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Research Article

Housing changes of immigrants and their descendants using long-term census panel data from England and Wales

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Abstract

BACKGROUND
Previous research shows that ethnic minorities in Britain are disproportionately affected by housing insecurity. However, studies rarely distinguish between migrant generations, making it difficult to assess intergenerational life course disadvantage.

OBJECTIVE
The objective of this study is to examine the long-term residential mobility and housing trends among migrant generations across different country-of-origin backgrounds. By so doing, we aim to gain further understanding of housing outcomes and evaluate the residential assimilation and stratification theories.

METHODS
We use the Office for National Statistics Longitudinal Study for England and Wales, a large census-based dataset. We use pooled binary and multinomial logistic regression methods to analyse residential and housing changes by origin group and migrant generation from 1971 to 2011.

RESULTS
First, we find that for most groups, the 1.5 and second generations have a higher likelihood of moving than the first generation. Second, the likelihood of moving to homeownership increases across migrant generations; the descendants of Indian and Pakistani immigrants are even more likely to move to homeownership than the native population. Third, we find that residential mobility decreases over time for nearly all groups.

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CONCLUSIONS
Overall, our findings support both the assimilation and stratification theories, with intergenerational socioeconomic support and housing market instability being potential factors. Groups which, on average, have higher socioeconomic status and accumulated wealth are more likely to move up the housing ladder. However, for groups which are, on average, more socioeconomically disadvantaged, wealth alone does not explain housing tenure differences, and these differences are not as pronounced as the literature suggests.

CONTRIBUTION
This is one of the few studies to investigate changes in residential mobility and housing specifically among the 1.5 and the second generations in the United Kingdom. We find that socioeconomically disadvantaged groups have a persistent housing disadvantage. However, against the backdrop of relatively recent housing market insecurity, our results highlight long-term positive housing outlook for some groups.

1. Introduction

Housing significantly influences well-being, as feeling secure in the home is related to familial security, accessing economic opportunities, and community belonging. Being able to move up the housing ladder is indicative of strong labour market performance, wealth accumulation, and an understanding of the housing market (Rohe, Van Zandt, and McCarthy 2002). A rich body of literature examines the housing experiences of ethnic minorities in higher-income countries, much of which shows that the residential mobility of immigrants and their descendants is an important indicator of their integration. The ability to accumulate wealth, as a wider indicator of social mobility, is particularly important, as the presence of socioeconomic barriers often requires migrant populations to outperform the native population to achieve a similar outcome (Sinning 2010). These barriers are often structural, such as a lack of information about the housing market, thereby reducing access; discrimination, based on ethnicity or individual characteristics (Ghekiere and Verhaeghe 2022; Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019); and intersecting socioeconomic inequalities such as lower occupational mobility among ethnic minorities (Jivraj and Alao 2023; Jivraj and Khan 2015). Hence, being able to move up the housing ladder reflects intergenerational, long-term economic improvements, sustained wealth, and life course stability.

The rich migration history of the United Kingdom (UK) can enrich our understanding of how immigrants and their descendants fare in the housing market. Compared to other high-income, Western countries, the UK is home to a large number

of immigrants and their descendants with a wide range of sociodemographic characteristics and migration intentions. Additionally, the UK is a unique context because of its unstable housing market, which has produced significant housing inequalities, especially among ethnic minority groups. This has resulted in upward housing moves being ever more difficult to attain (Finney and Harries 2015; Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019; Shankley and Finney 2020). The underlying causes of housing inequality go beyond individual accumulated wealth and income disparities, even though these are significant factors: many ethnic minority groups cannot necessarily rely on accumulated intergenerational wealth, which hinders first-time buying and limits housing choice and access. Ethnic minority groups are more likely to rely on cheaper, affordable housing, of which there is a chronic undersupply in the UK due to delayed housing construction, planning system inefficiencies, and the emphasis on homeownership policies rather than tenant and rental protections (Shankley and Finney 2020). This has led to a reduction in social housing and affordable private housing, with many low- and middle-income households being charged high rents by private sector landlords. Recent migrants also face barriers to the housing market because they are unable to access welfare, are excluded from social housing, and enter the housing market with little renter choice (Finney and Harries 2015; Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019; Shankley and Finney 2020).

In this study, we analyse changes in residential and housing tenure among immigrants and their descendants in England and Wales over forty years, namely 1971 to 2011. The study is novel in two aspects. First, we distinguish between immigrants who arrived as adults (1G), those who came as children (1.5G), and the descendants of immigrants (2G), with sufficient sample size to distinguish between many migrant origin groups. Research to date has investigated either immigrants or ethnic groups. One study by Mikolai and Kulu (2024) has distinguished between these migrant generations in the UK. However, our study has a longer observation period which accounts for changes in housing policy and the arrival of different migrant groups, more origin groups, and larger sample sizes. It is important to account for whether the residential mobility and housing tenure patterns of immigrants are restricted by temporal factors such as historical housing policies. Furthermore, a long-time frame allows us to assess whether the patterns of descendants, who are expected to be more integrated than immigrants, align more closely with the native population or their immigrant counterparts. Additionally, due to the rich UK migration tapestry, we can compare origin groups from different parts of the world and assess the extent of their integration in the host society. This is an important contribution, as it is critical to understand intergenerational housing experiences and transfers from different origin countries and across migrant generations. One of our key contributions is that we are able to look at housing changes over a 40-year period. This allows us to speculate on the effects, if any, of different housing policies, migration flows,

economic cycles, and intergenerational transfers. Housing changes tend to be infrequent; therefore, having a longer timeframe allows us to analyse more housing transitions and analyse subgroups in more granular detail, such as the 1.5 generation and the descendants of immigrants.

Second, we use a large longitudinal dataset: the Office for National Statistics (ONS) Longitudinal Study for England and Wales. The study has a large sample which allows for detailed analyses by migrant group, migrant generation, and other sociodemographic characteristics. Previous research in the UK has used either cross-sectional (e.g., Finney 2011) or survey data (e.g., Mikolai and Kulu 2024). The former only provides a snapshot of the patterns and the latter a smaller sample which over-represents ethnically dense areas and precludes subgroup analysis. In summary, our study is the first to granularly distinguish the housing outcomes of migrant origin groups and generations in the UK. A long observation period allows us to contextualise housing stability over time, allowing us to comment on the broader socioeconomic integration and assimilation in a country with a diverse migration history, thus contributing to the literature on housing stability and integration.

Our study is driven by the following research questions:

1. How does the likelihood of residential mobility differ between the native population, and immigrants and their descendants from different origin groups?
2. How does the likelihood of various changes in housing tenure differ between the native population, and immigrants and their descendants from different origin groups?
3. How does the likelihood of residential mobility differ between the native population, and immigrants and their descendants from different origin groups between census periods (1971 to 2011)?

By pursuing these questions, we aim to gain further understanding of housing outcomes in order to evaluate the residential assimilation and stratification theories. Understanding long-term trends and patterns allows us to evaluate convergence with – or indeed divergence from – the native population, especially as housing trends can change slowly across time. Additionally, examining housing tenure outcomes allows us to, in part, evaluate the varied housing pathways that residential stratification theory highlights.

2. Background

2.1 Theoretical background

Two main theories exist regarding immigrant and descendant housing experiences – assimilation and stratification. The classical assimilation theory posits that, over time and when socioeconomic differences are accounted for, immigrant and descendant behaviours align with the residential mobility patterns and housing situations of the native population (Alba and Logan 1993; Myers and Lee 1998). This alignment occurs due to the accumulation of socioeconomic resources, societal assimilation, and a reduction in reliance on ingroup networks and ethnic capital (Adelman et al. 2001; Alba et al. 1999; Alba, Logan, and Stults 2000; Clark 2003; Jivraj and Simpson 2015; Myers and Lee 1998; Rosenbaum and Friedman 2006).

By comparison, the stratification theory attempts to account for residential mobility disparities between migrant generations by advancing the argument that socioeconomic differences do not disappear even when accounted for. The stratification theory posits that ethnic and migrant origin groups are heterogeneously affected by sociospatial factors such as limited resource access, restrictive policies such as welfare support, housing choice moderated by stock availability, discrimination, and ingroup norms and preferences (Bertocchi, Brunetti, and Zaiceva 2023; Boschman and van Ham 2015; Mazziotta, Zerr, and Rohmann 2015). These outcomes are also influenced by broader assimilation: familial and community structures and norms, language proficiency and host society navigation ability, and information and knowledge about the housing system (Jivraj and Simpson 2015; Kulu 2005; Waters et al. 2014). Conversely, a lack of assimilation is associated with greater housing discrimination and access barriers. This is in part due to the experience of labour market disadvantage, especially historically (Jivraj and Alao 2023; Jivraj and Khan 2015; Waters et al. 2014).

2.2 Contextual background

2.2.1 Why the long-term matters in housing research

The residential mobility and housing tenure trends of immigrants, ethnic groups, and occasionally their descendants have been studied across Europe. Examples include the United Kingdom (Fernández-Reino and Vargas-Silva 2022; Mikolai and Kulu 2024; Shankley and Finney 2020), France (Gobillon and Solignac 2020; Harrison et al. 2026; McAvay 2018), Germany (Davidov and Weick 2011; Hanhörster and Ramos Lobato 2021; Liu and Kulu 2025; Schündeln 2014), Sweden (Abed Al Ahad, Andersson, and

Kulu 2023; Vogiazides and Chihaya 2020), and Switzerland (Lacroix and Zufferey 2019) as well as cross-national studies (Harrison et al. 2025). However, these studies mainly study these processes across relatively short observation windows.

A few studies have highlighted long-term and temporal explanations across an observation window of around 20 to 30 years. This provides a stronger foundation for evaluating the mechanisms of assimilation and stratification theories, which rely on observing gradual change over a long period of time. In Germany, studies have highlighted changes in schemes for economic migrants; the acceptance of asylum seekers and refugees, particularly after the Syrian War, and the subsequent legal and institutional policy changes; the political reconstruction and changes of administrative units; and housing policy changes (Davidov and Weick 2011; Liu and Kulu 2025). A study in Sweden explains entry into homeownership depending on time since migration by highlighting the importance of the generosity and subsequent tightening of the social welfare system across time; housing system pressures, particularly in bigger cities; and changes in the strength of the Swedish economy (Abed Al Ahad, Andersson, and Kulu 2023). Finally, a study in France examines the gap in homeownership rates between immigrants and the native population, and highlights wealth and resource accumulation, socioeconomic position, time of arrival, and local housing markets as key factors in the homeownership gap (Gobillon and Solignac 2020).

Taking into account long-term housing experiences and changes – one of the novelties of this study – is crucial due to the heterogeneity across Europe in the housing regimes, patterns, and legal and institutional contexts of immigrants and their descendants. For example, homeownership rates are high in the UK, low in Germany, and in between for France, Sweden, and Switzerland (Causa and Pichelmann 2020; Norris and Winston 2012). Several European countries, such as Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK, are 'career homeownership' regimes with high mortgage availability but also high rental rates. By comparison, countries like France have an 'elite homeownership' regime with limited access to mortgages and emphasis on wealth accumulation (Mulder and Billari 2010). Similarly, access to social and private renting and its supply is heterogeneous across Europe. Finally, immigration status and the legal and institutional context is highly heterogenous across Europe; for example, Sweden provides protection from discrimination in the housing market, while Germany exhibits migrant and socioeconomic inequalities in housing allocation (Hanhörster and Ramos Lobato 2021; Skifter Andersen 2012).

2.2.2 The UK migration and housing context

The reason why we focus on the UK context for this study is that compared to other high-income Western countries, the UK offers a uniquely layered migration context shaped by successive waves of post-war and post-2000 arrivals, making it an especially revealing setting for studying long-term housing changes (Shankley and Byrne 2020; Shankley and Finney 2020). A long colonial history and an increasing demand for labour to sustain post-WWII economic growth were key in developing and attracting a migration flow from South Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa. Since the 2000s, Central and Eastern European migration has increased due to greater European Union integration and freedom of movement, particularly for students and economic migrants, and Chinese migration has increased due to higher education and employment prospects.

Long-standing post-war migration from former colonies has created well-established communities, enabling analysis of intergenerational housing trajectories across changing housing policy regimes. Compared to other Western European countries, the long-standing presence of these communities allows for rare multi-generational analysis; for example, by the 1990s the UK had visible second-generation adults from multiple origin groups such as Indians, Pakistanis, and Caribbeans. In addition, unlike many other European countries where immigrants and their descendants are often concentrated in one or two origin groups, the UK has high diversity across and within generations and origin groups.

Unlike many Western European countries with more regulated rental markets or inclusive social housing systems, the UK has a highly marketised housing regime, making access to secure and affordable housing especially difficult for immigrants and their descendants (Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019; Shankley and Finney 2020). This housing regime has historically reduced access and choice in the housing market for disadvantaged groups and created long social housing waiting lists. In addition, the decline in social housing investment and the expansion of market forces in the private rental sector throughout the 1980s and 1990s exposed ethnic minority groups to greater housing insecurity and poorer quality housing. Finally, housing benefit and welfare reforms in the 2000s meant that ethnic minority groups disproportionately faced reduced housing choices and increased risk of eviction and arrears. These policies explain why, in the UK context, housing inequality is uniquely not static but slippery, as Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney (2019) argue, as housing inequality shifts across housing tenures, different housing policies, and different generations over a long period of time.

Taken together, these features make the UK a critical case for examining the long-term housing outcomes and (dis)advantages of immigrants and their descendants (Finney and Harries 2015; Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019; Shankley and Finney 2020). Additionally, the UK context reflects several aspects of both the assimilation and stratification theories. Key mechanisms of the stratification theory include differences in

wealth accumulation, navigation of the housing market, and governmental support and welfare, which produce a variety of housing pathways. These are key explanations for the heterogenous experiences of immigrants and their descendants in the UK housing market. However, the residential and housing careers of certain groups, for example the homeownership rates among the Indian group, is based on their ability to accumulate wealth, greater societal integration compared to other groups, and the holding of housing wealth and assets which can be passed down intergenerationally. This example aligns with the assimilation theory.

2.3 Residential mobility

It is well established in the literature that the residential mobility rates of migrant groups differ when arriving, when undertaking additional moves, and when attempting to move as a descendant (Finney 2011; Portes and Zhou 1993; Schündeln 2014; Zhou 1997). As the assimilation theory highlights, when arriving, immigrants are highly mobile, especially non-Western immigrants, and tend to migrate to areas where they can more easily access employment to improve their socioeconomic condition and gain information on the housing market (Bolt and van Kempen 2010; Boschman, Kleinhans, and van Ham 2017; Zorlu and Mulder 2008). Studies on ethnicity show that the White British group are the most mobile group, as independent living is very common; for example, this group moves to attend university and has more individual and parental socioeconomic resources relative to other groups. The Indian, Pakistani, and Chinese groups have lower residential mobility than the White British group, while the Black and Bangladeshi groups have the lowest probability of moving (Finney 2011). Mikolai and Kulu's (2024) study is one of the few on the residential mobility of immigrants and their descendants in the UK. They find that except for Pakistani and Bangladeshi descendants, who have low residential mobility, migrant groups have similar residential mobility to the native population. European and Indian immigrants are most likely to move to private renting and homeownership. By contrast, Bangladeshi, Caribbean, and African immigrants are most likely to move to renting.

However, being highly mobile does not necessarily mean an improvement in housing stability, such as provided by homeownership, as initial high mobility is also highly correlated with having less favourable housing conditions (Gobillon and Solignac 2020). Western immigrants, who tend to have greater cultural alignment, and immigrants with secure employment are less likely to undertake additional moves as they have greater capacity to assimilate and to enter stable housing (Dimou, Ettouati, and Schaffar 2020). The housing assimilation theory highlights that societal assimilation and wealth accumulation from secure employment are crucial for alignment with the residential

career of the native population, which the European and Indian population are more likely to experience in the UK context.

2.4 Housing tenure

There has been a clear variation in the housing tenure patterns of ethnic minorities and migrant origin groups over the last few decades. For most ethnic groups and the White British native population, private rental rates have increased. The ethnic groups with the lowest level of private renting are Black Caribbean and White Irish and the highest are Other White (including European), Arab, and Other Asians (such as Chinese) (Finney and Harries 2015; Shankley and Finney 2020). Private renting is especially common among European, Western (in this study, 'Western' refers to Western Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand), and Indian origin groups (Harrison et al. 2025; Mikolai and Kulu 2024). In parallel, homeownership has decreased among nearly all ethnic groups and the native population. The highest decreases have been for some Mixed groups and the Chinese group (Shankley and Finney 2020). In addition, European origin groups have similar homeownership rates to those of the native population (Harrison et al. 2025; Mikolai and Kulu 2024). However, overall, Indian immigrants have a higher likelihood of moving to homeownership or private renting compared to the native population (Harrison et al. 2025; Mikolai and Kulu 2024). The share of all ethnic groups and the native population living in social housing has decreased, with the largest decreases observed for Bangladeshi and Black Africans (Shankley and Finney 2020). However, despite any cross-sectional decreases, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and African origin groups still had a higher likelihood of social renting than the native population due to their lower likelihood of being homeowners (Harrison et al. 2025; Mikolai and Kulu 2024). These findings strongly align with the housing stratification theory. The housing (dis)advantage experienced by migrant groups points to wider economic and structural factors, particularly the intergenerational transmission of resources and housing wealth across several decades, the presence of economic opportunities and career progression to develop wealth, the (un)successful navigation of the housing market, and experiences of discrimination.

Housing tenure changes are important because homeownership is associated with housing and socioeconomic stability and the ability to establish long-term investment strategies, and signifies better housing conditions, such as size, quality, and nearby services, than in the rental sector (Mulder 2006; Mulder and Wagner 1998). Homeownership is a key mechanism that distinguishes housing pathways in housing stratification theory and is one of the largest indicators of strong assimilation in the housing assimilation theory. Hence, it is important to contextualise changes in housing

tenure because housing stability indicates broader socioeconomic integration and wealth accumulation, which is an important marker of migrant integration and housing assimilation (Finney and Harries 2015; Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019; Shankley and Finney 2020).

As the housing stratification theory highlights, partnership, family, and financial circumstances are key individual and household factors that impact the variation in housing changes across migrant groups. Leaving the parental home as part of the transition to adulthood, union formation, and childbearing are all strongly linked to residential mobility. Often, immigrants and their descendants stay longer in the parental home; family changes are more likely to induce a residential move among the socioeconomically advantaged who have access to housing, which is heterogeneous among migrant groups. The poorest groups are more likely to be residentially mobile as they are more likely to live in unstable housing and less likely to be homeowners. Experiencing job changes can result in higher residential mobility, particularly within the rental sector, as it is a marker of economic instability due to the need to move for employment. However, unemployment may decrease the desire to move due to its associated financial barriers. The wealthiest groups are unlikely to change their jobs and hence less likely to pursue residential moves. Migrant groups may be less residentially mobile for financial reasons due to housing market barriers and cultural norms and preferences. However, labour market barriers for migrant groups may necessitate residential mobility (Bertocchi, Brunetti, and Zaiceva 2023; Boschman and van Ham 2015; Clark and Huang 2004; Clark and Withers 2009; de Valk and Billari 2007; Ferrari and Pailhé 2017; Lacroix, Gagnon, and Wanner 2020; Schündeln 2014; Warner and Sharp 2016).

In summary, the literature shows that the UK housing market has become increasingly insecure and unequal since the late 20th century, with particularly adverse consequences for immigrants and their descendants, who are disproportionately affected by the decrease in social housing, the expansion of an unregulated private rental sector, historical exclusion from high-quality housing, and increasing unaffordable homeownership (Finney and Harries 2015; Jivraj and Khan 2015; Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019). Higher residential mobility is common when facing housing insecurity, which is exacerbated by a burgeoning private rental sector and increasing house prices. However, socioeconomic and educational improvements across generations and cohorts are allowing greater wealth accumulation among migrant groups; hence the significance of observing housing changes and particularly homeownership across recent decades. Overall, the literature highlights highly heterogenous residential mobility and housing tenure patterns, which allow a detailed examination of the housing assimilation and stratification theories.

2.5 Expectations

We examine two separate outcomes in this study: any residential move, and housing-tenure-type-specific moves (rental to rental, rental to ownership, ownership to rental, ownership to ownership). First, based on the highly heterogenous patterns observed in the current literature and emphasised in the stratification theory, we expect that residential mobility patterns will be very diverse, mainly due to differences in economic situation, housing market engagement, and societal integration. However, broadly, the groups that are largely represented in renting will have the highest residential mobility, as the assimilation and stratification theories highlight that residential mobility is usually higher in the rental sector due to the greater likelihood of experiencing housing disadvantage. We also expect that the second generation will have greater residential mobility than the first-generation who settled from the 1950s onwards because of the increasing house prices and lack of affordable homes resulting from the later housing crisis. Hence, their residential mobility may reflect rental moves. The restriction of housing choice based on stock availability is a key mechanism in the stratification theory. The first generation will likely have lower mobility because they are more likely to have completed their housing moves and, among the earlier cohorts, achieved some residential assimilation, or indeed are immobile due to structural constraints, as highlighted in the stratification theory.

Second, we expect that rental sector moves will be the most common form of change in housing tenure across all origin groups, due to the instability in the rental sector and the relative ease of moving between rental properties, compared to the costs of moving in homeownership. Third, we expect that in general, compared to the first census period (1971), residential mobility will increase for all groups due to increased housing market insecurity. However, we expect this trend to be heterogeneous across different origin groups and migrant generations due to a multitude of factors highlighted in the assimilation and stratification theories, such as, but not limited to, household wealth, labour market conditions, and housing conditions. Finally, we expect heterogeneous residential mobility levels among different origin groups. Hence, we also expect that different groups will experience different changes in housing tenure, as the frequency of residential moves alone does not necessarily signify an improvement in life circumstances. As emphasised in stratification theory, changes in housing tenure are most likely to be the result of life course processes such as labour market and familial security, reflecting a higher likelihood of entering homeownership, rather than frequent labour market changes increasing the likelihood of frequent rental sector moves.

3. Data and methods

3.1 Data and sample

We use data from the Office for National Statistics Longitudinal Study (ONS LS) for England and Wales (Office for National Statistics 2024). The ONS LS contains census and life events data linked between five successive censuses – 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, and 2011. The sample includes people living in England and Wales who were born on one of four confidential birthdays, making a 1% sample of the total population. Fresh LS members enter the study through birth and immigration, and existing members leave through emigration or death. The ONS LS is the most appropriate data source for our study because it covers a long time period, which allows for a more robust analysis of housing tenure changes and residential mobility over time because these changes occur at different speeds, highlighting the value of the ONS LS for our specific research questions (Office for National Statistics 2024). In addition, the ONS LS boasts a large sample size, allowing more granular categorisation than other surveys.

We excluded ONS LS members who were only present for one census period and those who were not present for two consecutive census periods because in these cases we would not be able to identify a residential move. Also, for those who joined in 2011 we would not be able to identify a move between two census periods as it is the last period available in our study window (1971–2011). Since completing the study, a 2021 census link is available for examining residential mobility and housing tenure changes between 2011 and 2021. For the other periods, exclusions could be due to a variety of factors such as death, which is the most common reason (approximately 300,000 sample members), embarkation, or attrition (although attrition is low in the ONS LS) (Office for National Statistics 2024). We also excluded those who live in communal establishments (e.g., care homes, prisons) or non-permanent buildings (e.g., caravans). We overcame the enumeration base differences that exist across census periods by excluding students and those under age 22 from our sample, as they are likely to be in full-time education and their university and parental-home moves would distort our results. We also excluded those above age 69, as the representation of migrant groups, particularly descendants, is not large enough in those age groups. These exclusions were implemented at the start of the census decade. Additionally, those aged over 69 are unlikely to have further residential mobility and are likely to reside in communal establishments such as care homes. Moves to communal establishments or non-permanent buildings by the end of the census decade are excluded. The final sample size is 2,187,423 person-decades or observations.

Residential mobility data being restricted to the start and end of an ONS LS census period can be a positive attribute due to the likelihood that short-term shocks to the

housing market, economy, and other life course exogeneities will average out over the 10-year period. This accounts for potential individual-level volatility that may be masked in longitudinal studies that report (semi-) frequently (Shuttleworth, Cooke, and Champion 2019). Furthermore, the information on housing moves is very granular, which highlights the importance of using the ONS LS, despite the limitation of not having access to all residential moves between two census periods.

3.2 Variables

This study uses two outcome or dependent variables. The first outcome variable is a binary variable which indicates whether a sample individual has moved between two consecutive ONS LS census periods. The second outcome variable indicates the type of housing tenure move that has taken place between two consecutive ONS LS census periods. This variable has four categories: moving from renting to homeownership, renting to renting, homeownership to homeownership, and homeownership to renting. To preserve large enough sample sizes, the renting category includes both private and social renting. Sensitivity analysis was conducted with outcome variables with both more and fewer categories, including separating social and private renting, but this did not meaningfully affect our results.

Country of birth, ethnic group, and migrant generation are the main independent variables under study. The country (or region) of birth variable was recoded and collapsed in each census period to ensure consistency, sufficient sample sizes, and to prioritise analysing the largest UK migrant groups. Sample members were not allowed to have different countries or regions of births across census periods – therefore the mode response was taken as their final categorisation (and their latest categorisation if there was more than one mode). As mentioned, 'Western' refers to Western Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand. The migrant generation variable was created using the country of birth variable as well as the self-reported ethnicity variable (collected after 1991) to establish whether a sample member was first generation (foreign-born) or second generation and above (UK-born). Because most census periods did not include a variable on parental country of birth, for the second generation we used ethnicity and country of birth to categorise the groups. The British native population refers to those who were born in the UK to two UK-born parents, which includes Scotland and Northern Ireland. The ethnicity variable was categorised in the same way as the country of birth variable. We determined whether the sample member was part of the '1.5 generation' by calculating their age at immigration (below the age of 16) using the immigration files provided in the ONS LS. This study focuses on immigrant and descendant groups which constitute the largest groups in the UK, have specific sociodemographic profiles such as

being highly skilled or educated as well as those who have high labour market instability, and groups with specific migratory intent; for example, the Chinese group, who mainly migrate for higher education or highly skilled employment.

Our models have several control or independent variables – age group, education, census period, occupational social class, marital status, housing tenure type, area deprivation, and government office region. First, age was collapsed into 5-year age bands. Two sets of sensitivity analyses were conducted: first, with 10-year age bands; second, restricting the sample to ages 22–59 to examine if there were any specific patterns between ages 59 and 69 that affected our overall results (the impact was minimal). The highest educational qualification had to be recoded into whether a sample member had a degree or no degree because there was inconsistency across census periods in the reporting of GCSEs, A-levels, and other technical qualifications. Occupational social class was recoded to align with the official three-category National Statistics Socioeconomic classification (Office for National Statistics 2026). Marital status was collapsed into singlehood, marriage, and separation. Cohabitation could not be included as it was not reported in some census periods. The housing tenure type variable included homeownership, social renting, and private renting. The ward-level area deprivation (Carstairs) variable was derived from Paul Norman's work which was provided to the ONS LS (Carstairs and Morris 1989). The Carstairs index is made up of four indicators representing material disadvantage: car ownership, occupational social class, overcrowding, and unemployment. The variable is split into quintiles from 'least deprived' to 'most deprived'. Finally, sex, the ONS LS census periods (e.g., 1971 to 1981), and Government Office Region (e.g., North West, South East, Wales, etc.) were used as covariates in the model.

3.3 Methodology

We utilised binary and multinomial logistic regression. The results from the regression analysis are presented as average marginal effects. Average marginal effects express the average difference in the probability of the outcome variable between the different categories of the independent variable and the reference category of the independent variable. We used clustered standard errors because individuals can be present for multiple census periods. We explored interactions between the covariates and country or region of birth and migrant generation, but they did not improve the model fit. We also explored models which compared London with the rest of England and Wales, but there were no significant differences. We ran a model that analysed sample members who had missing values for the housing tenure variable but not the residential mobility variable (71,632 or 3.3% of the observations) and compared them against our main models. The

main differences were for the first generation and some 1.5 generation groups, but the effect sizes were not significant enough for the model to be under- or overestimating certain groups (see Table A-3 in the Appendix). The only characteristic which is overrepresented in those who are excluded is being single.

4. Results

4.1 Descriptives

Table 1 breaks down the residential moves by housing tenure type. The total observations column includes pooled sample members that did not move or where tenure information was missing. Table 1 highlights that for most origin and migrant generational groups the largest proportion of moves are moves to homeownership. Over half the moves of Indian and Pakistani origin groups are from homeownership to homeownership for all migrant generations, which is higher than the native population. Nearly all origin groups have a higher proportion moving from renting to homeownership than the native population. The second generation of most origin groups have lower proportions moving from renting to homeownership compared to their first-generation counterparts except Indians and Black Africans. Eastern European, Bangladeshi, Black, and White Mixed origin groups have the highest proportions moving within the rental sector.

Table 1: Housing tenure (and address) changes by origin group and migrant generation 1971–2011

	Housing tenure (and address) change				
Origin group and migrant generation	Own–own	Own–rent	Rent–own	Rent–rent	Total observations
British Native	370,780	93,877	165,431	159,429	1,862,612
	47%	12%	21%	20%	
Western European, North American, Australian, and New Zealand					
1G	6,790	1,673	4,027	3,604	59,689
	42%	10%	25%	22%	
1.5G	1,771	452	929	842	11,393
	44%	11%	23%	21%	
Eastern European					
1G	1,061	318	611	712	19,686
	39%	12%	23%	26%	
1.5G	148	40	109	128	2,686
	35%	9%	26%	30%	
Non-native White					
2G	1,724	460	808	712	12,310
	47%	12%	22%	19%	

Table 1: (Continued)

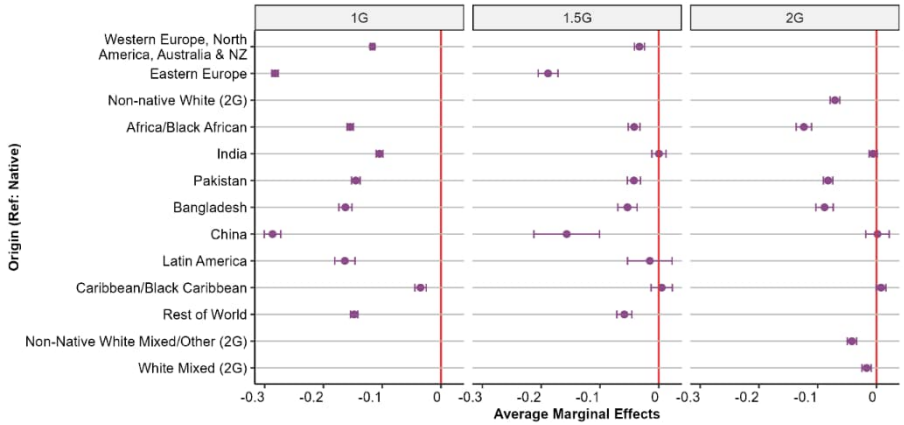
	Housing tenure (and address) change				
Origin group and migrant generation	Own–own	Own–rent	Rent–own	Rent–rent	Total observations
Indian					
1G	4,156	583	1,303	446	27,117
	64%	9%	20%	7%	
1.5G	1,384	176	337	115	5,188
	69%	9%	17%	6%	
2G	1,070	689	974	1,373	17,072
	26%	17%	24%	33%	
Pakistani					
1G	1,700	446	698	267	14,553
	55%	14%	22%	9%	
1.5G	978	279	347	121	5,490
	57%	16%	20%	7%	
2G	3,210	693	701	218	13,826
	67%	14%	15%	5%	
Bangladeshi					
1G	293	225	414	442	6,288
	21%	16%	30%	32%	
1.5G	169	154	267	321	2,926
	19%	17%	29%	35%	
2G	1,483	507	602	277	4,187
	52%	18%	21%	10%	
Chinese					
1G	132	35	104	34	2,723
	43%	11%	34%	11%	
1.5G	28	10	10	10	232
	48%	17%	17%	17%	
2G	214	140	281	250	2,090
	24%	16%	32%	28%	
Latin American					
1G	261	61	147	111	2,675
	45%	11%	25%	19%	
1.5G	71	30	45	40	558
	38%	16%	24%	22%	
African/Black African					
1G	2,575	719	1,540	1,380	27,115
	41%	12%	25%	22%	
1.5G	986	239	484	400	7,090
	47%	11%	23%	19%	
2G	188	121	310	361	5,265
	19%	12%	32%	37%	
Caribbean/Black Caribbean					
1G	732	397	649	761	8,964
	29%	16%	26%	30%	
1.5G	266	176	254	295	2,421
	27%	18%	26%	30%	
2G	289	123	136	72	11,349
	47%	20%	22%	12%	
Rest of the World					
1G	1,906	528	1,184	738	20,259
	44%	12%	27%	17%	
1.5G	453	157	311	237	4,475
	39%	14%	27%	20%	
Non-Native White Mixed/Other					
2G	1,111	583	753	1,020	13,693
	32%	17%	22%	29%	
White Mixed					
2G	1,148	606	816	1,358	13,491
	29%	15%	21%	35%	
Total	407,077	104,497	184,582	176,074	2,187,423
	19%	5%	8%	8%	100%

Note: For the 1.5G Chinese group, every category except Own-Own had cell counts fewer than 10. The row percentages have been calculated as if the cell counts were 10, in line with standard practice.
Source: Authors' own work using the ONS Longitudinal Study.

4.2 Binary and multinomial logistic regression results

Figure 1 shows the average marginal effects of experiencing a residential move by origin group and migrant generation. The vertical line at 0 on the x axis indicates the Native population baseline, as they are the reference category. Broadly, the first generation has the lowest likelihood of residential mobility compared to the 1.5 and the second generations, which exhibit similar likelihoods. The first generation Caribbean group have the highest likelihood of moving compared to all other immigrant (1G) groups. Some second generation groups have slightly higher likelihoods of moving than their 1.5 generation counterparts, namely the Indian and Chinese groups. The largest difference is seen for the Western European, Eastern European, Chinese, and Latin American origin groups. The South Asian, African, and Caribbean origin groups show little change across migrant generations. The Caribbean origin group is the only group among the second generation that is more likely to experience a residential move than the native population.

Figure 1: Average marginal effects of experiencing a residential move, by migrant origin group and generation

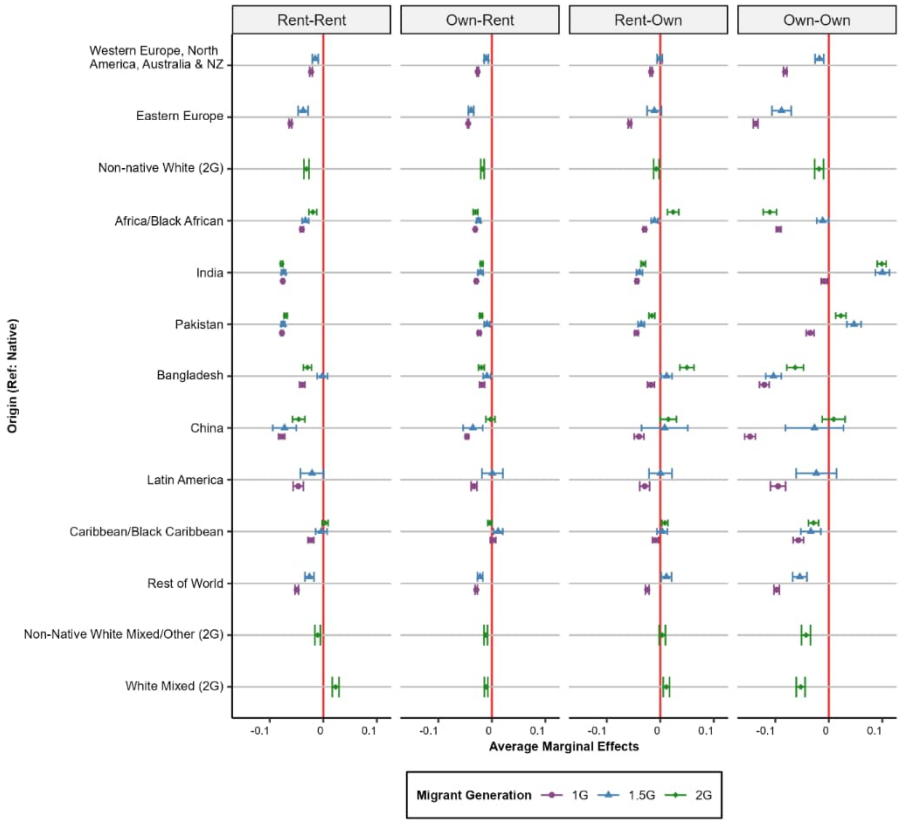


Note: Controlling for age group, sex, ONS LS period, housing tenure, region, ward-level area deprivation, educational attainment, occupational social class, marital status.
Source: Authors' own work using the ONS Longitudinal Study.

Figure 2 shows the average marginal effects of experiencing a housing tenure change, by origin group and migrant generation. For renting–renting, owning–renting, and renting–owning moves, most origin groups exhibit likelihoods similar to those of the native population. The White Mixed group has a slightly higher likelihood of moving within the rental sector compared to other groups and the Native population. There are

slight generational differences, with the 1.5 and second generation being more likely to make this housing tenure transition. There are clear generational differences for the African, Bangladeshi, and Chinese origin groups, which show intergenerational progress in homeownership moves from renting, with some migrant generations in these origin groups exhibiting higher likelihoods than the Native population as well as Caribbeans. The African, Bangladeshi, and Caribbean groups show some generational differences for moves within the rental sector, with the second generation being more likely to move than their first generation counterparts.

Figure 2: Average marginal effects of experiencing a housing tenure change, by migrant origin group and generation

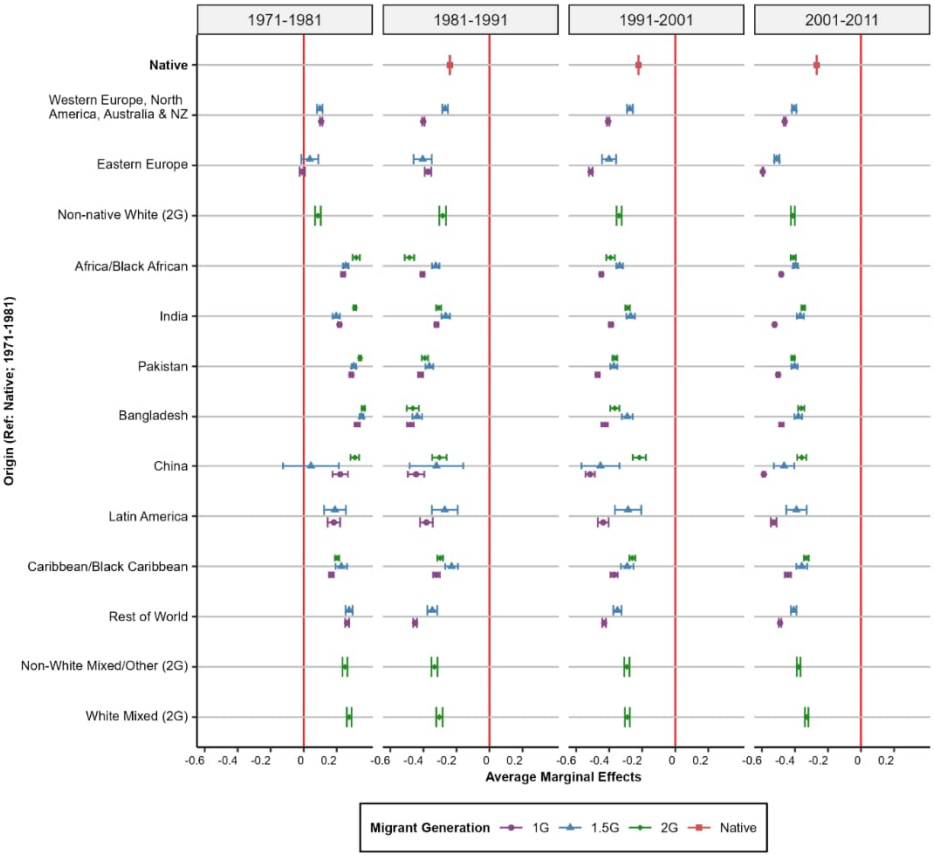


Note: Controlling for age group, sex, ONS LS period, region, ward-level area deprivation, educational attainment, occupational social class, marital status.
Source: Authors' own work using the ONS Longitudinal Study.

The greatest difference between migrant generations and the greatest variation among groups was in moving from one homeownership to another. The Indian and Pakistani 1.5 and second generation and the Chinese 1.5 generation groups outperform the Native population. The African, Pakistani, and Latin American 1.5 generation and Chinese second generation groups have the same likelihood as the Western and European origin groups. The Eastern European, Bangladeshi, Caribbean, and some African origin groups have the lowest likelihood of making this transition, which mainly reflects their marginal effects in rental moves. For Western and European origin groups, differences are most pronounced for the 1.5 and second generation when moving into homeownership (who mostly make up the Non-native White 2G category).

Figure 3 shows the average marginal effects of experiencing a residential move (aligning with Table A-2 categorisation – see Table A-2 in the Appendix) by census period, origin group, and migrant generation. The likelihood of moving in Figure 3 is much larger than in previous results. Notably, when looking at the trend across census periods, 1971–1981 is when most sample members are likely to move, other than the Native population. The likelihood of moving is largely similar for all origin groups and is notably higher than that of Natives. This pattern reverses in the subsequent census periods. Over time, for all groups, the 1.5 and second generations have higher residential mobility than their first generation counterparts. In addition, the likelihood of the 1.5 and second generation groups is similar to that of the Native population. Between 1971 and 1991 there are hardly any generational differences between migrants across all groups. The largest differences in later census periods are for the Western and European, Chinese, Latin American, and Black origin groups.

Figure 3: Average marginal effects of experiencing a residential move, by ONS LS period, migrant origin group, and generation



Note: Controlling for age group, sex, housing tenure, region, ward-level area deprivation, educational attainment, occupational social class, marital status.
Source: Authors' own work using the ONS Longitudinal Study.

5. Discussion

As European societies become more diverse, the question of integration has received substantial academic and public attention. Our study analyses residential and housing tenure changes in England and Wales by migrant generation and origin group over a 40-year period. Housing is a key part of integration as it facilitates access to economic opportunities and wealth accumulation, and fosters a sense of community belonging. For migrant groups in particular, housing mobility, and particularly homeownership, are important markers of successful integration. By distinguishing between migrant generations and origin groups using a large census-derived dataset, our study contextualises residential mobility and housing patterns over time, which is crucial for understanding socioeconomic integration and assimilation, contributing to key debates on the housing stability and integration of migrant groups.

Our study yields several findings by migrant generation, origin group, and time. First, the analysis of residential mobility shows that the first generation have the lowest likelihood of moving compared to the Native population and other migrant generations. Additionally, there are small differences between the 1.5 and the second generation. Second, the analysis of changes in housing tenure shows that the likelihood of moving to homeownership increased across migrant generations for nearly all origin groups, and particularly for Indian and Pakistani 1.5 and second generation groups, who outcompeted the Native population. Third, our analysis of residential mobility over time shows that between 1971 and 1981, nearly every single origin group was more likely to move than the Native population. For every other time period, the likelihood of moving for all origin groups was very similar to that of the Native population, except for the first generation.

Our first finding may reflect similarities in housing market assimilation rather than having more resources, as previous studies have found that only certain origin groups have stronger intergenerational socioeconomic support (Bolt and van Kempen 2010; Dimou, Ettouati, and Schaffar 2020). In addition, the 1.5 and second generations are more likely to experience recent housing market instability than the first generation who settled earlier, or the cohorts which are becoming increasingly select; for example, highly skilled migrants or those with planned jobs (Finney and Harries 2015). The first generation, particularly among non-Western groups, are more likely to have completed their residential moves, do not have a strong norm of being residentially mobile after initial post-migration moves, and prioritise living with their own communities rather than moving to improve their socioeconomic standing. The recent housing market instability is characterised by a lack of affordable homes to buy due to increasing house prices and a lack of housing stock being built (Finney and Harries 2015; Shankley and Finney 2020). Hence, the increase in residential mobility for 1.5 and second generation groups may

reflect more rental moves, whereas the first generation may have completed residential moves and are more likely to be homeowners.

The small differences observed for South Asian origin groups or groups with greater cultural alignment with the White British population across migrant generations may reflect considered moves to improve housing quality (Gobillon and Solignac 2020; Hamnett and Butler 2010; Zuccotti 2019). Black and Western groups have higher residential mobility than other groups, which may reflect short-term migration intent, labour market disadvantage, and strong norms of independence, rather than local attachment (Catney and Sabater 2015; Finney 2011; Finney and Harries 2015; Jivraj and Khan 2015; Zuccotti 2019).

Overall, our first finding shows some alignment with both the assimilation and stratification theories. For the former, the accumulation of socioeconomic resources and stronger assimilation attempts allow certain successive migrant generational cohorts to perform better in the housing market (Alba and Logan 1993; Myers and Lee 1998). For the latter, housing market information and access through key stakeholders are crucial mechanisms to reduce housing inequality and discrimination.

Our analysis of changes in housing tenure aims to contextualise the socioeconomic situations that migrant groups find themselves in due to the association between wealth accumulation, integration, socioeconomic status, and housing tenure. Most origin groups have a similar likelihood of moving within the rental sector and from renting to homeownership. This is important because it suggests that differences between origin groups regarding housing instability in the rental sector or the ability to move up on the housing ladder to homeownership are not sharp or substantial. Although the ONS LS does not provide the ability to comprehensively understand housing inequality due to sample size limitations, such as through the role of housing conditions or deprivation, the results still contribute to understanding housing choices, access, and wealth accumulation. Some rental moves may be masked by the dataset because only one move is recorded, but the overall patterns are still observable, especially the extent of differences between groups. For some origin groups the transitions from renting to homeownership show that the 1.5 and second generations have a higher likelihood of moving, which indicates some intergenerational progress despite recent housing market instability. Homeownership improves housing stability; hence this is an improvement regardless of housing conditions, especially as a move to homeownership requires sufficient wealth accumulation, upfront costs, and strong navigation of the housing market.

Focusing on moving from ownership to ownership, a clear generational pattern can be observed. Once wealth is accumulated to move within homeownership more than once, origin-group differences are more likely to reflect the extent of integration, which the assimilation and stratification theories highlight. In tandem, even those who have

relatively fewer socioeconomic resources still move frequently, which likely represents a dual process of intergenerational improvement and moving into low-quality housing (Bolt and van Kempen 2010; Hamnett and Butler 2010). Although there are clear inequalities, many origin groups show increased housing tenure stability from homeownership across migrant generations. Most notably, the Indian and Pakistani groups exhibit a higher likelihood than the native population, which may reflect their consistent wealth accumulation and assimilation trajectories, characterised by an emphasis on homeownership, high educational aspiration and attainment, and passing down wealth to their children. In addition, Indians and Pakistanis settled earlier than other origin groups, which allowed greater levels of homeownership before the housing crises (Algan et al. 2010; Bolt and van Kempen 2010; Karlsen, Nazroo, and Smith 2020; Li and Heath 2020).

Overall, our analysis largely reflects the translation of socioeconomic disadvantage into housing decisions and the importance of intergenerational transfer of resources and wealth accumulation, which are mechanisms that are well established in the literature. However, some groups previously thought to face significant housing disadvantage experience longer-term intergenerational improvements, despite any recent housing instability. This is an important finding because although housing literature points to discrimination and socioeconomic differences as key mechanisms, our findings show that housing disadvantage is complex and nuanced: while housing stability, by observing tenure changes, is improving, the trends in housing inequality could persist in different metrics, such as housing quality. In addition, when looking at renting to homeownership, all origin groups are very close to or surpassing the Native population, tentatively indicating a more positive outlook for differences between origin groups and the native population.

The third aim of our study was to investigate whether the residential and housing tenure moves found in Figures 1 and 2 were masking long-term residential changes. Housing market changes take place over long periods; hence, using person-decades smoothens short-term shocks (Shuttleworth, Cooke, and Champion 2019). Interestingly, against our expectation, Figure 3 shows that between 1971 and 1981, nearly every single-origin group was more likely to move than the Native population. This aligns with previous work using the ONS LS that found that address changes have decreased over time (Shuttleworth, Cooke, and Champion 2019). Furthermore, residential mobility between 1971 and 1981 is primarily explained by recent, younger arrivals and the expansion of homeownership among all groups, including the Native population. These groups did not settle in the early years after arrival, so there is a larger contingent of older people in the decade 2001–2011, which may reflect lower residential mobility (Shuttleworth, Cooke, and Champion 2019). Immigrants and their descendants in 1971–1981 had high private renting levels, limited social housing access, and low

homeownership due to discrimination and exclusion. Despite reduced direct discrimination, limited housing benefits, declining social housing stock, and the rise of the private sector all contribute to why residential mobility is lower in later census periods. Housing conditions, fewer constraints on housing benefits and market access, and availability of affordable rental properties are key factors in why residential mobility was higher in 1971–1981. By the 1990s and early 2000s social housing had become scarce, alongside fewer housing benefits, stricter tenancy terms, and macro-economic pressures (Finney and Harries 2015; Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019; Shankley and Finney 2020). In addition, for every time period other than 1971–1981, the likelihood of moving for all origin groups was very similar to that of the Native population, except for the first generation. These are two significant findings because they show that there may not be specific structural disadvantages between origin groups across time (Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019; Lymperopoulou, Finney, and Catney 2017). Instead, the historical policy and political context affected racialised, particularly non-Western, origin groups broadly equally, which points to overall structural disadvantages. Figure 3 generally reflects the results found in Figure 1, showing that different generational patterns are not observed over time.

Our study shows strong intergenerational housing market assimilation as well as housing tenure stability. These results likely reflect socioeconomic resources, intergenerational support, and differences in migratory intent. We do not comment on the specific places where migrant groups settle, which is a key limitation of our study because of the role geography plays in housing processes and its importance in helping to explain differences in housing quality and stability. Sample size limitations and the difficulty harmonising small-scale boundaries such as neighbourhoods means that the ability to comment on meaningful spatial changes is limited. However, we account for some spatial processes by controlling for regions, which is a geographical level where house prices and housing accessibility are variable, and small-scale area deprivation. Geography naturally affects residential mobility through housing pressure, prices, and neighbourhood characteristics such as employment and housing quality and type. Hence, our results are likely conservative estimates. However, our results still show origin group and migrant generational patterns, particularly in homeownership, which is one measure of housing stability due to the importance of wealth accumulation, integration, and temporal changes.

Our results are also limited due to residential moves being collected every 10 years and the ONS LS not having information on all housing moves that take place. However, our study has a large sample, allowing for granular analysis, whereas other datasets, such as Understanding Society, oversample areas with a high density of ethnic minorities, which may affect residential mobility estimates. The UK has a dearth of longitudinal data

with large enough sample sizes to study ethnic and migrant groups, and in future, data collection should consider this to allow a more in-depth analysis.

Our study raises several issues for policymakers. First, beyond the need to resolve the issue of housing supply, policies such as mortgage schemes that encourage homeownership or shared ownership need to encourage greater uptake by including racial equality strategies and considering local community needs (Dorling 2015; Lukes, de Noronha, and Finney 2019; Rogaly, Elliott, and Baxter 2021). Second, immigration policy plays a key role in determining housing (dis)advantage. Immigrants need to be given greater flexibility and more opportunities to accumulate wealth, such as providing access to the labour market and welfare. Other policies, such as the Right to Rent policy, has increased discrimination from landlord and letting agents, particularly regarding more affordable and social housing. Greater consideration should be given to implementing discrimination protection, transparency, and fairness in housing allocation (Hanhörster and Ramos Lobato 2021; Skifter Andersen 2012).

This is one of the few studies to investigate residential mobility and housing changes specifically among the 1.5 and second generations. Despite the persistent housing disadvantage of some groups, our results show a long-term positive housing outlook for some groups, against the backdrop of relatively recent housing market insecurity. In order to understand the key mechanisms, future research should contextualise the findings of this research further by considering short- and long-distance moves, desires and intentions, local-level deprivation, and moves in and out of (non-)deprived areas, and consider other life course processes in conjunction with residential mobility, such as changes in employment or family formation and dissolution.

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statistical data in this work does not imply the endorsement of the ONS in relation to the interpretation or analysis of the statistical data. This work uses research datasets which may not exactly reproduce National Statistics aggregates. We acknowledge the feedback provided on earlier versions of this work by participants at the United Kingdom Longitudinal Studies Conference, the 12th International Conference on Population Geographies, and the British Society for Population Studies Annual Conference.

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Appendix

Note: The appendix only includes model results for the migrant generation and origin-group variables. For the full models, which include other controls, please see the supplementary material document. The supplementary material document also includes Table A-1 (residential mobility counts by ONS LS wave period, origin group, and migrant generation) and Table A-2 (the model which compares the residential mobility of sample members who do and do not have information on changes in housing tenure).

Table A-1: Model results for Figure 1

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
1G Western European, North American, Australian, and NZ	–0.1167	0.0020	–0.1206	–0.1127
1G Eastern European	–0.2824	0.0028	–0.2878	–0.2769
1G African	–0.1544	0.0028	–0.1598	–0.1490
1G Indian	–0.1045	0.0030	–0.1103	–0.0987
1G Pakistani	–0.1449	0.0037	–0.1522	–0.1377
1G Bangladeshi	–0.1627	0.0057	–0.1738	–0.1516
1G Chinese	–0.2866	0.0072	–0.3006	–0.2725
1G Latin American	–0.1636	0.0088	–0.1809	–0.1463
1G Caribbean	–0.0349	0.0049	–0.0445	–0.0253
1G Rest of World	–0.1478	0.0032	–0.1541	–0.1415
1.5G Western European, North American, Australian, & NZ	–0.0328	0.0044	–0.0414	–0.0243
1.5G Eastern European	–0.1883	0.0086	–0.2051	–0.1716
1.5G African	–0.0418	0.0051	–0.0518	–0.0319
1.5G Indian	0.0003	0.0061	–0.0117	0.0123
1.5G Pakistani	–0.0422	0.0058	–0.0536	–0.0309
1.5G Bangladeshi	–0.0533	0.0084	–0.0697	–0.0369
1.5G Chinese	–0.1566	0.0285	–0.2124	–0.1007
1.5G Latin American	–0.0152	0.0194	–0.0531	0.0227
1.5G Caribbean	0.0051	0.0092	–0.0130	0.0231
1.5G Rest of World	–0.0585	0.0065	–0.0713	–0.0458
2G Non-native White	–0.0707	0.0042	–0.0789	–0.0624
2G Black African	–0.1235	0.0067	–0.1367	–0.1104
2G Black Caribbean	0.0077	0.0042	–0.0005	0.0160
2G Indian	–0.0057	0.0036	–0.0128	0.0013
2G Pakistani	–0.0824	0.0041	–0.0903	–0.0744
2G Bangladeshi	–0.0884	0.0075	–0.1031	–0.0737
2G Chinese	0.0017	0.0102	–0.0182	0.0217
2G Non-White Mixed/Other	–0.0418	0.0041	–0.0498	–0.0339
2G White Mixed	–0.0168	0.0040	–0.0246	–0.0090

Source: Authors' own work using the ONS Longitudinal Study.

Table A-2: Model results for Figure 2

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
Origin group and migrant generation (Ref: British Native)				
1G Western European, North American, Australian, and New Zealand				
No move	0.1484	0.0021	0.1442	0.1525
Rent–Rent	–0.0231	0.0013	–0.0257	–0.0206
Own–Rent	–0.0264	0.0007	–0.0278	–0.0250
Rent–Own	–0.0172	0.0011	–0.0193	–0.0151
Own–Own	–0.0816	0.0016	–0.0847	–0.0784
1G Eastern European				
No move	0.2999	0.0029	0.2943	0.3056
Rent–Rent	–0.0616	0.0013	–0.0642	–0.0591
Own–Rent	–0.0443	0.0006	–0.0455	–0.0430
Rent–Own	–0.0571	0.0014	–0.0599	–0.0544
Own–Own	–0.1369	0.0023	–0.1414	–0.1324
1G African				
No move	0.1943	0.0029	0.1886	0.2000
Rent–Rent	–0.0401	0.0015	–0.0431	–0.0372
Own–Rent	–0.0309	0.0009	–0.0327	–0.0291
Rent–Own	–0.0294	0.0015	–0.0323	–0.0266
Own–Own	–0.0938	0.0023	–0.0984	–0.0892
1G Indian				
No move	0.1570	0.0031	0.1509	0.1632
Rent–Rent	–0.0757	0.0009	–0.0776	–0.0739
Own–Rent	–0.0291	0.0011	–0.0312	–0.0270
Rent–Own	–0.0439	0.0013	–0.0465	–0.0413
Own–Own	–0.0083	0.0029	–0.0140	–0.0026
1G Pakistani				
No move	0.1806	0.0041	0.1726	0.1887
Rent–Rent	–0.0774	0.0010	–0.0794	–0.0754
Own–Rent	–0.0236	0.0015	–0.0265	–0.0208
Rent–Own	–0.0447	0.0017	–0.0481	–0.0413
Own–Own	–0.0349	0.0037	–0.0422	–0.0276
1G Bangladeshi				
No move	0.1957	0.0060	0.1839	0.2075
Rent–Rent	–0.0395	0.0026	–0.0446	–0.0344
Own–Rent	–0.0181	0.0024	–0.0229	–0.0134
Rent–Own	–0.0175	0.0033	–0.0240	–0.0110
Own–Own	–0.1206	0.0046	–0.1297	–0.1116
1G Chinese				
No move	0.3112	0.0073	0.2969	0.3255
Rent–Rent	–0.0778	0.0029	–0.0834	–0.0722
Own–Rent	–0.0464	0.0015	–0.0493	–0.0435
Rent–Own	–0.0398	0.0046	–0.0488	–0.0309
Own–Own	–0.1472	0.0051	–0.1572	–0.1373

Table A-2: (Continued)

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
Origin group and migrant generation (Ref: British Native)				
1G Latin American				
No move	0.2041	0.0092	0.1861	0.2221
Rent–Rent	–0.0469	0.0049	–0.0565	–0.0374
Own–Rent	–0.0332	0.0028	–0.0386	–0.0277
Rent–Own	–0.0291	0.0047	–0.0384	–0.0199
Own–Own	–0.0949	0.0072	–0.1090	–0.0807
1G Caribbean				
No move	0.0867	0.0056	0.0757	0.0977
Rent–Rent	–0.0232	0.0027	–0.0285	–0.0179
Own–Rent	0.0024	0.0027	–0.0029	0.0076
Rent–Own	–0.0090	0.0028	–0.0145	–0.0034
Own–Own	–0.0569	0.0050	–0.0667	–0.0471
1G Rest of World				
No move	0.2007	0.0035	0.1939	0.2074
Rent–Rent	–0.0496	0.0017	–0.0529	–0.0462
Own–Rent	–0.0292	0.0011	–0.0314	–0.0270
Rent–Own	–0.0245	0.0018	–0.0279	–0.0210
Own–Own	–0.0975	0.0026	–0.1026	–0.0924
1.5G Western European, North American, Australian & New Zealand				
No move	0.0441	0.0046	0.0350	0.0532
Rent–Rent	–0.0151	0.0028	–0.0206	–0.0096
Own–Rent	–0.0103	0.0020	–0.0142	–0.0065
Rent–Own	–0.0012	0.0025	–0.0061	0.0037
Own–Own	–0.0175	0.0042	–0.0257	–0.0094
1.5G Eastern European				
No move	0.1760	0.0099	0.1566	0.1955
Rent–Rent	–0.0377	0.0048	–0.0471	–0.0284
Own–Rent	–0.0388	0.0025	–0.0437	–0.0339
Rent–Own	–0.0112	0.0069	–0.0246	0.0023
Own–Own	–0.0883	0.0092	–0.1065	–0.0702
1.5G African				
No move	0.0806	0.0058	0.0693	0.0919
Rent–Rent	–0.0335	0.0031	–0.0397	–0.0274
Own–Rent	–0.0249	0.0019	–0.0285	–0.0212
Rent–Own	–0.0108	0.0033	–0.0172	–0.0043
Own–Own	–0.0114	0.0056	–0.0224	–0.0005
1.5G Indian				
No move	0.0343	0.0066	0.0213	0.0472
Rent–Rent	–0.0743	0.0020	–0.0782	–0.0704
Own–Rent	–0.0213	0.0025	–0.0261	–0.0165
Rent–Own	–0.0389	0.0029	–0.0446	–0.0332
Own–Own	0.1002	0.0066	0.0872	0.1132

Table A-2: (Continued)

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
Origin group and migrant generation (Ref: British Native)				
1.5G Pakistani				
No move	0.0724	0.0069	0.0590	0.0859
Rent–Rent	–0.0750	0.0017	–0.0783	–0.0717
Own–Rent	–0.0089	0.0026	–0.0140	–0.0037
Rent–Own	–0.0357	0.0030	–0.0416	–0.0298
Own–Own	0.0471	0.0068	0.0339	0.0604
1.5G Bangladeshi				
No move	0.1026	0.0090	0.0850	0.1201
Rent–Rent	–0.0018	0.0050	–0.0116	0.0079
Own–Rent	–0.0092	0.0036	–0.0162	–0.0022
Rent–Own	0.0118	0.0052	0.0016	0.0220
Own–Own	–0.1034	0.0075	–0.1180	–0.0887
1.5G Chinese				
No move	0.1265	0.0307	0.0664	0.1866
Rent–Rent	–0.0726	0.0112	–0.0945	–0.0506
Own–Rent	–0.0354	0.0093	–0.0537	–0.0171
Rent–Own	0.0082	0.0220	–0.0350	0.0514
Own–Own	–0.0268	0.0277	–0.0811	0.0275
1.5G Latin American				
No move	0.0430	0.0222	–0.0005	0.0865
Rent–Rent	–0.0211	0.0111	–0.0428	0.0006
Own–Rent	0.0011	0.0100	–0.0185	0.0208
Rent–Own	0.0004	0.0110	–0.0212	0.0219
Own–Own	–0.0233	0.0193	–0.0612	0.0145
1.5G Caribbean				
No move	0.0221	0.0101	0.0023	0.0420
Rent–Rent	–0.0038	0.0055	–0.0145	0.0070
Own–Rent	0.0118	0.0045	0.0031	0.0205
Rent–Own	0.0035	0.0050	–0.0063	0.0133
Own–Own	–0.0337	0.0095	–0.0523	–0.0151
1.5G Rest of World				
No move	0.0907	0.0072	0.0766	0.1048
Rent–Rent	–0.0260	0.0043	–0.0345	–0.0175
Own–Rent	–0.0220	0.0025	–0.0270	–0.0170
Rent–Own	0.0115	0.0049	0.0019	0.0211
Own–Own	–0.0542	0.0068	–0.0676	–0.0408
2G Non-native White				
No move	0.0747	0.0046	0.0658	0.0836
Rent–Rent	–0.0315	0.0024	–0.0362	–0.0268
Own–Rent	–0.0174	0.0017	–0.0206	–0.0141
Rent–Own	–0.0075	0.0026	–0.0125	–0.0025
Own–Own	–0.0183	0.0043	–0.0266	–0.0099

Table A-2: (Continued)

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
Origin group and migrant generation (Ref: British Native)				
2G Black African				
No move	0.1364	0.0075	0.1217	0.1511
Rent–Rent	–0.0197	0.0037	–0.0270	–0.0123
Own–Rent	–0.0304	0.0022	–0.0347	–0.0262
Rent–Own	0.0240	0.0054	0.0135	0.0345
Own–Own	–0.1102	0.0064	–0.1227	–0.0978
2G Black Caribbean				
No move	0.0207	0.0048	0.0113	0.0302
Rent–Rent	0.0032	0.0028	–0.0023	0.0088
Own–Rent	–0.0039	0.0018	–0.0075	–0.0003
Rent–Own	0.0085	0.0028	0.0030	0.0139
Own–Own	–0.0285	0.0049	–0.0381	–0.0190
2G Indian				
No move	0.0299	0.0041	0.0218	0.0380
Rent–Rent	–0.0778	0.0011	–0.0799	–0.0757
Own–Rent	–0.0192	0.0013	–0.0218	–0.0166
Rent–Own	–0.0319	0.0022	–0.0361	–0.0277
Own–Own	0.0990	0.0042	0.0908	0.1073
2G Pakistani				
No move	0.0838	0.0048	0.0744	0.0931
Rent–Rent	–0.0704	0.0014	–0.0732	–0.0676
Own–Rent	–0.0201	0.0015	–0.0230	–0.0173
Rent–Own	–0.0158	0.0028	–0.0213	–0.0103
Own–Own	0.0226	0.0050	0.0129	0.0323
2G Bangladeshi				
No move	0.0622	0.0082	0.0462	0.0783
Rent–Rent	–0.0297	0.0039	–0.0373	–0.0221
Own–Rent	–0.0194	0.0028	–0.0249	–0.0140
Rent–Own	0.0499	0.0067	0.0367	0.0630
Own–Own	–0.0629	0.0080	–0.0786	–0.0473
2G Chinese				
No move	0.0245	0.0111	0.0027	0.0464
Rent–Rent	–0.0461	0.0059	–0.0577	–0.0345
Own–Rent	–0.0025	0.0043	–0.0110	0.0060
Rent–Own	0.0149	0.0078	–0.0004	0.0302
Own–Own	0.0092	0.0109	–0.0123	0.0306
2G Non-White Mixed/Other				
No move	0.0611	0.0045	0.0522	0.0699
Rent–Rent	–0.0107	0.0027	–0.0159	–0.0055
Own–Rent	–0.0114	0.0016	–0.0146	–0.0081
Rent–Own	0.0036	0.0030	–0.0023	0.0095
Own–Own	–0.0426	0.0043	–0.0511	–0.0341

Table A-2: (Continued)

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
Origin group and migrant generation (Ref: British Native)				
2G White Mixed				
No move	0.0288	0.0043	0.0203	0.0372
Rent–Rent	0.0230	0.0032	0.0168	0.0292
Own–Rent	–0.0106	0.0017	–0.0138	–0.0074
Rent–Own	0.0113	0.0030	0.0055	0.0172
Own–Own	–0.0525	0.0042	–0.0607	–0.0443

Source: Authors' own work using the ONS Longitudinal Study.

Table A-3: Model results for Figure 3

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
Census period by migrant generation and origin group (Ref: 1971–1981; Native)				
1971–1981; 1G; Western European, North American, Australian, and NZ	0.1058	0.0037	0.0985	0.1131
1971–1981; 1G; Eastern European	–0.0089	0.0080	–0.0245	0.0067
1971–1981; 1G; African	0.2389	0.0062	0.2268	0.2510
1971–1981; 1G; Indian	0.2168	0.0050	0.2070	0.2265
1971–1981; 1G; Pakistani	0.2884	0.0058	0.2771	0.2997
1971–1981; 1G; Bangladeshi	0.3237	0.0084	0.3073	0.3400
1971–1981; 1G; Chinese	0.2210	0.0238	0.1743	0.2676
1971–1981; 1G; Latin American	0.1825	0.0194	0.1445	0.2205
1971–1981; 1G; Caribbean	0.1671	0.0074	0.1526	0.1815
1971–1981; 1G; Rest of World	0.2625	0.0059	0.2509	0.2740
1971–1981; 1.5G; Western European, North American, Australian & NZ	0.0975	0.0084	0.0810	0.1140
1971–1981; 1.5G; Eastern European	0.0371	0.0262	–0.0143	0.0884
1971–1981; 1.5G; African	0.2547	0.0085	0.2379	0.2714
1971–1981; 1.5G; Indian	0.1966	0.0111	0.1750	0.2183
1971–1981; 1.5G; Pakistani	0.3031	0.0070	0.2894	0.3168
1971–1981; 1.5G; Bangladeshi	0.3507	0.0060	0.3389	0.3624
1971–1981; 1.5G; Chinese	0.0436	0.0861	–0.1252	0.2124
1971–1981; 1.5G; Latin American	0.1892	0.0339	0.1227	0.2557
1971–1981; 1.5G; Caribbean	0.2277	0.0177	0.1930	0.2624
1971–1981; 1.5G; Rest of World	0.2749	0.0108	0.2538	0.2960
1971–1981; 2G; Non–native White	0.0862	0.0089	0.0688	0.1036
1971–1981; 2G; Black African	0.3180	0.0112	0.2961	0.3398
1971–1981; 2G; Black Caribbean	0.2018	0.0067	0.1886	0.2149
1971–1981; 2G; Indian	0.3097	0.0041	0.3017	0.3177
1971–1981; 2G; Pakistani	0.3409	0.0038	0.3336	0.3483
1971–1981; 2G; Bangladeshi	0.3607	0.0049	0.3510	0.3704
1971–1981; 2G; Chinese	0.3094	0.0132	0.2836	0.3352
1971–1981; 2G; Non–White Mixed/Other	0.2494	0.0075	0.2346	0.2641
1971–1981; 2G; White Mixed	0.2756	0.0073	0.2613	0.2899
1981–1991; Native	–0.2396	0.0009	–0.2415	–0.2378
1981–1991; 1G; Western European, North American, Australian & NZ	–0.4007	0.0038	–0.4082	–0.3933

Table A-3: (Continued)

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
Census period by migrant generation and origin group (Ref: 1971–1981; Native)				
1981–1991; 1G; Eastern European	–0.3724	0.0101	–0.3921	–0.3527
1981–1991; 1G; African	–0.4056	0.0059	–0.4171	–0.3941
1981–1991; 1G; Indian	–0.3210	0.0063	–0.3333	–0.3087
1981–1991; 1G; Pakistani	–0.4175	0.0077	–0.4326	–0.4025
1981–1991; 1G; Bangladeshi	–0.4793	0.0104	–0.4997	–0.4589
1981–1991; 1G; Chinese	–0.4445	0.0252	–0.4939	–0.3950
1981–1991; 1G; Latin American	–0.3818	0.0196	–0.4202	–0.3434
1981–1991; 1G; Caribbean	–0.3213	0.0103	–0.3415	–0.3010
1981–1991; 1.5G; Rest of World	–0.4511	0.0057	–0.4622	–0.4400
1981–1991; 1.5G; Western European, North American, Australian & NZ	–0.2684	0.0086	–0.2853	–0.2516
1981–1991; 1.5G; Eastern European	–0.4044	0.0279	–0.4591	–0.3496
1981–1991; 1.5G; African	–0.3255	0.0114	–0.3479	–0.3031
1981–1991; 1.5G; Indian	–0.2654	0.0131	–0.2910	–0.2398
1981–1991; 1.5G; Pakistani	–0.3641	0.0119	–0.3875	–0.3408
1981–1991; 1.5G; Bangladeshi	–0.4378	0.0151	–0.4674	–0.4081
1981–1991; 1.5G; Chinese	–0.3214	0.0826	–0.4833	–0.1594
1981–1991; 1.5G; Latin American	–0.2707	0.0398	–0.3488	–0.1926
1981–1991; 1.5G; Caribbean	–0.2294	0.0197	–0.2680	–0.1907
1981–1991; 2G; Rest of World	–0.3463	0.0150	–0.3758	–0.3168
1981–1991; 2G; Non–native White	–0.2834	0.0104	–0.3037	–0.2631
1981–1991; 2G; Black African	–0.4851	0.0146	–0.5138	–0.4565
1981–1991; 2G; Black Caribbean	–0.2982	0.0088	–0.3154	–0.2810
1981–1991; 2G; Indian	–0.3073	0.0079	–0.3228	–0.2918
1981–1991; 2G; Pakistani	–0.3905	0.0096	–0.4094	–0.3716
1981–1991; 2G; Bangladeshi	–0.4640	0.0189	–0.5010	–0.4270
1981–1991; 2G; Chinese	–0.3033	0.0223	–0.3469	–0.2596
1981–1991; 2G; Non–White Mixed/Other	–0.3330	0.0095	–0.3515	–0.3145
1981–1991; 2G; White Mixed	–0.3033	0.0098	–0.3225	–0.2841
1991–2001; Native	–0.2226	0.0010	–0.2245	–0.2207
1991–2001; 1G; Western European, North American, Australian & NZ	–0.4066	0.0037	–0.4139	–0.3993
1991–2001; 1G; Eastern European	–0.5118	0.0060	–0.5235	–0.5001
1991–2001; 1G; African	–0.4477	0.0047	–0.4569	–0.4385
1991–2001; 1G; Indian	–0.3895	0.0061	–0.4015	–0.3775
1991–2001; 1G; Pakistani	–0.4706	0.0064	–0.4831	–0.4580
1991–2001; 1G; Bangladeshi	–0.4276	0.0101	–0.4474	–0.4078

Table A-3: (Continued)

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
Census period by migrant generation and origin group (Ref: 1971–1981; Native)				
1991–2001; 1G; Chinese	–0.5154	0.0143	–0.5435	–0.4873
1991–2001; 1G; Latin American	–0.4362	0.0166	–0.4687	–0.4038
1991–2001; 1G; Caribbean	–0.3703	0.0112	–0.3923	–0.3482
1991–2001; 1G; Rest of World	–0.4308	0.0057	–0.4420	–0.4197
1991–2001; 1.5G; Western European, North American, Australian & NZ	–0.2743	0.0091	–0.2922	–0.2564
1991–2001; 1.5G; Eastern European	–0.4011	0.0217	–0.4437	–0.3585
1991–2001; 1.5G; African	–0.3360	0.0101	–0.3559	–0.3162
1991–2001; 1.5G; Indian	–0.2699	0.0131	–0.2955	–0.2443
1991–2001; 1.5G; Pakistani	–0.3717	0.0111	–0.3934	–0.3500
1991–2001; 1.5G; Bangladeshi	–0.2906	0.0168	–0.3234	–0.2578
1991–2001; 1.5G; Chinese	–0.4530	0.0588	–0.5682	–0.3377
1991–2001; 1.5G; Latin American	–0.2857	0.0407	–0.3655	–0.2059
1991–2001; 1.5G; Caribbean	–0.2911	0.0192	–0.3288	–0.2534
1991–2001; 1.5G; Rest of World	–0.3501	0.0126	–0.3749	–0.3253
1991–2001; 2G; Non–native White	–0.3398	0.0078	–0.3551	–0.3244
1991–2001; 2G; Black African	–0.3915	0.0131	–0.4172	–0.3658
1991–2001; 2G; Black Caribbean	–0.2598	0.0089	–0.2773	–0.2423
1991–2001; 2G; Indian	–0.2887	0.0071	–0.3026	–0.2749
1991–2001; 2G; Pakistani	–0.3655	0.0075	–0.3803	–0.3508
1991–2001; 2G; Bangladeshi	–0.3659	0.0142	–0.3936	–0.3381
1991–2001; 2G; Chinese	–0.2171	0.0203	–0.2570	–0.1773
1991–2001; 2G; Non–White Mixed/Other	–0.2931	0.0081	–0.3090	–0.2771
1991–2001; 2G; White Mixed	–0.2902	0.0075	–0.3048	–0.2756
2001–2011; Native	–0.2683	0.0010	–0.2702	–0.2664
2001–2011; 1G; Western European, North American, Australian & NZ	–0.4623	0.0029	–0.4680	–0.4566
2001–2011; 1G; Eastern European	–0.5950	0.0016	–0.5981	–0.5919
2001–2011; 1G; African	–0.4830	0.0033	–0.4895	–0.4765
2001–2011; 1G; Indian	–0.5235	0.0034	–0.5301	–0.5168
2001–2011; 1G; Pakistani	–0.5018	0.0045	–0.5107	–0.4929
2001–2011; 1G; Bangladeshi	–0.4821	0.0068	–0.4955	–0.4687
2001–2011; 1G; Chinese	–0.5887	0.0042	–0.5969	–0.5805
2001–2011; 1G; Latin American	–0.5286	0.0088	–0.5458	–0.5114
2001–2011; 1G; Caribbean	–0.4426	0.0098	–0.4617	–0.4234
2001–2011; 1G; Rest of World	–0.4900	0.0039	–0.4976	–0.4823
2001–2011; 1.5G; Western European, North American, Australian & NZ	–0.4051	0.0069	–0.4187	–0.3915

Table A-3: (Continued)

Variable	Average marginal effect	Standard error	95% CI – Lower	95% CI – Upper
Census period by migrant generation and origin group (Ref: 1971–1981; Native)				
2001–2011; 1.5G; Eastern European	–0.5101	0.0079	–0.5256	–0.4946
2001–2011; 1.5G; African	–0.3969	0.0075	–0.4116	–0.3823
2001–2011; 1.5G; Indian	–0.3675	0.0109	–0.3888	–0.3462
2001–2011; 1.5G; Pakistani	–0.4027	0.0094	–0.4212	–0.3842
2001–2011; 1.5G; Bangladeshi	–0.3800	0.0119	–0.4032	–0.3567
2001–2011; 1.5G; Chinese	–0.4658	0.0315	–0.5276	–0.4040
2001–2011; 1.5G; Latin American	–0.3911	0.0315	–0.4529	–0.3293
2001–2011; 1.5G; Caribbean	–0.3586	0.0168	–0.3916	–0.3256
2001–2011; 1.5G; Rest of World	–0.4077	0.0085	–0.4244	–0.3910
2001–2011; 2G; Non–native White	–0.4130	0.0059	–0.4246	–0.4014
2001–2011; 2G; Black African	–0.4105	0.0079	–0.4259	–0.3951
2001–2011; 2G; Black Caribbean	–0.3317	0.0073	–0.3460	–0.3174
2001–2011; 2G; Indian	–0.3501	0.0052	–0.3604	–0.3398
2001–2011; 2G; Pakistani	–0.4116	0.0052	–0.4218	–0.4014
2001–2011; 2G; Bangladeshi	–0.3617	0.0096	–0.3805	–0.3429
2001–2011; 2G; Chinese	–0.3588	0.0141	–0.3864	–0.3311
2001–2011; 2G; Non–White Mixed/Other	–0.3779	0.0055	–0.3887	–0.3671
2001–2011; 2G; White Mixed	–0.3293	0.0055	–0.3400	–0.3185

Source: Authors' own work using the ONS Longitudinal Study.