

Intergenerational Co-residency in the United Kingdom: Differentials by Race/Ethnicity and
Nativity

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Abstract

Despite the growth of immigrant-origin populations in the United Kingdom, little is known about household formation strategies among immigrants and their descendants. Using data from the first wave of Understanding Society, the UK Household Longitudinal Study (2009-2010), this study explores differences in intergenerational household composition (adult children living with parents) by race/ethnicity. I find that Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi women and men are more likely to reside in intergenerational households than White individuals, while Black African and Black Caribbean individuals were not, net of sociodemographic controls. These group patterns persist when examining foreign-born individuals alone. Contrary to theories on immigrant incorporation, longer durations of UK residence among immigrants and UK-born status are associated with higher odds of intergenerational co-residency. These findings can be interpreted along with prior research suggesting the importance of family migration and kin availability for household formation, and the importance of extended family support for the socioeconomic well-being of immigrants across time and generations. This research has implications for the social and economic well-being of individuals transitioning to adulthood and their aging parents, and for understanding the role of household composition as a family adaptation strategy among immigrants and their descendants.

Introduction

Shared living arrangements between adult children and their parents, often referred to as adult child/parent co-residency, intergenerational co-residency, or extended households, can represent a type of family adaptation strategy to assist with financial or housing constraints, childcare or other household labor demands, or health and social needs of aging individuals (Glick & Van Hook 2011; Keene & Batson 2010). Research in the United States has shown marked differences in extended family living arrangements by race/ethnicity and nativity, which are only partially explained by differences in socioeconomic resources across groups (Van Hook & Glick 2007). Qualitative research in the UK has similarly linked the rise of extended households to structural factors such as housing prices, as well as individual factors such as divorce, illness, and aging (Burgess & Muir 2020), however very little quantitative research exists on intergenerational households in the UK, and in particular, how adult child/parent living arrangements may differ by sociodemographic factors such as race/ethnicity and immigration status. Researchers studying the incorporation of immigrant-origin groups in the UK have found ethnic distinctions in patterns of family formation, and scholars disagree about the relative importance of structural factors such as racial exclusion and socioeconomic disadvantage versus family and culture-related factors in explaining these diverging family patterns (Shaw 2004). Considering the growing diversity in race/ethnicity and nativity status in the UK (Jivraj 2012), with multiple immigrant generations from a wide array of sending countries and with differing levels of economic resources, experiences of racial exclusion, and cultural and familial preferences, understanding patterns of intergenerational household formation across groups has important implications for understanding the socioeconomic incorporation of immigrants and their descendants.

Using data from the first wave of the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), also known as “Understanding Society,” this paper aims to fill gaps in the literature on migration, family, and household composition in the UK by exploring racial/ethnic and nativity differences in living arrangements consisting of adult children and at least one parent. I examine the influence of various social, demographic, and economic factors on the likelihood of intergenerational co-residency for a nationally representative sample, as well as for immigrants alone, paying particular attention to differences by race/ethnicity. I find that, while sociodemographic and other family-related variables largely explain group differences in intergenerational co-residency between Black African and Black Caribbean compared to White individuals, Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi women and men remain significantly more likely to reside in intergenerational households. These patterns persist when examining foreign-born individuals alone. Younger ages and being single and without children were particularly strong predictors of living in an intergenerational household. These findings suggest the importance of intergenerational households as a family adaptation strategy among many racial/ethnic minorities, particularly during the transition to adulthood, and has important implications for the health, social, and economic well-being of both individuals transitioning to adulthood and their aging parents.

Background

Theories and significance of intergenerational households

Adult child/parent co-residency often represents a form of intergenerational support or family adaptation strategy in the face of constrained economic resources, which may manifest through housing assistance, childcare by grandparents, care for aging parents by adult children,

household labor, or other forms of economic, social, or emotional support (Antonucci et al. 2011; Glick & Van Hook 2011; Keene & Batson 2010). Researchers have proposed various frameworks in which to study co-residency and other forms of intergenerational support. For example, exchange theory paints economic and social interactions between family members similarly to the exchange of goods and services, such that parents and adult children will offer resources such as time, financial support, or care or emotional support in exchange for needs of their own (Becker 1974; Keene & Batson 2010). Examples include grandparents caring for grandchildren in exchange for social support and other aging-related needs, or adult children caring for aging parents in exchange for inheritance or other forms of financial support. Theories of altruism and social and cultural norms or obligations, on the other hand, suggest that intergenerational support can occur without expectations of anything in return, as individuals will provide social and economic care out of familial bonds or concern for their family member's well-being (Keene & Batson 2010).

Prior research has suggested that intergenerational support through co-residency tends to serve a specific directional flow, rather than provide equal and mutual benefits for all parties (Choi 2003; Kahn et al. 2013; Smits et al. 2010). This directional flow may be upward, as in ageing parents seeking health and social support from their adult children, or downward, through adult children seeking financial or childcare-related assistance from their parents (Keene & Batson 2010). Several studies have suggested that downward support is the more common direction driving intergenerational co-residency in industrialized countries (Aquilino 1990; Choi 2003; Kahn et al. 2013; Smits et al. 2010; Ward et al. 1992). This pattern is particularly true within wealthier countries, as pension systems and other public support may help to improve the economic well-being of older individuals, while increased cost and duration of higher education

coupled with competitive job markets often prolong the need for parental support during the transition to adulthood (Furstenberg et al. 2015; Ward & Spitze 1992). In England and Wales, intergenerational households have become increasingly indicative of downward transfers of support over time, suggesting the importance of co-residency as a means for adult children to seek economic or other support from their parents during the transition to adulthood (Grundy 2000).

From the perspective of adult children seeking support from parents, studies have shown that marital status, specifically being never-married or divorced, is among the strongest predictors of intergenerational co-residency (Aquilino 1990; Cohen & Casper 2002; Grundy 2000; Sweet & Bumpass 1987). In fact, co-resident, never-married adult children are more likely to have never left their parents' home, rather than having returned later in adulthood (Smits et al. 2010). As age at first marriage and the likelihood of divorce rise in many wealthy countries, including the UK, adult children may remain dependent on their parents for longer durations while single, increasing the prevalence of intergenerational households (Furstenberg et al. 2015). Studies have shown that adult children living with their parents are most likely to be in their 20s or 30s, and that women tend to leave parental households at younger ages and are less likely to return later in life than men (Glick & Lin 1986; Grundy 2000; Ward et al. 1992). As departure from the parental home is often considered a marker in the transition to adulthood (Furstenberg et al. 2004; Roberts et al. 2016; White 1994), the relationship between adult child/parent co-residency and other measures of the transition to adulthood such as family formation and labor force participation are important for understanding young adults' social and economic well-being and independence.

Racial/ethnic and immigrant-origin differences in intergenerational households

As immigrant-origin populations in the UK continue to grow and settle, group differences in intergenerational household composition and the extent to which intergenerational households may serve as a family adaptation strategy has important implications for the social and economic incorporation and well-being of immigrants and racial/ethnic minority individuals. Studies from other European countries and the United States have shown that both structural and cultural factors shape group differences in intergenerational household formation. In many western cultures, there exists a strong preference for individualism and independent living, often hindered by adult children's prolonged need for support when facing expensive post-secondary education and depressed job markets, as well as increased longevity among parents who rely on family members, often their children, for aging-related care (Furstenberg et al. 2015). In many other countries, including many immigrant-sending countries to the UK, social and cultural norms around familial support and obligations are more common, often manifesting through multigenerational living arrangements, particularly in the absence of government support systems (Aboderin & Hoffman 2015; Croll 2006; Zimmer & Dayton 2005).

Theories around immigrant incorporation, economic and family adaptation, and kin availability lead to varying expectations about the likelihood of extended family households among immigrants and their descendants. Theories on structural incorporation and assimilation posit that, over time, migrants will adopt attitudes and behaviors that more closely resemble those in the majority group (Gordon 1964), suggesting that immigrants from origin countries with a high prevalence of intergenerational households may continue living in extended households after migrating, but with time spent in the receiving country and across generations, household formation among immigrant-origin groups should begin to look more similar to the

majority group in the receiving context. Furthermore, theories on economic and family adaptation strategies posit that family support is essential for the socioeconomic integration of immigrants, including second-generation immigrants (Albertini et al. 2019). Thus, co-residency may represent a strategy for the social and economic well-being and mobility of immigrant populations across generations and over time, resulting in a continuation of intergenerational household formation regardless of acculturation.

Of course, kin networks and availability play a crucial role in the ability to form intergenerational households. Migration is most common among working-aged adults, and not all members of a family will migrate. Thus, recent migrants may reside in households that are differently composed than in their sending countries, or than would be preferred for economic or social reasons, simply because of limited kin availability in their destination country (Van Hook & Glick 2007). Studies have shown mixed results on foreign-born/native differentials in extended household composition by country. One cross-national study comparing Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands found that foreign-born individuals were less likely to reside in adult child/parent co-resident homes compared to native-born individuals, but that second-generation immigrant adults (native-born with both parents foreign-born) were more likely to co-reside with parents than native-born individuals with native-born parents (de Valk & Bordone 2019). Thus, migration itself may disrupt households and lower the propensity for adult child/parent co-residency due to lack of available kin, rather than as an indicator of acculturation or preference. Another study in the United States found that older immigrants, particularly those who migrated above age 50, were more likely to reside with their adult children than older adults in their home countries, suggesting the importance of kin availability and intergenerational co-residence among immigrants (Gubernskaya & Tang 2017). This finding is consistent with

network theory, which suggests that as migrant communities grow and establish, the risks and costs of migration lessen through increased social networks and interpersonal ties, including ties of kinship, aiding migration and settlement (Massey et al. 1993). Thus, increased migrant networks, along with family reunification policies, may bolster the migration of family members of existing immigrants, increasing kin availability and the potential for co-residency over time.

Household composition in immigrant-origin countries

Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black African, and Black Caribbean individuals make up some of the largest ethnic minority and immigrant-origin groups in the UK (Jivraj 2012), with varying social and cultural norms around extended family households in origin countries. The migration and settlement histories of these immigrant-origin ethnic minority groups provide a rich context for studying extended family living arrangements. Like many other European countries, Britain began to recruit migrants in response to post-war labor shortages, and as migrants settled and networks grew, racial/ethnic and immigrant-origin groups in the UK became increasingly diverse (Castles & Miller 1998; Jivraj & Simpson 2015). Individuals from Caribbean countries, particularly Jamaica, were among the first to migrate, followed by South Asian and African migrants. Individuals migrating for family reunification and refugees made up the bulk of post-industrial migration among South Asians, with refugee flows primarily comprised of people of Indian descent from Kenya and Uganda, and Bangladeshi individuals (Peach 1998). Much of the recent migration streams from Africa to the UK, specifically from Sub-Saharan Africa, have consisted of skilled migrants such as health care professionals (Connell et al 2007; Eastwood et al 2005).

Throughout much of Asia, including countries in South Asia, extended family households are common, not only as a means for adult children to provide support and care for aging parents, but also for parents to provide assistance to adult children as they pursue education, transition into full-time employment, start families, and form independent households (Croll 2006). For example, about one-fifth of the total population of India live in a multigenerational household (Srivastava 2020), and while rapid urbanization and out-migration of younger adults has prompted a decline in intergenerational households due to lessened kin availability, co-residence in India remains a primary source of familial support and social capital (Nayak & Behera 2014; Samanta et al. 2015). Similarly, in Bangladesh, the family unit plays a crucial role in caring for aging individuals, and adult children, particularly sons, are often expected to provide social and economic support to aging parents, who in turn help care for grandchildren, provide financial assistance, and have a role in household decision-making (Cain 1986; Khan & Leeson 2006).

Similarly, in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, families represent a key social institution in which older people are cared for in the absence of broader systems of public support (Aboderin & Hoffman 2015). While intergenerational co-residency is less prevalent in African countries than in Asia (Bongaarts & Zimmer 2002), a study examining the living arrangements of older adults in 24 sub-Saharan African countries found that nearly 60% of older adults, primarily women, lived in extended households (Zimmer & Dayton 2005). Of particular note is the prevalence of older adults living in households with grandchildren, with or without the intermediate generation (Cheng & Siankam 2009; Zimmer & Dayton 2005). Two common explanations for the emergence of such household compositions include labor-related migration and HIV-related deaths, both disproportionately likely to occur among young adults, leaving

grandparents to live with and care for grandchildren (Cheng & Siankam 2009; Oppong 2006; Zimmer & Dayton 2005).

Among Afro-Caribbean families in origin countries, households were commonly headed by women, often with two or three generations of women living together along with young children, and grandparents, particularly grandmothers, having an integral role in childrearing (Foner 1978; Putnam 2008; Solien de González 1965). Extended household composition patterns in Afro-Caribbean countries often reflect a response to structural constraints such as economic hardship, unemployment, and labor migration, making it difficult financially for nuclear families to form independent households, and the splitting up of families as individuals – particularly men – migrate for work (Forsythe-Brown et al. 2017; Putnam 2008). Thus, while household composition among immigrant-origin populations in destination countries may have cultural and ideological ties, disadvantages in the labor market and economic and financial considerations likely contribute to extended household formation as a family well-being strategy (Catney & Simpson 2014), as such structural factors clearly play a role in household composition patterns in origin countries as well.

This study explores the sociodemographic mechanisms behind adult child/parent co-residency in the UK, paying particular attention to differences by race/ethnicity and nativity. I hypothesize that racial/ethnic minority groups will be more likely to reside in intergenerational households than White individuals, and that varying migration streams and the structural incorporation of immigrant-origin populations will play a role in who co-resides. Specifically, while I hypothesize that foreign-born individuals overall will be less likely to reside in intergenerational households than native-born individuals due to limited kin availability (Van Hook & Glick 2007), I expect that immigrants and their descendants from countries where

family reunification is the dominant stream of migration (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) will be more likely to co-reside than immigrant individuals from countries where migration for work is more common (Sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean), compared to the White majority.

Consistent with previous studies (Aquilino 1990; Glick & Lin 1986; Grundy 2000) I hypothesize that older ages, being a woman, and being married, cohabiting, and having children will each be associated with a decrease in the likelihood of adult child/parent co-residency. Finally, I predict that these sociodemographic and family-related measures will have a stronger impact on explaining any baseline racial/ethnic differences in intergenerational co-residency among Black African and Black Caribbean individuals compared to White, than for South Asian individuals. This is because prior research has shown persistent patterns of labor market inactivity among some South Asian groups net of sociodemographic controls (Dale et al. 2006; Khoudja & Platt 2018; Longhi 2020), a factor that likely influences the formation of intergenerational households. Thus, coupled with increased kin availability due to family migration policies, the relative economic incorporation and position of South Asian origin individuals living in the UK may necessitate longer spells of intergenerational co-residency as a family adaptation strategy.

Data and Methods

Data and Sample

I use data from the first wave (2009-2010) of the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS) (University of Essex 2020), also known as “Understanding Society”. The UKHLS is a nationally representative household panel study that collects annual survey data on social, economic, and behavioral topics such as health, employment, education, family formation, and household composition. Information is collected for every member of the household in order to

study household dynamics and experiences of different generations, and how these change over time. The household questionnaire is generally asked of the individual who owns or rents the household, or the eldest if multiple people jointly own or rent. In addition, all household members aged 16 or above were asked to complete an individual questionnaire, either conducted through a face-to-face interview or through a self-completion questionnaire, and children aged 10-15 were asked to respond to a short self-completion youth questionnaire, with consent from their parent or guardian. Some information on young children aged 0-9 were gathered from their parent or guardian. The first wave included an “ethnic minority boost sample,” allowing sufficient power for sub-analyses of many ethnic minority groups living in the UK. The survey began in 2009 and sampled approximately 30,000 households, and all households are contacted and surveyed annually through continuous data collection (Institute for Social and Economic Research 2020). Although the longitudinal design of the UKHLS allows for measurements of change over time, sample attrition occurs at disproportionate rates among non-White study participants (Lynn & Borkowska 2018). Regardless, as the focus of this analysis is on cross-sectional differences in adult child/parent co-residency by race/ethnicity, I drew upon data from the first wave only.

While intergenerational living arrangements can be studied from the perspective of the older/parent generation or the younger/child generation, this analysis is focused on the latter, as studies have shown intergenerational co-residency in the UK is increasingly reflective of adult children seeking economic support from parents (Grundy 2000). Thus, I first restrict the sample to individuals aged 65 and under. I then further exclude adults under age 25, in order to eliminate households where young adults might be pursuing or planning to pursue higher education, or in the process of early transitions to full-time employment, and thus disproportionately likely to co-

reside with parents, while still capturing individuals with young children, as many groups, particularly immigrant-origin groups, are likely to begin childbearing at younger ages (Wilson 2020). Furthermore, in order to examine the link between race/ethnicity, nativity, and intergenerational household extension, I restrict the sample to racial/ethnic groups with sufficient sample sizes for analysis, specifically to White, Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Black African, and Black Caribbean individuals. While Pakistani and Bangladeshi individuals represent distinct ethnic groups with distinct migration backgrounds, their respective sample sizes were too small to be used as individual ethnic groups for this analysis. However, research has shown similar patterns of incorporation in the UK among Pakistani and Bangladeshi individuals that differs from other South Asian groups, particularly with regards to marriage, family formation, and labor force participation (Berrington 1994; Dale et al. 2006; Khoudja & Platt 2018), therefore combining Pakistani and Bangladeshi individuals into one racial/ethnic group can be justified for this analysis. The sample was further restricted to only include individuals who were employed (including self-employed and on maternity leave), unemployed, or out of the labor force (defined as family care or home), and individuals who listed their labor force status as full-time student, long-term sick or disabled, retired, or “other” were excluded. Proxy interviews were also excluded, as not all survey questions relevant to this analysis were asked of proxies. Finally, a small number of individuals with missing data on nativity status, marital status, education, or labor force status were excluded. The final sample consisted of 26,900 adults, including 21,906 White individuals, 1,296 Indian individuals, 1,674 Pakistani/Bangladeshi individuals, 1,126 Black African individuals, and 898 Black Caribbean individuals. From this sample, I created a sub-sample of foreign-born individuals only, which excluded a small number of immigrants with missing information on years lived in the UK, and included 1,659 White individuals, 942 Indian

individuals, 1,251 Pakistani/Bangladeshi individuals, 942 Black African individuals, and 336 Black Caribbean individuals.

Model specification

The dependent variable of interest was living in an intergenerational household, defined dichotomously (yes/no) as an adult living with at least one parent (natural, step, or adoptive parent). Race/ethnicity included five categories: White, Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Black African, and Black Caribbean. White individuals included British, English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and “any other White background.” For sample size purposes, individuals who were of mixed White and Black African ethnicity, and individuals of “any other Black background” were included as Black African, and individuals who were of mixed White and Black Caribbean ethnicity were included as Black Caribbean. Foreign-born status distinguished between individuals born in the UK and individuals born abroad. Age was measured continuously from 25 to 65. Education distinguished between individuals with a college degree or beyond and individuals with less than a college degree, including A-level exams and other pre-bachelor certifications. Labor force status included employed (self-employed, full-time or part-time paid employment, and maternity leave), unemployed, and out of the labor force (family care or home). Marital status distinguishes between those who were currently married or cohabiting with a partner at the time of the interview and those who were not. Children in the household was measured using two dichotomous variables, one indicating the presence of any young children (under age 5) in the household and another indicating the presence of any older children (ages 5-15) in the household. This includes only children for whom the respondent was a parent of (natural, step, or adoptive). Children above age 16 were not considered, as age 16 marks the end

of compulsory schooling in much of the UK, and thus the financial and other responsibilities of parents to children over 16 in a given household is unclear. The analyses for foreign-born individuals alone included a categorical measure of years since migrating to the UK, which included 0-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-20 years, and 21 or more years.

Analytic strategy

The aim of this analysis is to explore cross-sectional differences in the likelihood of adult children in the UK living with at least one parent, and how this likelihood differs by race/ethnicity and nativity, controlling for sociodemographic measures. I first present descriptive statistics examining the distribution of intergenerational households and sociodemographic measures across five racial/ethnic groups, stratified by sex. I also present descriptive statistics for the foreign-born population only and include the distribution of years lived in the UK. Next, I ran logistic regression models on the full analytical sample, examining the odds of living in an intergenerational household across each racial/ethnic group with White individuals as the reference, and adding nativity status, age, education, and labor force status, and then marital status and children in the household as control variables. These models were run separately for women and men. Finally, I ran logistic regression models on the sub-sample of foreign-born individuals only, examining racial/ethnic differences in intergenerational co-residency with White immigrants as the reference group, and controlling for age, sex, years lived in the UK, education, and labor force status, as well as marital status and children in the household. For sample size reasons, the descriptive statistics and models for the sub-sample of immigrants were not stratified by sex. Means and percentages in each descriptive table were weighted to reflect

the overall UK population, and appropriate procedures were used to account for the complex survey design. All analyses were conducted using Stata/SE version 16.

Results

Descriptive results

Table 1 presents the distribution of intergenerational households and sociodemographic characteristics for the full sample, stratified by race/ethnicity and sex. Among both women and men, Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi individuals showed higher proportions of intergenerational households compared to White, Black African, and Black Caribbean individuals, with men in each of these South Asian-origin groups reporting sizably higher proportions of intergenerational co-residency than women. The vast majority of Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, and Black African men and women were foreign-born, with over 80% of Black African men and women born abroad, making up the largest immigrant group in the sample. White, Black African and Black Caribbean groups were disproportionately female (57%, 59%, and 63% respectively), a factor negatively associated with intergenerational co-residency in prior research (Glick & Lin 1986; Grundy 2000). Many racial/ethnic minority groups showed socioeconomic patterns associated with higher likelihood of intergenerational co-residency (Grundy 2000; Ward et al. 1992), such as younger ages among Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Black African, and Indian individuals, lower levels of education among Pakistani/Bangladeshi women and Black Caribbean men, higher levels of unemployment among Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Black African, and Black Caribbean individuals, particularly men, and higher labor force inactivity among Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Indian, and Black African women. On the other hand, some racial/ethnic minority groups, particularly Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, and Black African men

and women, showed relatively high proportions of family formation patterns associated with a lower likelihood of intergenerational co-residency, such as being married or cohabiting and having children in the household (Aquilino 1990; Grundy 2000).

Table 2 presents descriptive characteristics of foreign-born individuals only. Similar to the overall sample, Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi individuals were most likely to reside in an intergenerational household. Black African migrants were on average the youngest, and Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi migrant groups had the highest proportion of men, both factors associated with intergenerational co-residency. White and Indian immigrant groups had the highest share of recent arrivals (28.4% of White and 26.4% of Indian immigrants lived in the UK for 5 years or less), while Black Caribbean immigrants had on average lived in the UK the longest (59.0% lived in the UK for 21+ years). These descriptive findings have mixed implications for intergenerational co-residency among foreign-born individuals. Theories on structural incorporation and assimilation posit that increased time in the UK is associated with increased acculturation, and thus would lower the propensity for intergenerational co-residency among immigrants and their descendants over time to levels that more closely resemble the White majority (Gordon 1964). On the other hand, network theory coupled with theories on economic and family adaptation strategies suggest that increased duration of stay may lead to increased adult child/parent co-residency, because as immigrant communities grow, the costs and risks of migration for family members lessen (Massey et al. 1993), potentially leading to an increase in the availability of family migrants with whom to co-reside. Furthermore, as prior research has shown family support, including intergenerational co-residency, to be an important source of economic well-being for immigrants over time and across generations (Albertini et al. 2019), length of time in the UK may not predict a decrease in the likelihood of intergenerational

households, particularly if duration spent in the UK does not necessarily imply increased economic well-being. As studies have shown persistent patterns of labor market inactivity for some groups, particularly South Asian individuals (Dale et al. 2006; Khoudja & Platt 2018; Longhi 2020), co-residency may remain an economic strategy regardless of time since migration.

In addition, Table 2 suggests that Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Black African, and Black Caribbean migrants display patterns of socioeconomic and labor market incorporation most consistent with predictors of intergenerational co-residency, including lower levels of education (particularly among Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean migrants) and lower levels of employment. Pakistani/Bangladeshi migrants were particularly likely to be out of the labor force (29.0%). However, similar to the overall sample, many racial/ethnic minority migrant groups, particularly Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, and Black African migrants, also showed family formation patterns associated with lower likelihood of intergenerational co-residency, such as being married or cohabiting with a partner or having children living in the household.

Analytical models

To assess whether these racial/ethnic differences in adult child/parent co-residency remain after accounting for variation in sociodemographic characteristics, Table 3 presents results from logistic regression models predicting the likelihood of adult children living with at least one parent, stratified by sex. Model 1 shows that Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, and Black Caribbean women were significantly more likely to reside in intergenerational households compared to White women. When controlling for nativity status, age, education, and labor force participation in Model 2, these patterns persist. Model 2 also shows Black African women significantly more likely to reside in an intergenerational household compared to White women,

possibly due to compositional differences between Black African and White women in terms of nativity status that masked the effect in the unadjusted Model 1. However, Model 3 shows that marital status and the presence of both young and older children in the household help explain group differences in adult child/parent co-residency between Black African and Black Caribbean women compared to White women. However, both Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi women remained significantly more likely to live in intergenerational households compared to White women net of all sociodemographic and family-related controls.

Table 3 also shows similar racial/ethnic differences among men, with Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, and Black Caribbean men showing significantly higher odds of intergenerational co-residency compared to White men in the unadjusted model (Model 4). Differences in household composition between Black Caribbean and White men were explained by both sociodemographic and family-related variables added in Models 5 and 6, however differences between Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi men compared to White men persisted, and actually increased across the models. In fact, the differences in the odds of adult child/parent co-residency between South Asian and White individuals increased and remained significant across all models for both women and men, suggesting that sociodemographic and family-related compositional variation are not driving group differences in the likelihood of intergenerational household formation. Furthermore, the odds of living in an adult child/parent household across all models were consistently larger for Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi men than for women, compared to White men and women, respectively. Figure 1 plots the differences in the odds of intergenerational co-residency among women and men for each racial/ethnic group, compared to White women and men respectively, controlling for all variables in the full models (Table 3, Models 3 and 6).

Table 3 also shows the importance of sociodemographic factors for predicting intergenerational household extension in the UK. Foreign-born women and men were significantly less likely to co-reside compared to native-born individuals, consistent with findings from other European countries (de Valk & Bordone 2019). The odds of adult child/parent co-residence decreased with age, consistent with theories of intergenerational households as a means of downward support during the transition to adulthood. Having a college degree significantly reduced the odds of intergenerational co-residency for men, but only for women when family-related variables were included. Among women, being unemployed was significantly associated with an increase in the odds of co-residency and being out of the labor force was significantly associated with a decrease in the odds of co-residency, although both relationships disappeared after controlling for marital status and children in the household. Among men, being unemployed significantly increased the odds of co-residency, although this relationship similarly disappeared when controlling for marital status and children in the household. Being out of the labor force also significantly increased the odds of co-residency among men, regardless of marital status and children in the household. This particular effect should be interpreted with caution, as Table 1 shows a substantially small proportion of men out of the labor force. Regardless, these models suggest that adult child/parent co-residency seems to reflect labor market challenges of adult children for men more so than for women. For both men and women, being married or cohabiting with a partner, and having children of any age significantly reduced the odds of living in an intergenerational household.

While consistent with findings from prior literature in other European contexts (de Valk & Bordone 2019), the lower likelihood of intergenerational co-residency among foreign-born men and women compared to native-born individuals shown in Table 3 appears contrary to

theories of immigrant incorporation and assimilation. To examine this further, Table 4 presents results from logistic regression models predicting the likelihood of adult child/parent co-residency among immigrant individuals only. Similar to the overall UK population, Model 1 shows that Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi immigrants were significantly more likely to reside in intergenerational households compared to White immigrants, however in contrast to the overall population, Black Caribbean immigrants were not more likely to co-reside than White immigrants in the unadjusted model (Model 1). Older ages and being female significantly lowered the odds of co-residency, while neither college degree nor employment were significant predictors of adult child/parent co-residency in the full model (Model 3). Being married or cohabiting and having children in the household significantly reduced the odds of co-residency, while increased years lived in the UK significantly increased the odds of co-residency. In fact, compared to 0-5 years post-migration, the odds of living in an intergenerational household continued to increase with longer residency in the UK, regardless of age, gender, education, labor force participation, marital status, and parenthood status. Figure 2 plots the differences in the odds of intergenerational co-residency among foreign-born individuals for each racial/ethnic group, compared to White immigrants, controlling for all variables in the full model (Table 4, Model 3).

The relationship between intergenerational households and residency in the UK shown in Table 4 contradict theories of immigrant incorporation (Gordon 1964), which suggest that over time, household composition among immigrants should more closely resemble that of the White majority. However, taken with prior research showing persistent patterns of labor market inactivity and penalties among many immigrant groups and their descendants (Dale et al. 2006; Khoudja & Platt 2018; Longhi 2020), these findings suggest that length of time spent in the UK

may not necessarily lead to increased economic well-being. Furthermore, these findings are consistent with theories of economic and family adaptation strategies, suggesting that intergenerational household arrangements may persist as a strategy for immigrants in the face of economic constraints over time and across generations. Finally, these findings are consistent with network theory and notions of kin availability (Gubernskaya & Tang 2017; Massey et al. 1993; Van Hook & Glick 2007), as increased time spent in the UK may correlate with an increase in subsequent migration of family members, including parents, thus increasing the potential for household extension. Coupled with the fact that family reunification is a more common migration stream for South Asian immigrants than for African or Caribbean immigrants (Peach 1998), network and kin availability theory may help explain not only the association between time spent in the UK and intergenerational co-residency, but also the racial/ethnic differences in household extension, as family migration policies in the UK position South Asians to be more likely to have additional family members migrate, and thus to co-reside with, compared to Black African or Black Caribbean migrants.

Discussion

This paper examines racial/ethnic and nativity differences in the likelihood of intergenerational co-residency in the UK. I found that among both men and women, Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, and Black Caribbean individuals showed higher likelihoods of adult child/parent co-residency than White individuals, and that sociodemographic measures such as age, nativity, education, labor force status, marital status, and children in the household helped explain group differences between Black Caribbean and Black African men and women compared to White individuals, but did not account for the higher likelihood of intergenerational

co-residency among South Asian individuals. Consistent with prior findings in the literature in other European contexts (de Valk & Bordone 2019), I found that foreign-born women and men were less likely to co-reside with parents than UK-born women and men. Furthermore, older ages were associated with significantly lower odds of intergenerational co-residency, suggesting that adult child/parent households in the UK may represent a form of downward support, driven by adult children seeking assistance during the transition to adulthood, a finding that is consistent with prior literature in industrialized countries (Aquilino 1990; Choi 2003; Grundy 2000; Kahn et al. 2013; Smits et al. 2010; Ward et al. 1992). Furthermore, among both women and men, being married or cohabiting with a partner and having children of any age in the household led to a significant decrease in the odds of adult child/parent co-residency, suggesting intergenerational living arrangements are less common once adult children form independent families.

I next examined the likelihood of adult child/parent co-residency among foreign-born individuals only. I found similar results to the overall population, in that Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi immigrants were more likely to co-reside with parents than White immigrants, while Black African and Black Caribbean immigrants showed no significant differences from White immigrants. Similar to the full sample, older ages were significantly associated with a decrease in the odds of adult child/parent co-residence among immigrants, as was being married or cohabiting and having children. Consistent with literature on gender differentials in intergenerational co-residency (de Valk & Bordone 2019; Smits et al. 2010), immigrant women were significantly less likely to co-reside with parents than men. Finally, immigrants were increasingly more likely to reside in intergenerational households with additional years lived in the UK, regardless of age, sex, education, labor force participation, marital status, and children.

Taking together, these findings among foreign-born populations and racial/ethnic minorities show patterns that break from structural assimilation theory, which posits that with time spent in the receiving country and across generations, migrants will begin to adopt behaviors that resemble those of the majority group (Gordon 1964). One potential explanation for why immigrant-origin groups showed a higher likelihood of residing in intergenerational households with increased time spent in the UK and across generations (as defined as foreign-born compared to UK-born) may be due to differences in household formation between immigrant-origin groups where family reunification is the dominant migration stream (South Asians), and groups where labor recruitment is the dominant migration stream (Black African and Black Caribbean groups). This interpretation is consistent with prior research on the importance of family migration and kin availability for the composition of immigrant households (Gubernskaya & Tang 2017; Van Hook & Glick 2007). Furthermore, these results can be interpreted alongside prior research showing persistent labor market inactivity among many South Asian groups in the UK, suggesting South Asian immigrants and their descendants may be more likely to reside in intergenerational households as an economic strategy. To further explore these potential explanations, future research should critically examine how the mechanisms of migration, the availability of kin, and differential incorporation into labor markets affects the propensity to form intergenerational households. Nevertheless, as younger age is one of the strongest predictors of intergenerational co-residency, these results have particularly important implications for individuals transitioning to adulthood, particularly among racial/ethnic minorities who may face increased barriers to employment or other means of social and economic prosperity, and thus may rely on parental assistance through co-residency for longer durations into adulthood.

This analysis begins to fill gaps in the literature on racial/ethnic and nativity differences in household composition in the UK, and future studies should continue to explore the role of families and household formation as a social or economic strategy among immigrants and their descendants, particularly during the transition to adulthood. This study has a number of limitations which should be addressed in future research. Sample size considerations did not allow for further disaggregation by immigrant generation or age migrated (i.e. comparing native-born, child migrants, adult migrants, 2nd generation, 2.5 generation), and future studies should examine how intergenerational household composition is influenced not only by years spent in the UK, but across various immigrant generations, in order to further test theories of structural incorporation. Furthermore, although these results suggest that patterns of intergenerational co-residency in the UK primarily represent young adults seeking parental support during the transition to adulthood, I was unable to directly discern between intergenerational households where co-residency was primarily for the benefit of the adult child or the aging parent. While the focus of this analysis was from the perspective of the adult child, future research could examine adult child/parent co-residency from the perspective of the aging parent, or examine other forms of household extension such as co-residence with adult siblings, cousins, aunts/uncles, or grandparents, in order to gain a better understanding of the social and economic functions of extended family households, and the extent to which kin availability might play a role in who co-resides. Related, while this analysis examines familial ties through co-residency, it does not consider other forms of kinship support outside of the household such as financial support or childcare from non-resident family. Such modes of non-resident familial support should be considered in order to gain a fuller understanding of how individuals do or do not rely on families for economic and social well-being. Finally, while this analysis examined cross-

sectional differences in adult child/parent co-residency across various racial/ethnic groups, future studies could employ the longitudinal design of datasets such as the UKHLS to explore how changes in household composition may drive or be driven by changes in other life course events such as employment, partnership, or childbirth. Despite these limitations, this analysis contributes to the literature on families and household composition by showing salient racial/ethnic and nativity differentials in the likelihood of adult child/parent co-residency in the UK, suggesting the importance of intergenerational household arrangements during the transition to adulthood, particularly for many immigrant-origin groups and their descendants.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1. Descriptive characteristics by race/ethnicity and sex (N=26,900)

	Women					Men				
	White (n=12,379)	Indian (n=653)	Pakistani/ Bangladeshi (n=909)	Black African (n=665)	Black Caribbean (n=564)	White (n=9,527)	Indian (n=643)	Pakistani/ Bangladeshi (n=765)	Black African (n=461)	Black Caribbean (n=334)
Living in intergenerational household (%)	3.6	9.2	9.9	3.9	7.2	6.2	16.2	19.3	3.6	10.0
Foreign-born (%)	7.5	67.1	66.4	83.9	34.4	7.0	74.5	72.2	83.0	39.8
Age (mean)	43.0	39.1	36.4	38.3	42.0	43.4	39.5	38.2	39.2	41.4
College degree (%)	39.2	55.6	30.6	52.6	45.2	35.4	60.7	43.3	61.7	31.7
Labor force status (%)										
Employed	81.0	67.4	32.9	67.0	76.3	90.1	91.7	86.9	81.2	75.9
Unemployed	5.3	8.1	9.9	11.0	13.5	8.9	7.3	11.9	18.2	22.2
Out of labor force	13.6	24.6	57.2	22.0	10.2	1.1	1.1	1.2	0.6	1.9
Married or cohabiting (%)	72.7	82.9	79.6	55.6	45.9	77.0	77.7	83.2	72.8	59.8
Young child in household (%)	18.4	26.4	40.1	33.7	21.6	17.1	22.5	36.6	34.4	13.7
Older child in household (%)	35.3	40.4	54.7	50.0	41.1	27.2	32.4	46.3	34.7	26.5

Notes:

Data source: Understanding Society Wave 1 (2009-2010)

Means and percentages are weighted, Ns are unweighted

Table 2. Descriptive characteristics among foreign-born sample by race/ethnicity (N=5,130)

	White (n=1,659)	Indian (n=942)	Pakistani/ Bangladeshi (n=1,251)	Black African (n=942)	Black Caribbean (n=336)
Living in intergenerational household (%)	3.0	6.4	7.6	2.3	3.4
Age (mean)	39.1	41.4	39.0	38.8	45.6
Women (%)	51.4	41.6	42.7	50.9	52.6
Years in UK (%)					
0-5	28.4	26.4	17.4	20.6	7.3
6-10	18.4	17.9	16.1	32.7	13.7
11-20	14.5	14.7	24.3	28.7	19.9
21+	38.8	41.0	42.2	17.9	59.0
College degree (%)	56.5	58.7	36.5	57.0	32.4
Labor force status (%)					
Employed	85.2	80.1	61.0	73.0	77.0
Unemployed	6.1	7.7	10.0	14.6	17.0
Out of labor force	8.7	12.2	29.0	12.4	6.1
Married or cohabiting (%)	72.3	86.0	85.9	67.1	56.6
Young child in household (%)	21.2	23.0	37.3	36.3	15.2
Older child in household (%)	27.1	36.2	54.6	43.0	31.8

Notes:

Data source: Understanding Society Wave 1 (2009-2010)

Sample restricted to foreign-born population only

Means and percentages are weighted, Ns are unweighted

Table 3. Logistic regression predicting odds of adult child/parent co-residence by sex (N=26,900)

	Women			Men		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race/ethnicity						
White (ref)						
Indian	2.744*** (.688)	3.946*** (.932)	5.221*** (1.233)	2.898*** (.402)	4.798*** (.857)	6.918*** (1.775)
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	2.977*** (.530)	4.179*** (.815)	5.628*** (1.182)	3.590*** (.514)	4.876*** (.902)	15.598*** (4.279)
Black African	1.089 (.273)	2.198** (.605)	1.535 (.445)	.564 (.186)	.904 (.317)	.789 (.304)
Black Caribbean	2.106*** (.483)	2.355*** (.559)	1.544 (.377)	1.677** (.328)	1.700* (.358)	1.180 (.266)
Foreign-born		.235*** (.047)	.254*** (.051)		.374*** (.067)	.319*** (.068)
Age		.912*** (.006)	.911*** (.005)		.911*** (.006)	.928*** (.005)
College degree		.948 (.102)	.783* (.091)		.622*** (.066)	.542*** (.065)
Labor force status						
Employed (ref)						
Unemployed		1.398* (.232)	.944 (.161)		1.661*** (.221)	1.000 (.144)
Out of labor force		.414*** (.077)	1.139 (.243)		4.346*** (1.513)	4.883*** (1.895)
Married or cohabiting			.087*** (.012)			.054*** (.007)
Young child in household			.327*** (.063)			.570** (.109)
Older child in household			.198*** (.032)			.472*** (.094)
Constant	.037*** (.002)	1.577 (.424)	8.588*** (2.163)	.067*** (.004)	2.852*** (.664)	7.091*** (1.609)

Notes:

Data source: Understanding Society Wave 1 (2009-2010)

Reported odds ratios (standard errors)

Standard errors clustered at the individual level

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4. Logistic regression predicting odds of adult child/parent co-residence among foreign-born individuals (N=5,130)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Race/ethnicity			
White (ref)			
Indian	2.263*** (.494)	3.374*** (.702)	4.629*** (.990)
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	2.699*** (.619)	2.315*** (.579)	3.925*** (.975)
Black African	.767 (.257)	1.054 (.355)	1.037 (.326)
Black Caribbean	1.160 (.452)	1.304 (.572)	1.089 (.460)
Age		.893*** (.010)	.902*** (.010)
Women		.288*** (.070)	.301*** (.068)
Years lived in UK			
0-5 (reference)			
6-10		1.558 (.489)	2.100* (.725)
11-20		4.251*** (1.410)	6.057*** (2.137)
21+		14.784*** (4.108)	19.969*** (6.471)
College degree		.861 (.148)	.730 (.136)
Labor force status			
Employed (ref)			
Unemployed		1.670* (.390)	1.128 (.272)
Out of labor force		1.309 (.591)	1.517 (.621)
Married or cohabiting			.233*** (.043)
Young child in household			.559** (.123)
Older child in household			.620* (.123)
Constant	.030*** (.005)	.577 (.253)	.882 (.387)

Notes:

Data source: Understanding Society Wave 1 (2009-2010)

Sample restricted to foreign-born individuals

Reported odds ratios (standard errors)

Standard errors clustered at the individual level

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

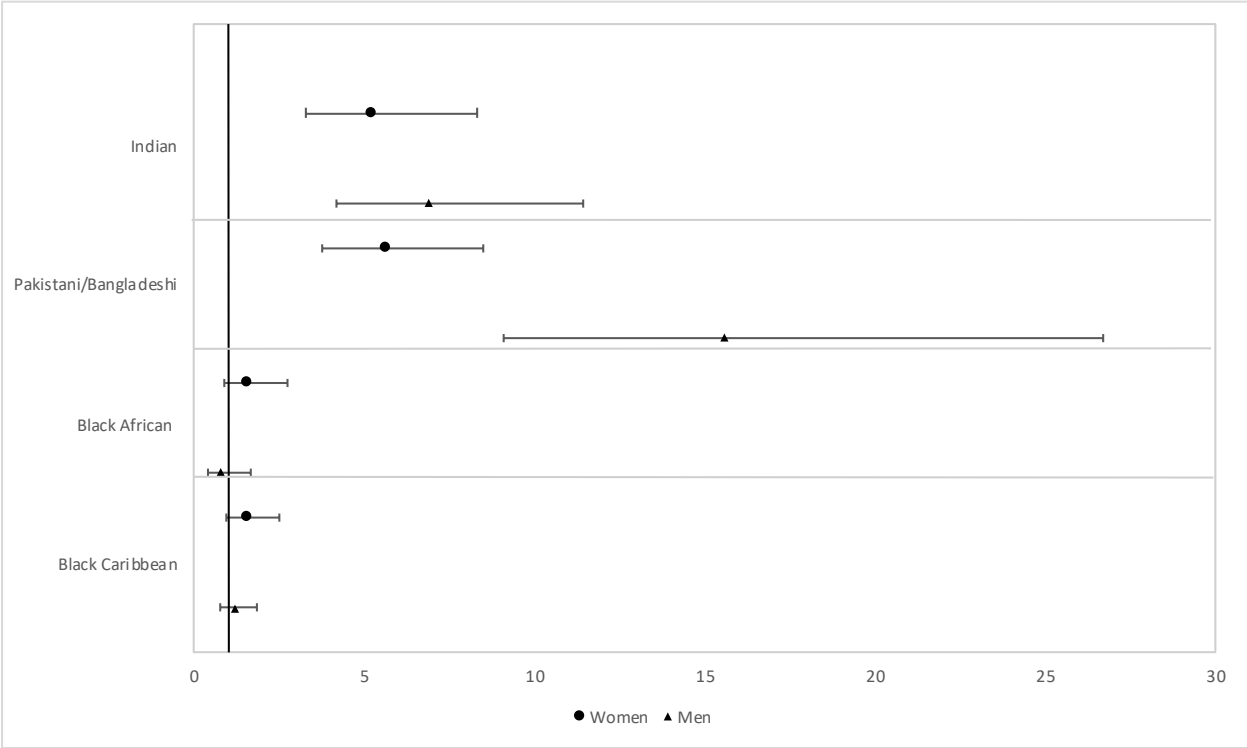


Figure 1. Odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals of adult child/parent co-residency by race/ethnicity and sex (reference=White), adjusting for nativity status, age, education, labor force status, marital status, and children in the household.

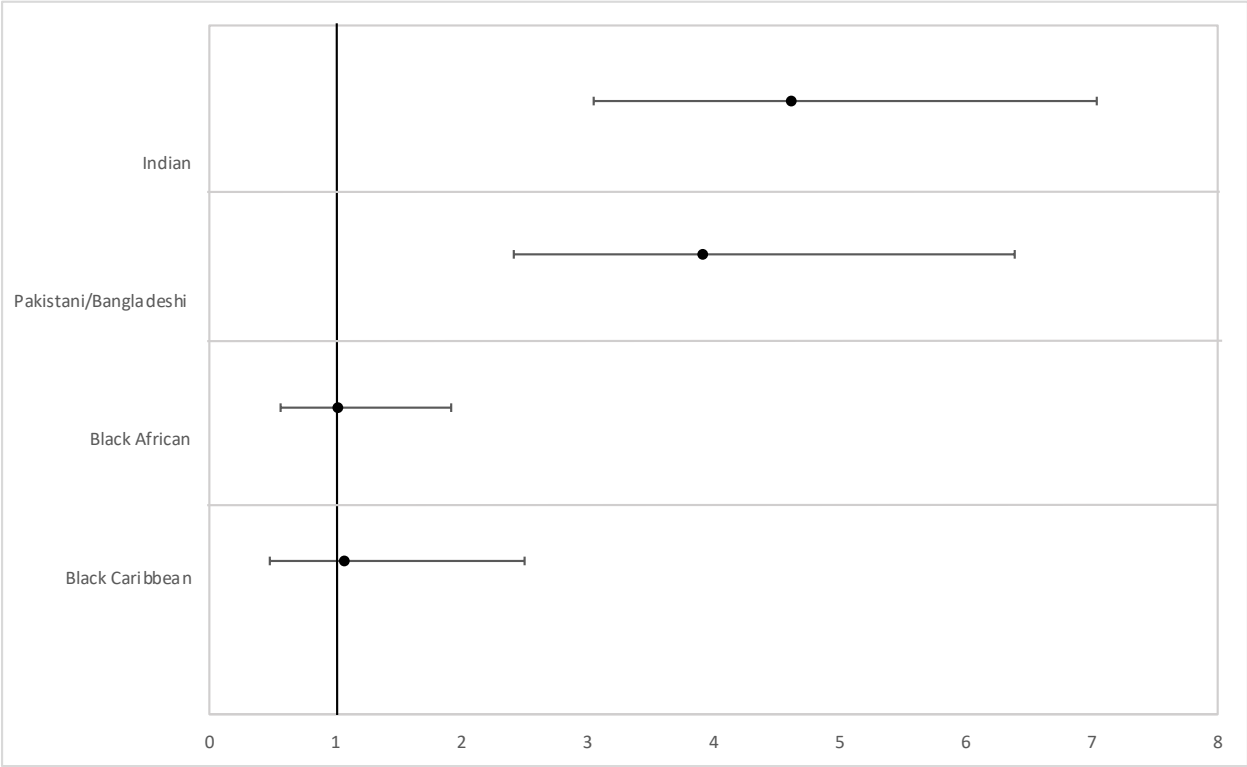


Figure 2. Odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals of adult child/parent co-residency among immigrants by race/ethnicity (reference=White), adjusting for age, sex, years lived in the UK, education, labor force status, marital status, and children in the household.