Changing living arrangements, family dynamics and stress during lockdown: evidence from four birth cohorts in the UK

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Abstract

On 23 March 2020 the UK went into lockdown in an unprecedented step to attempt to limit the spread of coronavirus. Since then, many families have found themselves spending an unprecedented amount of time together, with some facing the additional challenge of adapting to changes in who they are living with as some families have found themselves unexpectedly brought back together. School and university closures, the move to remote working, furlough or the loss of employment have all meant that many adult children who had previously left the parental home have returned. Other individuals have moved to provide care and support for a family member or friend who has been 'shielding', and conversely some vulnerable and/or older people have moved in with a younger relative or friend. This paper provides an overview of the changes in living arrangements during the Covid-19 pandemic, drawing upon recently available data from five large scale nationally representative surveys, including the second wave of Understanding Society Covid-19 Study, conducted in May 2020 and the special Covid-19 surveys conducted with the participants of the 1958, 1970, 2000-01 British birth cohorts and Next Steps (born in 1989-90). The paper then goes on to explore the impact of the unexpected changes in living arrangements on well-being and familial relationships, as measured by self-reported stress and interpersonal conflict.

Data from the Understanding Society May Covid-19 survey shows that for most of the respondents (95.5%) their living arrangements during the three months since 1st March 2020 had not changed. Just over 2% had changed their address and a further 1.5% reported other people had moved in, whilst under 1% reporting people moving out. However, the likelihood of having changed living arrangements varied significantly by age with one in seven of those aged 20-24 reporting a change in living arrangements. Young people aged 16-29 accounted for over half (57%) of all respondents reporting that they had moved themselves. By contrast, respondents in mid-life (45-59) and early later life (60-74) accounted for the majority of respondents reporting other people had moved in or out. Analysis of the cohort data confirmed this picture with nearly a quarter (24%) of the Millennium Cohort Study, currently aged 19 reporting a change in the people they were living with as a result of covid-19, compared to under one in ten of the 1958 cohort, now aged 62. Logistic regression models were used to assess the odds of reporting increased stress and conflict increase amongst those respondents who had experienced a change in living arrangement change compared to those who had not. The results provide strong evidence that those individuals whose living arrangements have changed as a result of the covoid-19 pandemic have a higher likelihood of reported increased stress and family conflict than those whose living arrangements remained unchanged. This has important implications for public health and wider policy as prolonged periods of stress can lead to serious health problems and policy makers need to be mindful that services may need to flex to take these new, albeit for many temporary, forms of living into account.

Keywords: Covid-19, pandemic, living arrangements, family relationships, stress

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Competing interest

Authors declare no competing interest.

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Introduction:

The last six months following the outbreak of Covid-19 in the UK has seen many families unexpectedly brought back together. School and university closures, the move to remote working, furlough or the loss of employment have all meant that many adult children who had previously left the parental home have returned. Other individuals have moved to provide care and support for a family member or friend who has been 'shielding', and conversely some vulnerable and/or older people have moved in with a younger relative or friend. Concerns around the risk of infection from Covid-19 have also stimulated changes in living arrangements, with key workers moving out of the household to protect their families or to be closer to their job. Others have chosen to move as they did not want to live on their own during such uncertain times and some have simply been unable to travel back home.

The circumstances and stories of individual families have been picked up in the press; see for example, the case of Jen and her two children spending lockdown with parents reported in the BBC on 4th April https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-52121697 and the millennials and their 'interrupted zoom calls' in the Independent on 15th May https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/fashion/features/coronavirus-lockdown-live-parents-family-work-home-a9445026.html, with many of the articles focussing on the difficulties of people adjusting to their changed living arrangements, alongside the challenges of remote working and home schooling. This paper aims to complement these individual narratives by providing an overview of the changes in living arrangements during the Covid-19 pandemic, drawing upon recently available data from five large scale nationally representative surveys, including the second wave of Understanding Society Covid-19 Study, conducted in May 2020 and the special Covid-19 surveys conducted with the participants of the 1958, 1970, 2000-01 British birth cohorts and Next Steps (born in 1989-90).

A recent study of parents living with children under 18 based on the Understanding Society Covid-19 Study found that spending additional time together during lockdown has strengthened family bonds (Perelli-Harris and Walzenbach, 2020). Whether this positive experience is mirrored amongst those older parents 'reunited' with adult children or amongst adult children unexpectedly finding themselves back 'home', is an open question. Prior to the pandemic, research highlighted that more young adults were living with their parents into their 20s and 30s; some of whom had never left, whereas others were returning to their parents' home ((Billari and Liefbroer, 2007; Stone et al., 2011; Falkingham et al., 2016; Stone et al. 2014). Further research had begun to shed light on the possible implications of intergenerational co-residence for the health and wellbeing of both older and younger generations (Copp, 2017; Tosi and Grundy, 2018). Some studies indicated a positive impact of co-residence with adult children on parents' well-being (Aranda, 2015; Courtin and Avendano, 2016), whereas others found that older parents living with adult children are more likely to report depressive symptoms or poor quality of life (Aquilino and Supple, 1991; Tosi and Grundy, 2018). One study analysing depressive symptoms amongst young adults found that those returning to the parental home (boomeranging) as compared with staying or living independently, experienced higher levels of depressive symptoms. The effect of returning home on depressive symptoms was significantly more positive for those citing employment problems as a rationale for returning home (Copp, 2017). These findings suggest that the implications of intergenerational co-residence for parental or children's health and well-being may vary depending on whether co-residence is a response to parental or to children's needs, whether it reflects a continuation of an existing living arrangement or a change in living arrangement, as well as by cultural and institutional context. Covid-19 provides a unique opportunity to examine the association between changing

living arrangements, family relationships and mental health, as measured by self-reported stress and interpersonal conflict.

This study aims to address the following questions:

- What has been the scale of changes in living arrangements in the period from when the lockdown was announced in March 2020, through to its easing in May 2020?
- What have been the main drivers of these changes?
- How have these drivers varied across different stages of the life course?
- Have these changes in living arrangements been associated with a reduction or increase in stress and interpersonal conflict? And has this varied across cohorts?

Data and Methods

This study draws upon two distinct but complementary sources of data. The initial overview of household changes analyses data drawn from the second wave of the *Understanding Society Covid-19 Study*, conducted in May 2020 (University of Essex, 2020). Information was collected via a web survey and for those sample members living in households where no-one was a regular internet user (according to previous data from annual interviews), postal invitations were sent to participate in the survey by telephone. The analytical sample was all respondents aged 16 and over, resulting in a final sample size of 14,789.

The May Covid-19 survey contained a number of questions on household relationships, including:

Has your living arrangement changed since March 1st? Please select all that apply.

1. I moved to my current address
2. Other people have moved into my address
3. Other people I lived with have moved out
4. My living arrangement has not changed

For those who answered '(1) I moved to my current address', they were then asked *Why did you move to this household? Please select all that apply*.

1. To live with a partner
2. I separated from a partner
3. My parents split up
4. Other problems with/between people I was living with
5. To provide support or care for family member or friend living here
6. I am a keyworker and wanted to protect my family
7. I am a keyworker and wanted to be closer to my job
8. I moved out of a care home or other institution
9. I need support or care from my family/friends living here
10. To share expenses/bills with people living here
11. I do not want to live on my own at the moment
12. I left university/college/school accommodation to move here
13. Other (free text box)

For those who answered '(2) Other people have moved into my address', they were then asked *Thinking of each person who has come to live with you since March 1st, what are the reasons why they moved in? Please select all that apply*.

1. To live with a partner
2. To separate from a partner

3. Their parent/guardian or other people they were living with separated
4. Other problems with/between the people they were living with
5. To provide support or care for family member or friend living here
6. They are a keyworker and wanted to protect their family
7. They are a keyworker and wanted to be closer to their job
8. A person they normally live with is a keyworker
9. They moved out of a care home or other institution
10. They need support or care from family/friends living here
11. To share expenses/bills with people living here
12. They do not want to live on their own at the moment
13. They left university/college/school accommodation to move here
14. Other (free text box)

For those that answered '(3) Other people I lived with have moved out', they were then asked *Thinking of each person who has left this household since March 1st, what are the reasons why they left? Please select all that apply*.

1. To live with a partner
2. To separate from a partner
3. Children moved out with their parent/guardian
4. Other problems with someone living here
5. To provide support or care for family member or friend living elsewhere
6. They are a keyworker and wanted to protect their family
7. They are a keyworker and wanted to be closer to their job
8. They need support or care from family/friends living elsewhere
9. To share expenses/bills with people living elsewhere
10. They went into hospital or care home
11. They went to university/college/school accommodation
12. They died
13. Other (free text box)

Detailed information was also collected on household composition and relationships.

The second part of the paper analyses data from the special Covid-19 surveys conducted with the participants of four nationally representative cohort studies which have been collecting data since childhood. These were: *The Millennium Cohort Study (MCS)*, born in 2000-2002, followed since birth and now aged 19 years; *Next Steps*, born in 1989-1990, followed since adolescence and now aged 30 years; *1970 British Cohort Study (BCS70)* born in 1970, followed since birth and now age 50 years; *National Child Development Study (NCDS)* born in 1958 and now aged 62 years. The total response rate pooled across cohorts was 35.7%, resulting in a sample size of 16,209 of which the MCS contributes 2,528 respondents, Next Steps 1,841 respondents, BCS70 4,1000 respondents and NCDS 5,002 respondents. All the results have been weighted, such that the results are representative of the full cohort of that age.

The specific survey questions used here are:
Have there been any changes to the people you are living with since the Coronavirus outbreak? Yes, No.

If the Cohort Member (CM) is partnered *Have you started living with your partner since the Coronavirus outbreak?* Yes, No.

If the CM is living with children, *Have any of the following occurred since the Coronavirus outbreak?*
- At least one of my children has moved into my home

- At least one of my children has moved out of my home
- I have moved into one of my children's homes
- None of these

If the CM is living with parents (or in-laws), *Have any of the following occurred since the Coronavirus outbreak?*
- At least one of my parents (or in-laws) has moved in with me
- I have moved in with at least one of my parents (or in-laws)
- None of these

If the CM is living with other relatives, *Have any of the following occurred since the Coronavirus outbreak?*
- Someone other than a parent or child has moved into my home
- I have moved into someone other than a parent or child's home
- None of these

Since the Coronavirus outbreak please indicate how the following have changed.
… The amount of stress I've been feeling
- More than before
- Same, no change
- Less than before

… The amount of conflict I have had with people around me.
- More than before
- Same, no change
- Less than before

The outcome variables in this analysis were perceived stress and increase in interpersonal conflict, measured by the CM's self-reported level of stress they have been feeling and the amount of conflict they have had with people around them since the Covid-19 outbreak. For both outcome variables, if the CM reported 'more than before' the response was coded as 1, if was reported as 'same, no change' or 'less than before', it was coded as 0.

The key independent variable of living arrangements change was binary. All the CMs were asked whether there have been any changes to the people they were living with since the Covid-19 outbreak. If the CM reported 'Yes', the living arrangements change variable was coded as 1, if the CM reported 'No', it was coded as 0.

Other control variables included demographic (cohort, sex, number of household member, at least one dependent child(ren) 0-16 years in the household), socio-economic (NS-SEC, being a keyworker, financial concern) and health (long-standing illness) factors. We also controlled for the number of rooms per person, 0-4 years children schooling arrangement change and whether household care needs were met. The cohort referred to four cohorts: NCDS, BCS70, Next Steps and MCS. The number of household members were classified into 4 categories; 1 person, 2-3 persons, 4-5 persons, and 6 or more persons. The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC) included: 1. Large employers and higher managerial and administrative occupations/ higher professional occupations; 2. Lower managerial administrative and professional occupations; 3. Intermediate occupations; 4. Small employers and own account workers; 5. Lower supervisory and technical occupations; 6. Semi-routine occupations; 7. Routine occupations; 8. Not classifiable; and 9. Not employed or self-employed. All CMs were asked 'How the CM is managing financially compared to before the outbreak'. Financial concern was classified into three categories worse off, about the same and better off.

Statistical analysis

Descriptive statistical analysis, including bi-variate crosstabulations, was conducted to provide an overview of household change during Covid-19. Independent associations between living arrangements change and stress, as well as interpersonal conflict increase, are then investigated using separate multivariable logistic regression analyses with 95% CIs using 'no change' as the reference group within each cohort. The following covariates were accounted for in the statistical model: sex, number of household members, at least one dependent child(ren) 0-16 years, financial concern, NS-SEC, being a key worker and having a long-standing illness.

Results

(i) The national picture

Analysing data from the Understanding Society May Covid-19 survey shows that for most of the respondents (95.5%) their living arrangements had not changed (Table 1). Just over 2% had changed their address and a further 1.5% reported other people had moved in, whilst under 1% reported people moving out.

Table 1: Percentage reporting a change in living arrangements in 3 months March to May 2020

Since March 1st 2020 …..	N	%
I moved to my current address	259	2.2
Other people have moved into my address	298	1.5
Other people I lived with have moved out	121	0.8
My living arrangement has not changed	14123	95.6

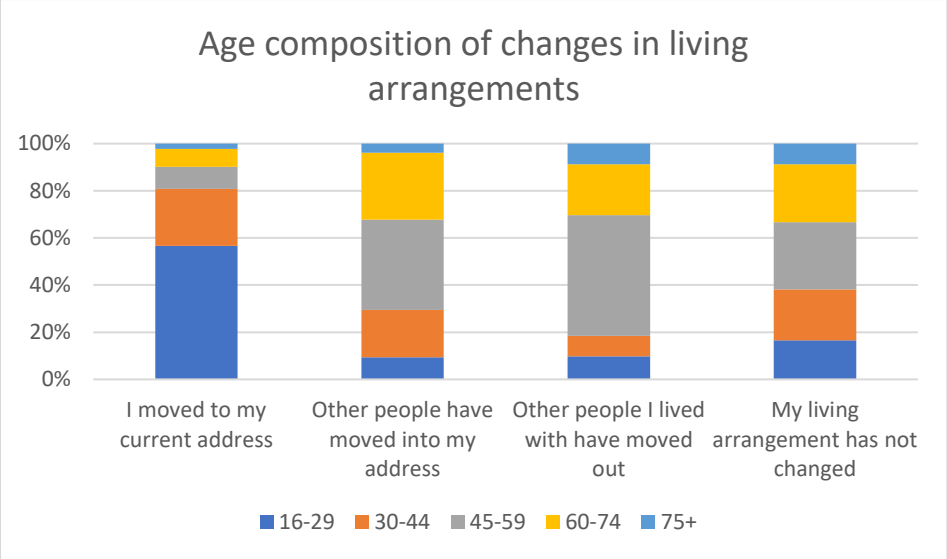
Source: authors' analysis, Understanding Society May Covid-19 survey
(NB 15 people mentioned more than one change) Unweighted N, Weighted %.

The likelihood of having changed living arrangements during the three months since 1st March 2020 varied significantly by age, with nearly one in ten of those aged 16-29 years reporting a change in living arrangements (this rose to one in seven amongst those aged 20-24 years), with the majority of those doing so reporting that they themselves had done the moving. As Figure 1 shows, young people aged 16-29 years accounted for over half (57%) of all respondents reporting that they had moved themselves. By contrast, respondents in mid-life (45-59 years) and early later life (60-74 years) accounted for the majority of respondents reporting other people had moved in or out.

Table 2: Percentage reporting a change in living arrangements in 3 months March to May 2020 by age group

Age Group	**16-29yrs**	**30-44yrs**	**45-59yrs**	**60-74yrs**	**75+yrs**
Since March 1st 2020 …..					
I moved to my current address	7.2%	2.5%	0.7%	0.7%	0.6%
Other people have moved into my address	0.8%	1.4%	2.0%	1.8%	0.7%
Other people I lived with have moved out	0.4%	0.3%	1.4%	0.7%	0.8%
My living arrangement has not changed	**91.5%**	96.1%	95.9%	96.9%	97.9%
(N)	(1,644)	(2,987)	(4,627)	(4,348)	(1,183)

Source: authors' analysis, Understanding Society May Covid-19 survey
Unweighted N, Weighted %.



It is interesting to examine the reasons given for the changes in living arrangements, highlighting the diversity of motivations for changing address during the pandemic. Of the 259 sample members who moved to a new address:

- 17 moved to live with a partner
- 15 separated from a partner
- 4 moves because of problems with the people they were living with
- 19 moved in to provide support/care for family member/ friend resident at new address
- 7 moved as they needed support or care from family member/ friend resident at new address
- 4 were a key worker and wanted to protect family
- 3 were a key worker and wanted to be closer to job
- 6 moved to share bills
- 11 moved as they did not want to live on their own
- 38 moved from university/college accommodation
- 107 cited other reasons, including 32 to buy and 17 evicted

Of the 298 sample members who reported other people had moved into the sample members' household:

- 47 reported that their partner moved in
- 8 people moved into household because they had separated from their partner
- 15 moved because of problems with the people they were living with
- 24 moved in to provide support/care for family member/ friend in the household
- 44 moved as they needed support or care from family member/ friend resident in the household
- 7 moved in because the person they usually lived with is a key worker
- 10 to share bills
- 44 as they did not want to live on own
- 59 moved from university/college accommodation
- 78 cited other reasons including 26 'chose to isolate here', 10 unbale to travel home, 12 new baby, 3 for childcare, 12 lost accommodate or job and moved back

Of those 121 sample members who reported household members had moved out:

- 44 moved out to live with partner
- 10 moved out to separate from partner

- 6 children moved out with their parent
- 7 moved out due to problems
- 5 moved out to support/ care for family or friend living elsewhere
- 10 moved out as key worker and wanted to support family
- 3 moved out as needed care
- 3 went into hospital/ care home
- 5 to share bills
- 5 moved to university/college/ school accommodation
- 4 died
- 25 cited other reasons, including 12 bought their own home, 6 moved back to their home, 4 moved because someone else in the household was shielding

More detailed analysis is constrained by the low sample sizes of movers within sub-groups in the Understanding Society Covid-19, thus in the next section of the paper we turn our attention to the four birth cohorts.

(ii) differences in changes in living arrangements across birth cohorts

Around one in six (15.4%) cohort members reported a change in the people they were living with as a result of Covid-19. This varied across cohorts, with nearly a quarter (24.3%) of the MCS (aged 19) reporting a change, compared to under one in ten of the NCDS (aged 62) (Table 3).

Table 3. Household size, type and living arrangements change by cohorts.

	NCDS (age 62) N=5002	**BCS70 (age 50) N=4100**	**Next Steps (age 30) N=1841**	**MCS (age 19) N=2528**	**Total N=16209**
Living arrangement change because of COVID-19					
Yes	11.5	14.6	15.3	24.3	15.4
No	88.5	85.4	84.7	75.7	84.6
Household size					
1 person	25.3	18.2	11.0	2.2	16.8
2-3 persons	64.2	46.2	62.7	29.1	51.9
4-5 persons	8.8	32.2	22.6	53.5	26.3
6+ persons	1.7	3.4	3.8	15.1	5.1
Mean household size	2.2 (SD=1.2)	2.9 (SD=1.5)	2.9 (SD=1.5)	4.2 (SD=1.5)	2.9 (SD=1.5)
Household type					
Single person	25.3	18.2	11.0	2.2	16.8
Couple only	43.7	17.1	29.5	1.1	25.6
Couple with children	18.0	46.7	28.8	0.2	24.6
Single parent with children	3.0	6.8	3.4	0.3	3.7
With parent/in laws	1.5	2.2	16.4	83.9	19.6
Three generation	3.4	3.3	3.3	4.1	3.5
With other relatives	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.9	0.8
Non-relative households	1.7	2.2	4.6	2.9	2.5
Unknown	2.6	2.7	2.5	4.4	3.0
Household with at least one dependent child(ren) aged 0-16yrs	3.3	37.2	32.7	0.9	17.0
Household with at least one child(ren) aged 0-4yrs	0.3	1.9	25.2	0.7	4.3
Household with at least one child(ren) aged 5-16yrs	3.1	36.3	15.6	0.2	14.2

Source: authors' analysis, COVID-19 Survey in Four National Longitudinal Cohort Studies (2020). Weighted %, Unweighted N.

The average household size among the four cohorts in the survey was 2.9 persons. NCDS cohort members reported the lowest household size, averaging 2.2 persons, whilst the MCS respondents were living in households of almost twice this size (4.2 persons). This reflects the fact that the majority of MCS members are living with parents (or in-laws) (83.9%), whilst a quarter (25.3%) of NCDS members are living alone, reflecting their age and associated stage of the lifecourse. One-third of BCS70 and Next Steps cohort members live with at least one dependent child aged 0-16 years. A small proportion of respondents, across all cohorts, live in a three-generation household (3.5%).

Consistent with the analysis we presented of the national picture earlier in this paper, the dominant patterns of living arrangements change in the four birth cohorts involve either younger cohorts moving back to the parental home, or older cohorts reporting that children moved in (**Table 4**). It should be noted that all percentages in this table are *amongst* those respondents who reported a change in living arrangements and who are currently living with the specified type of family member (partner, child, parent etc). What the results in this table indicate therefore is that amongst those household types, the importance of the Covid-19 pandemic in leading to that living arrangement. For example, of those in the Millennium Cohort Study (age 19) who report living with a partner, four out of five (81.4%) had started living with their partner as a result of the pandemic. However, those starting to live with their partner accounted for just 59 respondents out of the total MCS sample of 2,528.

Table 4. Amongst those reporting a change in living arrangements change due to Covid-19, type of change reported (%)

	Total	NCDS (age 62)	BCS70 (age 50)	Next Steps (age 30)	MCS (age 19)
Started living with the partner	15.1 (N=1025)	6.4 (N=423)	7.6 (N=393)	33.3 (N=150)	81.4 (N=59)
At least one of the CM's children moved in	34.9 (N=1109)	40.5 (N=496)	35.5 (N=507)	1.0 (N=96)	40.0 (N=10)
At least one of the CM's children moved out	10.3 (N=1109)	7.7 (N=496)	13.0 (N=507)	8.3 (N=96)	20.0 (N=10)
Other living arrangement change involved the CM's children	55.6 (N=1109)	53.0 (N=496)	52.0 (N=507)	88.5 (N=96)	50.0 (N=10)
The CM moved in with parent/in-laws	43.4 (N=670)	32.0 (N=25)	38.7 (N=31)	41.1 (N=95)	44.7 (N=519)
At least one of the parents moved in with the CM	4.6 (N=670)	52.0 (N=25)	25.8 (N=31)	6.3 (N=95)	0.8 (N=519)
Non-parent/child household member moved in with CM	21.8 (N=804)	33.9 (N=118)	37.8 (N=111)	32.1 (N=78)	13.7 (N=497)

Source: authors' analysis, COVID-19 Survey in Five National Longitudinal Cohort Studies (2020). Weighted % & N---- The number of respondents included the CM who in a specific living arrangement and reported a change to the people they were living with.

Among those who reported a change in the people they were living with since the pandemic and who were currently living with parent(s) (or in-laws), 44.7% of the MCS and 41.1% of Next Steps cohort members reported they moved into the parents' (or in-laws') home (Table 4).

Among those who reported a living arrangements change and currently living with children, 40.5% of respondents from the NCDS and 35.5% from the BSC70 reported that at least one of the cohort member's children had moved in with them (Table 4).

iii) Family dynamics in coping with lockdown and increased stress and conflict

How are changes in living arrangements due to Covid-19 associated with the level of stress and conflict with people around them, and how does this vary across cohorts? Amongst all the cohort survey members, half of them reported no change in the level of stress since the Covid-19 pandemic, 36.9% reported more stress than before, while 10.7% reported less than before (Table 5). However, this varied between those whose living arrangements had changed and those that had remained unchanged, with those whose household composition had changed being significantly more likely to report increased levels of stress (47.3% vs 36.9%). The differences were significant across all four cohorts.

The majority of the respondents (77.1%) reported no change in the level of conflict with people around them, and a slightly higher proportion of respondents reported less conflict than before (13.7%) compared to that of reporting more conflict than before (9.2%). This varied across cohorts, with younger cohorts being more likely to report increased conflict than older cohorts. Interestingly, again those who had changed their living arrangements were more likely to report an elevated level of conflict than those who did not, and these differences were significant across cohorts, except the BCS70.

Table 5. Cross-tabulation between living arrangements change due to Covid-19 by changes in the level of stress cohort members have been feeling, and change in conflict cohort members had with people around them (%).

Cohort group of respondent			Post-C19: Whether HH composition changed since outbreak		Total	P
			Yes	No		
NCDS	Post-C19: Change in amount of stress CM has been feeling	More than before	47.5	30.3	32.3	<0.001
		Same - no change	45.8	62.6	60.7	
		Less than before	6.7	7.1	7.0	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	
BCS70	Post-C19: Change in amount of stress CM has been feeling	More than before	49.3	37.2	38.9	<0.001
		Same - no change	40.1	51.8	50.1	
		Less than before	10.7	11.0	11.0	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Next Steps	Post-C19: Change in amount of stress CM has been feeling	More than before	54.5	43.2	44.9	0.004
		Same - no change	37.5	46.2	44.9	
		Less than before	7.9	10.6	10.2	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	
MCS CM	Post-C19: Change in amount of stress CM has been feeling	More than before	42.1	35.4	37.1	<0.001
		Same - no change	37.6	47.5	45.0	
		Less than before	20.3	17.0	17.9	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Total	Post-C19: Change in amount of stress CM has been feeling	More than before	47.3	35.0	36.9	<0.001
		Same - no change	40.6	54.6	52.4	
		Less than before	12.2	10.4	10.7	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	
NCDS	Post-C19: Change in amount of conflict CM had with people around them	More than before	13.2	3.3	4.5	<0.001
		Same - no change	76.3	83.7	82.8	
		Less than before	10.5	13.0	12.7	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	
BCS70	Post-C19: Change in amount of conflict CM had with people around them	More than before	8.4	7.5	7.6	0.078
		Same - no change	74.3	78.6	78.0	
		Less than before	17.2	13.9	14.4	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Next Steps	Post-C19: Change in amount of conflict CM had with people around them	More than before	19.0	9.3	10.8	<0.001
		Same - no change	69.6	76.8	75.7	
		Less than before	11.5	13.9	13.5	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	
MCS CM	Post-C19: Change in amount of conflict CM had with people around them	More than before	25.8	18.4	20.3	<0.001
		Same - no change	59.6	67.1	65.2	
		Less than before	14.6	14.5	14.5	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Total	Post-C19: Change in amount of conflict CM had with people around them	More than before	16.5	7.9	9.2	<0.001
		Same - no change	69.7	78.5	77.1	
		Less than before	13.8	13.6	13.7	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	

Source: authors' analysis, COVID-19 Survey in Five National Longitudinal Cohort Studies (2020). Weighted %, Unweighted N=15322 and 15277 respectively (missing value 887 and 932 for stress and conflict variable).

Logistic regression models were used to assess the odds of reporting increased stress and conflict increase amongst those respondents who had experienced a change in living arrangements, compared to those who had not. Separate models were run for each cohort, as the control variables can be hypothesised to operate differently for individuals at different stages of the lifecourse. The results provide strong evidence that those individuals whose living arrangements have changed as a result of the Covoid-19 pandemic have a higher likelihood of reporting increased stress and interpersonal conflict than those whose living arrangements remained unchanged. Table 6 shows evidence of a higher odds of reporting increased levels of stress amongst those respondents who changed living arrangements in the NCDS, BCS70 and MCS (OR=1.47, 1.31 and 1.24 respectively) and a higher odds of reporting increased conflict with people around them in both NCDS and MCS (OR=2.4 and 1.57 respectively) (**Table 6**).

Table 6. Adjusted odds ratios and 95% confidence interval of increased stress as well as conflict among each cohort.

	Living arrangement change because of COVID-19	**NCDS (age 62)**	**BCS70 (age 50)**	**Next Steps (age 30)**	**MCS (age 19)**
Increased stress (amount of stress CM has been feeling more than before)	No (ref)				
	Yes	1.47*** (1.21 to 1.78)	1.31** (1.08 to 1.60)	1.06 (0.79 to 1.42)	1.24* (1.01 to 1.51)
Increased conflict (amount of conflict CM had with people around them more than before)	No (ref)				
	Yes	2.40*** (1.68 to 3.42)	1.03 (0.73 to 1.47)	1.48 (0.97 to 2.26)	1.57*** (1.25 to 1.98)

Source: authors' analysis, COVID-19 Survey in Five National Longitudinal Cohort Studies (2020).
***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05
Eight separate binary logistic models among each of four cohorts predicting increased stress and increased conflict. Multivariate-adjusted: sex, number of household member, at least one 0-16 dependent children, financial concern, NCES, being a key worker, long-standing illness, number of rooms per person, 0-4 children schooling arrangement change, household care needs met situation.

The full models are presented in the supplementary materials.

Discussion

This paper provides the first empirical evidence regarding the scale and nature of household change during period of lockdown as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic in the UK. The results suggest that young people were the most likely to experience a change in their living arrangements and for most, this was a return to the parental home, thereby also impacting upon the living arrangements of the parents to whom they returned. A key driver in the return to the parental home was returning from school and university, but some also moved as a result of job loss or furlough or because they did not want to live alone during this time. Some also returned to the parental home with their own children, thereby sharing childcare and home schooling with grandparents, or in order to provide care to vulnerable parents. A smaller number of people moved or a variety of other reasons.

This paper also provides evidence of indications of the impact of these changes in living arrangements on two key indicators of well-being, increased levels of stress and interpersonal conflict. The findings from the multi-variate analysis are stark with higher odds of reporting increased levels of stress and conflict amongst both the parental generation and the returning young adults.

The term stress was defined by Hans Selye as the non-specific response of the body to any demand for change (Selye, 1956). The situations and pressures which cause stress are known as stressors. Common external stressors are widely recognised to include major life changes, financial problems, work, and children and

family. Conflicts, demands, fear, expectations, time pressures are a few of the components linked to stress. Stress usually produces both psychological and physiological reactions and long-term exposure to stress can lead to serious health problems. Within a household, members provide and receive emotional, instrumental and financial support. Stress and conflict may come from an individual's perception of the imbalance of resources and demands in the form of support (Hughes and Waite, 2002). Previous research has shown that higher demands without corresponding resources may lead to poorer health through pathways similar to those linked to a lack of social support, whilst when resources equal or exceed demands, household relations may benefit or protect health. (Cohen and Wills, 1985).

At first sight, the changes in living arrangements discussed above may be expected to be associated with positive outcomes, as returning young adults benefit from the resources of the parental home. However, unexpectedly returning to the parental home may run countervailing to expectations around the 'normal' developmental path and young adults may feel a loss of independence (Copp, 2017). Furthermore, during the Covid-19 lockdown, for those young adults who lost their job suddenly and who became dependent on their families to provide for them financially overnight, there was little time to adapt to this situation, leading to familial conflicts and stress (Brooks et al. 2020). For older cohorts, the presence of adult children, and in some cases grandchildren, may also need adjustment, with the time demands from coresident family members likely to increase; finding individual time might be a challenge. Moreover, changes and disruptions in daily life force a person to use mental and physical energy developing habits that are suited to the new situation (Tosi and Grundy, 2018). Both older and younger cohorts may thus feel that the demands made upon them outweigh the resources available to them. This perceived imbalance then poses stress and conflict and risk to individual health (Hughes and Waite, 2002).

This analysis has focussed on stress and interpersonal conflict and future research is planned to extend this analysis to better understand the complex pathways at play, including changes in financial well-being and mental health. This paper nevertheless highlights the need for policy makers to take changes in living arrangements, and the resultant increase in the number of complex intergenerational households, into account when considering the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic. Universal credit has been a lifeline for many families during the pandemic, but claims may be delayed for those whose changes in circumstances are complicated by temporary moves, with extended waiting times adding to stress. Other services such as GP practices may also need to 'flex', recognising that one in ten younger people have changed address during the pandemic – and may move again over the coming months as circumstances change.

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Supllementary material

```
. by coh: logistic stress i.hch i.sex i.size i.numr i.unmet1 i.ch i.chchc i.keyw i.fchang i.soc i.ill
```

```
-> coh = NCDS

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      4,702
                                                LR chi2(23)       =     280.46
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -2839.0778                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0471
```

stress	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
hch						
yes living change	1.468103	.1437236	3.92	0.000	1.211786	1.778635
sex						
female	2.303948	.1616264	11.90	0.000	2.007979	2.643541
size						
2-3	1.039181	.0813863	0.49	0.624	.8913064	1.211589
4-5	1.042107	.1446847	0.30	0.766	.7938393	1.368018
6+	1.249308	.420904	0.66	0.509	.6454932	2.417952
numr						
1 room	1.305607	.3670095	0.95	0.343	.7525533	2.2651
more than 1	1.164908	.2928041	0.61	0.544	.7117688	1.906533
unmet1						
unmet needs	1.388026	.3315688	1.37	0.170	.869089	2.216822
more needs but met	1.899579	.434401	2.81	0.005	1.213395	2.973805
ch						
at least one dependent child aged 0-16	1.123439	.3010309	0.43	0.664	.6644554	1.899473
chchc						
0-4 children schooling change to all stay at home	1.647454	1.615813	0.51	0.611	.2409685	11.26332
keyw						
yes keyworker	1.36386	.1243839	3.40	0.001	1.140618	1.630794
fchang						
worse off	1.67885	.1246771	6.98	0.000	1.451439	1.941892
better off	.8733138	.0838708	-1.41	0.158	.7234743	1.054187
soc						
lower managerial/administrative/professional	.9330001	.1266014	-0.51	0.609	.7151214	1.217261
intermediate	1.007198	.1450418	0.05	0.960	.7595166	1.335649
small employers and own account workers	.9269519	.1783131	-0.39	0.693	.6357931	1.351446
lower supervisory and technical	.8949837	.1900327	-0.52	0.601	.5903081	1.356911
semi-routine	.8708864	.1364073	-0.88	0.377	.6406746	1.18382
routine	.7680389	.1454157	-1.39	0.163	.5299343	1.113126
Not classifiable	.8988703	.3008719	-0.32	0.750	.466424	1.73226
not employed or self-employed	.9888932	.1205621	-0.09	0.927	.778707	1.255812
ill						
at least one long-standing illness	1.290397	.0860736	3.82	0.000	1.132258	1.470622
_cons	.1732412	.0505591	-6.01	0.000	.0977766	.3069499

Note: _cons estimates baseline odds.

```
-> coh = BCS70

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      3,862
                                                LR chi2(23)       =     232.65
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -2472.4599                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0449
```

stress	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
hch						
yes living change	1.316087	.1328801	2.72	0.007	1.079797	1.604084
sex						
female	1.806225	.1345799	7.94	0.000	1.560809	2.09023
size						
2-3	1.144116	.1275753	1.21	0.227	.9195102	1.423587
4-5	1.095787	.1391287	0.72	0.471	.8543809	1.405402
6+	.9579584	.229878	-0.18	0.858	.5985312	1.533227
numr						
1 room	1.063055	.2018904	0.32	0.747	.7326555	1.542453
more than 1	.9238404	.1537281	-0.48	0.634	.6667393	1.280082
unmet1						
unmet needs	2.381789	.6354055	3.25	0.001	1.411961	4.017759
more needs but met	1.496827	.4300147	1.40	0.160	.8523829	2.628502
ch						
at least one dependent child aged 0-16	1.06956	.0877142	0.82	0.412	.9107482	1.256064
chchc						
0-4 children schooling change to all stay at home	1.653988	.48001	1.73	0.083	.9364875	2.92121
keyw						
yes keyworker	1.254117	.0960523	2.96	0.003	1.079307	1.457241
fchang						
worse off	1.820865	.1459254	7.48	0.000	1.556187	2.130559
better off	.8737633	.0791114	-1.49	0.136	.7316867	1.043428
soc						
lower managerial/administrative/professional	1.173059	.1213944	1.54	0.123	.9577075	1.436834
intermediate	.9273004	.109014	-0.64	0.521	.7364659	1.167584
small employers and own account workers	.9157119	.1626597	-0.50	0.620	.6464847	1.297058
lower supervisory and technical	.7177307	.1412462	-1.69	0.092	.4880327	1.055539
semi-routine	1.144546	.1560259	0.99	0.322	.8761866	1.4951
routine	.6468025	.1142357	-2.47	0.014	.4575471	.9143396
Not classifiable	.9131397	.2527646	-0.33	0.743	.5307837	1.57093
not employed or self-employed	1.081995	.1436279	0.59	0.553	.8341301	1.403514
ill						
at least one long-standing illness	1.27449	.088128	3.51	0.000	1.112956	1.45947
_cons	.2720631	.0596137	-5.94	0.000	.1770749	.4180059

Note: _cons estimates baseline odds.

-> coh = Next Steps

Logistic regression — Number of obs = 1,657; LR chi2(23) = 110.00; Prob > chi2 = 0.0000; Log likelihood = -1088.0375; Pseudo R2 = 0.0481

stress	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
hch						
yes living change	1.063088	.1583713	0.41	0.681	.7938956	1.423558
sex						
female	1.87771	.2133173	5.55	0.000	1.502892	2.346007
size						
2-3	.8540029	.1409518	-0.96	0.339	.6179736	1.180181
4-5	.7280336	.1515001	-1.53	0.127	.4841954	1.094667
6+	.7811934	.2466136	-0.78	0.434	.4207695	1.45035
numr						
1 room	.7223834	.1496407	-1.57	0.116	.4813296	1.084159
more than 1	.7856591	.152729	-1.24	0.215	.53674	1.150017
unmet1						
unmet needs	.7072654	.326832	-0.75	0.454	.2859147	1.749558
more needs but met	1.364544	.5625633	0.75	0.451	.6082201	3.061358
ch						
at least one dependent child aged 0-16	1.77808	.2779783	3.68	0.000	1.308813	2.4156
chchc						
0-4 children schooling change to all stay at home	.7419472	.1437581	-1.54	0.123	.5075116	1.084676
keyw						
yes keyworker	1.227367	.1432759	1.76	0.079	.9763603	1.542904
fchang						
worse off	1.521299	.1954554	3.27	0.001	1.18264	1.956934
better off	.9332672	.1172972	-0.55	0.583	.7294964	1.193957
soc						
lower managerial/administrative/professional	.8751535	.1286235	-0.91	0.364	.6561166	1.167313
intermediate	.9557506	.1691075	-0.26	0.798	.6756716	1.351928
small employers and own account workers	.6660227	.228639	-1.18	0.236	.3398444	1.305263
lower supervisory and technical	.564597	.2003552	-1.61	0.107	.2816292	1.131877
semi-routine	.901611	.1932739	-0.48	0.629	.5923131	1.37242
routine	1.096453	.3352214	0.30	0.763	.6022129	1.99632
Not classifiable	.9892091	.4832624	-0.02	0.982	.3797057	2.577087
not employed or self-employed	1.044399	.202661	0.22	0.823	.7139941	1.527701
ill						
at least one long-standing illness	1.45168	.154082	3.51	0.000	1.179028	1.787384
_cons	.5701403	.1619426	-1.98	0.048	.3267432	.9948486

Note: _cons estimates baseline odds.

-> coh = MCS

Logistic regression — Number of obs = 2,181; LR chi2(23) = 125.85; Prob > chi2 = 0.0000; Log likelihood = -1422.0599; Pseudo R2 = 0.0424

stress	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
hch						
yes living change	1.237011	.1263307	2.08	0.037	1.012614	1.511135
sex						
female	2.10264	.2199235	7.11	0.000	1.712909	2.581044
size						
2-3	.9375907	.4226436	-0.14	0.886	.3875358	2.268374
4-5	.8065716	.361569	-0.48	0.632	.3350173	1.941863
6+	.6810221	.3185007	-0.82	0.411	.2723146	1.703145
numr						
1 room	1.093053	.1694103	0.57	0.566	.8067053	1.481042
more than 1	.8438181	.1110367	-1.29	0.197	.6519895	1.092087
unmet1						
unmet needs	1.513489	.4841573	1.30	0.195	.808508	2.83318
more needs but met	1.150073	.3849223	0.42	0.676	.5968064	2.216243
ch						
at least one dependent child aged 0-16	.8391006	.4970023	-0.30	0.767	.2628115	2.679068
chchc						
0-4 children schooling change to all stay at home	2.070074	2.72112	0.55	0.580	.1574268	27.22033
keyw						
yes keyworker	1.814919	.3403419	3.18	0.001	1.256713	2.621069
fchang						
worse off	1.553202	.1752238	3.90	0.000	1.245088	1.937563
better off	1.006085	.1076904	0.06	0.955	.8156854	1.240928
soc						
lower managerial/administrative/professional	.5252327	.3114644	-1.09	0.278	.1642809	1.679254
intermediate	.5766028	.3200215	-0.99	0.321	.1942897	1.711212
small employers and own account workers	.2792932	.1994653	-1.79	0.074	.0688891	1.132323
lower supervisory and technical	.2330361	.1520753	-2.23	0.026	.0648551	.8373411
semi-routine	.5569788	.3007731	-1.08	0.278	.1932782	1.605072
routine	.5119649	.2863685	-1.20	0.231	.1710485	1.532362
Not classifiable	.3093235	.2471011	-1.47	0.142	.0646303	1.480436
not employed or self-employed	.6966504	.366718	-0.69	0.492	.2482796	1.954739
ill						
at least one long-standing illness	1.312999	.1253466	2.85	0.004	1.088939	1.583161
_cons	.6353539	.4349102	-0.66	0.508	.1660941	2.430396

Note: _cons estimates baseline odds.

```
. by coh: logistic conf i.hch i.sex i.size i.numr i.unmet1 i.chchc i.ch i.keyw i.fchang i.soc i.ill

-> coh = NCDS

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      4,679
                                                LR chi2(23)       =      59.80
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -774.37591                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0372
```

conf	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
hch						
yes living change	2.397669	.4346228	4.82	0.000	1.68071	3.420469
sex						
female	1.400731	.2293983	2.06	0.040	1.016139	1.930885
size						
2-3	1.042993	.1978248	0.22	0.824	.719174	1.512617
4-5	1.40002	.4036643	1.17	0.243	.7956266	2.463537
6+	1.435045	.8912157	0.58	0.561	.4248526	4.847222
numr						
1 room	1.693029	.9436381	0.94	0.345	.5678491	5.047727
more than 1	1.109829	.5675643	0.20	0.839	.4073368	3.02384
unmet1						
unmet needs	2.773167	.9980089	2.83	0.005	1.369762	5.614446
more needs but met	.8876736	.4701026	-0.22	0.822	.314388	2.506344
chchc						
0-4 children schooling change to all stay at home	3.722479	4.713661	1.04	0.299	.3111586	44.53307
ch						
at least one dependent child aged 0-16	1.521686	.7605401	0.84	0.401	.5713385	4.052811
keyw						
yes keyworker	1.17631	.2410457	0.79	0.428	.7872198	1.75771
fchang						
worse off	1.224788	.2095088	1.19	0.236	.875904	1.712636
better off	1.112465	.2412254	0.49	0.623	.7272986	1.701608
soc						
lower managerial/administrative/professional	.8529212	.2808239	-0.48	0.629	.447354	1.626172
intermediate	1.310068	.4283542	0.83	0.409	.6902014	2.486635
small employers and own account workers	.6661752	.3522794	-0.77	0.442	.2363009	1.878069
lower supervisory and technical	1.256579	.5868179	0.49	0.625	.5031317	3.138325
semi-routine	1.463335	.5014443	1.11	0.267	.747585	2.864355
routine	1.30414	.5403831	0.64	0.522	.5789226	2.937838
Not classifiable	.5567263	.5818211	-0.56	0.575	.0717913	4.317295
not employed or self-employed	1.048038	.3019733	0.16	0.871	.5958251	1.843468
ill						
at least one long-standing illness	1.242188	.1956596	1.38	0.169	.9122473	1.69146
_cons	.0173604	.0107061	-6.57	0.000	.0051835	.0581427

Note: _cons estimates baseline odds.

```
-> coh = BCS70

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      3,856
                                                LR chi2(23)       =      79.43
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -971.81672                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0393
```

conf	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
hch						
yes living change	1.034534	.1862884	0.19	0.850	.7268906	1.472382
sex						
female	1.251616	.1750687	1.60	0.109	.951503	1.646388
size						
2-3	1.51801	.3461039	1.83	0.067	.9709617	2.373271
4-5	1.366928	.3478495	1.23	0.219	.8301102	2.250896
6+	1.058991	.4667521	0.13	0.897	.4463998	2.512238
numr						
1 room	.5542266	.1697019	-1.93	0.054	.3041255	1.010001
more than 1	.5674467	.1430615	-2.25	0.025	.3461983	.9300905
unmet1						
unmet needs	2.330986	.810112	2.44	0.015	1.17954	4.606453
more needs but met	1.877383	.7889987	1.50	0.134	.823801	4.278418
chchc						
0-4 children schooling change to all stay at home	2.147605	.932854	1.76	0.078	.9166815	5.031418
ch						
at least one dependent child aged 0-16	1.060227	.1571153	0.39	0.693	.792974	1.417551
keyw						
yes keyworker	1.783289	.2520995	4.09	0.000	1.351728	2.352633
fchang						
worse off	1.593785	.232381	3.20	0.001	1.197625	2.120991
better off	1.023842	.177534	0.14	0.892	.7288438	1.438239
soc						
lower managerial/administrative/professional	1.389744	.2927927	1.56	0.118	.9196081	2.10023
intermediate	1.093047	.2644445	0.37	0.713	.680307	1.756196
small employers and own account workers	1.620121	.5258399	1.49	0.137	.8575794	3.060698
lower supervisory and technical	.5619965	.2752397	-1.18	0.239	.2152062	1.467616
semi-routine	1.901814	.4666778	2.62	0.009	1.175697	3.076385
routine	1.71553	.5253097	1.76	0.078	.941355	3.126392
Not classifiable	.6141691	.4549652	-0.66	0.510	.1437916	2.623267
not employed or self-employed	2.318668	.5647444	3.45	0.001	1.438522	3.737324
ill						
at least one long-standing illness	1.177172	.150523	1.28	0.202	.9162164	1.512452
_cons	.0351262	.0137407	-8.56	0.000	.0163176	.0756144

Note: _cons estimates baseline odds.

-> coh = MCS

Logistic regression — Number of obs = 2,180; LR chi2(23) = 98.53; Prob > chi2 = 0.0000; Log likelihood = -1079.3242; Pseudo R2 = 0.0437

conf	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
hch						
yes living change	1.572046	.184122	3.86	0.000	1.249598	1.977698
sex						
female	1.28234	.1613433	1.98	0.048	1.002087	1.640971
size						
2-3	1.322393	.8459271	0.44	0.662	.3774437	4.633073
4-5	1.936993	1.23107	1.04	0.298	.5573657	6.731558
6+	2.02977	1.32589	1.08	0.278	.564187	7.302481
numr						
1 room	1.049802	.1914932	0.27	0.790	.7342441	1.500977
more than 1	.9862777	.1521732	-0.09	0.929	.7288985	1.334539
unmet1						
unmet needs	1.1215	.4046257	0.32	0.751	.5529613	2.274595
more needs but met	.943313	.3737076	-0.15	0.883	.4339498	2.050558
chchc						
0-4 children schooling change to all stay at home	2.368175	2.93832	0.69	0.487	.208105	26.94914
ch						
at least one dependent child aged 0-16	1.111803	.7544266	0.16	0.876	.2940594	4.20359
keyw						
yes keyworker	1.134701	.269097	0.53	0.594	.7128806	1.806117
fchang						
worse off	2.254022	.2970778	6.17	0.000	1.740887	2.918405
better off	1.14748	.1538833	1.03	0.305	.8822559	1.492437
soc						
lower managerial/administrative/professional	.3339558	.3101186	-1.18	0.238	.0541059	2.061262
intermediate	1.059043	.8489174	0.07	0.943	.2200897	5.095978
small employers and own account workers	.807257	.7685453	-0.22	0.822	.1249192	5.216681
lower supervisory and technical	.9783186	.8493121	-0.03	0.980	.1784526	5.363369
semi-routine	1.099768	.863439	0.12	0.904	.2360558	5.12375
routine	.8573722	.6911039	-0.19	0.849	.1766198	4.161974
Not classifiable	2.132388	2.030976	0.80	0.427	.3297207	13.7907
not employed or self-employed	1.348227	1.039097	0.39	0.698	.297667	6.106545
ill						
at least one long-standing illness	1.423702	.1599752	3.14	0.002	1.142282	1.774455
_cons	.0596359	.0595036	-2.83	0.005	.0084371	.4215223

Note: _cons estimates baseline odds.

-> coh = MCS

Logistic regression — Number of obs = 2,180; LR chi2(23) = 98.53; Prob > chi2 = 0.0000; Log likelihood = -1079.3242; Pseudo R2 = 0.0437

conf	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
hch						
yes living change	1.572046	.184122	3.86	0.000	1.249598	1.977698
sex						
female	1.28234	.1613433	1.98	0.048	1.002087	1.640971
size						
2-3	1.322393	.8459271	0.44	0.662	.3774437	4.633073
4-5	1.936993	1.23107	1.04	0.298	.5573657	6.731558
6+	2.02977	1.32589	1.08	0.278	.564187	7.302481
numr						
1 room	1.049802	.1914932	0.27	0.790	.7342441	1.500977
more than 1	.9862777	.1521732	-0.09	0.929	.7288985	1.334539
unmet1						
unmet needs	1.1215	.4046257	0.32	0.751	.5529613	2.274595
more needs but met	.943313	.3737076	-0.15	0.883	.4339498	2.050558
chchc						
0-4 children schooling change to all stay at home	2.368175	2.93832	0.69	0.487	.208105	26.94914
ch						
at least one dependent child aged 0-16	1.111803	.7544266	0.16	0.876	.2940594	4.20359
keyw						
yes keyworker	1.134701	.269097	0.53	0.594	.7128806	1.806117
fchang						
worse off	2.254022	.2970778	6.17	0.000	1.740887	2.918405
better off	1.14748	.1538833	1.03	0.305	.8822559	1.492437
soc						
lower managerial/administrative/professional	.3339558	.3101186	-1.18	0.238	.0541059	2.061262
intermediate	1.059043	.8489174	0.07	0.943	.2200897	5.095978
small employers and own account workers	.807257	.7685453	-0.22	0.822	.1249192	5.216681
lower supervisory and technical	.9783186	.8493121	-0.03	0.980	.1784526	5.363369
semi-routine	1.099768	.863439	0.12	0.904	.2360558	5.12375
routine	.8573722	.6911039	-0.19	0.849	.1766198	4.161974
Not classifiable	2.132388	2.030976	0.80	0.427	.3297207	13.7907
not employed or self-employed	1.348227	1.039097	0.39	0.698	.297667	6.106545
ill						
at least one long-standing illness	1.423702	.1599752	3.14	0.002	1.142282	1.774455
_cons	.0596359	.0595036	-2.83	0.005	.0084371	.4215223

Note: _cons estimates baseline odds.