DOI: 10.1111/cars.12436

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Socioeconomic differences in parental financial support, coresidence, and advice: A portrait of undergraduate students in the Canadian Prairies

Kathrina Mazurik[1] | **Linzi Williamson**[2] | **Sarah Knudson**[3]

[1]Department of Psychology & Health Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada

[2]Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada

[3]Department of Sociology, St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada

Correspondence
Kathrina Mazurik, Department of Psychology & Health Studies, University of Saskatchewan, 9 Campus Drive, 154 Arts, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 5A5 Canada.
Email: kathrina.mazurik@usask.ca

Abstract

In this paper, we examine the intersections of parental support and family socioeconomic background within an undergraduate sample ($N = 596$) in a mid-sized Canadian Prairie city. Coresidence, financial support, and parental and professional financial advice are examined as types of 'family capital' that may be distributed unequally across socioeconomic groups. In keeping with previous literature, findings showed that students whose parents had university education and higher incomes received more robust coverage of their housing and school expenses. Students whose parents were university-educated were also more likely to be living with a parent, though no relationship was found between parental income and coresidence. Contrasting with previous literature, few relationships were found between socioeconomic background and receipt or influence of financial advice. These results contribute to the literature by generalising claims about family capital to a Canadian student sample, where relatively few studies have empirically examined intergenerational transfers as mechanisms for transmitting privilege during the transition to adulthood. With increasing demands for higher education and simultaneous declines in government subsidisation of its costs, disparate access to family capital is likely to intensify the reproduction of social inequality across generations.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, nous examinons les intersections entre le soutien parental et les antécédents socioéconomiques de la famille au sein d'un échantillon d'étudiants de premier cycle (N = 596) dans une ville canadienne de taille moyenne des Prairies. La coresidence, le soutien financier et les conseils financiers parentaux et professionnels sont examinés en tant que types de ‘ capital familial ’ susceptibles d'être répartis de manière inégale entre les groupes socioéconomiques. Conformément à la littérature antérieure, les résultats ont montré que les étudiants dont les parents ont fait des études universitaires et ont des revenus plus élevés bénéficient d'une couverture plus solide de leurs frais de logement et de scolarité. Les étudiants dont les parents ont fait des études universitaires sont également plus susceptibles de vivre avec un parent, bien qu'aucune relation n'ait été établie entre le revenu des parents et la coresidence. Contrairement à la littérature précédente, peu de liens ont été établis entre le milieu socio-économique et l'obtention ou l'influence des conseils financiers. Ces résultats contribuent à la littérature en généralisant les affirmations sur le capital familial à un échantillon d'étudiants canadiens, où relativement peu d'études ont examiné empiriquement les transferts intergénérationnels en tant que mécanismes de transmission des privilèges pendant la transition vers l'âge adulte. Avec l'augmentation de la demande d'enseignement supérieur et la diminution simultanée des subventions gouvernementales pour ses coûts, l'accès disparate au capital familial est susceptible d'intensifier la reproduction de l'inégalité sociale entre les générations.

INTRODUCTION

Young people's transitions to adulthood are frequently undertaken with the support of parents. From the end of adolescence to the early 30s, children may receive assistance through parents' shared living arrangements, payment of tuition or other expenses, provision of financial advice, or even assistance with a down payment on a home (Kozicka, 2017; LeBaron et al., 2018; Mitchell, 2006; Padilla-Walker et al., 2012). Family support to young adults is not a new phenomenon (Comacchio, 1999), nor are lengthy transitions to adulthood (Mitchell, 2006; Settersten & Ray, 2010b), but these trends appear to at least partially reflect new economic realities faced by young entrants to the work market—notably those of globalisation (the outsourcing of work to other countries), automation (the replacement of human labour by technology) and the growth of the knowledge economy (the changing set of skills and training desirable to employers) (Advisory Council on Economic Growth, 2017; Newman, 2012). In Canada, researchers have identified challenges facing young adults, including precarious work (Cairns, 2017; Foster, 2012; Galarneau et al., 2013; Worth, 2018a), increasing costs of home ownership (Catherall, 2017; Clark et al., 2018; Dangerfield, 2021; Sawatzky, 2016), tuition rates that have outpaced inflation (Shaker & Macdonald, 2015) and high student debt loads (Statistics Canada, 2020a). In some cases, parental support buffers young people from financial strain, whereas in other families, intergenerational transfers may help children accumulate savings, climb the housing ladder or participate in higher education (Mazurik et al., 2021; Ploeg et al., 2004; Roberts et al., 2016; Swartz et al. 2011; Turcotte, 2007; Worth, 2021). This support polarity hints that parental buffers and resources are implicated in the social reproduction of privilege and disadvantage, where parental support reifies existing social inequalities, including those related to socioeconomic class (Furstenberg, 2015; Seltzer & Bianchi, 2013; Settersten & Ray, 2010b; Waithaka, 2014; Worth, 2018b).

Among university-attending young adults in particular, parental support often functions as an appreciating investment in the child's future independence and success (Settersten & Ray, 2010a). Such support may insulate students from student and other debt (Houle, 2014), permit focus on studies as opposed to working (Worth, 2018b) and facilitate degree completion (Hamilton, 2013), though it may also undermine grade-based performance and self-efficacy (i.e., perceived competence in one's ability to achieve one's goals, see Hamilton, 2013; Mortimer et al., 2016). Since higher education is increasingly important among young entrants to the job market (Advisory Council on Economic Growth, 2017; Arnett, 2016; Newman, 2012), differential access to family resources among university-attending youth may be especially important as a mechanism of increasing social inequality.

In our research context of Saskatchewan, a challenging financial support landscape has persisted and deepened in recent years. The 2022 provincial budget included a $740 million allocation for education, which—when adjusted for inflation—amounts to a 2.6% reduction in spending (University of Regina Students' Union, 2022). Most of this spending, however, has been directed towards capital investment projects (i.e., physical assets). Between 2020 and 2021, the province's undergraduate tuition fees rose by 5.7%—the second biggest increase nationally after Alberta—bringing the average domestic full-time tuition fee to $6882.50 (in comparison to a national average of $6580; see Statistics Canada, 2020b). For the 2022–2023 year, undergraduate tuition rose again between 3.7% and 3.8% over the prior year (Ratzlaff, 2022). Despite the lower cost of living in Saskatchewan's university cities (i.e., Saskatoon and Regina) as compared to Canada's most expensive university cities (e.g., Vancouver and Toronto), the cost of an undergraduate education in Saskatchewan is nonetheless substantial in the context of most young adults' lives. Rapid post-pandemic inflation in 2021 and 2022 has further affected the university environment by making steeper and continued tuition hikes likely in the near future, and rendering students' ability to afford tuition more difficult as other key living costs rise. As noted above, inflation also prevents government funding from stretching as far. While provincial government supports are currently available for postsecondary students, the Government of Saskatchewan set its 2022–2023 student loan support level at a maximum of $6000 per 8-month academic year, contingent upon financial need (calculated as total student resources minus educational costs; see Government of Saskatchewan, 2022). Considered against an estimated $1500 monthly cost of living for a solo renter in Saskatchewan's university cities (Livingcost, 2022), this level of aid is minimal. Moreover, neither the province nor its universities offer specific financial support to first-generation university students. The most recent Canadian Census showed Saskatoon as the city with the fourth-highest increase in parental coresidence from 2016 to 2021, with 26% of the city's 20 to 34-year-olds living with at least one parent (Statistics Canada, 2022b) and national analyses point to Saskatchewan as the province with the worst intergenerational mobility deterioration between Baby Boomer and Millennial birth cohorts (Connolly et al., 2021).

In light of the broader literature on parental support, and the difficult financial circumstances for postsecondary students in our provincial research context, this paper examines the intersections of parental support and family socioeconomic background within an undergraduate sample in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Coresidence, financial support, and parental and professional financial advice are examined as types of 'family capital' within a family's wide-ranging 'stock of resources' that may be distributed unequally across socioeconomic groups, and thereby contribute to persisting intergenerational inequalities (Waithaka, 2014). While employing Waithaka's broad theoretical framework—with its roots in Bourdieusian theory (2014 , p. 472; Bourdieu, 1986)—encourages us to recognise that various forms of capital work intersectorally in families to help (or hinder) a young adult's financial position and associated opportunities, we centre our analysis on capital exchanges related to finances for two compelling reasons. First, the climate of fiscal austerity, turbulence and rapid inflation in our provincial postsecondary research context (and, indeed, nationally) that we have outlined above suggests that postsecondary students across sociodemographic positions are in a time of particular urgency vis-à-vis access to economic capital. Second, our focus on financial (and, most often, material) dimensions of family capital enables us to consider how intergenerational financial transfers of various kinds *in turn contribute* to the reproduction and accrual of other resources and forms of capital.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Intergenerational transfers come in many forms (Worth, 2018b), and while many are associated with parents' social class, there are nuances depending on the operationalisation of socioeconomic background, type of intergenerational transfer and the context under study. In this section, we draw on American, Canadian, and Australian research to explore the relationship between family socioeconomic background and intergenerational support in terms of financial support, coresidence and financial advice. These contexts were justified based on the insufficiency of Canadian research alone and these countries' similarities as post-industrial, colonial, English-speaking, predominantly white nations with liberal welfare regimes. In nearly all studies, family socioeconomic background is defined by parents' educational attainment or income, though we take stock of differences throughout this section.

Financial support

In the transition to adulthood literature, financial assistance usually refers to adult children (i.e., over the age of 18) receiving money as a gift, loan or direct payment from parents, or to parents partially or fully covering their child's expenses. The nature and extent of financial assistance has been clearly related to family socioeconomic background in American and Australian research. Studies show that parents with higher educational attainment are more likely to provide *any* financial support to young adult children (Hardie & Seltzer, 2016; Manzoni, 2016; Schaller & Eck, 2021; Swartz et al., 2011; Wightman et al., 2012), that they provide more frequent financial support to young adult children (Fingerman et al., 2015), and that they provide on average a greater amount of money to their children (Fingerman et al., 2015). Parents' occupational prestige has also been connected to higher likelihoods of financial transfers and greater transfer amounts (Huang et al., 2021). Examining socioeconomic status (SES) through household income and histories of welfare receipt, researchers have found that higher SES correlates with greater likelihoods of providing financial support (Cobb-Clark & Gørgens, 2014; Padgett & Remle, 2016; Wightman et al., 2012), more frequent financial support (Fingerman et al., 2015) and greater financial amounts to each child on average (Cobb-Clark & Gørgens, 2014; Fingerman et al., 2015; Schoeni & Ross, 2005). As a telling example of this pattern, Wightman et al. (2012) reported that American youth (ages 19–22) whose families were in the top income quartile received seven times more financial assistance than youth whose family incomes were in the bottom quartiles. Few studies have examined post-secondary student samples; those that have evidence correlations between parental income and provision of financial support to university-attending children (Hamilton, 2013; Padilla-Walker et al., 2012). A smaller number of studies have found no connection between parental income or education and the giving of financial support (Hardie & Seltzer, 2016; Swartz et al., 2011) or amounts of financial support provided (Fingerman et al., 2009). Hardie and Seltzer (2016) offer as one possible explanation that wealth may be more connected to the *amount* of support given and less connected to the dichotomy between *whether or not* financial support is given. For their part, Fingerman et al. (2009) interpret this lack of connection as potentially reflecting the blend of support measured (where their model included both non-tangible and tangible forms of support).

Canadian research on the links between parental financial support and socioeconomic class is scant; however, Worth (2018b) reported that among the middle-class population in the Greater Toronto Area (one of the most expensive cities in Canada), parental money transfers for higher education were an expected norm tied to notions about good parenting. Worth (2018b) highlights how these money transfers—in addition to parental co-residence, social connections, and care and emotional support—are just one of many forms of intergenerational transfers that perpetuate wealth and resource inequalities within Canadian families. Rounding out Worth's findings, Statistics Canada research demonstrates an overall deterioration in intergenerational mobility across Canada and a considerable SES participation gap in postsecondary attendance favouring wealthier families (Connolly et al., 2021; Corack et al., 2003). Although the participation gap has narrowed slightly since the mid-1990s—arguably in response to policy changes concerning student loan eligibility parameters—the national context is one of stagnating intergenerational mobility wherein the likelihood of postsecondary attendance reflects SES.

Shared living arrangements

Besides providing cash or covering expenses, parents may support young adult children by offering free or discounted accommodation in their home—a situation commonly referred to as 'coresidence' or 'parental coresidence' in family sociology and related fields (cf., Mazurik et al., 2020; Mitchell et al., 2021). This living arrangement is often motivated by young adults' pursuit of financial independence, higher education, career opportunities, home ownership, or other goals (Roberts et al., 2016; White, 2002; Worth & Tomaszczyk, 2017). Doubling up can also be a strategic choice among family members who lack the financial power to purchase privacy (Mitchell, 2006).

Overall, the relationship between coresidence and parental SES appears to be more ambiguous than that between financial transfers and parental SES. In addition, it would be fair to say that claims about socioeconomic status and coresidence are more challenging to untangle given the number of ways that coresidence is operationalised and measured (e.g., as age of home-leaving and home-returning, probability of living within the parental home, duration of living away from the parental home, probability of returning, number of returns to the parental home, etc.). While a comparison and critique of these measures may be worthwhile for researchers to undertake, this is beyond the scope of the current paper, where our interest resides mainly in exploring connections between SES and a variety of different parental supports.

Parental or family income has not consistently been related to coresidence. While Schoeni and Ross' (2005) American research found that children with more affluent parents did live in their parents' home for longer, other studies in the United States have failed to show connections between parental or family income and probabilities of exiting or remaining in the parental home (Andersson, 2021 ; South & Lei, 2015; Swartz et al., 2011). In Australia, the opposite pattern has been found, with children from lower-income families being more likely to be fully independent (Cobb-Clark & Gørgens, 2014).

Relationships between parental education and coresidence have also shown mixed findings in the United States. Some American studies show that children with more educated parents are less likely to be living at home (Fingerman et al., 2015; Swartz et al., 2011) and more likely to leave home sooner (Goldscheider et al., 2014; Sironi et al., 2015). The opposite findings have been found, too: American, Australian and Canadian research has indicated that children with more educated parents leave home later (De Marco & Berzin, 2008) and children of mothers who worked during the child's younger years are more likely to return home (Bilette et al., 2011). Still, other research reveals no relationships between parental education and the child's probability of living at home, their timing of home-leaving, or the likelihood of them returning after an initial leave (Bilette et al., 2011; De Marco & Berzin, 2008; Krahn et al., 2018; Ward & Spitze, 2007). Finally, findings have sometimes diverged when considering coresidence and fathers' versus mothers' levels of education (Mitchell et al., 2002; South & Lei, 2015), suggesting the value of examining both.

Financial advice

Besides financial support and coresidence, young adults may experience differential access to financial advice. While this aspect of financial support has yet to be systematically explored in the Canadian context, American research has found socioeconomic disparities in access to expert advice within one's social network, such that individuals from upper classes have an expert contact within their network more often than individuals from lower- and working-classes (Cornwell & Cornwell, 2008). Affluent households are more likely to access financial advice compared to middle-class households and lower-income consumers are more likely to view professional financial advice in negative terms, seeing it as difficult to come by, expensive, and/or untrustworthy (Tang & Lachance, 2012; Winchester & Huston, 2015). Class also informs the kinds of issues for which individuals seek advice, with concerns about debt management and insurance being more common among middle-class households and reducing taxes and estate planning being more relevant to more affluent households (Winchester & Huston, 2015). Class differences also shape financial socialisation in families. Compared to college students from lower SES families, college students from higher socioeconomic status families receive more explicit financial parenting (i.e., deliberate lessons about financial management, see Serido et al., 2020). Qualitative research supports and extends this work, albeit with a focus on American families; Luhr (2018) reported that compared to working-class parents, middle-class parents were more proactive in educating their child about financial matters, more open about their finances and more confident teaching financial skills. By contrast, working-class parents were more likely to doubt their financial skills, have less detailed conversations about financial topics, and try to shield their children from financial issues (Luhr, 2018). It remains to be seen whether access to useful financial advice may vary across socioeconomic groups, and how it may differ across national contexts.

Relevant covariates

To highlight the specific role of socioeconomic background, we included several covariates that have been known to relate to constructs under focus in this study. Within Canadian populations, age and gender have both surfaced as predictors of homeleaving trajectories, with the odds of coresidence decreasing over time and with men being more likely to stay in the home longer than women (Krahn et al., 2018; Milan, 2016). In addition, Canadian research has supported linkages between parental coresidence and child's personal income and employment, where carrying fewer resources predicts living at home (Bilette et al., 2011; Milan, 2016; Mitchell et al., 2004). Some American research has also found age to predict financial support to adult children (Hartnett et al., 2013). Race and ethnicity have also been connected to living at home and accessing financial advice (Cornwell & Cornwell, 2008; Milan, 2016). Since international students in Canada are less likely to work while studying (Statistics Canada, 2019) and are charged higher tuition rates, we also included international student status as a covariate.

Synthesis

The issue of social reproduction and intergenerational transfers of privilege is not new; it has been a focus in sociological theorising and research since the inception of the discipline (e.g., Marx, 1977). Nevertheless, Canadian studies examining parental resource transfers to young adults are lacking with some notable exceptions (see Bilette et al., 2011; Mitchell et al., 2002; Worth, 2018a, 2018b, 2021). Improving the generalisability of this research and narrowing the focus to specific *sub*-groups of young adults are important paths forward for bringing nuance to this field of research. In the United States especially, there appear to be well-established connections between socioeconomic background and financial transfers (both in terms of parental income and education). Connections between socioeconomic background and coresidence, seeking or obtaining professional financial advice and seeking or obtaining parental financial advice are more preliminary and/or show more mixed results. By examining a Canadian sample of undergraduate students, in a context and at an historical moment—as noted above—when parental financial support would be particularly welcomed and/or needed, we hope to broaden the scope of this literature geographically while investigating these topics with respect to undergraduate students as a sub-population. We also do so with an awareness that assessing dynamics of financial support within a context of economic turbulence, yet comparatively (i.e., in international perspective) robust state support for postsecondary education may reveal new support patterns and pathways. By doing so, this paper aims to build on existing work on the transmission of privilege via parental support.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Waithaka (2014) has encouraged researchers to use a conceptual framework of 'family capital' to investigate how families transmit advantage to and influence young people's lives through investments of economic capital (resources with monetary value), cultural capital (resources for navigating social systems and institutions—such as the postsecondary educational system—to achieve certain ends), and social capital (social networks and supports). He defines family capital as 'the stock of resources a family possesses that can be consumed or invested to enhance the family's well-being and functioning' (p. 472). We propose that Waithaka's framework offers a compelling explanation of intergenerational resource transfer and social reproduction in our Canadian sample, insofar as parents in immediate family contexts offer their young adult children economic capital through offers of coresidence and financial support (including 'resources with monetary value' that can contribute to enhancing young adults' opportunities and well-being—see Waithaka, 2014, p. 474; Worth, 2021), and transmit cultural capital by offering financial advice (Serido et al., 2020). In instances where young adults seek out professional financial advice, parental exposure to professionals and institutions may serve as an indirect transfer of social capital and comprise part of the family's bundle of family capital (as found in Luhr, 2018), or it may originate entirely outside the immediate family context and derive from a young adult's broader supply of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). As we will later discuss, while Waithaka's proximate and private notion of family capital forms the core of the young adults' financial support and advice, three key components of 'community cultural wealth'—Yosso's more broadly conceptualised domains of familial capital, social capital and navigational capital (2005 ; DaGraca & Dougherty, 2015)—play a secondary role in providing the necessary capital to obtain financial support and knowledge. By navigational capital, Yosso refers—much like Bourdieu's cultural capital, but with more emphasis on oppressive environments—to any skills and strategies that individuals use to navigate through social institutions with structural inequalities and hostilities. Thus, while (dis)advantages connected to transfers of financially-focused capital are frequently located within a private and micro-level family context (e.g., Descartes, 2006 ; Worth, 2018b), they are not limited to private family contexts and should not be understood as such.

Whether derived directly from the immediate family context or more proximally from a young adult's community cultural wealth, capital connected to financial support and advice can then be used in postsecondary institutions to earn institutionalised cultural capital (i.e., credentials and qualifications such as degrees, diplomas and certificates) (Waithaka, 2014, p. 477). Institutionalised cultural capital can be subsequently converted to economic capital in a manner that is less obvious—and therefore less 'censored and controlled'—than direct transmissions of economic capital or power (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 246; Saraceno, 2014, pp. 4–5). Thus, Waithaka's theorisation of institutionalised cultural capital can be understood as comparable to Bourdieu's understanding of symbolic capital, whereby resources gained through honour, prestige, and recognition can—in often unseen or less perceptible ways—advantage and empower individuals as they make their way through environments such as the university system.

Like Waithaka, we further posit that there is a strong incentive for immediate families to invest in this manner when possible because the 'parental investment framework' (Waithaka, 2014, p. 474) suggests that families who invest financial resources in their young adult children can increase the young adults' institutionalised cultural capital. That said, we recognise that such family- or community cultural wealth-based transmissions of capital are wholly or almost entirely private, non-state strategies for navigating the financial aspects of transitioning to adulthood while completing postsecondary education. As such, they largely contribute to the reproduction of social inequalities, although tapping into community cultural wealth and leveraging navigational capital for financial support or advice shows possibilities for challenging the intergenerational transmission of advantage. On one hand, these largely private, non-state transmission dynamics appear striking when noted against a national backdrop of relatively generous state support for postsecondary-attending youth. Yet, when we consider the economically challenging environment that postsecondary institutions currently face in our research context, they can be understood as advantageous and vital to students' progress and success. To sum up, given our research context we acknowledge the need for a theoretical framework that sees the complex and intersecting ways in which various forms of capital affect young adults' pathways through undergraduate education (c.f. Kay & Johnston, 2007; Neves et al., 2019); at the same time, we emphasise the need to place financial capital at the core of our inquiry.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aforementioned research gaps and exploratory focus on the Canadian context led to the formulation of the following research questions: Within this Western Canadian context, how does family socioeconomic background pattern undergraduate students' receipt of intergenerational transfers in the forms of (1) coresidence, (2) financial support, (3) financial advice from parents and (4) financial advice from professionals? Specifically, we were interested in examining the following questions:

1. Is living with one's parents more common among students with more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds?
2. Is parental financial support more common among students with more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds?
3. Do students with more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds report higher rates of receiving (and using) parental financial advice?
4. Do students with more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds report higher rates of receiving (and using) professional financial advice?

PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

This study was granted ethical approval by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Participants were recruited through an Undergraduate Participant Pool which includes student participants from a diversity of colleges and programmes. Participants received one bonus credit towards their final grade in their courses. After providing consent, participants completed an online self-administered questionnaire which took approximately 20–30 min to complete. Once complete, participants were given a debriefing form with details of the research.

Five hundred ninety-six full-time (98.7%) undergraduate students [141males (23.7%), 454 females (76.3%)] with a mean age of 20.38 years (*SD* = 2.51; range = 17–33) participated in the study. These sample characteristics mirror a noted historical trend of college-aged women being more likely to participate in studies recruiting undergraduate participants (Rosenbaum, 1997), and for undergraduate research participant pools to be young and woman-dominated (Dickinson et al., 2012). At the same time, we emphasise that our sample's age and gender composition reflect the demographic profile of undergraduate students at our focal institution, and Canadian universities more broadly: during the period of data collection, women comprised nearly 60% of all students at the university (University of Saskatchewan, 2020), and 70% of students enrolled in postsecondary programs in the social and behavioural sciences (Statista, 2021). Further, mature/special student status at the institution was given to students commencing their undergraduate studies at age 21 or older (University of Saskatchewan, 2021), suggesting that our sample fits the typical age range and mean for students with non-mature/special student status. Most participants reported being white or European (60.8%) and reported being Canadian citizens (48.3%) or permanent residents (21.1%). There was nearly an even split between international students (50.8% of the sample) and non-international students (49.2%). The predominance of white or European participants parallels that of Saskatchewan (where 66% reported European ancestry and 85.6% report being non-visible minority—see Statistics Canada, 2021, as cited by the Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics, 2022). While the sample includes fewer Canadian citizens and permanent residents than the 86% holding these citizenship statuses in Saskatchewan (Statistics Canada, 2021, as cited by the Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics, 2022), it is common for Canadian undergraduate programs to have high percentages of international, non-Canadian students (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2018). Personal incomes within the sample were 0 to $9999 (55.7%), $10,000–$19,999 (31.0%) and more than $20,000 (13.3%). Most participants were working part-time (58.4%) or were unemployed (40.4%) with few working full-time (1.2%), fitting Canadian statistics showing a tendency for most post-secondary students to work part-time while studying (Statistics Canada, 2019).

Socioeconomic status was approximated with participants' reports of their mother's (or female guardian) and father's (or male guardian) highest education and annual income before taxes in the year prior. Education categories were created by separating parents who had completed a Bachelor's degree and those who had not. Table 1 presents the sample frequencies for parental education and income categories.

Measures

Socioeconomic background

Socioeconomic status (SES) was approximated by measuring parental/guardian annual income and education levels (American Psychological Association [APA], 2007). Socioeconomic status was approximated with participants' reports of their mother's (or female guardian) and father's (or male guardian) annual income before taxes in the year prior with the following categories: $0–19,999, $20,000–39,999, $40,000–59,999, $60,000–79,999, $80,000–$99,999, $100,000–119,999, $120,000–139,999 and $140,000 or more. Scales (1 = $0–19,999 to 8 = $140,000 or more) of mothers' and fathers' annual income were utilised for subsequent analyses. Given the average annual income for both males and females in Canada was $47,500 in 2020 (Statistics Canada, 2022a), income categories were also collapsed into separate *low (below $40,000), mid ($40,000–59,999)* and *high ($60,000–79,999 and above)* categories for mothers and fathers for some analyses.

Table 1 Parental education and income categories

Education category	**Frequency (%)**	
Neither parent has a Bachelor's degree	207 (34.8%)	
One parent has at least a Bachelor's degree	188 (31.6%)	
Both parents have at least a Bachelor's degree	200 (33.6%)	
	Mother/female guardian	Father/male guardian
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
No Bachelors	286 (48.6%)	287 (50.3%)
At least a Bachelor's degree	303 (51.4%)	284 (49.7%)
Annual income category	Mother/female guardian	Father/male guardian
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
$0–19,999	108 (18.9%)	25 (4.5%)
$20,000–39,999	110 (19.3%)	62 (11.3%)
$40,000–59,999	109 (19.1%)	71 (12.9%)
$60,000–79,999	110 (19.3%)	98 (17.8%)
$80,000–$99,999	64 (11.2%)	101 (18.4%)
$100,000–119,999	31 (5.4%)	75 (13.6%)
$120,000–139,999	19 (3.3%)	41 (7.5%)
$140,000 or more	19 (3.3%)	77 (14.0%)
Low (below $40,000)	217 (37.2%)	87 (15.8%)
Mid ($40,000–59,999)	110 (18.9%)	70 (12.7%)
High ($60,000–79,999 and above)	256 (43.9%)	393 (71.5%)

Education was measured by asking participants to report on the highest education level attained by both their mothers/female guardians and fathers/male guardians. Education categories were created by separating parents with at least a Bachelor's degree and those with no Bachelor's degree (as in Krahn et al., 2018 ; Manzoni, 2016).

Parental financial support

Participants reported on proportion of housing expenses, school expenses, transportation, entertainment and cellphone bill covered by parent(s)/guardian(s) in the prior 12 months using a 7-point scale (1 = *none/0% of the cost* to 7 = *all/100% of the cost*). This expense coverage measure was adapted from Padilla-Walker et al. (2012) who were also examining a student population. A financial support composite was developed with each of the expenses: (housing + school + transportation + entertainment + cellphone bill)/6. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was $\alpha = 0.79$ (DeVellis, 2003).

Living arrangement

Participants reported on who they were living with and whether their parent(s)/guardian(s) help them out with housing costs in any way (*pay all, pay some, live with them at reduced rate, live* *in home rent-free, no help*). Participants were separated into three groups based on their living arrangement and parental housing cost support: coresiders (live with parents + parents cover housing costs), independent home leavers (live outside parental home + no parental housing costs support) and dependent home leavers (live outside parental home + parental housing costs support).

Parental and professional financial advice

Participants were asked whether, in the last 12 months, they had learned about financial issues (including saving, budgeting, credit and investing) by consulting or using (a) a financial advisor/financial professional or (b) their parent(s) or guardian(s). In addition, they were asked how much each of these resources influenced their day-to-day financial behaviours (e.g., daily spending of money, avoiding bank fees, investment choices, use of credit cards, etc.) over the past 12 months using a 4-point scale (1 = no influence to 4 = complete influence).

Demographics

In addition to the previous variables, participants were asked to indicate their self-identified gender, employment status (working part-time, full-time, or not working), international student status (yes or no), and personal income ($0 to $9,999, $10,000 to $19,999, etc. up to $80,000+).

RESULTS

RQ1: Is living with one's parents more common among students with more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds?

As predicted by national statistics, living with parents was common in our sample of university students. Roughly an equal number of participants reported living at home with their parents/guardians (n = 307, 51.5%) compared to participants who lived outside of the parental/guardian home (n = 289, 48.5%). Participants who lived outside of the parental/guardian home either lived with roommates (n = 184, 30.9%), with a romantic partner (n = 53, 8.9%), or on their own (n = 50, 8.4%). Results of an independent samples t-test suggested an age difference between individuals who lived at home with parents/guardians compared to individuals who lived outside the parental home $t(575) = -6.44$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.54$, whereby individuals who lived outside of the parental home were on average a year older [$M_{\text{liveathome}} = 19.74$, $SD = 1.71$; $M_{\text{liveoutsidehome}} = 21.05$, $SD = 3.00$]. There were no significant differences in living arrangement between individuals who identified as male or female, international students and non-international students, or race/ethnicity (predominant White/Caucasian or otherwise). However, ANOVA results suggest there were personal employment [$F(1, 594) = 34.12$; $p < 0.01$, $f = 0.21$] and personal income differences [$F(1, 592) = 13.37$; $p < 0.01$, $f = 0.20$] between individuals who lived inside the parental home compared to individuals who lived outside the parental home.

A non-significant one-way analysis of covariance with mothers' education, personal income, employment status, race/ethnicity, international student status, age and gender as covariates indicated students' housing situation did not vary based on mothers' annual income, $F(2, 544) = 0.30$;

Table 2 Parental income means and standard deviations based on student living arrangement groups

Student living arrangement group	Mother/female guardian income category Mean (SD)	Father/male guardian income category Mean (SD)
Coresiders	3.47 (1.83)	4.72 (2.08)
Independent home leavers	2.99 (1.67)	4.23 (1.89)
Dependent home leavers	3.25 (1.78)	5.09 (1.93)

Note: A 1 to 8 category scale was used for parental income.

Table 3 Parental financial support received by participants over the previous 12 months

Expense	Frequency (%) of reported 70%–100% coverage by parent(s)/guardian(s)
Housing and utilities	341 (57.3%)
Groceries (e.g., food and household supplies)	307 (51.5%)
Cell phone bill	290 (49.1%)
School expenses (e.g., tuition, books)	277 (46.7%)
Transportation (e.g., car payments, insurance, transit pass, bike repairs)	211 (35.5%)
Entertainment (e.g., eating out, going to bars, going to movies)	86 (14.5%)

Note: Participants could select more than one response.

$p = ns$. Participants' mothers' education [$F(1, 544) = 4.57$; $p < 0.05$], personal income [$F(1, 544) = 4.97$; $p < 0.05$], employment status [$F(1, 544) = 22.92$; $p < 0.001$] and age [$F(1, 544) = 54.27$; $p < 0.001$] were all significant covariates.

A non-significant one-way analysis of covariance with fathers' education, personal income, employment status, race/ethnicity, international student status, age and gender as covariates indicated student living arrangements did not vary based on fathers' annual income, $F(2, 517) = 0.66$; $p = ns$. Participants' fathers' education [$F(1, 517) = 10.59$; $p = 0.001$], personal employment status [$F(1, 517) = 22.65$; $p < 0.001$], and age [$F(1, 517) = 55.95$; $p < 0.001$] were all significant covariates. Parental income means by student living arrangement groups are presented in Table 2.

RQ2: Is parental financial support more common among students with more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds?

Parental coverage of varied expenses was also common. Housing and utility coverage were the most common form of support participants received from their parent(s)/guardian(s), followed by groceries, cellphone bill, school expenses and transportation (see Table 3).

A significant one-way analysis of covariance with mothers' education as a covariate, $F(2, 564) = 5.32$; $p < 0.01$, $f = 0.208$) and subsequent post hoc analyses indicated that students whose mothers' income was 'high' ($60,000–79,999 and above) provided more financial support than students whose mothers' income was 'low' (below $40,000) (at $p < 0.01$). There were no other

Table 4 Parental income means and standard deviations based on student living arrangement groups

Parental income groups	Parental financial support Mean (SD)
Mother	
High ($60,000–79,999 and above)	4.03 (1.53)
Mid ($40,000–59,999)	3.57 (1.83)
Low (below $40,000)	3.45 (1.74)
Father	
High ($60,000–79,999 and above)	3.94 (1.64)
Mid ($40,000–59,999)	3.41 (1.71)
Low (below $40,000)	3.39 (1.70)

Table 5 ANCOVA results for parental financial advice

Analyses	ANCOVA results
Mother's income (low, mid, high) × learning about financial issues by consulting parents	$F(2{,}514) = 2.65$, $p = 0.07$.
Father's income (low, mid, high) × learning about financial issues by consulting parents	$F(2{,}514) = 4.22$, $p = 0.02$
Mother's income (low, mid, high) × financial behaviour influenced by parents	$F(2{,}516) = 0.80$, $p = 0.45$
Father's income (low, mid, high) × financial behaviour influenced by parents	$F(2{,}516) = 1.50$, $p = 0.23$
Parental education × learning about financial issues by consulting parents	$F(2{,}561) = 0.26$, $p = 0.77$
Parental education × financial behaviour influenced by parents	$F(2{,}563) = 0.23$, $p = 0.80$

significant differences. A significant one-way analysis of covariance with fathers' education as a covariate, $F(2, 534) = 5.22$; $p < 0.01$, $f = 0.208$) and subsequent post hoc analyses indicated that students whose fathers' income was 'high' ($60,000–79,999 and above) provided more financial support than students whose fathers' income was 'mid' ($40,000–59,999) (significance at $p < 0.05$) and 'low' (below $40,000) (significance at $p < 0.01$). There were no other significant differences. Parental financial support by parental income group means are provided in Table 4.

RQ3: Do students with more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds report higher rates of receiving (and using) parental financial advice?

Nearly half of participants ($n = 288$, 48.5%) had consulted their parent(s)/guardian(s) about financial issues in the past 12 months. Most participants reported their parents' advice having moderate influence ($n = 268$, 45%) or complete influence ($n = 194$, 32.6%) on their everyday financial behaviours. One-way ANCOVAs were conducted to compare mothers' and fathers' socioeconomic status and participant reports of receiving and using financial advice from parents, with participant gender, age, race/ethnicity, employment status, personal income and international student status as covariates. There was a significant effect of fathers' income on learning about financial issues by consulting parents after controlling for the covariates (Table 5), whereby students whose

Table 6 ANCOVA results for professional financial advice

Analyses	ANCOVA results
Mother's income (low, mid, high) × learning about financial issues by consulting financial advisor/professional	$F(2{,}516) = 0.54$, $p = 0.59$
Father's income (low, mid, high) × learning about financial issues by consulting financial advisor/professional	$F(2{,}526) = 3.38$, $p = 0.035$
Mother's income (low, mid, high) × financial behaviour influenced by financial advisor/professional	$F(2{,}515) = 1.27$, $p = 0.28$
Father's income (low, mid, high) × financial behaviour influenced by financial advisor/professional	$F(2{,}515) = 0.85$, $p = 0.43$
Parental education × learning about financial issues by consulting financial advisor/professional	$F(2{,}562) = 0.90$, $p = 0.78$
Parental education × financial behaviour influenced by financial advisor/professional	$F(2{,}562) = 0.55$, $p = 0.58$

fathers' income was high ($M = 1.52$, $SD = 0.50$) were more likely to have learned about financial issues from their parents compared to students whose fathers' income was low ($M = 1.45$, $SD = 0.50$). International student status was the only covariate significantly related to learning about financial issues by consulting parents, $F(1, 514) = 333.90$, $p < 0.001$. No other analyses or covariates were significant (Table 5). One-way ANCOVAs were also conducted comparing parental education (both having a Bachelor's degree, one having a Bachelor's degree, neither having a Bachelor's degree) and participant reports of receiving and using financial advice from parents. Analyses were all non-significant (Table 5).

RQ4: Do students with more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds report higher rates of receiving (and using) professional financial advice?

Half of participants ($n = 298$, 50.1%) had consulted professionals ('a financial advisor/financial professional') about financial issues in the past 12 months. Compared to parental advice, this advice had reportedly less influence over their everyday behaviours, with 40.7% of participants ($n = 242$) reporting that it had no influence and 14.3% of participants ($n = 85$) reporting that it had minimal influence. One-way ANCOVAs were conducted to compare mothers' and fathers' socioeconomic status and participant reports of receiving and using financial advice from a financial advisor or professional, with participant gender, age, race/ethnicity, employment status, personal income, and international student status as covariates. There was a significant effect of father's income on learning about financial issues by consulting a financial advisor/professional after controlling for the covariates (Table 6), whereby students whose fathers' income was high ($M = 1.51$, $SD = 0.50$) were more likely to have learned about financial issues from their parents compared to students whose fathers' income was low ($M = 1.54$, $SD = 0.50$). International student status was the only covariate significantly related to learning about financial issues by consulting a financial advisor/professional, $F(1, 516) = 62.28$, $p < 0.001$ (Table 6). One-way ANCOVAs were also conducted comparing parental education and participant reports of receiving and using financial advice from a financial advisor/professional, with the covariates. Analyses were all non-significant (Table 6).

DISCUSSION

This research sought to examine how family socioeconomic background related to undergraduate students' receipt of intergenerational transfers in multiple forms. More particularly, it examined this topic in a Western Canadian Prairie context and at a time of broader economic austerity and turbulence felt within the postsecondary environment. It subsequently aimed to understand how such transfers might contribute to the intergenerational transmission of (dis)advantage in the understudied Canadian context. The findings lead to three global conclusions.

First, these results highlight the commonality and diversity of support received by undergraduate students from parents. Roughly half of postsecondary students surveyed (51.5%) indicated that they lived with their parent(s)—a living arrangement that confers financial advantages on young adults by reducing or altogether eliminating housing expenses. Coverage of varied expenses was also commonly reported, with around half of the participants reporting that their parents paid for a majority or all of their housing expenses, groceries, cell phone bills and school expenses. Nearly half of participants (48.5%) had consulted their parent(s)/guardian(s) about financial issues in the past 12 months, with most participants reporting moderate or high influence of this advice on their daily financial behaviours. Although even more participants (50.1%) consulted professionals about financial issues, this advice was viewed as carrying little to no influence on their everyday financial behaviours. These findings confirm existing literature across national contexts (including Australia, Canada, the United States, Italy and Japan) identifying the transition to adulthood as one frequently carried out jointly, with parents transferring varied resources to young adults during this time (Huang et al., 2018; Kozicka, 2017; Mitchell, 2006; Newman, 2012; Padilla-Walker et al., 2012; Ploeg et al., 2004; Schoeni & Ross, 2005; Swartz et al., 2011; Wightman et al.,2012), while examining an understudied context in which relatively robust social welfare support for young adults (and relatively lower costs of living) might be expected to differently influence financial pressures and support practices at the family level. This study also contributes a more granular understanding of the types of financial support received by university-attending students in Canada, showing how financial support sometimes extends beyond housing or tuition expenses to include cell phone bills, groceries, transportation and, less frequently, entertainment expenses.

In theoretical view, these findings affirm and even bolster claims about the relevance of intergenerational resource transfers—in Canada and beyond—from parents to children during the transition to adulthood (Swartz, 2008; Waithaka, 2014; Worth, 2018b , 2021). Using Waithaka's (2014) framework of family capital, we observe family capital being potentially composed of multiple resources provided to young adults past their adolescent years, including both economic capital (in the form of financial expense coverage) and cultural capital (in the form of financial advice that is accessible and useful).

As a second contribution—one most central to this special issue's theme of family diversity—these findings demonstrate differences in the types and degrees of tangible support provided to Canadian undergraduate students according to socioeconomic background. Consistently, variations in financial support occurred in relation to parental education attainment—a finding that aligns with the majority of previous research out of the United States (Cobb-Clark & Gørgens, 2014; Fingerman et al., 2015 ; Hardie & Seltzer, 2016; Huang et al., 2018; Manzoni 2016; Schaller & Eck, 2021; Swartz et al., 2011; Wightman et al., 2012). Whereas literature out of Canada, the United States and Australia has shown mixed findings concerning the relationship between parental education and coresidence (Bilette et al., 2011; De Marco & Berzin, 2008; Fingerman et al., 2015; Krahn et al., 2018; Swartz et al., 2011; Ward & Spitze, 2007), we did observe a linkage between the two—one that may be explained by a focus on a student sample, where parental investment and the transmission of cultural capital may be particularly relevant (Waithaka, 2014). Students with parents holding Bachelors' degrees were more likely to be living with their parents and receiving financial support to cover combined costs of housing, tuition and school costs, transportation, groceries, entertainment and cell phone bills.

Differences according to parental *income* also surfaced, but in a less robust way, which once again fits with the pattern in the literature pointing to income as a less consistent predictor of intergenerational support in Australia and the United States (Cobb-Clark & Gørgens, 2014; Fingerman et al., 2009; Hardie & Seltzer, 2016; Padgett & Remle, 2016; Swartz et al., 2011; Wightman et al., 2012). No connections were found between the child's likelihood of living at home and their mother or father's income. Likewise, no connections were found between parents' incomes and the financial support students received for transportation, groceries or entertainment. Mothers' and fathers' incomes were each separately associated with greater likelihoods of covering housing expenses, tuition and school expenses, and cell phone bills.

Such findings have both theoretical and methodological implications. Once again drawing from Waithaka (2014), these findings confirm within a Canadian Prairie context the reality of disparate access to economic capital across socioeconomic backgrounds. Whereas students whose parents have university degrees receive greater diversity and robustness of financial support, students whose parents do not have such credentials receive fewer forms of support and less robust coverage of expenses. In sum, these findings point to the transmission of family capital among parents with existing cultural capital (i.e., in the form of educational attainment, Waithaka, 2014). This difference suggests that parents with university credentials may be more inclined to set up a whole lifestyle for their children to make the transition to adulthood and life after postsecondary graduation easier and smoother. As proposed by Waithaka (2014), parents assist their grown postsecondary-attending children by putting at their disposal resources that can be both consumed and invested in in order to enhance the young adults' performance and well-being through the university years.

Following Swartz et al. (2011, citing Lareau, 2003), we might consider such support a form of concerted cultivation, whereby parents provide the resources not merely for *accessing* university itself (i.e., through housing or tuition expenses) but also for accessing a comfortable or desirable lifestyle that will permit success in higher education. Of course, this is somewhat of an inferential leap, but one that should be examined in further detail. Granted, Canada's higher education landscape is not as stratified as that of the United States (Aurini et al., 2020), and parents may not necessarily be aiming to set their child up for comparably differentiated levels of prestige. Nonetheless, in the American context the focus or utility of these capital-based advantages may not be (just or mainly) about gaining social prestige and climbing or staying high on a social hierarchy ladder, but rather about having a broad base of resources to enable a certain lifestyle, confer privileges or afford flexibility in how to live while pursuing higher education.

Whereas educational attainment was consistently associated with diverse forms of intergenerational transfers, this was not the case with parental income. Why? At least three different explanations can be offered. First, because educational status is a more stable indication of social position (Shavers, 2007), its links to support practices may be comparatively more robust. Education is often considered a critical indicator of SES because it conveys information regarding earning potential across the lifespan, whereas income and occupation provide a snapshot of an individual's social and economic situation (Shavers, 2007). Second, students' reports of parental income may have been less accurate compared to their reports of parental education since discussions of income tend to be considered imprudent. Anderson et al. (2017), for example, found that 24% of American high school students were able to estimate their parents' income bracket, and another 31% were off by one income bracket, whether above or below their parent's actual income (i.e., within $30,000). By contrast, we would assume a greater level of accuracy in reporting parental education, due to its more stable and less sensitive nature as a topic of conversation. Third, links between educational attainment and support provision may be stronger because they are rooted in motivations to transmit a tradition of educational attainment as a moral end in itself, not only as a *means* to a higher income. Worth (2021), for example, has highlighted that among the middle-class population in the Greater Toronto Area, parental money transfers for higher education were an expected norm tied to notions about good parenting.

As a final contribution, this research found variations in financial advice only in relation to fathers' income, and not in relation to parents' educational backgrounds. That is, young adults whose fathers had higher incomes were more likely to receive financial advice from their parents or financial professionals and were more likely to report parents or professionals influencing their everyday financial decisions. Beyond this, we witnessed no relationship between participants' perceptions of useful financial advice and their socioeconomic background. Such findings diverge from existing American research showing links between educational background and receipt of financial advice (Cornwell & Cornwell, 2008; Luhr, 2018; Serido et al., 2020), but partially support research targeting income as an indication of socioeconomic background (Tang & Lachance, 2012; Winchester & Huston, 2015). Potentially, there may be a practical need for students receiving greater amounts of financial support from fathers (who, in our sample, generally made much greater earnings) to manage these funds using professional and parental support—a relationship less based on cultural capital than on needs for asset management.

Policy implications should ideally be based on more substantiation of these findings. That said, we would argue that since families have strong incentives to invest resources in their children (and therefore perpetuate this trend), policies must be created to generate more equitable access to post-secondary education—even in this national context of subsidies that are reasonable in comparative perspective—potentially through greater subsidies to the cost of post-secondary education itself or through reduction to the costs of housing for postsecondary students. By contrast, improving access to financial advice, whether through increasing its availability and/or lowering its associated costs, may be a less effective approach, since this form of support appeared to be distributed more evenly across students. In brief, it does not seem to be the case that policies aimed at individual-level financial education would be sufficient in creating an 'even playing field' for university students of diverse backgrounds.

This research has several limitations, which provide departure points for examining family differences in intergenerational support types and degrees, both in Canada and beyond. First, this study relies on children's self-reports of parental income and education. Future research ought to test whether these findings persist using parental reports, which are likely to be more accurate. Likewise, future research could draw on other forms of socioeconomic status to cultivate a more nuanced understanding of family capital, for instance, by examining home ownership and other assets. This study was unable to uncover parents' understandings of their decisions, tools and resources—that is, the 'parenting logics' (Aurini et al., 2020)—underpinning their support behaviours. In the future, research could both describe parents' support discourses and unveil the interests or political effects perpetuated by such discourses. On a related note, we were not able to identify parents' or students' constructions of support as socially expected and/or socially appropriate (cf, Worth, 2021; Seltzer et al., 2012). Since receiving or providing off-time support may carry implications for one's self-esteem (Culatta & Clay-Warner, 2021), it could be of value to health and psychological researchers to investigate the diverse expectations and norms surrounding financial support during the transition to adulthood. Finally, and perhaps most importantly for building our understandings of parental financial support, future researchers should employ longitudinal research designs and consider more ethnically diverse student populations. By looking at parental support over time, the causes and consequences of the social reproduction of family capital will be visible in greater detail. Although the reproduction of racial and ethnic inequalities was not a focus of the present research, we recognise that universities—as colonial institutions—are sites where such inequalities are reproduced, and more consideration of these processes should be a focus in future work, both in Canada and beyond.

ORCID

Kathrina Mazurik https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6825-6756

REFERENCES

Advisory Council on Economic Growth. (2017) Learning nation: equipping Canada's workforce with skills for the future. Available from: https://www.budget.gc.ca/aceg-ccce/pdf/learning-nation-eng.pdf

American Psychological Association (APA). (2007) Measuring socioeconomic status and subjective social Status. Available from: https://www.apa.org/pi/ses/resources/class/measuring-status

Anderson, D.M., Holt, J.K. & Illinois, S. (2017) Research brief: do high school students know their parents' income? Illinois Education Research Council.

Andersson, A. B. (2021). Social capital and leaving the nest: Channels and housing tenures. Social Networks, 65, 8–18. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2020.10.002

DaGraca, M. & Dougherty, L. (2015) First generation college students: navigating higher education. University of Southern California. Available from: https://scalar.usc.edu/works/first-generation-college-student-/index

Arnett, J. J. (2016). College Students as Emerging Adults: The developmental implications of the college context. Emerging Adulthood, 4(3), 219–222. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696815587422

Aurini, J., Missaghian, R. & Milian, R.P. (2020) Educational status hierarchies, after-school activities, and parenting logics: lessons from Canada. *Sociology of Education*, 93(2), 173–189.

Bilette, J.-M., Le Bourdais, C. & Laplante, B. (2011) An assessment of heterogeneity in first home-returning trends of young Canadians. *Canadian Studies in Population*, 38(1), 19–41.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J. (Ed.) *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. New York: Greenwood. pp. 241–258.

Cairns, J. (2017) *The myth of the age of entitlement: Millennials, austerity, and hope*. North York: University of Toronto Press.

Canadian Bureau for International Education. (2018) International students in Canada. Available from: https://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/International-Students-in-Canada-ENG.pdf

Catherall, R. (2017) Living on the edge: delineating the political economy of precarity in Vancouver, Canada. *Queen's Policy Review*, 8(1), 39–55. Available from: http://www.queensu.ca/sps/qpr/sites/webpublish.queensu.ca.qprwww/files/files/2017/05-Robert.Catherall-Living.on.the.Edge.pdf

Clark, V., Tuffin, K. & Frewin, K. (2018) A fine balance: a review of shared housing among young adults. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 12(10), 1–12.

Cobb-Clark, D.A. & Gørgens, T. (2014) Parents' economic support of young-adult children: do socioeconomic circumstances matter? *Journal of Population Economics*, 27(2), 447–471.

Comacchio, C.R. (1999) The infinite bonds of family: domesticity in Canada, *1850–1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Connolly, M., Haeck, C. & Lapierre, D. (2021) Trends in intergenerational income mobility and income inequality in Canada. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019M-No. 458. Available from: https://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.895437/publication.html

Corack, M., Lipps, G. & Zhao, J. (2003) Family income and participation in post-secondary education. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE-No. 210. Available from: https://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/9.558591/publication.html

Cornwell, E.Y. & Cornwell, B. (2008) Access to expertise as a form of social capital: an examination of race- and class-based disparities in network ties to experts. *Sociological Perspectives*, 51(4), 853–876.

Culatta, E. & Clay-Warner, J. (2021) Falling behind and feeling bad: unmet expectations and mental health during the transition to adulthood. Society and mental health. Advance online publication.

Dangerfield, K. (2021) Millennials vs. baby boomers: why the cost of living has skyrocketed for Young Canadians. *Global News*, 26 June. https://globalnews.ca/news/7941437/millenial-housing-costs-baby-boomers/

De Marco, A.C. & Berzin, S.C. (2008) The influence of family economic status on home-leaving patterns during emerging adulthood. *Families in Society*, 89(2), 208–218.

Descartes, L. (2006). "Put your money where your love is": Parental aid to adult children. Journal of Adult Development, 13, 137–147.

DeVellis R. (2003). Scale development: theory and applications. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dickinson, E.R., Adelson, J.L. & Owen, J. (2012) Gender balance, representativeness, and statistical power in sexuality research using undergraduate student samples. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 41(2), 325–327.

Fingerman, K.L., Kim, K., Davis, E.M., Furstenberg, F.F., Birditt, K.S. & Zarit, S.H. (2015) I'"ll Give you the World": socioeconomic differences in parental support of adult children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 77(August), 844–865.

Fingerman, K.L., Miller, L., Birditt, K. & Zarit, S. (2009) Giving to the Good and the Needy: parental support of grown children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(5), 1220–1233.

Foster, K. (2012) Youth employment and un(der) employment in Canada: more than a temporary problem? Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. Available from: https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/National.Office/2012/10/Youth.Unemployment.pdf

Furstenberg, F.F. (2015) Becoming adults: challenges in the transition to adult roles. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 85(5), 14–21.

Galarneau, D., Morissette, R. & Usalcas, J. (2013) What has changed for young people in Canada? *Insights on Canadian Society*, July(75).

Goldscheider, F.K., Hofferth, S.L. & Curtin, S.C. (2014) Parenthood and leaving home in young adulthood. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 33(6), 771–796.

Government of Saskatchewan. (2022) Saskatchewan 2022–23 student loan and grant information. Available from: https://www.saskatchewan.ca/residents/education-and-learning/student-loans/2022-23-student-loan-year

Hamilton, L.T. (2013) More is more or more is less? Parental financial investments during college. *American Sociological Review*, 78(1), 70–95.

Hardie, J.H. & Seltzer, J.A. (2016) Parent-child relationships at the transition to adulthood: a comparison of Black, Hispanic, and White Immigrant and Native-born Youth. *Social Forces*, 95(1), 321–353.

Hartnett, C.S., Furstenberg, F.F., Birditt, K.S. & Fingerman, K.L. (2013) Parental support during young adulthood: why does assistance decline with age? *Journal of Family Issues*, 34(7), 975–1007.

Houle, J.N. (2014). Disparities in debt: parents' socioeconomic resources and young adult student loan debt. *Sociology of Education*, 87(1), 53–69.

Huang, Y., Perales, F. & Western, M. (2021) The long arm of parental advantage: socio-economic background and parental financial transfers over adult children's life courses. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 71(June 2020), 100582.

Huang, Y., Perales, F., & Western, M. (2018). The long arm of parental advantage: Socio-economic backgrounds and parental wealth transfers over adult children's life courses. Life Course Centre Working Paper Series (no. 2018–05).

Kay, F.M. & Johnston, R. (Eds.) (2007) *Social capital, diversity, and the Welfare State*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Kozicka, P. (2017) Down payment help: what parents, kids should know before money is gifted. *Global News*. Available from: https://globalnews.ca/news/3175232/down-payment-help-what-parents-kids-should-know-before-money-is-gifted/

Krahn, H.J., Chai, C.-A., Fang, S., Galambos, N.L. & Johnson, M.D. (2018). Quick, uncertain, and delayed adults: timing, sequencing and duration of youth-adult transitions in Canada. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21(7), 905–921.

Lareau, A. (2003). Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

LeBaron, A.B., Hill, E.J., Rosa, C.M. & Marks, L.D. (2018) Whats and hows of family financial socialization: retrospective reports of emerging adults, parents, and grandparents. *Family Relations*, 67(4), 497–509.

Livingcost.org. (2022) Cost of living in Saskatoon. Available from: https://livingcost.org/cost/canada/sk/saskatoon

Luhr, S. (2018) How social class shapes adolescent financial socialization: understanding differences in the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 39(3), 457–473.

Manzoni, A. (2016) Intergenerational financial transfers and young adults' transitions in and out of the parental home. *Social Currents*, 3(4), 349–366.

Marx, K. (1977) *Capital: a critique of political economy, Volume One*. New York: Vintage Books.

Mazurik, K., Knudson, S. & Tanaka, Y. (2020) Stuck in the nest? A review of the literature on coresidence in Canada and the United States. *Marriage & Family Review*, 56(6), 491–512.

Mazurik, K., Williamson, L. & Knudson, S. (2021). *Scaffolding undergraduates' transitions to adulthood: benefits of parental financial and housing support*. [Paper presentation]. Edmonton, Canada: Canadian Sociological Association Annual Conference.

Milan, A. (2016) Diversity of young adults living with their parents. Insights on Canadian Society, (Statistics Canada catalogue no. 75-006-X. June), 1–14.

Mitchell, B.A. (2006) The boomerang age from childhood to adulthood: emergent trends and issues for aging families. *Canadian Studies in Population*, 33(2), 155–178.

Mitchell, B.A., Wister, A.V. & Gee, E.M. (2002) "There's No Place Like Home": an analysis of young adults' mature coresidency in Canada. *International Journal of Aging & Human Development*, 54(1), 57–84.

Mitchell, B.A., Wister, A.V. & Gee, E.M. (2004) The ethnic and family nexus of homeleaving and returning among Canadian young adults. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 29(4), 543–575.

Mitchell, B.A., Wister, A.V., Li, G. & Wu, Z. (2021) Linking lives in ethnically diverse families: the interconnectedness of home leaving and retirement transitions. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 93(4), 986–1011.

Mortimer, J.T., Kim, M., Staff, J. & Vuolo, M. (2016) Unemployment, parental help, and self-efficacy during the transition to adulthood. *Work and Occupations*, 43(4), 434–465.

Neves, B.B., de Carvalho, D.D., Serra, F., Torres, A. & Fraga, S. (2019) Social capital in transition(s) to early adulthood: a longitudinal and mixed-methods approach. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 34(1), 85–112.

Newman, K. (2012) *The Accordion family: boomerang kids, anxious parents, and the private toll of global competition*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Padgett, C.S. & Remle, R.C. (2016) Financial assistance patterns from midlife parents to adult children: a test of the cumulative advantage hypothesis. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 37(3), 435–449.

Padilla-Walker, L.M., Nelson, L.J. & Carroll, J.S. (2012) Affording emerging adulthood: parental financial assistance of their college-aged children. *Journal of Adult Development*, 19(1), 50–58.

Ploeg, J., Campbell, L., Denton, M.A., Joshi, A. & Davies, S. (2004) Helping to build and rebuild secure lives and futures: financial transfers from parents to adult children and grandchildren. *Canadian Journal on Aging /La Revue Canadienne Du Vieillissement*, 23(5), S113–S125.

Ratzlaff, B. (2022) University of Saskatchewan announces tuition increase for 2022–23 school year. *Global News*, 4 April. Available from: https://globalnews.ca/news/8731875/university-of-saskatchewan-tuition-increase-2022-23/

Roberts, J., Noden, P., West, A. & Lewis, J. (2016) Living with the parents: the purpose of young graduates' return to the parental home in England. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 19(3), 319–337.

Rosenbaum, V. M. (1997). Understanding college age volunteers' behavior. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA.

Saraceno, C. (2014) Do we need capital accounts for culture? [Paper presentation]. Joint IEA/ISI Strategic Forum and Workshop of the High-Level Expert Group on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress on Intra-generational and Inter-generational Sustainability, Rome, Italy.

Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics. (2022) Saskatchewan immigration and ethnocultural diversity 2021 Census of Canada. Available from https://publications.saskatchewan.ca/#/products/86690

Sawatzky, K. (2016) *Short-term consequences: Investigating the extent, nature and rental housing implications of Airbnb listings in Vancouver*. Master's thesis, Urban Studies Program, Simon Fraser University.

Schaller, J. & Eck, C.S. (2021) *Family Support in Hard Times: Dynamics of Intergenerational Exchange after Adverse Events (No. w28295)*. National Bureau of Economic Research, 00.

Schoeni, R.F. & Ross, K.E. (2005) Material assistance from families during the transition to adulthood. In Settersten, R. A., Furstenberg, F. F. and Rumbaut, R. G. (Eds.) *On the frontier of adulthood: theory, research, and public policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 396–416.

Seltzer, J.A. & Bianchi, S.M. (2013) Demographic change and parent-child relationships in adulthood. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39(1), 275–290.

Seltzer, J.A., Lau, C.Q. & Bianchi, S.M. (2012) Doubling up when times are tough: a study of obligations to share a home in response to economic hardship. *Social Science Research*, 41(5), 1307–1319.

Serido, J., LeBaron, A.B., Li, L., Parrott, E. & Shim, S. (2020) The lengthening transition to adulthood: financial parenting and recentering during the college-to-career transition. *Journal of Family Issues*, 41(9), 1626–1648.

Settersten, R.A. & Ray, B. (2010b) What's going on with young people today? The long and twisting path to adulthood. *Future of Children*, 20(1), 19–41.

Settersten, R.A. & Ray, B.E. (2010a) *Not quite adults: Why 20-somethings are choosing a slower path to adulthood and why it's good for everyone*. New York: Random House.

Shaker, E. & Macdonald, D. (2015) What's the difference? Taking stock of provincial tuition fee policies. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. Available from: https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/reports/whats-difference

Shavers, V.L. (2007) Measurement of socioeconomic status in health disparities research. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 99(9), 1013–1023.

Sironi, M., Barban, N., & Impicciatore, R. (2015). Parental social class and the transition to adulthood in Italy and the United States. Advances in Life Course Research, 26, 89–104. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2015.09.004

South, S.J. & Lei, L. (2015) Failures-to-launch and boomerang kids: contemporary determinants of leaving and returning to the parental home. *Social Forces*, 94(2), 863–890.

Statista. (2021). Number of students enrolled in postsecondary institutions in Canada in 2018/19, by gender and field of study. https://www.statista.com/statistics/448911/enrollment-of-postsecondary-students-in-canada-by-gender-and-field-of-study/

Statistics Canada. (2019) The postsecondary experience and early labour market outcomes of international study permit holders. Available from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2019019-eng.htm

Statistics Canada. (2020a) National Graduates Survey (NGS), student debt from all sources, by province of study and level of study. Available from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=3710003601

Statistics Canada. (2020b) Tuition fees for degree programs increase in 2020/2021. *The Daily*, 21 September. Available from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/200921/dq200921b-eng.htm

Statistics Canada. (2022a) Distribution of employment income of individuals by sex and work activity, Canada, Provinces and selected Census Metropolitan Areas. Available from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=1110024001

Statistics Canada. (2022b) Home alone: more persons living solo than ever before, but roomies the fastest growing household type. *The Daily*, 13 July. Available from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220713/dq220713a-eng.htm

Swartz, T. T. (2008). Family capital and the invisible transfer of privilege: Intergenerational support and social class in early adulthood. New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 2008(119), 11–24. https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.206

Swartz, T.T., Kim, M., Uno, M., Mortimer, J. & O'Brien, K.B. (2011) Safety nets and scaffolds: parental support in the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73, 414–429.

Tang, N. & Lachance, M. (2012) Financial advice: what about low-income consumers? *Journal of Personal Finance*, 2(2007), 121–158.

Turcotte, M. (2007) Staying at home longer to become homeowners? *Canadian Social Trends*, (Winter), 32–37.

University of Regina Students' Union. (2022) Saskatchewan government announces modest increase in post-secondary education. March 25. Available from: https://www.ursu.ca/2022/03/25/saskatchewan-government-announces-modest-increase-in-post-secondary-education/

University of Saskatchewan. (2020) Enrolment: student reporting. Available from: https://leadership.usask.ca/priorities/reports/enrolment.php

University of Saskatchewan. (2021) Mature students. Available from: https://admissions.usask.ca/requirements/mature-students.php#:~:text=You%20must%20be%2021%20years,for%20Special%20(Mature)%20Admission

Waithaka, E.N. (2014) Family capital: conceptual model to unpack the intergenerational transfer of advantage in transitions to adulthood. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 24(3), 471–484.

Ward, R.A. & Spitze, G.D. (2007) Nestleaving and coresidence by young adult children: the role of family relations. *Research on Aging*, 29(3), 257–277.

White, N.R. (2002) “Not Under My Roof!”: Young people’s experience of home. *Youth & Society*, 34(2), 214–231.
Wightman, P., Schoeni, R.F. & Robinson, K. (2012) Familial financial assistance to young adults. In National Poverty Center Working Paper Series, no. 12–10 (May).
Winchester, D.D. & Huston, S.J. (2015) All financial advice for the middle class is not equal. *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 38(3), 247–264.
Worth, N. & Tomaszczyk, A.C. (2017) Understanding why young adults live with parents in Toronto, Canada. Available from: http://www.genyathome.ca/report/
Worth, N. (2018a) Making sense of precarity: talking about economic insecurity with millennials in Canada. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 12(5), 441–447.
Worth, N. (2018b) The privilege of a parental safety net: Millennials and the intergenerational transfer of wealth and resources. In M. Moos, D. Pfeiffer and T. Vinodrai (Eds.) *The Millennial City: trends, implications, and prospects for urban planning and policy*. New York: Routledge. pp. 110–127.
Worth, N. (2021) Going back to get ahead? Privilege and generational housing wealth. *Geoforum*, 120, 30–37.
Yosso, T.J. (2005) Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 69–91.

How to cite this article: Mazurik, K., Williamson, L. & Knudson, S. (2023) Socioeconomic differences in parental financial support, coresidence, and advice: A portrait of undergraduate students in the Canadian Prairies. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12436