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Social Inequalities across Multiple Domains of Life

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Abstract

The Windrush scandal refers to the mistreatment of British citizens, notably those born in the Caribbean and arriving in Britain as children between 1948 and 1971 (the so called ‘Windrush generation’), who were wrongly accused of living in Britain illegally. Despite widespread awareness of their plight, we know little about the lives of the children of the Windrush. Here, we examine social inequalities among this group in five life domains: education, employment, occupation, housing, and health. Our aim is to provide an overview of the different types of social inequality experienced by the children of the Windrush. We fit a series of logistic regression models on a 5% sample of the resident population of England and Wales from the 2011 Census. We examine two outcomes per domain and analyse both baseline and adjusted levels of inequality among three generations (the G1.5, G2, and G2.5) of the children of the Windrush. We find evidence of inequality in each life domain, with variation by sex (men of all generations are uniformly disadvantaged) and generation (G2.5 men and women are the most disadvantaged). Our multi-generation, multi-outcome study provides evidence that inequality among the children of the Windrush generation is both pervasive and persistent.

Keywords: inequality, immigration, adaptation, generation, Windrush, socioeconomic position

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Introduction

“Every person who under this Act is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies... shall by virtue of that citizenship have the status of a British subject”

(British Nationality Act, 1948, 1:1)

On 22 June 1948, the Empire Windrush arrived at the Tilbury Docks in Essex, England. Aboard the vessel were British citizens – principally from Jamaica – invited by the government to live, work, and aid in the rebuild of post-war Britain. The ship’s arrival marked a key point in British migration history – namely the onset of several decades of large-scale immigration from the Caribbean Commonwealth – such that all arrivals up to 1971 became known as the Windrush generation.

Since then, the Windrush generation have become synonymous with politics in modern Britain (Mead, 2009; Hammond Perry, 2014; Wardle and Obermuller, 2018) in a scandal that has taken 70-years to materialise (Hewitt, 2020). In short, the introduction of the British government’s hostile environment policy from 2012, designed to make it as difficult as possible for illegal immigrants to remain in Britain, had major ramifications for the *children* of the Windrush (i.e. those arriving as children with their parents from the Caribbean and also those born in Britain to members of the Windrush generation) (Hammond Perry, 2014; McKee, 2018; Wardle and Obermuller, 2019; Hewitt, 2020). Members of this group, whose legal status was secured in the 1948 British Nationality Act (and thus by virtue neither needed, nor were ever given, documents stating their citizenship) were suddenly required to provide evidence – going back as far as half a century – of their right to remain. This amounted to an “impossibly high burden of proof” (see McKee, 2018: 1; Wardle and Obermuller, 2018). Those who could not do so were incorrectly accused of living in Britain illegally and faced the loss of their social and medical benefits, jobs and housing; some were even detained and deported, and prevented from returning to Britain if they were elsewhere (Gentleman, 2019). The advent of the policy severed the British citizenship bestowed by the British government onto the Windrush generation and their children (McKee, 2018).

Yet, despite awareness of the plight of the children of the Windrush and the most recent unequal treatment that they have been – and are still being – subjected to (Gentleman, 2019), we know little of their lives and experiences in Britain prior to the revelation of the scandal, particularly whether the British citizenship bestowed onto them provided all of its inherent benefits, rights, and opportunities. In the era of the hostile environment, it has become critical to understand the extent of any inequalities that have already been experienced by the children of the Windrush. Such knowledge would constitute a crucial piece of evidence required to formulate policies that can rectify existing unequal treatment and inform efforts to redress more recently exacerbated inequalities.

In this paper, we investigate inequalities across five domains of life: education, employment, occupation, housing, and health. Our aim is to provide an overview of these domains, examining whether and to what extent the children of the Windrush generation – specifically those alive and living in Britain in 2011 who were affected by the ensuing scandal in 2012 – experienced different types of social inequality. We focus on three groups: children born in the Caribbean who arrived with adult members of the Windrush generation (the **G1.5**), children born in Britain to two members of the Windrush generation (the **G2**), and children born in Britain to a member of the Windrush generation and a White British parent (the **G2.5**). We compare these three groups to the White British population and investigate both baseline and adjusted levels of inequality.

We perform our analyses on a 5% sample of the resident population of England and Wales, taken from the 2011 Census. These data permit the identification of the aforementioned groups, a detailed gender-specific analysis across life domains, and the inclusion of controls for various socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. By carrying out a multi-generational, multi-outcome analysis, we aim to go well beyond prior studies of inequalities among the children of immigrants to provide one of the most holistic and detailed overviews of inequality among the children of immigrants in Britain, for the Windrush generation or any other group. In the next section, we provide the theoretical background for the subsequent analysis. This background focuses on recent theoretical developments and the predictions that they make about inequalities that are faced by the children of immigrants. After presenting our data, method, and results of our analysis, we finish by reflecting on the relevance of our findings to the ongoing plight of the children of the Windrush and the legacy of the hostile environment for other immigrants in Britain.

Background: Theories predicting inequalities among immigrants and their descendants

The life course of immigrants after arrival is typically theorized as a process of adaptation (also referred to as assimilation or integration), which may or may not occur to varying degrees. Prior to the 1960s, theories of immigrant adaptation emphasised Eurocentric and ethnocentric views, ultimately manifesting in the prejudicial categorisation of migrants by their cultural and racial acceptability (i.e. their visibility and similarity to the population in the new country) (Alba and Nee, 2005). More recent theorists have problematised this normative prejudice (e.g. Brubaker, 2001), such that adaptation is now often conceptualised as the study of changes in inequalities among and between immigrants and their descendants (Alba and Nee, 1997; Brubaker, 2001; Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller, 2009). However, despite some movement away from this academic prejudice (and more general efforts to decolonise academia: Noxolo, 2017; Radcliffe, 2017; Bhambra, Gebriel and Nisanoglu, 2018), there remains considerable prejudice within Britain against immigrants and ethnic minorities (e.g. see Abrams, Swift and Houston, 2018), as there has been since the arrival of the Windrush over half a century ago (Heath and Di Stasio, 2019a).

During the Windrush years, the government encouraged immigration from the then West Indies through the British Nationality Act of 1948, enshrining the right of British Commonwealth subjects to British citizenship (Lunn, 1989). Subsequent acts maintained this right in practice, granting right of abode (Immigration Act 1971) or later, citizenship by virtue of the law (British Nationality Act 1981), rather than in routine provision of relevant documents such as passports. At the time of the 1948 Act, large-scale migration was not anticipated, with expectations of a short-term influx in order to support post-war economic growth and reconstruction (Hansen, 1999; Hewitt, 2020). However, limited labour market opportunities in the Caribbean, coupled with expectations of employment and a better life in Britain, saw a growth in the number of new arrivals. By 1961, more than 170,000 British residents were born in the Caribbean (Peach, 1967).

In the first few decades after the Empire Windrush arrived, new arrivals faced conflict between their expectations of life in the ‘Mother Country’, the sense of Britishness afforded to them as subjects of the Commonwealth, and the hostility and racism that they faced after arrival (e.g. Mckenley, 2001). Indeed, amidst increasing hostility towards immigrants and the recurrent ‘Othering’ that underpins racial discrimination within housing and labour markets, institutions

and society (Pager and Shepherd, 2008; Hewitt, 2020), the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act curtailed the freedom of movement of citizens of the Commonwealth (Tidrick, 1966; Peach, 1967). While, it is beyond the scope of this paper to study the extent to which this shaped the residential mobility of the Windrush generation, their access to different labour markets, or changes in life course trajectories, awareness of the context in which the Windrush generation arrived and settled is significant as it is a potential source of the inequalities that they came to face.

The adaptation of immigrants is seen as a “complex and multidimensional convergence process occurring at socio-economic..., relational ... and cultural ... levels” (Drouhot and Nee, 2019: 178-9). However, it is widely accepted that inequalities in socio-economic outcomes, relative to the majority population, are indicative of the extent to which immigrants are able to adapt to life in the new host society (Massey, 1981; Alba and Nee, 2005; Waters and Jiménez, 2005). A sizeable body of work on immigrant outcomes highlights the interrelationship between conditions on arrival – i.e. how, when, why and where immigrant groups arrive and settle – and the factors that influence their behaviour after arrival, primarily due to processes of adaptation (e.g. Massey et al., 1993; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). It is important to note that the sending and receiving context both shape immigrants’ assumptions and expectations, both initially and after arrival, for example with respect to job security, housing, and the health and wellbeing of family members (Alba and Nee, 2005; Negy, Schwartz and Reig-Ferrer, 2009). This is particularly relevant for the Windrush generation because they arrived with expectations that the rights and opportunities afforded to them and their children would be equivalent to those granted to British citizens born in the UK. The extent to which these expectations did not materialise, coupled with numerous other social and structural barriers – including racism and discrimination – are highly likely to have hindered their adaptation and become a source of adversity.

Inequalities experienced by the children of immigrants

In an effort to better understand the persistence of inequalities over time, theories of adaptation have not only focussed on immigrants, but also their children. Indeed, some have gone so far as to suggest that the only way to understand the legacy of immigration is to examine the lives of their descendants (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Thomson and Crul, 2007; Agius Vallejo and Keister, 2019; Hirschman, 2020). Many researchers expect that children of immigrants will be less likely to experience inequalities – and more likely to adapt

toward the destination average – than their parents do because they experience greater exposure to the destination (including people and institutions), as compared with their parents (Alba and Nee, 2005). This precise same reasoning lies behind the expectation that generations with different immigrant backgrounds (e.g. G1.5, G2 and G2.5) can be ordered according to their exposure to destination, which may in turn predict their experience of inequality, as compared with the majority population (children whose parents are both members of the White British population).

A fundamental question is therefore whether the descendants of immigrants are experiencing disadvantage, as compared with descendants of the majority population. While many theorists initially assumed that adaptation was inevitable for the second and later generations (Alba and Nee, 2005; Zhou and Gonzales, 2019), contemporary theories of adaptation make a distinction between the mechanisms of adaptation for children of immigrants (as opposed to their parents) (although for an early discussion, see: Gordon, 1964), and the contrasting and often conflicting social or cultural demands that play out against a backdrop of hostility and discrimination towards descendants with a migration background (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Drouhot and Nee, 2019).

Indeed, it has become increasingly common to challenge the notion that the descendants of immigrants are less likely to experience inequalities than their parents. Portes and Zhou (1993) – among others – have proposed that a significant number of children of immigrants will face risks of persistent inequality, downward social mobility and negative outcomes across multiple domains, including health, housing, education and the labour market (a process often referred to as ‘segmented assimilation’, see: (Zhou and Gonzales, 2019). The theories also problematise adaptation by emphasizing heterogeneity. Some children of immigrants will be better able to integrate, even in lieu of acculturation. For example, rapid economic advancement can be achieved alongside “tight solidarity” and a “deliberate preservation of immigrant community values” (Portes and Zhou, 1993: 83). However, many groups may be less willing or able to adapt, leading to permanent poverty and inequality (Drouhot and Nee, 2019). This vulnerability typically varies according to family background (including parental origin) and a range of structural factors such as neighbourhood characteristics (like segregation), and opportunities for social mobility (Heath and Ridge, 1983; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Platt, 2005; Agius Vallejo and Keister, 2019). Yet researchers have also shown that individual factors – such as language, aspirations, and experiences of prejudice – play an equal part in determining the extent to which inequalities arise (Heath, Rethon and Kilpi, 2008). For the second generation,

their adaptation is not only determined by their circumstances, but also by conflict and negotiation (Parker and Song, 2007; Drouhot and Nee, 2019). This is not only as compared with their peers from the mainstream society, but also within their own ethnic group, such that they are often forced to negotiate a balance between adaptation, the maintenance of culture, and the expectations of family and peers with similar backgrounds (Hampshire, Mwenza and Simpson, 2012).

What do these theories predict for the children of the Windrush generation? To some extent, recent theories of segmentation are unclear; they may or may not experience disadvantage, depending upon the extent to which they are able to navigate the barriers that they face). Moreover, rather than becoming more like the majority population, they may become more like a disadvantaged segment of society. Yet even this ambiguous prediction is not without critique. In particular, Alba and Nee (1997) and Drouhot and Nee (2019) contend that macro-level factors (such as the rate of immigration or an economy that has changed the opportunities for social mobility), and micro-level factors (in particular the perennial influence of skin colour) may only serve to delay rather than negate adaptation. They might argue that the children of the Windrush generation will adapt, eventually. However, even if this critique gives primacy to the outcome rather than its determinants, it nevertheless supports the prediction that children of immigrants are likely to experience delayed adaptation, which implies some experience of inequality, even if this will be surmounted due to eventual adaptation at a later point in the life course.

Moving away from theory, empirical research is ambiguous as to the extent to which adaptation is or not inevitable for the children of immigrants (Drouhot and Nee, 2019; Zhou and Gonzales, 2019). In the US, the degree of adaptation among the second generation has been debated, with much emphasis on Portes and Zhou's (1993) assumption of downwards assimilation for those unable to adapt. Research has nevertheless provided considerable evidence of heterogeneity, such that some groups (notably second-generation Asians), are experiencing an advantage (as compared with the US-born non-Hispanic Whites), whereas others (notably first- and second-generation Blacks and Hispanics) suffer from persistent disadvantages (Tran, Lee and Huang, 2019). Similarly, there is considerable variation in the lives of children of immigrants living in Western Europe; minorities from less-developed non-European origins (with the exception of some East and South Asian groups) are particularly disadvantaged with respect to educational and occupational attainment, and access to the labour market relative to majority populations and descendants of developed European origins (Heath, Rethon and Kilpi, 2008). This lack of

upward mobility has often been attributed to socioeconomic inequality, rather than a systematic ethnic penalty. For example, Drouhot and Nee (2019: 183) argue that “overall trends in the second generation’s labour market outcomes are social reproduction in existing structures of inequality”.

In Britain, research by Li and Heath (2016) has shown that patterns of social reproduction in occupational attainment between generations are comparable between immigrants and the British-born population. However, despite convergence in many markers of adaptation for the second generation, a substantial ethnic penalty influencing entry into the labour market has been observed (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016; Heath and Di Stasio, 2019b) (REF). Heath, Rethon and Kilpi (2008) review evidence on educational and labour market outcomes for the second generation in Western Europe. While South and East Asian groups (e.g. Chinese students in Britain) often outperform the majority population, the children of immigrants from less-developed origins tend to experience more disadvantage in education and occupational attainment, with greater discrimination in access to labour markets. However, despite this evidence about the lives of the children of immigrants in Britain, there have been very few comparisons of outcomes across different domains (c.f. Dustmann, Frattini and Theodoropoulos, 2011), and we are not aware of any that focus on the children of the Windrush generation.

Our study seeks to address this gap with a thorough investigation of the inequalities that are experienced by the children of the Windrush generation. We focus on a series of interconnected research questions, set as follows: (1) In which domains of life – if any – do the children of the Windrush generation experience inequality relative to the White British population?, (2) Do patterns of inequality vary between men and women? (3) Is there a generational gradient ($G2.5 > G2 > G1.5$) in these inequalities? and (4) Do inequalities persist after adjusting for differences in other fundamental domains of life? We note that the third research question effectively tests the expectation that generations with less exposure in Britain (e.g. those who arrive as children, the G1.5, as opposed to those born in Britain) will be more likely to experience inequality. The third research question examines intersectionality in the inequalities that we observe – chiefly with a focus on the intersection between sex and generational status. The final research question then examines the extent to which inequalities in one domain can be explained by inequalities in another, while recognising that this is merely an initial step in explaining the results that we obtain.

Data

We make use of a 5% representative individual-level sample of the England and Wales resident population derived from the most recent decennial Census in 2011 conducted by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (Office for National Statistics, 2014). Specifically, we make use of the regional safeguarded microdata file downloaded from the UK Data Service, a national data service that provides free access to a range of social and economic data. This cross-sectional data is well-suited to answering our questions because it contains a wide range of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics for around 3-million people that permit the identification of our target populations and the life outcomes we wish to examine. While close to a decade old, the use of the 2011 Census data will provide a representative overview of the children of the Windrush generation just before the introduction of the government's 2012 hostile environment policy.

Target population

Table 1 presents the populations of interest and the criteria used to categorise them. Our main population of interest is the children of the Windrush, whom we classify into three generations: individuals born in Caribbean countries who report their ethnicity to be Black Caribbean and arrived in England and Wales as children younger than 18 between 1945 and 1971 (**G1.5**), individuals born in England and Wales who report their ethnicity to be Black Caribbean (the native-born children of two Windrush generation parents, or the **G2**), and those individuals born in England and Wales who report their ethnicity to be White and Black Caribbean (the native-born children of one Windrush generation parent, also called the **G2.5**). We define the reference population as individuals born in England and Wales who report their ethnicity to be White British. As we select the **G1.5** based on those arriving 1945-71, which results in an age profile of 40 to 65 in 2011, we also condition all of the other groups on birth cohort (1945-1971). Aside from the methodological advantage of standardising age profiles across groups (we note that age is also adjusted in our models), such a restriction has an additional benefit. Notably, in the absence of direct information on parental characteristics, it helps ensure that we only include in the **G2** and the **G2.5** those whose parents arrived during the Windrush era and that few (if any) grand-children of the Windrush (the **G3**) are included as part of these generations. Our year of arrival conditions are 1945 to 1971, not 1948 to 1971, due to how arrival year is banded in the data.

Table 1. Subpopulations of interest, identification criteria and total subpopulation sizes.

Subgroup	Country of birth	Ethnic group	Birth cohort	Year of arrival	Arrival age	n
White British	England and Wales	White British	1945-71	N/A	N/A	675,478
G1.5 Windrush	Caribbean countries	Black Caribbean	1945-71	1945-1971	<18	1,959
G2.0 Windrush	England and Wales	Black Caribbean	1945-71	N/A	N/A	5,829
G2.5 Windrush	England and Wales	White & Black Caribbean	1945-71	N/A	N/A	2,362

As in previous research (Rumbaut and Ima, 1988; Alba and Nee, 2005; Bèlanger and Gilbert, 2006), we differentiate by generational status in order to reflect varying degrees of exposure to destination. The foreign-born children of immigrants (**G1.5**) spend some of their childhood in both the origin and destination countries. As a group, they will receive some early life exposure (most notably to educational institutions) in both contexts, but unlike the second generation, they will also have some experience of migration. As compared with **G1.5** and **G2**, the **G2.5** have the highest level of exposure to the destination by virtue of having both a foreign-born and a native-born parent. On average, the latter can offer greater access to, and knowledge of, institutions, social networks, and other aspects of society that can help overcome barriers to social progress. This generational variation in exposure may be crucial in the establishment of status, awareness of rights, and access to opportunities for children of Windrush in England and Wales.

From a starting sample of 2.8 million people, we remove those outside of our target population (i.e. immigrants and their children from countries other than Caribbean ones, members of the Windrush generation who arrived as adults (18+), those arriving from Caribbean countries after 1971, the children of Caribbean immigrants born in England and Wales after 1971, all of those outside of the target age range 40-64 in 2011, and individuals who were economically inactive due to early retirement or were still in (mature) education. This left an eligible population of 685,977, all of whom were retained for final analyses (i.e. no members of our intended target population were dropped due to issues with missing values); n for each population are in Table 1.

Outcomes

Inequality is generally conceptualised as the state of not being equal, particularly in respect of status, rights, and opportunities (UN 2015). It is a challenging concept to measure (McGregor et al. 2019), with synonymous terms often used to describe very different things (Milanovic 2006). In essence, measures of inequality are concerned with the distribution of a particular variable (whether reflecting rights, status, or opportunity) within a population and summarised in a single statistic. Here, we focus on socioeconomic inequality across five key life domains: education, employment, occupation, housing and health. Conceptualising inequality in this way captures the dynamic and multi-faceted nature of the concept (Shaw et al. 2007) allowing us to make rounded conclusions about the inequalities experienced by the children of the Windrush in England and Wales. Specifically, indicators identified across these five life domains capture inequalities in outcomes (and relatedly, opportunities), reflective of the interrelations between these different life domains and the inherent power structures and social processes that maintain inequality.

For each domain, we study a positive and a negative outcome to avoid limiting our analyses to a particular part of the sample's distribution and conceptualising inequality in a one direction. For example, if a given group is less likely to have obtained the highest level of education in a country relative to a reference group, we might conclude that there are uneven opportunities for progression in education within the population. However, what if the same group is also less likely to have attained the lowest level of education in the country relative to the same reference group?

Table 2 provides the domains and outcomes. For education and occupation, the two outcomes represent tail ends of the same variable. To elaborate, for education, we study the odds of having attained a tertiary education (+) and the odds of having no academic/professional qualifications (-). For occupation, we study the odds of being in a highly skilled job (+) and a routine job (-). For the other three domains, we have the benefit of information from several variables. Thus, we can study two outcomes that capture different socio-economic aspects of each domain. For employment, we investigate the odds of being active employed (+) and long-term employed (-). For housing, we study the odds of owning one's own home (+) and living in deprived housing (-). For health, we examine the odds of reporting good health (+) and having a limit long-term illness (-).

Table 2. Life domains and outcomes of interest.

Domain	Outcome	Description
Education	(–) Low educated	Has no academic or professional qualifications.
	(+) High educated	Has degree or higher professional qualifications.
Employment	(–) Long-term unemployed	Has been unemployed for 12-months or more.
	(+) Active employed	Currently employed publicly or privately.
Occupation	(–) Routine occupation	Working in routine sales and service, production, technical, operative or agricultural jobs.
	(+) Highly skilled occupation	Working in professional and managerial occupations and higher technical occupations.
Housing	(–) Housing deprived in house dimension	Lives in house classed as deprived in terms of over-crowding, shared dwelling and/or no central heating.
	(+) Owns own home	Owns own home, outright or with a mortgage.
Health	(–) Limiting long-term illness	Has long-term health problem or disability that limit daily activities.
	(+) Good general health	Reports being in good to very good health.

Methods

We fit logistic regression models to estimate the odds of each outcome for our populations of interest compared to the White British born in England and Wales. The models are specified as follows:

$$\ln \frac{p(Y_i = 1)}{1 - p(Y_i = 1)} = \alpha + \sum_k \beta_k x_{ik}$$

Where $p(Y_i = 1)$ is the probability of experiencing one of the outcomes for individual \mathbf{i} , α is a constant, and x_{ik} represents the values of the independent variables for individual \mathbf{i} , with \mathbf{k} variables.

In our baseline model (Model 1), we only adjust for age (in 5-year groups from 40-44 [ref] to 60-64) and our population variable (White British [ref], **G1.5** Windrush, **G2** Windrush and **G2.5** Windrush). In our adjusted model (Model 2), we further adjust for region of residence (coded to Inner London, Outer London, North and Yorkshire [ref], the Midlands, East England,

South England, and Wales), **civil status** (single, registered union [ref], separated, divorced, and surviving partner), and for one variable representing each of the other life domains e.g. if the outcome were poor health, we would adjust for education level, economic activity, occupation and housing. Specifically, the variables that we adjust for are **highest level of education** (no qualifications, primary, secondary, and tertiary level [ref]), **NS-SEC** (National Statistics Socio-economic Classification, which acts as a composite for occupation type and economic activity, by classing people into higher managerial & professional [ref], lower managerial, intermediate, small employers, lower supervisory, semi routine, routine, having never worked, and long-term unemployed), **housing tenure** (owns outright or with mortgage [ref], rents socially, rents privately, lives rent free) and **self-reported health** (very good [ref], good, fair, poor, and very poor).

We note, prior to describing our results, that it is never our intention to compare quantitatively *across* different domains. Indeed, this is not even possible with the statistical methods that we use. Instead, our intention is to compare levels of inequality *within* domains among the children of the Windrush compared to the White British, both at baseline and after adjusting for a range of background characteristics representing the other domains in order to compare more similar groups.

Results

Table 3 shows the distribution of our study population according to the core demographic and geographic variables in our data. The largest Windrush generation is the G2, which is nearly three times larger than the G1.5 and the G2.5, but much smaller than the White British group. Regarding age, while the White British are quite evenly distributed across age groups, the G1.5 have higher shares in their fifties, while the G2 and G2.5 have higher shares in their forties. For region, the G2 and G2.5 are highly concentrated in London and the Midlands, while the G1.5 are more evenly distributed across Britain, albeit with higher shares in London and the Midlands than the White British do. Within civil status, all Windrush groups have higher shares of single individuals and lower shares of individuals in registered unions compared to the White British group.

Table 3. Distribution of core demographic and geographic variables by generation and sex.

	Men				Women			
	White British	Windrush			White British	Windrush		
		G15	G2	G25		G15	G2	G25
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total n	348 811	921	2716	1165	326 667	1038	3113	1197
Age								
40-44	22	1	36	37	24	1	37	37
45-49	24	7	45	30	25	7	46	36
50-54	21	38	17	20	22	41	16	17
55-59	18	48	1	7	19	47	2	7
60-64	15	6	0	5	10	4	0	3
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire	29	11	11	24	29	7	8	25
The Midlands	19	22	24	25	19	18	21	22
East England	11	5	6	9	11	6	6	7
Inner London	2	24	22	11	2	30	28	13
Outer London	5	28	26	12	5	30	29	13
The South	27	9	9	15	27	8	7	17
Wales	6	1	1	4	6	1	0	4
Civil status								
Single	19	29	50	45	14	39	54	40
Registered union	62	47	35	34	61	32	28	33
Separated	3	5	5	4	4	6	6	8
Divorced	14	19	9	16	18	20	12	18
Surviving partner	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	2

Turning to the socioeconomic variables in Table 4, Windrush men have higher shares in lower education levels and lower shares in higher education levels than White British men; we see the opposite for women (the G2.5 aside). For occupation, smaller shares of Windrush men occupy managerial occupations compared with White British men while larger shares occupy routine or semi-routine occupations, are long-term unemployed (especially the G2 and G2.5) or have never worked (notably the G2.5). Windrush men also have higher shares of economic inactivity. Conversely, both G1.5 and G2 Windrush women have smaller shares in routine occupations, larger shares in managerial jobs and similar levels of economic activity compared with White British. All Windrush men and women have lower shares that own their own homes and higher shares in deprived housing. For health, Windrush men and women (aside from the G2) have higher shares reporting a limiting long-term illness than White British men and women. For self-reported health, however, Windrush women (generally) have higher shares with bad to very bad health and lower shares with good to very good health; the distribution for men is more mixed.

Table 4. Distribution of the core socio-economic variables by both generation and sex.

	Men				Women			
	White	Windrush			White	Windrush		
	British	G15	G2	G25	British	G15	G2	G25
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total n	348 811	921	2 716	1 165	326 667	1 038	3 113	1 197
Education level								
No qualifications	19	23	15	28	18	13	7	25
Primary	15	16	23	20	20	21	20	18
Secondary	33	35	33	29	31	29	32	29
Tertiary (degree+)	29	19	25	18	28	33	38	24
Other qualifications	4	7	5	5	3	4	2	3
NS-SEC								
Higher manag/prof	13	5	10	6	7	6	9	6
Lower managerial	20	13	19	15	23	25	30	21
Intermediate	9	9	12	9	25	26	28	22
Small employers	18	17	11	16	8	5	3	5
Lower supervisory	11	12	10	9	5	4	3	6
Semi-routine	10	13	12	14	20	21	13	20
Routine	15	19	15	19	9	7	4	11
Never worked	1	2	4	5	2	2	3	7
LT unemployed	2	9	6	6	2	4	4	3
Employment status								
Active employed	85	71	76	68	80	79	80	70
Economically inactive (1)	15	29	24	32	20	21	20	30
Housing tenure								
Owns home	77	63	58	50	77	64	55	48
Social renting	12	27	27	33	14	31	37	39
Private renting	10	9	12	15	9	5	7	13
Lives rent free	1	1	3	3	0	0	1	1
Housing deprived								
No	93	85	84	85	94	89	83	84
Yes	7	15	16	15	6	11	17	16
General health								
Very good	36	31	38	33	38	27	31	29
Good	43	43	41	38	42	41	45	40
Fair	15	19	15	19	14	23	19	19
Bad	5	6	5	7	5	7	4	9
Very bad	2	1	1	3	1	2	1	3
Limiting long-term illness								
Day-to-day active	83	80	84	78	82	78	84	76
Limited in daily activity	17	20	16	22	18	22	16	24

Notes: (1) inc looking after family home, active unemployed, and economically inactive

These descriptive results provides an initial indication of inequalities among the children of the Windrush generation. With the possible exception of the housing domain, the multivariate table

suggest the emergence of stark differences between female and male children of the Windrush and between the G1.5 and G2 as compared to the G1. We explore these findings more formally below.

Regression results

To answer the research questions we set, we not only estimate inequalities across five broad domains of life, but analyses differences by sex, generation, and their intersection too. We do this using a series of regression models that allow us to compare and contrast different groups within domains, estimate both baseline inequalities (standardised for age) and estimate adjusted inequalities (standardised for a range of controls) relative to the White British. Figures 1 and 2 provide a visual summary of the odds ratios from all of the logistic regression models for each combination of sex, generation, and life domain. Negative outcomes are shown in Figure 1 and positive outcomes in Figure 2. The figures are organised to show one domain per column, where the top row is for women and the bottom row is for men. The Y-axis, plotted in log scale, shows the values of the odds ratios for a given outcome. The black line at 1 refers to the reference population (White British of either women or men aged 40-64 in 2011), with values above this line indicating higher odds relative to the reference group and values below 1 indicating lower odds. The X-axis identifies the specific generation of the Windrush, showing the G1.5, G2 and G2.5 aged 40-64 in 2011. The black squares represent the baseline odds ratios (Model 1; with 95% CIs), while the white squares represent the adjusted odds ratios (Model 2; with 95% CIs). The full regression tables for of the outcomes are included in the online materials Tables S1-S20. In what follows, we interpret the results domain-by-domain with respect to our research questions.

Education

In this domain, we observe inequalities for women and men, in particular among the G2.5. With respect to the negative education outcome in Figure 1, G1.5 and G2 women have an advantage in the baseline model (Model 1), such that they have lower odds of having attained no academic or professional qualifications. They retain this advantage in Model 2, when standardising so as to compare them with White British women who share similar characteristics. These two groups also have persistently higher odds with respect to the positive educational outcome in Figure 2 of having attained a degree. By contrast, G2.5 women have a baseline disadvantage relative to White British women in both the positive and negative education outcomes, but this is explained by the controls in Model 2, where we compare them to White British women who share similar

characteristics. The results for men are less encouraging. All three generations have persistently lower odds of having attained a tertiary level of education, both at baseline and when comparing them to White British men with similar background characteristics. Their situation is better with respect to having attained no qualifications, where they are on par with White British men in the baseline models and advantaged in the adjusted models. Overall, there are clear differences between men and women across generations, but one in which inequality is more likely for the G2.5.

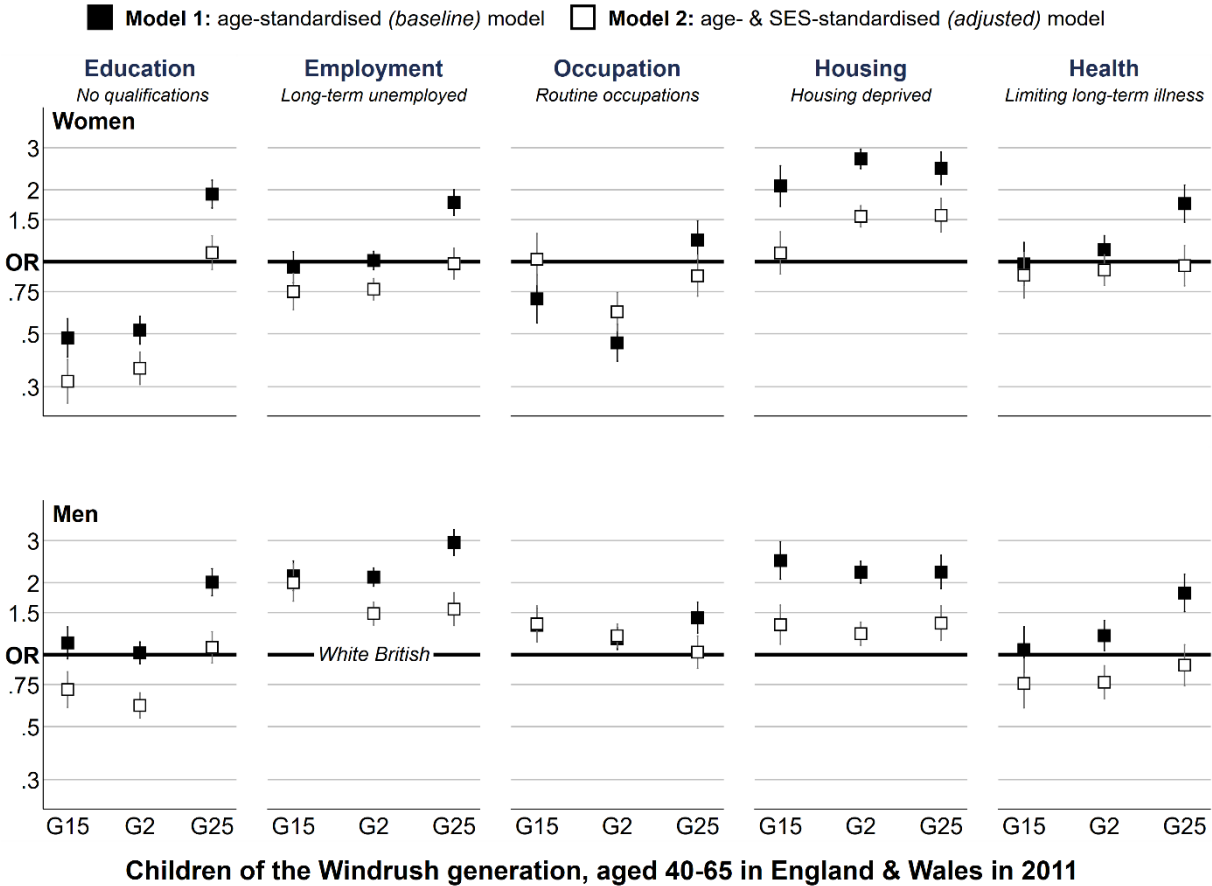


Figure 1. Summary panel of logistic regression models for **negative** outcomes in the five life domains for the children of the Windrush relative to White British population resident in 2011.

*Notes: baseline models adjust age and subpopulation, final models adjust region of residence, civil status, level of highest qualification, NS-SEC, housing tenure, and self-reported general health, minus the control relating to the specific domain i.e. we do not adjust for the highest level of qualification if our outcome is having obtained a degree level+); **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p<0.10.*

Employment

For employment, we again find more equal outcomes for women and less equal outcomes for men. In both the baseline and adjusted models in Figure 1, all male generations have persistently

higher odds of being long-term unemployed and persistently lower odds of actively employed. In the baseline models, it is G2.5 men who experience the largest relative inequality, but they are also the generation for whom the results change the most in the adjusted models – when we compare them to White British men with similar characteristics – in which they experience the smallest relative level of employment inequality. The size of these inequalities for men are also worth noting. For every male generation, the baseline odds of being long-term unemployed are around 2 times higher than for White British men (or even 3 for the G2.5), and this odds ratio remains 1.5 or above in the adjusted models. Similarly, the baseline odds ratio for being actively employed is below 0.5 for all generations (Figure 2; Model 1), and this remains below 0.7 in the adjusted models (Model 2). Thus, employment inequalities persist even after standardising for a range of other factors, including differences in education, housing, and health. By contrast, female children of the Windrush are less likely to suffer employment inequalities. Compared with White British women, G1.5 and G2 women have similar odd ratios of being long-term unemployed (Figure 1) or actively employed (Figure 2) in the baseline models, and exhibit evidence of a relative advantage in the adjusted models. Echoing the results for education, G2.5 women fare worse than the G1.5 and G2, indicative of a relative disadvantage in the baseline models, but no evidence of inequality in the adjusted models. Thus, there is some evidence of a generational gradient for women, but unlike men, it does not change direction in the adjusted models.

Occupation

In common with the results for education and employment, we observe more equal occupational outcomes for women. G1.5 and G2 women have lower odds of working in a routine occupation in the baseline model (Model 1) in Figure 1. This remains the case for the G2 in the adjusted model (Model 2), but not the G1.5, whose conditional risk of working in a routine occupation does not differ from White British women. The same is true of G2.5 women in both the baseline and adjusted models. Similarly, all generations of women exhibit similar odds of working in a managerial or professional occupation as White British women in both Model 1 and 2 in Figure 2. For men, the G1.5 and G2 have persistently higher odds of working in routine occupations in the baseline model (Model 1) and even the adjusted models (Model 2), in which we compare them to men with similar characteristics in education, housing, and health. The G2.5 differ in that they are most likely to work in a routine occupation in the baseline models, but then least likely to experience inequality in the adjusted models (compared to the other two generations). This picture is complicated further by the results for managerial or professional occupations in

Figure 2, where all three male generations exhibit inequality compared with White British men, but there is no evidence of a generational gradient (in both baseline and unadjusted models). Despite this, it is not only clear that occupational inequalities exist, but also that they are highly gendered.

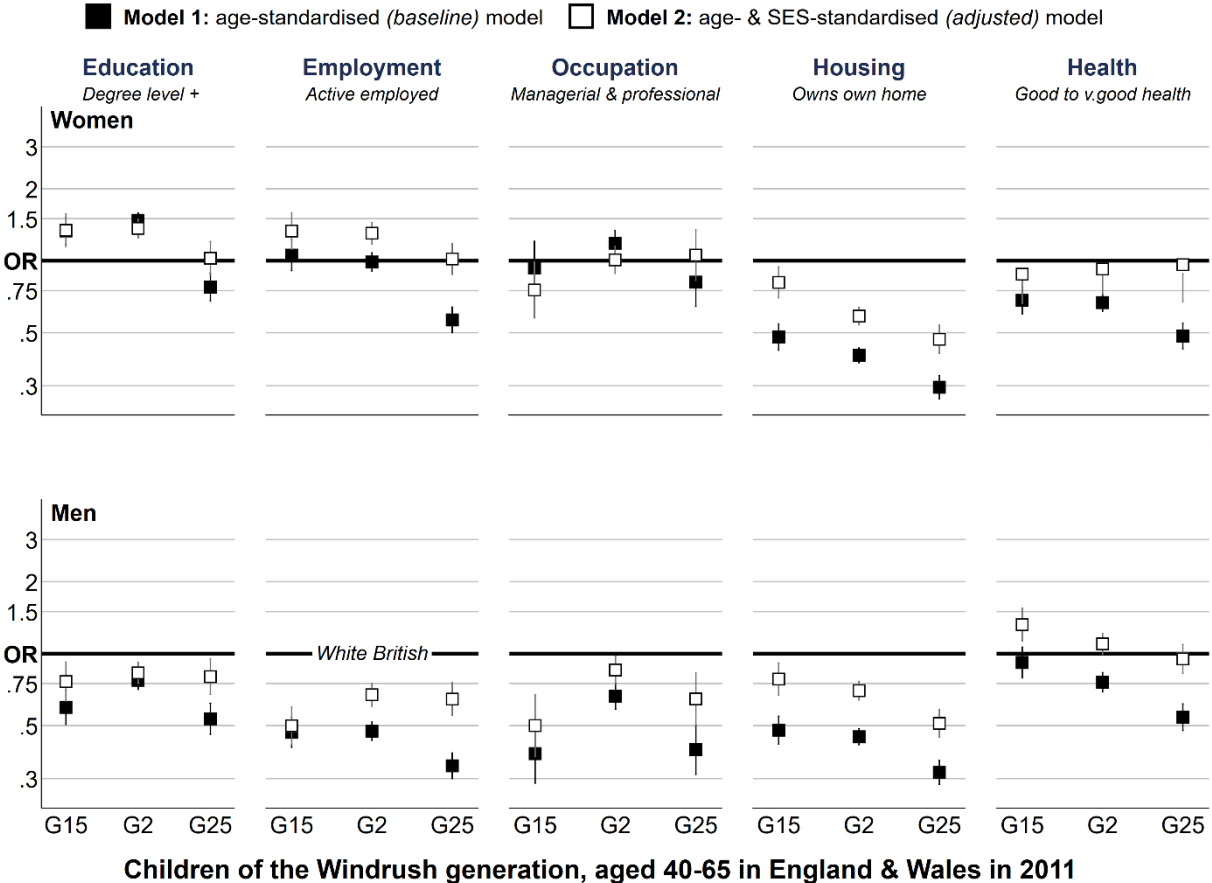


Figure 2. Summary panel of logistic regression models for **positive** outcomes in the five life domains for the children of the Windrush relative to White British population resident in 2011.

*Notes: baseline models adjust age and subpopulation, final models adjust region of residence, civil status, level of highest qualification, NS-SEC, housing tenure, and self-reported general health, minus the control relating to the specific domain i.e. we do not adjust for the highest level of qualification if our outcome is having obtained a degree level+); **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p<0.10.*

Housing

Housing is the domain in which we find the greatest similarity between Windrush women and men. In the baseline models (Model 1), all three generations of both sexes have much higher odds of living in deprived housing in Figure 1, combined with much lower odds of owning their own home in Figure 2 compared with White British women and men. The odds ratios are also substantial (odds ratios above 2 for deprived housing and below 0.5 for home ownership). For

both outcomes, relative levels of inequality smaller in the adjusted models, when comparing Windrush men and women to White British men and women with similar background characteristics, but persist nevertheless. The only exception is G1.5 women, a group that has neither higher nor lower odds of living in deprived housing in the adjusted models. With respect to a generational gradient, we observe some evidence for this with respect to home ownership for both sexes and housing deprivation among women; the odds of owning one's own home diminish across the generations (G1 to G2 to G2.5), such that the most disadvantaged are the G2.5.

Health

Health is the only domain in which women appear to fare worse than men, although this is more apparent for good general health (in Figure 2) than it is for limiting long-term illness (LLTI; in Figure 1). In the baseline models for LLTI, G2.5 women are more likely to report an LLTI than White British women, and the same is true for men. However, there is no significant difference in LLTI for the other generations of women or men, and no significant difference in the adjusted models for G2.5 women or men. For general health, on the other hand, there is evidence of inequality for all generations of women, in both the baseline (Model 1) and adjusted (Model 2) model. They are less likely to report good or very good health as compared with White British women. This is very different from the results for men, for whom the only evidence of a similar disadvantage is for G2 and G2.5 men in the baseline models. With respect to a generational gradient, there is some evidence of a gradient for both health outcomes – LLTI and general health – in the baseline models for women and men, where G2.5 are most likely to experience inequality.

Discussion

This study has focused on the children of the Windrush generation (i.e. children born in the Caribbean who accompanied their parents to Britain, at the behest of the British government, between 1948 and 1971 and those children born in Britain to one or more Windrush parents). Specifically, we have investigated a range of social inequalities experienced by the children of the Windrush generation across five life domains: education, employment, occupation, housing, and health. In addition to an interest in intergenerational adaptation and segmented assimilation, our study was motivated by an interest in the historic and ongoing discrimination that has been experienced by the Windrush generation, as exemplified by the continuing scandal (Gentleman, 2020a).

Our aim was to provide an overview of the aforementioned domains, examining whether and to what extent the children of the Windrush – specifically those alive and resident in Britain in 2011 – experienced inequality. To achieve this aim, we posed four questions, which we sought to answer through the analysis of a representative 5% sample of the 2011 Census for England and Wales. Our first question set out to establish in which life domains, if any, the children of the Windrush were experiencing inequality relative to the White British. In short, although we did not find evidence of systematic inequality among children of the Windrush (i.e. inequalities for all sexes and generations in all outcomes), we *did* find evidence of inequality in each domain among specific generations and/or sexes. Housing was the only one in which we found uniform disadvantage; men and women of all generations were less likely to own their own homes and more likely to live in deprived housing than the White British; we also documented the largest inequalities in housing. We elaborate upon sex and generation differences in much more detail below.

Our second question focussed on differences between women and men. Our findings here were definitive. On the one hand – and recalling discussion from the previous paragraph – Windrush men *were* systematically disadvantaged in all of the domains in the baseline models. The only exceptions (i.e. the only cases in which Windrush men did not experience baseline inequality relative to White-British men) were the G1.5 and G2 for both education outcomes and for self-reported health (just 5 cases out of 30). On the other hand, the overall picture looked somewhat better for Windrush women. In some domains, they had better outcomes than White British women in the baseline models (e.g. in the lower odds of having no academic or professional qualifications and working in a routine occupation, and the higher odds of having a degree for the G1.5 and G2). More often, Windrush women had similar odds to White-British women in the baseline models, although they still experienced disadvantages in some of the domains (e.g. housing and health). Indeed, health was the only domain in which women appeared to fare worse than men. Housing was the only domain in which we found a broad consistency between women and men. For the remaining life domains (education, employment, and occupation) we found clear and consistent evidence that male children of the Windrush fared worse than female did. All of the male-female differences that we described above largely persisted in the adjusted models.

Question three focused upon generational gradients in inequality. Here, we held an expectation that the levels of inequality relative to the White British would diminish with each generation. This was founded on the idea that rising levels of exposure to local institutions (with G1.5 being

lowest and G2.5 being highest), would be advantageous for successive generations. However, we did not find any evidence of this. Indeed, the only case where we found such a gradient was for routine occupations for the Windrush men. Even then, the gradient only became apparent in the adjusted models. Alarming, we found more evidence that inequalities became exacerbated with each generation. To elaborate, we documented instances of a reversed gradient in which inequality worsened with each generation, notably in the baseline models (e.g. home ownership and both health outcomes for women and men). In the absence of a clear gradient, we also found several instances in which the level of inequality was worse among the G2.5 relative to the G1.5 (e.g. no qualifications for men and women and both of the employment outcomes). In the final models for these cases, adjustment tended to bring the levels of the G2.5 closer to the G1.5 and G2.

To answer our final question, we investigated the extent to which the baseline inequalities could be explained by differences between children of the Windrush and the White British in terms of region of residence, marital status, and perhaps most importantly, variables representing the other domains. This was important given the inter-dependencies in inequalities in opportunity and outcomes across different domains. Our findings suggested a complex picture of inequality that is not easily summarised. Generally we can state that inequality – where observed in the baseline model – was often reduced with the addition of the controls (e.g. both occupational outcomes for men only, both housing outcomes for men and women, self-reported health for women, managerial and professional positions for men only), but rarely explained. Thus, even compared to White British people with similar characteristics representing the other domains, the children of the Windrush generation continued to be disadvantaged. However, there were also instances in which the level of inequality remained unchanged after the addition of controls (e.g. both employment outcomes among G1.5 men). Linked to the previous research question, we also find that adjustment consistently had the greatest impact upon the odds of the G2.5. The results for all of the groups suggest that these socioeconomic inequalities are highly inter-related.

Given our initial aim (to provide an overview of the type of inequalities experienced by the children of the Windrush), combined with the number of results, it is beyond the scope of this paper (and the ability of the methods used) to explain and interpret each finding. Nevertheless, our work identifies several fruitful avenues for future research on the children of the Windrush. For example, why are relative baseline and adjusted inequalities so much worse among men than women? Why does the level of inequality seem to grow with each generation? What other

mechanisms can explain why inequalities persist in some groups after considering additional factors?

When considering potential explanations for the inequalities that we find, we need to consider that they are likely to include a combination of historical and recent trends. Housing inequalities are a prime example. They may be rooted in early-life disadvantage exacerbated by the racial tensions of the 1960s, as well as discrimination in the housing market later on in life (e.g. Rex and Moore, 1967; Neal, 2015). Discrimination may be a barrier to home ownership, but so is the difficulty of saving for a deposit, especially when facing other inequalities in employment. There is considerable research that highlights the disadvantages experienced by Black women and men during their childhood and transition to adulthood. For example, while the educational performance of non-white groups in England and Wales is better than Whites at age 16 (after controlling for different individual, school and labour market covariates) this is not the case for those whose ethnicity is recorded as Black Caribbean (Bradley and Taylor, 2004). Even when researchers focus on the relative position of immigrants or their descendants as compared with the achievement distribution of native-born who have the same socioeconomic background (as we have done in our adjusted models), they find that the children of immigrants experience educational inequalities in most countries in Western Europe, in part due to the fact that second generation children are often marginalised within lower quality schools (Borgna and Contini, 2014).

We note several limitations that should be taken into account when interpreting our findings. First, our aim was to provide an intersectional overview of the inequality experienced by the children of the Windrush generation. However, our analysis says little about the processes that generate this inequality, including the mechanisms of adaptation and development of inequality itself, which are dynamic processes that unfold over time. Second, by examining inequalities among the children of the Windrush in 2011, we not only remain ignorant as to the development of existing inequalities, but we are also only able to focus on those who are alive and resident in England and Wales in 2011. This directly affects health outcomes and indirectly affects other outcomes, including due to the (potentially selective) emigration of the Windrush generation or their children. It could be that those who survived to 2011 are those who have experienced the least amount of inequality over their life. Those experiencing the most inequality may have died or emigrated (including those individuals who have been deported or forced to migrate). This could explain the somewhat surprising finding that men – despite being disadvantaged in education, employment, occupation, and housing – report similar to better health outcomes in

the adjusted models (i.e. compared to White British men with a similar socioeconomic status). There are also several other limitations worth noting. As alluded to in the methods section, we use country of birth and ethnicity to define the generations in the absence of information on the parental country of birth. However, given the age restrictions we imposed, we are unlikely to include any members of the G3 in the analyses. We also note that our findings only relate to England and Wales and may not represent the rest of Great Britain (i.e. Scotland and Northern Ireland).

Mindful of these limitations, we make some further suggestions for research. In particular, we recommend that one of the UK's longitudinal studies is utilised to examine the development of inequalities over time for the children of the Windrush. Such research could also use methods that explicitly allow for selective events such as mortality and emigration. Furthermore, here we have focused exclusively on children of the Windrush generation. However, the term – and its scandal – extends to all immigrants arriving from British Commonwealth countries prior to 1971, including South Asians. Consequently, future research could widen its scope in order to study inequalities among children of immigrants arriving from countries in South Asia prior to 1971, perhaps even comparing the level of disadvantaged experienced across different origin groups.

Taken together, our results represent a renewed evaluation of intergenerational adaptation for the descendants of Caribbean immigrants in Britain and one of the most detailed multi-outcome and multi-generational studies of the descendants of immigrants anywhere. Our findings are concerning because we find inequality in most of the outcomes and because we find evidence of growing inequality across generations. This is contrary to the expectation of straight-line adaptation and more in line with segmented adaptation. It is impossible to attribute this solely to discrimination based on our analysis, but it is nevertheless a cause for concern given what we know about the circumstances faced by the Windrush generation. As argued by Portes and Zhou, “the context that immigrants find upon arrival in their new country plays a decisive role in the course that their offspring’s lives follow” (1993: 83). A range of individual, structural, and contextual factors all play a part in determining adaptation (Zhou 1997, Alba and Nee 2005). These include structural economic and institutional changes in the destination society, as well as contextual factors such as segregation. However, these are also shaped by political factors and changing policies regarding migration and integration. As noted by Zhou (1997), politics and policies have the potential to shape the ‘changing context of reception’. In the UK, this is not only apparent in ever changing immigration policies, including the development of a

hostile environment policy, but also in a considerable history of discrimination that has been experienced by the Windrush generation, not least in the historic stigmatisation of immigrants in Britain.

In the aftermath of Britain's departure from the European Union (EU), the ongoing plight of the Windrush generation looms large as social and political commentators fear for the future status of both EU citizens resident in Britain and British citizens who have settled in the EU member states (see BBC, 2019; Hinsliff, 2020). Our results show that inequality among the children of the Windrush generation is both pervasive and persistent. Despite having settled in Britain as British citizens with all the associated rights and opportunities of being British, the Windrush generation and their children have faced marked disadvantage and inequality. Our findings can contribute to, and suggest an urgent need for, policies to address inequality in multiple life domains, especially when seen in the light of other such research reported above, the continued scandal of the Windrush and the persisting elements of the hostile environment policy (e.g. see Gentleman, 2020b) which may further exacerbate the sorts of persistent disadvantage that we find here. In designing future policies, it will be vital to harness the potential for the children of the Windrush – and the grandchildren of the Windrush – to experience upward social mobility.

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Supplementary materials

Table S1. Full regression table, education domain: no qualifications, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	1.12	0.96	1.31		0.71	0.60	0.85	**
G2-0	1.02	0.92	1.13		0.61	0.54	0.69	**
G2-5	2.01	1.76	2.29	**	1.07	0.92	1.25	
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	1.21	1.18	1.25	**	1.24	1.20	1.28	**
50-54	1.53	1.49	1.58	**	1.62	1.57	1.68	**
55-59	2.11	2.05	2.17	**	2.21	2.14	2.28	**
60-64	2.87	2.79	2.95	**	3.02	2.92	3.12	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					1.07	1.04	1.10	**
East England					1.01	0.98	1.05	
Inner London					0.86	0.81	0.92	**
Outer London					1.09	1.04	1.14	**
The South					0.84	0.81	0.86	**
Wales					1.17	1.13	1.22	**
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					2.11	1.98	2.26	**
Intermediate					2.88	2.68	3.10	**
Small employers					9.29	8.73	9.89	**
Lower supervisory					5.91	5.53	6.31	**
Semi-routine					13.08	12.27	13.94	**
Routine					17.27	16.23	18.39	**
Has never worked					90.48	81.94	99.92	**
Is long-term unemployed					11.20	10.36	12.10	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					2.39	2.33	2.46	**
Rents private housing					1.39	1.35	1.43	**
Lives rent free					1.98	1.80	2.18	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					1.26	1.23	1.29	**
Fair health					1.78	1.73	1.84	**
Bad Health					2.53	2.44	2.63	**
Very bad health					2.94	2.76	3.14	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					1.40	1.36	1.44	**
Separated					1.17	1.11	1.23	**
Divorced					1.16	1.13	1.19	**
Widowed					1.35	1.25	1.45	**

Table S2. Full regression table, education domain: no qualifications, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	0.48	0.40	0.58	**	0.32	0.26	0.39	**
G2-0	0.52	0.45	0.59	**	0.36	0.31	0.42	**
G2-5	1.92	1.68	2.19	**	1.09	0.93	1.28	
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	1.27	1.23	1.31	**	1.35	1.30	1.40	**
50-54	1.92	1.86	1.98	**	2.17	2.10	2.25	**
55-59	3.19	3.10	3.28	**	3.86	3.73	3.99	**
60-64	3.93	3.80	4.06	**	5.41	5.20	5.62	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					1.03	1.00	1.06	*
East England					0.92	0.89	0.96	**
Inner London					0.83	0.77	0.89	**
Outer London					0.99	0.94	1.04	
The South					0.76	0.74	0.78	**
Wales					1.07	1.03	1.12	**
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					1.83	1.66	2.01	**
Intermediate					3.63	3.31	3.97	**
Small employers					6.70	6.09	7.37	**
Lower supervisory					8.74	7.93	9.63	**
Semi-routine					12.17	11.12	13.32	**
Routine					28.98	26.45	31.76	**
Has never worked					92.48	82.99	103.06	**
Is long-term unemployed					12.49	11.21	13.93	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					2.64	2.57	2.71	**
Rents private housing					1.53	1.48	1.59	**
Lives rent free					2.59	2.24	3.00	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					1.39	1.36	1.43	**
Fair health					1.96	1.90	2.02	**
Bad Health					2.64	2.53	2.76	**
Very bad health					3.07	2.85	3.31	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					1.14	1.10	1.18	**
Separated					1.06	1.01	1.12	*
Divorced					0.89	0.87	0.92	**
Widowed					1.19	1.13	1.26	**

Table S3. Full regression table, education domain: degree-level+, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	0.60	0.51	0.70	**	0.76	0.63	0.92	**
G2-0	0.77	0.71	0.84	**	0.83	0.75	0.92	**
G2-5	0.53	0.46	0.62	**	0.80	0.68	0.95	**
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	0.95	0.93	0.97	**	1.00	0.98	1.03	
50-54	0.93	0.91	0.95	**	1.04	1.01	1.07	*
55-59	0.89	0.87	0.91	**	1.11	1.08	1.14	**
60-64	0.75	0.74	0.77	**	1.03	1.00	1.06	+
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					0.97	0.94	0.99	*
East England					0.93	0.90	0.96	**
Inner London					2.31	2.19	2.44	**
Outer London					1.11	1.06	1.15	**
The South					1.12	1.09	1.14	**
Wales					1.07	1.02	1.11	**
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					0.57	0.56	0.59	**
Intermediate					0.22	0.21	0.23	**
Small employers					0.10	0.10	0.10	**
Lower supervisory					0.08	0.08	0.09	**
Semi-routine					0.05	0.05	0.05	**
Routine					0.03	0.03	0.03	**
Has never worked					0.02	0.02	0.02	**
Is long-term unemployed					0.12	0.12	0.13	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					0.44	0.42	0.46	**
Rents private housing					0.89	0.87	0.92	**
Lives rent free					0.82	0.72	0.94	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					0.73	0.72	0.75	**
Fair health					0.60	0.58	0.62	**
Bad Health					0.53	0.50	0.55	**
Very bad health					0.53	0.48	0.58	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					1.02	0.99	1.04	
Separated					0.86	0.82	0.91	**
Divorced					0.86	0.83	0.88	**
Widowed					0.97	0.89	1.05	

Table S4. Full regression table, education domain: degree-level+, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	1.33	1.17	1.52	**	1.34	1.15	1.57	**
G2-0	1.47	1.37	1.59	**	1.37	1.25	1.49	**
G2-5	0.78	0.68	0.89	**	1.02	0.87	1.20	
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	0.93	0.91	0.95	**	0.97	0.95	1.00	+
50-54	0.89	0.87	0.91	**	1.00	0.98	1.03	
55-59	0.80	0.78	0.82	**	0.99	0.96	1.02	
60-64	0.69	0.66	0.71	**	0.86	0.83	0.89	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					0.98	0.96	1.01	
East England					0.90	0.87	0.93	**
Inner London					2.00	1.89	2.13	**
Outer London					0.97	0.93	1.01	
The South					1.10	1.07	1.12	**
Wales					1.13	1.09	1.18	**
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					0.80	0.77	0.82	**
Intermediate					0.11	0.11	0.12	**
Small employers					0.17	0.16	0.17	**
Lower supervisory					0.08	0.08	0.09	**
Semi-routine					0.05	0.05	0.05	**
Routine					0.03	0.02	0.03	**
Has never worked					0.02	0.02	0.02	**
Is long-term unemployed					0.13	0.12	0.14	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					0.39	0.38	0.41	**
Rents private housing					0.81	0.79	0.84	**
Lives rent free					0.72	0.59	0.87	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					0.75	0.74	0.77	**
Fair health					0.65	0.63	0.67	**
Bad Health					0.59	0.56	0.62	**
Very bad health					0.54	0.49	0.60	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					1.19	1.16	1.23	**
Separated					0.89	0.85	0.93	**
Divorced					0.94	0.91	0.96	**
Widowed					0.85	0.80	0.90	**

Table S5. Full regression table, employment domain: long-term unemployed, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	2.14	1.85	2.46	**	2.00	1.67	2.40	**
G2-0	2.11	1.93	2.30	**	1.49	1.33	1.66	**
G2-5	2.94	2.60	3.33	**	1.55	1.32	1.81	**
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	1.05	1.02	1.08	**	1.03	0.99	1.06	
50-54	1.17	1.13	1.20	**	1.10	1.06	1.14	**
55-59	1.45	1.41	1.50	**	1.24	1.19	1.28	**
60-64	1.68	1.63	1.73	**	1.43	1.37	1.48	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					0.85	0.82	0.87	**
East England					0.68	0.65	0.71	**
Inner London					0.78	0.73	0.83	**
Outer London					0.77	0.73	0.81	**
The South					0.72	0.69	0.74	**
Wales					1.18	1.13	1.24	**
Education level								
No academic or professional qualifications					2.80	2.71	2.90	**
Primary					1.49	1.43	1.55	**
Secondary					1.35	1.30	1.40	**
Tertiary					1			
Other					1.27	1.20	1.35	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					4.27	4.15	4.40	**
Rents private housing					2.24	2.17	2.32	**
Lives rent free					18.87	17.08	20.85	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					1.45	1.40	1.50	**
Fair health					4.59	4.43	4.75	**
Bad Health					22.78	21.79	23.80	**
Very bad health					39.04	36.13	42.18	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					2.73	2.65	2.81	**
Separated					1.45	1.37	1.54	**
Divorced					1.64	1.59	1.69	**
Widowed					1.85	1.70	2.01	**

Table S6. Full regression table, employment domain: long-term unemployed, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	0.95	0.82	1.10		0.75	0.63	0.89	**
G2-0	1.01	0.93	1.11		0.77	0.69	0.85	**
G2-5	1.77	1.56	2.00	**	0.98	0.85	1.14	
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	0.92	0.90	0.94	**	0.82	0.80	0.84	**
50-54	1.04	1.01	1.06	**	0.81	0.79	0.84	**
55-59	1.32	1.28	1.35	**	0.89	0.86	0.92	**
60-64	0.58	0.56	0.60	**	0.35	0.33	0.36	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					0.94	0.91	0.97	**
East England					1.07	1.03	1.11	**
Inner London					1.15	1.08	1.23	**
Outer London					1.11	1.06	1.16	**
The South					1.03	1.00	1.06	+
Wales					1.14	1.10	1.19	**
Education level								
No academic or professional qualifications					3.75	3.64	3.87	**
Primary					1.89	1.83	1.95	**
Secondary					1.36	1.32	1.40	**
Tertiary					1			
Other					1.40	1.31	1.49	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					2.62	2.56	2.69	**
Rents private housing					1.87	1.81	1.93	**
Lives rent free					9.29	8.13	10.62	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					1.21	1.18	1.24	**
Fair health					3.29	3.20	3.38	**
Bad Health					15.30	14.66	15.96	**
Very bad health					27.12	24.92	29.53	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					0.95	0.93	0.98	**
Separated					0.77	0.74	0.81	**
Divorced					0.70	0.68	0.72	**
Widowed					0.94	0.89	1.00	*

Table S7. Full regression table, employment domain: active employed, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	0.47	0.41	0.54	**	0.50	0.42	0.60	**
G2-0	0.47	0.43	0.52	**	0.67	0.60	0.75	**
G2-5	0.34	0.30	0.38	**	0.65	0.55	0.76	**
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	0.95	0.93	0.98	**	0.97	0.94	1.01	
50-54	0.86	0.83	0.88	**	0.91	0.88	0.95	**
55-59	0.69	0.67	0.71	**	0.81	0.78	0.84	**
60-64	0.60	0.58	0.61	**	0.70	0.67	0.73	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					1.18	1.14	1.22	**
East England					1.47	1.41	1.53	**
Inner London					1.28	1.20	1.37	**
Outer London					1.31	1.24	1.38	**
The South					1.40	1.35	1.44	**
Wales					0.85	0.81	0.89	**
Education level								
No academic or professional qualifications					0.36	0.34	0.37	**
Primary					0.67	0.65	0.70	**
Secondary					0.74	0.71	0.77	**
Tertiary					1			
Other					0.79	0.74	0.84	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					0.23	0.23	0.24	**
Rents private housing					0.45	0.43	0.46	**
Lives rent free					0.05	0.05	0.06	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					0.69	0.67	0.71	**
Fair health					0.22	0.21	0.23	**
Bad Health					0.04	0.04	0.05	**
Very bad health					0.03	0.02	0.03	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					0.37	0.36	0.38	**
Separated					0.69	0.65	0.73	**
Divorced					0.61	0.59	0.63	**
Widowed					0.54	0.50	0.59	**

Table S8. Full regression table, employment domain: active employed, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model			Sig.
	OR	95% CIs		OR	95% CIs		
Windrush generation							
White British, UK-born	1			1			
G1-5	1.06	0.91	1.23	1.33	1.12	1.59	**
G2-0	0.99	0.90	1.08	1.30	1.18	1.44	**
G2-5	0.57	0.50	0.64	**	1.02	0.88	1.18
Age (5-year bands)							
40-44	1			1			
45-49	1.09	1.06	1.12	**	1.22	1.18	1.25
50-54	0.96	0.94	0.99	*	1.23	1.20	1.27
55-59	0.76	0.74	0.78	**	1.12	1.09	1.16
60-64	1.73	1.66	1.79	**	2.88	2.75	3.01
Region of residence							
The North & Yorkshire				1			
The Midlands				1.06	1.03	1.09	**
East England				0.93	0.90	0.97	**
Inner London				0.87	0.81	0.92	**
Outer London				0.90	0.86	0.94	**
The South				0.97	0.95	1.00	*
Wales				0.88	0.84	0.91	**
Education level							
No academic or professional qualifications				0.27	0.26	0.27	**
Primary				0.53	0.51	0.55	**
Secondary				0.74	0.72	0.76	**
Tertiary				1			
Other				0.71	0.67	0.76	**
Housing tenure							
Owns own home				1			
Rent social housing				0.38	0.37	0.39	**
Rents private housing				0.53	0.52	0.55	**
Lives rent free				0.11	0.09	0.12	**
Self-reported health							
Very good health				1			
Good health				0.83	0.81	0.85	**
Fair health				0.30	0.30	0.31	**
Bad Health				0.07	0.06	0.07	**
Very bad health				0.04	0.03	0.04	**
Civil status							
Married/civil partnership				1			
Single				1.05	1.02	1.08	**
Separated				1.29	1.23	1.36	**
Divorced				1.43	1.39	1.47	**
Widowed				1.06	1.00	1.13	*

Table S9. Full regression table, occupation domain: routine occupations, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model			Sig.	
	OR	95% CIs		OR	95% CIs			
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1			1				
G1-5	1.33	1.13	1.57	**	1.34	1.13	1.60	**
G2-0	1.17	1.05	1.30	**	1.20	1.07	1.34	**
G2-5	1.43	1.23	1.66	**	1.02	0.88	1.20	
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1			1				
45-49	1.08	1.05	1.11	**	1.04	1.01	1.07	*
50-54	1.16	1.13	1.19	**	1.09	1.05	1.12	**
55-59	1.30	1.26	1.34	**	1.14	1.10	1.18	**
60-64	1.49	1.45	1.54	**	1.21	1.17	1.25	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire				1				
The Midlands				0.98	0.95	1.00		+
East England				0.72	0.70	0.75		**
Inner London				0.48	0.45	0.52		**
Outer London				0.55	0.52	0.58		**
The South				0.74	0.72	0.76		**
Wales				0.98	0.94	1.02		
Education level								
No academic or professional qualifications				12.67	12.13	13.24		**
Primary				7.95	7.60	8.32		**
Secondary				4.99	4.78	5.21		**
Tertiary				1				
Other				11.43	10.83	12.07		**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home				1				
Rent social housing				1.78	1.73	1.83		**
Rents private housing				1.14	1.10	1.17		**
Lives rent free				0.69	0.62	0.77		**
Self-reported health								
Very good health				1				
Good health				1.18	1.15	1.21		**
Fair health				1.23	1.19	1.27		**
Bad Health				1.35	1.29	1.40		**
Very bad health				1.22	1.14	1.31		**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership				1				
Single				1.06	1.03	1.09		**
Separated				1.00	0.94	1.05		
Divorced				1.09	1.06	1.12		**
Widowed				1.09	1.01	1.18		*

Table S10. Full regression table, occupation domain: routine occupations, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs	Sig.	OR	95% CIs	Sig.		
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1			1				
G1-5	0.70	0.55	0.88	**	1.03	0.80	1.31	
G2-0	0.46	0.38	0.55	**	0.62	0.51	0.74	**
G2-5	1.23	1.02	1.48	*	0.87	0.72	1.06	
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1			1				
45-49	1.09	1.05	1.13	**	1.01	0.98	1.05	
50-54	1.23	1.19	1.27	**	1.01	0.97	1.05	
55-59	1.44	1.39	1.49	**	0.99	0.95	1.03	
60-64	1.46	1.40	1.52	**	0.96	0.92	1.01	
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire				1				
The Midlands				1.03	1.00	1.07	+	
East England				0.78	0.74	0.81	**	
Inner London				0.48	0.43	0.53	**	
Outer London				0.54	0.51	0.58	**	
The South				0.77	0.74	0.80	**	
Wales				0.94	0.89	0.99	*	
Education level								
No academic or professional qualifications				20.48	19.24	21.81	**	
Primary				8.46	7.94	9.02	**	
Secondary				4.43	4.16	4.72	**	
Tertiary				1				
Other				8.63	7.91	9.42	**	
Housing tenure								
Owns own home				1				
Rent social housing				1.97	1.91	2.03	**	
Rents private housing				1.37	1.31	1.43	**	
Lives rent free				0.36	0.29	0.45	**	
Self-reported health								
Very good health				1				
Good health				1.26	1.22	1.30	**	
Fair health				1.43	1.37	1.48	**	
Bad Health				1.54	1.47	1.62	**	
Very bad health				1.34	1.24	1.46	**	
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership				1				
Single				0.91	0.88	0.95	**	
Separated				0.80	0.76	0.85	**	
Divorced				0.86	0.84	0.89	**	
Widowed				1.03	0.97	1.10		

Table S11. Full regression table, occupation domain: managerial & professional occupations, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs	Sig.	OR	95% CIs	Sig.		
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1			1				
G1-5	0.38	0.29	0.51	**	0.50	0.37	0.67	**
G2-0	0.66	0.59	0.75	**	0.85	0.75	0.98	*
G2-5	0.40	0.31	0.50	**	0.65	0.50	0.83	**
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1			1				
45-49	0.94	0.92	0.97	**	0.96	0.93	0.99	*
50-54	0.91	0.88	0.93	**	0.93	0.90	0.96	**
55-59	0.80	0.78	0.83	**	0.85	0.82	0.88	**
60-64	0.63	0.61	0.65	**	0.73	0.70	0.75	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire				1				
The Midlands				1.10	1.06	1.13		**
East England				1.23	1.18	1.27		**
Inner London				1.23	1.16	1.32		**
Outer London				1.22	1.16	1.28		**
The South				1.20	1.17	1.23		**
Wales				0.89	0.85	0.94		**
Education level								
No academic or professional qualifications				0.06	0.05	0.06		**
Primary				0.16	0.15	0.17		**
Secondary				0.23	0.23	0.24		**
Tertiary				1				
Other				0.10	0.10	0.11		**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home				1				
Rent social housing				0.35	0.33	0.38		**
Rents private housing				0.76	0.73	0.79		**
Lives rent free				0.53	0.43	0.64		**
Self-reported health								
Very good health				1				
Good health				0.88	0.86	0.90		**
Fair health				0.69	0.66	0.71		**
Bad Health				0.60	0.56	0.65		**
Very bad health				0.64	0.55	0.73		**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership				1				
Single				0.68	0.66	0.70		**
Separated				0.88	0.83	0.94		**
Divorced				0.77	0.75	0.80		**
Widowed				0.76	0.68	0.85		**

Table S12. Full regression table, occupation domain: managerial & professional occupations, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model			Sig.
	OR	95% CIs		OR	95% CIs		
Windrush generation							
White British, UK-born	1			1			
G1-5	0.93	0.72	1.21	0.75	0.58	0.99	*
G2-0	1.18	1.05	1.34	*	1.01	0.89	1.15
G2-5	0.81	0.64	1.02	+	1.06	0.83	1.35
Age (5-year bands)							
40-44	1			1			
45-49	0.87	0.84	0.90	**	0.90	0.87	0.94
50-54	0.74	0.71	0.77	**	0.82	0.78	0.85
55-59	0.62	0.60	0.65	**	0.75	0.72	0.79
60-64	0.53	0.50	0.56	**	0.68	0.64	0.72
Region of residence							
The North & Yorkshire				1			
The Midlands				1.01	0.97	1.05	
East England				1.13	1.08	1.19	**
Inner London				1.43	1.32	1.54	**
Outer London				1.34	1.26	1.42	**
The South				1.12	1.08	1.17	**
Wales				0.85	0.79	0.91	**
Education level							
No academic or professional qualifications				0.06	0.06	0.07	**
Primary				0.17	0.16	0.18	**
Secondary				0.26	0.25	0.27	**
Tertiary				1			
Other				0.16	0.14	0.18	**
Housing tenure							
Owns own home				1			
Rent social housing				0.38	0.35	0.41	**
Rents private housing				0.75	0.71	0.79	**
Lives rent free				0.45	0.30	0.68	**
Self-reported health							
Very good health				1			
Good health				0.85	0.82	0.87	**
Fair health				0.65	0.61	0.68	**
Bad Health				0.58	0.52	0.64	**
Very bad health				0.57	0.46	0.70	**
Civil status							
Married/civil partnership				1			
Single				1.23	1.18	1.28	**
Separated				1.01	0.93	1.09	
Divorced				1.11	1.07	1.15	**
Widowed				0.93	0.84	1.03	

Table S13. Full regression table, housing domain: housing deprived, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	2.48	2.07	2.96	**	1.33	1.10	1.61	**
G2-0	2.21	1.99	2.46	**	1.22	1.09	1.37	**
G2-5	2.22	1.89	2.60	**	1.35	1.15	1.60	**
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	0.99	0.96	1.03		1.00	0.97	1.04	
50-54	0.90	0.87	0.94	**	0.91	0.88	0.95	**
55-59	0.84	0.80	0.87	**	0.83	0.79	0.86	**
60-64	0.74	0.71	0.77	**	0.73	0.70	0.77	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					0.95	0.91	0.98	*
East England					0.97	0.93	1.02	
Inner London					2.99	2.81	3.18	**
Outer London					1.70	1.61	1.79	**
The South					1.23	1.19	1.28	**
Wales					0.94	0.89	1.00	+
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					1.23	1.16	1.31	**
Intermediate					1.48	1.38	1.58	**
Small employers					1.60	1.51	1.71	**
Lower supervisory					1.88	1.76	2.01	**
Semi-routine					2.18	2.04	2.33	**
Routine					2.16	2.03	2.30	**
Has never worked					1.65	1.49	1.82	**
Is long-term unemployed					2.80	2.58	3.05	**
Education level								
No academic of professional qualifications					1.60	1.53	1.67	**
Primary					1.37	1.30	1.43	**
Secondary					1.24	1.19	1.29	**
Tertiary					1			
Other					1.51	1.41	1.62	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					1.17	1.13	1.20	**
Fair health					1.49	1.43	1.55	**
Bad Health					1.67	1.58	1.76	**
Very bad health					1.80	1.65	1.96	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					2.26	2.19	2.34	**
Separated					2.18	2.06	2.32	**
Divorced					1.96	1.90	2.04	**
Widowed					1.64	1.47	1.83	**

Table S14. Full regression table, housing domain: housing deprived, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model					
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	
Windrush generation									
White British, UK-born	1				1				
G1-5	2.07	1.70	2.52	**	1.09	0.89	1.33		
G2-0	2.69	2.45	2.96	**	1.55	1.40	1.72	**	
G2-5	2.46	2.10	2.88	**	1.56	1.33	1.84	**	
Age (5-year bands)									
40-44	1				1				
45-49	0.88	0.84	0.91	**	0.86	0.83	0.89	**	
50-54	0.73	0.71	0.76	**	0.71	0.68	0.74	**	
55-59	0.61	0.59	0.64	**	0.56	0.54	0.59	**	
60-64	0.56	0.53	0.59	**	0.52	0.49	0.55	**	
Region of residence									
The North & Yorkshire					1				
The Midlands					0.92	0.88	0.96	**	
East England					0.88	0.83	0.93	**	
Inner London					2.94	2.75	3.14	**	
Outer London					1.67	1.58	1.76	**	
The South					1.13	1.08	1.17	**	
Wales					0.92	0.86	0.98	*	
Socio-economic occupational category									
Higher managerial					1				
Lower managerial					1.41	1.30	1.52	**	
Intermediate					1.44	1.33	1.56	**	
Small employers					1.64	1.50	1.80	**	
Lower supervisory					2.11	1.92	2.32	**	
Semi-routine					2.15	1.99	2.33	**	
Routine					2.46	2.26	2.68	**	
Has never worked					2.37	2.13	2.63	**	
Is long-term unemployed					2.79	2.50	3.11	**	
Education level									
No academic or professional qualifications					1.77	1.68	1.86	**	
Primary					1.45	1.38	1.52	**	
Secondary					1.29	1.24	1.35	**	
Tertiary					1				
Other					1.68	1.54	1.84	**	
Self-reported health									
Very good health					1				
Good health					1.19	1.15	1.23	**	
Fair health					1.40	1.35	1.47	**	
Bad Health					1.41	1.32	1.49	**	
Very bad health					1.33	1.20	1.47	**	
Civil status									
Married/civil partnership					1				
Single					1.89	1.82	1.96	**	
Separated					2.06	1.95	2.19	**	
Divorced					1.78	1.72	1.85	**	
Widowed					1.58	1.46	1.72	**	

Table S15. Full regression table, housing domain: owns own home, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	0.48	0.42	0.55	**	0.78	0.67	0.91	**
G2-0	0.45	0.42	0.49	**	0.70	0.64	0.77	**
G2-5	0.32	0.28	0.36	**	0.51	0.45	0.58	**
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	1.15	1.12	1.18	**	1.24	1.21	1.28	**
50-54	1.28	1.25	1.31	**	1.48	1.44	1.52	**
55-59	1.32	1.28	1.35	**	1.71	1.66	1.76	**
60-64	1.48	1.44	1.52	**	2.03	1.97	2.10	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					1.06	1.03	1.09	**
East England					0.91	0.89	0.94	**
Inner London					0.32	0.30	0.33	**
Outer London					0.90	0.86	0.94	**
The South					0.83	0.81	0.85	**
Wales					1.15	1.11	1.20	**
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					0.80	0.77	0.83	**
Intermediate					0.72	0.69	0.75	**
Small employers					0.67	0.64	0.69	**
Lower supervisory					0.55	0.52	0.57	**
Semi-routine					0.39	0.38	0.41	**
Routine					0.36	0.35	0.38	**
Has never worked					0.11	0.10	0.12	**
Is long-term unemployed					0.17	0.16	0.18	**
Education level								
No academic of professional qualifications					0.41	0.40	0.42	**
Primary					0.68	0.66	0.70	**
Secondary					0.84	0.82	0.87	**
Tertiary					1			
Other					0.57	0.55	0.60	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					0.77	0.76	0.79	**
Fair health					0.44	0.43	0.45	**
Bad Health					0.22	0.21	0.23	**
Very bad health					0.19	0.18	0.20	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					0.41	0.40	0.42	**
Separated					0.19	0.19	0.20	**
Divorced					0.30	0.29	0.31	**
Widowed					0.47	0.44	0.50	**

Table S16. Full regression table, housing domain: owns own home, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	0.48	0.42	0.54	**	0.81	0.70	0.94	**
G2-0	0.40	0.37	0.43	**	0.59	0.54	0.64	**
G2-5	0.30	0.26	0.33	**	0.47	0.41	0.54	**
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	1.21	1.18	1.23	**	1.35	1.31	1.38	**
50-54	1.35	1.32	1.38	**	1.69	1.64	1.73	**
55-59	1.42	1.38	1.45	**	2.06	2.00	2.12	**
60-64	1.79	1.73	1.85	**	2.58	2.48	2.68	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					1.03	1.00	1.06	*
East England					0.90	0.87	0.93	**
Inner London					0.29	0.28	0.31	**
Outer London					0.81	0.77	0.84	**
The South					0.85	0.83	0.87	**
Wales					1.07	1.03	1.12	**
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					0.72	0.69	0.76	**
Intermediate					0.79	0.75	0.83	**
Small employers					0.60	0.57	0.64	**
Lower supervisory					0.38	0.36	0.40	**
Semi-routine					0.37	0.35	0.39	**
Routine					0.27	0.26	0.28	**
Has never worked					0.12	0.11	0.13	**
Is long-term unemployed					0.17	0.15	0.18	**
Education level								
No academic of professional qualifications					0.32	0.31	0.33	**
Primary					0.62	0.60	0.64	**
Secondary					0.71	0.69	0.74	**
Tertiary					1			
Other					0.43	0.41	0.46	**
Self-reported health								
Very good health					1			
Good health					0.73	0.71	0.75	**
Fair health					0.40	0.39	0.41	**
Bad Health					0.24	0.23	0.25	**
Very bad health					0.20	0.19	0.22	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					0.31	0.31	0.32	**
Separated					0.19	0.18	0.20	**
Divorced					0.26	0.26	0.27	**
Widowed					0.41	0.39	0.43	**

Table S17. Full regression table, health domain: has limiting long-term illness, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	1.05	0.84	1.31		0.76	0.60	0.96	*
G2-0	1.20	1.04	1.39	*	0.77	0.65	0.90	**
G2-5	1.81	1.51	2.17	**	0.90	0.74	1.10	
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	1.22	1.17	1.27	**	1.28	1.23	1.34	**
50-54	1.51	1.45	1.57	**	1.68	1.61	1.76	**
55-59	2.10	2.02	2.19	**	2.41	2.31	2.52	**
60-64	2.73	2.62	2.84	**	3.27	3.13	3.43	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					0.80	0.77	0.83	**
East England					0.61	0.58	0.65	**
Inner London					0.73	0.67	0.79	**
Outer London					0.72	0.68	0.77	**
The South					0.68	0.66	0.70	**
Wales					1.24	1.18	1.30	**
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					1.36	1.27	1.46	**
Intermediate					1.73	1.60	1.88	**
Small employers					1.59	1.48	1.71	**
Lower supervisory					2.10	1.95	2.26	**
Semi-routine					1.98	1.84	2.13	**
Routine					2.11	1.97	2.27	**
Has never worked					8.42	7.68	9.24	**
Is long-term unemployed					0.84	0.75	0.93	**
Education level								
No academic of professional qualifications					2.77	2.64	2.91	**
Primary					1.50	1.42	1.58	**
Secondary					1.36	1.30	1.43	**
Tertiary					1			
Other					1.44	1.33	1.55	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					3.96	3.84	4.09	**
Rents private housing					1.92	1.84	2.00	**
Lives rent free					3.82	3.47	4.20	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					1.75	1.69	1.81	**
Separated					1.31	1.22	1.40	**
Divorced					1.53	1.48	1.59	**
Widowed					1.38	1.25	1.51	**

Table S18. Full regression table, health domain: has limiting long-term illness, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	0.98	0.80	1.20		0.88	0.70	1.09	
G2-0	1.12	0.98	1.29	+	0.92	0.80	1.07	
G2-5	1.75	1.46	2.09	**	0.96	0.79	1.17	
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	1.26	1.21	1.31	**	1.31	1.26	1.37	**
50-54	1.68	1.62	1.75	**	1.80	1.73	1.88	**
55-59	2.26	2.17	2.35	**	2.36	2.26	2.47	**
60-64	1.42	1.35	1.49	**	1.46	1.37	1.54	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					0.80	0.77	0.83	**
East England					0.69	0.65	0.72	**
Inner London					0.75	0.69	0.81	**
Outer London					0.71	0.66	0.75	**
The South					0.69	0.66	0.72	**
Wales					1.26	1.20	1.33	**
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					1.50	1.37	1.64	**
Intermediate					1.59	1.45	1.74	**
Small employers					1.53	1.38	1.69	**
Lower supervisory					2.18	1.97	2.41	**
Semi-routine					1.98	1.81	2.16	**
Routine					2.36	2.15	2.59	**
Has never worked					6.44	5.81	7.13	**
Is long-term unemployed					0.72	0.62	0.84	**
Education level								
No academic of professional qualifications					2.49	2.37	2.62	**
Primary					1.47	1.40	1.55	**
Secondary					1.17	1.11	1.23	**
Tertiary					1			
Other					1.35	1.23	1.47	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					3.14	3.03	3.25	**
Rents private housing					1.91	1.83	2.00	**
Lives rent free					6.25	5.51	7.09	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					1.54	1.48	1.60	**
Separated					1.37	1.29	1.46	**
Divorced					1.44	1.39	1.49	**
Widowed					1.30	1.21	1.39	**

Table S19. Full regression table, health domain: reports good to very good health, men

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model		
	OR	95% CIs	Sig.	OR	95% CIs	Sig.
Windrush generation						
White British, UK-born	1			1		
G1-5	0.92	0.79 1.06		1.32	1.13 1.55	**
G2-0	0.76	0.69 0.83	**	1.10	0.99 1.22	+
G2-5	0.54	0.48 0.62	**	0.95	0.83 1.09	
Age (5-year bands)						
40-44	1			1		
45-49	0.79	0.77 0.81	**	0.75	0.73 0.77	**
50-54	0.61	0.59 0.62	**	0.55	0.53 0.56	**
55-59	0.43	0.42 0.44	**	0.38	0.37 0.39	**
60-64	0.34	0.33 0.35	**	0.29	0.29 0.30	**
Region of residence						
The North & Yorkshire				1		
The Midlands				1.10	1.07 1.13	**
East England				1.29	1.25 1.33	**
Inner London				1.23	1.16 1.30	**
Outer London				1.20	1.15 1.25	**
The South				1.27	1.24 1.30	**
Wales				0.94	0.90 0.97	**
Socio-economic occupational category						
Higher managerial				1		
Lower managerial				0.87	0.83 0.90	**
Intermediate				0.71	0.68 0.74	**
Small employers				0.70	0.67 0.73	**
Lower supervisory				0.62	0.59 0.64	**
Semi-routine				0.58	0.55 0.60	**
Routine				0.57	0.55 0.59	**
Has never worked				0.26	0.24 0.28	**
Is long-term unemployed				0.51	0.48 0.54	**
Education level						
No academic or professional qualifications				0.46	0.44 0.47	**
Primary				0.73	0.71 0.76	**
Secondary				0.78	0.76 0.80	**
Tertiary				1		
Other				0.68	0.65 0.71	**
Housing tenure						
Owns own home				1		
Rent social housing				0.32	0.31 0.33	**
Rents private housing				0.58	0.56 0.60	**
Lives rent free				0.47	0.43 0.51	**
Civil status						
Married/civil partnership				1		
Single				0.60	0.59 0.61	**
Separated				0.72	0.69 0.75	**
Divorced				0.67	0.65 0.68	**
Widowed				0.65	0.60 0.69	**

Table S20. Full regression table, health domain: reports good to very good health, women

	Age-standardised (baseline) model			Age- & ses-standardised (adjusted) model				
	OR	95% CIs		Sig.	OR	95% CIs		Sig.
Windrush generation								
White British, UK-born	1				1			
G1-5	0.68	0.60	0.78	**	0.76	0.66	0.88	**
G2-0	0.67	0.61	0.73	**	0.79	0.72	0.87	**
G2-5	0.48	0.43	0.55	**	0.77	0.67	0.88	**
Age (5-year bands)								
40-44	1				1			
45-49	0.78	0.76	0.81	**	0.75	0.73	0.77	**
50-54	0.59	0.57	0.60	**	0.55	0.53	0.56	**
55-59	0.45	0.44	0.46	**	0.43	0.41	0.44	**
60-64	0.57	0.55	0.59	**	0.54	0.52	0.56	**
Region of residence								
The North & Yorkshire					1			
The Midlands					1.05	1.02	1.08	**
East England					1.23	1.19	1.27	**
Inner London					1.21	1.14	1.28	**
Outer London					1.20	1.15	1.26	**
The South					1.24	1.21	1.27	**
Wales					0.89	0.86	0.92	**
Socio-economic occupational category								
Higher managerial					1			
Lower managerial					0.78	0.75	0.82	**
Intermediate					0.72	0.68	0.76	**
Small employers					0.72	0.68	0.76	**
Lower supervisory					0.55	0.52	0.59	**
Semi-routine					0.54	0.51	0.57	**
Routine					0.46	0.44	0.49	**
Has never worked					0.22	0.20	0.23	**
Is long-term unemployed					0.55	0.51	0.60	**
Education level								
No academic or professional qualifications					0.47	0.45	0.48	**
Primary					0.75	0.72	0.77	**
Secondary					0.85	0.83	0.87	**
Tertiary					1			
Other					0.67	0.63	0.70	**
Housing tenure								
Owns own home					1			
Rent social housing					0.34	0.33	0.35	**
Rents private housing					0.55	0.53	0.56	**
Lives rent free					0.48	0.43	0.55	**
Civil status								
Married/civil partnership					1			
Single					0.71	0.69	0.73	**
Separated					0.77	0.74	0.80	**
Divorced					0.72	0.70	0.74	**
Widowed					0.77	0.73	0.81	**

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