



The Age of Inheritance

Andy Ross, James Lloyd & Michael Weinhardt

A report of research carried out by the National Centre for Social Research on behalf of the ILC-UK

May 2008

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This report was first published in May 2008 © ILC-UK 2008

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About this Report

This document contains a report of research carried out by the National Centre for Social Research (NatCen) on behalf of the ILC-UK.

The original research design was by James Lloyd of the ILC-UK. Analysis was undertaken by Andy Ross and Michael Weinhardt of NatCen.

A policy report, entitled *Navigating the Age of Inheritance* was published simultaneously by the ILC-UK to provide accompanying policy analysis and discussion.

Acknowledgements

This report and the research it describes would not have been possible without the generous support of *Norwich Union* ¹.

The authors sincerely thank all parties for their time, support and enthusiasm.

The data for this study was made available through the UK Data Archive (UKDA)².

The British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) is conducted by the ESRC UK Longitudinal Studies Centre (ULSC), together with the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER) at the University of Essex. The data were collected by GfK NOP, Office of National Statistics and Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. The funding is provided by the Economic and Social Research Council.

ELSA was developed by a team of researchers based at the National Centre for Social Research, University College London and the Institute for Fiscal Studies. The data were collected by the National Centre for Social Research. The funding is provided by the National Institute of Aging in the United States, and a consortium of UK government departments co-ordinated by the Office for National Statistics.

The developers and funders of BHPS, ELSA and the Archive do not bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented here.

¹ http://www.norwichunion.com

² http://www.data-archive.ac.uk

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Foreword

Family wealth transfers can have a huge influence on people's lives and those of their families, significantly affecting their plans for the future and improving their opportunities in diverse fields such as housing, education, and retirement.

Despite the impact inheritance has on family finance, there has, until now, been little research available to identify recent trends in inheritance, who is leaving one, who is receiving one, and when. This study plays an important part in understanding modern trends in family finance and assessing likely future trends as we enter a period of unprecedented demographic change.

Norwich Union exists to help people manage their finances, to plan ahead with confidence, and deal with the unexpected should the worst happen. Better understanding the financial pressures and opportunities our customers experience can only help us in ensuring we can assist them in making the most of their wealth throughout their lives, whether that is using their assets to finance retirement, or managing any unexpected windfalls. This research goes a long way in bringing to life some of the biggest financial events people will experience in their lives.

Brian Bussell
Director of Post-Retirement
Norwich Union

Executive summary

This report explores changing patterns of family wealth transfers in the UK using two large nationally representative panel studies: the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA). The research analysed receipt of both inheritance transfers and inter-vivo transfers (when the giver is still alive) by age, socio-economic group and parental status. The analysis controlled for inflation using the Consumer Price Index.

Very few individuals receive an inheritance or an inter-vivo payment in any single year, according to the BHPS data approximately 2.5% receive an inheritance, and 0.9% receives an inter-vivo payment.

In order to reduce the margin of error around population estimates relating to small samples, we report information on wealth transfers collected over two consecutive years.

Analysis of the BHPS revealed that within each two year period around 4-4.5% of the population receive an inheritance. The mean amount received has increased from around £21,000 in 1997/8 to around £44,000 in 2003/4. The mean amount reflects both individuals who are the principal beneficiary of a parental estate, as well as individuals receiving modest amounts from distant relatives.

Receipt of inheritance varies by age group. The analysis explored inheritance receipts among those aged 16-29, 30-49 and 50+. The analysis found that each age group had around the same likelihood of receiving an inheritance (4-4.5%), but this probability decreased for the youngest age group over the period 1997-2004.

Differences exist in the mean amount of inheritance received by each age group. The mean amount received by those aged 16-29 remained stable at around £10,000 during the period 1998-2004. However, the mean amount received by the two older age groups had doubled over the same period, from £17,000 to £31,000 for those aged 30-49, and from £30,000 to £60,000 for those aged 50+.

Analysis of the BHPS found evidence that receipt of inheritance varies by socio-economic group. The research used three socio-economic classifications: 'Professional & Managerial'; 'Skilled non-manual & Skilled manual', and 'Semi & Unskilled'. A significant relationship exists between socio-economic group and receipt of inheritance. Around 6% of those in the Professional & Managerial group received an inheritance within each two year period, compared to around 4% and 3% for the other two groups.

The analysis also found a tentative relationship between socio-economic group and the value of inheritance received between 1997 and 2000. However, there was no such relationship identifiable in the years 2001-2004. Some of the fluctuation in the average inheritance received may be due to the very small sample sizes.

There are no significant differences in the likelihood of receiving an inheritance between parents and non-parents, nor of the mean amounts received by each group.

The research analysed data from ELSA, which contains information on the expectations of individuals aged 54 and older for receiving and leaving an inheritance in future. ELSA is therefore

an excellent source for exploring future patterns of inheritance within this crucial age group for inheritance transfers.

The analysis found that expectations of receiving an inheritance decline with age. The average expectation for receiving an inheritance amongst those aged 60-69 was 16 percent. The analysis found a significant relationship between wealth quartile and the expectation of receiving an inheritance. Those in the top wealth quartile reported the highest probabilities of receiving an inheritance.

Individuals aged 54-69 also report the highest expectations for leaving an inheritance. For example, on average, individuals in this age group report a 60 percent expectation of leaving £150,000 or more. The equivalent figure for those aged 80 and above is 40 percent.

Unsurprisingly, there is a significant relationship between an individual's level of wealth and their expectation of leaving an inheritance. The analysis also found a very strong relationship between housing tenure and expectations of leaving an inheritance.

The analysis also used BHPS to explore inter-vivo transfers between family members not resident in the same household. Analysis of data from the period 1991-2004 found that around 1.5 percent of the population received such inter-vivo transfers within a two year interval throughout the period, and that the mean amount received remained stable at approximately £1000.

There is a significant relationship between receipt of an inter-vivo transfer and age. On average, those aged 16-29 are five times more likely to receive an inter-vivo transfer than those aged 30-49, and almost ten times more likely than those aged 50 and above. However, it is the 30-49 age group who are most likely to receive the largest inter-vivo transfers, although the identification of a clear relationship is hindered by the small sample sizes.

There are no significant differences in the likelihood of receiving an inter-vivo transfer among the different socio-economic groups. However, there is some suggestion of a relationship between socio-economic group and the mean amount received, with professionals and managers receiving the highest amounts.

Parents were less likely to receive an inter-vivo transfer than those who do not have children, even after adjusting for age. However there are no significant differences in the average amount of intervivo payments received.

1 Introduction

This research explores patterns of inheritance and family wealth transfers in the UK. Despite the amount of popular and political debate devoted to the topic of inheritance in the UK, policymakers have lacked reliable quantitative evidence on the scope and value of family wealth transfers.

Two types of family wealth transfer can be distinguished:

- Transfers on death known as inheritances or bequests.
- Transfers when both parties are still alive, which are referred to as 'inter-vivo' transfers.

In this report patterns of family wealth transfers are explored over time, as well as among different age groups, socioeconomic groups, family types, and levels of wealth.

1.1 Data

The analysis uses data from two studies:

- The British Household Panel Survey (BHPS), a nationally representative study following the lives of over 10,000 individuals in Great Britain from 1991 onwards
- The English Longitudinal Study of Aging (ELSA), a nationally representative study following the lives of over 10,000 individuals aged fifty and above in England from 2002.

The BHPS allows us to examine historical change in family wealth transfers over time. This data enables us to identify what proportion of the population receives an inheritance or inter-vivo transfer in a given year, the average amount received, and the kinds of people who are most likely to receive these wealth transfers. We then used the most recent available wave of ELSA (2006), when survey participants were aged 54 and above, to gain a better understanding of likely future trends in inheritance transfers.

The data has been weighted to take account of attrition: the tendency for survey participants to drop out of the study overtime.

1.2 Measuring Family Wealth Transfers

BHPS

In the BHPS, the two survey questions central to this analysis are:

- a) whether the individual had personally received an inheritance or bequest (including inherited property) within the last year, and how much this amounted to
- b) whether they had received a payment from a family member not living in the household within the last year, and how much this amounted to

The questions do not identify the *number* of wealth transfers an individual have received in a given year and could represent more than one family wealth transfer. However, as we are interested in changing trends at the individual level and not at the level individual transfer receipts, this does not pose a problem to this study.

The question on inter-vivo transfers does not capture transfers that occur between family members *within* households. An example may be parents who transfer money to their children precisely to enable them to purchase a property and leave the family home. There is also no information on which family member the transfer is received from, and so this may also include family transfers that occur upwards, i.e. from children to parents. Whilst information on inter-vivo transfers was recorded for the period 1991-2004, information on inheritance was only gathered from 1997 onwards.

All measures of wealth transfers in this report are from respondents' estimates. These estimates have been adjusted for inflation using the monthly Consumer Price Index data to 2005 levels.

ELSA

On the subject of future wealth transfers, ELSA contains two sets of questions which measure the expectation of receiving and leaving certain levels of wealth.

- a) The expectation of receiving an inheritance to the value of £100,000 or more, £10,000 or more, and of any value at all, within the next 10 years
- b) The expectation of leaving an inheritance to the value of £150,000 or more, £50,000 or more, and of any value at all.

Individuals were asked to report their expectation as a percentage chance, i.e. 0 to 100%.

1.3 Sample Sizes

Very few individuals receive an inheritance or an inter-vivo payment in any single year (according to the BHPS data approximately 2.5% receive an inheritance, and 0.9% receive an inter-vivo payment). In order to reduce the margin of error around population estimates relating to small samples, we have used information on wealth transfers collected over two subsequent years. Therefore all reported figures using BHPS data represent all wealth transfers that may have occurred within a two year period. Despite this approach, some of sample sizes for subgroups remain relatively small, in which case we have been cautious in interpreting the results. Similar issues relating to small samples do not apply to ELSA.

1.4 Analysis

BHPS

The analysis is based on estimates of the percentages of the population receiving family wealth transfers, and the average amounts (means) received. As with all survey research, our analysis represents estimates of the trends within the wider the population. Using statistical techniques we are able to ascertain, with a good degree of certainty, whether the trends we see in the data are likely to exist in the wider population, i.e. whether they are statistically significant.

For this study we used two general approaches to our statistical analysis. For an analysis of the percentages of individuals receiving a wealth transfer, we used a longitudinal approach. This allows us to test for trends across time and between subgroups of the population across time (for example, different age groups).

For an analysis of the average (mean) family wealth transfer received, the nature of the measures necessitated a cross-sectional approach, whereby each wave was examined separately. However, in order to allow for a similar level analysis across time, we have reported a margin of error associated with each estimated mean.

A margin of error indicates the range of values in which the true population mean could lie for a given level of confidence. Most often these will relate to the 95% confidence intervals. The reader can then be 95% certain that the true population mean will lie between figure 'a' and figure 'b'. In our case we report confidence intervals that allow for a comparison of two averages across time. These have been depicted in the figures as error bars. If there is no overlap in the error bars for two reported averages then we can be 95% confident that these averages will also be different in the general population.

The error bars should only be used to compare means across time. Additional, cross-sectional tests were estimated to compare averages between groups, and have been reported in the tables as p-values. These p-values indicate the level of certainty we can have in assuming that a difference seen between two groups in the data will also exist in the general population. P-values at or less than 0.05 are generally accepted as statistically significant, and mean that we can be 95% confident that an observed difference is real. Significant p-values have also been highlighted in bold.

ELSA

The analysis examines the relationship between the mean expectation for both receiving and leaving an inheritance with age group, wealth quartile, and tenure. Results of the statistical tests are reported in the tables as p-values, and significant findings highlighted in bold.

1.5 Measuring the Central Tendency

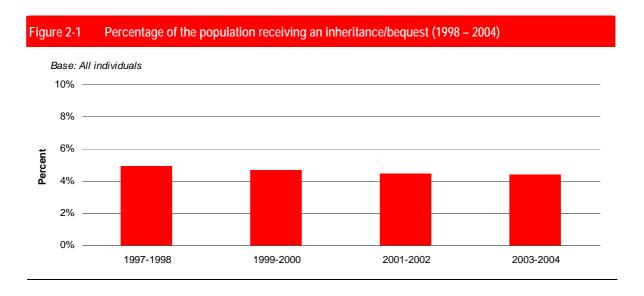
Small proportions of individuals receive disproportionately higher wealth transfers than the majority, the effect of which is to inflate the value of the mean. Therefore the mean may not be the most effective measure of the central tendency. As an alternative approach we could have reported the medians or some kind of adjusted means, for example, using capped or trimmed means. However, medians are not suitable for statistical tests, and in addition, we wished to capture this phenomenon of exceptionally high wealth transfers as they explain some of the differences seen between different the subgroups in the population. In order to give a more rounded representation of the distributions, when reporting the overall population trends we have also reported the medians, and the 25th, 75th and 99th percentiles.

2 Historical Patterns of Inheritance Transfers

This chapter uses data from the BHPS to explore inheritance or bequests for the period 1998-2004. For the sake of brevity, from this point forward, both inheritances and bequests will be referred to as inheritances.

2.1 Population Trends

The percentage of the population receiving an inheritance in any given **two year** period between 1998 and 2004 has remained stable at approximately four to five percent (one year data suggests the figure is between two and three percent in any given year) (figure 2.1, table 2.1). However the average amount received has risen steadily over the same period, doubling from just over £20,000 in the period 1997-1998 to over £40,000 in 2003-2004 (figure 2.2, table 2.2) ³.



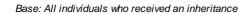
As an illustration for the interpretation of the error bars: the average inheritance received for the period 1999-2000 is significantly larger, in a statistical sense, than the average amount received in 1997-8. This is because the error bars do not overlap, which means we can be at least 95% certain that the latter average will also be larger in the population. However, while the average inheritance continues to rise beyond 1999-2000, particularly between the periods 2001-2 and 2003-4, as the error bars overlap we cannot be certain that this trend exists in the population. We might go as far as drawing a tentative conclusion, particularly given our knowledge of rising property values for the same period.

The Age of Inheritance

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³ As noted in the introduction, these averages are based on the total inheritance an individual received within a two year period, and not individual inheritance receipts. However, we suspect that in the majority of cases individuals will have only had a single inheritance receipt.

Figure 2-2 Trend in the mean inheritance/bequest (1998 – 2004)



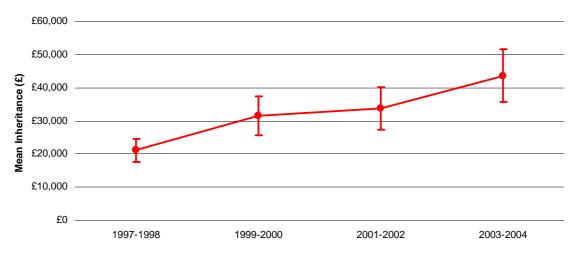


Table 2-1 Percentage of population receiving an inheritance/bequest (1998-2004)

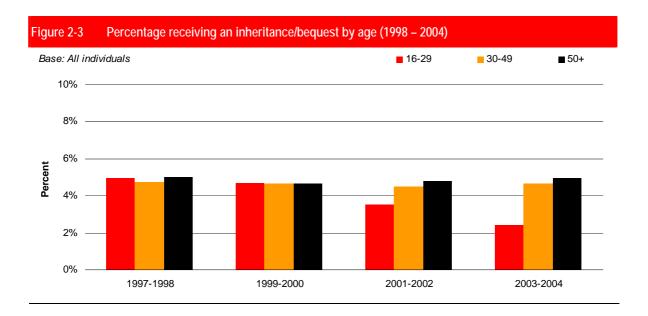
Base: All Individuals				BHPS
	Period			
	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Inheritance/ Bequest	%	%	%	%
Percentage receiving	4.91	4.66	4.45	4.40
Standard error	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25
Weighted base	8392	8062	7795	7507
Unweighted base	8258	7951	7724	7440

Table 2-2 Mean inher	itance/bequest red	ceived (1998-20	04)	
Base: All Individuals who received	an inheritance			BHPS
	Period			
Inheritance/ Bequest	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Mean amount	£21,126	£31,517	£33,786	£43,556
Standard error	£2,361	£4,001	£4,363	£5,438
99 th percentile	£215,339	£285,630	£488,868	£434,423
75 th percentile	£17,729	£32,299	£27,612	£40,031
50 th percentile (median)	£4,345	£5,650	£6,903	£8,000
25 th percentile	£1,429	£1,401	£1,429	£2,545
Weighted base	356	323	283	286
Unweighted base	367	339	301	285

2.2 Inheritance by Age

Age was considered according to three distinct age bands: late adolescence through to emerging adulthood (16-29), early adulthood through to middle age (30-49), and the third age (50+). Early exploration of the data suggests that these three age bands capture what is going on at the finer level of analysis, in which age is considered yearly.

For the periods 1997-8 and 1999-2000 there were no differences in the proportions receiving an inheritance, which was approximately five percent in each age group. From 2001/2 onwards however, individuals' aged between 16 and 29 were significantly less likely to receive an inheritance compared to those in the older categories. For the period 2001-2002, the percentage of 16 to 29 year olds receiving an inheritance dropped to 3.5%, and then to 2.4% for the period 2003-2004 (figure 2.3, table 2.3).



There are clear differences in the average amount of inheritance received across the three age groups. For the period 1998 to 2004, those aged 16 to 29 tended to receive the smallest inheritance on average at approximately £10,000, those aged 30 to 49 received between £17,000 and £31,000, and those aged 50 and above, between £30,000 and £60,000. Except for two instances (comparing those aged 30 to 49 to those aged 50 and above, for the periods 1999-2000 and 2001-2002) these age differences are all statistically significant (figure 2.4, table 2.4).

Interestingly, the rise in the average inheritance received overtime seen in figure 2.2 is not evident across the three age groups. There is a significant rise between the period 1997-8 and the period 2003-04 for those aged 50 and older, and between the periods 1997-8 and 1999-2000 for those aged 30 to 49. However there is no rise in the average inheritance for the youngest age group.

It is possible that the youngest age group are more likely to receive 'token' transfers, e.g. a gift that a grandparent might leave a grandchild determined more by its roundedness (i.e. £1000) than by the rising amount available to transfer.

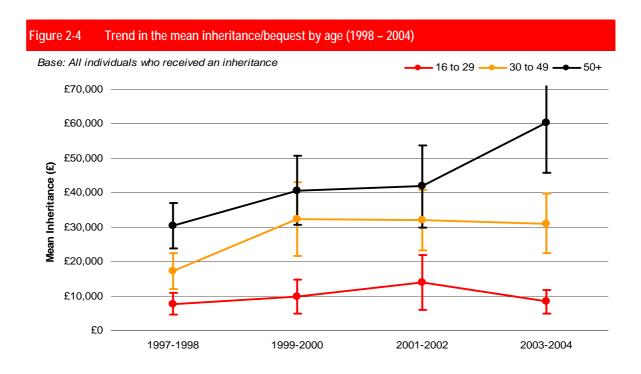


Table 2-3 Percentage receiving an inheritance/bequest by age (1998-2004)				
Base: All Individuals				BHPS
	Period			
	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Inheritance/ Bequest	%	%	%	%
16-29: Percentage receiving	4.94	4.72	3.54	2.44
Standard error	0.38	0.36	0.38	0.35
30-49: Percentage receiving	4.76	4.68	4.49	4.66
Standard error	0.47	0.48	0.48	0.49
50+: Percentage receiving	5.01	4.63	4.78	4.95
Standard error	0.45	0.44	0.42	0.44
Weighted bases				
16-29	1667	1460	1427	1339
30-49	3006	2894	2770	2611
50+	3718	3708	3598	3556
Unweighted bases				
16-29	1885	1711	1566	1458
30-49	3169	3082	3026	2863
50+	3204	3158	3132	3119

Table 2-4 Mean inheritance/bequest received by age (1998-2004)					
heritance			BHPS		
Period					
1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004		
£7,810	£9,993	£13,972	£8,402		
£2,055	£3,189	£5,106	£2,172		
£17,221	£32,395	£32,051	£31,147		
£3,594	£7,335	£6,029	£5,905		
£30,502	£40,746	£41,868	£60,284		
£4,222	£6,513	£7,709	£9,343		
0.024	0.006	0.023	0.000		
0.000	0.000	0.003	0.000		
0.017	0.397	0.318	0.009		
74	64	44	32		
125	120	108	107		
157	139	131	147		
86	81	56	43		
	Period 1997-1998 £7,810 £2,055 £17,221 £3,594 £30,502 £4,222 0.024 0.000 0.017	Period 1997-1998 1999-2000 £7,810 £9,993 £2,055 £3,189 £17,221 £32,395 £3,594 £7,335 £30,502 £40,746 £4,222 £6,513 0.024 0.006 0.000 0.000 0.017 0.397 74 64 125 120 157 139	Period 1997-1998 1999-2000 2001-2002 £7,810 £9,993 £13,972 £2,055 £3,189 £5,106 £17,221 £32,395 £32,051 £3,594 £7,335 £6,029 £30,502 £40,746 £41,868 £4,222 £6,513 £7,709 0.024 0.006 0.023 0.000 0.000 0.003 0.017 0.397 0.318 74 64 44 125 120 108 157 139 131		

30-49

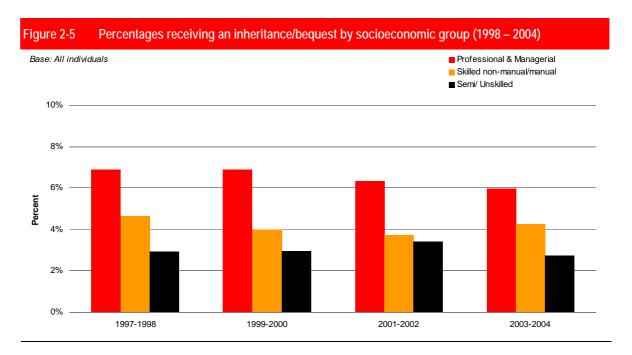
50+

2.3 Inheritance by Socioeconomic Group

Socioeconomic group is defined by the current or most recently held occupation and generally reflects a category of people who have largely similar educational histories, job opportunities, and social standing.

There is a clear and significant relationship between the likelihood of receiving an inheritance and an individual's social economic group. Professionals or managers are the most likely to have received an inheritance, and those in semi or unskilled occupations (for example, a waiter or a care worker) are the least likely to have received an inheritance. On average, professionals and managers were twice as likely to receive an inheritance as those in the two lowest social economic groups. There is some suggestion that these socioeconomic differences have reduced over time, however this trend was not statistically significant (figure 2.5, table 2.5).

Previous research has shown a strong relationship between socioeconomic position and financial resources, as well as the continuity of socioeconomic position across generations. One explanation for these differences might therefore be the generosity of wealthy family members who are not their immediate kin, such as an aunt or uncle for example.



Prior to 2001/2, findings suggest that professionals and managers were also likely to receive the largest inheritances. They received significantly larger amounts on average than individuals in semi or unskilled occupations for the periods 1997/98 and 1999/2000. On average, they received approximately £24,000 and £40,000 respectively, compared to £13,000 and £16,000 received by those in the lowest socioeconomic groups. For the period 1999-2000 they also received significantly higher amounts than individuals in skilled occupations. However, beyond 1999/2000, we were unable to find any significant differences. This may of course be the result of small sample sizes, which can lead to less reliable estimates (figure 2.6, table 2.6).



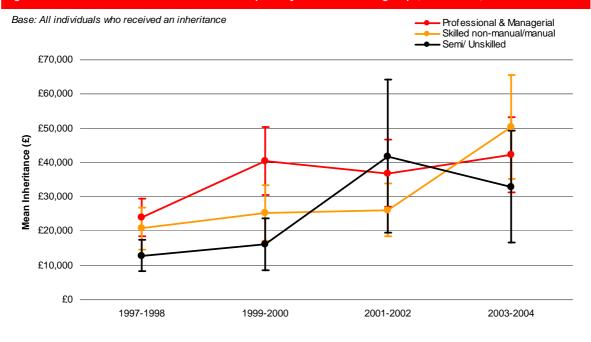


Table 2-5 Percentage receiving an inheritance/bequest by SEG (1998-2004)				
Base: All Individuals				BHPS
	Period			
	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Inheritance/ Bequest	%	%	%	%
Prof/Man: Percentage receiving	6.88	6.87	6.36	5.97
Standard error	0.53	0.52	0.51	0.50
Skilled: Percentage receiving	4.65	3.98	3.71	4.27
Standard error	0.37	0.35	0.35	0.38
Semi/Unskilled: Percentage receiving	2.94	2.98	3.42	2.76
Standard error	0.39	0.43	0.46	0.42
Weighted bases				
Prof/Man	2559	2563	2542	2445
Skilled	3618	3464	3249	3149
Semi/Unskilled	1946	1775	<i>1752</i>	1619
Unweighted bases				
Prof/Man	2574	2590	2627	2546
Skilled	3570	3397	3213	3091
Semi/Unskilled	1866	1721	1657	1538

Table 2-6 Mean inheritance/bequest received by SEG (1998-2004)

Base: All Individuals who received an inheritance

BHPS

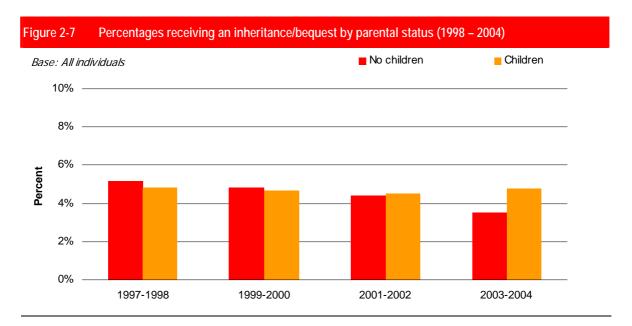
Date of the framework and the following and the following				2 0
	Period			
Inheritance/ Bequest	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Prof/Man: Mean amount	£ 24,046	£ 40,478	£ 36,940	£ 42,254
Standard error	£ 3,858	£ 7,166	£ 6,947	£7,819
Skilled: Mean amount	£ 20,818	£ 25,337	£ 26,193	£ 50,385
Standard error	£ 3,952	£ 5,202	£ 4,949	£ 9,817
Semi/Unskilled: Mean amount	£ 12,899	£ 16,165	£ 41,917	£ 33,017
Standard error	£ 2,704	£ 4,537	£ 13,343	£ 9,797
Comparison of Means (p-value)				
Prof/Man vs. Skilled	0.561	0.09	0.211	0.519
Prof/Man vs. semi/unskilled	0.019	0.005	0.742	0.464
Skilled vs. semi/unskilled	0.101	0.187	0.273	0.213
Weighted bases				
Prof/Man	150	154	129	130
Skilled	148	115	100	113
Semi/Unskilled	52	46	51	38
Unweighted bases				_
Prof/Man	156	162	143	134
Skilled	150	120	103	115
Semi/Unskilled	54	49	51	40

2.4 Inheritance by Parental Status

Here we explore whether the status of being a parent has any influence on the likelihood of receiving an inheritance, or the amount of inheritance received. We hypothesised that having children may influence the behaviour of the individuals own parents, ensuring that they leave greater wealth to pass onto future generations.

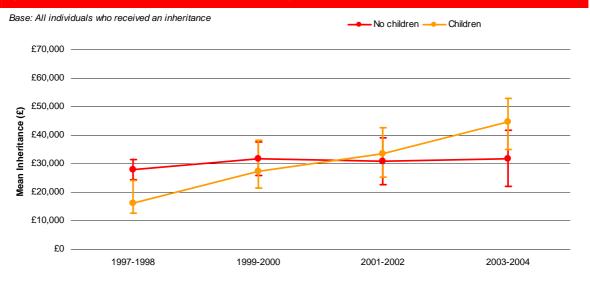
Being a parent is strongly related to a person's age. The analysis has therefore been adjusted for age so that we can be confident that any observed patterns are to do with the relationship between inheritance receipts and parental status and not a person's age.

There were no significant differences in the likelihood of receiving an inheritance between parents and non-parents. There is some suggestion that the likelihood for non-parents to receive an inheritance has reduced over time however this finding was not statistically significant (figure 2.7, table 2.7).



There is some suggestion that the average amount of inheritance received is different for parents and non-parents, and that this relationship changed over time. However, because of small sample sizes we were unable to identify a statistically significant difference. Nevertheless, what the data does tell us is that the average inheritance for parents increased significantly over the period, from approximately £16,000 in the period 1997-1998, to £45,000 in 2003-2004. The equivalent figure for non-parents remained relatively stable at approximately £30,000 (figure 2.8, table 2.8).





Base: All Individuals				
	Period			
	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Inheritance/ Bequest	%	%	%	%
Non-Parents: Percentage receiving	5.17	4.81	4.42	3.52
Standard error	0.92	0.91	0.94	0.83
Parents: Percentage receiving	4.81	4.66	4.49	4.79
Standard error	0.91	0.62	0.62	0.66
Weighted bases				
Non-Parents	2694	2523	2443	2338
Parents	5698	5539	<i>5352</i>	<i>5168</i>
Unweighted bases				
Non-Parents	2774	2576	2470	2392
Parents	5484	5375	5254	5048

Table 2-8 Mean inheritance/bequest received by parental status (1998-2004)

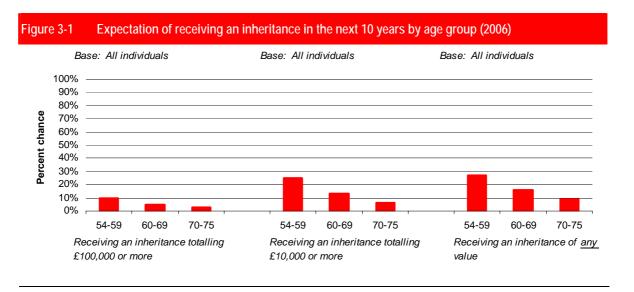
Base: All Individuals who received an inheritance BHPS				
	Period			
Inheritance/ Bequest	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Non-Parents: Mean amount	£28,013	£31,786	£30,906	£31,860
Standard error	£5,778	£7,768	£6,548	£5,874
Parents: Mean amount	£16,122	£27,450	£33,466	£44,788
Standard error	£2,255	£3,793	£5,355	£6,320
Comparison of Means (p-value)				
	0.078	0.627	0.770	0.130
Weighted bases				
Non-Parents	118	110	93	<i>75</i>
Parents	238	213	190	211
Unweighted bases				
Non-Parents	131	123	103	87
Parents	236	216	198	207

3 Future Patterns of Inheritance Transfers

This next chapter explores likely future trends in inheritance transfers using data from the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing.

3.1 Receiving an Inheritance by Age

Overall, expectations for receiving an inheritance within the next 10 years were fairly low. They were also related to the person's age. Those aged between 54 and 59 report the highest expectations on average, while those aged between 70 and 75 report the lowest (figure 3.1, table 3.1). This is perhaps not a surprising finding because the younger age group are far more likely to have a living elderly parent.



The relationship between a person's age and their expectation also increases as the amount of expected inheritance decreases. Those aged between 54 and 59 report a 25 percent expectation, on average, of receiving an inheritance totalling £10,000 within the next 10 years, whereas those aged 60 to 69 report a 13 percent expectation, and those aged 70 to 75, a 6 percent expectation.

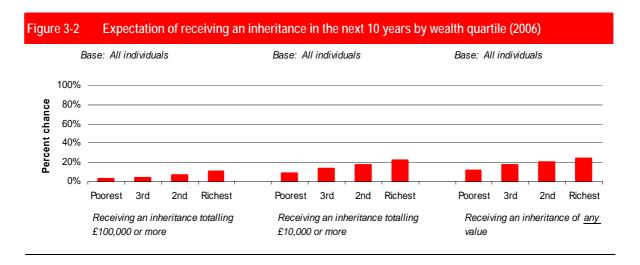
Table 3-1 Expectation of receiving an inheritance in the next 10 years by age group (2006)

Table 3-1 Expectation	or receiving arritherna	ice in the next to ye	ars by age group (2	000)
Base: All Individuals				ELSA
	Receiving an inheritand totalling	ce Receiving an inherit	ance Receiving an in of any value	heritance
Inheritance/ Bequest	£100,000 or more	£10,000 or more		
•		%	%	%
54-59: Mean expectation	9.5	57 2	4.71	27.18
Standard error	0.5	59	0.89	0.88
60-69: Mean expectation	4.9	9 1	3.11	16.22
Standard error	0.3	36	0.57	0.62
70-75: Mean expectation	2.4	14	6.25	8.76
Standard error	0.3	39	0.63	0.70
Comparison of Means (p-value	e)			
54-59 vs. 60-69	0.00	0 0	.000	0.000
54-59 vs. 70-75	0.00	0 0	.000	0.000
60-69 vs. 70-79	0.00	0	.000	0.000
Weighted bases				
54-59	179	95	1798	1800
60-69	233	34	2331	2334
70-75	98	53	955	955
Unweighted bases				
54-59	166	64	1668	1670
60-69	244	17	2444	2448
70-75	105	52	1054	1054

3.2 Receiving an Inheritance by Wealth Quartile

Individuals were classified into wealth quartiles representing total non-pension wealth (including both liquid and illiquid wealth).

There is a significant relationship between an individual's level of wealth and their expectation of receiving an inheritance within the next 10 years. Those in the poorest and third wealth quartile report the lowest expectation of receiving an inheritance of £100,000 on average, of approximately 3-4 percent. This increases to 6 percent for those in the second quartile, and to 10 percent for those in the richest wealth quartile (figure 3.2, table 3.2).



The average expectation for receiving an inheritance increases for £10,000 or more, increasing slightly further still, for receiving anything at all. However the association with wealth remains relatively stable throughout. The poorest quartile report a 9 percent average expectation of receiving £10,000 or more, the third quartile report a 13 percent average, the second, 17 percent, and the richest quartile, a 22 percent average expectation (figure 3.2, table 3.2).

Previous research has identified a relationship between age and wealth, with older old cohorts showing lower levels of wealth relative to younger old cohorts⁴. We therefore reassessed the relationship between wealth and the expectation for receiving an inheritance, adjusting for age, to ensure that our findings were not being confounded by age. However, we found no discernable differences in the results.

The Age of Inheritance 20

4

⁴ Boreham R & Lloyd J (2007) Asset Accumulation across the Life Course, ILC-UK, London

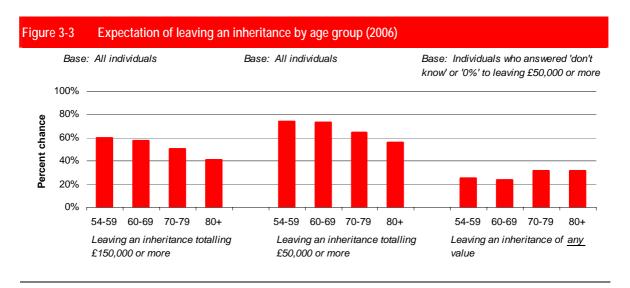
Tables

Table 3-2 Expectation of receiving an inheritance in the next 10 years by wealth quartile (2006)

Base: All Individuals			ELSA
	Receiving an inheritance	Receiving an inheritance	Receiving an inheritance
	totalling	totalling	of any value
Inheritance	£100,000 or more	£10,000 or more	
	%	%	%
Poorest: Mean expectation	2.67	8.63	11.71
Standard error	0.44	0.76	0.82
3nd: Mean expectation	4.11	13.36	16.87
Standard error	0.45	0.81	0.87
2rd: Mean expectation	6.28	17.10	19.96
Standard error	0.56	0.89	0.90
Richest: Mean expectation	10.26	22.11	23.90
Standard error	0.68	0.93	0.94
Comparison of Means (p-value)			
Poorest vs. 3rd	0.022	0.000	0.000
Poorest vs. 2nd	0.000	0.000	0.000
Poorest vs. richest	0.000	0.000	0.000
3rd vs. 2nd	0.003	0.002	0.014
3rd vs. Richest	0.000	0.000	0.000
2nd vs. Richest	0.000	0.000	0.002
Weighted bases			
Poorest	1055	1053	1055
3rd	1224	1224	1224
2nd	1284	1284	1287
Richest	1399	1402	1403
Unweighted bases			
Poorest	957	956	957
3rd	1240	1240	1240
2nd	1324	1325	1329
Richest	1529	1532	1533

3.3 Leaving an Inheritance by Age Group

A person's age is an important predictor of their expectation for leaving an inheritance. Those aged between 54 and 69 report a significantly higher expectation, on average, of leaving an inheritance of £150,000 or more, and of £50,000 or more, than those aged 70 and older. The average expectation of leaving £50,000 or more is 74 percent for those aged between 54 and 69. This drops to 65 percent for those aged 70 to 79, and to 56 percent for those aged 80 and above (figure 3.3, table 3.3).



This same pattern applies to the expectation of leaving £150,000 or more. The youngest two age groups report a 60 percent average expectation of leaving £150,000 or more, compared to 50 percent for those aged between 70 and 79, and 41 percent for those aged 80 or more. Those who reported 0 percent or 'don't know' to the leaving £50,000 or more were asked whether they expected to leave anything at all. Interestingly the results are reversed, with those in the younger age categories reporting the lowest average expectation (figure 3.3, table 3.3).

Tables

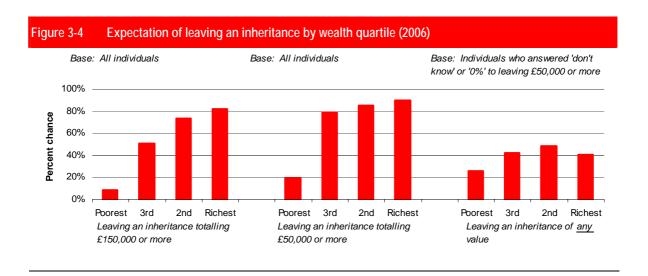
Table 3-3 Expectation of leaving an inheritance by age group (2006)

Base: All Individuals ELSA Leaving an inheritance Leaving an inheritance Leaving bequest of totalling £150,000 totalling £50,000 any value Inheritance or more or more 54-59: Mean expectation 73.89 25.11 59.79 Standard error 1.06 0.96 2.69 60-69: Mean expectation 57.81 73.09 23.81 Standard error 0.88 0.79 1.90 70-79: Mean expectation 50.48 64.78 31.57 Standard error 1.05 1.01 1.96 80+: Mean expectation 40.78 55.79 31.11 Standard error 1.49 1.52 2.40 Comparison of Means (p-value) 54-59 vs. 60-69 0.151 0.518 0.693 54-59 vs. 70-79 0.000 0.000 0.053 54-59 vs. 80+ 0.000 0.000 0.097 60-69 vs. 70-79 0.000 0.000 0.005 60-69 vs. 80+ 0.000 0.000 0.017 70-79 vs. 80+ 0.000 0.000 0.882 Weighted bases 54-59 1793 1797 241 60-69 2314 2324 336 70-79 1732 1755 398 *80*+ 996 311 1015 Unweighted bases 54-59 1663 1668 199 60-69 2426 2437 308 70-79 1850 1874 379 *80*+ 931 947 262

^{*}Except for 'Leaving bequest of <u>any</u> value' which was only asked of those who 'Don't know' or '0%' to leaving £50,000 or more

3.4 Leaving an Inheritance by Wealth Quartile

There is a significant relationship between a person's level of wealth and their expectation of leaving an inheritance. This is particularly evident for those in the bottom wealth quartile who show a much lower expectation for leaving an inheritance than individuals in the other three quartiles. Those in the poorest quartile report a 20 percent average expectation of leaving £50,000 or more, compared to an expectation of 79 percent and above for all other wealth quartiles (figure 3.4, table 3.4).



The disparity between the wealth quartiles is less marked for those asked whether they expect to leave anything at all, but remains nevertheless.

Again, because of the identification of a relationship between wealth and a person's age in previous research, we reassessed the relationship between wealth and the expectation for leaving an inheritance. Again we found no discernable differences in the results.

Table 3-4 Expectation of leaving an inheritance by wealth quartile (2006)

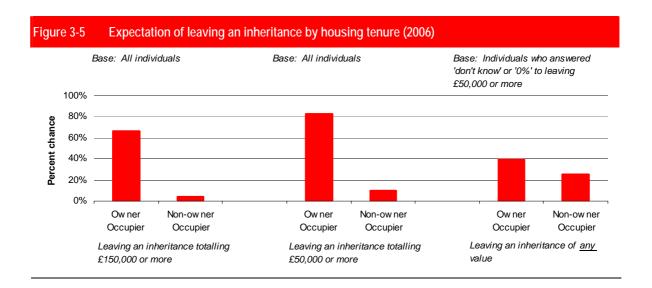
Base: All Individuals* ELSA Leaving an inheritance Leaving an inheritance Leaving bequest of totalling £150,000 totalling £50,000 any value Inheritance or more or more Poorest: Mean expectation 8.67 19.64 25.83 Standard error 0.62 0.90 1.16 78.93 3nd: Mean expectation 50.52 41.91 4.36 Standard error 1.03 0.79 2rd: Mean expectation 73.60 85.09 48.49 Standard error 0.84 0.62 6.44 Richest: Mean expectation 82.03 89.63 40.76 Standard error 0.65 0.45 9.74 Comparison of Means (p-value) 0.000 0.000 0.000 Poorest vs. 3rd Poorest vs. 2nd 0.000 0.000 0.001 Poorest vs. richest 0.000 0.000 0.129 3rd vs. 2nd 0.000 0.000 0.399 3rd vs. Richest 0.000 0.000 0.914 2nd vs. Richest 0.000 0.000 0.509 Weighted bases Poorest 1666 1668 1101 3rd 1653 1674 103 2nd 1675 1692 43 Richest 1699 1711 16 Unweighted bases Poorest 1497 970 1499 3rd 1662 1682 96 2nd 1720 1738 43 Richest 1857 1870 19

^{*}Except for 'Leaving bequest of <u>any</u> value' which was only asked of those who 'Don't know' or '0%' to leaving £50,000 or more

3.5 Leaving Inheritance by Housing Tenure

Unsurprisingly there is a strong relationship between the expectation of leaving an inheritance and whether or not an individual owns their own property. Those who own their own property report an 83 percent average expectation of leaving an inheritance of £50,000 or more compared to just 10 percent for non-owners. The relationship is less pronounced for those asked whether they expected to leave anything at all, but remains nevertheless (figure 3.5, table 3.5).

A related finding suggests that property ownership declines with age. Among those aged 54-69, around 85 percent own their own home. This figure is around 77 percent for those aged 70-79 and 70 percent for those aged 80 and older (figure A.1, table A.1 in the appendix). If the younger cohorts remain owner occupiers into their old age, then the average value of estates, and of subsequent bequests, is also likely to increase in coming decades.



Tables

Table 3-5 Expectation of leaving an inheritance by housing tenure (2006)									
Base: All Individuals*			ELSA						
	Leaving an inheritance	Leaving an inheritance	Leaving bequest of						
	totalling £150,000	totalling £50,000	any value						
Inheritance	or more	or more							
	%	%	%						
Owner Occupier: Mean expectation	66.25	82.86	39.50						
Standard error	0.53	0.39	2.71						
Non-owner Occupier: Mean expectation	4.06	10.16	25.51						
Standard error	0.48	0.73	1.19						
Comparison of Means (p-value)									
Owner Occupier vs. Non-owner Occupier	0.000	0.000	0.000						
Weighted bases									
Owner Occupier	5469	5523	252						
Non-owner Occupier	1336	1338	1026						
Unweighted bases									
Owner Occupier	5660	5714	242						
Non-owner Occupier	1182								

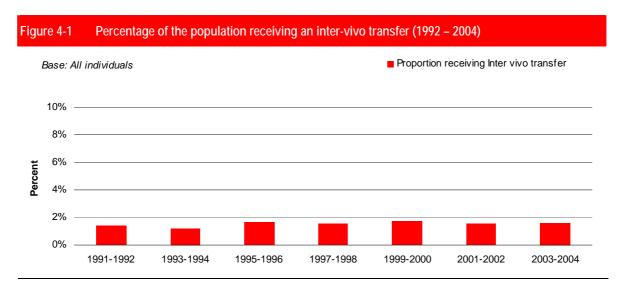
^{*}Except for 'Leaving bequest of <u>any</u> value' which was only asked of those who 'Don't know' or '0%' to leaving £50,000 or more

4 Historical Patterns of Inter-vivo Transfers

This next chapter uses data from the BHPS to explore inter-vivo transfers for the period 1992-2004. Inter-vivo transfers are transfers between two individuals made when both are still alive. The BHPS asks respondents about receipt of a payment from a family member not living in the same household.

4.1 Population Trends

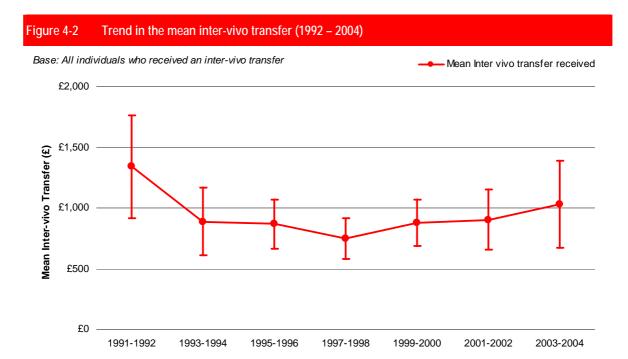
The percentage of the population in receipt of an inter-vivo transfer within a **two year period** between 1992 and 2004 has remained stable at approximately 1.5 percent (the respective figures for any given year were approximately 0.9%) (figure 4.1, table 4.1).



Similarly, the average amount received has remained stable over the same time period at approximately £900. There is suggestion of a peak in the average transfer in 1991/2, however, because of small sample sizes, we cannot be certain that this trend exists in the general population (figure 4.2, table 4.2) ⁵.

Despite popular discussion and debate around the prevalence of 'lifetime-gifts', particularly in relation to deposits for young people to help with property, there is no sign of average inter-vivo transfers increasing in value. This may reflect the low-number and one-off nature of such gifts that make it difficult for even large survey data to identify, and the fact that data is only available for inter-vivo gifts received from non-resident family members. Looking at the 99th percentile in table 4.2, there is some evidence of the occurrence of large family wealth transfers, in the range of £10,000 and above. However, for the most part these inter-vivo transfers are fairly small in amount, and remain stable across time. It should also be remembered when inheritances received are passed down a generation in inter-vivo form, the amount that individuals receive may be diluted by the number of siblings, so increases in average inheritance are unlikely to be matched by commensurate increases in inter-vivo transfers.

⁵ As noted in the introduction, these averages are based on the total inter-vivo transfers that an individual had received over a two year period.

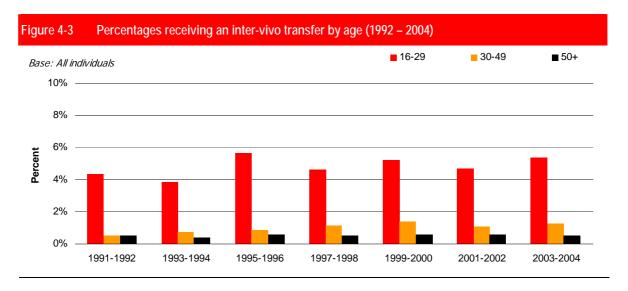


able 4-1 Percentage of population receiving an inter-vivo transfer (1992-2004)											
Base: All Individuals							BHPS				
	Period										
	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004				
Inter-vivo Transfer	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
Percentage receiving	1.37	1.23	1.67	1.54	1.71	1.51	1.62				
Standard error	0.13	0.13	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.14	0.15				
Weighted base	8752	8373	8434	8479	8182	7857	7511				
Unweighted base	8554	8175	8175	8329	8056	7775	7443				

Table 4-2 Mean inter-	vivo transfer re	eceived (1992	-2004)							
Base: All Individuals who received an inter-vivo transfer										
	Period									
Inter-vivo Transfer	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004			
Mean amount	£ 1,343	£ 888	£ 869	£ 750	£ 881	£ 904	£ 1,032			
Standard error	£ 273	£ 179	£ 131	£ 109	£ 124	£ 160	£ 232			
99 th percentile	£ 14,944	£ 7,990	£ 13,001	£ 9,462	£ 12,086	£ 13,547	£ 13,477			
75 th percentile	£ 1,036	£ 790	£ 822	£ 1,079	£ 865	£ 691	£ 673			
50 th percentile (median)	£ 333	£ 350	£ 348	£ 290	£ 281	£ 276	£ 256			
25 th percentile	£ 84	£ 79	£ 147	£ 145	£ 140	£ 79	£ 133			
Weighted base	120	103	141	131	140	118	122			
Unweighted base	135	137	177	149	157	141	134			

4.2 Inter-vivo Transfers by Age

There is a clear and significant relationship between a person's age and their likelihood to receive an inter-vivo transfer. Those aged between 16 and 29 are, on average, five times more likely to receive an inter-vivo transfer than those aged 30 to 49, and almost ten times more likely than those aged 50 and above. The slight fluctuation seen in this relationship overtime is not significant (figure 4.3, table 4.3).



Whilst the youngest age group were the most likely to receive an inter-vivo transfer, there is some evidence that it is the middle age group, i.e. those aged 30-49, who tend to receive the largest payments. However, because of small sample sizes, we can only be certain of this finding for the periods 1991-1992, and 1999-2000 (figure 4.4, table 4.4).

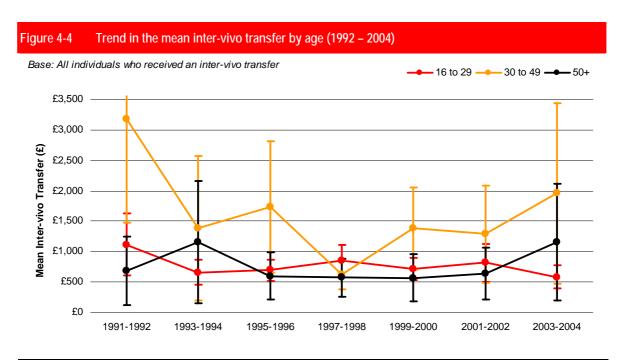
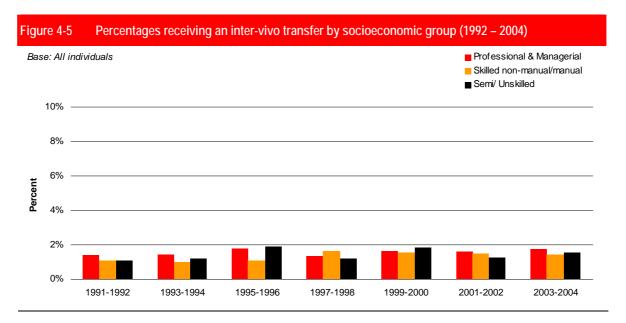


Table 4-3 Percentage receiving an inter-vivo transfer by age (1992-2004)									
Base: All Individuals							BHPS		
	Period								
	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004		
Inter-vivo Transfer	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
16-29: Percentage receiving	4.32	3.83	5.65	4.62	5.23	4.69	5.36		
Standard error	0.48	0.44	0.57	0.52	0.58	0.55	0.62		
30-49: Percentage receiving	0.54	0.72	0.83	1.14	1.38	1.08	1.24		
Standard error	0.13	0.18	0.17	0.21	0.25	0.19	0.24		
50+ : Percentage receiving	0.52	0.40	0.56	0.51	0.59	0.57	0.49		
Standard error	0.13	0.12	0.14	0.13	0.13	0.14	0.13		
Weighted bases									
16-29	1937	1739	1675	1668	1475	1436	1339		
30-49	3177	3103	3080	3020	2915	2777	2613		
50+	3638	3531	3680	3791	3792	3643	3559		
Unweighted bases									
16-29	1964	1923	1869	1886	1725	1575	1 <i>4</i> 58		
30-49	3341	3214	3239	3183	3103	3032	2864		
50+	3249	3038	3112	3260	3228	3168	3121		

Table 4-4 Mean inter-vivo t	ransfer receive	ed by age (199	92-2004)				
Base: All Individuals who received an inte	er-vivo transfer						BHPS
	Period						
Inter-vivo Transfer	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
16-29: Mean amount	£ 1,117	£ 662	£ 693	£ 849	£ 709	£ 816	£ 584
Standard error	£ 333	£ 136	£ 111	£ 171	£ 119	£ 204	£ 126
30-49: Mean amount	£ 3,173	£ 1,391	£ 1,732	£ 625	£ 1,383	£ 1,289	£ 1,960
Standard error	£ 865	£ 606	£ 550	£ 124	£ 346	£ 406	£ 756
50+: Mean amount	£ 686	£ 1,162	£ 601	£ 573	£ 570	£ 635	£ 1,152
Standard error	£ 290	£ 513	£ 198	£ 161	£ 197	£ 215	£ 488
Comparison of Means (p-value)							
16-29 vs. 30-49	0.029	0.246	0.067	0.294	0.070	0.303	0.077
16-29 vs. 50+	0.334	0.351	0.688	0.243	0.548	0.548	0.265
30-49 vs. 50+	0.008	0.775	0.056	0.797	0.044	0.160	0.265
Weighted bases							
16-29	84	67	95	77	77	67	72
<i>30-4</i> 9	17	22	26	35	40	30	32
50+	19	14	21	19	23	21	17
Unweighted bases							
16-29	97	107	133	98	95	86	87
30-49	19	18	27	34	41	37	31
50+	19	12	17	17	21	18	16

4.3 Inter-vivo Transfers by Socioeconomic Group

There are no significant differences in the likelihood of receiving an inter-vivo transfer between the different socioeconomic groups (figure 4.5, table 4.5).



However there is suggestion of a growing difference in the average inter-vivo payment received between professionals/managers and those in semi or unskilled occupations over time. In the period 1991-1998 differences between the average inter-vivo payments received across the three socioeconomic groups were not significant. However, from 1999-2000, the average inter-vivo transfers received by those in professional or managerial occupations is significantly higher than the average received by those in semi or unskilled roles. By the period 2003-2004 the average inter-vivo transfer was almost £2000 for the professional and managers, but less than £500 for those classified as semi or unskilled (figure 4.6, table 4.6).

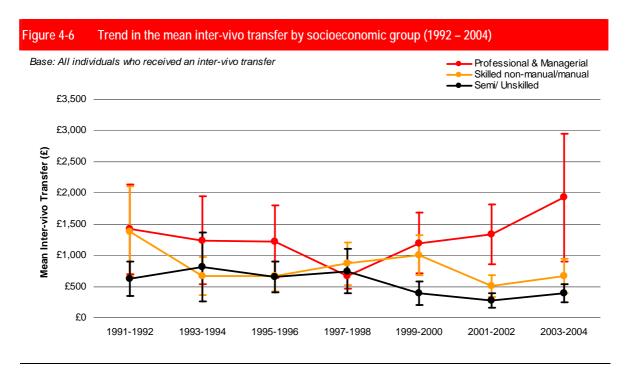


Table 4-5	Percentage receiving an inter-vivo transfer by socioeconomic group (1992-2004)
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Base: All Individuals							BHPS
	Period						
	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Inter-vivo Transfer	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prof/Man: Percentage receiving	1.42	1.44	1.79	1.36	1.63	1.61	1.73
Standard error	0.25	0.28	0.30	0.25	0.27	0.25	0.29
Skilled: Percentage receiving	1.09	0.98	1.12	1.66	1.56	1.50	1.43
Standard error	0.17	0.16	0.17	0.22	0.22	0.22	0.22
Semi/Unskilled: Percentage receiving	1.09	1.19	1.90	1.18	1.85	1.24	1.56
Standard error	0.25	0.25	0.31	0.25	0.34	0.26	0.33
Weighted bases							
Prof/Man	2371	2394	2510	2584	2599	2566	2446
Skilled	3980	3666	3677	3652	3517	3278	3152
Semi/Unskilled	2057	1975	1940	1964	1794	1755	1619
Unweighted bases							
Prof/Man	2361	2373	2472	2596	2622	2647	2547
Skilled	3886	3585	3603	3598	3445	3237	3093
Semi/Unskilled	1974	1893	1850	1881	1736	1660	1538

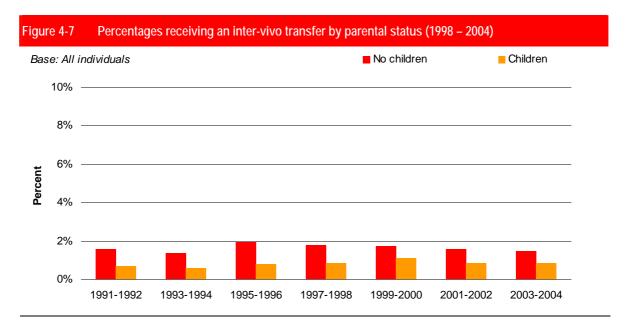
Table 4-6	Mean Inter-vivo transfer received by socioeconomic group (1992-2004)
Base: All Indiv	viduals who received an inter-vivo transfer

Base: All Individuals who received an inter-	vivo transfer						BHPS
	Period						
Inter-vivo Transfer	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Prof/Man: Mean amount	£ 1,422	£ 1,238	£ 1,223	£ 674	£ 1,198	£1,198	£ 1,533
Standard error	£ 430	£ 421	£ 349	£ 123	£ 292	£ 292	£ 345
Skilled: Mean amount	£ 1,382	£ 671	£ 661	£ 864	£ 1,003	£ 1,003	£ 514
Standard error	£ 445	£ 188	£ 149	£ 207	£ 200	£ 200	£ 107
Semi/Unskilled: Mean amount	£ 1,653	£ 813	£ 653	£ 748	£ 390	£ 390	£ 746
Standard error	£ 945	£ 334	£ 151	£ 210	£ 114	£ 114	£ 461
Comparison of Means (p-value)							
Prof/Man vs. Skilled	0.949	0.226	0.143	0.436	0.588	0.006	0.054
Prof/Man vs. semi/unskilled	0.092	0.098	0.138	0.766	0.012	0.001	0.016
Skilled vs. semi/unskilled	0.120	0.450	0.969	0.696	0.009	0.064	0.147
Weighted bases							
Prof/Man	34	35	45	35	42	41	42
Skilled	43	36	41	60	55	49	45
Semi/Unskilled	23	23	37	23	33	22	25
Unweighted bases							
Prof/Man	38	36	43	35	49	50	44
Skilled	47	48	58	72	63	56	52
Semi/Unskilled	24	34	52	27	35	27	28

4.4 Inter-vivo Transfers by Parental Status

Parents were significantly less likely to receive an inter-vivo transfer than those who do not have children (figure 4.7, table 4.7). Again, because of the strong relationship between a person's age and being a parent, we have adjusted the results for age. Therefore we can be confident that the observed pattern is to do with their parental status and not their age.

This finding is perhaps contrary to some expectations. We might have expected a greater generosity towards parents than non-parents, perhaps a grandparent providing some addition support for bringing up a grandchild. However, there is certainly no evidence to support this here. One plausible explanation is that individuals who are in a position to begin a family are also more economically stable, and therefore in less need of this support than those who do not have children. Of course we cannot be certain from this data alone.



There are no significant differences in the average amount of inter-vivo payments received between parents and non-parents (figure 4.8, table 4.8).

Figure 4-8 Trend in the mean inter-vivo transfer by parental status (1998 – 2004)

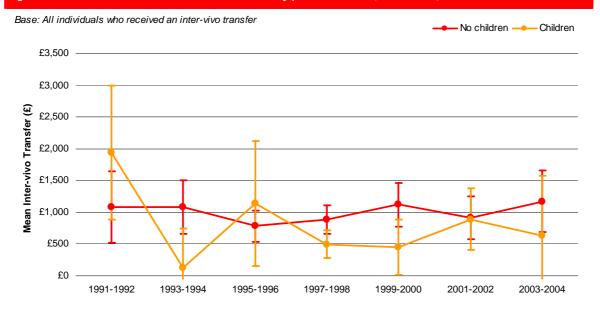
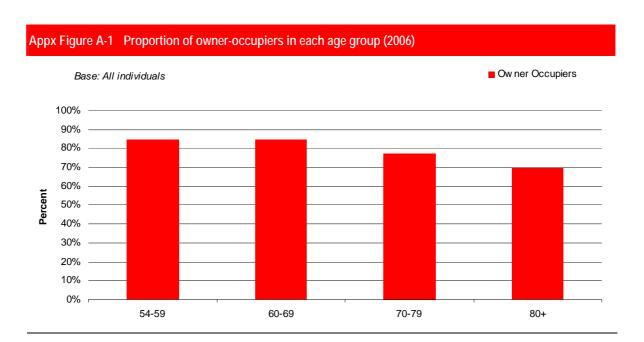


Table 4-7 Percentage receiving	g an inter-vivo	transfer by p	arental status	s (1992-2004)			
Base: All Individuals							BHPS
	Period						
	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Inter-vivo Transfer	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Non-Parents: Percentage receiving	1.58	1.35	1.95	1.75	1.70	1.54	1.48
Standard error	0.65	0.56	0.67	0.61	0.52	0.59	0.61
Parents: Percentage receiving	1.35	0.59	0.79	0.83	1.08	0.85	0.85
Standard error	0.56	0.25	0.29	0.27	0.34	0.28	0.31
Weighted bases							
Non-Parents	2733	2609	2674	2716	2559	2465	2340
Parents	6019	5764	5760	<i>5763</i>	5623	5391	5171
Unweighted bases							
Non-Parents	2666	2645	2744	2793	2606	2488	2393
Parents	5888	5530	5476	5536	5450	5287	5050

Table 4-8 Mean inter-vivo transfer received by parental status (1992-2004)											
Base: All Individuals who received inter-vivo transfer BHPS											
	Period										
Inter-vivo Transfer	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004				
Non-Parents: Mean amount	£1,079	£1,088	£782	£885	£1,118	£909	£1,173				
Standard error	£363	£273	£157	£144	£226	£218	£310				
Parents: Mean amount	£1,944	£122	£1,140	£493	£446	£890	£626				
Standard error	£632	£373	£586	£130	£262	£293	£569				
Comparison of Means (p-value)											
Parents vs. Non-Parents	0.280	0.099	0.598	0.022	0.121	0.961	0.460				
Weighted bases											
Non-Parents	39	33	43	44	56	43	42				
Parents	81	70	98	86	84	76	80				
Unweighted bases											
Non-Parents	39	31	42	46	52	46	41				
Parents	96	106	135	103	105	95	93				

Appendix A



Appx Table A-1 Proportion of owner-occupiers in each age group (2006)									
Base: All Individuals		<u> </u>		ELSA					
Proportion									
	54-59	60-69	70-79	80 +					
Inter-vivo Transfer	%	%	%	%					
Owner Occupiers	84.73	84.70	77.22	69.62					
Non-owner Occupiers	15.27	15.30	22.78	30.38					
Standard error	0.95	0.79	1.03	1.54					
Weighted bases									
Owner Occupiers	1547	1999	1401	776					
Non-owner Occupiers	279	361	413	339					
Unweighted bases									
Owner Occupiers	1461	2144	1542	742					
Non-owner Occupiers	229	328	387	285					



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