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Generational Change and Cultural Preferences: 1.5 and Second Generation Adults Living with Parents

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Abstract:

This paper asks if percentages of young adults living with parents vary by immigrant generational status, and for groups that originate from countries characterized by an emphasis on individualism versus familism. 2006 Canadian census data for single (never-married) 20-34 year olds show young adult-parental co-residency rates differ considerably by immigrant generational status, gender, and origins. In general, percentages living with parents decline for across the 1.5, second and third-plus generations, and young women in each generation are less likely than men to reside with parents. Further, young men and women whose parents are born in the USA, the UK, France and Germany have levels of co-residency with parents that approximate those observed for the third-plus generation. Those whose parents are born in Italy, Portugal, China, Hong Kong, South Korea, India and Pakistan have much higher percentages residing with parents, a pattern that suggests the persistence of cultural preferences across generations.

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Introduction

Three reasons exist for the considerable academic and media interest in the phenomenon of young adult-parental co-residency in North America. First, in contrast to independent living which serves an important indicator of the transition to adulthood, remaining, or returning to the parental home signifies the extension of youth-to-adult transitions into the twenties and beyond (Stettersen, 1998; White and Rogers, 1997). In addition, parental-young adult co-residency challenge the assumption made by the "modernization perspective," namely, that the family has become less central in industrial and post-industrial societies (Glick, Bean and Van Hook, 1997; Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1989, 1993; Ting and Chiu, 2002). Finally, although the postponement of marriage by the young is a central underlying factor (Boyd and Norris, 2000; Messineo and Wojtkiewicz, 2004), increasing percentages of young single adults now live with parents compared with levels observed forty to fifty years ago in Canada and the United States (Boyd and Pryor, 1989; Lamanna and Riedmann 2009; Milan, Mireille and Wells, 2007).

Coinciding with, and arguably connected to, the increase in young adults at home, have been major changes in immigration trends, notably increased immigrant flows and shifts in immigrant source countries Many recent immigrants in North America now come from non-European cultures that may have in common the traditional norm of sharing households with adult children — a familial norm that stands in sharp contrast to a Western view that values privacy and independent living (Burr and Mutchler, 1993;

Glick and Van Hook, 2002; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1989). Canadian studies confirm that ethnic origin is associated with decisions by single young adults to live in the parental home, and that some ethnic groups, including Greek, Italian, Portuguese, South Asian, Chinese, Arab, and West Asian, have higher propensities to live with parents than many European groups (Boyd, 2000; Boyd and Park, 2006; Mitchell, Wister and Gee, 2000; Mitchell, 2004) These findings are echoed in U.S. studies which suggest that young adults, particularly those of Hispanic background, have a greater likelihood of living with parents than other groups of young adults (Burr and Mutchler 1993; Glick and Van Hook, 2002).

While ethnic variations in residency patterns of young adults may be associated with differing degrees of familism among ethno-cultural groups (Boyd 2000; Mitchell, Wister, and Gee, 2000), other research suggests that recent arrivals may simply co-reside with family members out of economic necessity; newly-arrived immigrants may lack financial resources and may depend on the family for housing and support (Glick and Van Hook 2002). To date, research has failed to fully investigate whether increases in young adults (especially the foreign-born, or first generation) reflects cultural norms of new immigrants or economic necessity, or both. Nor has the possibility of generational shifts in co-residency patterns among immigrant groups been examined, though the orthodox linear-assimilation framework would suggest that with longer exposure to life in the host country, the first generation (the foreign-born) would gradually adapt to the norms and values of the host society. As a consequence, the children of immigrant groups (the second generation) would be more assimilated than their parents generation, and their grandchildren (the third generation) would be assimilated to the point that the

distinctive traits of their ethnicity would be diminished (Gordon, 1964; Gans 1992; Alba and Nee, 1997).

This paper focuses on the latter topic, asking if patterns of living arrangements of young adults in Canada change as generations become more removed from the migration experience. A review of both assimilation and modernization theories on the living arrangement patterns of young adults generates three specific questions. First, does the propensity of young adults to live with parents vary by immigrant generational status? Second, does the pattern change when groups are further demarcated into those representing the "new" immigration flows where familism is strong and European origin flows where individualism is emphasized? Third, are the patterns of young adult-parental co-residency also gendered? That is, among groups where young adults in general are most likely to be living with parents, is this equally, or even more so the case for young single women (Sassler 1996; Ward and Spitze 1996; Zhao, Rajulton, and Ravanera,1995).

Origins, Generations and Levels of Young Adult-Parental Co-residency

In discussing why we expect variability across generations in the propensity of young adults to live with parents, we employ a vocabulary already alluded to previously. In the vast North American literature on immigrant offspring, immigrants and their offspring are classified according to the distance each generation has from the original migration experience. The first generation to arrive in a country is called by that label. Their children, born in the same country, are called the second generation; their children in turn are referred to as the third generation and so on. In actuality, refinements can be

made within these broad categorizations and we do so later. For now we focus on what changes across generations we expect to find.

The traditional theories of immigrant assimilation stipulate that the impact of acculturation on living arrangements will be most pronounced among recent arrivals. In other words, the young adult offspring of immigrants should be most likely to co-reside with parents whereas the third- plus generation of young adults (the grandchildren of the original immigrants) should be less likely to live with their parents. This supposition rests on the orthodox accounts of assimilation, often referred to as the "straight line" model (see: Alba and Nee, 1997; Gans, 1992). In this canonical account, successive generations of immigrant origin groups become more acculturated to dominant host society values and become more and more similar in socioeconomic status and in behaviors. The underlying logic is that offspring with foreign born parents are likely to be at home both because of economic considerations and because of beliefs held by parents and shared by offspring regarding living arrangements. These beliefs rest on familism – the tenet that family and familial relationship are central to people's lives; such beliefs and values can contain normative proscriptions that offspring should live at home until a number of stages in the transition to adulthood have been completed (such as marriage, completion of education; permanent integration into the labour market etc). With successive generations, however, young adults and their families may be both more economically secure, and also they may adhere less and less to norms and beliefs that emphasize the important of family and related co-residency behaviours. As a result, the propensity of young adults to live with parents should be lower for the third-plus generation (native born with native born parents) than is observed for offspring with foreign born parents.

However, levels of co-residency and declines across generations in the propensity of young adults to live with parents may vary by origins. Specifically, some immigrant origin groups more than other emphasize the centrality of family (including, for example, the importance of living in an extended family) and pass on these beliefs and practices regarding family attachments to its offspring. A large body of North American research, some explicitly on living arrangements, indicates that those of Mexican, South and Southeast Asian and Southern Mediterranean origins have norms, values and practices that emphasize filial loyalty and responsibility; the continued co-residence of young single offspring until marriage, and in some cases, the importance of young unmarried women living at home to preserve both individual virtue and family honor (Aassve, et. al, 2002; Billari et. al, 2008; Basran, 1993; Chekki , 1988; Cordon, 1997; Espiritu, 2009; Giuliano, 2007; Glick and van Hook, 2002; Kamo, 2000; Ishii-Kuntz, 1997; Kamo and Zhou, 1994; Kanjanapan, 1989; Mitchell, 2003; Mitchell, Wister and Gee, 2004; Sarkisian, Gerena, and Gerstel, 2006, 2007; Zhou, 2009). Countering this are the more "individualistic" oriented cultures of North and Western European societies, where individual autonomy, personal achievement and loose kinship ties are valued (Mitchell 2004). Such values have become part of the North American norm as a result of past migration from North and Western Europe, and they are consistent with emphasis on independent living arrangements among the young and the old alike. These immigrant offspring with Northern Europe or North American origins thus may be likely to have lower rates of living with parents.

The argument that immigrant origin groups bring with them different norms and values regarding family relationships and family living arrangements is supported by two

additional bodies of research: the first shows that other indicators of familialism, such as extended family ties, multigenerational living and co-residency of middle aged children and elder parents, exist within the Hispanic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean and South Asian populations in North America (Burr and Mutchler, 1999; Ishii-Kuntz, 1997; Kamo and Zhou,1994; Kamo, 2000; Pacey, 2002; Sarkisian, et. al, 2006; Sarkisian, et. al., 2007). The second juxtaposes the distinctive Southern European family characteristics as well as related family policies embedded in the Southern European welfare state model against the institution of the family and family policy in other North and Western European countries (Cherlin, Scabini and Rossi, 1997; Nandini, 2003). In Southern European countries such as Spain, Italy, and Portugal, low levels of fertility in the parental generation and increasing late ages of marriage among offspring have generated high levels of young adult-parental co-residency, particularly for young men. The relevant question is whether such preferences and behaviors transfer when Southern Europeans migrate to North America.

In sum, because of possible differences among origin groups with respect to norms and practices that emphasize the centrality of family life, and because of possible differences in the retention of cultural values across generations, we expect immigrant offspring of "new" non-European origins and offspring of Southern European origins to be more likely to live with parents in than immigrant offspring of older immigrant stock, primarily of non-Southern European origins. Further, as noted by Boyd (2000), possible gender role consequences of an emphasis on familism are threefold: 1) gender role differentiation is strong; 2) the centrality of women in home life is emphasized; and 3) offspring are expected to marry within a reasonable time after attaining adulthood. These gender role prescriptions suggest that where familism - the centrality of family – is emphasized, preferences may be stronger for the co-residency of unmarried female

offspring than for unmarried male children (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1993). One implication is that young unmarried women from immigrant origin groups characterized by higher levels of familism are more likely than young men to live with parents.

Data and Research Design

Our three research questions emerge from the intersection of literature on the assimilation of immigrant offspring with studies highlighting variation in the centrality of family across cultures: does the propensity of young adults to live with parents vary by immigrant generational status? Does the pattern change when groups are further demarcated into those representing the "new" immigration flows and the older European origin "white" flows? And, are the patterns of young adult-parental co-residency also gendered?

In the United States, studies on the living arrangements of immigrant offspring primarily use census data and focus on young children (Brandon, 2002; Jensen and Chitose, 1994, but see Card and Lemieux, 2000). The focus on children rather than young adults exists because the U. S. census has not asked questions about the birthplace of parents since 1970. This lacunae means that the generational status of immigrant offspring can be determined only if they co-reside in families with parents. There is no way of determining the generational status of offspring who do not live with parents; as a result, the proportions of the young adult 1.5 or second generations who co-reside with parents cannot be ascertained.

In contrast, starting in 2001 and again in 2006, the Canadian census asked respondents to indicate the birthplace of their parents. Along with information on the age of migration for the foreign born, the existence of data on parental birthplace permits

disaggregating the entire young adult population into those who themselves have recently migrated and those who are more removed from the migration experience. Further, because of its large size, the Canadian census database permits disaggregating various immigrant generation groups into subgroups defined by origins We take advantage of this unique database to address our three questions. However, there are two limitations to census data that shape our analysis of young adults at home. First, in both Canada and in the United States, the census tells us only if young adults are living with parents or not living with parents; it does not provide information on whether young adults residing with parents are continuous nesters (having never left home) or returnees. As well, census data in does not contain information on aspects of parental-child relationships, such as family structure or quality of relationships, that may also affect a young adult's decision to reside in the parental home (Boyd, 2000; Mitchell, 2006).

We analyze data from the most recent 2006 census, using the master data base housed at the University of Toronto Research Data Centre. Under a joint arrangement between Statistics Canada, the Social Science and Humanities Research Council and universities, census data bases are made available through Research Data Centres located at a limited number of universities. Access is limited to those who have submitted a research proposal that is subsequently reviewed and approved by a panel of experts. In using the 2006 census, we restrict our population to those between 20-34 years of age (in 2006) since most women and men live with their parents until the age of 19 and there is little variability for the under-twenty group (Boyd and Prior, 1989; Boyd and Norris, 1999; 2000). Following the emphasis of these earlier studies, we also select only those who indicated single (never-married) status.

With this sample of single (not currently co-habitating and never legally married) adults age 20-34, information on birthplace of respondents, age at immigration for the foreign born, and birthplace of parents produces three generational groups organized in terms of distance from the immigration experience: 1) Canadian born with both parents also Canadian born (the third-plus generation); 2) Canadian born but with at least one foreign born parent (the second generation); and 3) foreign born, arrived at ages 0-12. The group omitted from our analysis – those who arrive as adults – are labeled the "first generation." Under this designation, the foreign born who arrive as children, that is before age 13 are termed the 1.5 generation since they fall between the first and second generations in terms of exposure to Canadian society.

From our measures of generational status and countries of origin, we construct a classification scheme that allows us to compare generational shifts for select origin groups that previous studies have identified as either emphasizing individualism that favors moving away from the parental home or emphasizing familism and the desirability of co-residency. We classify the 1.5 and second generations according to the following parental birthplaces: USA, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, China, Hong Kong, South Korea, India and Pakistan. Two criteria motivate the selection of these birthplace origins. First, previous research suggests the first four origin countries are characterized by an emphasis on individualism while the remaining countries have cultures in which family relationships are central. Second, numbers were sufficient (100 cases or more) to include a comparison of both the 1.5 and second generation. Because we were interested in changes across generations, we excluded those birthplace countries

where there were few 1.5 generation but numerous second generation offspring (for example, Greece) or vice versa (for example Sri Lanka).

For those second generation offspring with only one foreign born parent, the birthplace of the foreign born parent is used; for the 1.5 generation and for the second generation with two foreign born parents, both parents must have been born in the same country. We do not include Mexican origins in our analysis. Unlike the United States which shares a common border with Mexico and which has a long history of migration from Mexico, Canada's immigrants have come primarily from Europe and more recently from Asia. Mexican immigrant offspring represent less than 0.1 percent (less than one-tenth of one percent) respectively for the 1.5 and second generations of young adults age 20-34 in Canada.

In examining generational and parental country of origin differences in young adult-parental co-residency, comparisons are made with the levels experienced by the third-plus generation. In the absence of census questions on the birthplaces of grandparents, the third-plus generation cannot be disaggregated into groups representing the birthplaces of the first generation immigrants. We could have used the census question on ethnic ancestry (to what ethnic or cultural group did your ancestors belong) to further demarcate the third-plus generation, but multiple responses and ethnic flux caution against this usage. Multiple ethnic origin responses are highest among the third-plus generation, both as a result of intermarriage in previous generations; this raises the unsoluable issue of which of the multiple responses to privilege. Further, ethnic flux in which individuals simplify, expand or totally change their affiliations also is high, with the result that those who continue to use certain ethnic labels may be unusual vis-a-vis

those who discarded them (Boyd, 1997; Boyd and Shida, 2006). This selectivity is enhanced by the enormous increase from 1991 on in the proportion of Canadians, particularly third-plus Canadians to self identify as "Canadian" (Boyd, 1999; Boyd and Norris, 2001).

Our own research shows that approximately nine out of ten of young adults in the third-plus generation indicated British, French, and/or Canadian origins. In Canada, the British and French populations are seen to be the "charter" groups, reflecting the early history of European settlement in Canada. "Canadian/Canadien" has emerged as an alternative ethnic label; it is used by those who trace their ancestry in Canada for many generations and it includes persons who in earlier censuses declared their ethnicities to be British and/or French (Boyd, 1999; Boyd and Norris, 2001). Choosing an undifferentiated "third-plus" generation reference group thus appears to come closest to the supposition embedded in the "linear assimilation" model that the third-plus generation is the numerically and culturally dominant group in the host society.

Previous studies document that factors such as age, sex, CMA or non-CMA residency, school attendance, labour force participation, and income influence the propensity of young adults to live with parents (see: Boyd, 2000; Boyd and Norris, 2000; Boyd and Pryor, 1989; Mitchell, Wister and Gee, 2000; Wister, Mitchell and Gee, 1997). For example, co-residency is related to stages in life course transitions and thus to age. The older an individual, the less likely he/she is to be residing with parents. In general, young men are more likely than women to live with parents even though this may not hold for all origin groups. Location is also a key factor underlying co-residency patterns. Those who study spatial assimilation patterns of immigrant groups across generations

find that most of the 'new" immigrant groups concentrate in metropolitan areas such as Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver, even among the second generation (Myles and Hou, 2004; Fong and Gulia 2000). Not surprisingly, immigrants and their offspring are most likely to reside in Ontario and in British Columbia. Since rental housing may cost more in large cities than in small towns or rural areas, the choices that young adults make concerning whether to live with parents may be affected by where they reside.

Socioeconomic characteristics also affect levels of young-adult-parental co-residency. Because of their association with the type of job and earnings that workers obtain, level of education and labour market participation also influences the likelihood that young adults live in the parental home. Better educated young adults and those in the labour force may be better able to pay for their own separate housing. These considerations suggest that levels of co-residency decline with rising levels of education and labour force participation. However, among those who are aged 20-34, some of the highly educated may be continuing their education and not in the labour force, at least full time. In particular those who attend school with no or marginal labour force engagement may be more likely to be living at home with parents to offset the cost of tuition and housing. Finally, highly related to earnings among the young, total income obviously plays an important role in influencing young adults' propensity to live with their parents, since lower overall income may mean the inability of a young adult to pay for the establishment of a separate household (Wister, Mitchell, and Gee, 1997; Zhao, Rajulton and Ravanera, 1995).

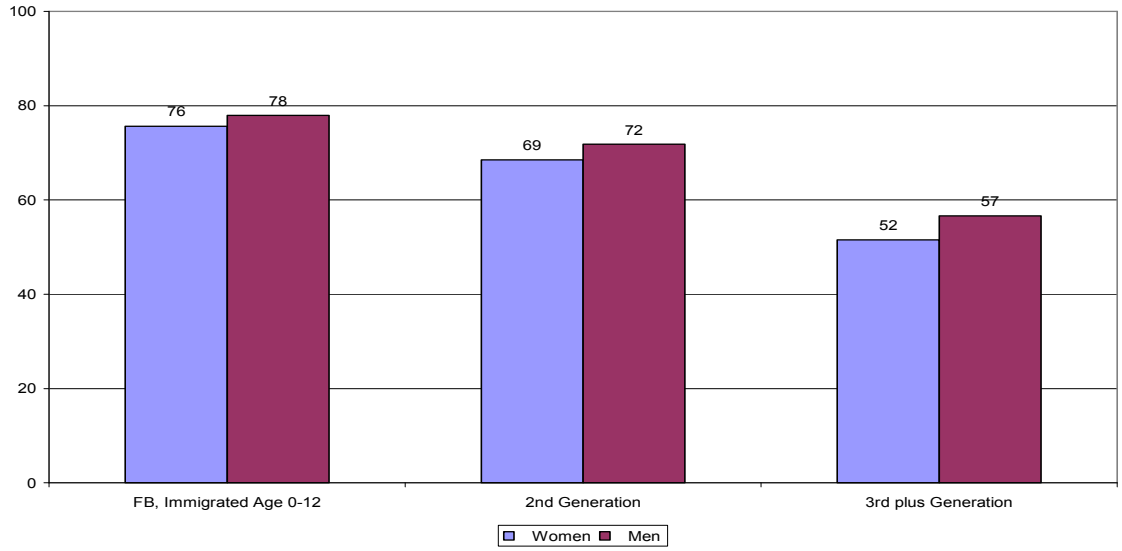
Since the three generation groups of interest vary in all these characteristics, it is possible that compositional differences between groups – rather than acculturation - may

be responsible for generational differences in the propensities to live with parents. We undertake multivariate analysis to adjust for this possibility, controlling for age, CMA or non-CMA residency, province of residence, school attendance, labour force participation, and income. The independent variable – living with one or both parents at the time of the 2001 census – is binary (yes/no), and logistic regression is used rather than ordinary least squares.

Generational Variations in Young Adult-Parental Co-Residency

Our first question asks if levels of young adult-parental co-residency vary across generations, declining as groups become more temporally removed from the immigration experience? The answer is an unequivocal "yes." As shown in Chart 1, approximately half of young adults who are Canadian born and have Canadian born parents (the third-plus generations) are living with parent(s) compared to over three-quarters who are foreign born and immigrated before age 13 (the 1.5 generation) and seven out of ten who are second generation. Differences also exist by sex, with young women being less likely than young men to be living in the parental home. This gap is largest for the third-plus generation. (*Note: final paper will include tests for differences in proportions by sex and by generation)*

Chart 1: Percentages of Single Women and Men, Age 20-34, Co-residing with parent(s), Canada 2006



Data in Chart I are the actual percentages observed for single young adults in Canada. As observed in the preceding section, compositional differences between generational groups might partly explain these patterns. Table 1 shows the demographic, educational and economic characteristics of immigrant offspring. Although the sex and age compositions are similar across generations (the 1.5 generation is slightly younger), the third-plus generation is more likely to reside outside of large cities whereas the reverse holds for the second, 1.5 and second generations. In particular, the increasing tendency of immigrant origin groups to settle in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver affects the residential locations of immigrant offspring. Four out of five of the 1.5 generation and over one-third of the second generation live in Toronto compared to less than one out of ten for the third-plus generation. Similarly, over half of the 1.5 and second generations reside in Ontario compared to under one-third of the third-plus generation.

Generation groups also differ in the percentages that have university education and beyond, in their labour-force and school attendance patterns, and in their earnings. Generally, the third-plus generation has the lowest percentage with university degrees and higher and they have higher percentages without high school degrees; compared with the 1.5 and second generations, they are most likely to not be attending school and to be in the labour force, and they slightly less likely to have low levels of income (Table 1).

Do these compositional differences between successive generations of immigrant offspring underlie the pattern in which levels of young adult-parental co-residency decline as generations become more removed from the immigration experience? The answer is both yes and no. No, because the patterns persist when these compositional differences are taken into account statistically using logistic regression analysis. As shown in Table 2, both the logits and the odds ratios confirm that the 1.5 generation is the most likely to be living at home, followed by the second generation (*Note: the same substantive results hold when third plus generation women are the reference group; this will be discussed in the final version of the paper*). Further, compared to third-plus generation men who are the reference group, the odds of living with parents are lower for women than for their male counterparts.

Table 1: Select Socio-Demographic-Economic Characteristics by Generational Status, Young Adults Age 20-34, Canada, 2006

Characteristics	Total Population (1)	FB, Immigrated Age 0-12 (2)	2nd Generation (3)	3rd plus Generation (4)
N, Population Estimates	2,629,255	235,555	656,780	1,736,920
Percentage Living at Home with Parents, Total[(a)]	60	77	70	54
Women	58	76	69	52
Men	62	78	72	57
Sex	100	100	100	100
Women	45	45	46	45
Men	55	55	54	55
Age	100	100	100	100
20,21	25	28	22	25
22,23	21	22	20	21
24,25	17	17	17	16
26,27	13	12	14	12
28,29	9	8	10	9
30,31	7	5	8	7
32,32,34	9	8	8	9
CMA of Residence	100	100	100	100
Montreal	13	13	12	13
Ottawa-Hull	4	4	3	4
Toronto	18	42	35	8
Calgary	4	4	4	4
Edmonton	4	3	4	4
Vancouver	7	15	11	4
All other areas	50	19	30	63
Province	100	100	100	100
Atlantic	7	1	2	10
Quebec	24	14	14	29
Ontario	40	56	55	31
Praries	17	11	13	19
BC	12	18	16	10
Highest Level of Education	100	100	100	100
Less than high school	11	7	7	13
High school certificate/trade	44	42	40	45
College	25	25	26	25
University	16	20	21	14
Post-university	4	5	7	3
School Attendance in 2005	100	100	100	100
Did not attend school	58	48	54	61
Attended school	42	52	46	39
Labour Force	100	100	100	100
Employed	77	71	77	78
Unemployed	8	8	8	8
Not in or never in labour force	15	20	16	14
Total Income in 2005	100	100	100	100
Less than 5k	13	21	15	11
5-9,999	16	18	16	17
10-14,999	16	14	14	16
15-19,999	12	10	11	13
20-29,999	17	14	16	18
30-39,999	12	10	12	12
40k plus	14	13	17	14

(a) For example, of all second generation women age 20-34, 69 percent are co-residing with parents
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population, RDC Master data file.

Table 2: Logits and Odds Ratios for Living with Parents by Generational Status and Sex, Single[(b)] Young Adults, Age 20-34, Canada 2006

Characteristics	Logit	Odds ratio
Women		
1.5 Generation	0.59 ***	1.81
2nd Generation	0.40 ***	1.49
3rd plus Generation	-0.45 ***	0.64
Men		
1.5 Generation	0.90 ***	2.45
2nd Generation	0.74 ***	2.10
3rd plus Generation	(rg)	1.00
Age		
20,21	2.02 ***	7.54
22,23	1.49 ***	4.43
24,25	1.05 ***	2.87
26,27	0.68 ***	1.98
28,29	0.42 ***	1.52
30,31	0.21 ***	1.23
32,32,34	(rg)	1.00
CMA of Residence		
Montreal	-0.43 ***	0.65
Ottawa-Hull	-0.68 ***	0.51
Toronto	(rg)	1.00
Calgary	-0.42 ***	0.66
Edmonton	-0.27 ***	0.76
Vancouver	0.14 ***	1.14
Other select CMA	-0.19 ***	0.83
All other areas	0.28 ***	1.33
Province		
Atlantic	-0.17 ***	0.85
Quebec	-0.18 ***	0.84
Ontario	(rg)	1.00
Praries	-0.67 ***	0.51
BC	-0.70 ***	0.50
Territories	-0.91 ***	0.40
Highest Level of Education		
Less than high school	-0.36 ***	0.70
High school certificate/trade	-0.12 ***	0.88
College	-0.04 ***	0.96
University	-0.17 ***	0.84
Post-university	(rg)	1.00
School Attendance in 2005		
Did not attend school	(rg)	1.00
Attended school	0.29 ***	1.33
Labour Force		
Employed	(rg)	1.00
Unemployed	0.17 ***	1.18
Not in or never in labour force	0.11 ***	1.12
Total Income in 2005		
Less than 5k	1.18 ***	3.25
5-9,999	1.14 ***	3.11
10-14,999	0.90 ***	2.47
15-19,999	0.76 ***	2.14
20-29,999	0.63 ***	1.87
30-39,999	0.44 ***	1.56
40k plus	(rg)	1.00
Constant	-0.97 ***	
Cox & Snell R Square	0.21	
Nagelkerke R Square	0.284	

(a) Single population only (never married, not currently living common-law).
(rg) Reference group: 3rd plus generation men
Significance levels are based on logits, *p<0.05,**p<0.01, ***p<0.001, (ns) Not significant at p=0.05 level
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population, RDC Master data file.

However, compositional differences do partly underlie the generational shifts in young adult-parental co-residency patterns. This can be seen by converting the logits found in Table 2 into probabilities. Table 3 shows the actual percentages and the hypothetical chances out of 100 that would be observed if all sex and generation groups had the same characteristics as the total population of young adults, age 20-34. The hypothetical percentages decline relative to the actual percentages, indicating the modest role played by compositional differences between generations in the propensities to live with parents (Table 2, column 1 versus column 3 and column 2 versus column 4).

Table 3: Actual and Hypothetical Probabilities (Chances out of 100) of Living with Parents by Generational Status and Sex, Single Young Adults[(a)], Age 20-34, Canada 2006

	Actual (b)			Hypothetical (c)		
	Women	Men	Sex Ratio, Women/ Men	Women	Men	Sex Ratio, Women/ Men
1.5 Generation	76	78	97	66	72	91
2nd Generation	69	72	95	61	69	89
3rd Plus generation	52	57	91	40	51	78

(a) Single population only (never married, not currently living common-law).
(b) From Table 1.
(c) Controlling for age, city of residence, province of residence, highest level of education completed, school attendance, employment status, total 2005 income.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population, RDC Master data file.

In addition, taking compositional differences into account further widens the gender gap in the propensity of young adults to live in the parental home. The actual percentages shown in Chart 2 and in Table 3 reveal that women in each generation are slightly less likely than men to be living with parents (*Note: tests for differences in proportions will be inserted into the final version of the paper)*. For every 100 men in the 1.5 generation, 97 women are living at home; similarly for every 100 men respectively in the second and third-plus generation, 95 and 91 women are living with parents (Table 3, column 3). However, compared to men, young women are more likely to be attending school, and to have lower incomes; these factors increase the likelihood of young adult-

parental co-residency. If all generation and gender groups had the same distribution with respect to these and other characteristics, the percentages of women co-residing with parents would be much lower. As shown in Table 3 (column 6), for every 100 men who are 15, second or third-plus generations, only 91, 89, and 78 percent of young women would be living at home.

Country of Origin and Generational Differences in Young Adult-Parental Co-Residency

Our analysis of the entire 1.5, second and third-plus generations of young adults confirms declines across generations in the percentages who co-reside with parents; it also shows a widening gender gap in which young women are less likely than young men to live in the parental home with gender differences increasing as generations become more removed from the immigration experience.

However, these findings do not necessarily hold for all origin groups. As noted earlier, some immigrant origin groups may come from countries and cultures in which family is central, where family relationships are valued and where co-residency is encouraged. Others may come from countries and cultures where independent living arrangements are viewed as normal and where separate living arrangements of youth and parents are promoted. Our analysis of living arrangements for young adults with parents born in USA, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, China, Hong Kong, South Korea, India and Pakistan show that considerable variation exists with respect to the percentages of young adults living at home and that the patterns are consistent with literature that distinguishes between cultures of individualism (the USA, United

Kingdom, France, Germany), and familism, expressed in Southern Mediterranean societies (Italy and Portugal) and in Asian cultures (China, Hong Kong, South Korea, India and Pakistan). Theses patterns are evident in Charts 2 and 3. In terms of actual percentages, the 1.5 and second generations whose parents are born in the USA, the U.K., France or Germany have levels of young adult-parental co-residency that are quite similar to those observed for the third-plus generation (*Note: tests for differences in proportions to be included in final version of the paper*). This similarity stands in marked contrast to the higher percentages observed for the 1.5 and second generations with parents who are born in Italy, Portugal, China, Hong Kong, South Korea, India and Pakistan.

Chart 2: Percentages of Young Women Living with Parent(s), Age 20-34, by Select Birthplace of Parents Groups and Generational Status, Canada 2006

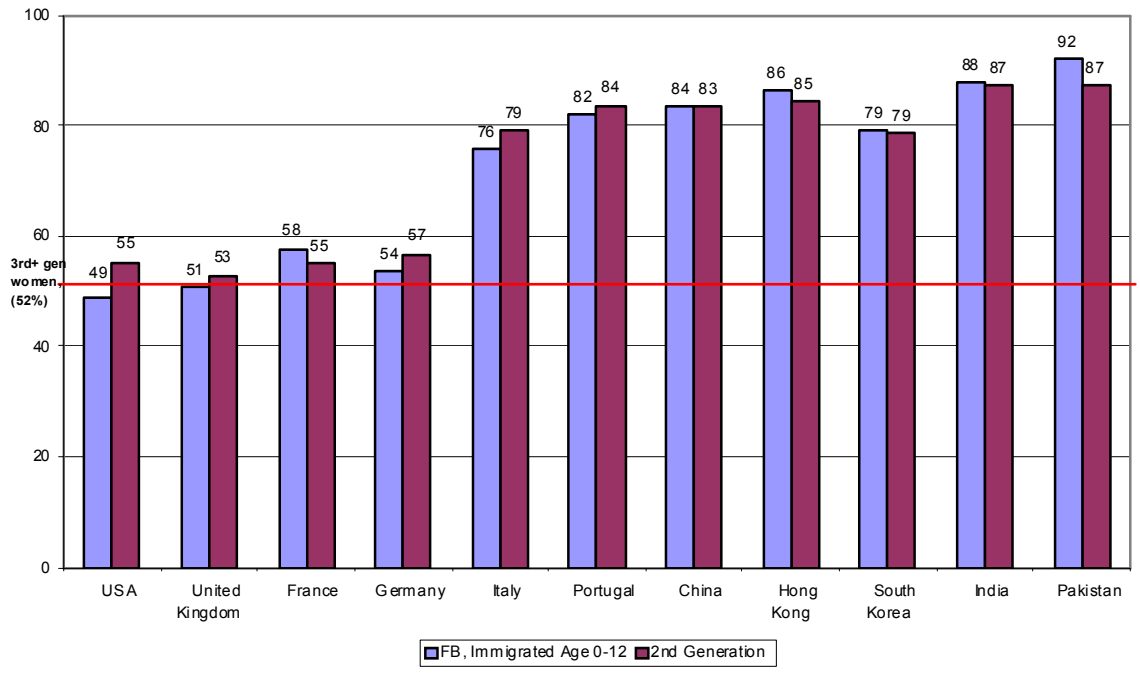
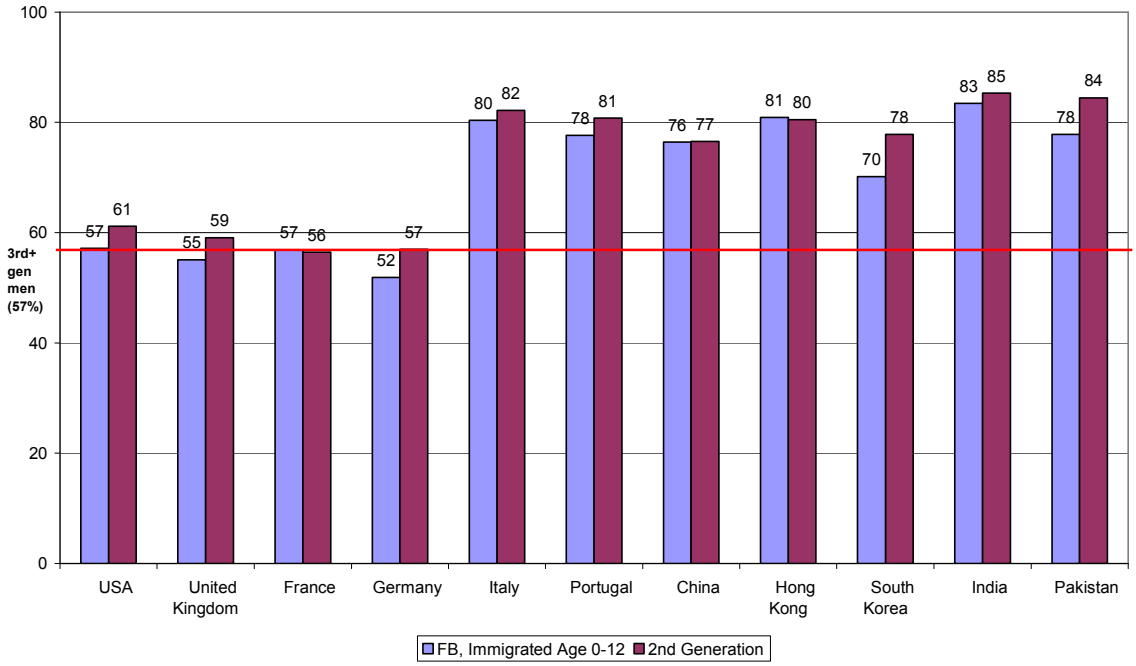


Chart 3: Percentages of Young Men Living with Parent(s), Age 20-34, by Select Birthplace of Parents Groups and Generational Status, Canada 2006



As well, for many groups there is little difference between the 1.5 and second generation with respect to the percentages of young adults living in the parental home (*Note: tests for differences in proportions to be included in final version of the paper*). Where larger differences between the generations exist (more than 4 percentage points) it often is the second generation rather than the 1.5 generation who are most likely to be co-residing with parents. For women, only those whose parents were born in Pakistan display the pattern in which the second generation has a lower percentage living in the parent home compared to the 1.5 generation; this pattern is reversed for men whose parents are born in Pakistan. In sum, instead of decreasing percentages across generations living with parents, stability or increases in the likelihood of young adult-parental co-residency exists. These findings suggest cultural persistence rather than acculturation across generations with respect to the living arrangements of young adults.

Again, differences between generational and origin groups with respect to demographic, and social and economic characteristics partly underlie these patterns. But as indicated by logistic regression results (Table 4) and by probabilities that assume that all groups have the same distributions with respect to these characteristics, the basic conclusion is modified rather than altered. Comparisons of the hypothetical probabilities of living with parents for the 1.5 and second generation women do indicate that when adjustments are made for compositional differences between generations, second generation women, particularly those whose parents are born in countries considered to favor familism, are less likely to be living with parents than are 1.5 generation women. But this pattern in which propensities to co-reside decline with increasing distance from immigration still is less likely to hold for men across generations (Table 5).

The actual percentages and hypothetical probabilities found in Table 5 also illuminate the gendered patterns of living with parents. Sex ratios, calculated as the number of young adult women who live with parents for every 100 men who live with parents, confirm that women are actually more likely than men to be living with parents although within each generation, the propensity is highest for women whose parents are born in countries characterized by familism. However, after taking into account demographic and socio-economic factors that are known to influence young adult-parental co-residency, young adult women in both the 1.5 and second generations are less likely than men to be living with parents. The only exceptions are young women in the 1.5 generation whose parents are born in Hong Kong, South Korea and Pakistan. These results suggest that gender scripts associated with familism and with select countries of

origin are also associated with other factors such as going to school and having low incomes. (*Further discussion to be added here)*

Table 4: Logits and Odds Ratios for Living with Parents by Generational Status and Sex, Single(a) Young Adults, Age 20-34, Canada 2006

Characteristics	Logits		Odds Ratio
Women			
1.5 Generation			
USA	-0.54	***	0.58
United Kingdom	-0.06	(ns)	0.94
France	-0.21	(ns)	0.81
Germany	-0.26	(ns)	0.77
Italy	1.21	***	3.34
Portugal	1.11	***	3.05
China	1.35	***	3.87
Hong Kong	1.32	***	3.76
South Korea	0.88	***	2.42
India	1.51	***	4.55
Pakistan	1.57	***	4.80
2nd Generation			
USA	-0.28	***	0.76
United Kingdom	-0.26	***	0.77
France	-0.14	(ns)	0.87
Germany	-0.25	***	0.78
Italy	1.36	***	3.88
Portugal	0.96	***	2.61
China	1.09	***	2.98
Hong Kong	0.99	***	2.70
South Korea	0.53	***	1.70
India	1.42	***	4.12
Pakistan	0.75	***	2.11
3rd plus Generation	-0.45	***	0.64
Men			
1.5 Generation			
USA	-0.13	(ns)	0.88
United Kingdom	0.17	*	1.19
France	0.02	(ns)	1.02
Germany	0.00	(ns)	1.00
Italy	1.33	***	3.80
Portugal	1.58	***	4.87
China	1.52	***	4.55
Hong Kong	1.18	***	3.26
South Korea	0.85	***	2.34
India	1.63	***	5.11
Pakistan	1.14	***	3.12
2nd Generation			
USA	0.04	(ns)	1.04
United Kingdom	0.17	***	1.18
France	-0.01	(ns)	0.99
Germany	0.16	***	1.18
Italy	1.63	***	5.09
Portugal	1.37	***	3.92
China	1.25	***	3.49
Hong Kong	1.26	***	3.52
South Korea	0.98	***	2.65
India	1.64	***	5.14
Pakistan	1.31	***	3.70
3rd plus Generation	(rg)		1.00
Age			
20,21	2.02	***	7.52
22,23	1.48	***	4.39
24,25	1.03	***	2.81
26,27	0.64	***	1.89
28,29	0.37	***	1.44
30,31	0.18	***	1.20
32,32,34	(rg)		1.00

Table 4 continued

Table 4 continued

Characteristics	Logits	Odds Ratio
CMA of Residence		
Montreal	-0.36 ***	0.70
Ottawa-Hull	-0.53 ***	0.59
Toronto	(rg)	1.00
Calgary	-0.31 ***	0.73
Edmonton	-0.14 ***	0.87
Vancouver	0.15 ***	1.16
Other select CMA	-0.03 *	0.97
All other areas	0.45 ***	1.57
Province		
Atlantic	-0.19 ***	0.83
Quebec	-0.22 ***	0.80
Ontario	(rg)	1.00
Praries	-0.71 ***	0.49
BC	-0.68 ***	0.51
Territories	-0.85 ***	0.43
Highest Level of Education		
Less than high school	-0.29 ***	0.75
High school certificate/trade	-0.05 *	0.95
College	-0.02 (ns)	0.99
University	-0.16 ***	0.85
Post-university	(rg)	1.00
School Attendance in 2005	(rg)	1.00
Did not attend school	0.30 ***	1.34
Attended school		
Labour Force		
Employed	(rg)	1.00
Unemployed	0.20 ***	1.22
Not in or never in labour force	0.12 ***	1.13
Total Income in 2005		
Less than 5k	1.26 ***	3.54
5-9,999	1.22 ***	3.38
10-14,999	0.98 ***	2.68
15-19,999	0.84 ***	2.31
20-29,999	0.69 ***	2.00
30-39,999	0.48 ***	1.62
40k plus	(rg)	1.00
Constant	-1.18 ***	
Cox & Snell R Square	0.223	
Nagelkerke R Square	0.299	

(a) Single population only (never married, not currently living common-law).
(rg) Reference group: 3rd plus generation men
Significance levels are based on logits, *p<0.05,**p<0.01, ***p<0.001, (ns) Not significant at p=0.05 level
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population, RDC Master data file.

Table 5: Actual and Hypothetical Probabilities (Chances out of 100) of Living with Parents by Generational Status and Sex, Single Young Adults[a], Age 20-34, Canada 2006

	Actual[b]		Hypothetical[c]		Actual[b]	Hypothetical[c]
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Sex Ratio, Women/ Men	Sex Ratio, Women/ Men
1.5 Generation						
USA	49	57	38	48	86	79
United Kingdom	51	55	49	55	92	90
France	58	57	46	51	102	89
Germany	54	52	44	51	103	87
Italy	76	80	78	80	94	97
Portugal	82	78	76	83	106	91
China	84	76	80	82	109	97
Hong Kong	86	81	80	77	107	103
South Korea	79	70	71	71	113	101
India	88	83	82	84	105	98
Pakistan	92	78	83	76	119	109
2nd Generation						
USA	55	61	44	52	91	85
United Kingdom	53	59	44	55	90	81
France	55	56	47	51	97	93
Germany	57	57	45	55	100	81
Italy	79	82	80	84	96	95
Portugal	84	81	73	80	104	91
China	83	77	76	78	109	96
Hong Kong	85	80	74	78	105	94
South Korea	79	78	64	73	101	87
India	87	85	81	84	103	96
Pakistan	87	84	69	79	103	86
3rd plus Generation	52	57	40	51	91	78

(a) Single population only (never married, not currently living common-law).
(b) From Charts 3 and 4.
(c) Controlling for age, city of residence, province of residence, highest level of education completed, school attendance, employment status, total 2005 income.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population, RDC Master data file.

Conclusion

Overall our results indicate the existence of generational differences and of ethno-racial and gender differences in the levels of young adult-parental co-residency. Analysis of data from the 2006 Canadian census of population generates four main conclusions. First, the propensities of young adults to co-reside with parents declines with increasing distance from the immigration experience.. Young foreign born adults who immigrate as children are the most likely to still be living with parents, followed by those

who are born in Canada to foreign born parents (the second generation). Those who are the most removed from the immigration experience – the third-plus generation – have the lowest propensities to live with parents although over half of these young women and men do so. Second, within each generation, young adult women are slightly less likely to be living with parents that are their male counterparts.

However, these general conclusions mask large variations in young adult-parental co-residency by cultural origins. We construct a typology which selects respondents whose parents were born in countries which previous research has identified as emphasizing individualism or familism. Within the 1.5 and second generations, the percentage who live with parents are lowest for those whose parents were born in the USA, the United Kingdom, France and Germany. Percentages are considerably higher for those born in Italy, Portugal, China, Hong Kong, South Korea, India and Pakistan.

It is the latter groups that also have high percentages of the 1.5 and second generation women living with parents and where women are more likely than their male counterparts to be co-residing with parents. However, multivariate analysis finds that these gendered patterns are highly associated with the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the 1.5 and second generation women and men. When these differences are taken into account, second generation women are less likely than their male counterparts to live in the parental home; among the 1.5 generation, gender differences also are diminished although women whose parents are from Hong Kong, South Korea and Pakistan are still more likely than their male counterparts to co-reside with parents. (*further discussion on the implications for literature on immigrant assimilation and on youth-to-adult transitions are to be added in final draft)*

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