

Multiple trajectories of young Brazilians towards adult life¹

Ana Amélia Camarano*
Juliana Leitão e Mello**
Maria Tereza Pasinato***
Solange Kanso****

Juventud
*...esa desconocida y ansiosa y breve cosa que es la vida*².
Jorge Luis Borges

1. Introduction

In the year 2000, about 34 million Brazilians were 15 to 24 years old. This phase of the life cycle is marked by intense biological and socio-economic transformations. It may be characterized by vulnerabilities or potentialities, depending on their life trajectories.

There are some indications that an important proportion of young Brazilians are undergoing great vulnerabilities, which is bringing about the idea of “the young population crisis.” This is based on some social indicators. For instance, while the young population constituted 19.5% of the Brazilian population in 2002, they were responsible for 47.7% of the total figure of unemployed persons and for 19.6% of the poor population.³ In 2000 among the total number of deaths by homicides, 40% were young Brazilians aged 15-24. As a result, 4% of young males did not reach their 25th birthday.⁴

In parallel and probably as a result of this process, it is believed that this population age group is spending more time in parental homes as dependents. They are experiencing difficulties both in being inserted in the labour market and in stabilizing conjugal relationships. An expressive proportion of single teenage females is choosing to have children as a way of insertion into the adult world.

The young population is generally considered as an agent of social change. On the one hand, their insertion into a world constructed by older generations with more professional experience may be seen as a disadvantageous situation. On the other hand, this may be seen as an

¹ The authors wish to thank Gustavo Costa and Bruno Negreiros for their help in the tabulation of part of the data herein presented. They also thank Melissa de Mattos Pimenta for discussing the paper.

* aac@ipea.gov.br

** juliana@ipea.gov.br

*** mtereza@ipea.gov.br

**** kanso@ipea.gov.br

² Youth, this unknown, anxious and brief matter that is life (authors' translation).

³ Poverty refers to those whose *per capita* family income is lower than that set by the poverty line of Ricardo Paes de Barros.

⁴ See Beltrão, Camarano and Kanso (2004).

advantage as it may bring about changes in social structure. While a proportion of young Brazilians choose to be part of the world of violence, apart from society, others look for new solutions for their transition to adult life, which may bring more positive results. They are important actors in the technological world of today. For instance, nowadays the young population presents higher schooling and has grown up alongside the microelectronics development and the information technology process. Consequently, they were able to adapt to the changes brought about by these processes. The new technologies exclude them from the labour market, but at the same time open new ways for their insertion with the democratization and globalization of knowledge.

This paper analyses the transition to adult life considering as a background the mentioned vulnerabilities and potentialities. It begins by taking into account the traditional way of insertion into adult life that starts with leaving school, followed by entry into the labour market and family building. Family constitution begins with the formation of a new union and the setting of a new household and later by motherhood. The paper illustrates how the traditional pattern is no longer the only way to make the transition to adult life. Also, it is no longer possible to foresee the ages at which these stages will occur. As a result, it reflects how youth is defined and, consequently, has implications on the formulation of public policies for the young population.

The paper is divided into six sections, being the first one this introduction. The second section describes how the issue of youth has appeared in the scholars and public policy agenda. The third one discusses the concept of young population. Based on this, the fourth and the fifth sections analyse the transition to adult life considering the inter-relations among school, work and family. Lastly, some comments about the results are presented.

2. When and how young population became an issue on the agenda of scholars and public policy makers

The literature is rich in studies about Brazilian demographic dynamics. It was commonly found that “the Brazilian population was mostly young.” Nevertheless, giving priority to this specific age group on the agenda of Population Studies is new. Discussions about living conditions of the young population has gained strength since the 1990s and this has had some degree of influence on public policy formulation.

The evaluation of how this issue appears on the Population Studies agenda points to an association between it and the fear of demographic explosion. It was clear in the first studies but it seems to be still on the agenda. The young population has been seen only from the point of view of their reproduction potentialities. The studies focused on their sexuality, nuptiality and fertility. The dramatic fertility decline observed in the last 30 years among Brazilian women aged 20 years plus and this consequent reduction in population growth rate has driven the center of the debate on fertility to women under 20 years.

Other questions addressed in studies about the young population also present a pessimistic and negative view. They are related to the instability of the labour market, the increasing violence in great cities and the rise in prevalence and mortality rates by sexually transmissible diseases, such as HIV.

In Sociology, studies about the young population were strongly influenced by the School of Chicago. They started in the 1920s having as a social background the emergence of gangs and

the increase in the intensity of urban conflicts located in occupied areas by differentiated ethnic groups. As a result, the young population was seen as an agent of social disorder. This characterized the School of Chicago and influenced studies about the young population among social researchers. As put by Zaluar (1997), both criminal activities and possibilities of social mobility for young persons who were kept out of society came together in a scenario of ruptures from traditional values. This was partially stimulated by immigration to urban areas.

In the following decades, new studies seeking to understand criminality kept the negative view of the young population. These studies were severely criticized "for their commitment with positivism that changed persons into objects and their behavior into fatality or determination, making it difficult to understand these persons as full citizens that would actively participate in their own choices and actions, despite of restrictions and pressures from different forces."⁵ Moreover, such studies had never been able to explain why the proportions of poor persons who became criminals were so small, denying the recurrent association between poverty and the rise in criminality (Zaluar, 1997, p. 21).

According to Abramo (1997), this way of looking at the young population is based on functionalist Sociology. In this theoretic framework, youth is understood as a phase of life "where individuals process their integration and become members of society, through the acquisition of appropriate elements of 'culture' and by assuming adult roles."⁶ To a large extent, it is the timing *par excellence* for the maintenance of social cohesion. Functional Sociology appropriates, however, of the imperfections of this process of socialization and transforms youth into a source of risk for social continuity (Abramo, 1997, p. 29).

Also in the media it is possible to find negative points of view regarding the young population. It is common to find associations between the young population and irresponsible persons, prone to marginalization. Castro and Abramovay (2002) observed that the media, in general, has played an important role in divulging the image of young persons, especially black and poor ones, as dangerous to society. This image is shown in the news about violence and drugs, always related to high rates of unemployment among the young population. However, as the authors pointed out, "there are few references about the denial of citizenship, such as the right of playing, of enjoying oneself, of keeping up with things and of constructing their own culture and language" (Castro and Abramovay, 2002, p.20).⁷

According to Ruas (1998, p 3), as the young population is seen as a "social problem" which society has to protect itself from or to help and support, they do not participate in the public policy agenda as "political actors" taking part in the negotiations. Public policies are the result of public interest and reflect demands originated in society, the political system and the relations with international actors and organizations. In Brazil, however, demands for public policies for the young population are precariously designed within a broad scope of policies geared to a wider group.

In sum, one can see that the young population has been seen from a negative point of view, which validates public policies of social control targeted at them. However, for the last 15

⁵ Author's translation.

⁶ Author's translation.

⁷ Authors's translation.

years, this perception has been changing. They are being seen as citizens with Rights. The Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA) promulgated in 1990 inaugurated this phase. It is considered to be the largest commitment of the Brazilian society with children and the young population in search of their citizenship.

3.What does it mean to be a young person?

To understand the images and the meaning of being young may subsidize the elaboration of public policies adjusted to their needs. Images of the young population drawn by the society are generally marked by ambiguity. On one hand, they are seen as agents of social change. On another, as shown above, they are also perceived as social problems, either as "protagonists of a crisis of values and generation conflict," such as the one brought about in the 1960s or associated to "difficulties in the labour market," as has been observed since the 1970s (Sposito, 2003, p. 3). It seems that the privileged novel role of social change has been attributed to young persons. Even so, this can, in turn, be restricted by political, economical or cultural conditions.

Youth is generally considered a transition phase between childhood and adult life. The literature points to a clear threshold between childhood and mature life with intermediary periods that would be adolescence and youth. However, such an approach has been criticized. On the one hand, the young population does not have the status of a child as they are already capable of choosing for themselves part of their life trajectory. On the other, they do not have adult status, as their autonomy in relation to their actions is partial. Consequently, to perceive them only from the point of view of a transitional condition makes it difficult, for example, to see them as citizens with rights. In other words, the young population is defined once again, from the negativistic point of view by what they are not (Sposito, 2000, p.9).

Another criticized dimension is the approach related to the status of stability attributed to adult life. This appears to be the usual condition that the young population expect to attain. Such a vision attributes the character of instability to youth in opposition to stability in adult life without considering that society is always undergoing transformation. In other words, adult life is not sufficiently rigid and static that it cannot sometimes also be come unstable (Vianna, 1997).

Considering youth to be a transitional phase may be useful in order to analyse it as the process of social and economic insertion of the young population that change over time. The consideration here is that this time in the life cycle, choices and decisions are made in the direction of a future with lesser worries. According to Casal, Masjoan and Planas (1988), to regard youth as a transition phase means to consider the concepts of process, transformation, time dimension and Historicity. In this way, it is assumed that the young population is made up of groups of persons with differentiated life trajectories that impact differently on the various ways of being young.

Moreover, the transition process is not straightforward. For instance, it is said that, in general, schooling is not a sufficient condition to get a job and reach a more comfortable position in society. On the other hand, it is also said that schooling is a necessary condition for any one who wishes to have greater possibilities of insertion in the labour market. This condition in the recent past guaranteed social ascension for a great proportion of young Brazilians. Nowadays, the traditional process of transition – to graduate, to enter in the labour market, to leave parental home, to get married and have children – does not necessarily occur in this sequence. The stages of this process can take place later in the life cycle, being marked, as Galland pointed out (2003),

by a "lack of synchronicity" of events. Understanding this transformation can help to analyse how the definition of youth has changed throughout History.

The first difficulty faced in this paper is related to defining the young population. The United Nations General Assembly defined young persons for the first time in 1985 in the International Youth Year. The Assembly defined as young persons those aged 15 to 24 years, without eliminating other definitions applied by Member States. As emphasized by Cepal, this definition is quite appropriate as the boundaries of this age group coincide with important time periods of transition in the life cycle. The lowest boundary considers the age where sexual and reproductive functions are already developed, differentiating adolescents from children. This affects their physical, biological and psychological dynamics. The highest boundary tries to measure the time when individuals generally finish formal education, enter in the labour market and constitute their own families. This characterizes in a simple form the transition to adult life (Vignoli, 2001).

Also, in the literature, the definition of adult persons can readily be found as those from 21 to 60 or 65 years of age. Some authors as Sheehy (2003) point out that this classification is out-dated. Puberty is starting earlier and earlier and adolescence is being extended. For some segments of the population, the better off for instance, adolescence can extend itself until the age of 30. This means that the young population is postponing the time when they leave parental home. In the same way, the end of adult life is also being delayed by the decline in mortality and by improvement in living conditions.

In short, we would like to stress that any definition of the young population is arbitrary. Moreover, it is recognized that the 15-to-24-years age group population is very heterogeneous for at least two reasons. It is a very large age bracket, including people who are 15 as well as those aged 24. People aged 18 or under are more benefited by public policies than the group aged 18 to 24. They are benefited by projects in healthcare, sexuality and professional qualification, which cover most of the adolescence period. On the other hand, the young population that has already finished or is finishing high school and has to make decisions related to their insertion in the labour market are not frequently covered by specific policies.

The internal heterogeneity of this age group grows even wider due to their family's social status, their origin, race and sex. Young persons are individuals whose characteristics reflect their personal uniqueness as well as the opportunities offered by their families, the social context in which they live, therein included public policies. Social contexts enlarge or restrict possibilities for these young persons and define differentiated vulnerabilities.

Youth is considered a vulnerable phase *per se*, as many of their individual characteristics are being formed, which may occur sometimes with conflicts and ruptures. This may enlarge or reduce the vulnerability of these individuals. Nevertheless, this is a phase of the life cycle characterized by the search for definitions. It is common to ask children what they want to be when they grow up. With respect to young people, a definition is demanded as to which future they will have.

Choices in this phase of the life cycle are not necessarily followed by the psychosocial maturity of young persons. In the majority of cases, they do not have enough information and experience to make options that will affect their future. Psychosocial maturity varies according to social and economical conditions. Among the worse off, duties and responsibilities can "precociously" be imposed on young persons, for which they are not necessarily prepared to

undertake. This, in turn, can anticipate proper characteristics of adult life such as insertion in the labour market, the partial or total support of themselves and family constitution. On the other hand, younger persons that are better off can reach the biological definition of adult age without having assumed roles associated to it: insertion in the labour market, financial autonomy and family constitution. In many cases, they prolong the time spent in school and in parental home. It is assumed here that family and State affect the social constitution of young persons, promoting their potentialities or stressing their vulnerabilities.

At certain moments in History, when hostile conditions for human survival predominated, as in the Middle Age or during the great wars, the period of transition to adult life was minimized. This suggests that this process can be reduced or prolonged, depending on the social group and the historical moment.

The Brazilian legislation points to some evidences about the complexity of defining young persons. This can be observed by the numerous age brackets that define the participation of young Brazilians in social life. The Brazilian Constitution of 1988 brought about some advances in recognizing the population rights of young persons but it did not contribute much to a definition of what is meant by being young. In fact, it stressed the ambiguity of the definition of youth as it attributes differentiated age of entry for each dimension of social life.

According to the Constitution, young Brazilians are allowed to start working at the age of 14 as apprentices. Nevertheless, they are entitled to social benefits only after the age of 16. The ambivalent condition of insertion of young persons into the labour market is also observed in government policies. The right to vote is assured to young Brazilians aged 16 years and over; notwithstanding, the obligation to participate in the electoral process occurs later at the age of 18 onwards. This also marks the possibility of running for political office. The Brazilian Civil Code considers that individuals are emancipated at the age of 18. From this age onwards, they are considered “prepared for all acts of civil life.”⁸ Those under 16 years of age are considered incapable of working, according to the law, unless as apprentices. From a legal standpoint, the 16-to-18-age group can also be considered to be undergoing a transition phase. They are already considered apt for some civil acts, such as voting, for example, but continue to be seen as incapable of certain other things. The Civil Code establishes that parents or tutors can emancipate their children between the ages of 16 and 18. Also, these young Brazilians can be emancipated by marriage, by assuming an effective public post or by getting a university degree.

To understand the meaning of being young, it is necessary to analyse other characteristics of individuals that go beyond the socially constructed ideal at each historical period. In this paper, the transitional dimensions to adult life analysed are: school, work and family. The heterogeneity of the social context where such processes take place is also considered. Young persons are seen as those aged 15 to 24 years. In the development of the paper, new age brackets for defining the young population are presented.

4. Differentiated transitions to adult life

The first studies focusing on the transition to adulthood were made in Europe and were based on the labor market crisis of the 1970s. Ever since then, two points of view have been used to analyze transitions to adult life as a process of social and professional participation in society.

⁸ Article 5 of the Civil Code.

According to Casal (1996), the first standpoint refers to the transition from school to work. Young students appear as categories for analysis, which means those looking for their first jobs and young workers as well. Within the European context, this was the focus of the early discussions on the matter, but in the 1980s this was supplanted by the consolidation of a broader perspective that took into account the entire emancipation process of young people.

From this point of view the transition to adult life is not only looked upon as a passage from school to work, but as part of a complex process involving educational background, labour market and familial insertion. It requires considering a system of institutional mechanisms and biographical processes of socialization that interfere in people's lives and lead to the acquisition of social standing (Casal, 1996, p. 124). Nowadays, it seems consensual in the literature that the study of transition to adult life cannot be limited to socio-economic indicators that explain only the school-to-work scenario. Understanding the passage to adult life involves analysing the appearance of new life styles and of various ways of entering adulthood, including new familial arrangements (Pais, 1993).

Based on the points of view of Casal and Pais and incorporating characteristics from the Brazilian situation, this paper analyses several transitional forms to adulthood. It takes into account the interrelations among school, labour market and living arrangements. The position in the household of the young Brazilian is used as an indicator of having left (or not) parental home. It seeks to compare the process of transition of those who left the parental home and those who did not.

4.1. School and Work

When youth is considered as a transitional phase to adult life, school comes out as the principal *locus* of preparation of individuals for this transition. Historically speaking, youth was raised to a social category when the task of preparing children for adult life was shifted from the family to the modern school (Ariès, 1981). Although school objectives and demands have changed over time, it remains one of the major responsible institutions for the insertion of young persons into the adult world. It contributes by motivating the construction of citizenship and preparing individuals for the labour market.

Table 1 presents the profile of young Brazilians as regards their participation in the labour market and school attendance in 1982 and 2002. The analysis of the inter-relations between school and work confirmed three trends observed in previous studies: a continuous increase in schooling, a reduction in the proportion of the young population who only work and an increase in the proportion of those who do not study or work.⁹ Two exceptions were observed: a reduction in the proportion of young females who neither study nor work and among women aged 20 to 24, the proportion of those only working was kept approximately constant.

⁹ Two papers that began this discussion are mentioned here. They used data from the 1981, 1999 and 2001 PNAD and identified these same trends. For instance, see: Camarano et al. (2001; 2003).

TABLE 1

PROPORTION DISTRIBUTION OF YOUNG BRAZILIANS ACCORDING TO THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET
AND FREQUENCY TO SCHOOL BY AGE GROUPS AND SEX
BRAZIL, 1982 AND 2002

	Studying and working		Only working		Only Studying		Neither studying nor working	
	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002
	Male							
15-17	20.6	26.1	41.0	10.8	29.5	55.2	8.9	7.9
18-19	15.2	25.3	59.8	34.7	14.2	25.4	10.8	14.6
20-24	10.1	16.3	76.0	60.3	5.2	9.6	8.7	13.9
15-24	14.7	21.2	60.8	39.6	15.2	27.0	9.3	12.2
	Female							
15-17	11.1	15.7	22.7	5.4	40.5	66.0	25.7	13.0
18-19	11.8	17.6	30.6	20.2	21.0	34.0	36.6	28.2
20-24	8.4	13.7	35.3	35.9	7.6	13.9	48.6	36.4
15-24	10.0	15.1	30.2	23.4	21.3	34.0	38.5	27.5

Source: IBGE/ 1982 and 2002 PNADs.

According to Table 1, the proportion of young males aged 18 to 24 that do not study or work has increased.¹⁰ The largest increase took place among those aged 20 to 24. This occurs despite of the observed increase in schooling obtained by this age group. Table 2 presents the mean age of schooling years according to the same categories displayed in Table 1. One can observe that people classified in all categories experienced gains in this mean from 1982 to 2002. Nevertheless, the magnitude was differentiated.¹¹ The largest gains were obtained by those who only work and by those who do not study or work regardless of gender. In both situations, the young population aged 18 to 19 was the most benefited. The young population who only study acquired the lowest gains in the mean number of years of schooling followed by those who both study and participate in the labour market. The latter had the highest number of years of schooling. The lowest number was found among those who do not study or work.

TABLE 2

MEAN NUMBER OF SCHOOLING YEARS OF YOUNG BRAZILIANS ACCORDING TO THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET
AND FREQUENCY TO SCHOOL BY AGE GROUPS AND SEX
BRAZIL, 1982 AND 2002

	Studying and working		Only working		Only Studying		Neither studying nor working	
	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002
	Male							
15-17	5.1	6.5	3.0	4.9	5.8	6.9	3.3	4.6
18-19	7.0	8.0	4.0	6.9	8.3	8.5	4.6	7.1
20-24	9.5	9.4	4.9	7.3	10.8	9.7	5.2	7.3
15-24	6.9	7.9	4.3	7.0	7.1	7.6	4.4	6.7
	Female							
15-17	5.6	7.4	3.5	5.8	6.0	7.3	3.4	5.5
18-19	8.0	9.1	4.9	8.5	8.2	8.8	4.3	7.3
20-24	10.9	10.6	6.1	9.1	10.6	9.7	4.7	7.1
15-24	8.2	9.2	5.2	8.8	7.2	8.1	4.3	6.9

Source: IBGE/ 1982 and 2002 PNADs.

¹⁰ The increase in the proportion of young males aged 18 and over that neither study nor work is also verified in some developed countries as observed by Camarano et al. (2001).

¹¹ This was also shown in Camarano et al. (2003).

Although gains in schooling of young Brazilians is largely acknowledged, it is also recognized that an important proportion of this population leaves school before getting a degree while others obtain low performance in school. Madeira (1998) points out that throughout the decades, the main explanation for this phenomenon considers two points of view. The first one assumes that abandoning school is a family responsibility as the child's school performance is a consequence of the valuation that the family grants the school. Another point of view associates it to structural aspects of society. In this direction, necessity to work was pointed out as the main explanation for school dropouts. This brings out the close ties between poverty and failure in school. These two points of view had lost strength in the 1980s, when reasons for school failure started to be sought within the school system.

Empirical evidence based on qualitative surveys¹² found that the school is valued by the better off population group as well as by those with lower income. Among the former group the motivation was placed in the enhancement of abilities that allow them to be more prepared for the labour market. On the other hand, the poorer group is aware that a minimum qualification is required for them to get a job. It is possible to assume that situations of extreme need can affect family arrangements in order to guarantee their survival, which can reflect to a certain degree, their valuation of the role of the school. However, as noted by Madeira (1998), the perception of poor families is that school and work are complementary rather than excluding spaces.

Over the last years, some educators have turned their attention to the analysis of internal mechanisms that result in students' dropping out of school, especially those who work. Searching for the ideal student, the school tries to standardize and homogenise differentiated students – in terms of age and scholastic achievement. This brings about a reduction in the self-esteem of students, leading to high rates of failure and dropouts. As mentioned by Madeira (1998, p. 453), the amazing thing is not, therefore, that there are high rates of dropouts, but that there are those "of retention inside of a system that produces and reproduces mechanisms so dampened, either for the child, either for the family."¹³

On the other hand, the process of economic reorganization and the adoption of new technologies are bringing about new challenges for young Brazilians. The new form of production organization is characterized by being less labour intensive and at the same time requiring higher qualification and professional experience on the part of the young population in search of their first job. These factors are obstacles to the insertion of young Brazilians in the labour market, delaying the new families constitution and increasing the time period of their economic dependence on parents.

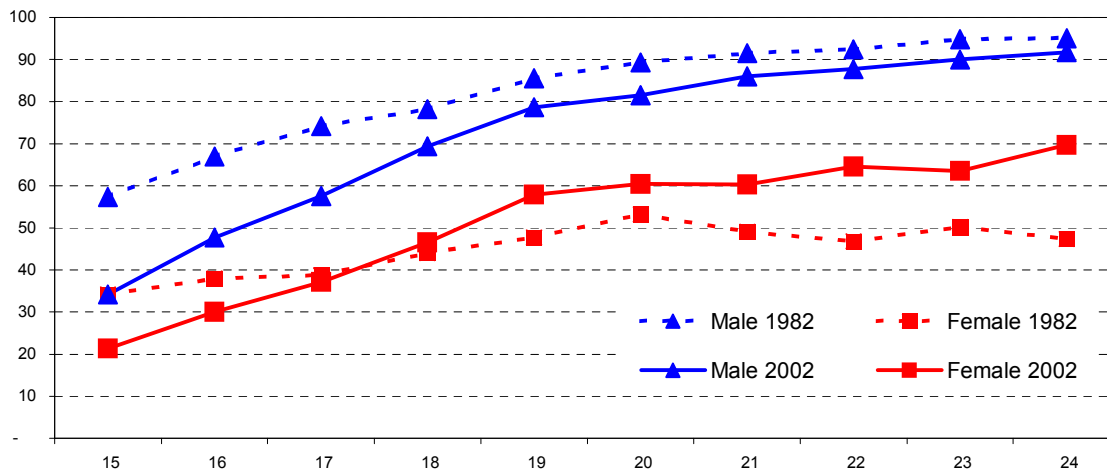
Labour market indicators shown in Figures 1 and 2 point to three phenomena that took place between 1982 and 2002: a reduction in male age specific activity rate; an increase in activity rates of females aged 18 and over and a marked rise in unemployment rates. The Brazilian population of all ages and of both genders experienced an increase in unemployment rates. These rates were higher among females and the young population. In both years under

¹² The research work "Violence in School" coordinated by Míriam Abramovay and Maria das Graças Rua is quoted as an example. It looked for the meaning of school among parents, students and teachers. See Abramovay, Míriam, Rua, Maria das Graças (2002).

¹³ Author's translation.

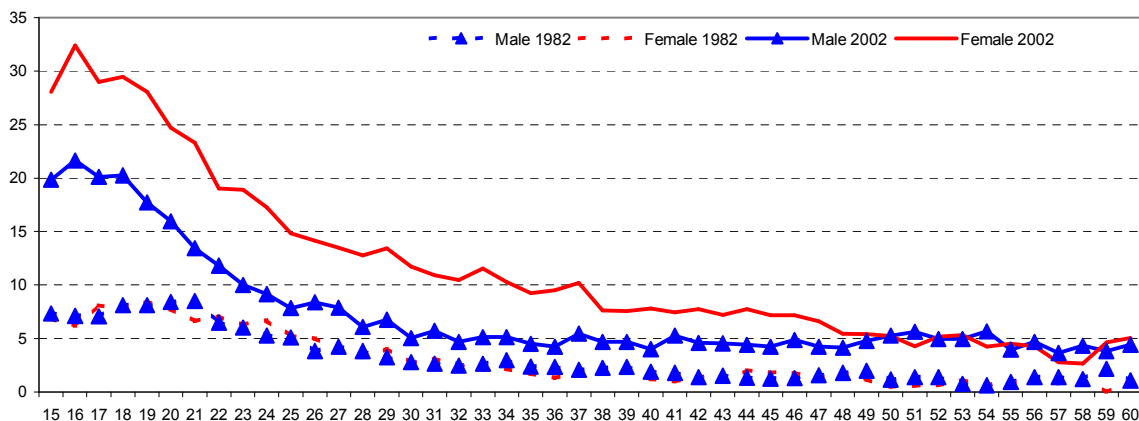
study, the highest unemployment rates were found among the young population. In 2002, they were responsible for 47.7% of total unemployment among Brazilians.¹⁴

FIGURE 1
AGE SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AGE
YOUNG BRAZILIANS



Source: IBGE/1982 and 2002 PNADs.

FIGURE 2
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX
BRAZIL



Source: IBGE/1982 and 2002 PNADs.

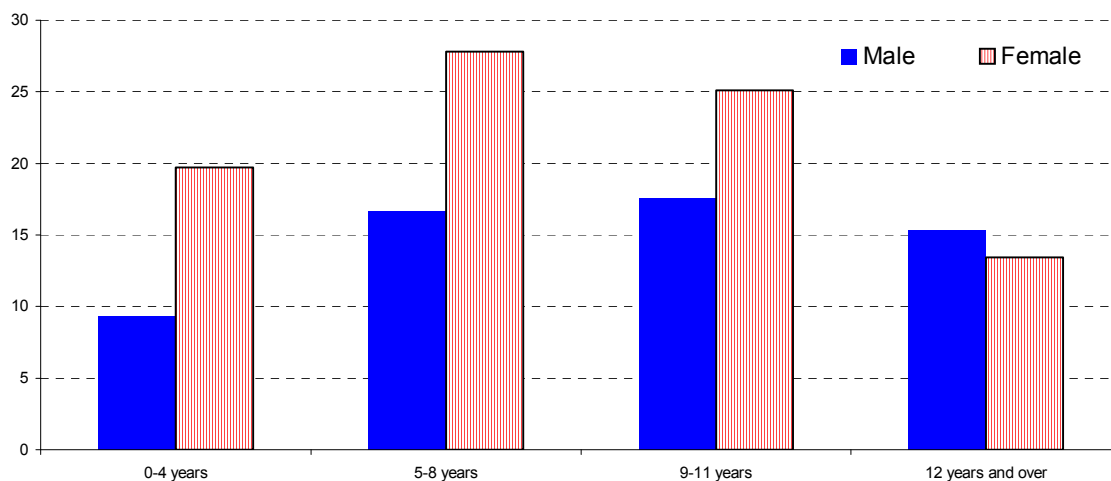
Although Brazilian unemployment rates have increased among all population age groups, the largest increase was observed among the young population. The capability of the labour

¹⁴ Data not shown.

market to incorporate the young population has been limited. Some of these were inactive, which *a priori* cannot be considered as in bad situation, if age and school attendance are to be taken into account. The Economically Active Population includes those who are searching for jobs and considers them unemployed. Approximately 43% of these were still attending school and, probably, living in parental home. Some of those classified as unemployed may have been waiting for a better opportunity in the labour market.

Figure 3 shows that the unemployment rate is higher among those with average schooling or those who had between five to 11 years of schooling. It is possible that the less educated young population is more prone to accept any available job, which may result in less time to search for more adequate jobs. On the other hand, it is probable that those with average schooling are more selective in their job search looking for a labour market insertion more compatible with their schooling.¹⁵

FIGURE 3
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES ACCORDING TO SEX AND MEAN NUMBER OF SCHOLLING YEARS
BRAZIL, 2002



Source: IBGE, 2002 PNAD.

Pais (1991, p 960) considers that for some groups within the young population, entry into the labour market takes place later, which means there is an increase in the gap between the end of schooling and insertion into the labour market. This has been called the extension of the youthful condition and has been explained by “the distance between the school and the labour market and the aversion to work on the part of the young population.” The quoted author does not agree with these points of view arguing that both consider that young people form a homogeneous group. The former point of view "does not take into consideration the

¹⁵ Silva and Kassouf (2002) found empirical evidence that confirms this hypothesis. They found that unemployment rates are higher among the urban population, among females living in the Southeast region with average education, and among the young black population whose position in the household was that of spouse.

differentiated attitudes of young persons in relation to their jobs nor their strategies of insertion into the labour market".

The second one assumes that the mentioned gap between leaving school and getting a job has roots in the difficulties encountered by young persons in adapting to less flexible behaviour, discipline, and to a way of life different from student life. Young persons would not value the traditional ethics of work, moving away from professional satisfaction, showing resignation and dissatisfaction as regards their professional choices. Stressing the heterogeneous character of youth, Pais considers the "thesis of different reactions of young persons in relation to work and unemployment". Among these, it is observed that there is an ideology of individualistic achievements by means of work, based on effort and persistence, while for others, jobs themselves appear as instruments of satisfaction, whereas work ethics is considered with less importance.

The approach developed by Pais stresses the importance of studying the transition to adulthood as a differentiated and heterogeneous process. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Madeira (1998, p 453), one should bear in mind that there are common points among these varying young persons, as for instance the valuation of their condition and the desire for enjoyment. Both points of view might seem contradictory, however. One stresses the differences among members of the young population; the other calls attention to the risk of over valuing these differences. The two points of view are, in truth, complementary and not exclusionary. The second approach focuses on school and strengthens the idea that beyond the socio-economic differences - that expose them to various kinds of vulnerabilities - these young persons "cultivate an identity or a characteristic of youth", which the school should take into account if it expects to keep them.

4.2. Postponement of the timing in leaving parental home

In the traditional model of transition to adult life, to leave home and build a new family are facts that mark the independence of young persons and their entrance into adult status. Such processes are associated to their participation in the labour market, their schooling and conditions in the new household, which can change over time. From the beginning of the 20th Century to the late 1970s, at least in developed societies, it was possible to foresee for the great majority of the population the age at which these events would likely take place (Sheehy, 2003). However, as previously mentioned, the basic premise of this paper is that these processes do not take place in a straightforward way; thus, it is no longer possible to foresee the age at which they will occur.

As a starting point, independence is assumed to be the act of leaving parental home, which can occur when young persons become heads of household, spouses or domestic servants in a household.¹⁶ The proportion of the population aged 15 years and over classified in these three categories was divided by quartiles of age in 1982 and 2002 in order to shed light on the relative timing when this population group would leave the parental home (precociously or delayed). It has also been observed whether (or not) this timing has been affected by individual and/or familial characteristics. Males and females have been analysed separately. See table 3.

¹⁶ It is assumed that domestic servants residing in their master's household had already left parental home and become independent.

TABLE 3
AGE QUANTILES OF LEAVING PARENTAL HOME ACCORDING TO SEX
BRAZIL

	Male				Female			
	Inferior Boundary		Superior Boundary		Inferior Boundary		Superior Boundary	
	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002
1rd quartile	15	15	21.4	21.8	15	15	18.0	18.9
2sd quartile	21.4	21.8	24.1	25.1	18.0	18.9	21.0	22.0
3th quartile	24.1	25.1	27.5	29.0	21.0	22.0	24.4	25.7
4th quartile	27.5	29.0	37.9	39.5	24.4	25.7	31.1	31.9

Source: IBGE/ 1982 and 2002 PNADs.

One can see that in 2002, the superior boundaries were higher than those observed for 1982. This increases with age and is true for both genders. In 1982, the maximum age a male left parental home was about 38. In 2000, the comparable age was 1.5 years later. Females leave the parental home earlier as the largest proportion do so when they become spouses. In 1982, it would occur until approximately the age of 31 and has since been drawn out by one more year. This behaviour was expected. The following question to be addressed is whether this increase can be verified for all quartiles of age, or whether it occurs between those who leave the parental home early and those who delay departing.

In 1982, 25% of young males could be considered independent at the age of 21.4, 50% at 24.1 and 75% at 27.5 years. The 100% total was achieved at 37.9 years of age. Comparing these results with those observed for 2002, one could see that the age at which young males become independent has gone up, especially in the third and last quartiles. Those who left parental home earlier (the first quartile) did so 0.4 years later; those classified in the second quartile postponed leaving by one year and the others left parental home about 1.6 years later. It seems that the later the home leaving occurred in 1982, the longer was the postponement.

Table 3 points to less marked changes in timing when young males located in the first quartile left the parental home between 1982 and 2002, if this is measured by the superior boundary. Nevertheless, the distribution of the proportion of these young males classified as heads of household has changed. Figures 4 and 5 indicate a shift in the position of the heads of household's age towards a superior age boundary. It can also be noted that there was a reduction in the amplitude of the distribution. The standard deviation of this distribution was 1.51 years in 1982 and declined to 1.01 in 2002. Table 4 shows that the values of these measures for the other quartiles diminished as age increased pointing to higher homogeneity in the distribution. They also show lower values in 1982 compared to 2002.¹⁷

¹⁷ There is one exception that is observed in the third quartile.

FIGURE 4
PROPORTION OF YOUNG MALES THAT WERE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD IN THE FIRST QUARTLE
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AGE
BRAZIL, 1982

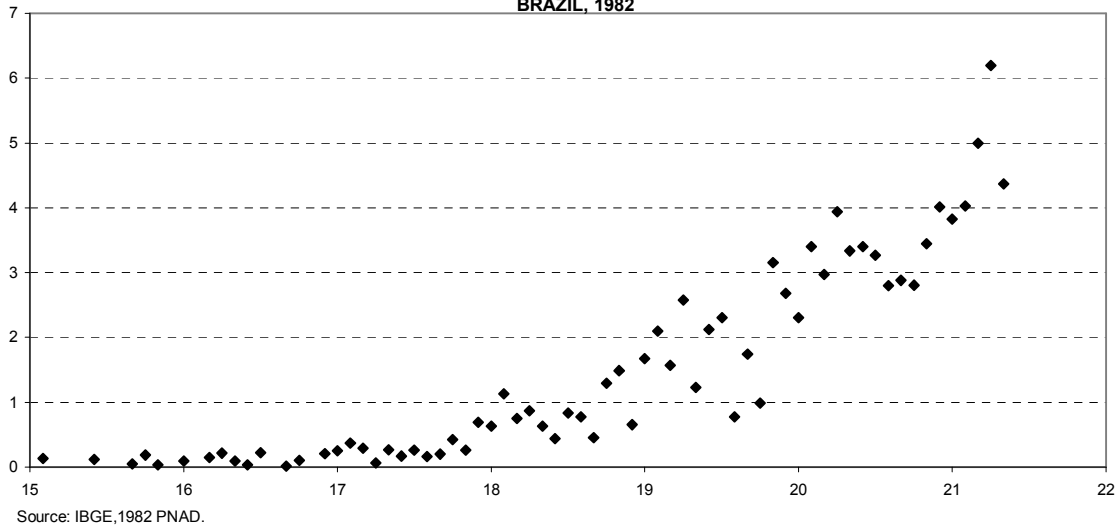


FIGURE 5
PROPORTION OF YOUNG MALES THAT WERE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, OF THE FIRST QUARTLE
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AGE
BRAZIL, 2002

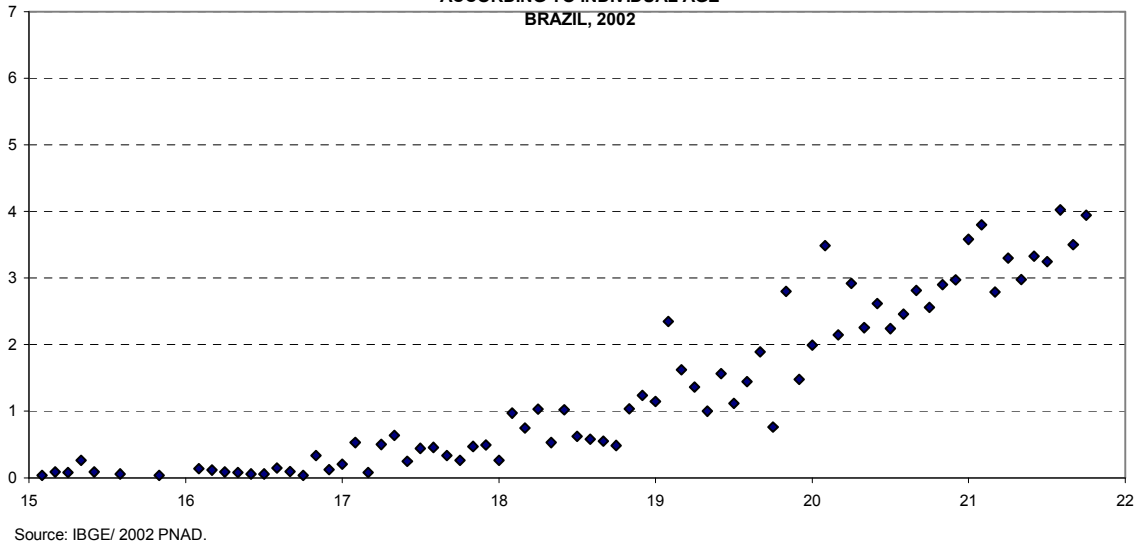


TABLE 4
STANDARD DEVIATION OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROPORTIONS OF YOUNG PERSONS
CLASSIFIED AS HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, SPOUSES OR DOMESTIC SERVANTS
ACCORDING TO AGE QUARTILE AND SEX
BRAZIL, 1982 AND 2002

	Male		Female	
	1982	2002	1982	2002
1st quartile	1.51	1.00	1.67	1.37
2nd quartile	0.88	0.57	0.76	0.75
3th quartile	0.34	0.45	0.40	0.36
4th quartile	0.11	0.11	0.12	0.15

Source: IBGE, 1982 and 2002 PNADs.

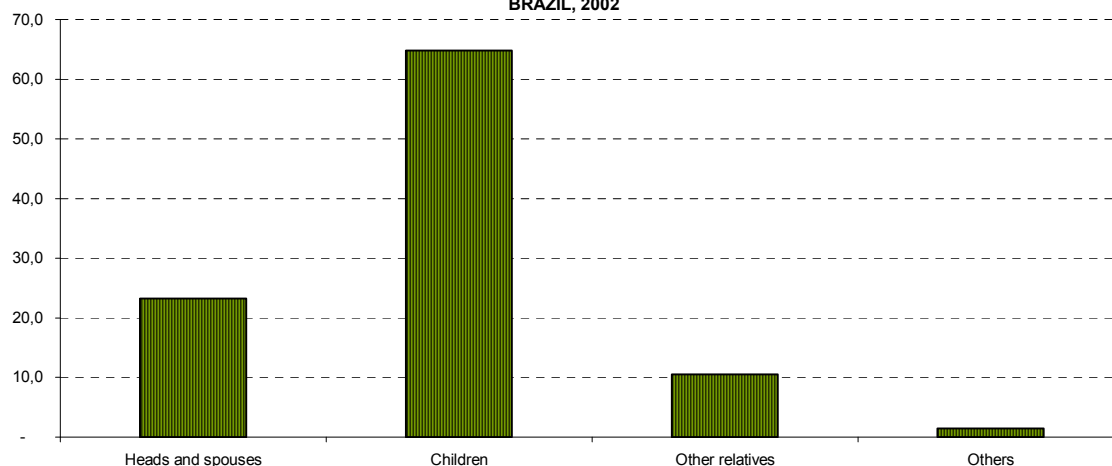
The transition of young females to adulthood is different from that of males. In both years under study, this took place three years earlier (see table 3). This is associated to the fact that women marry men older than themselves. It is also observed in table 4 that also among young females, the standard deviation of the distribution of those classified as heads of household, spouses or domestic servants by age diminished as age increased. These measures also presented lower values in 1982 compared to 2002 except for the fourth quartile. It is probable that the highest value observed for the standard deviation of the first quartile is affected by the arbitrary choice of the inferior boundary, 15 years.

It seems that new transition models have been taking place among young females reflecting their timing on leaving parental home. In 1982, they left home when they got married and became spouses. New social roles emerged, however, during the 20-years period under study. There was an increase in the proportion of young females heading households and of young males classified as spouses. In 1982, about 91% of the young heads of household were males and 9% were females. In 2002, 81% were males and 19% e females.

It is stressed here that we are focusing on a small group of young persons who left parental home. Considering the total young population until the third quartile,¹⁸ one can see in Figure 6 that 23.3% were classified as heads of household or spouses. The largest proportion (64.8%) was composed of offspring of the head of household and 10.5% were “other relatives.”

¹⁸ This age bracket ranges from 15 to 29 years of age among males and from 15 to 27.5 among females.

FIGURE 6
DISTRIBUTION OF THE YOUNG POPULATION UNTIL THE 3TH AGE QUARTILE ACCORDING TO THEIR
POSITION IN THE HOUSEHOLD
BRAZIL, 2002



Source: IBGE, 2002 PNAD.

* FOR MALE UNTIL 29 YEARS AND FEMALE UNTIL 25,7 YEARS.

Seeking to analyse the differentiated transitions to adulthood, young persons classified as heads of household or spouses were compared to young individuals that were in the position of offspring or other relatives. The aim was to understand certain conditions that affected the choices being made by young persons, assuming that the transitions they underwent might be different from those made in the past. The analysis was made considering the age bracket set by the inferior boundary of the first quartile and the superior boundary of the third quartile in 2002. The considered categories were: male heads of household, female heads of household, female spouses, male offspring and female offspring.¹⁹

The profile of young persons who left parental home is quite different from those who were still living with their parents as expected. The increase in schooling and difficulties in participating in the labour market seem to have affected the transition into adulthood for those who were living with parents. According to table 5, young persons who had not left parental home presented a higher rate of school attendance and higher schooling than those who had left. The difference in these proportions increases with age, being higher among young persons classified in the third quartile. The only exception was found among older female heads of household who presented a higher percentage of school attendance than male offspring. This seems to have led to higher schooling for this group. Females classified as offspring were those who showed the highest percentage of school attendance and the highest schooling as compared to the remaining groups. Age appears to be an important determinant of school attendance and of young persons' schooling regardless of their position in the household.

¹⁹It is considered in a single category are: offspring, and other relatives. The latter comprises grandchildren, nieces, etc.

TABLE 5

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUNG BRAZILIANS ACCORDING TO AGE QUANTILES AND HOUSEHOLD CONDITION *

	% attending school	Mean Number os Schooling Years	% Inactive	% working	% unemployed	Average income (in R\$)	% Contribution of income to family budget
First Quartile							
Male heads	16.2	6.4	5.7	87.7	6.6	321.2	80.9
Female heads	40.1	6.7	51.0	37.5	—	183.0	74.5
Female spouses	18.7	5.9	70.7	20.1	9.2	35.0	0.0
Male offspring	62.8	7.1	38.2	50.0	11.9	111.3	15.9
Female offspring	81.5	7.4	66.7	23.2	10.1	38.3	5.1
Second Quartile							
Male heads	9.4	6.8	2.5	93.3	4.2	453.2	52.7
Female heads	31.6	8.4	27.9	57.5	14.6	333.8	67.3
Female spouses	12.3	6.8	56.4	32.3	11.3	83.6	3.5
Male offspring	20.5	8.2	13.7	75.1	11.2	288.5	21.8
Female offspring	41.2	9.2	37.2	46.2	16.6	132.7	10.6
Third Quartile							
Male heads	8.3	6.9	2.5	93.2	4.4	552.1	62.4
Female heads	20.8	8.4	22.4	64.9	12.7	415.4	21.0
Female spouses	10.9	7.3	48.5	42.5	9.0	140.9	19.9
Male offspring	15.9	8.1	11.9	78.2	10.0	398.1	36.0
Female offspring	30.2	9.8	27.4	58.8	13.7	227.8	18.3

Source: IBGE/ 2002 PNAD.

_ Not significant statistically

* The category offspring includes children and other relatives (grand children, nephews, etc)

The participation of young persons in the labour market is associated to their position in the household and is strongly affected by gender. For example, inactivity rate is low only among young males heads of households located in the first age quartil. In this situation, they were found 5.7% of them in 2002. On the other hand, it is very high among female spouses (70.7%), children (33.3%) and female offsprings (66.7%). Among male offspring, 30.2% were not in the labour market, a much lower proportion than the comparable one for female offsprings. These differences in participation in the labour market seem to be more related to gender inequalities than to the position in the household. Women are, in general, more vulnerable to unemployment, especially the spouses regardless of income quartiles. Most of male household heads were employed followed by male offspring and female heads (see table 5).

The measure of leaving parental home herein presented refers to a synthetic cohort. It is, therefore, not possible to know under which conditions these persons actually carried through their transition to adulthood. The available information about such characteristics refers to the current situation, though they could have left home a long time in the past. However, it can be concluded that those who did so at earlier or younger ages were exposed to more vulnerable economic conditions. Thus it appears as one of the determinant factors in a person's income, as already pointed out in the life cycle theory. Individual average income grew with age and was always higher among those who had left the parental home than among those who were classified as offspring. See table 5.

Young male heads of household perceived higher income than male offspring regardless of their age, but these differences were reduced as age increased. It was also observed that age reduced differences in the proportion of those who attended school, were engaged in the labour market or were unemployed according to their position in the household. On the other hand, the differences in the mean number of schooling years increased with age being those in the offspring category the most highly educated. In sum, among young individuals, those who stayed in

parental home had a higher proportion of school attendance, participated less in the labour market and perceived lower income than the young heads of household.

It is quite straightforward to think that those who did not make the transition to adulthood by leaving their parental home did not do so because they did not have a job or enough income. Nevertheless, the observed reduction in the mentioned variables lead us to think that some of those chosen did not undergo the traditional transition. For instance, considering young males located in the third quartile, only 12% attended school and 12% were not in the labour market. Their schooling, measured by the mean number of schooling years, was higher than the male heads of household located in the same quartile. Also, their average income was only 28% lower. Among young males located in the first quartile, the difference between the mean income of heads and that of offspring was 65%. The average income of male offspring located in the third quartile was higher than that of the young heads of household located in the first quartile. Here we address the question of what sort of dependence young males located in the third quartile had to remain in parental home. Their relationship with school and the labour market does not seem much different from that of young heads of household located in the first quartile. Moreover, their contribution to family income was quite important. Male offspring of the third quartile contributed with approximately 36% of family income, while male heads contributed with 62.4%.

These results suggest that economic independence is not a sufficient condition for the transition to adult life. It should be taken into consideration that “intermediate ways of life do not necessarily result in a relation of unilateral dependence and also do not represent, necessarily, a choice”²⁰ (Pimenta, 2004, p. 18). Living with parents can reveal a relation of dependence in two directions: from children to parents and also from parents to children. In the latter situation, the dependence can be financial and affectionate.

Two questions are addressed here. Has adult life been disassociated from leaving parental home? If so, we can speculated with regard to a possible refusal in granting adult status to young males and females who remain in parental home but are engaged in the labour market and have a level of income similar to those who head families and who also contribut substantially to family income.

5. How has the transition to adult life been achieved?

Considering school, work and family, a typology emerges of modalities of transition to adult life. The starting point is the traditional transition model, which takes into account exodus from school, participation in the labour market, departure from parental home and the formation of a new family. The aim is to stress the heterogeneous character that transition to adult life can assume, pointing to the multiplicity of stages and forms that characterize it today.

5.1. Those who left parental home

In this section, we consider the age group defined by the inferior boundary of the first age quartile and the superior one of the third quartile in 1982 and 2002.²¹ For 1982, the considered

²⁰ Author’s translation.

²¹ Data shown in Table 3.

age brackets are: 15 to 27.5 years for males and 15 to 24.4 for females and for 2002, 15 to 29 and 15 to 25.7 for males and females, respectively. The proportion of household heads according to the presence of spouses, children, school attendance and participation in the labour market was calculated for each age quartile and sex and for both years under study. They were utilized for classifying five modalities of transitions: a) Traditional, b) Prolonged Schooling, c) Partial, d) Emergent and e) Not Defined. Each one varies according to sex, year and the analysed categories.

The Traditional Modality is characterized by young persons heading families or being spouses with or without spouses or children, the end of studies and the participation in the labour market. This appears as the main form of transition to adulthood for male heads and female spouses in both years. Although this kept being the most important form of transition, it decreased over the last 20 years due to the emergence of new forms of living arrangements. See table 6. About 87% of males who had undergone the transition in 2002 were classified as being in this modality. The comparable proportion for 1982 was 91.4%. In 2002, 17.2% of males aged 15 to 29 had undergone a traditional transition. The comparable proportion for the other modalities was 2.6%.

TABLE 6
PROPORTION OF YOUNG BRAZILIANS WHO DID THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD
ACCORDING TO THE POSITION IN THE HOUSEHOLD AND KIND OF TRANSITION
BRAZIL, 1982 AND 2002

	Traditional		Prolonged Schooling		Partial		Emergent		Not Defined		Total
	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002	
Male heads	91.4	86.8	4.1	6.5	1.7	2.1	_	0.3	2.8	4.2	100.0
Female spouses	94.1	89.3	5.9	10.7			_				100.0
Female heads	_	11.9	_	2.7	68.0	35.0	32.0	36.2	_	14.2	100.0

Source: IBGE/ 1982 and 2002 PNADs.

_ Not significant statistically

The proportion of young males who headed households, lived with spouses, were engaged in the labour market but were still attending school were classified as having undergone the Prolonged Schooling Modality. They can also have had children living with them or not. In 1982, 4.1% of young males were found to be in this situation. In 2002, this percentage went up to 6.5%. This is a new modality that is adjusted to the requirements of the labour market. These young persons were increasing their qualification by means of education. To conclude, this modality seems to be more related to changes in the labour market.

The emergent modality represents another new form of transition to adulthood and is characterized by the absence of the spouse and the presence of children in the household. Such a transition modality is characterized by changes in living arrangements. Although the observed proportions for 2002 are statistically significant, they are not so marked. It represents only 0.3% of the male heads of household who work, varying according to school attendance. The values calculated for 1982 are not statistically significant, characterizing this as a new process. This low value may point to a kind of living arrangement where children in the absence of parental union live with their mothers and, also, to the young age of parents.

In 2002, about 2.0% of males aged 15 to 29 who had left parental homes were classified as having undergone the Partial Transition Modality. These were young males without spouses and children who were attending school and participating in the labour market. The highest proportion of young persons who did so was found among those aged 15 to 22. It is possible that this group can yet go through a traditional living arrangement. Table 6 shows that the mentioned proportion has not changed over last the 20 years.

The last modality considered herein is called Not Definite Transition. This includes male heads of households with or without spouses aged 15 to 29 who did not study or work. The proportion of male heads of households who went through this kind of transition was 2.8% in 1982 and 4.2% in 2002. Little can be said about this group at this stage of the study. It is not possible to say whether they were undergoing a situation of economic vulnerability or whether they are dependent on family financial support.

Also among females aged 15 to 25.7 years who had made the transition to adult life as spouses, the traditional modality is the most important. They were female spouses who did not study, were or not participating in the labour market and had or did not have children. In 1982, the proportion of females who did so was 94.1%. This was reduced to 89.3% in 2002. Some of the spouses opted to continue attending school even after having constituted their own families. Being so, they were classified as experiencing the Prolonged Schooling Modality. The proportion of spouses who did so was 5.9% in 1982 and 10.7% in 2002.

A new pattern of living arrangements has been emerging: families headed by females. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, they were a minority in the total of heads of household. In general, they head families in the absence of husbands. Such fact is reinforced by the increase in the proportion of females who underwent these three modalities of transition in 2002. About 12% went to the traditional modality, which in somehow may be considered as a new way of transition as females were heading households with the presence of spouses. Approximately 3% went through the Prolonged Schooling Modality and 14.2% through the Not Definite Transition. The latter is much higher among female heads than among male heads, which can be related to separation and divorce and to receiving some social benefits or alimony.

New forms were also found among females who underwent the transition as, for example, the Emergent Modality. They were women heads of households without spouses, who worked, attended school and had or did not have children. They constituted 36.2% of women who underwent the transition in 2002. They might also be separated or divorced women who were responsible for their children (if mothers), characterizing a traditional way of transition or this might be a new arrangement, where they choose to have and care for children in a new form of relationship. On the other hand, the proportion of female heads who went through the Partial Transition Modality has dramatically diminished from 68% in 1982 to 23.5% in 2002. This can be associated, among other factors, to the increase in the proportion of females who experienced other modalities of transition.

5.2. Do those who do not leave parental home become adults?

As previously mentioned, in the traditional transition model, the phases follow a straight sequence that begins with leaving school, getting a job, leaving parental home and experiencing the birth of the first child,. It culminates in the total independence of parental family. Besides

reducing the period of youth to a transitory period without an identity, as stressed before, such a model underestimates the diversity of styles of being young and the ways of emerging into adulthood (Pimenta, 2004).

It is important to recognize, too, that becoming an adult does not depend merely on passing through certain phases of life. It is also important that the young person perceive himself (or herself) as an adult.²² Both conditions are social constructs that depend on the meaning that is given to them in both cultural and national contexts. Likewise, being an adult is also “the self-identity constructed in the transition process” (Pimenta, 2004, p.19).

In this respect, the perception of multiple ways leading to adult life has been a recurrent theme in the literature over the last ten years. One recognizes that leaving home or becoming head/spouse of the household does not always mean one is an adult. There is the need to go deeper in the study of people – young or otherwise – who failed to leave or who returned to parental home.

Considering the possibilities of transition of young people who did not leave home into adult life, age appears as a preponderant factor. Many of the very young persons may be undergoing the minimum requisites for a traditional transition to adult life. Being so, it is reasonable to assume that a youngster at the age of 16 would still be living with his or her parents, without it being perceived as a delay in their autonomy and transition to adulthood. On the other hand, the same understanding can not usually be applied for the 24 year olds. Nonetheless, it is increasing the proportion of youngsters that remain in parental home, especially in certain income groups, forming their own families or delaying insertion into the labour market by increasing their schooling, among other factors. The question addressed is which transition these young people are going through if, for example, they are over 24 at the time.

According to the usual definition of young person, these would no longer be considered youngsters, since the higher age boundary is exactly that of 24. Even so, not being inserted in the labour market, not having formed his/her family can be indicative of important alterations both in the juvenile and in the adult *status*. One might ask, therefore, what kind of young person is this who does not leave parental home or what kind of adult person is this who choose opts or is led to choose to pass on to adulthood under new conditions, as for example, building a family, having children while living with parents or grandparents.

Such questions lead us to perceive the transition processes into adulthood as non-linear and reversible ones. The data used in this study show one moment in the life of these youngsters, regardless of the direction their paths into adulthood may have taken or will have. One can, however, suppose that some of these young people that leave their homes under precarious conditions of insertion into adult life, be it in the labour market, be it in new living arrangements, may return to parents or grandparents homes. This makes transition be a non-linear and irreversible process.

Speaking on the Portuguese experience, Pais (1995) highlights the ambiguity of the transition process into adult life by quoting the “principle of reversibility,” a characteristic of the 1990s generation, often called the “yo-yo generation.” Pais argues that the traditional phases of transition are reversible, it no longer being possible to make the distinction between student/non-

²² Such an approach is beyond the aim of this work due to the nature of the information that would necessarily be required. Nonetheless, it is an important consideration for further investigation of the transition into adult life.

student, worker/non-worker, single/married. Such distinctions have made way for a multiplicity of intermediary and reversible stages. Leaving parental home, or home of origin, does not necessarily coincide with conclusion of studies. One can gain professional experience while still studying or even marry without having found a job (Pais, 1995, p. 203).

Aimed at characterizing young persons who were in the condition of offsprings or other relatives of the household head and identify under what forms they were undergoing the transition into adult life, they were classified according to the possible combinations of variables of school attendance, occupation and number of children they had had²³ by age quartile and sex in 1982 and 2002. This looks to get some insights about time period changes that occurred in the situation of young people that remained in the condition of offspring or other relatives. Five transition modalities were identified, herein described as: a) Traditional; b) Prolonged Schooling; c) Partial; d) Indefinite and e) Precocious. The age intervals used were the same as those of young people who had undergone the transition by leaving parental home. These are: for males in 1982, it was considered the 15 to 27.6 year and for females, the 15 to 24.4 years. For 2002, the 15 to 29.0 year interval is considered for males and the 15 to 25.7 year interval for females.

Considering the young people who have not left parental home, one notes that the great majority does not study but work, though the proportion has decreased from 1982 to 2002. This decline was more marked among women. This modality was called Partial as they left school and joined the labour market, but continued living with their parents. The proportion of young non-student males that work and live as offsprings decreased from 68.5% to 54.1% over the last 20 years. Among young non-student females, the proportion that work decreased from 62.5% in 1982 to 31.5% in 2002. This group may be seeking a transition strategy into adulthood by leaving parental home. See table 7.

TABLE 7
PROPORTION OF YOUNG BRAZILIANS WHO DID THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD AS OFFSPRINGS OR OTHER RELATIVES
ACCORDING THE KIND OF TRANSITION
BRAZIL, 1982 AND 2002

	Traditional		Prolonged Schooling		Partial		Not Defined		Precocoe
	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002	1982	2002	2002
Male offspring	1.8	7.8	22.7	29.7	68.5	54.1	7.0	8.4	
Female offspring	2.3	11.3	28.7	32.2	62.5	31.5	6.4	9.0	16.0

Source: IBGE/ 1982 and 2002 PNADs.

* The category offspring includes children and other relatives (grand children, nephews, etc)

The Prolonged Schooling Modality is the second most important modality both among men and women and is increasing over the studied time. It is made up of young people who study and work. Among male offspring, this percentage has increased from 22.7% in 1982 to 29.7% in 2002, confirming the rising tendency in schooling of young Brazilians already seen in the transition for those who became heads/spouses in households. Among young males found in this modality, the greater part is made up of those in the first age quartile in 1982 and 2002.

The Traditional Modality includes those who did not leave parental home but were studying and not working. The proportion of offsprings who were studying and were not working

²³ This variable only pertained to females.

has grown in relation to 1982, being more noticeable among males of the first quartile and much less noticeable from then on. This means that, among male offspring that study but do not work, 89% were between 15 and 21.8 years of age in 2002. Male offsprings who were neither studying nor working are included in the Indefinite Transition Modality. They made up 7% of the total of offsprings and other relatives in 1982 and 8.4% in 2002. This proportion also decreased with age.

Among females in the condition of offsprings or other relatives, one can see an important alteration. In 1982, the Partial Modality predominated. In 2002, the most expressive one was the Prolonged Schooling Modality. This absorbed 32.2% of young female offsprings or other relatives. In 1982, the comparable proportion was 28.7%. This fact may be related to the inclusion in 2002 of women who had already had children.²⁴ In the modality classified as Precocious Transition, 16% of females in the condition of children or other relatives had already borne children in 2002. Thus they went through the last phase of the family building process, according to the traditional transition model but they did not constitute their own household.

The proportion of females in the Traditional Modality – studying and not working – was higher than that of males and has also increased over the last 20 years. The proportion of female offspring that neither work nor study, classidied as being into the Indefinite Modality, has also undergone marked increase over the time period; from 2.3% of total women in the condition of offspring or other relatives in 1982 to 11.3% in 2002.

6. Final Remarks

This study discussed the definition of young person studying the transition to adulthood, characterizing the situation of youngsters that do so by leaving home and of those who remain there as offspring or other relatives. They were identified some of the transition modalities that differentiate them at the studied timing.

On analysing some of the modalities in which the transition was made by leaving parental home, one could observe a prevalence of the traditional model. This included those who become heads of households, with or without spouses, left school, were working, with or without children living in the household. Nonetheless, new modalities seem to be emerging, characterized by prolonging the stay in school among household heads and by new forms of living arrangements, such as those headed by females.

It was noted that increased schooling and difficulties in the participation in the labour market have an important impact on retarding departure from parental home. From the total of young people, about 75% were in the condition of offspring and other relatives.²⁵ Thus it is raised the hypothesis that transition to adult life may be taking place even inside parental home. Among youngsters in the condition of offspring and other relatives, the Partial Transition Modality stood out, since these young persons are characterized by having left school, joined the labour market and be still living with their parents. It is possible that this group is working on a transition strategy into adult life by also leaving home in the traditional fashion.

²⁴ This information was only systematically included in PNADs (Brazilian National Household Survey) from 1992 onwards.

²⁵ For males, the age interval was 5 to 29 years of age and for females, 15 to 25.7.

Another hypothesis raised is that economic “independence” may not occur as the only and sufficient condition for a transition into adult life. Such hypothesis may be reinforced by observing similar socio-economic characteristics among older youngsters that did not leave home and younger heads of household as regards schooling and labour market. The former had more schooling than the others, as well as greater income, which enabled them to contribute with approximately 36% of household income. It should be stressed, however, that living with parents could reveal a two-way dependency relationship: from children to their parents and *vice-versa*. In the latter case, dependency could be both of a financial nature, as young people may contribute sizeable quantities to the household budget, and of emotional and affectionate nature.

The results of this study emphasize the multiplicity of situations in which the transition to adult life may occur. It is suggested that these processes may be marked by non-linear life course trajectories: children may come ahead of marriage, marriage ahead of insertion in the labour market, and so on. Concomitantly, transition may occur within new familial arrangements that do not necessarily entail leaving parental home. The study cannot conclude, due to the availability of data, whether these processes are or are not reversible in time. One assumes, however, all stages of the transition process experience possibility of reversion. Hence, the young person of today can become more susceptible to situations that involve entering and leaving conditions of heads/spouses and children/other relatives.

7. Bibliography

- ARIÈS, Philippe. **História Social da Criança e da Família**. Second edition, Rio de Janeiro, edited by LTC, 1981.
- ABRAMO, Helena. Considerações sobre a tematização social da juventude no Brasil. **Revista Brasileira de Educação**, São Paulo, n. 5 e 6 , pp 25-36, 1997. Special Issue.
- CAMARANO, Ana Amélia, PASINATO, Maria Tereza, KANSO, Solange, VIANNA, Caroline. Transição para a vida adulta: novos ou velhos desafios? **Boletim Mercado de Trabalho: Conjuntura e Análise**, Rio de Janeiro, edited by IPEA, n. 21, pp 54-66, February, 2003
- CAMARANO, Ana Amélia, PASINATO, Maria Tereza, ARRUDA, Marcela Rocha, LOVISOLO, Nicolas Emílio. Os jovens brasileiros no Mercado de Trabalho. **Boletim Mercado de Trabalho: Conjuntura e Análise**, Rio de Janeiro, edited by IPEA, n. 17, pp 31-38, November, 2001.
- CASAL, Joaquim, MASJOAN, Josep, PLANAS, Jordi. Elementos para un Análisis Sociológico de la Transición a la Vida Adulta, **Política y Sociedad**, Barcelona, n 1, pp 97-104, 1988.
- CASAL, Joaquim. Modos Emergentes de Transición a la Vida Adulta en el Umbral del Siglo XXI: aproximación sucesiva, precaridad y desestructuración. In: **Jovens em Mudança - Atas do Congresso Internacional Growing Up Between Centre and Periphery**, Lisbon, May 1996.

- CASTRO, Mary Garcia, ABRAMOVAY, Miriam. Por um novo paradigma de fazer políticas públicas – políticas de/para/com juventudes, **Revista Brasileira de Estudos Populacionais**, São Paulo, v. 19, n. 2, pp. 19-46, July – December, 2002.
- GALLAND, Olivier. Adolescence, Post-Adolescence, Youth: Revised Interpretations, **Revue Française de Sociologie**, n. 44, (English Selection), 2003.
- MADEIRA, Felícia. Recado dos jovens: mais qualificação. In: **Jovens acontecendo na trilha das políticas públicas**. Brasília, CNPD, 1998. pp 427-496.
- MELLO, Juliana Leitão, CAMARANO, Ana Amélia, PASINATO, Maria Tereza, KANSO, Solange. **Como chegar à vida adulta: será que existe um único caminho?** Paper presented in the XIV National Meeting of the Brazilian Population Association, ABEP, Caxambu – MG, Brazil, September, 2004.
- PAIS, José Machado. "Growing Up on the EU Periphery: Portugal" In: CHISHOLM et al (eds) **Growing Up in Europe – Contemporary Horizons in Childhood and Youth Studies**, Gruyter, Berlim, 1995.
- PAIS, José Machado. Routes to adulthood in a changing society: the Portuguese experience, **Education Policy**, v. 8, n. 1, pp 9-15, 1993.
- PAIS, José Machado. Emprego Juvenil e mudança social: velhas teses, novos modos de vida, **Análise Social**, Lisbon, v. XXVI n. 114, pp 945-987, 1991.
- PIMENTA, Melissa. **Trajetórias Juvenis**. Paper presented as a qualifying examination, not published, São Paulo, 2004.
- SHEEHY, Gail. **New Passages: mapping your life across time**, New York, Ballantine Books, 2003
- SILVA, Nancy, KASSOUF, Ana Lúcia. A exclusão social dos jovens no mercado de trabalho brasileiro, **Revista Brasileira de Estudos Populacionais**, São Paulo, v. 19, n. 2, pp 99-115, July - December, 2002.
- SPOSITO, Marília Pontes. Considerações em torno do conhecimento sobre juventude na área da educação. In: SPOSITO, Marília Pontes (ed.). **Juventude e Escolarização – estado do conhecimento**, São Paulo, Ação Educativa, 2000. pp 6-34. Available in: <<http://www.acaoeducativa.org>>. Accessed in: November, the 15th, 2003 at 10 o'clock.
- RUA, Maria das Graças. As Políticas Públicas e a Juventude dos Anos 90. In: **Jovens acontecendo na trilha das políticas públicas**, Brasília, CNPD, 1998. pp 731-749.
- VIANNA, Hermano (ed.). **Galerias Cariocas: territórios de conflitos e encontros culturais**, Rio de Janeiro, edited by UFRJ, 1997.
- VIGNOLI, Jorge Rodríguez. Vulnerabilidad y grupos vulnerables: um marco de referencia conceptual mirando a los jóvenes, **Serie población y desarrollo**. CELADE, Santiago, Chile, August 2001.

ZALUAR, Alba. Gangues, Galeras e Quadrilhas: globalização, juventude e violência. In: VIANNA, Hermano (ed.). **Galeras Cariocas: territórios de conflitos e encontros culturais**, Rio de Janeiro, edited by UFRJ, 1997. pp 17-57.