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Extended Family Living Arrangements**

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ABSTRACT

Recently-arrived immigrants from non-European countries are more likely to coreside with extended kin than their native-born counterparts. Using 2000 census data from Mexico and the United States, we compare the life course patterns of extended family living among Mexican-origin immigrants and non-immigrants on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. Additionally, we use the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) to examine the stability of extended family living arrangements among Mexican-origin immigrants and natives in the United States. The results show that aging and family status are associated with transitioning into an extended family household, and middle aged adults are more likely to “host” these households than others. However, migration itself interrupts this normative pattern of extended family household formation found in the US and Mexico. Compared with non-immigrants in the United States and Mexico, recent immigrants are more likely to reside in an extended family household, and among those co-residing, recent immigrants are more likely to live with kin from a similar point in the life course. Additionally, these households experience high levels of turnover in their composition. The results strongly suggest that the high levels of coresidence observed among recently-arrived Mexican immigrants are more an outcome of the migration process than a cultural import from Mexico.

Mexican Migration to the United States and Extended Family Living Arrangements

Families are important social institutions and individuals live enmeshed in networks of family rights and responsibilities (Goode, 1982). The reliance on extended family members for emotional, social and economic support is one of the most valuable resources individuals may martial in times of vulnerability. There has been a great deal of attention paid to the variations in extended family living arrangements across groups, time and place. Immigrants in the United States, particularly recently-arrived immigrants from non-European countries, are more likely to coreside with extended kin than their native-born counterparts (Glick, Bean and Van Hook, 1997), even after taking into account demographic and socioeconomic differences (Kibria 1993; Chavez 1985; Tienda 1980; Glick 1999). Some have interpreted this pattern as deriving from non-western norms about the role of family assistance at critical life course stages (Chavez 1985; Wilmoth, DeJong and Himes 1997, Kibria 1993; Goldscheider and Lawton 1998). However, immigrants' high level of coresidence may also be indicative of a short-term response to stress and uncertainty inherent in the migration and settlement process itself (Chavez 1990; Glick 1999). Rather than bringing particular household forms with them, immigrants temporarily form extended family living arrangements as part of a family-based immigration strategy.

The question of whether immigrants' high levels of coresidence is a short-term response to the risks and hardships associated with immigration, or simply stems from cultural preferences and follows a normative lifecourse pattern is of increasing policy significance. The high levels of coresidence with extended kin among immigrants have led researchers and policy makers to view extended family support as a valuable, *durable* resource for immigrants that, in many ways, compensates for limitations in economic and human capital resources (e.g., Portes 1998). This perspective may have supported the development of some immigration and welfare policies that presume the existence of stable family support for new arrivals. For example, the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act and the 1996 Personal

Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) together carry the assumption that family members can and will provide financial support to newly-arrived immigrants until they become naturalized citizens, a period that can last five years or more (Zimmerman and Tumlin 1998). If extended family living arrangements among immigrants operated primarily as temporary arrangements during the short period following immigration and do not conform to a normative life course pattern, this could indicate that the high level of familial social support available to new arrivals is not as enduring as once thought.

In assessing the linkage between immigrants' extended family living arrangements and the international migration process, it is important to pay attention to the stability of such living arrangements. Most research on extended family living among immigrants in the United States has relied on cross-sectional data that convincingly demonstrate higher levels of extended kin coresidence among some immigrants compared to native non-Hispanic Whites. But these results provide only a static picture, making it difficult to evaluate the extent to which extended household structures are temporary survival strategies for recent immigrants. In addition, it is important to consider the possibility that immigrants are merely clustered in one part of the life course and therefore exhibit family behavior patterns that are normative to one stage of the life course versus another. Finally, it is important to consider the oft-mentioned possibility that immigrants' living arrangements are simply the manifestation of cultural patterns brought from the country of origin.

In this paper, we compare the life course patterns of extended family living among one large migrant group, Mexican immigrants to the US, with those in Mexico and US born Mexican Americans. We thus examine the life course patterns of coresidence on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, shedding light on the unique character of living arrangements among immigrants apart from non-immigrants in both Mexico and the United States. Additionally, we examine the stability of extended family living arrangements among immigrants and natives in the United States in order to provide further insight into the unique manner in which immigrants' extended

family living arrangements appear to function. Our results suggest that coresidence among Mexican immigrants is likely an outgrowth of the migration process that interrupts normative life course patterns of coresidence.

BACKGROUND

Prior work on coresidence among immigrants has focused primarily on differentials by national origin, nativity, and duration of residence. This literature shows that immigrants, particularly recently-arrived immigrants from non-European countries, are more likely to coreside with extended kin than their native-born counterparts (Glick, Bean and Van Hook, 1997). In 2000, 37% of immigrants age 25 and older were living in an extended family household compared with 19% among the native born. The percentages were higher among non-European immigrants, reaching 47% among Mexican immigrants, 43% for other Hispanic immigrants, and 38% among Asian immigrants (based on authors' analysis of the 1% 2000 PUMS). There are also important variations in the type of coresidence by time in the United States (Glick et al, 1997; Glick 1999). In 2000, coresidence with kin within a single generation (siblings and cousins) was more common among recently-arrived immigrants who had been in the U.S. 10 years or less (18.5% among recent arrivals vs. 10.6% among other immigrants), while coresidence with parents or children was more common among more settled immigrants (19.6% among recent arrivals vs. 26.0% among other immigrants).

Although considerable attention has been paid to the prevalence of extended family living arrangements, less research has focused on the dynamics of coresidence. Studies that have explored household dynamics are often focused on the elderly and the predictors of transitions from independent living to coresidence with kin or institutional care (eg. Peek et al, 2004; Wilmoth 2000). This research suggests that older adults with large kin networks experience greater change in their household's composition even though their own living arrangements may remain stable (Peek et al, 2004). Research on other populations suggests that immigrants' extended family living arrangements are highly prevalent but short-lived,

particularly among Mexican immigrants (e.g., Menjivar 1997, 2000; Stack and Burton 1993; Roschelle 1997), but to our knowledge no one has examined the stability of immigrants' extended family households with nationally-representative longitudinal data.

Research based on cross-sectional data, while valuable, provides an incomplete and perhaps misleading picture of extended family living arrangements. Even if the prevalence of coresidence were high for a certain group, such living arrangements may not last very long. The high prevalence could instead derive from high incidence rates (entry into extended family households) (Preston, Heuveline, & Guillot 2001). Analyses of cross-sectional data allow the measurement of prevalence, but the analysis of longitudinal data is required to tease apart the incidence and duration components. Longitudinal data may also provide a more accurate depiction of the socioeconomic determinants of the formation and stability of extended family living arrangements. Due largely to data constraints, prior research tends to model the determinants of living in an extended family household with the independent and dependent variables measured at the same point in time, thus casting in doubt the causal ordering of the relationships. For example, poverty may lead to extended family living arrangements, but the time taken in caring for an elderly coresident parent may inhibit employment and depress income (Hao 2003). In addition, the factors associated with entering or living in an extended family household may not be same as those underlying the maintenance of these living arrangements over time (Boyd 1989). Even though poverty may lead to the formation of extended family households, poverty and economic inequality within extended family households has been hypothesized to add stress and instability to households (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1992; Menjivar 1997, 2000; Stack and Burton 1993; Roschelle 1997).

The lifecourse pattern of extended family living.

Overall, the formation and dissolution of extended family living arrangements is strongly associated with significant life course events (Pampel 1983; Schwartz, Danziger, and Smolensky 1984; Burr and Mutchler 1992, 1993a, 1993b; Mutchler and Burr 1991; Wolf and

Soldo 1988; McGarry and Schoeni, 2000). For example, divorce, death of a spouse, illness, and retirement may trigger the formation of an extended family household, and marriage or improved health may lead to the dissolution of such households. Individuals moving into their adult years are less likely to live with other relatives as they marry or have young children and establish independent households (Goldscheider and Waite, 1991; Ram and Wong 1994). At the other end of the life course, elderly adults may find themselves in need of extra support afforded by coresidence with younger family members. This is especially likely for some groups such as Hispanics who are less inclined to choose formal long-term care arrangements or by those who can ill afford such expense (Burr and Mutchler, 1992).

Life course patterns are not independent of economic need. Coresidency may be a cost-efficient mechanism for providing support to family members (Wolf 1994; Beresford and Rivlin 1966; Michael, Fuchs, and Scott 1980; Pampel 1983; Schwartz, Danziger, and Smolensky 1984; Burr and Mutchler 1992, 1993a, 1993b; Wolf and Soldo 1988; McGarry and Schoeni, 2000). The primary assumption in the United States, however, is that while economies of scale are derived from shared living quarters, independent living is preferred to coresidence. When income or other personal resources are high, individuals are able to afford privacy and the likelihood of sharing living quarters with extended family members decreases, but when resources are insufficient or needs for care outpace the ability to live independently, coresidence is more likely (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1991). The most common pattern in the United States is for assistance to flow from parents to adult child (Cooney and Uhlenberg 1992), particularly from married adults to unmarried children (Choi 2003; Speare and Avery 1993). The robustness of these findings is bolstered when these same life course patterns are found in countries with supposedly stronger values for coresidence than the United States including Mexico (Fussell, 2004; DeVos 2000).

Based on known patterns of financial and health care needs across the life course, the relationship between age and coresidence is likely to resemble an inverted-U shape in which

middle-aged adults are the most likely to coreside. The reason is that middle-aged adults are more likely to have adult children and/or aging parents who need assistance (Choi 2003), and further, may be more likely to have the resources (money, health, housing, time) to take in relatives. The inverted-u shape is expected to be the most pronounced for coresidence as the householder. But for coresidence in someone else's household, a u-shape with higher levels of coresidence for both young adults and the elderly is expected.

The higher prevalence of extended family households among immigrants compared to natives in the United States likely indicates that immigrants possess valuable social capital that may be tapped to meet the developmental needs of family members as they grow up, form their own families, and enter old age (e.g., Waldinger 1999; Massey and Espinosa 1997; Massey et al. 1987; Portes and Bach 1985; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Bean, Berg, and Van Hook 1996). If life course position were the only factor at work, variations by nativity and time in the U.S. would be largely explained by the introduction of demographic and socioeconomic controls. But, it seems likely that immigrants will not exhibit the same life course pattern of coresidence as those born in the US or those in their country of origin because migration itself may interrupt family patterns.

Migration and Extended Family Living.

In addition to being shaped by life course transitions, extended family household formation and prevalence could be affected by other events including migration. Extended family networks among immigrants meet the immediate housing needs and provide employment contacts for the new arrival while also providing extra domestic and wage labor for the established household (Chavez, 1985). In this context, the migration process itself may interrupt normative life course patterns of coresidence such that extended family living is more likely across all stages of the life course for recent arrivals, but is more closely tied to specific life course stages for longer resident immigrants and natives (Glick, 1999).

This idea emerges from a larger body of research on labor migration streams from Mexico to the United States, and thus may be particularly applicable to Mexican immigrants. Migration from Mexico to the United States is dominated by circular labor migration, a highly dynamic migration pattern in which one or two members of a household are sent to the U.S. to work for a few years and send remittances to their families before returning home (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002). Repeated trips are common and in certain areas of Mexico nearly everyone has made at least one U.S. trip, suggesting that in these areas international migration has become a normative stage of the life course. Drawing in part from new household economic and social capital theories, Massey and colleagues (2002) argue that these types of migration flows emerge from the failure of capital and insurance markets in Mexico (i.e., loans, credit, and insurance coverage is not widely available). In this highly uncertain economic context, a good option is to develop household-level strategies to accumulate capital and diversify risk. Rather than acting on their own behalf, immigrants in these circumstances act collectively with other family members to maximize family income while diversifying income sources, thus ensuring a steady flow of income to the household.

Because immigration is a family-level operation, immigrants are typically embedded in extended family networks that extended across national borders. As a result, recent arrivals may form extended family households at a higher rate than Mexicans living in Mexico, longer resident immigrants or US born Mexican Americans. Furthermore, these households may look quite different from those of Mexican Americans or those found in Mexico. Glick, Bean and Van Hook (1997) demonstrate considerable differences in the prevalence and determinants of vertical and horizontal extended family households, with recent migrants being the most likely to reside with “horizontal” kin from the same generation and age groups. These households are not the normative extended family form found in Mexico (Glick, 1999), suggesting that “horizontal” households are often formed due to the unique factors introduced by migration itself.

Since migration itself creates immediate needs that are independent of life course stage (except to the extent that life course stage is selective of migrants in the first place), we do not expect variations by time in the U.S. to be explained by the introduction of demographic and socioeconomic controls. We further expect that new arrivals will be particularly likely to join someone else's household, particularly those who arrive in the U.S. in late-middle-age or older as they may not have had the time to accrue eligibility to retirement pensions or Social Security in the United States (Angel, Angel, and Markides 2000; McGarry and Schoeni 2000). New arrivals who come earlier in life, however, may be in a better position to take in kin into their own households as they are able to work and support others. This differs from normative life course pattern in which young adults are more likely to live in someone else's household rather than take in kin.

Finally, immigrant households in the U.S. may serve as a "port in a storm" for a steady stream of recent arrivals and temporary migrants, providing economies of scale and access to jobs or other resources. Thus, the extended family households of recent immigrants may experience greater turnover as new immigrants join the household temporarily, leave (perhaps going back to Mexico), and are subsequently replaced by other immigrants. Consistent with this idea, Glick (1999) finds that many extended family households among those of Mexican origin change composition from one year to the next, even though the household retains its extended structure. This suggests that the set of people living in a particular household change as individuals move on to secondary locations in the United States or to back to Mexico. Recently-arrived immigrants, in particular, may experience high levels of "turnover" in their extended family households, and thus, their extended households will be highly unstable even if they do not transition to non-extended household structures.

In contrast, extended family households formed by natives or those in the United States for longer periods of time should be more likely to form or dissolve based on specific family members' needs and thus, will not experience as much turnover of new members. Consistent

with the life course model, these households will form as family members move into new stages of the life course or encounter new needs (e.g., retire, experience health declines, have new children, lose employment) and return to simple households once the specific family member is no longer in need of support or has moved into a different stage of the life course (i.e. completed school, become employed, married, etc).

The importance of the binational comparison.

Many immigrants come from non-Western developing societies in which extended kin coresidence is common, and individuals to a large degree derive social and economic capital from kinship networks (Goode 1982), particularly as they age (e.g., DeVos 2000; Chattapadhyay and Marsh 1999; Kamo and Zhou 1994). The formation and maintenance of extended family households in these contexts may, in part, stem from these internalized norms and obligations of adult children to parents. Groups exhibiting high levels of coresidence—such as many immigrant groups—are often thought to have brought these norms and expectations with them when they immigrated. Efforts to tease out the effects of cultural norms typically involve examining differentials in coresidence in the United States while controlling for demographic characteristics and variables associated with instrumental needs. Remaining differentials by nativity and time in the U.S. are then attributed to culturally-enforced norms. This line of reasoning is problematic not only because of the possibility that some measures of need may be left out of the model and that cultural preferences are not measured directly (which we cannot do either) but because it is assumed that the results for immigrants are similar to that from the country of origin. This leaves aside the possibility that immigrants' family behaviors may be directly impacted by the migration process itself.

For this reason, binational comparisons of family processes and structures have become more common in recent years. For example, Singley and Landale (1998) compare the marital status and fertility patterns of Puerto Ricans living in Puerto Rico with Puerto Ricans who moved to the U.S. and U.S.-born Puerto Ricans. Feliciano, Bean, and Leach (2005) compare the

prevalence of extended family living arrangements among Mexicans living in Mexico, Mexican immigrants in the U.S., and U.S.-born Mexican-Americans. We extend this binational comparison approach to incorporate the lifecourse patterns of family/household structure between Mexico and the U.S. to help shed light on the degree to which coresidence among immigrants is an outgrowth of the migration process or an import from Mexico.

We focus on a single national-origin group, Mexicans, in order to place useful limits on group-level variation in cultural orientations and migration experiences. Mexicans are the largest single immigrant group in the United States today and are well-represented in sample surveys such as the SIPP. The household formation patterns among Mexican immigrants may be distinctive from other Hispanic groups because of their pattern of circular and undocumented migration and their use of migration as part of a household survival strategy (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002), so the results here may not represent the experiences of other groups. Mexican immigrants, for example, may be more likely to live in short-lived single generation households because parents or children (kin from other generations) may be living in Mexico and not available to live with them in the United States, and the circular pattern of migration may produce highly transitory living arrangements. We make comparisons *among* Mexicans by generation and time in the United States in order to test ideas concerning the influence of the settlement process versus other life-course-related factors on the dynamics of extended family living arrangements.

DATA AND METHODS

Data and Sample.

We used the combined 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993 and 1996 Panels of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), a longitudinal survey, to study the temporal dynamics of extended family living arrangements. The advantages of using the SIPP are numerous. First, it follows individuals over time even if they leave their original households; each SIPP panel conducts interviews every four months for roughly 3 to 4 years. Second, the SIPP includes month-to-

month information on living arrangements as well as standard social, demographic, and economic variables; and third, it includes a retrospective migration history for all adult household members and thus can provide information about the length of time current household members had been living together prior to the first SIPP interview. By combining five panels of the SIPP, we amass a sufficiently large sample to examine in depth the living arrangements of Mexican-origin adults (age 25+ at first interview) in the United States (N=8,532; 4,071 immigrants and 4,461 natives). About 27% of the sample (N = 2,941; 1,546 immigrants and 1,395 natives) experienced living in an extended family household at some point during the 3-4 years of the SIPP panel.

Because of the difficulties involved in following households or families over time (both may dissolve or recombine with different individuals), we use individuals as the unit of analysis. We construct a longitudinal data file that includes an observation for each individual across several time points (every four months for 3 to 4 years), and includes time-varying measures of living arrangements, retrospective measures of the starting time of ongoing spells of extended family living arrangements, income and poverty status and other socio-demographic variables.

We supplement our analysis of the SIPP with 2000 census data (1% samples) from both Mexico and the United States. The 2000 Mexico Census data were provided by the IPUMS International data archive. Both the U.S. and Mexico census data include similar variables concerning household relationships with which we construct prevalence measures of household structure, and key demographic and socioeconomic indicators, including age, sex, marital status, education, and disability status. Unlike the SIPP data, we are unable to examine the formation or dissolution of extended family living arrangements with the census data. The Mexico census sample includes 44,895 adults age 25+. The U.S. census sample includes 62,446 Mexican immigrants and 40,448 U.S.-born Mexican-Americans age 25+.

Extended Family Household Structure.

We identify extended family households as households containing at least two related minimal

household units (MHUs). Related individuals living in such households are counted as living in an extended family household. The MHU, previously relied on in research on extended family households, refers smaller identifiable units within households based on marriage and parentage of minor children (Biddlecom, 1994; Ermisch and Overton, 1985; Glick, Bean, and Van Hook, 1997; Glick and Van Hook 2002). Independent of whomever they live with, married couples, single adults age 25 and older (other researchers have chosen other ages when examining the living arrangements of young adults, e.g., Goldscheider and Waite, 1991), and parents with minor children are counted as separate MHUs.

We further distinguish among different types of extended family households depending on whether the household contains MHUs from multiple generations, such as households including adult children and their elderly parents (termed “vertical” household structures in Glick, Bean, and Van Hook 1997), or whether the household contains MHUs from a single generation, such as households formed by adult siblings and their young children (termed “horizontal” household structures in Glick, Bean, and Van Hook 1997). In our sample of adults living in an extended household, 65.9% live in a vertical household and 24.9% live in a horizontal household. The remaining 9.2% living in a household with both “vertical” and “horizontal” relationship structures are included in the horizontal category. We inferred the relationships among MHUs based on relationship to the household head. For example, if one MHU head was identified as the child of the household head, and another was identified as the sibling of the head, we coded the first MHU as the uncle or aunt of the second MHU. This type of approach has been used successfully in other research on household structure (Glick, Bean, and Van Hook 1997; Schmertmann, et al.2000; Coward, Cutler, and Schmidt 1989).

Transitions in living arrangements.

We examine several types of changes in living arrangements. Among those who ever lived in a non-extended household structure during the SIPP panel, we model **extended household**

formation, that is, the transition from non-extended (sometimes referred to as “simple” households) to horizontal or non-horizontal extended family households:

Non-extended → Vertically-extended vs.
Horizontally-extended vs.
no change in structure.

We also examine householder status in combination with household structure:

Non-extended → Extended in own household (as householder/spouse) vs.
Extended in another persons’ household vs.
no change in structure.

In a separate analysis of those ever living in an extended household during the SIPP panel, we model **extended household instability**, in which we differentiate between two types of instability: (1) changes in the household composition without a transition to non-extended, and (2) transitions to a non-extended family living arrangement. To distinguish changes in the household composition arising from marriage, divorce, births or adoption from other types of turnover, we do not count changes arising from changes in the marital status of the respondent or additions or departures of children under 15 as changes in the household roster. In preliminary work, we estimated the stability models separately for vertical and horizontal household structures, but then combined them because the results were so similar across household types. In sum, our analyses of household change model the probability of making the following transitions:

Extended → Non-extended vs.
Turnover (other change in HH composition) vs.
no change in HH composition or HH structure

Models.

We used conditional likelihood discrete-time hazard models (Allison 1995; Guo 1993) to model the transitions described above. We use discrete- rather than continuous-time models (such as Cox proportional hazards) because our data lack precise information about the timing of changes and moves in and out of households; we only know whether a change occurred between interviews. Also, discrete-time hazard models can easily handle time-varying

covariates, right-censorship, and left-truncated cases if start-times are known (Allison 1995; Guo 1993).

For all event history models, the unit of analysis is the person-interview, spaced 4 months apart. The sample for models of extended family formation is restricted to persons who were not living in an extended family household at the beginning of the SIPP panel, and includes person-interviews from the second SIPP interview until and including the time segment the respondent forms an extended family household or is right censored. The sample for models of extended family instability includes person-interviews for individuals who are living in an extended family household until and including the time segment they are no longer living in one, experience a change in the household roster (apart from changes due to marriage, divorce, births, or adoptions), or are right censored. We generally do not use the first interview because we include lagged variables in our models and most of our lagged variables are unobserved for the first interview. After excluding cases with missing observations, the analytical sample for the models of extended family instability includes 12,457 person-interviews (6,259 immigrant and 6,198 native), and the sample for models of extended family formation includes 47,228 person-interviews (23,159 immigrant and 24,069 native).

Discrete-time hazard models can be estimated with any model for binary or categorical dependent variables (e.g., logit, multinomial logit, probit, complementary log-log). We use multinomial logistic regression to model the transition in living arrangement (L_{it}) as a function of the duration of the spell (D_t), and individual (I) and household (H) characteristics at time $t-1$:

$$\text{Ln}(L_{it}/(1-L_{it})) = \alpha + \phi D_t + \gamma I_{it-1} + \delta H_{it-1}.$$

The estimation of standard errors depends on the assumption that observations are selected independently. The clustered stratified sampling design of the SIPP violates the assumption of independence. To reduce correlation among observations, we use modeling procedures designed by STATA Corporation (1997; also Levy and Lemeshow 1999) to take into account clustering within sampling strata and PSUs.

Left Truncation. Our sample is left-truncated because it includes people who were living in an extended family household at the time of the first interview. This introduces sample selection bias because ongoing extended family spells are likely to be of longer duration; shorter spells had already ended by the beginning of the SIPP observation period. One solution would be to drop all ongoing spells from the data (Guo 1993; Allison 1995) but this would severely limit our analysis of household stability to time periods of three years or less. A more appealing option is to construct approximate start times of ongoing extended family household spells, possible because the SIPP includes retrospective data on place of residence for all adults age 15+, and estimate conditional likelihood discrete-time hazard models that condition the likelihood function on the length of the spell. Conditional likelihood models are identical to standard discrete-time hazard models, except that the starting time is defined as the beginning of the extended family spell and not the time the case first enters the sample. For left-truncated cases this means that D_t is adjusted to include the duration of the ongoing spell prior to the first interview. The conditional likelihood approach is similar to period life tables in that it combines and follows multiple cohorts for a short period of time, whereas standard discrete-time hazard models are similar to cohort life tables that follow a single cohort over a longer duration of time (Guo 1993).

Duration of on-going spells. For those entering extended family living arrangements during the SIPP panel, it is straightforward to measure the duration of extended family spells (in months since formation). For those in an ongoing spell at the first interview, we use retrospective data on place of residence to construct start times (and thus duration of the spell). The SIPP includes the month and year that each person age 15+ moved into the household. We use this information to reconstruct households back in time in order to estimate how long adult (age 25+) family members had been living together. Most (61%) ongoing spells were three years or less in duration at the start of the SIPP interview, with an average duration of 4.8 years. The start time estimates are only approximations and probably underestimate the

duration of ongoing spells because they do not incorporate time spent in the household by extended family members who moved away prior to the first SIPP interview; they reflect only the duration of the household composition as of the first interview.

Immigration Status and Time in the U.S. In the descriptive analyses, we distinguish among Mexicans living in Mexico, U.S. born natives, settled immigrants who have been in the United States for 10 years or more, recent arrivals who had been in the U.S. 5 to 9 years, and new arrivals who had been in the U.S. less than 5 years. In the models, we use years in the U.S. as a continuous measure with a squared term to allow for non-linearity. Unfortunately, the SIPP does not collect data on parents' place of birth, and therefore does not permit us to separate second generation natives from other U.S. born.

Controls. Economic and dependent care and health needs are likely to be associated with entry into and stability of extended family living arrangements. Economic need is measured as the income-to-poverty ratio of each person's MHU. Dependent care is measured with age (and a squared term to account for non-linearity), and the presence of children ages 0-4, 5-9 and 10-17 in the person's MHU. We use self-reported physical health (ranging from excellent to poor health) as a proxy for health care needs. We also include measures of marital status (widowed or divorced/separated, married vs. never married), number of children borne or fathered, and years of education because these are known to be associated with living arrangements and kin availability. We also control for calendar year to take into account period effects, and in instability models, we control for variables indicating the size or complexity of the household (number of MHUs, number of children, and horizontal household structure). Means on all the independent variables for both analytic samples are shown in Table 1.

RESULTS

Prevalence

We first examine with census data the prevalence of extended family living arrangements for Mexicans living in Mexico, Mexican immigrants living in the U.S., and U.S.-born Mexican-

Americans. Immigrants show a unique pattern of living arrangements. First, the prevalence of horizontally-extended family living is greater for Mexican immigrants (22.7%) than Mexican U.S. born natives (6.6%), Mexicans living in Mexico (6.1%), and non-Hispanic white natives (1.9%). Further, horizontal coresidence is particularly prevalent among newly-arrived immigrants. About one-third (32.5%) of those in the U.S. for ten years or less live in a horizontally-extended household compared with 17.3% among longer-resident Mexican immigrants. In contrast, the prevalence of vertical coresidence is generally low for recent arrivals (18.0%) compared with non-migrants in Mexico (34.5%), more settled immigrants who had lived in the U.S. 10 years or more (27.9%), and U.S.-born Mexican-Americans (26.4%).

To examine the life course patterns of extended family living arrangements, we estimate levels of coresidence by age using both U.S. and Mexican 2000 Census data (Figure 1). The results are broken down by householder status, indicating the total percentage coresiding (Figure 1A), the percentage living in the home of an extended family member (Figure 1B) and the percentage sharing their own home with extended kin (Figure 1C). The percentage coresiding with extended kin is higher for immigrants than non-immigrants in Mexico and the United States for all age groupings (Figure 1A). In addition, the percentage living in the home of extended kin (Figure 1B) is nearly identical for Mexicans in Mexico and Mexican-Americans, with higher levels of coresidence at both the younger and older ages. Mexico elders are more likely to live as a dependent than Mexican-Americans, however, possibly a result of the underdevelopment of social insurance programs in Mexico. Immigrants, nevertheless, stand apart as having higher rates at all ages, especially among the elderly and recent arrivals. The Mexico and Mexican-American age patterns are also similar with respect to hosting extended kin in their own household, except that Mexicans exhibit higher levels at middle and older ages than Mexican-Americans (Figure 1C). For recently-arrived immigrants, however, coresidence is spread more evenly across the life course, with higher rates at the younger ages and lower rates at older ages than non-immigrants.

[Figure 1 about here]

We further examine age patterns of coresidence in the context of multivariate models with the pooled U.S. and Mexico census data, controlling for the influence of sex, marital status, education, and disability status, and including interaction terms between age (and age-squared) and place of residence, nativity, and time in the U.S. The interaction terms are statistically significant. The results of the multivariate analysis tell the same story as the descriptive analysis (predicted probabilities by age are shown in Figures 2A and 2B¹). Except at older ages when Mexicans in Mexico are especially likely to live with kin in their own household, Mexicans in Mexico and U.S. born Mexican Americans exhibit similar levels and follow similar age patterns of coresidence. However, immigrants—particularly new arrivals—diverge from this basic life course pattern in that they are more likely to take kin into their own household at younger ages than their counterparts in Mexico or the U.S, and they are much more likely to live in someone else's household at older ages. In short, these results provide almost no evidence that immigrants replicate extended family forms from Mexico when they immigrate. The level and life course patterns of coresidence of Mexicans in Mexico are more similar to U.S. born Mexican Americans than they are to those exhibited by immigrants. Immigrants' level and age pattern of coresidence, particularly their high levels of living in the home of other relatives, appear to be a unique family form associated specifically with migration.

[Figure 2 about here]

Incidence

Support for the idea that migration itself alters family behavior patterns is clearly suggested by the prevalence patterns in which living arrangements of immigrants diverge from both Mexican Americans and those in Mexico. Recall that we also expect that recently-arrived immigrants will be more likely to form extended family households (particularly horizontally-extended

¹ The predicted probabilities are estimated for ever-married women, two children, not disabled, and 12 years of education.

households), even after adjusting for socioeconomic and demographic factors. To test this we examine the rate of entry into extended family living arrangements (i.e., incidence). Among those living in a non-extended household at the first interview, we measure incidence as the percentage forming an extended family household within two years of the first interview.

Unfortunately, similar data on the dynamics of extended family living arrangements in Mexico is not available. Thus, we only examine patterns among those living in the U.S. for the following analyses of household formation and stability.

Consistent with the migration perspective, rates of entry into horizontally-extended family households are high among recently-arrived Mexican immigrants (7.6%) and decline linearly with time in the U.S., reaching a low of 2.8% among Mexican natives (Table 2). The pattern is quite different for vertical living arrangements however. Rather than declining with duration in the US, entry into vertically-extended living arrangements is relatively low among new arrivals and steadily increases with time and generations in the U.S. This pattern may be due to the onset of aging, illness, and greater kin availability that accompanies time in the United States.

[Table 2 about here]

Our incidence measures are relatively conservative because we can only measure incidence for those initially not coresiding. Many immigrants, especially elderly immigrants, move directly into extended households when they immigrate. We estimate that among immigrants who ever lived in an extended family household, 18% of those who arrived before age 35 moved directly into an extended family household when they arrived in the U.S. This percentage increases to 26% for those arriving between ages 36 and 55, and reaches 75% for those arriving after age 55. Those most likely to coreside are, of course, most likely to also be doing so at the first interview so we are less likely to capture them transitioning from a simple to extended household and their incidence rates may appear lower than they actually are.

Models of Extended Family Formation. To examine the relationship between nativity and duration and coresidence while controlling for other factors that are associated with

coresidence such as age, kin availability (as indicated by number of children borne/fathered), and health, we estimate event history models of the formation of an extended family household by type (Table 3, Models 1 and 2) and householder status (Table 3, Models 3 and 4) among those living in a simple household at the first interview.

[Table 3 about here]

Parallel to the descriptive results in Table 2, nativity and time in the U.S. have significant effects on living arrangements, with more years in the U.S. and U.S. birth positively related to transitioning into vertical coresidence and negatively related to moves to horizontal living arrangements (Model 1). The models predicting coresidence as the householder (“Own HH”) versus not as the householder (“Other HH”) show that nativity status and time in the U.S. does not have a significant effect on the likelihood of transitioning to coresidence by householder status (Model 3). Immigrants and natives do not have significantly different probabilities of moving in with extended kin versus having extended family members move into one’s own household.

The demographic and socioeconomic indicators, introduced in Models 2 and 4, generally operate as expected based on previous research on coresidence across the life course. For example, those with characteristics associated with retirement and aging are more likely to transition to a vertically-extended household: ever-married older adults with greater kin availability (more children borne/fathered) but with fewer children under 18 (Model 2). On the other hand, those with fewer immediate family attachments--younger, single adult males with fewer children ever borne/fathered--are more likely to form a horizontally-extended household. Consistent with the idea that extended family households are formed in response to economic and health care needs, both types of extended living arrangements are associated with poor health (higher on the general health status scale) and lower levels of education.

The models predicting coresidence as the householder (“Own HH”) versus not as the householder (“Other HH”) show the demographic patterns associated with support and

dependency more clearly. For example, those in poorer health are more likely to move in with others rather than have others come live with them. Also, the odds of having kin move in increase with age, peaking around age 50, and then decline to very low levels (lower than among young adults) after age 65. Thus, we replicate a “sandwich generation”-type picture in which middle-age adults are providers for both younger and older generations. The odds of moving into the household of a relative, on the other hand, are highest among young adults and decline with age. Unlike the cross-sectional age pattern we find for Mexico, however, coresidence in another person’s household does not rise at older ages in the United States.

Once demographic and socioeconomic controls are introduced in Model 2, nativity and duration are no longer significantly related to entering a vertical household, nor do they significantly relate to coresidence by householder status. However, nativity and duration remain strongly associated with horizontal coresidence. To help interpret the combined effects of nativity and years in the U.S. in Model 2, we estimate predicted probabilities of living in an extended family household by nativity and years in the U.S.² Shown in Figure 3A, the probability of forming a horizontal (but not vertical) household declines rapidly with years in the U.S. and between immigrants and natives. Overall, the life course pattern is replicated for immigrants and natives in the case of vertical coresidence because socioeconomic and demographic characteristics explain the pattern by nativity. But the expectations formed for recent migrants receives greater support in the case of horizontal coresidence because nativity and duration remain strong predictors of household formation despite controls.

[Figure 3 about here]

Further evidence of the importance of migration as a determinant of living arrangements comes from the fact that the life course patterns associated with the formation of extended family living arrangements—particularly when differentiated by householder status—appear

² The predicted probabilities are estimated for 35-year-old never-married women, two children, in excellent health, income twice the poverty level, and 12 years of education.

markedly different for recently-arrived immigrants than other immigrants or natives. The interactions among age, nativity, and time in the U.S. are statistically significant in the models of extended family household formation. The predicted age-patterns (Figure 4) are reminiscent of the descriptive results for Mexican Americans and individuals in Mexico. Among recent arrivals, predicted levels of coresidence as the householder, although higher than other groups, are much flatter across the life course. In the case of coresidence in someone else's household, new arrivals follow the opposite age pattern as natives, with higher rates among the elderly rather than young adults. Thus, immigrants coming at middle to older ages are especially likely to form an extended family household, and moreover, are more likely to live in someone else's household rather than take kin into their own household.

[Figure 4 about here]

Instability

If life course transitions were the key to extended family household formation, then the stability of these households should also be associated with aging and family transitions. But as with extended family household prevalence, it seems likely that migration could interrupt or alter these patterns and we may see less stability of living arrangements for recent immigrants than natives. To assess this idea, we use multidecrement life table techniques to estimate the percentage expected to experience some type of instability in their living arrangement within two years from the time they started coresiding³. Household "instability" could be brought about by having extended family households dissolve into simple or nuclear households or it could reflect the addition or removal of individual household members but with the household retaining its extended structure.

³ These life tables follow an initial cohort of 100,000 people entering an extended family household over the years spent living in the extended family living arrangement. There are two types of decrements: transitioning to a simple household and experiencing turnover. The probability of making each type of exit (q_{x1} and q_{x2}) is calculated from the SIPP data as the proportion making the transition by duration of coresidence spell. Separate life tables were estimated by nativity and years in the U.S. (0-4, 5-9, and 10+).

The results show that recently-arrived Mexican immigrants in extended family households tend to have the least stable living arrangements, again offering evidence that migrants have more temporary living arrangements than those in the United States for longer periods of time. Among these recent immigrants, 90.6% in horizontal and 88.7% in vertical-households experienced some type of instability over two years compared with 80.6% and 71.4% among more settled immigrants, and 93.4 and 65.8% among U.S.-born Mexican-Americans (Table 4). Further, most of the instability in recent Mexican immigrants' households comes not from moves to the simple household type but from other changes that maintain an extended household form. In other words, recent immigrants, especially recent Mexican immigrants, are more likely than their native counterparts to live and remain in extended family households but are not more likely to live in stable households. To provide further evidence of these associations, we next present the results of the multivariate models of household formation and stability.

Models of Extended Household Instability. We estimate event history models predicting instability due to transition to non-extended or turnover among those living in an extended family household. We originally estimated instability models separately by type of extension (vertical or horizontal). Because the results did not differ by type, we pool those in horizontal and vertical living arrangements and include in the models dummy variables indicating type of extension. In general, the results lend further support to the migration perspective (Table 5).

[Table 5 about here]

In the absence of demographic and socioeconomic controls, nativity and time in the U.S. are significantly related to the likelihood of turnover, but not significantly related to the likelihood of transitioning to a non-extended living arrangement. The odds of experiencing turnover are nearly 90% higher for the foreign-born new arrivals compared with natives, but decline by 2.3% for each additional year in the U.S. (Model 1). This result does not change when demographic and socioeconomic controls were introduced in Model 2. To help interpret the combined

nativity-time effect, we estimate predicted probabilities of instability by nativity and years in the U.S based on Model 2². Shown in Figure 3B, the probability of experiencing turnover is highest for new arrivals and declines sharply with time and generations in the U.S. In contrast, the likelihood of transitioning to a simple household has no relationship to nativity or time in the U.S. Frequent movement could reflect circular migration back to Mexico or may be symptomatic of the uncertainty associated with the settlement process in the United States. Either way, it is clear that the frequent fluctuations in living arrangements among recent arrivals are not simply explained away by their life course stage or economic status alone.

To see whether extended household stability varies by stage in the life course, we estimate models that include interaction terms between age (and age-squared) and nativity and time in the U.S. The interactions are not statistically significant. The results, therefore, suggest that extended family living arrangements are no more stable for older recent immigrants than immigrants who arrived at younger ages. Older recent immigrants may be drawn to the United States for the express purpose of residing with kin, and our results show this group to be very likely to move into and live in an extended family household, but these living arrangements are relatively unstable just like those of other recent immigrants.

Discussion

Aging and family status are associated with extended family living arrangements, and middle aged adults are more likely to “host” these households than others. However, migration itself interrupts this normative pattern of extended family household formation found in the US and Mexico. Perhaps the most compelling evidence is that the pattern of coresidence is more similar between Mexican Americans and individuals in Mexico than Mexican immigrants. Recent immigrants especially exhibit unique characteristics that differ markedly from other immigrants and natives on multiple dimensions. Recent immigrants are more likely to reside in extended family households, particularly households made up of other kin from a similar point in the life course. Older recent immigrants are less likely while younger recent immigrants are

more likely to “host” these households than their counterparts in the United States and Mexico. Finally, the extended households of recent immigrants are more likely to experience turnover in composition. The high level of turnover in these households is consistent with a highly dynamic migration pattern of temporary, circular migration or precarious settlement in the United States. The fact that these households do not completely break apart is also suggestive of the use of “port in a storm” host households receiving new arrivals as others depart.

The unique patterns observed for recent immigrants may be partially attributable to differences in the availability and composition of kin in the United States for very recent arrivals. But it is doubtful that kin availability accounts for everything. First, recent arrivals, who are less likely to have extended kin living in the United States, already show higher levels of coresidence. If we were to control for kin availability, recent arrivals would probably exhibit even higher levels of coresidence. In other words, our results probably understate rather than overstate the effects of time in the United States. Second, recent arrivals exhibit unique stability patterns, and our analyses of extended household instability effectively control for kin availability by limiting the sample to those already living in an extended family household.

Nevertheless, the migration process does not entirely account for the higher levels of extended family living arrangements among Mexican immigrants living in the United States. A key difference between Mexicans and Mexican-Americans—even after adjusting for socioeconomic and demographic differences—is that Mexicans in Mexico who are age 65 and older are much more likely to coreside than their counterparts in the United States. This difference is not necessarily solely attributable to cultural differences between Mexico and the United States. Another explanation is that retirement programs like Social Security are not widely available in Mexico. Even in the United States, elderly coresidence was high during the years and in states where Social Security benefits were not yet fully available, but then declined to present levels when Social Security was fully phased in (McGarry and Schoeni 2000). This suggests that, at least in the United States, the primary engine of change was the governmental

provision of the means to live independently at older ages rather than (or in addition to) cultural shifts.

One intriguing finding is that extended household formation, *but not extended household instability*, follows predictable aging, health, and income patterns. The stability of extended family living arrangements does not appear to be associated with life course patterns or instrumental needs. The poverty level of extended family households is only weakly related to household stability or turnover, and life course variables such as age, marital status, and health have no effect at all. Rather, the stability of the household over time is driven by nativity, duration in the United States and household size (number of MHUs). As noted by Boyd (1989), the social and economic factors leading to the formation of an extended family household are not necessarily the same as those influencing their stability. More theoretical and empirical work is necessary to better understand the social and economic factors that help sustain extended family living arrangements.

Our results call into question the ability of family members to provide financial support to newly arrived immigrants (as per the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act and the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act (PRWORA)). Although we do not observe the extent to which recent immigrants are receiving economic support from non-residential kin, within households it appears that coresidence is primarily a temporary arrangement during the short period following immigration regardless of age at arrival, health status, or income. Further, the most recent arrivals, who presumably need the most assistance, tend to have the least stable extended family living arrangements. In short, extended family living arrangements do not appear to last longer or be more stable for those with greater migratory, financial or health care needs.

As alluded to above, one limitation of our research is that we are unable to fully control for kin availability. Another is that we are not able to examine the dynamics of living arrangements on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, and thus are unable to make a

binational comparison of the stability of extended family living arrangements. These limitations cannot be addressed without new longitudinal data that includes household composition histories and the location and characteristics of non-residential extended kin living in the United States and abroad. Despite these limitations, however, the results strongly suggest that the very high levels of coresidence observed among recently-arrived Mexican immigrants are more an outcome of the migration process than a cultural import from Mexico. Many researchers and policy makers, when examining family processes among the Mexican-origin population in the United States, have attributed nativity differences to Mexican immigrants' familistic values without considering the role of the immigration process itself (for a critique of this literature, see Feliciano, Bean, and Leach, forthcoming). Our results cast doubt on this routinely-used explanation, particularly for the results of research that does not make comparisons with non-migrants in sending countries. Nativity differentials in family behaviors are not necessarily a product of differential assimilation, and we urge greater caution when interpreting them.

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Table 1**Means for Independent Variables in the SIPP Person-interview Samples
of Extended and Non-extended (simple) Households**

	<u>All Mexican Origin</u>		<u>Mexican Immigrants</u>		<u>Mexican-Americans</u>	
	Extended	Simple	Extended	Simple	Extended	Simple
Duration of current spell	8.579	1.524	7.085	1.526	10.058	1.521
Originally In Simple HH	0.000	1.000	0.000	1.000	0.000	1.000
Originally In Vertical HH	0.682	0.000	0.600	0.000	0.763	0.000
Originally In Horizontal HH	0.228	0.000	0.337	0.000	0.120	0.000
Originally In Vertical & Horizontal HH	0.091	0.000	0.064	0.000	0.117	0.000
Number of MHUs in HH	2.223	1.000	2.218	1.000	2.229	1.000
Immigrant	0.498	0.491	1.000	1.000	0.000	0.000
Years in U.S.	9.597	9.218	19.282	18.769	0.000	0.000
Age	46.744	42.008	45.534	40.499	47.944	43.463
Male	0.489	0.507	0.506	0.526	0.471	0.489
Married	0.535	0.759	0.628	0.809	0.443	0.712
Divorced/Widowed	0.212	0.122	0.180	0.086	0.243	0.156
Never Married	0.253	0.119	0.192	0.105	0.314	0.132
Children 0-4 in MHU	0.177	0.384	0.275	0.483	0.080	0.289
Children 5-11 in MHU	0.297	0.671	0.425	0.825	0.171	0.522
Children 12-17 in MHU	0.271	0.512	0.351	0.589	0.192	0.437
General Health Status (1=excellent; 5 = poor)	2.303	1.607	2.240	1.561	2.365	1.652
Children Borne/Fathered	2.688	2.609	3.045	2.886	2.333	2.341
Income to Poverty Ratio	2.410	2.291	2.003	1.757	2.813	2.807
Years of education	9.165	10.212	7.743	8.624	10.575	11.745
Person-interviews	11,716	45,673	5,897	22,570	5,819	23,103

Source: 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 SIPP. Sample: Original SIPP Mexican origin age 25+ respondents' person-months from all available interviews during first observed spell of specified living arrangements until and including month of change in living arrangement or censorship.

Table 2

Percentage Transitioning From Simple to Extended
Within 2 Year Time Period

	Horiz.	Vert.	Any Ext.
<u>Mexican Immigrants</u>	3.8	8.8	12.4
0-4 Years in U.S.	7.6	7.6	14.7
5-9 Years	5.8	6.7	12.2
10+ Years	3.0	9.4	12.2
Mexican Natives	2.8	9.3	11.8
<u>NH-white Natives</u>	1.1	4.5	5.5

Source: 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 SIPP.

Age 25+ only.

Table 3

**Entry into Extended Family Household
By Type of Extension or Householder Status (odds ratios)**

	By Type of Extension				By Householder Status			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	vertical	horizontal	vertical	horizontal	Own HH	Another's HH	Own HH	Another's HH
Foreign-born	0.448 ***	2.925 ***	0.759	2.044 *	0.881	1.191	1.327	0.548
Years in U.S.	1.055 **	0.934 **	1.013	0.928 **	1.019	0.977	0.981	1.012
--- Squared (U.S. Born)	0.999 +	1.001 *	1.000	1.002 **	1.000	1.001	1.000	1.000
Age			1.179 ***	1.027			1.226 ***	0.854 ***
Age-squared			0.998 ***	0.999			0.998 ***	1.001 +
Male (vs. Female)			0.994	1.578 ***			0.974	1.574 **
Married			1.494 *	0.612 **			2.018 ***	0.470 **
Divorced/Widowed (Never Married)			1.727 **	1.544			2.004 ***	1.866 **
Children 0-4 in MHU			0.674 **	0.945			0.810 *	0.658 *
Children 5-11 in MHU			0.691 ***	1.004			0.756 ***	0.717 *
Children 12-17 in MHU			0.778 **	0.804			0.789 **	0.520 **
General Health Status			1.070	1.294 ***			1.050	1.404 ***
Children Borne/Fathered			1.235 ***	0.872 +			1.167 ***	1.124 +
Income to Poverty Ratio			0.993	0.975			1.007	0.905 *
Years of Education			0.966 **	0.953 *			0.954 ***	0.989
Intercept	0.070 ***	0.015 ***	0.001 ***	0.045 **	0.052 ***	0.042 ***	0.000 ***	3.377
N	45,673		45,673		45,673		45,673	
Pseudo R-sq	0.024		0.074		0.022		0.075	

*** p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05 +p<.10

Source: 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 SIPP. Sample: Original SIPP Mexican origin age 25+ respondents' person-months from all available interviews during first observed spell of non-extended living arrangements until and including month of change in living arrangement or censorship. All models control for calendar year.

Table 4

% Experiencing Instability In Extended Family Living Arrangement Within 2 years

	Originally Horizontally-Extended			Originally Vertically-Extended		
	Any Instability	Trans. to Simple	Turnover	Any Instability	Trans. to Simple	Turnover
<u>Mexican Immigrants</u>	83.1	60.2	22.9	74.3	48.1	26.2
0-4 Years in U.S.	90.6	42.9	47.7	88.7	39.2	49.5
5-9 Years	81.3	64.6	16.7	81.5	43.0	38.4
10+ Years	80.6	70.2	10.5	71.4	51.1	20.4
<u>Mexican Natives</u>	93.4	76.2	17.2	65.8	45.1	20.7
<u>NH-white Natives</u>	53.5	39.0	14.4	52.3	38.2	14.2

Source: 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 SIPP panels. Age 25+ only.

Table 5

Event History Models of Instability of Extended Family Living
Arrangement By Type of Change (odds ratios)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Change to Simple HH	Turnover	Change to Simple HH	Turnover
Duration	0.879 ***	1.009	0.847 ***	0.998
--squared	1.002 ***	1.000	1.003 ***	1.000
Foreign-born	1.133	1.872 ***	0.747 +	2.037 **
Years in U.S. (U.S. Born)	0.997	0.977 ***	1.010 +	0.975 **
Number of MHUs (t-1)			1.426 ***	1.583 **
Horizontal HH			1.449 **	0.822
Vertical & Horizontal HH			0.717	1.312
Age			1.013	1.029
Age-squared			1.000	1.000
Male (vs. Female)			1.074	0.955
Married			1.327	1.006
Divorced/Widowed (Never Married)			1.278	1.081
Children 0-4 in MHU			1.352 **	1.491 **
Children 5-11 in MHU			1.283 **	0.936
Children 12-17 in MHU			0.994	0.915
General Health Status			0.987	0.964
Children Borne/Fathered			0.988	1.062
Income to Poverty Ratio			1.065	1.239 +
--squared			0.994	0.972 *
Years of Education			1.002	1.014
Intercept	0.145 ***	0.059 ***	0.058 ***	0.011 ***
N		12,457		12,457
Pseudo R-sq		0.026		0.063

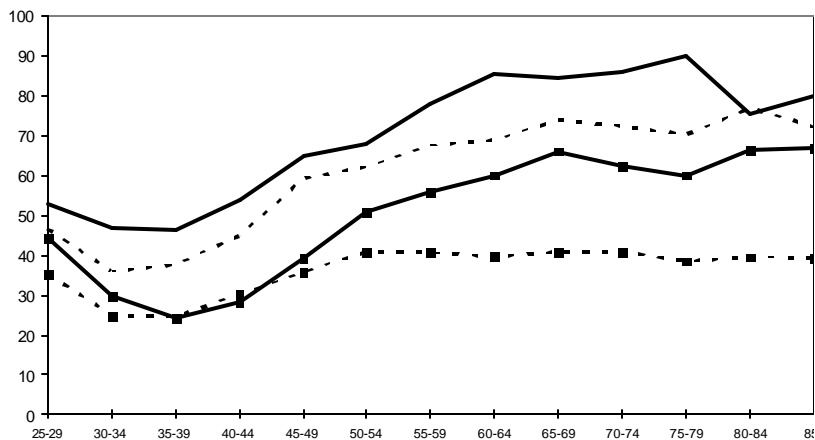
*** p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05 +p<.10

Source: 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 SIPP. Sample: Original SIPP Mexican Origin age 25+ respondents' person-months from all available interviews during first observed spell of extended living arrangements until and including month of change in living arrangement or censorship.

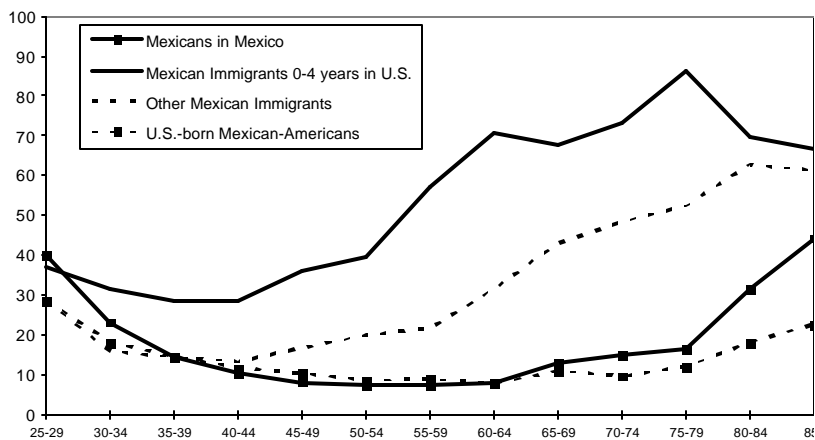
Figure 1

Observed Life Course Patterns of the Prevalence of Extended Family Living Arrangements

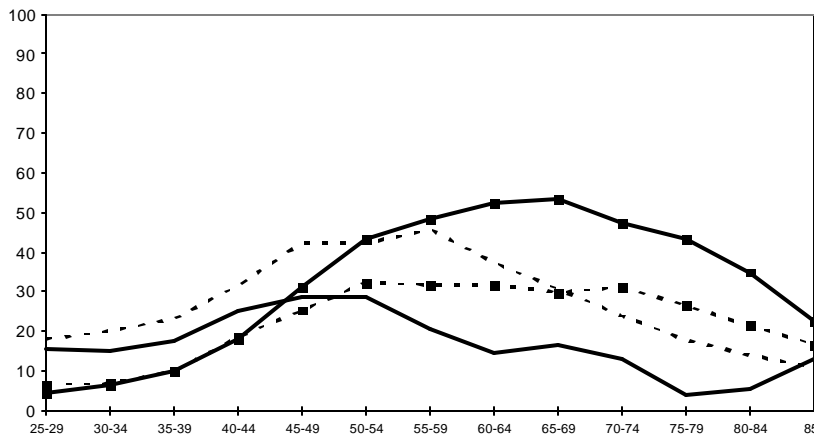
1A. Percentage Co-residing with Extended Kin (total)



1B. Percentage Living in Home of Extended Kin



1C. Percentage Sharing Own Home with Extended Kin

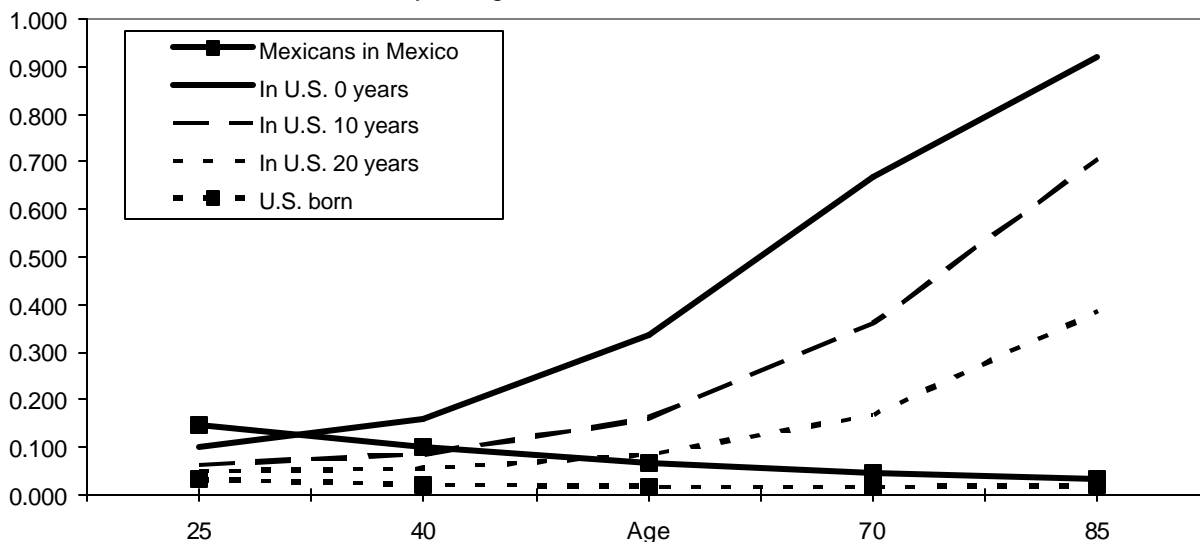


Sources: 2000 Mexico and U.S. censuses (1% samples). Age 25+ only.

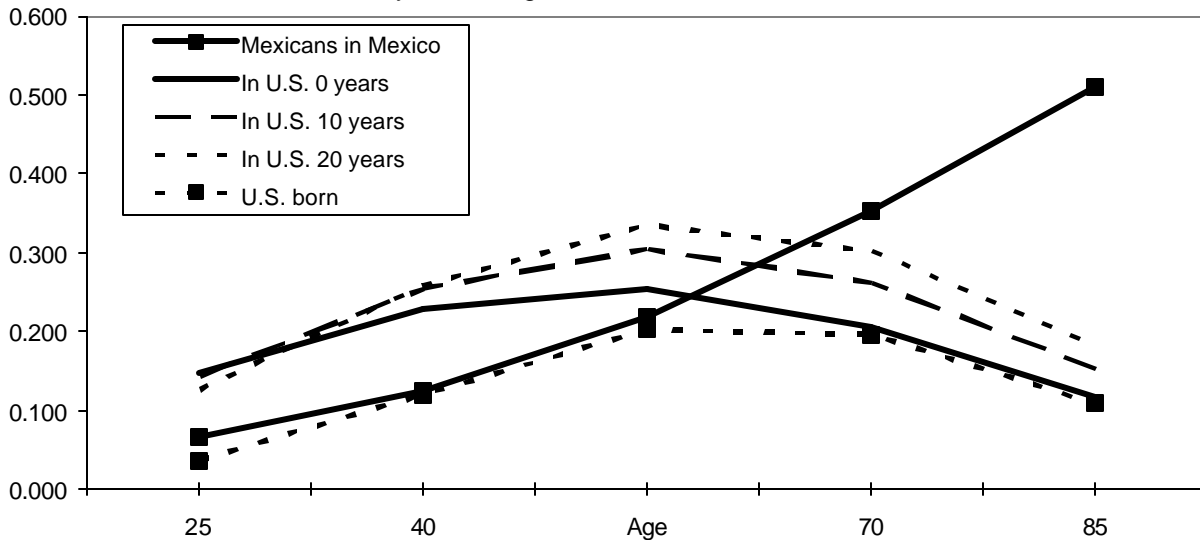
Figure 2

Predicted Life Course Patterns of the Prevalence of
Extended Family Household (controlling for sex, marital status, education, and disability)

2A. Predicted Probability Living in Home of Extended Kin



2B. Predicted Probability of Sharing Own Home with Extended Kin

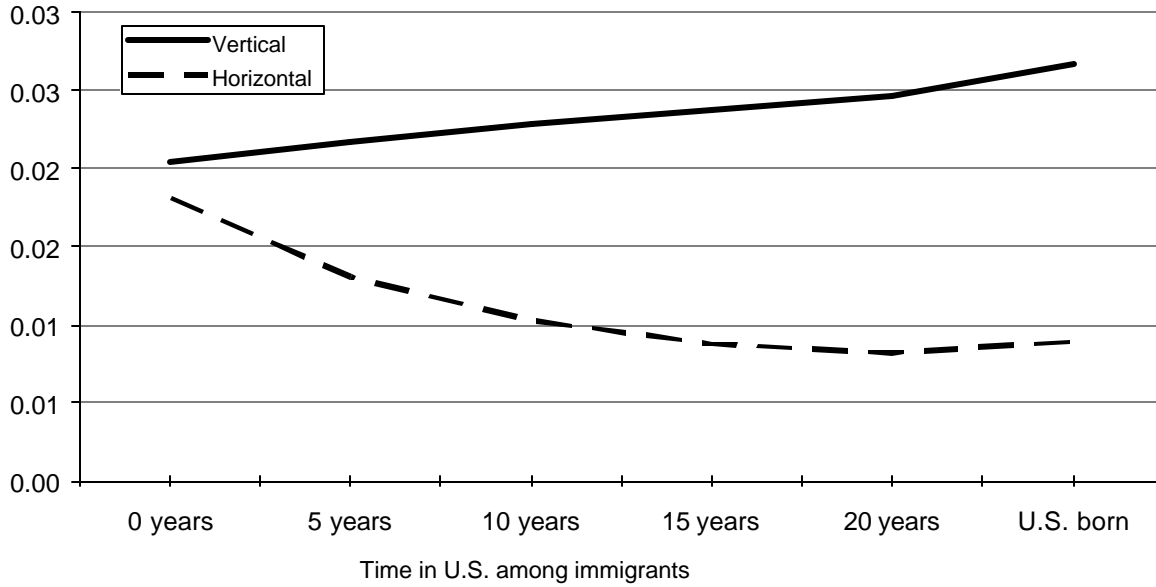


Sources: 2000 Mexico and U.S. censuses (1% samples). Age 25+ only.

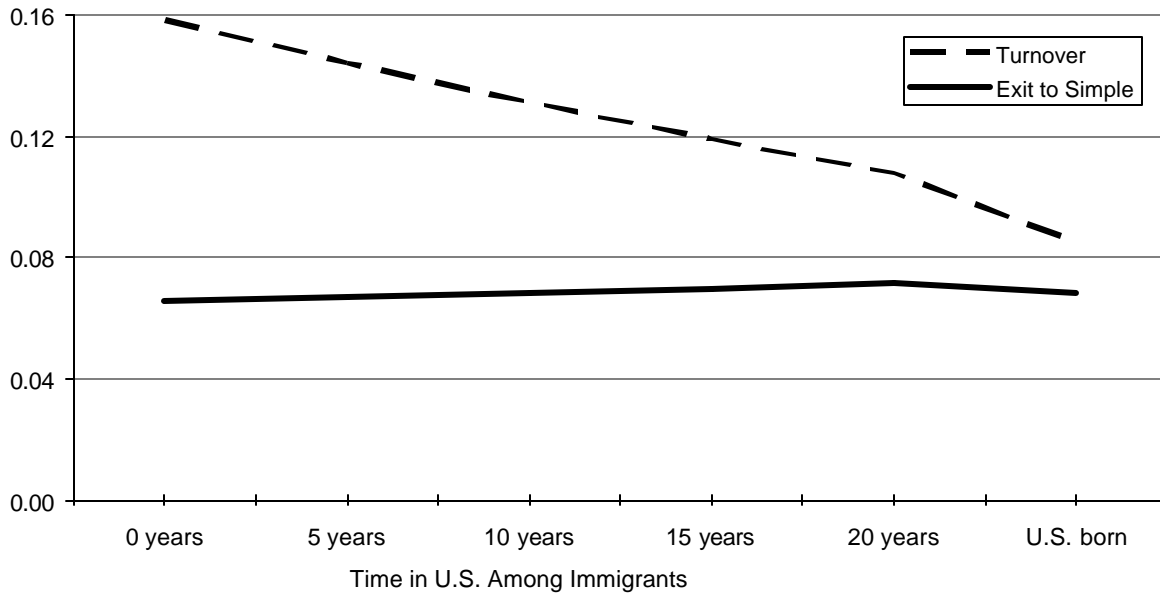
Figure 3

**Predicted Formation and Instability of Extended Family Living Arrangements
By Nativity and Time in the U.S.**

3A. Predicted probability of transitioning to Vertical or Horizontal Extended Family Living Arrangement



3B. Predicted Probability of Instability of Extended Family Living Arrangement

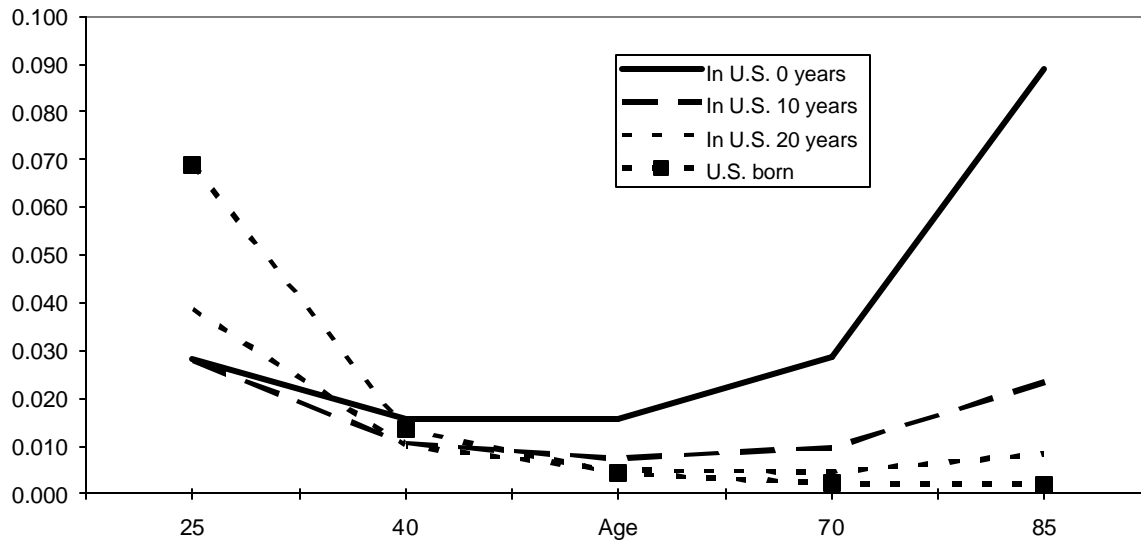


Source: 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 SIPP. Age 25+ only.

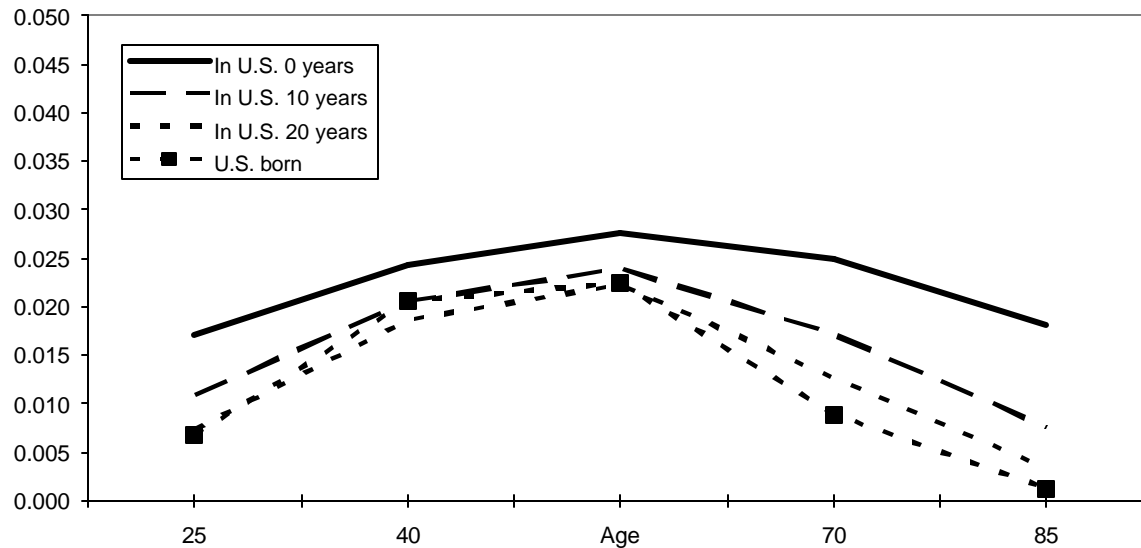
Figure 4

Life Course Patterns of the Formation of
Extended Family Household by Nativity & Time in the U.S.

4B. Predicted Probability of Transitioning into Someone Else's Household



4A. Predicted Probability of Taking in Extended Kin in Own Household



Sources: 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 SIPP. Age 25+ only.