012: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/sp98.pdf>.

Bynner, J. M., Elias, P., McKnight, A., Pan, H., and Pierre, G. (2002). *Young people's Changing Routes to Independence*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/184263108x.pdf>.

Morrow and Richards (1996) conducted a systematic review of research (a critical review of all evidence relevant to a focussed research question) which showed that longer dependency on parents and delays in finding employment and having children have led to extended transitions. Bynner et al. (2002) compared two large samples of young people in the UK who were aged 25 in 1983 and 1995 respectively, and report dramatic changes in working and living arrangements. Although both studies give a broad overview of extended adolescence in the UK and show how the age range has changed over time, it should be noted that data refers to the 1980s and 1990s.

Academic research looks at transitions to adulthood from a sociological perspective and acknowledges the effects of social inequalities and structural changes. This approach means that wider social circumstances, such as socio-economic background, are taken into account in attempts to understand young people's diverse and changing transitional experiences. Some key publications about youth transitions and social change are:

Furlong, A., & Cartmel, F. (2007). *Young People and Social Change. New Perspectives*. Maidenhead: McGraw Hill/Open University Press.

Irwin, S. (1995). *Rights of Passage: Social Change and the Transition from Youth to Adulthood*, London: UCL Press.

Irwin, S. (2009). Family contexts, norms and young people's orientations: researching diversity. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 12, 337-354.

Jones, G. (2005). *The thinking and behaviour of young adults (aged 16 - 25). Literature review for the Social Exclusion Unit*. London: Social Exclusion Unit, ODPM.

Jones, G. (2009). *Youth*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

The phenomenon of extended adolescence, even if not explicitly referred to as such, is evident in UK official statistics: for example, in statistics on economic activity, marriage and birth rates, housing or education.

In Scotland, the Scottish School Leavers Survey provides data about young people's transitions from school to employment or higher education since the 1970s . In 2008, the Scottish Government commissioned an appraisal of the options for gathering longitudinal data on young people's transitional experiences in order to gain more data about this phenomenon:

Howieson, C., Croxford, L. and Howat, N. (2008). *Meeting the Needs for Longitudinal Data on Youth Transitions in Scotland - An Options Appraisal*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government Social Research. Accessed 02/07/2012:
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/241671/0067161.pdf>.

Scottish School Leavers' Survey. (2011). *Scottish School Leavers Survey Datasets Website*. Accessed 02/07/2012:
<http://www.esds.ac.uk/search/indexSearch.asp?ct=xmlSn&q1=33266>.

An important strand of UK research on youth transitions is based on longitudinal studies. Henderson et al. (2007) have followed the lives of about 100 young people from five contrasting backgrounds all over the UK from 1996 to 2006 and researched their different routes to adulthood in terms of education, work, living situations and relationships:

Henderson, S., Holland, J., McGrellis, S., Sharpe, S. and Thomson, R. (2007). *Inventing Adulthood. A biographical approach to Youth Transitions*. London: Sage.

In 2008, this kind of longitudinal research was continued with the launch of the Timescapes study , a five-year qualitative study based at the University of Leeds and funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC):

Timescapes: an ESRC Qualitative Longitudinal Initiative. University of Leeds, ESRC. Accessed 23/06/2012: <http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/>

The Timescapes study tracked individuals and intergenerational groups in different geographical and cultural settings across Britain, documenting the personal lives and relationships of children and young people, adults in midlife, and those in later life. So far this has resulted in a number of publications related to youth transitions:

Crow, G., Irwin, S., Lyon, D., Morgan-Brett, B. and Winterton, M. (2010). *Young Lives and Imagined Futures: Insights from Archived Data*. Timescapes Working Paper Series No.6. Accessed 02/07/2012:
http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/secondary_analysis/working%20papers/WP6-final10Oct.pdf.

Edwards, R. and Weller, S. *My Place in Society: young people's perspectives*. Timescapes Policy Briefing Paper 1. Accessed 02/07/2012:
<http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/Policy%20Conference%202011/paper-1.pdf>.

Hadfield, L., Rudoie, N. and Sanderson-Mann, J. (2007). Motherhood, choice and the British media: a time to reflect. *Gender and Education*, 19, 255-263.

Holland, J., Reynolds, T. and Weller, S. (2007). Transitions, Networks and Communities: The Significance of Social Capital in the Lives of Children and Young People. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10, 97-116.

Thomson, R., Kehily, M. J., Hadfield, L. and Sharpe, S. (2011). *Making modern mothers*, Bristol: The Policy Press.

Neale, B. and Lau Clayton, C. (2011) *Following Young Fathers: the lived experience of teenage parenting over time*. Timescapes Policy Briefing Paper 2. Accessed 02/07/2012:

<http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/Policy%20Conference%202011/paper-2.pdf>.

Kehily, M. J. and Thomson, R. (2011) *New Mothers in Contemporary Times*. Timescapes Policy Briefing Paper 3. Accessed 02/07/2012:

<http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/Policy%20Conference%202011/paper-3.pdf>.

The only publication focusing on the intersection of youth, public policy and parenting is the following:

Jones, G., and Bell, R. (2000). *Balancing Acts. Youth, Parenting and Public Policy*.

York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012:

<http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/1859354084.pdf>.

A range of publications (many of these published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation) look at youth transitions in relation to specific issues, such as disability, ethnic minorities, gender and housing. The most relevant are:

Disability

Morris, J. (2002). *Moving into Adulthood. Young Disabled People Moving into Adulthood*.

York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012:

<http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/512.pdf>.

Stalker, K. (2002). *Moving Into Adulthood. Young Disabled People Moving into*

Adulthood in Scotland. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012:

<http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/n42.pdf>.

Ethnic minorities

Cassidy, C., O'Connor, R., and Dorrer, N. (2006). *Young People's Experiences of Transition to Adulthood. A Study of Minority Ethnic and White Young People*. York:

Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012:

<http://www.jrf.org.uk/system/files/9781859354841.pdf>.

Mac an Ghail, M., and Haywood, C. (2005). *Young Bangladeshi People's Experience of Transition to Adulthood*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012:

<http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/1859352723.pdf>.

Gender

Gordon, T., Holland, J., Lahelma, E. and Thomson, R. (2005). Imagining Gendered Adulthood. Anxiety, Ambivalence, Avoidance and Anticipation. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 12, 83-103.

Thomson, R. (2009). *Unfolding Lives: Youth, Gender and Change*, Bristol: The Policy Press.

Thomson, R., Henderson, S. and Holland, J. (2003). Making the Most of What You've Got? Resources, Values and Inequalities in Young Women's Transitions to Adulthood. *Educational Review*, 55, 33-46.

Thomson, R. and Holland, J. (2002). Imagined Adulthood: resources, plans and contradictions. *Gender & Education*, 14, 337-350.

Housing

Heath, S. (2008). *Housing Choices and Issues for Young People in the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012:

<http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/2325-young-people-housing.pdf>.

Scottish Government. (2010a). *Household Formation in Scotland. What Does it Mean for Housing Policy?* Accessed 02/07/2012:
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/318342/0101518.pdf>.

Research on youth transitions in the UK has been criticised for polarizing young people into more successful and less successful groups ('fast' and 'slow lanes'). The following study offers a more holistic understanding of youth transitions rather than focusing only on positive or negative extremes:

Roberts, S. (2010). Beyond 'NEET' and 'Tidy' Pathways: Considering the 'Missing Middle' of Youth Transition Studies. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14, 21-39.

Research in USA and Canada

The phenomenon of extended adolescence seems to be more recognised in American and Canadian popular culture as well as academic circles than in the UK. In popular culture, young adults experiencing difficulties in taking on responsibilities are well-represented (for example in TV programmes such as 'Friends'). The media uses a range of phrases to describe the phenomenon, such as 'kidults', 'adultescents', 'boomerang kids', 'tresholders' or 'twixters'.

A research network examining the changes of American youth aged 18-34 was founded in 2000, chaired by the sociologist Frank Furstenberg. The network focuses on the transition areas of education, labour economics, social history, social attitudes and developmental changes of young adults:

The Network on Transitions to Adulthood. (2006). *About Us*. Accessed 02/07/2012:
<http://www.transad.pop.upenn.edu/about/index.html>.

The term 'emerging adulthood' was coined in 2004 by psychology professor Jeffrey Jensen Arnett. Since then, the term has been extensively used in American and Canadian literature about extended adolescence. Arnett's description of emerging adulthood is based on in-depth interviews with over 300 20-29 year olds and relevant statistics. He defined 'emerging adulthood' as a new developmental phase in the life-course between the ages 18 to 25, characterised by identity exploration, trying out possibilities in love and work, instability, self-focus and feeling in between adolescence and adulthood .

Arnett, J. J. (2004). *Emerging Adulthood. The Winding Road from the Late Teens through the Twenties*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Arnett founded the Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood (SSEA) which holds annual conferences and provides a platform for researchers on emerging adulthood:

Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood. *Website*. Accessed 02/07/2012:
<http://www.ssea.org>.

Research in the USA tends to take a psychological perspective on extended adolescence and focuses on the experiences of middle-class young adults. The concept of emerging adulthood tends to assume that young adults voluntarily decide to postpone adulthood. Research from this perspective often explores parents' (rather than young adults') perceptions, and can pathologise extended adolescence, as the following quotation illustrates:

Many young people are living at home longer, delaying marriage, and starting families well into their 30s, creating an additional financial burden on their parents, challenging institutions that were designed for an earlier time, and disadvantaging people with limited financial resources. (Jonathan F. Fanton, President of the MacArthur Foundation, funder of the Network on Transitions to Adulthood, cited on The Network on Transitions to Adulthood website. Accessed 02/07/2012: <http://www.transad.pop.upenn.edu/about/index.html>).

This psychological model has been challenged and questions raised over the extent that middle-class experiences can be generalised to young people generally.

Cote, J.E., and Allahaar, A.L. (eds.). 1996. *Generation On Hold. Coming of Age in the Late Twentieth Century*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Cote, J.E., and Bynner, J.M. (2008). Changes in the Transition to Adulthood in the UK and Canada: the Role of Structure and Agency in Emerging Adulthood. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 11(3), 251-268.

Research in other countries

This report could only access search engines and databases in the English language. As outlined above, the topic of extended adolescence is relatively well-recognised in US-American and Canadian research, referred to as 'emerging adulthood'. In the UK, research tends to focus on transitions to adulthood and sub-areas of this phenomenon (such as disability, ethnic minorities, etc.).

Few Australian studies explore extended adolescence. A comparative study on transitional patterns found similarities between the Australian and US-American context (Evans, 2004). Another study on young Australian women

found that those who undergo atypical or very early transitions to adulthood experience higher levels of stress (Bell and Lee, 2008).

The transition to adulthood, and specifically the issue of leaving home has been explored comparing the British, Spanish and Norwegian context:

Holdworth, C. and Morgan, D. (2005). *Transitions in Context. Leaving Home, Independence and Adulthood*, Maidenhead: Open University Press.

A number of comparative research studies aim to establish the concept of extended adolescence/ emerging adulthood across industrialised countries, particularly in relation to the North-South divide in Europe, for example:

Iacovou, M. and Berthoud, R. (2001). *Young People's Lives: A Map of Europe*. Colchester: University of Essex.

Aassve, A., Iacovou, M. & Mencarini, L. (2006). Youth poverty and transition to adulthood in Europe. *Demographic Research*, 15, 21-50.

European Group for Integrated Social Research (EGRIS) (2001). Misleading Trajectories: Transition Dilemmas of Young Adults in Europe. *Journal of Youth Studies* 4(1): 101-118.

Majamaa, K. (2011). Dismissed intergenerational support? New Social Risks and the Economic Welfare of Young Adults. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(6), 729-743.

Parisi, L. (2008). Leaving Home and the Chances of Being Poor: The Case of Young People in Southern European Countries. *Labour*, 22, 89-114.

Gaps in evaluation

It would be useful to conduct further research into how public policies and extended adolescence interact. While some recent research tracks the impact of the economic recession on extended adolescence, there is little research on how public policies shape the lives of adolescents on the one hand (e.g., welfare policies) and how, on the other hand, public policies need to respond to cultural changes (e.g. delayed family formation, prolonged education) of youth transition in order to provide relevant support to young adults and their parents.

This report could not identify any research (in the UK or overseas) on public attitudes towards the phenomenon of extended adolescence. Such research could include exploring whether changes reflected in official statistics are reflected in attitudes towards, or perceptions of, young adults, and whether there are differences in attitudes between different groups (such as age, gender, ethnicity, location).

3. FINDINGS FROM EXISTING RESEARCH

a) Characteristics of extended adolescence

This section outlines some features of extended adolescence that are described in the relevant literature. These include changes in employment (increased uncertainty, or difficulties, over employment), in independent living (increasing numbers of people moving in and out of the parental home later in their lives), prolonged education and having children later (Morrow and Richards, 1996).

The characteristics described in this section all *contribute* to extended adolescence, but alone do not define extended adolescence. For example, a 28 year old student living alone and juggling a few part-time jobs to support herself might be seen as an independent adult, but in terms of prolonged education, delaying having children and having low-paid temporary jobs, this situation matches descriptions of extended adolescence.

Characteristics described in this section overlap with, and influence, each other. For example, economic factors (such as limited job availability) may impact on living arrangements (living with parents longer) or education (staying in education longer). Living with parents longer may lead to having children later, and so on.

Labour market and employment

In Scotland, an average of 60.8% of 16-24 year-olds are in employment. Employment rates for 16-24 year olds vary greatly between local authorities, for example from 53% in Edinburgh or 51% in Glasgow to 74% in Falkirk or 81% in the Shetland Islands. Key reasons for not being in employment are being a student (72%), looking after family (13%) or having a long-term illness (5%) (National Statistics, 2009).

Of Scottish people aged 25-34, approximately 81.2% are in employment. The main reason given for not being employed is looking after the family (46%) followed by being a student (17%) (National Statistics, 2009).

In the UK, the transition from school to work takes place over a longer period of time than in previous generations and is becoming increasingly complex. An increasingly fragmented labour market which requires new skills

has led to a decreased demand for low-qualified, minimum-aged school leavers. Young people can feel they do not have the competencies and skills required to negotiate the complex demands of transitions from education to employment (Kahn et al., 2011). Lack of available jobs makes educational options more attractive (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007).

Youth unemployment is more sensitive to economic developments than adult unemployment: it falls more quickly in times of expansion and rises more sharply in times of recession (Makeham 1980, O'Higgins 2001, cited in Furlong and Cartmel 2007). This means that young people entering the labour market in the current economic climate face particular challenges.

School curricula, career guidance and training programmes are struggling to keep pace with economic changes. Training schemes aimed at school leavers often focus on individual failings to secure jobs and fail to acknowledge wider social circumstances, including the impact of socio-economic background, over which young people have little control (e.g. Giddens 1991, Beck 1992, Evans and Furlong 1997, all cited in Furlong and Cartmel 2007).

For emerging adults, employment is related to identity, self-expression and self-fulfilment. Employment is not merely seen as means to earning a living, but forms a pillar on which adult life and identity are built. Many emerging adults work in low-paid, low-prestige jobs while looking for more satisfying work opportunities. However, unfavourable job markets may lead to a clash between their expectations and reality (Arnett, 2004).

Education

The number of young adults staying in education after the age of 16 has grown substantially in recent decades. In the UK, the number of full-time university undergraduates has tripled between 1970 and 2002. In all OECD countries, an average of 82% of all 15-19 year-olds were in full-time education in 2002, and 38% of all 20-24 year olds (Furlong and Carmel, 2007).

Many young adults feel pressured to stay in education longer in order to secure a good job. Most young adults are aware of the importance of education for employment possibilities and life chances (Arnett, 2004). It can be assumed that the best preparation for employment is through formal education and employers increasingly require university education. Young people who aspire to similar occupations as their parents can find that they need higher

qualifications than in previous generations. There are, however, more young people attending university than Western labour markets need and many young adults find themselves in an ambiguous situation of aspiring to achieve high qualifications which do not necessarily lead to better employment opportunities (Cote and Allahar, 1996).

For many emerging adults, higher education is more than a means to qualifications. Choosing between an extensive choice of courses and institutions is part of young adults' identity exploration and personal growth. Moreover, young adults value the social experience of higher education (Arnett, 2004).

The circumstances under which young people participate in further and higher education have become more difficult. Many students, especially those from low-income backgrounds, need to juggle their studies with some form of employment. Many graduates start their work careers with significant debts (Furlong and Carmel, 2007).

Living arrangements and housing

Scottish young adults are less likely to live with their parents in their early twenties than 10 years ago, but more likely to live again with their parents in their mid-twenties and early thirties. In Scotland, young adults in their mid-twenties to early thirties are increasingly dependent on their parents. Young men tend to leave the parental home at a later age than young women. Of Scottish men aged 20-24, 58% live with their parents; of men aged 25-29, the figure is 22%; and of men aged 30-34, it is 9%. Of Scottish women aged 20-24, 40% live with their parents; of women aged 25-29 the figure is 12%; and of women aged 30-34, 4% live with their parents. In their early thirties, those without educational qualifications and people who are economically inactive are most likely to live in the parental home (Scottish Government, 2010, Bynner et al., 2002). In most industrialised countries (with the exception of Japan), women leave the parental home earlier than men (Holdworth and Morgan, 2005).

Economic factors have a key impact on young adults' living arrangements. Low wages, unemployment and tighter housing markets can delay leaving the parental home and forming relationships (Ermisch, 1999). Due to a lack of alternatives, many young adults are forced to live with their parents for longer. They have less control over their home life and adopt more of their parents'

behaviours (Cote and Allahar, 1996). The higher the income of young adults, the more likely they are to leave the parental home and not to return to it (Ermisch, 1999).

Sharing a household for a prolonged time is one of the main ways that parents support young adults, especially in low-income families. An American study on 'boomerang kids' (young adults who move back home after having worked or studied) found that many young people move in and out of their parental home multiple times, suggesting that there is no clear point at which independence is gained (Kaplan, 2008). Family relationships also play a part in parental support: step-children are particularly disadvantaged (Jones, 1995).

Moving to independent housing is especially difficult for young people in rural areas, people with disabilities, young people who are leaving care and gay and lesbian young people. In the UK, young people in rural areas face limited affordable housing. They are likely to leave their parental home earlier than their peers in cities by moving into urban areas, but they remain financially dependent on their parents for longer. Disabled young people are more likely to live with their parents and to rely on parental support for longer. Young people leaving care tend to move to independent households sooner, but face particular difficulties due to a lack of social support. Gay and lesbian young people often leave their parental homes earlier due to disputes about their sexuality. Homelessness is common, and housing services would benefit from considering the needs of non-heterosexual groups (Heath, 2008).

'Solo-living' among younger age groups is increasing in the UK and other Western countries. Men are more likely to live alone than women (Jamieson et al., 2009). Emerging adults who leave the parental home are less likely to do so in order to form a partnership (marriage or cohabitation) and more likely to live alone or in shared flats (Scottish Government, 2010).

Relationships and having children

In Scotland, young people are delaying marriage and having children. Of young people aged 16-24, 94% are single and have never been married. Of 25-34 year olds, 56% are single and 41% are married or in a civil partnership (Scottish Government, 2011). This corresponds with the continuously rising age at marriage, which for men has increased from 30.1 in 1999 to 32.5 in 2009

(National Statistics, 2010), and for women from 28.2 in 1999 to 30.7 in 2009. There has been an increase in the number of opposite sex co-habiting couples from 2.1 million to 2.7 million between 2001 and 2010 (Office for National Statistics, 2011).

Women tend to have their first child later than previous generations. Since 2002, the number of women having their first child aged 30-34 has become higher than at those aged 25-29, and is rising (National Statistics, 2010). Across industrialized countries, people from low-income backgrounds are more likely to have children at an earlier age than those from higher income backgrounds. On average, the gap between a woman entering her first full-time job and having her first child is 7 years in Europe (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007).

Social attitudes towards marriage and relationships have changed over time. In 2001, over half of the adult population thought that cohabitation before marriage was a good idea, and almost half thought that cohabitation would be sufficient to have children. In 2006, 66% thought that in terms of commitment and everyday life, there is little difference between cohabitation and marriage. 69% of people thought that life can be happy and fulfilled without having a partner (Duncan and Phillips, 2008). Young adults have sophisticated value systems and their values do not differ significantly from those of adults (Thomson and Holland, 2004).

Longer transitions to adulthood give young people more chances to experiment with different forms of living. Many young people relish the freedom of young adulthood and the opportunity to explore self-identity (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). While young adults do not follow the same patterns of forming relationships and having children as earlier generations, family background still influences young adults' decision-making over living arrangements and resources (Irwin, 1995).

Leisure activities and life-style

Changes in employment, prolonged education and having children later in life have led to changes in young adults' life-styles over recent decades. Young men and women both have more free time and choices over leisure pursuits (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). However, while young adults from different socio-economic backgrounds share some tastes in leisure pursuits, access remains unequal (Roberts 1994, cited in Furlong and Cartmel, 2007).

Higher unemployment levels for young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds can prevent their access to the life-style associated with emerging adulthood (Henry et al. 1993, cited in Furlong and Cartmel, 2007).

Patterns of communication and social activities have changed. On the one hand, civic engagement through union membership, signing petitions, newspaper readership, voting and political participation has declined (Putnam, 2000). On the other hand, young people use new technologies such as mobile phones, online chat rooms, social networking sites and online gaming as new forms of social engagement (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007).

b) Factors impacting on extended adolescence

Structural factors influence how young people from different backgrounds experience transitions to adulthood. In the following paragraphs, the impacts of socio-economic background, gender, having a disability or being part of an ethnic minority group are outlined.

Socio-economic background

Socio-economic background has a significant impact on young people's transitions to adulthood. There is an increasing polarization between young people from higher socio-economic backgrounds, who stay in education longer, and young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds, who leave school aged 16 and are more likely to experience low paid jobs or unemployment (Jones, 2002, Jones, 2005, Jones, 2009, Henderson et al., 2007, Holland et al., 2007). Young people across different social classes describe their family context similarly in terms of emotional support, but educational expectations are strongly shaped by class and family educational background (Irwin, 2009, Crow et al., 2010). The current recession accentuates social inequalities between young people from different socio-economic backgrounds – young people from less advantaged backgrounds are likely to fare worse in times of economic crisis (Edwards and Weller, 2011).

Youth poverty varies greatly across Europe (being higher in Southern European countries) and within countries. In the UK, poverty rates are much higher among 'younger youth' (16-19) than across 'older youth' (25-29), which

suggests that poverty in young adulthood is closely related to childhood poverty (Aassve et al., 2006, Iacovou and Berthoud, 2001).

Young people from disadvantaged backgrounds tend to experience more disruptive transitions. Young adults find it hard to recover from early difficulties in finding employment (Furlong et al., 2003). Vulnerable young people would benefit from a better coordination of services (Osgood et al., 2010). Good family relationships have a positive impact on young people's life chances (Jones, 2002).

Socio-economic background has an impact on young people's housing and living arrangements. Emerging adults from low-income households are less likely to leave their parental homes for educational reasons. Young people who have experienced poverty are less likely to ever leave their parental homes and more likely to repeatedly return to and leave the family home (De Marco and Cosner Berzin, 2008, Wister et al., 1997). For young people from middle-class backgrounds (who are more likely to benefit from higher education) the transition to adulthood tends to be a longer process. However, due to high practical and financial support they are able to move into independent living arrangements sooner (including student accommodations). On the other hand, young people from working-class backgrounds are more likely to move into a couple-household or have children earlier. They are less likely to go to university, and if they do so they are more likely to live with their parents (Heath, 2008).

Gender

Young men and women have different expectations and anxieties regarding their futures. While nowadays most young people have an individualised outlook of 'can do' on their future, this is often in contrast with the reality of social inequalities in terms of gender, social class and ethnicity (Thomson et al., 2003, Henderson et al., 2007). Many young people would like to marry and have children by the age of 35, but this goal is accompanied by different pressures for men and women: Young women struggle to combine career, economic independence and family. Young men struggle to fulfil their roles as husbands and breadwinners, especially when they rely on a complementary female part (who fulfils the criteria of economic dependence,

unpaid domestic work and motherhood) (Thomson and Holland, 2002, Thomson, 2009).

Young women's expectations on having children are ambivalent. For some it feels like an obligation, whereas for others it is something positive to look forward to. Anxieties include finding an appropriate partner, potential fertility problems and the own suitability to be a parent. Young women are sometimes torn between modern, independent models of motherhood versus traditional, full-time models (Gordon et al., 2005, Thomson et al., 2011). The media contribute to constructing 'good' or 'bad' models of motherhood by stigmatising specific groups of mothers, such as teenage mothers, or mothers 'who leave it too late' (Hadfield et al., 2007). (A similar stigmatisation applies also to different groups of fathers (Neale and Lau Clayton, 2011) Being pregnant at work and returning to work is a specific challenge for mothers, with women working in small and medium enterprises reporting the biggest challenges (Kehily and Thomson, 2011).

Disability

In Scotland, 9% of 16-24 year-olds have a disability, health problem or long-standing illness (Scottish Executive, 2001, cited in Stalker, 2002). Some 5% of people in higher education in Scotland are disabled, though this is generally regarded as an underestimate. Of all young people leaving special schools in Scotland, 45% enter further education, 14% training, 8% employment and less than 1% university. The remaining 32% enter day care centres or no formal provision is provided to them (Stalker, 2002).

For young people with disabilities the transition to adulthood takes longer or is restricted. Social barriers can prevent young people with disabilities from participating in society. These barriers include limited access to employment and a general view (reflected by social work and the benefits system) that young people with disabilities are dependent on their parents. A lack of economic independence can prevent them from reaching domestic independence. Because of these factors, many disabled young people are caught in a permanent transition and retain a teenage identity (Baron et al., 1999). The barriers facing many young people with disabilities means they have no experience of an independent social life and spend most of their time with

family and paid carers. Often they have little or no contact with people of their own age (Morris, 2002).

Young adults with disabilities often face few options on leaving school.

For many young people and their families, obtaining information about opportunities is difficult. In particular, young people from ethnic minority groups with disabilities have limited access to information (Stalker, 2002).

Young people with disabilities would benefit from specialist health care services during the transition to adulthood.

Support from specialist services often stops when young people leave children's services. Young people with special needs are at risk of being moved into segregated institutional accommodation once they reach adulthood (Morris, 1999). Better co-operation between services and professionals would facilitate young people's transition planning (Morris, 2002).

For young people who care for an adult with a disability or long-term condition, transition to adulthood can be difficult.

Young carers are at risk of having restricted education and employment opportunities due to their caring responsibilities, and may delay leaving the family home. Others may leave home prematurely in order to avoid on-going care-giving after reaching a crisis point. Although many young carers mature at an early age due to their responsibilities, this benefit is outweighed by decreased employment, educational and social opportunities (Dearden and Becker, 2000).

Ethnic minorities

There is limited research on the impact of ethnicity on youth transitions and extended adolescence.

More research is needed on differences between ethnic minority groups and on how religion, gender and ethnicity intersect with young people's experiences of emerging adulthood (Cassidy et al., 2006).

Young people from ethnic minority groups in the UK are at higher risk of social exclusion and deprivation than their white peers

(Scottish Executive, 2000). Some evidence suggests that young people from specific minority backgrounds are overrepresented in higher education, but despite equal or higher qualifications they are more likely to experience unemployment and less likely to get job interviews (Modood et al. 1997, cited in Cassidy et al. 2006).

Young adults from ethnic minority groups name different markers in the shift to adulthood. Young Bangladeshi people in Newcastle reported that

leaving home and starting work are not as important markers of adulthood as for white young people, since people in the Bangladeshi community tend to live and work in close proximity with family and friends (Mac an Ghail and Haywood, 2005).

Young people from ethnic minority groups tend to link the development of their identity more strongly to their ethnicity (Phinney, 1990, Cassidy et al., 2005). Many young adults, especially women, can experience internal conflicts if they do not strictly adhere to cultural norms and religious beliefs. Close and extended family are more likely to influence leisure activities and future plans in ethnic minority groups (Heim et al., 2004).

c) The parental perspective

Emerging adulthood impacts on the whole family. Delayed parenthood and emerging adulthood of young people means that many parents face parenting responsibilities into their mid-sixties (Kloep and Hendry, 2010).

Parents define their children's adult status in a complex way. Most parents mark their children's adult status with traditional events, such as having a job, moving out of the family home or having children. Parents also associate social development with adulthood, such as being able to make decisions, taking on responsibilities, handling money and showing concern for others (Kloep and Hendry, 2010).

Parents experience their children's growing independence differently. Most parents are happy to see their children become independent. However, nearly a third of parents show some reluctance in letting their children go, feeling they are losing their parenting role and power to intervene in children's lives. They may experience doubts and feelings of guilt about whether they had been 'good' parents and complain about not knowing much about their adult children's lives (Kloep and Hendry, 2010).

Parents experience the phenomenon of 'boomerang kids' (young people moving back into the parental home) in different ways. Things that help intergenerational living arrangements include children's carrying out household tasks, few hostile arguments, and enjoying shared activities. Many parents enjoy having companionship and being able to establish relationships with their adult children. Things that have a negative impact on shared living

arrangements are disputes over the child's life transitions and lifestyle, a lack of privacy on both sides, the child's messiness, unwillingness to help at home and the child's dependence. Fathers are less happy about their children returning to live at home than mothers. Both mothers and fathers are more satisfied living with their sons than daughters – this could be due to having different expectations of daughters in terms of forming relationships and having children (Mitchell, 1998).

Living with their adult children can impact on the quality of parents' relationships. The reason that children left home in the first place plays a part: relationships between parents are not negatively affected when children return after having left the family home for education or work reasons. However, relationships between parents are negatively affected when children who had left to gain independence return (Mitchell and Gee, 1996).

UK policies over the past two decades have contributed to extending adolescence by shifting responsibilities from the State to the parents. Most social security policies use age as a marker of independence (e.g. reaching age 18), but for many young people transition to adulthood is linked to life events and circumstances and not solely based on age. Parents and carers are now expected to assume responsibility for their children until their mid-twenties, yet this assumption contradicts legislation which can put young people at risk. For example, 16 – 18 year olds are not entitled to social security benefits such as Jobseeker's Allowance in Scotland, but young people over the age of 16 have no legal right to live in their parents' home (Jones and Bell, 2000).

d) Emerging adults' perspective

Many emerging adults express feelings of 'being in-between' adolescence and adulthood. They don't feel they have reached adulthood until their mid-twenties or even later, particularly if they are not completely self-sufficient and still have to rely on their parents (Arnett, 2004). However, a Welsh qualitative study with emerging adults found that some still follow traditional patterns and take on adult roles and responsibilities in their early twenties (Hendry and Kloep, 2010).

Most emerging adults define adulthood in terms of traditional cultural as well as individual qualities. An American study found that age is not a clear

marker for adult transitions for young people: in their twenties, most emerging adults don't define their adult status by age. By the age of 30, 90% describe themselves as adults (Arnett, 2004). For most young adults, adulthood is characterized by autonomy from parents, financial independence and assuming responsibility for themselves and others. A minority of young people view becoming an adult negatively and avoid actions that will lead to greater responsibilities. They perceive responsibilities towards partners or children as limiting their social freedom (Molgat, 2007). In hindsight, most emerging adults talk about their lives in terms of development, characterized by new experiences, challenges and personal development in order to give their lives a sense of coherence (Devadason, 2007).

3. CONCLUSION

This brief report has reviewed the available evidence on extended adolescence in Scotland, the UK and overseas (available in the English language), outlined its type and origin, and commented on some gaps in the evidence. Due to the type of evidence available and variety of sources, it has not been possible to carry out a meta-analysis of studies in this area. The report has highlighted that there is a significant amount of relevant research in the UK and overseas but perspectives on extended adolescence differ. In the UK, there is a need for evidence on how public policies impact on transitions to adulthood. Some key findings from relevant research areas have been summarised, including the changing nature of employment, education, living arrangements, relationships, family formation and life-styles. Extended adolescence from the perspective of parents and young adults' has been briefly outlined.

4. APPENDIX

About Families Evidence Request System

This brief evidence report has been produced by About Families as part of a pilot of an Evidence Request System. It aims to help services supporting parents, including families affected by disability, to develop services that are based on reliable evidence. The pilot of the system is yet to be evaluated at the time of writing this report.

How the research was carried out

Existing evidence was searched for in the following way:

Research standards: To ensure high quality evidence drawn on is either peer-reviewed*, publicly funded or produced by government bodies. Where relevant, grey literature has been drawn on to inform the report and limitations in methodology and robustness of findings are highlighted. The draft report was peer-reviewed.

**peer review is a process used to ensure the quality of academic work through a process of academics with similar expertise reviewing each others' work.*

Key sources searched:

- ASSIA (Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts)
- Barnardo's
- Centre for Research on Families and Relationships
- Family and Parenting Institute
- Google Scholar
- Growing up in Scotland
- Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER), University of Essex
- Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- National Academy for Parenting Research, King's College London
- National Centre for Social Research (NatCen)
- National Institute for Clinical Health and Excellence (NICE)
- Parenting UK
- Scottish Centre for Social Research

- Scottish Government
- The Knowledge Network (NHS)
- The University of Edinburgh Research Archive (ERA)
- UK Government
- Web of Science academic database

Keywords

Searches were conducted using combinations of: extended adolescence, emerging adulthood, transition to adulthood, young people and adulthood, youth transitions, adulescence, kidults, boomerang kids, disability, ethnic minorities, housing, employment, identity, relationships, family formation, education.

This report is based on grey literature from the UK and academic literature from the UK, USA and Canada. Two studies from Australia were identified and a number comparative studies have also been used.

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Other (including comparative) (11)	<p>Aassve, A., Iacovou, M. and Mencarini, L. (2006). Youth poverty and transition to adulthood in Europe. <i>Demographic Research</i>, 15, 21-50.</p> <p>Bell, S. and Lee, C. (2008). Transitions in emerging adulthood and stress among young Australian women. <i>International Journal of Behavioral Medicine</i>, 15, 280-288.</p> <p>Cote, J.E., and Bynner, J.M. (2008). Changes in the Transition to Adulthood in the UK and Canada: the Role of Structure and Agency in Emerging Adulthood. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i>, 11(3), 251-268.</p> <p>Evans, A. (2004). <i>Converging patterns to emerging adulthood? Australia and the US in Comparative perspective</i>. Paper prepared for the Population Association of America 2004 Annual Meeting. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://paa2004.princeton.edu/download.asp?submissionId=42231.</p> <p>European Group for Integrated Social Research (EGRIS) (2001). Misleading Trajectories: Transition Dilemmas of Young Adults in Europe. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> 4(1): 101-118.</p> <p>Gordon, T., Holland, J., Lahelma, E. and Thomson, R. (2005). Imagining Gendered Adulthood. Anxiety, Ambivalence, Avoidance and Anticipation. <i>European Journal of Women's Studies</i>, 12, 83-103.</p> <p>Holdsworth, C. and Morgan, D. (2005). <i>Transitions in Context. Leaving Home, Independence and Adulthood</i>, Maidenhead: Open University Press.</p> <p>Iacovou, M. and Berthoud, R. (2001). <i>Young People's Lives: A Map of Europe</i>. Colchester: University of Essex.</p> <p>Majamaa, K. (2011). Dismissed intergenerational support? New Social Risks and the Economic Welfare of Young Adults. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i>, 14(6), 729-743.</p> <p>Parisi, L. (2008). Leaving Home and the Chances of Being Poor: The Case of Young People in Southern European Countries. <i>Labour</i>, 22, 89-114.</p> <p>Phinney, J. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: a review of research. <i>Psychological Bulletin</i>, 108, 499-514.</p>
Total	73

Table 3: Places of publications (detailed)

Type of publication	
27 academic journal articles	Aassve, A., Iacovou, M. and Mencarini, L. (2006). Youth poverty and transition to adulthood in Europe. <i>Demographic Research</i> , 15, 21-50.

- Baron, S., Riddell, S. and Wilson, A. (1999). The Secret of Eternal Youth: Identity, Risk and Learning Difficulties. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20, 483-499.
- Bell, S. and Lee, C. (2008). Transitions in emerging adulthood and stress among young Australian women. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 15, 280-288.
- Cassidy, C., O'Connor, R., Howe, C. and Warden, D. (2005). Perceived discrimination among ethnic minority young people: the role of psychological variables. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35, 1246-65.
- Cote, J.E., and Bynner, J.M. (2008). Changes in the Transition to Adulthood in the UK and Canada: the Role of Structure and Agency in Emerging Adulthood. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 11(3), 251-268.
- De Marco, A. and Cosner Berzin, S. (2008). The Influence of Family Economic Status on Home-Leaving Patterns During Emerging Adulthood. *Families in Society*, 89, 208-218.
- Devadason, R. (2007). Constructing Coherence? Young Adults' Pursuit of Meaning through Multiple Transitions between Work, Education and Unemployment. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10, 203-221.
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- European Group for Integrated Social Research (EGRIS) (2001). Misleading Trajectories: Transition Dilemmas of Young Adults in Europe. *Journal of Youth Studies* 4(1): 101-118.
- Gordon, T., Holland, J., Lahelma, E. and Thomson, R. (2005). Imagining Gendered Adulthood. Anxiety, Ambivalence, Avoidance and Anticipation. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 12, 83-103.
- Hadfield, L., Rudoie, N. and Sanderson-Mann, J. (2007). Motherhood, choice and the British media: a time to reflect. *Gender and Education*, 19, 255-263.
- Hendry, L. B. and Kloep, M. (2010). How universal is emerging adulthood? An empirical example. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 13, 169-179.
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- Irwin, S. (2009). Family contexts, norms and young people's orientations: researching diversity. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 12, 337-354.
- Jamieson, L., Wasoff, F. and Simpson, R. (2009). Solo-Living, Demographic and Family Change: The Need to Know More About Men. *Sociological Research Online*, 14, 5.
- Kloep, M. and Hendry, L. B. (2010). Letting go or holding on? Parents' perceptions of their relationships with their children during emerging adulthood. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 28, 817-834.
- Majamaa, K. (2011). Dismissed intergenerational support? New Social Risks and the Economic Welfare of Young Adults. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(6), 729-743.
- Mitchell, B. A. (1998). Too Close for Comfort? Parental Assessments of

	<p>"Boomerang Kid" Living Arrangements. <i>The Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers canadiens de sociologie</i>, 23, 21-46.</p> <p>Mitchell, B. A. and Gee, E. M. (1996). "Boomerang Kids" and Midlife Parental Marital Satisfaction. <i>Family Relations</i>, 45, 442-448.</p> <p>Molgat, M. (2007). Do Transitions and Social Structures Matter? How Emerging Adults Define Themselves as Adults. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i>, 10, 495-516.</p> <p>Osgood, D. W., Foster, E. M. and Courtney, M. E. (2010). Vulnerable Populations and the Transition to Adulthood. <i>The Future of Children</i>, 20, 209-229.</p> <p>Parisi, L. (2008). Leaving Home and the Chances of Being Poor: The Case of Young People in Southern European Countries. <i>Labour</i>, 22, 89–114.</p> <p>Phinney, J. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: a review of research. <i>Psychological Bulletin</i>, 108, 499–514.</p> <p>Roberts, S. (2010). Beyond 'NEET' and 'Tidy' Pathways: Considering the 'Missing Middle' of Youth Transition Studies. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i>, 14, 21-39.</p> <p>Thomson, R., Henderson, S. and Holland, J. (2003). Making the Most of What You've Got? Resources, Values and Inequalities in Young Women's Transitions to Adulthood. <i>Educational Review</i>, 55, 33-46.</p> <p>Thomson, R. and Holland, J. (2002). Imagined Adulthood: resources, plans and contradictions. <i>Gender & Education</i>, 14, 337-350.</p> <p>Wister, A., Mitchell, B. A. and Gee, E. M. (1997). Does Money Matter? Parental Income and Living Satisfaction among 'Boomerang' Children during Coresidence. <i>Canadian Studies in Population</i>, 24, 125-145.</p>
<p>11 academic books or book chapters</p>	<p>Arnett, J. J. (2004). <i>Emerging Adulthood. The Winding Road from the Late Teens through the Twenties</i>. New York: Oxford University Press.</p> <p>Cote, J.E., and Allahaar, A.L. (eds.). (1996). <i>Generation On Hold. Coming of Age in the Late Twentieth Century</i>. New York and London: New York University Press.</p> <p>Duncan, S. and Phillips, M. (2008). New families? Tradition and change in modern relationships. In: Park, A., Curtice, J., Thompson, K., Phillips, M., Johnson, M. and Clery, E. (eds.) <i>British Social Attitudes: the 24th Report</i>. London: SAGE.</p> <p>Furlong, A., & Cartmel, F. (2007). <i>Young People and Social Change. New Perspectives</i>. Maidenhead: McGraw Hill/Open University Press.</p> <p>Henderson, S., Holland, J., McGrellis, S., Sharpe, S. and Thomson, R. (2007). <i>Inventing Adulthoods. A biographical approach to Youth Transitions</i>. London: Sage.</p> <p>Holdworth, C. and Morgan, D. (2005). <i>Transitions in Context. Leaving Home, Independence and Adulthood</i>, Maidenhead: Open University Press.</p> <p>Irwin, S. (1995). <i>Rights of Passage: Social Change and the Transition from Youth to Adulthood</i>, London: UCL Press.</p>

	<p>Jones, G. (2009). <i>Youth</i>. Cambridge: Polity Press.</p> <p>Putnam, R. (2000). <i>Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community</i>, New York, Simon and Schuster.</p> <p>Thomson, R. (2009). <i>Unfolding Lives: Youth, Gender and Change</i>, Bristol: The Policy Press.</p> <p>Thomson, R., Kehily, M. J., Hadfield, L. and Sharpe, S. (2011). <i>Making modern mothers</i>, Bristol: The Policy Press.</p>
1 academic conference paper	<p>Evans, A. (2004). <i>Converging patterns to emerging adulthood? Australia and the US in Comparative perspective</i>. Paper prepared for the Population Association of America 2004 Annual Meeting. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://paa2004.princeton.edu/download.asp?submissionId=42231.</p>
4 Scottish government reports	<p>Furlong, A., Cartmel, F., Biggart, A., Sweeting, H. and West, P. (2003). <i>Youth Transitions: Patterns of vulnerability and Processes of Social Inclusion</i>. Scottish Executive. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/47049/0025558.pdf.</p> <p>Howieson, C., Croxford, L. and Howat, N. (2008). <i>Meeting the Needs for Longitudinal Data on Youth Transitions in Scotland - An Options Appraisal</i>. Edinburgh: Scottish Government Social Research. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/241671/0067161.pdf.</p> <p>Scottish Executive.(2000). <i>Excluded Young People Strategy Action: Companion Document to Full Report</i>. Accessed 02/07/2012:: http://www.cjsw.ac.uk/cjsw/publications/6626.PDF.</p> <p>Scottish Government. (2010). <i>Household Formation in Scotland. What Does it Mean for Housing Policy?</i> Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/318342/0101518.pdf.</p>
5 Statistics, out of which 4 Scottish government statistics	<p>National Statistics.(2009). <i>Local Area Labour Markets in Scotland, Statistics from the Annual Population Survey 2008</i>, A National Statistics Publication for Scotland. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/280316/0084451.pdf.</p> <p>National Statistics. (2010). <i>Scotland's Population 2009: The Registrar General's Annual Review of Demographic Trends</i>, 155th Edition, A National Statistics Publication for Scotland. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/files2/stats/annual-review-09/j1201500.htm.</p> <p>Office for National Statistics (2011). <i>Families and households in the UK, 2001 to 2010</i>. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/family-demography/families-and-households/2001-to-2010/index.html.</p> <p>Scottish Government. (2011). <i>Scotland's People. Scottish Household Survey 2009/2010</i>. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/933/0120278.pdf.</p> <p>Scottish School Leavers' Survey. (2011). <i>Scottish School Leavers Survey Datasets Website</i>. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.esds.ac.uk/search/indexSearch.asp?ct=xmlSn&q1=33266.</p>
22 grey literature reports and papers,	<p>Bynner, J. M., Elias, P., McKnight, A., Pan, H., & Pierre, G. (2002). <i>Young people's Changing Routes to Independence</i>. York: Joseph Rowntree</p>

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- Iacovou, M. and Berthoud, R. (2001). *Young People's Lives: A Map of Europe*. Colchester: University of Essex.
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- Kaplan, G. (2008). Boomerang Kids and the Labor Market: Facts About Youths Returning Home. Accessed 02/07/2012: https://files.nyu.edu/gwk210/public/papers/DraftFacts_June10.pdf.
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	<p>http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/Policy%20Conference%20011/paper-3.pdf</p> <p>Mac an Ghail, M., and Haywood, C. (2005). <i>Young Bangladeshi People's Experience of Transition to Adulthood</i>. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/1859352723.pdf.</p> <p>Morris, J. (1999). <i>Transition to adulthood for young disabled people with 'complex health and support needs'</i>. Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/F919.pdf.</p> <p>Morris, J. (2002). <i>Moving into Adulthood. Young Disabled People Moving into Adulthood</i>. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/512.pdf.</p> <p>Morrow, V., and Richards, M. (1996). Young people's transition to adulthood. <i>Joseph Rowntree Foundation Social Policy Research Findings</i>, 98. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/sp98.pdf.</p> <p>Neale, B. & Lau Clayton, C. (2011) <i>Following Young Fathers: the lived experience of teenage parenting over time</i>. Timescapes Policy Briefing Paper 2. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/Policy%20Conference%20011/paper-2.pdf</p> <p>Stalker, K. (2002). <i>Moving Into Adulthood. Young Disabled People Moving into Adulthood in Scotland</i>. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/n42.pdf.</p> <p>Thomson, R. and Holland, J. (2004). Youth Values and Transitions to Adulthood: An empirical investigation. Families and Social Capital ESRC Research Group. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://teaching.mdu.edu.tw/datacos/09420122025A/Youth%20Values%20And%20Transitions.pdf.</p>
3 websites	<p>Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood. <i>Website</i>. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.ssea.org.</p> <p>The Network on Transitions to Adulthood. (2006). <i>About Us</i>. Accessed 02/07/2012: http://www.transad.pop.upenn.edu/about/index.html.</p> <p>Timescapes: an ESRC Qualitative Longitudinal Initiative. University of Leeds, ESRC. Accessed 23/06/2012: http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/</p>
Total	73

Table 4: Types of publication (detailed)

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- Aassve, A., Iacovou, M. and Mencarini, L. (2006). Youth poverty and transition to adulthood in Europe. *Demographic Research*, 15, 21-50.
- Arnett, J. J. (2004). *Emerging adulthood. The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Baron, S., Riddell, S. and Wilson, A. (1999). The secret of eternal youth: identity, risk and learning difficulties. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20, 483-499.
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- Cassidy, C., O'Connor, R., Howe, C. and Warden, D. (2005). Perceived discrimination among ethnic minority young people: the role of psychological variables. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35, 1246-65.
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- Crow, G., Irwin, S., Lyon, D., Morgan-Brett, B. and Winterton, M. (2010). *Young lives and imagined futures: insights from archived data*. Timescapes Working Paper Series No.6. Accessed 02/07/12: http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/secondary_analysis/working%20papers/WP6-final10Oct.pdf.
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