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Multigenerational Class Gradients in Housing Tenure Trajectories in Young Adulthood

Key Words: Housing and Social Inequalities; Multigenerational Inequalities; Sequence Analysis; Residential Transitions to Adulthood

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Abstract

Prior research shows that parental socioeconomic background positively predicts young adults' transitions to first-time homeownership. Yet it remains unclear whether and how the processes of residential transitions to adulthood differ by one's *multigenerational* class backgrounds. This paper employs a four-generation framework to examine the patterns and determinants of housing careers in young adulthood for a British birth cohort. Sequence analysis of housing tenure trajectories identifies diverse housing trajectories in young adulthood, which differ by types of home-leaving, durations of rental housing, the chances of, as well as the routes of homeownership acquisition. These diverging housing trajectories represent another dimension of socioeconomic inequalities, with significant implications for housing quality and wealth formation later in adulthood. While multigenerational class gradients are largely mediated by one's childhood housing environments for the majority of housing trajectories, they remain much more persistent for the most and least privileged trajectories.

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Introduction

Housing plays critical roles in intergenerational transmission of social inequalities by providing a shelter for individuals, offering space for day-to-day family interactions, forming a key component of household assets, and shaping future outcomes of children (Conley 2001; Spilerman 2000). Established scholarship on intergenerational transmission of social inequalities mostly focus on the reproduction of educational and occupational inequalities (Hout and DiPrete 2006; Hout 2015), leaving the roles of housing in the social stratification system less explored. However, whether in the form of the divides between owners and renters, of various levels in housing quality, or of divergent housing transitions, housing inequalities have great potential to transcending generations.

Despite a burgeoning body of literature examining the associations between parental social attainments and adult children's homeownership transitions (Helderman and Mulder 2007; Henretta 1984; Kurz 2004; Mulder and Smits 1999; Öst 2012), we have little knowledge of *how* individuals become homeowners. The dichotomous view of homeownership alone might be inadequate, as it overlooks the processes leading to diverging attainments later. It is likely that individuals endowed with privileged early housing conditions enjoy a head start in later housing transitions, and persistent exposures to rental or owned housing could also cultivate different savings or investment strategies of lasting influence (Boehm and Schlottmann 2008). Therefore, a "processual" view (Abbott 2016) towards housing inequality may capture another distinctive dimension of cumulative inequalities, with important implications for housing quality and wealth accumulation in the long run.

Research on residential transitions to adulthood overwhelmingly focus on shifts in living arrangements between home-leaving and establishing those of their own (Goldscheider, Thornton and Young-DeMarco 1993; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999; Zorlu and Mulder 2011). An underexplored facet of residential inequalities during young adulthood lies in the diversity of housing tenure trajectories during this less settled life stage, which are potentially structured by socioeconomic positions of multiple generations. That is partly because individuals' family origins profoundly shape their tastes and life styles (Bourdieu 2013), and partly because many young adults have too limited lifetime savings to be completely economically independent from their families of origin, especially when it comes to significant purchases like homes (Kurz 2004). An early transition to rental housing may be a temporary solution for some young adults but a permanent destination for others. Even those who become owners may take different routes towards home ownership, depending on their financial situations, which, in turn, may independently influence the long-term wellbeing of individuals and their families.

Considering the cumulative nature of housing wealth and the growing evidence on multigenerational wealth persistence (Killewald, Pfeffer and Schachner 2017; Pfeffer and Killewald 2017), housing tenure trajectories in young adulthood provide an innovative lens to understand how extended family backgrounds are associated with widening socioeconomic inequalities across the life course. This study refines understanding of intergenerational housing transmissions and brings processual perspectives to studies of residential transitions to adulthood by examining the multigenerational determinants of housing tenure trajectories in young adulthood. More specifically, I ask the following three research questions. (1) What are the typical housing tenure trajectories into young adulthood? (2) What are the more or less

privileged trajectories respectively? (3) Are disparities in undertaking different housing tenure trajectories embedded in one's extended families of origin?

I use data from the British National Child Development Study 1958 Cohort ("NCDS1958 Cohort" thereafter) to address the questions. The results suggest that more and less privileged housing tenure trajectories differ by their parental homes of departure, durations of rental housing, as well as the forms of homeownership acquisitions (that is, via mortgages versus via outright ownership). Furthermore, more favorable housing tenure trajectories positively predict lower levels of housing crowding and greater net worth towards one's early 30s, independent of homeownership status and a host of other control variables. As hypothesized, great-grandparent, grandparent and father class positions to some extent structure one's chances of experiencing specific housing trajectories, especially for individuals undergoing the least and the most privileged trajectories.

Housing Outcomes and Social Reproduction

Conceptually speaking, one's family of origin can predict individuals' housing outcomes in many ways. One mechanism is socialization, as parents and other family members often act as role models of children (Schwanitz, Mulder and Toulemon 2017). Individuals reared in various socioeconomic and cultural environments may hold different norms and values for ideal housing conditions and life styles. For example, compared to children of renters, children of home owners may aspire more to become homeowners themselves, and those growing up with their own rooms may place higher values on privacy and freedom when making decisions about their

own housing.

Another mechanism is the transmission of socioeconomic resources, whether through intergenerational resemblance of socioeconomic positions or through resource infusion from older generations to younger ones. To the extent that class positions are positively aligned with homeownership statuses (Chan and Boliver 2013), intergenerational reproduction of class positions could simultaneously reproduce homeownership statuses. There is also empirical evidence on class differences in inter-vivos transfers from parents to children. According to a comparative study of 11 European countries, upper-class parents tend to transfer more financial resources to children than lower-class parents do, which consequently reinforces the preexisting social inequalities (Albertini and Radl 2012). In particular, assisted home purchase constitutes a primary channel of parents' inter-vivos transfers to adult children, especially for working and middle class families (Spilerman and Wolff 2012).

Existing studies provide consistent evidence that various indicators of parental resources positively predict individuals' homeownership status, whether operationalized by parents' homeownership, income, education, wealth, or class positions. Henretta (1984)) finds that parental homeownership increases children's chances of becoming homeowners in the United States, and parental income is positively associated with children's home values among the child-generation homeowners. Similarly, a recent Swedish study suggests parental educational attainment as another positive predictor of young adults' odds of becoming first-time homeowners (Öst 2012). Parents' favorable wealth and class positions also predict children's elevated chances of becoming homeowners. Studies of various European contexts show that children of self-employed and homeowner parents are more likely to become homeowners, partly due to parent-to-child gifts, exposures to similar housing markets for both generations, and

socialization (Albertini, Tosi and Kohli 2017; Helderman and Mulder 2007; Mulder and Smits 1999).

Another strand of research demonstrates that disparities in housing tenure and quality exacerbate inequalities in education, health, and wealth outcomes, among others (Zavisca and Gerber 2016). For example, homeownership, a simple measure of economic consumption, significantly predicts lower chances of being high-school dropouts net of other standard variables in socioeconomic status, including parental income, occupation, education (Hauser 1994). Living in crowded childhood homes is associated with children's worse academic, behavioral, and health outcomes (Conley 2001; Solari and Mare 2012). Lopoo and London (2016) further show that higher levels of housing crowding experienced in early life exerts enduring adverse influence on adults' highest educational attainments. Moreover, since an owned residence constitutes a pillar component of household wealth for the majority of households in many countries (Bastagli and Hills 2012; Karagiannaki 2017; Wolff 2006), there has been studies on the contribution of homeownership to wealth accumulation. According to Killewald and Bryan (2016), more years of homeownership are associated with greater returns to non-housing wealth.

A joint consideration of the intergenerational transmissions of housing inequalities and that housing inequalities further perpetuate other forms of social inequalities leads to the expectation that the *socioeconomic divides (or: class differences) in housing conditions could persist beyond two generations*. Given the importance of housing wealth for household wealth in general, recent studies have shed light on the roles of homes in multigenerational transmission of wealth, which tend to be passed down to multiple generations (Mare 2011; Pfeffer 2014). Pfeffer and Killewald (2017) identify educational attainment and homeownership attainment in early adulthood as the two most important channels for multigenerational wealth persistence.

However, there is still a dearth of empirical evidence beyond the US context so far, challenging the generalizability of this finding. Furthermore, as Pfeffer and Killewald (2017) also point out, grandparents' socioeconomic resources often peak during grandchildren's childhood. Therefore, it is highly likely that multigenerational gaps in homeownership as adults may have already taken roots in individuals' early childhood housing experiences.

An Alternative View: Housing Inequalities as Processes

Early classic stratification research by Blau and Duncan (1967) highlight the importance of understanding occupational attainment as a dynamic process, and they control for first job in their foundational model of the status attainment process rather than only focusing on how parental occupation and education affect current job. Their path analysis demonstrates strong path dependency in terms of socioeconomic status between one's first job and the one they currently hold, suggesting cumulative (dis)advantages developed over the course of one's career. Analogically, when residential attainment is the outcome of interest, rather than treat housing inequalities as levels of attainments at a certain time (exemplified by homeownership and housing crowding), housing inequalities could be seen as gradually unfolding processes that differ by points of departure, timing and sequencing of housing transitions, as well as ending states. To some extent, disparities in current housing conditions may be predicted by one's past housing history.

The transitions to adulthood literature investigates young adults' living arrangements from a processual perspective, centering on the shift from parent-child coresidence to children's residential independence. The "feathered-nest" hypothesis posits that young adults with better-off parents tend to delay home-leaving, based on the reasoning that parental resources provide

safety nets for grownup children (Avery, Goldscheider and Speare 1992). Following this logic, an early transition to home ownership (like marriage) may not necessarily be the most advantageous, as young adults who wait before transiting to ownership may acquire better housing as a result. However, existing studies offer mixed findings regarding the roles of family of origin in structuring children's home-leaving process. Empirical evidence suggests that the timing of home-leaving also hinges on the specific types of parental resources considered, whether home-leaving is immediately followed by union formation or premarital residential independence, as well as the younger generation's financial needs (Murphy and Wang 1998; Pilkauskas, Garfinkel and McLanahan 2014; Whittington and Peters 1996; Wiemers 2014).

Apart from the transition to residential independence literature, several life course studies explicitly model housing history as a key aspect of diverging life paths. Several articles have explored the sequences of individuals' long-term housing histories in US or Europe, capturing the patterns of residential mobility across urban and rural areas (Stovel and Bolan 2004) and across different dwelling types such as single-family house, terraced house, and apartment (Kulu and Steele 2013).

With two exceptions, few studies have scrutinized housing *tenure* trajectories, which might be consequential for later housing quality and wealth formation. The key motivation for doing so is that contemporary gaps in wealth and housing quality could result from cumulative inequalities over time, whereby earlier gaps fuse into later gaps[1]. Using data from Panel Study of Income Dynamics, Clark, Deurloo and Dieleman (2003) define housing career states by concurrently differentiating housing prices (low vs. high) and housing tenures (rented vs.

[1] However, it is hard to disentangle the respective contributions of housing price appreciation, changes in saving or investment behaviors among renters and owners, or characteristics that select individuals into homeownership.

owned), suggesting that households' housing sequences are generally characterized by upward trends in both dimensions. Another study by Pollock (2007) uses multichannel sequence analysis to consider the co-occurring patterns in employment status, housing tenure, and marital status with data from British Household Panel Study.

While both studies make pioneering attempts to illuminate the wealth formation process, the use of panel datasets undermines the conclusions drawn from comparing housing sequences of various age ranges, which might inadvertently mask meaningful variations across the life course. Also, to the best of my knowledge, no existing studies have explored the family origins of diverging housing tenure trajectories. With little attention paid to preexisting housing disparities in the parent generation, the results may obscure the continuities and turning points within the housing wealth accumulation process.

Hypotheses

While the literature on intergenerational transmission of housing conditions and the literature on housing processes respectively examine the intergenerational determinants and life course developments of housing disparities, they remain largely isolated with their own limitations. By bridging these two streams of works, this study is well positioned to unravel the links between multigenerational and life course housing inequalities, and those between housing processes and housing outcomes across life stages. More specifically, this study tests the following four hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Some housing tenure careers are more socioeconomically privileged than

others.

To distinguish between privileged and disadvantaged tenure trajectories between ages 16 and 33, I will compare across trajectories: (1) the points of departure (i.e. rented vs. owned parental home upon home-leaving); (2) the average years spent in owner-occupied housing; (3) the percentages of individuals experiencing the trajectories that end up in a) homeownership or b) managerial-professional occupations; (4) levels of housing crowding at age 33; as well as (5) net worth at age 33.

Without knowing exactly what housing tenure trajectories look like, it is imaginable that some trajectories are associated with prior socioeconomic (dis)advantage whereas other trajectories are associated with (dis)advantage produced later in life. It is an open question whether the two aspects of trajectory can be modeled. From the social reproduction perspective, however, I posit that:

Hypothesis 2: More origin-privileged trajectories are generally more destination-privileged.

The following hypothesis further highlights the significance of probing into the housing tenure processes rather than analyzing current homeownership status alone. The empirical test of this hypothesis is whether at age 33 individuals with the same current tenure status differ along these indicators depending on the timing and sequencing of their transition to their current tenure status.

Hypothesis 3: More privileged housing tenure careers predict less crowded housing and greater net worth at age 33, net of homeownership.

The last hypothesis moves beyond the two-generation framework of studying housing inequalities to show that housing tenure careers manifest social inequalities in four consecutive

generations. In light of the existing findings on mediating mechanisms of multigenerational inequalities (Hällsten and Pfeffer 2017; Pfeffer and Killewald 2017), I test the robustness of ancestral class gradients by taking into account childhood housing conditions (i.e. tenure and crowding) and adulthood sociodemographic outcomes.

Hypothesis 4: Great-grandfather, grandfather, and father class positions persistently predict individuals' housing tenure trajectories, even when childhood housing conditions and individuals' adulthood attainments are controlled for.

The main analysis proceeds in three steps. The first step applies sequence analysis to characterize the conventional housing tenure trajectories into adulthood for this cohort. The second step uses the abovementioned criteria to distinguish between privileged and disadvantaged trajectories, plus demonstrating the distinctive roles of trajectories in predicting housing crowding and net worth at age 33 using OLS regression models. The last step uses logistic regression to estimate the multigenerational class gradients in undertaking different tenure trajectories, assessing the extent to which the ancestral class effects are robust to inclusion of childhood housing conditions and life course sociodemographic outcomes.

Data, Measurements, and Methods

Data

This study draws on the first six waves of data from the NCDS 1958 Cohort. The NCDS1958 Cohort datasets follow the lives of a cohort born in March 1958. The baseline survey and the five follow-ups took place when cohort members were 0, 7, 11, 16, 23 and 33 years old

(Ferri 1993). UK provides an ideal context for studying this topic because British households tend to start accumulating housing wealth at relatively younger ages and in a more rapid fashion, compared to their American counterparts, with similar homeownership rates across these two countries (Banks, Blundell and Smith 2003). Analyzing a single-year birth cohort makes it easier to compare individuals' housing careers with those of peers that came of age during the same period characterized by homeownership expansion to incorporate lower-income families (Forrest 1987), and facilitates identifying the commonalities and variations within a cohort. Importantly, this approach takes out the influence of temporally variable structural conditions such as market fluctuations.

The NCDS 1958 Cohort is uniquely suited for addressing the research questions owing to its multigenerational occupational class measures, indicators of housing tenure and housing quality across multiple waves, and more importantly, a retrospective design at the fifth follow-up asking about cohort members' housing history between ages 16 and 33. The baseline survey starts out with parent interviews for 18558 new births; subsequent waves include both cohort-member interviews and parent interviews. Thirty-three years after the 1958 baseline survey, 9815 observations remain if restricting the cases to cohort members that participate in *all* six waves. When 500 observations of completely missing housing history are further discarded, the analytic sample consists of 9315 longitudinal records.

Measurements

Housing Tenure States

Housing tenure states are the building blocks of the sequence analysis. Cohort members' housing careers into young adulthood are coded based on housing tenure types for each age between 16 and 33 years old. Because the housing-history section of NCDS asks when the respondents moved in and out of each residence within the age range of interest, I transform the address-specific information into age-specific housing tenure states for each individual throughout the 18 years[2]. I define housing tenure states into seven categories, including (1) owned parental home, (2) rental parental home, (3) rental housing, (4) purchased with mortgages (i.e. buying); (5) outright ownership, (6) others (i.e. unspecified by the previous five categories), and finally, (7) a category for missing information. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, the first two housing tenure categories reflect wealth disparities in the nuclear families of origin around home-leaving, but the remaining five categories mainly differentiate housing tenures types post home-leaving as well as the different routes towards homeownership. I follow this scheme when coding individuals' entire 18-year tenure trajectories, whose characteristics are extracted, analyzed, and visually compared using sequence analysis (Gabadinho et al. 2011), with the details to be discussed later.

Occupational Class Categories

Occupational class categories are the key explanatory variables for testing Hypothesis 4. The four generations' class positions are consistently measured by three-category occupational

[2] For years during which an individual did not experience a move, I assign housing tenure for the address where he/she lived throughout the year. For years during which an individual experienced residential moves, I assign housing tenure for the address at the end of year. The coding for age-specific tenure states could be more accurate had the months for moving in and out contained fewer missing values.

classes. The 1958 baseline survey asked mothers of the newborn babies "her father's occupation when she left school", that is, the maternal-grandpa's occupations of the cohort members when their mother was around school-leaving age[3]. Similarly, in the first follow-up, fathers of cohort members were asked about *his* grandpa's occupations "when he left school", that is, the occupations of cohort members' paternal great-grandpa. Father's occupation is measured during child's early childhood (before 7 years old). Respondents' own occupations are measured by their most recent occupations at 33 years old. As all of the four abovementioned occupational variables are similarly coded in the raw datasets, whose coding scheme consistently collapses the variables into (1) managerial-professional occupations, (2) skilled occupations, and lastly, (3) semi-skilled or unskilled occupations.

Childhood Housing Conditions

The measures of childhood housing outcomes encompass housing tenure and childhood housing crowding levels. I focus on those during cohort members' first 7 years of life to examine potentially persistent influences of childhood housing on adulthood housing trajectories, and to assess the extent to which ancestral class effects are susceptible to this potential mediating mechanism (Hypothesis 4). I distinguish childhood parental homes that are owner-occupied or renter-occupied. The original variable indicating multiple housing crowding categories for

[3] The variable on paternal grandpa's occupations (in the first follow-up) contains over 80% missing values in the publically available dataset, so I use the maternal grandpa's occupations only. Because it is the cohort members' mothers that answered the question about the grandpa's occupational class, using maternal grandpa's occupational class also introduces fewer measurement errors into the analysis. Chan and Boliver (2013) also adopted this strategy using the same dataset.

childhood homes is collapsed into two categories, due to the small number of observations at the lowest and highest extremes. To approximate the scenario in which parents share a bedroom and children have their own separate bedrooms, the binary threshold for housing crowding is set at 1.5 persons per room, above which is deemed more crowded.

Housing Crowding and Net Worth at Age 33

I create two dependent variables to be used in OLS regression models (Hypothesis 3). The measure for housing crowding at age 33 is made available by dividing the number of rooms by the number of individuals in the household. Net worth at 33 years old is first calculated by subtracting total debts from total assets at that time, which is a couple-level measure if currently married, otherwise it is computed for the respondents alone. However, net worth in monetary terms has a highly right-skewed distribution and includes negative values and zeros, making it prone to biases from outliers (Killewald, Pfeffer and Schachner 2017). To reduce the potential biases, I convert the monetary terms into percentile ranks, and then normalize the ranks to map into z-scores ($z \sim N(0,1)$) in a standard normal distribution. In this way, the effect sizes for net worth can also be easily interpreted in "the number of standard deviations".

Control Variables

The baseline logistic regression models for predicting housing tenure trajectories incorporate several control variables including characteristics of cohort members' nuclear families of origin, besides the class positions of great-grandfather, grandfather, and father. The

dummy variable for cohort members' gender is coded as "1" if male and "0" if female. Because children born to teen or unmarried mothers are often socioeconomically disadvantaged in later life compared to marital births (Manlove 1997; Pogarsky, Thornberry and Lizotte 2006), I control for mother's age at birth (a continuous variable) and mother's marital status at birth (coded as "1" if born to a married mother and "0" if born to an unmarried mother). Individuals' sibship size (measured at age 16), a potential dilutor of parents' material support (Downey 1995), is specified as no siblings (the reference category), one sibling, two siblings, and three or more siblings.

Another set of covariates are introduced into the full logistic regression models, encompassing early-life and present-day predictors of young adults' socioeconomic resources, family formation, and childbearing statuses. The sum of test scores in three exams taken at 11 years old (math, reading, and general ability) measures early-life achievement gaps, which are suggested by existing studies as persistent predictors of later socioeconomic attainments (Currie and Thomas 1999). Present-day socioeconomic resources are operationalized by individuals' highest educational attainments at age 33, categorized into secondary education or less (the reference category), vocational education or some college, and bachelor's degree or above. The largest value of inheritance they ever received (in 1000s) is also controlled for, but the original variable unfortunately does not specify whether it came from the parent generation or from earlier ancestors. As existing studies suggest that marital status and childbearing are closely tied to timing of first-time homeownership acquisition (Holland 2012, Kulu and Steele 2013), I control for marital status and age at first childbearing as key events in family life course. Because the age-at-first-marriage variable derived from respondents' partnership and relationship histories is missing in approximately 70 percent of cases, I control for their current

marital statuses instead, separating those who are never married (the reference category) from currently married or ever married (i.e. divorced or separated or widowed). Age brackets at first childbearing serve as the proxy for fertility timings, distinguishing among (1) those who gave birth at 18 years old or younger (the reference category), and (2) those whose first child arrived between 19 and 23 years old, (3) between 24 and 28 years old, (4) between 29 and 33 years old, and (5) who remain childless.

Methods

I use sequence analysis to identify clusters of housing careers sharing similar housing pathways. After applying the seven housing tenure states to characterize the diverse housing experiences throughout the 18-year period, the next step involves operationalizing the "distances" between any two housing tenure states. Rather than arbitrarily assign distances between pairs of tenure states, the 7 by 7 distance matrix used in this analysis is derived from the NCDS 1958 data, whereby a higher transitional rate from one state to another indicates a smaller distance and a lower transitional rate indicates a larger distance. Based on the distance matrix between pairs of housing tenure states, the Optimal Matching algorithm (Abbott and Tsay 2000) moves on to compute the least number of transformational operations needed to convert one housing tenure sequence into another, through substitution, insertion or deletion[4]. This procedure exhausts all pair-wise sequence transformations, yielding a 9315 by 9315 dissimilarity matrix for all pairs of sequences. After that, the agglomerative hierarchical clustering algorithm is applied

[4] I experiment with alternative cost-setting schemes and algorithms, but the clustering outcomes are relatively stable.

to reveal the clustering structures amongst all sequences. Finally, multiple clustering quality indices are used to validate the optimal clustering solution (Studer 2013). Conventional clustering quality indices such as Point Biserial Correlations, Hubert's Somers D, Average Silhouette Width consistently indicate 10 clusters as the optimal clustering solution (see Appendix 2 for details).

The identified clusters are then used as key explanatory variables to predict housing crowding level and net worth at age 33 using OLS regression models. The cluster indicators enter the models as dummy variables with the most commonly found cluster as the reference category. Other covariates include the binary indicator for current homeownership status, and all covariates discussed earlier.

The logit models finally predict each of the clusters to trace their multigenerational social origins. The baseline model includes great-grandpa's, grandpa's and father's occupational class categories, along with gender, mother's age at birth, mother's marital status at time of birth, and the number of siblings. Model 2 tests the robustness of ancestral class gradients by additionally controlling for respondent's childhood housing crowding and tenure. Model 3 further adds in respondents' socioeconomic resources, family formation and childbearing statues, including early test score, highest educational attainment so far, most recent occupational categories, value of largest inheritance ever received, current marital status, as well as age at first childbearing.

Multiple imputation with chained equations is used to fix nonresponse missingness in the explanatory variables for both OLS and logit models. Except for occupations of great-grandpa and grandpa, of which the percentages imputed are 27% and 17% respectively, the imputed cases for other variables generally comprise less than 10% of the sample. Sensitivity analysis

comparing results with and without imputation suggests that despite small changes in coefficient size, the results regarding key explanatory variables are generally stable.

Results

Identifying Conventional Housing Trajectories

[Figure 1 about here]

Figure 1 shows the conventional housing tenure trajectories by plotting housing tenure state distributions between age 16 and age 33 across clusters. Clusters 1, 2, and 6 are the most prevalent trajectories, which altogether account for nearly 2/3 of the respondents. Type 2 is the most prevalent trajectory (31%), characterized by an owner-occupied parental home, followed by a brief rental period, and subsequently mortgage-purchase. It is called "quick parallel transitions" in a sense that both parents and respondents end up as homeowners, with a transient rental period in between. Type 1 trajectory accounts for 18% of the sample, characterized by leaving from a rental parental home and rapidly transitioning to homeownership through mortgage. It is called "quick upward transitions" because those children of renters manage to attain homeownership in a rapid fashion. Despite growing up in different parental housing tenures, Type 2 and Type 1 members similarly become mortgagers that lead to homeownership. On the contrary, Type 6 trajectory ("permanent rental housing"), indicates that 14% of respondents actually experience a route of permanent rental housing throughout the life course, with little chance of becoming

homeowners. It is also discernable that the permanent renters tend to leave parental homes at earlier ages than individuals experiencing the previous two trajectories.

Next comes Type 7 (8%), capturing a slower process of homeownership acquisition called "slow upward transitions" (compared to Type 1 individuals). Type 7 and Type 1 share the same beginning and ending tenure types, but the intermediate rental period is appreciably more protracted for Type 7 individuals.

In contrast to the two types of self-made homeowners portrayed by Type 1 or Type 7 trajectories, Type 3 trajectory (5%) represents a pathway of "downward transitions". This trajectory marks the housing experience for those who grow up in an owner-occupied parental home but fail to maintain the same living standards on their own.

Two clusters of late home-leavers emerge. Compared to other clusters, individuals of Type 4 (5%) and Type 8 (4%) trajectories have delayed home-leaving, with comparably smaller proportions later moving out to become mortgagers in the late 20s and early 30s. However, these two trajectories mainly differ in the tenure types of parental homes they depart from. Type 8 members enjoy an extended period of staying in their parent-owned homes while Type 4 members co-reside with their renter parents.

Two clusters are less substantively interpretable. Type 10 cluster (10%), featuring the unspecified "other" housing tenure states, represents a residual category. Type 5 cluster, which is dominated by missingness, makes up the remaining 4% of the sample.

Finally, Type 9 members have the most unique experience. While it accounts for merely 3% of the respondents, most of them acquire homeownership on a fast track. They are outright homeowners without years of mortgage payments that most homeowners actually experience. How do they come up with enough money to pay off their home purchases when others' savings

are just adequate to cover down payments? The search for the answer to this puzzle continues in later sections.

Privileged and Disadvantaged Trajectories

[Table 1 about here]

To distinguish privileged trajectories from disadvantaged ones, Table 1 displays five key characteristics by housing tenure trajectories, including two descriptive characteristics that are intrinsic to the trajectories (the first two characteristics) and three external indicators of socioeconomic (dis)advantages measured at age 33.

The first characteristic shows whether parental homes are primarily owned or rented around home-leaving, if at all. Inequality begins at home. Quick parallel movers, downward movers, rich late-leavers, members of the residual category, and the majority of outright owners depart from owner-occupied parental homes, whereas individuals from the remaining clusters depart from renter-occupied parental homes[5]. The second characteristic describes ownership durations, assuming owner-occupied housing is superior to renter-occupied housing. Within the 18-year window, rich late-leavers (17.3 years), quick parallel movers (15.8 years), and outright owners (13.8 years) rank as the top three in terms of average years spent in owner-occupied housing, summing up parental and self-ownerships, in contrast to persistent renters (0.8 years) and poor late-leavers (1.8 years), who are most disadvantaged by that standard. With regard to average years spent in self-owned housing alone, quick upward movers (11.0 years), outright

[5] The missing category consists of similar shares of owned and rented parental homes.

owners (9.9 years), and quick parallel movers (9.2 years) are more advantaged, but permanent renters remain the least disadvantaged (0.8 years).

The socioeconomic (dis)advantages linked to certain trajectories are alternatively assessed by ending states, assuming that a trajectory is more privileged if it ends with better average status. Accordingly, the third characteristic thus assesses the individuals' trajectory-wise homeownership and occupational attainments at age 33. Over 90% individuals undergoing four trajectories become homeowners, including quick parallel movers (97%), quick upward movers (95%), slow upward movers (94%), and outright owners (93%). The occupations at age 33 consistently show that quick parallel movers (45%) and outright owners (44%) have the two highest percentages in managerial or professional occupations. The Chi-square tests indicate high statistical significance for both ($p<0.001$).

Housing crowding at age 33 measured by persons per room, the fourth characteristic, tells a largely coherent story. It shows that rich late home-leavers, quick parallel movers and outright owners enjoy less crowded housing, especially compared to permanent renters. The last characteristic, net worth in 1000s, reflects that outright owners (28.1) hold most wealth on average, outperforming the second largest holders of average wealth, the quick parallel movers (17.2), by over 10 thousand British pounds. Meanwhile, the average permanent renters unequivocally hold the least wealth.

At a minimum, these comparisons reveal various degrees of privilege among trajectories, consistent with the prediction of Hypothesis 1. More specifically, the key characteristics consistently prefer outright ownership and quick parallel transitions as more advantaged pathways over other housing tenure trajectories. At the other extreme, permanent renters are clearly the least privileged. While the origins and destinations of the most and least privileged

trajectories are highly aligned, the other in-between trajectories see certain degrees of origin-destination mismatch, providing mixed evidence for Hypothesis 2. To provide more nuanced insights into how the in-between trajectories respectively compare to the most prevalent pathway as well as to demonstrate the significance of adopting a processual perspective, OLS regression models predict housing crowding and normalized net worth percentiles at age 33[6].

[Table 2 about here]

As the descriptive variations in housing trajectories discussed previously may reflect variables that jointly predict sequences and current housing tenure, the regression models control for multigenerational class positions, highest educational attainment, marital status, and a series of other demographic controls (not shown to save space[7]) to isolate the independent effects of housing trajectories. As Table 2 shows, in terms of crowding, most trajectories predict more persons per room in the current residence relative to quick parallel movers, with the larger gaps found for permanent renters, downward movers, slow upward movers (in descending orders). But two exceptions exist: outright owners are not significantly different from quick parallel movers in terms of crowding, and rich late home-leavers actually enjoy even less crowding. Furthermore, the wealth gaps between quick parallel movers and members of other trajectories resemble those found for housing crowding, presenting the starkest contrasts to permanent

[6] The models exclude the missing and the residual clusters due to substantive ambiguities surrounding these two trajectories. The analysis that follows thus focuses on the other eight trajectories.

[7] Unshown results (available upon request) indicate that net of homeownership and housing tenure trajectories, great-grandfather and grandfather occupational disadvantages significantly predict lower current net worth but not current housing crowding.

renters, downward movers, and slow upward movers. Net of all other factors, rich late-leavers are non-distinguishable from the quick parallel movers in net worth, whereas outright owners outperform the baseline category by 0.12 standard deviations ($p<0.10$), ceteris paribus. Lastly, homeownership predicts crowding and wealth in an expected fashion, the magnitudes of whose coefficients are parallel to the largest between-trajectory gap for crowding and the moderate between-trajectory gap for wealth.

All things considered, Table 2 indicates that even when controlling for other factors that affect long-term well-being, trajectories matter (Hypothesis 3): *more disadvantaged housing trajectories mostly predict worse housing crowding and wealth outcomes, independent of current homeownership.* Relative to quick parallel movers, rich late home-leavers and quick upward movers show smaller disadvantages, whereas permanent renters, downward movers, and slow upward movers show larger disadvantages. Though Table 1 indicates outright owners tend to have higher net worth on average than quick parallel movers, the difference is no longer statistically different after accounting for other variables in Table 2.

Predicting Trajectories: Descriptive Statistics for Explanatory Variables

[Table 3 about here]

Having shown that trajectories matter for well-being at age 33, the next step is to examine the social origin and childhood antecedents of different trajectories. Descriptive statistics for the key explanatory variables demonstrate that outright owners are most likely to have great-grandfathers (21%), grandfathers (22%), and fathers (30%) that are in managerial-professional positions.

Compared to the outright owners, the quick parallel movers and the rich late home-leavers have lower percentages of great-grandfathers being occupational elites (16% and 15% respectively), but they have strikingly similar percentages of grandfathers (21% and 20% respectively) and fathers (30% and 29% respectively) that are managers or professionals. On the other hand, the three ancestors of permanent renters are always more concentrated at lower rungs of the multigenerational occupation ladder.

Disparities in childhood housing conditions largely mirror the disparities in housing conditions at age 33. In terms of childhood housing crowding, while 78% of permanent-renters enjoy no more than 1.5 persons per room, the percentages are above 90% for quick parallel movers (95%), privileged late home-leavers (94%), and outright owners (92%). Childhood parental housing tenure similarly shows that over 80% of rich later home-leavers (83%) and quick parallel movers (81%) grow up in owner-occupied housing, but the percentages are merely 5% for poor late home-leavers, 9% for permanent renters, and 11% for quick upward movers.

The indicators for one's socioeconomic resources mirror the more or less privileged trajectories well. Test scores at 11 years old indicate that quick parallel movers (91.1points) and outright owners (82.4 points) score higher than other groups, and permanent renters have the lowest average score (63.0 points). Average ages at full-time school-leaving are consistently concentrated in older age groups for quick parallel movers and outright owners, meanwhile, 88% of permanent renters leave schools at 16 years old or younger. The highest educational attainments echo the school-leaving age distributions. The values of inheritance received indicate that outright owners top the list, partly explaining why they could pay off their home purchases right away.

Young adults' own family circumstances also vary across clusters of housing careers. Marital statuses indicate that late home-leavers are generally least likely to be married (33-41%), while the married proportions reach high levels of 86% for those quick upward movers and 80% for quick parallel movers. For age brackets of one's first childbirth, late home-leaving clusters have the highest percentages of being childless by 33 years old, whereas only 14% of quick upward movers and 16% of permanent renters remain childless, and the latter group also tends to initiate fertility early.

Looking at the demographic control variables, the gender distributions reveal that men are generally more likely to be late home-leavers than women (whether growing up in owner-occupied or renter-occupied housing), but the opposite is true for permanent renters. Regarding sibship size, rich late home-leavers tend to have the least number of siblings, while permanent renters tend to have the largest sibling size. Mother's age at birth does not vary much by cluster memberships (26.9~28.4 years old). Although the vast majority of cohort members were born to married mothers, there are substantial variations in mother's school-leaving age ranges, a proxy for mother's educational attainment.

The descriptive statistics provide suggestive evidence that individuals' ancestral class backgrounds, socioeconomic resources, and family formation statuses vary substantially by housing trajectories. Next section discusses results regarding ancestral class gradients from logit models, focusing on the eight substantively clear clusters.

Determinants of Housing Trajectories

[Table 4 about here]

The Roles of Ancestral Class Backgrounds

With respect to ancestral class backgrounds as determinants of specific trajectories, four patterns merge from Model 1, Table 4. The first pattern is that class positions of great-grandpa, of grandpa, and of father each significantly predict one's housing career, which is applicable to quick upward movers, quick parallel movers, and permanent renters. For both quick upward movers and permanent renters, their baseline models similarly suggest that ancestors' occupational disadvantages are associated with greater chances of undertaking either pathway, whereby the top-bottom gaps are consistently wider than the top-medium gaps for each of the three ancestral generations. Auxiliary analysis indicates this seems to be because ancestors' occupational disadvantages predict lower odds of living in an owned residence in early childhood (see Appendix 1). The magnitudes of class differences are intuitively largest for the father's generation and smallest for the great-grandfather's generation, implying greater influence from one's nuclear family relative to that from the extended family. For quick parallel movers, however, the ancestral class disadvantages work in an opposite direction. Lower grandpa and father classes are associated with reduced chances of experiencing this privileged trajectory, for whom the great-grandpa class gradient is statistically significant for the top-bottom contrast only.

The second pattern observes class gradients of two consecutive generations, for grandpa and father class positions but not for that of great-grandpa. This works for the poor late-leavers. Having a grandpa ever holding unskilled occupations is a marginally positive predictor of

undergoing this pathway ($p<0.10$), relative to having a grandpa holding managerial-professional positions. The class gradients in the father's generation are more robust by comparison.

The third pattern points to the significant effects of great-grandpa and father's classes only, which is applicable to the outright owners. Compared to individuals from other clusters, not only are the positive class gradients more persistent in the great-grandpa's generation (throughout the three models), the magnitudes of great-grandpa class gradients are appreciably larger than those in the grandpa's and father's generations. Sensitivity analysis reveals that, the baseline model without controlling for great-grandpa's class positions actually demonstrates marginally significant grandpa effects (at least for the top-bottom contrast) and stronger father class effects. That means for outright owners in particular, great-grandpa's class positions entirely mediate the effects of grandpa's class positions and partially mediate the effects of father's class positions. Considering the financial challenges outright ownership poses for ordinary families and the rare occurrence of this route (3%), these individuals most likely come from very wealthy families with solid socioeconomic foundations, so that ancestral advantages manage to transcend four generations or beyond.

Another pattern shows significant class gradients in father's generation but not in any earlier generations, which pertains to both slow upward movers and rich late-leavers. The probability of becoming slow upward movers persistently increases as father's class declines, robust to inclusion of other control variables. On the other hand, for rich late-leavers, lowering father's class positions are significantly associated with decreasing probabilities of experiencing this route for the baseline model only.

Taken together, the emerging patterns from the baseline models show that great-grandparent and grandparent's class positions hold various degrees of predictive power over the

majority (88%) of respondents' housing tenure trajectories, and are more robust for the outright owners and permanent renters, whose trajectories are the most and least privileged respectively. The gradients in father's class positions are generally more sizeable and more persistent than those of the earlier two generations, but the outright owners represent the exceptional cases that deviate from this stylized finding, whose great-grandpa class effects turn out to be extremely robust and the largest. Family legacies seem to be most important for the most privileged today.

Childhood Housing Conditions

Model 2 in Table 3 additionally controls for one's childhood housing tenure, childhood housing crowding to see if the ancestral class gradients still hold when childhood housing exposures are considered.

Childhood homeownership status is a statistically significant predictor for all eight housing trajectories. Resembling observed parental-home housing tenures during one's adolescence (refer to Figure 1), living in owner-occupied parental homes as preschoolers predict greater chances of later becoming quick parallel movers, downward movers, and richer late home-leavers. All three groups share the same trait: an owned parental home around home-leaving age. By contrast, owned childhood parental homes also indicate lower chances of being quick upward movers, poorer late home-leavers, permanent renters, as well as slow upward movers, all of whom live in rental parental homes before nest-leaving. Both aspects point to continuities in individuals' parental housing tenure across family life course.

Compared to childhood housing tenure, childhood housing crowding is a significant predictor for four out of eight trajectories only. Growing up in a less crowded home is positively

associated with trajectories characterized by smooth and fast transitions to homeownership, namely, quick upward movers and quick parallel movers. It follows that one lasting influence that an early experience of less crowded housing has on individuals' value systems is probably to make them expect a comfortable home with ownership. On the other hand, early childhood experience of less crowded housing is inversely related to trajectories of prolonged tenancy, for instance, poor late home-leavers and permanent renters.

Contrary to Hypothesis 4, the class gradients are *not* robust to including childhood housing conditions, which mediate substantial shares of great-grandparent, grandparent, and father's class gradients. Most of the ancestral class gaps in baseline models lose statistical significance in Model 2. To illustrate, for permanent renters, childhood housing environments mediate 40~100% of great-grandparent class effects, 56~58% grandparent class effects, and 44~57% of father class effects. However, childhood housing environments account for substantially lower percentages of class gaps for the outright owners, with the corresponding shares mediated being 2~8%, 13~22%, and 17~20% respectively.

The contrasts between the two extremes demonstrate much greater mediating roles early childhood housing conditions play in perpetuating multigenerational class disparities for the least advantaged group than the most advantaged group. The only ancestral class gradients that remain resistant to childhood housing conditions are those for outright owners. One possible explanation is that housing wealth constitutes a less important component in the household asset portfolio for the richest than for the poorest. Therefore, more privileged (great-)grandpas have more means to pass down their advantages to their (great)-grandchildren in addition to help the latter's parents with home purchases.

Socioeconomic Resources and Family Formation

Model 3 of Table 3 further controls for indicators of one's socioeconomic resources and their family formation characteristics to see if the ancestral class gradients for outright owners persist. It turns out that these additional variables lead to minor changes to the coefficients of interest, as outright owners' great-grandfather class gradients stay robust.

Nevertheless, one's occupational and educational attainments (or achievements) significantly predict housing pathways, which should be interpreted with caution due to endogeneity concerns. Model 3 findings generally imply that being occupationally or educationally high-achieving is at least partly responsible for the successes of self-made homeowners (i.e. the quick and slow upward movers), whereas being occupationally or educationally low-achieving conversely contributes to the less desirable outcomes, exemplified by those who either cannot maintain their parents' homeownership status (i.e. the downward movers) or those who do not launch their own households in a timely manner (i.e. the two types of late home-leavers). The latter is consistent with existing studies arguing lack of economic independence as a key determinant of young adults' protracted coresidence with parents (Furstenberg, Rumbaut and Settersten 2005; Sironi and Furstenberg 2012). However, the magnitudes of coefficients for inheritance seem negligible.

Another look at marital status and timing of first childbearing are congruent with existing findings. More favorable housing trajectories are often positively associated with being ever married (compared to the never married), adding another dimension to the existing findings on socioeconomic gradients in marriage entry (Kalmijn 2013; Schneider 2011). Downward transitions and permanent tenancy are positively associated with early fertility initiation, which

often predicts later socioeconomic disadvantages (Diaz and Fiel 2016; Furstenberg Jr 2003). Moreover, late home-leavers tend to stay single and childless till their late 20s and early 30s.

Other Control Variables

Several other demographic control variables are also present throughout Model 1~3. As with descriptive statistics, late home-leavers are more likely to be men, making protracted parent-child coresidence a gendered phenomenon. Quick upward movers and permanent renters instead tend to be women. Following the reasoning that lack of socioeconomic success makes adult children more reliant on parents' material assistance, it seems parents are more likely to provide coresidence as a form of in-kind subsidy for sons than for daughters. However, it is beyond this study's capacity to ascertain whether this has changed for later cohorts.

The coefficients regarding sibship size are consistent with the resource dilution theory that having more brothers or sisters tend to reduce parental resources available per child (Downey 1995). There is evidence that children growing up with more siblings tend to leave parental homes early (whether voluntary or forced by greater economic pressure) and soon establish those of their own (i.e. quick upward movers); but the economically disadvantaged from large families are also inclined to get trapped in permanent rental housing (i.e. permanent renters). Late home-leavers, who enjoy the privilege of extending their home stay, often have fewer siblings. Finally, while there is little variation in mother's marital statuses when the respondents were born, predictions of mother's age at school-leaving by and large resonate the predictions of father's occupational classes seen earlier.

Discussion

Bridging recent literatures on intergenerational transmission of homeownership and life course housing disparities, this study identifies the conventional housing tenure trajectories into young adulthood and their multigenerational determinants, using data from the NCDS 1958 Cohort. Sequence analysis identifies a diverse range of housing experiences between ages 16 and 33. I find that more privileged pathways are generally characterized by taking off from owner-occupied (as opposed to renter-occupied) parental homes in late adolescence, subsequently experiencing rapid home acquisition process, spending higher percentages of time in owned housing, ending up with better-quality housing and greater amount of wealth by the early 30s. Of all the trajectories identified, outright ownership (about 3% of the sample) and of quick parallel transitions (the more popular trajectory, about 1/3) exemplify the two most privileged trajectories, which do not visibly differ in other socioeconomic indicators but net worth. On the other hand, the permanent rental housing trajectory unambiguously represents the least privileged path. Further analysis into the in-between trajectories reveals that, as far as housing crowding and net worth are concerned, rich late home-leavers and quick upward movers exhibit smaller disadvantages relative to the most popular trajectory, whereas downward movers and slow upward movers show larger disadvantages.

Equally important, housing tenure trajectories are largely structured by multigenerational class positions. Results from logistic models indicate that great-grandfather, grandfather, and father class positions intuitively predict the housing trajectories. Consistent with existing findings on multigenerational social inequalities (Chan and Boliver 2013; Hällsten 2014; Mare 2011), ancestral class gradients in housing careers are more sizeable for the most and the least

privileged trajectories. However, the ancestral class gradients in the baseline models are generally sensitive to controlling for childhood housing environments, suggesting the roots of housing gaps in adulthood are largely traceable to childhood housing exposures. More specifically, childhood homeownership and crowding mediate the lion's share of ancestral class gradients for the permanent renters, but only a small share for outright owners. This stark contrast implies that ancestors of various class positions could influence one's life trajectories through significantly different channels, possibly attributable to the class differences in the composition of household asset portfolios.

This study makes several important contributions to the existing literature. First, it extends the two-generational paradigm of intergenerational housing transmissions to a four-generation framework via processual lenses, showing that parental influence becomes smaller once earlier generations are introduced into the picture. I demonstrate that housing inequalities do not only manifest as "stock" outcomes, such as homeownership and various levels of housing quality that we often see in existing studies, but also unfold as "flow" outcomes or processes that are characterized by both continuities and discontinuities across the life course, rendering far-reaching consequences on individuals' long-term wellbeing.

Second, it offers new insights into the various forms of multigenerational inequalities outside the US context, showing the intertwined links between class inequalities, housing inequalities, and wealth inequalities. Also, a practical question facing scholars of multigenerational inequalities is "how many generations do we need to take into account". Although this study does not directly answer this question, it nonetheless suggests that three might be enough if the population is neither extremely poor nor extremely rich, whereas four or more generations of data would be more desirable for the most privileged group. Thus it requires

researchers of multigenerational inequalities to better understand their subjects of interest for higher-quality research designs.

Third, the emerging findings provide more nuanced understandings of the different timings of home-leaving. While this study generally agrees with conventional wisdom that earlier homeownership attainment is generally associated with better socioeconomic attainments, this study indicate the *earliest* homeownership acquisitions are not necessarily associated with the *best* socioeconomic outcomes. The moderately early home purchasers turn out to be most privileged, partly due to timing and partly due to route. Besides, my demographic portraits of rich and poor late home-leavers also add empirical qualifications to existing studies of residential transitions to adulthood (Furstenberg et al. 2005; Sironi and Furstenberg 2012). Lower educational and occupational attainments are indeed positively associated with protracted parent-child coresidence, signaling the younger generation's economic immaturity at least to some degree.

This study also has several limitations that future works could improve upon. Occupational class categories are just crude proxies for multigenerational socioeconomic foundations, due to limited information available for the ancestors in this dataset, and this first attempt indicates it might be promising for future works to try out more refined measures of ancestral backgrounds along this line. It is also beyond the data's capacity to distinguish between paternal and maternal ancestral effects or between female and male ancestral effects, which I suspect could be more different in patriarchal societies. Furthermore, while this paper applies a descriptive perspective to understand multigenerational determinants of housing trajectories, researchers interested in causal inference could further study the causal mechanisms behind multigenerational housing disparities, with suitable data and methods. Last but not the least, this

study is based on a particular birth cohort in UK, but there remain open questions as to whether housing experiences have changed for more recent cohorts and how trajectories might differ across countries. Future works therefore could conduct cohort comparisons and cross-country comparisons to test the generalizability of the findings.

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Tables, Figures, and Appendices (See Attachments)

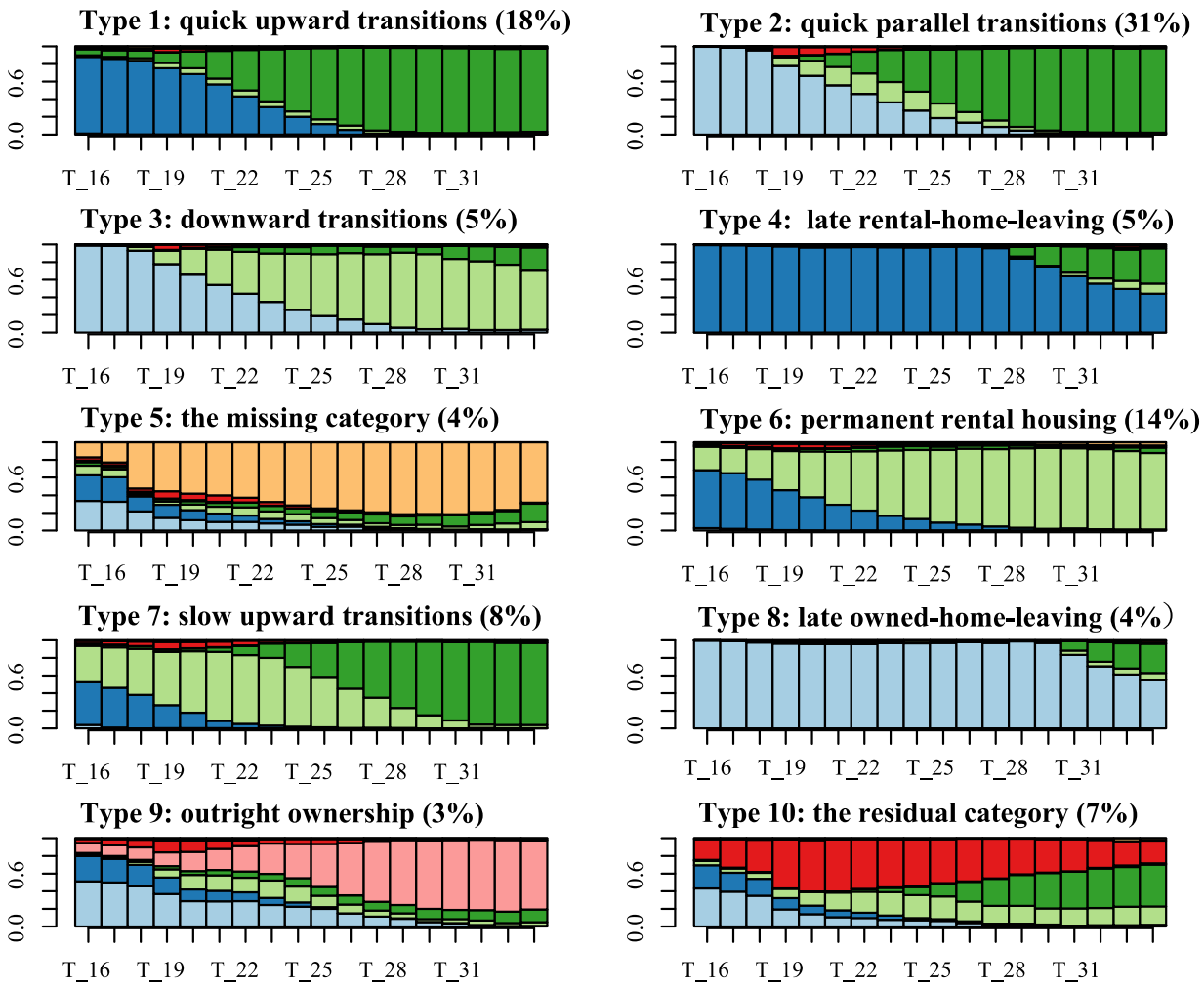


Figure 1. State Distribution Plot by Clusters

Table 1. Key Characteristics by Housing Tenure Trajectories

	Type 1 Quick Upward	Type 2 Quick Parallel	Type 3 Downward Movers	Type 4 Poor Late-Leavers	Type 5 Missing Cluster	Type 6 Permanent Renters	Type 7 Slow Upward	Type 8 Rich Late-Leavers	Type 9 Outright Owners	Type 10 Residual Cluster
(1) Dominant parental housing tenure: owner- (O) / renter-occupied (R) ?	R	O	O	R	---	R	R	O	O	O
(2) *Time spent in owner-occupied housing:*										
a. Average years spent in owner-occupied housing between ages 16 and 33	11.0	15.8	8.1	1.8	3.2	0.8	7.7	17.3	13.8	5.6
b. Average years spent in self-owned housing between ages 16 and 33	11.0	9.2	1.5	1.8	1.6	0.8	7.6	1.0	9.9	3.5
(3) *Individual characteristics at age 33:*										
a. Home owners	0.95	0.97	0.28	0.42	0.21	0.08	0.94	0.34	0.93	0.49
Chi-square test statistic	5400 ***									
b. Managerial-professional occupations	0.26	0.45	0.33	0.27	0.27	0.16	0.33	0.33	0.44	0.41
Chi-square test statistic	707 ***									
(4) Housing crowding at age 33: (unit: persons per room)	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.99
(5) Average net worth at age 33 (unit: 1000 pounds)	14.5	17.2	6.9	5.4	11.3	3.3	10.9	10.5	28.1	10.3

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10

Table 2. OLS Regression Models Predicting Housing Crowding and Net Worth at 33 Years Old [a]

	Housing Crowding	Net Worth [b]
Housing Trajectories (ref. Quick Parallel Movers)		
Quick Upward Movers	0.05***	-0.12***
	(0.01)	(0.03)
Downward Movers	0.11***	-0.30***
	(0.02)	(0.06)
Poor Late-Leavers	0.06**	-0.14*
	(0.02)	(0.05)
Permanent Renters	0.15***	-0.30***
	(0.02)	(0.05)
Slow Upward Movers	0.08***	-0.26***
	(0.01)	(0.04)
Rich Late-Leavers	-0.04*	0.06
	(0.02)	(0.06)
Outright Owners	0.00	0.12†
	(0.02)	(0.06)
Home Owner (ref. Renter)	-0.13***	0.13**
	(0.01)	(0.04)
Observations	8,350 [c]	8,350 [c]

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10

a. To save space, control variables are not shown, including multigenerational and own class positions, educational attainment, and other demographic controls.

b. The dependent variable is generated by transforming net worth percentile rank scores into z-scores with a standard norm distribution.

c. The analysis does not include the missing cluster and the residual cluster for more straightforward interpretations.

Table 3. Descriptive Summary for Explanatory Variables by Housing Trajectories

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 6	Type 7	Type 8	Type 9
	Quick Upward	Quick Parallel	Downward Movers	Poor Late-Leavers	Permanent Renters	Slow Upward	Rich Late-Leavers	Outright Owners
Great-grandfather's occupational class								
Professional-managerial	7%	16%	16%	9%	6%	9%	15%	21%
Skilled	38%	41%	37%	36%	31%	32%	42%	30%
Semi-skilled or unskilled	27%	19%	21%	28%	30%	29%	19%	18%
Unknown	28%	24%	27%	27%	33%	30%	25%	32%
Grandfather's occupational class								
Professional-managerial	8%	21%	19%	9%	7%	10%	20%	22%
Skilled	45%	47%	51%	43%	42%	43%	44%	44%
Semi-skilled or unskilled	28%	16%	15%	31%	32%	26%	19%	15%
Unknown	18%	16%	16%	17%	18%	20%	17%	19%
Father's occupational class								
Professional-managerial	7%	30%	25%	8%	7%	10%	29%	30%
Skilled	64%	58%	55%	61%	56%	60%	55%	49%
Semi-skilled or unskilled	25%	10%	17%	28%	34%	26%	12%	14%
Unknown	3%	2%	4%	3%	3%	4%	4%	7%
Childhood housing: % <= 1.5 persons per room	86%	95%	91%	80%	78%	83%	94%	92%
Childhood housing: % owned home	11%	81%	78%	5%	9%	14%	83%	60%
Mean test score at 11 years old	76.3	91.1	82.2	69.4	63.0	77.0	79.0	82.4
Age at full-time school-leaving								
16 years old or younger	80%	55%	65%	80%	88%	74%	60%	58%

17 years old	9%	11%	12%	8%	6%	8%	16%	16%
18 years old or older	11%	34%	22%	12%	6%	18%	24%	26%
Highest educ. attainment at age 33								
Secondary edu or less	70%	50%	59%	75%	79%	63%	61%	46%
Vocational edu or some univ.	27%	35%	28%	22%	18%	27%	32%	41%
BA or above	3%	16%	13%	3%	3%	10%	8%	12%
Occupational class at age 33								
Professional-managerial	26%	45%	33%	27%	16%	33%	33%	44%
Skilled	50%	39%	37%	44%	39%	40%	43%	40%
Semi-skilled or unskilled	19%	10%	22%	21%	33%	20%	18%	11%
Unknown	5%	5%	8%	7%	12%	7%	6%	5%
Mean value of largest inheritance (in 1000s)	1.3	4.8	4.4	0.7	0.7	3.9	8.7	14.6
Marital status at age 33								
Never married	4%	11%	27%	52%	19%	12%	62%	19%
Currently married	86%	80%	56%	41%	61%	76%	33%	67%
Divorced/separated/widowed	9%	9%	16%	7%	19%	11%	4%	13%
Unknown	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Age at first childbirth								
14 to 18 years old	3%	1%	6%	2%	13%	7%	1%	4%
19 to 23 years old	24%	15%	31%	6%	41%	27%	4%	16%
24 to 28 years old	40%	35%	19%	6%	19%	23%	7%	22%
29 to 33 years old	16%	22%	12%	20%	7%	18%	14%	17%
Childless	14%	21%	27%	60%	16%	21%	67%	34%
Unknown	3%	5%	6%	6%	4%	4%	7%	7%
Male	45%	47%	47%	63%	43%	46%	65%	45%
Sibship Size								

No sibling	4%	7%	5%	6%	3%	4%	10%	9%
1 sibling	20%	31%	26%	17%	14%	18%	31%	25%
2 siblings	20%	22%	22%	17%	17%	15%	20%	20%
3(+) siblings	30%	19%	25%	33%	40%	34%	19%	21%
Unknown	26%	22%	22%	28%	26%	29%	20%	26%
Mother's mean age at childbirth	27.6	27.6	26.9	28.4	27.4	27.5	28.4	27.9
Percentage mother married	98%	98%	97%	98%	95%	96%	96%	97%
Mother's age at school-leaving								
15 years old or below	65%	52%	55%	64%	66%	59%	57%	48%
16 to 17 years old	7%	19%	15%	7%	6%	9%	16%	14%
18 years old or above	1%	7%	7%	0%	1%	3%	7%	9%
Unknown	26%	22%	23%	28%	27%	29%	21%	28%
No. of Observations	1,695	2,942	465	508	1,315	769	406	250

Table 4: Logistic Regression Models Predicting Housing Tenure Trajectories: Type 1 through Type 4 (To be Continued)

	Quick Upward Movers			Quick Parallel Movers			Downward Movers			Poor Late-Leavers		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Great-grandpa's occ. (ref.managerial-professional occ.)												
Skilled occ.	0.20†	0.12	0.10	-0.05	0.03	0.05	-0.05	-0.00	-0.02	0.01	-0.08	-0.11
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.	0.19†	0.00	-0.04	-0.26**	-0.03	0.02	-0.16	0.00	-0.02	0.03	-0.17	-0.18
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.20)
Grandpa's occ. (ref.managerial-professional occ.)												
Skilled occ.	0.27**	0.12	0.08	-0.15*	0.01	0.00	-0.04	0.06	0.08	0.11	-0.07	-0.05
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.	0.40***	0.17	0.16	-0.43***	-0.14	-0.10	-0.46*	-0.26	-0.26	0.34†	0.06	-0.01
	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.21)
Father's occ. (ref.managerial-professional occ.)												
Skilled occ.	0.81***	0.45***	0.41***	-0.51***	-0.14†	-0.06	-0.21	0.01	-0.03	0.64***	0.14	0.22
	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.20)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.	0.92***	0.40**	0.39**	-1.21***	-0.60***	-0.43***	-0.24	0.20	0.08	0.89***	0.22	0.34
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Childhood crowding (ref. >1.5 persons per room)												
<= 1.5 persons per room		0.22*	0.16†		0.53***	0.44***		-0.03	0.06		-0.26*	-0.28*
		(0.09)	(0.09)		(0.11)	(0.11)		(0.19)	(0.19)		(0.13)	(0.14)
Childhood housing tenure (ref. renter-occupied)												
owner-occupied		-1.73***	-1.81***		1.94***	1.96***		1.35***	1.46***		-2.14***	-2.24***
		(0.08)	(0.08)		(0.06)	(0.06)		(0.12)	(0.13)		(0.19)	(0.20)
Value of largest inheritance (in 1000s)			-0.00			-0.00			0.00			-0.02
			(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.01)
Latest occupation (ref.managerial-professional occ.)												
Skilled occ.			0.07			-0.04			0.11			-0.03
			(0.08)			(0.07)			(0.13)			(0.13)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.			-0.19*			-0.42***			0.37*			-0.02
			(0.10)			(0.09)			(0.16)			(0.16)
Test score at 11 years old			0.00***			0.01***			0.00			-0.00
			(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.00)
Age left full-time school (ref. age 16 or younger)												
Age 17			-0.07			-0.01			0.22			-0.22
			(0.11)			(0.09)			(0.16)			(0.19)
Age 18 or above			-0.38***			0.29***			-0.11			-0.27
			(0.11)			(0.08)			(0.16)			(0.18)
Highest educ.attainment (ref. secondary educ. or less)												
Vocational educ. or some univ.			-0.05			0.08			-0.02			-0.41**
			(0.07)			(0.06)			(0.12)			(0.13)
Bachelor's degree or above			-0.74***			0.01			0.32†			-0.98***
			(0.18)			(0.10)			(0.19)			(0.30)
Marital status (ref. never married)												
Currently married			1.90***			1.11***			-0.90***			-1.09***
			(0.15)			(0.09)			(0.15)			(0.13)
Divorced or separated or widowed			1.39***			0.72***			-0.31†			-1.11***

			(0.17)			(0.12)			(0.18)			(0.20)
Age at first childbirth (ref. age 18 or younger)												
Ages 19-23			0.61***			0.65**			-0.03			-0.39
			(0.17)			(0.20)			(0.22)			(0.37)
Ages 24-28			1.19***			1.12***			-0.98***			-0.34
			(0.17)			(0.19)			(0.24)			(0.36)
Ages 29-33			0.86***			0.88***			-1.02***			1.44***
			(0.18)			(0.20)			(0.26)			(0.33)
Childless			0.83***			0.70***			-0.97***			1.68***
			(0.18)			(0.20)			(0.26)			(0.33)
Male	-0.15**	-0.16**	-0.18**	-0.07	-0.10†	-0.10†	-0.04	-0.05	0.10	0.63***	0.66***	0.27*
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)
Sibship size (ref. no sibling)												
1 sibling	0.21	0.23	0.22	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.07	0.08	0.05	-0.29	-0.32	-0.29
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.23)
2 siblings	0.36*	0.28†	0.28†	-0.22*	-0.10	-0.05	0.06	0.15	0.08	-0.15	-0.32	-0.19
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.23)
3 or more siblings	0.33*	0.14	0.23	-0.68***	-0.38**	-0.26*	-0.05	0.16	0.03	0.02	-0.30	-0.18
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.22)
Mother's age when giving birth	0.01	0.01	0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.03**	-0.03**	-0.03**	0.03***	0.03***	0.01
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Mother was married at baseline	0.30	0.28	0.14	0.40*	0.44**	0.24	-0.10	-0.09	0.11	0.41	0.44	0.57
	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.35)
Mother's age at school-leaving (ref. <= age 15)												
Ages 16 to 17	-0.39***	-0.15	-0.13	0.43***	0.16*	0.01	0.10	-0.09	-0.03	-0.29	0.02	0.00
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)
Age 18 or above	-0.85***	-0.57*	-0.47†	0.36***	0.07	-0.12	0.26	0.08	0.16	-1.31†	-0.94	-0.92
	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.69)	(0.70)	(0.70)
Constant	-3.24***	-2.24***	-4.88***	0.14	-2.04***	-4.35***	-1.80***	-3.00***	-2.21***	-5.02***	-3.40***	-2.59***
	(0.30)	(0.33)	(0.41)	(0.22)	(0.27)	(0.36)	(0.44)	(0.49)	(0.58)	(0.48)	(0.51)	(0.65)
Observations	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10

Table 4 (Continued): Logistic Regression Models Predicting Housing Tenure Trajectories: Type 6 through Type 9

	Permanent Renters			Slow Upward Movers			Rich Late-Leavers			Outright Owners		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Great-grandpa's occ. (ref. managerial-professional occ.)												
Skilled occ.	0.26*	0.18	0.16	-0.06	-0.13	-0.12	0.09	0.14	0.21	-0.49**	-0.48**	-0.45*
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.	0.41***	0.25*	0.20	0.09	-0.06	-0.04	-0.10	0.07	0.14	-0.48*	-0.44†	-0.39†
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Grandpa's occ. (ref.managerial-professional occ.)												
Skilled occ.	0.25*	0.10	0.07	0.13	0.01	0.03	-0.02	0.08	0.15	-0.09	-0.07	-0.04
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.	0.52***	0.29*	0.22†	0.21	0.01	0.05	-0.05	0.20	0.25	-0.30	-0.26	-0.21
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Father's occ. (ref.managerial-professional occ.)												
Skilled occ.	0.59***	0.20	-0.05	0.58***	0.28†	0.34*	-0.42**	-0.15	-0.11	-0.36*	-0.30	-0.28
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.	1.09***	0.54***	0.18	0.76***	0.33*	0.41*	-0.75***	-0.22	-0.24	-0.49*	-0.39	-0.32
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Childhood crowding (ref. >1.5 persons per room)												
<= 1.5 persons per room		-0.28**	-0.18*		-0.05	-0.05		0.24	0.29		0.03	0.02
		(0.08)	(0.09)		(0.11)	(0.11)		(0.24)	(0.25)		(0.25)	(0.25)
Childhood housing tenure (ref. renter-occupied)												
owner-occupied		-1.61***	-1.49***		-1.33***	-1.40***		1.55***	1.74***		0.28†	0.24
		(0.11)	(0.11)		(0.11)	(0.12)		(0.15)	(0.16)		(0.17)	(0.17)
Value of largest inheritance (in 1000s)			-0.02*			0.00			0.00†			0.00**
			(0.01)			(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.00)
Latest occupation (ref.managerial-professional occ.)												
Skilled occ.			0.16			-0.19†			0.35*			-0.11
			(0.10)			(0.10)			(0.14)			(0.16)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.			0.48***			-0.23†			0.46*			-0.51*
			(0.11)			(0.13)			(0.18)			(0.24)
Test score at 11 years old			-0.01***			0.00			-0.01*			-0.00
			(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.00)
Age left full-time school (ref. age 16 or younger)												
Age 17			-0.21			-0.06			0.43*			0.34†
			(0.14)			(0.15)			(0.17)			(0.20)
Age 18 or above			-0.36*			-0.04			0.05			-0.11
			(0.15)			(0.13)			(0.17)			(0.20)
Highest educ.attainment (ref. secondary educ. or less)												
Vocational educ. or some univ.			-0.16†			0.12			-0.18			0.45**
			(0.09)			(0.09)			(0.13)			(0.15)
Bachelor's degree or above			0.22			0.58***			-0.82***			0.26
			(0.21)			(0.17)			(0.23)			(0.25)
Marital status (ref. never married)												
Currently married			-0.85***			0.56***			-1.42***			0.28
			(0.11)			(0.14)			(0.15)			(0.20)

Divorced or separated or widowed			-0.23†			0.44*			-1.78***			0.44†
			(0.13)			(0.17)			(0.27)			(0.25)
Age at first childbirth (ref. age 18 or younger)												
Ages 19-23			-0.48***			-0.16			-0.58			-0.21
			(0.13)			(0.17)			(0.50)			(0.38)
Ages 24-28			-1.33***			-0.51**			-0.54			-0.26
			(0.14)			(0.17)			(0.49)			(0.38)
Ages 29-33			-1.66***			-0.23			0.48			-0.16
			(0.16)			(0.19)			(0.48)			(0.39)
Childless			-1.69***			-0.24			1.06*			0.29
			(0.16)			(0.19)			(0.47)			(0.38)
Male	-0.24***	-0.25***	0.02	-0.08	-0.08	-0.05	0.71***	0.72***	0.38**	-0.13	-0.14	-0.18
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Sibship size (ref. no sibling)												
1 sibling	0.14	0.14	0.08	0.11	0.11	0.10	-0.30	-0.29	-0.31	-0.46†	-0.46†	-0.43
	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)
2 siblings	0.47**	0.36†	0.18	0.09	-0.00	0.01	-0.52*	-0.41†	-0.34	-0.47†	-0.45	-0.39
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.28)
3 or more siblings	0.89***	0.65***	0.31†	0.44*	0.26	0.28	-0.78***	-0.51*	-0.48*	-0.66*	-0.61*	-0.54†
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.28)
Mother's age when giving birth	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.02*	0.02*	0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Mother was married at baseline	-0.67***	-0.70***	-0.48**	-0.16	-0.17	-0.18	-0.37	-0.40	-0.23	0.21	0.21	0.16
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)
Mother's age at school-leaving (ref. <= age 15)												
Ages 16 to 17	-0.53***	-0.29*	-0.01	-0.08	0.13	0.06	0.03	-0.17	-0.16	0.00	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.21)
Age 18 or above	-0.77**	-0.47†	0.02	0.04	0.30	0.17	0.11	-0.07	-0.07	0.32	0.28	0.25
	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.26)
Constant	-2.77***	-1.31***	0.65	-3.12***	-2.11***	-2.46***	-2.90***	-4.60***	-3.63***	-2.49***	-2.76***	-2.61**
	(0.31)	(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.36)	(0.39)	(0.46)	(0.43)	(0.50)	(0.73)	(0.62)	(0.68)	(0.82)
Observations	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365	9,365

Standard errors in parentheses

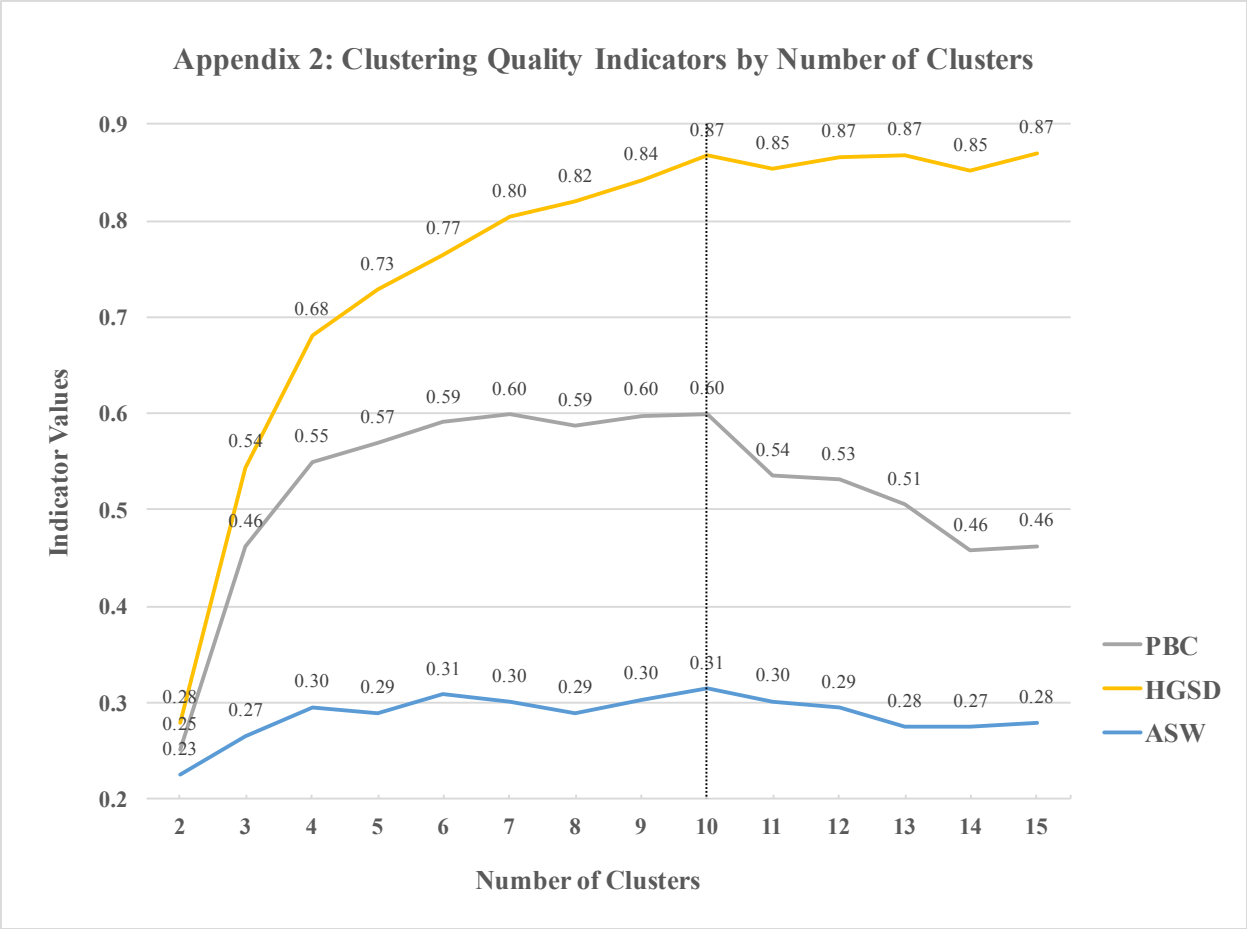
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10

Appendix 1: Logistic Regression Models Predicting Respondents' Childhood Parental Homeownership and Crowding

	Ownership	Persons per room > 1.5
Great-grandpa's occ. (ref. mangerial-professional occ.)		
Skilled occ.	-0.23**	0.01
	(0.09)	(0.13)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.	-0.65***	-0.08
	(0.09)	(0.15)
Grandpa's occ. (ref.mangerial-professional occ.)		
Skilled occ.	-0.43***	-0.14
	(0.08)	(0.13)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.	-0.83***	-0.50***
	(0.09)	(0.14)
Father's occ. (ref.mangerial-professional occ.)		
Skilled occ.	-1.07***	-1.28***
	(0.07)	(0.17)
Semi-skilled or unskilled occ.	-1.80***	-1.83***
	(0.09)	(0.18)
Male	0.03	0.09
	(0.05)	(0.07)
Mother's age when giving birth	-0.00	-0.01
	(0.00)	(0.01)
Mother was married at baseline	-0.02	0.59***
	(0.15)	(0.17)
Mother's age at school-leaving (ref. <= age 15)		
Ages 16 to 17	0.76***	0.53**
	(0.08)	(0.17)
Age 18 or above	0.86***	0.99**
	(0.15)	(0.36)
Constant	1.53***	3.00***
	(0.23)	(0.32)
Observations	9,365	9,365

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10



Notes:

1. PBC refers to "Point Biserial Correlation". A higher PBC value indicates a clustering solution is more capable of reproducing the original distance matrix (Studer 2013).
2. HGSD refers to "Hubert's Somers D". A higher HGSD value indicates a clustering solution is more capable of reproducing the original distance matrix (i.e. same as above) by also considering ties in the distance matrix.
3. ASW refers to "average silhouette width", which indicates how coherent a clustering solution is. A higher ASW value indicates a higher between-cluster distance and a higher within-cluster similarity.