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Parents' Coresidence with Adult Children:
Can Immigration Explain Race and Ethnic Variation?

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Abstract

Intergenerational coresidence is generally viewed as an adaptive living arrangement for both parents and their adult children facing economic constraints. Yet despite the importance of socioeconomic characteristics in predicting living arrangements, racial and ethnic differences persist. In this paper, we demonstrate that much of the race and ethnic variation in living arrangements is attributable to recent immigration and the relative economic position of immigrant parents. Using data from the Current Population Surveys, results suggest that recent immigrant parents, particularly Asian and Central and South American immigrant parents, are more likely to live in households in which their adult children provide most of the household income. The likelihood of living in this "dependent" role decreases with duration of residence in the United States. Differences in the ethnic composition and incomes of recent older immigrants relative to longer resident immigrants who age in the United States and to the U.S. born explains little of the greater reliance on coresidence by recent immigrant parents. The likelihood of living in a household in which the parent themselves provides the majority of the household income is not as tied to nativity and appears to be most common among younger parents.

Parents' Coresidence with Adult Children: Can Immigration Explain Race and Ethnic Variation?

The population of older adults in the United States has risen dramatically and will continue to rise well into the next century. As our society ages, the racial/ethnic composition of the older generation also will change. The percent of those aged 65 and older who are members of a racial or ethnic minority group is projected to increase from 16 percent in 1998 to 24 percent in 2025, and to 34 percent in 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports P25-1130: 94, Table 3). These changes raise significant questions about the economic and social well being of older adults from different backgrounds. For example, black, Hispanic and Asian elderly tend to be poorer than non-Hispanic whites, and all are more likely to reside with their children (Burr and Mutchler, 1992; Himes, Hogan and Eggebeen, 1996); perhaps in part because they derive social and economic support from their children. As minorities come to make up a larger proportion of the overall elderly population, they have the potential to transform intergenerational relations.

One key factor leading to the greater race/ethnic diversity of the older population is immigration. While some older immigrants were relatively young when they entered the United States, many are newer arrivals. As of 1990, 37% of the elderly foreign-born population in the U.S. had entered after 1965 (Rogers and Raymer, 2000). It stands to reason that recent immigration may be contributing to the diversity of intergenerational living arrangements across a variety of minority groups. If race/ethnic differences in living arrangements are attributable to immigration (recent immigration, in particular), this would imply that the current diversity of living arrangements is temporary unless immigration continues at high enough levels to fuel it. Further, such a result would imply that the projected changes in race/ethnic composition would not necessarily be accompanied by society-wide shifts in living arrangements. On the other hand, if the current race/ethnic differences in living arrangements cut across both immigrant and native groups and can be linked to

cultural or socioeconomic differences, this would imply that the living arrangements of the older generation will be transformed as it becomes more ethnically diverse.

Our focus here is on the importance of immigration on the racial/ethnic diversity of the older population in the United States and how this diversity may alter the extent to which extended family resources are drawn upon for meeting social and economic needs. One way to measure exchanges between extended family members is to look at the prevalence of intergenerational coresidence. We examine differences in the prevalence of coresidence of older adults with their adult children. We address three specific questions. First, how much can immigration, particularly recent immigration, help explain racial and ethnic variation in older parents' residence with their adult children? Second, how do parent-adult child households among recent immigrants differ from those of longer resident immigrants or older adults born in the United States? Third, do socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, such as access to public sources of income or age, explain nativity differences in the distribution of resources within households shared by parents and their adult children?

Background

Race, Ethnicity and Living Arrangements. Research has repeatedly demonstrated large racial and ethnic group differences in living arrangements among older adults. Hispanic and African American elderly are more likely to live in extended family households than Non-Hispanic Whites (Worobey and Angel, 1990a; Mutchler and Frisbie, 1987). Within the Hispanic population, extended family living arrangements are more common among those of Mexican origin and less common among Puerto Ricans with Cubans and other Hispanics falling somewhere in between although this appears to vary substantially by age, headship and migration status (Burr and Mutchler, 1992; Blank and Torrecilha, 1998). Overall, elderly Asians are more likely to live with extended family members than are elderly non-Hispanic Whites. There is a more limited literature intergenerational coresidence within Asian subgroups. One study finds that Southeast Asians are

particularly likely to share households with kin (Himes, Hogan and Eggebeen, 1996). Another study focusing only on elderly women suggests that extended family living is higher for Filipino and Korean followed by Chinese and Japanese women (Burr and Mutchler, 1993b).

Immigration and Living Arrangements. Increased immigration from Asia and Latin America has clearly influenced the race and ethnic composition of the United States in recent years. Further, the prevalence of extended family living is increasing in part due to this immigration from non-European countries in the last half of the twentieth century (Glick, Bean and Van Hook, 1997). Rates of extended family living among immigrants tend to be higher than their U.S. born counterparts but this varies substantially not only by national origin but by duration of residence in the United States as well (Angel et al., 1996; Burr and Mutchler, 1993a; Glick, Bean and Van Hook, 1997; Tienda, 1980).

Explanations for changes in extended family living by duration of residence in the United States often begin with the presumption that recent immigrants come to the United States with their own unique values and preferences that influence their family behaviors, including sharing households with adult children. The sense of obligation to support elderly parents newly arrived in the receiving society may increase coresidence with adult children among some immigrants particularly Hispanic and Asian immigrants, groups with more recent immigration histories (Wilmoth, DeJong and Himes, 1997; Burr and Mutchler, 1999). And, newly arrived immigrants may be more likely to coreside if they migrated in order to join their relatives in the United States.

Regardless of differential preferences to share households, however, immigrants may also face structural constraints that encourage coresidence. Newly arrived immigrants may lack extra-familial social networks in the United States. Until such networks are developed, recent arrivals may depend on extended family members for housing and other forms of support (Kibria, 1994; Sanders and Nee, 1996). Structural constraints, such as limited housing, not only influence parent-adult child coresidence in the United States, but appear to encourage higher rates of coresidence in other countries despite changing preferences for independent living (Logan, Bian and Bian, 1998).

Much of the research investigating group-level differences in living arrangements finds that socioeconomic resources, while not the only relevant factor, do indeed provide some explanation for coresidence (Angel and Tienda, 1982; Burr and Mutchler, 1993b; Mutchler and Frisbie, 1987; Jayakody, 1998). Thus, constraints encountered during the migration process (e.g. need for housing) may also encourage coresidence among newly arrived immigrants.

Types of Living Arrangements. Groups with similar rates of coresidence could vary in the economic role parents and their adult children play within their shared households. Since parent-adult households may be formed to meet the needs of different individuals, looking at coresidence without considering the distribution of resources across generations within shared households may mask important variation in the patterns of intergenerational support (Jayakody, 1998; Speare and Avery, 1993). We expect that the importance of duration of residence in the United States on the living arrangements of older adults will be more clear once we distinguish between households in which parents are economically dependent on their adult children versus other types of economic arrangements. This is because recent immigrant parents are less likely to have the resources necessary for living on their own or to assist their adult children. There is considerable disparity in the economic well being of older adults in the United States. Most notably, Non-Hispanic White elderly have experienced the greater share of the increased standard of living among the older population (Rendall and Speare, 1995). Non-Hispanic White elderly are also much less likely to be recent immigrants than are those in other racial and ethnic groups. We expect recent immigrants to have patterns of parent-adult child coresidence most dissimilar to U.S. born adults.

Hypotheses

Our analyses will assess the importance of immigration on the racial and ethnic diversity of family patterns in the United States, focusing specifically on the living arrangements of older adults. We pay particular attention to the duration of residence of older immigrants. Immigrants may either arrive as older adults or age into older adulthood while in the United States, leading to two very different groups of older immigrants. According to a basic assimilation model, extended family

households will become less prevalent the longer immigrants are in the United States as their ability to “buy privacy” increases and they no longer adhere to preferences for coresidence they may have brought from their country of origin (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1989; Burr and Mutchler, 1993a). From this perspective, coresidence should also decrease with exposure to the United States and across generations.

If this model holds true (i.e., if convergence takes place from the first to the second generation), the impact of immigration on intergenerational relations in the United States will be relatively short-term. This is because differences among the U.S. born--not the foreign born--have the greatest implications for race/ethnic variation in the future. Even if immigration continues at its current levels, the U.S.-born component of the Hispanic and Asian populations will increase over time relative to the foreign-born component. If race/ethnic differences in living arrangements are small in the U.S. born generation as predicted by an assimilation model, diversity in living arrangements will decrease as the proportion who are U.S. born increases.

Just as immigration has increased in the past few decades, so too has the number of immigrants who enter as older adults. Recent immigrants who migrate as older adults may move to the United States in order to receive support from their children and may be particularly inclined to reside with adult children. However, older new arrivals also have shorter work histories in the United States and less access to public resources like Social Security. Therefore, we expect the formation of multigenerational households will be part of an adaptive response to adverse structural conditions including economic disadvantage (Angel and Tienda, 1982; Burr and Mutchler, 1993a). Our first hypothesis is simply that: *racial/ethnic groups for whom recent immigration among older adults is more prevalent will have higher rates of parent-adult child coresidence.* Although simple in its construct, this hypothesis has large implications for intergenerational relations in the future given the growth of new immigrant groups in the United States as discussed above.

Immigrants who entered the United States as younger adults and are aging here will have had more opportunity for attachment to the labor force and to form the social and economic ties

necessary to remain independent of their adult children as they age. In addition, these longer residents or those born in the United States who do reside with adult children may be more likely to provide their own economic resources to these households. From the middle of the twentieth century to the present, younger generations have become increasingly dependent upon older generations, older adults are more financially independent today than in the past and play an important role in intergenerational assistance (Goldscheider, Biddlecom and McNally, 1994; Hogan, Eggebeen and Clogg, 1993; McGarry and Schoeni, 2000). Thus, while parent-adult child households among immigrants who have been in the United States for some time could be formed in response to the same norms of filial piety brought by more recent immigrants, they are also likely to be formed in response to the needs of adult children. Therefore, we hypothesize: *Recent immigrant parents will be more likely than longer resident immigrants to reside in households in which their children provide the majority of the income to the household.*

Finally, older, longer resident immigrants who are aging in the United States will have had more time to accrue work experience and other resources in the United States making residence with adult children less likely and making it less likely that those who do reside with their adult children will be financially dependent upon them. Because income and Social Security receipt are expected to play an important role in living arrangements among older adults (McGarry and Schoeni, 2000), we expect whatever cultural differences in the expectation of support for parents there may be among immigrants to be mediated by socioeconomic status and exposure to the United States. This leads to a final hypothesis: *Recent immigrants are more likely to reside with their adult children and provide less income to the household than longer resident immigrants because they have lower incomes and less access to Social Security.*

Data and Measures

One problem involved in conducting research on extended family living arrangements among various racial/ethnic and age groups is that it is difficult to find a data source that contains enough

cases to examine small populations. Although many surveys contain a wealth of cross-sectional and longitudinal information about economic and social exchange relationships with both residential and non-residential relatives (e.g., National Survey of Families and Households, Health and Retirement Survey, Panel Study of Income Dynamics), these data sources do not contain enough cases to analyze Hispanic and Asian sub-groups. However, the Current Population Survey (CPS) has a large enough sample to allow this level of detail in the analysis, particularly when data files from adjacent years are combined, and unlike census data, provides up-to-date information about potentially rapidly changing sub-populations. Therefore, despite obvious limitations in the information concerning living arrangements provided in CPS data, our analysis relies on the combined 1995-1998 Demographic Supplements (March) of the CPS.

Another concern in research in household/family structure involves the choice of unit of analysis. If we were to use the household as the unit of analysis, it would be impossible to discern whether the household characteristics result from or lead to the formation of particular living arrangements. For example, extended-family households tend to include more people than non-extended family households, but this does not necessarily mean that larger families are more likely to co-reside. An equally plausible explanation is that extended households are larger because they contain multiple subfamilies. To help isolate the characteristics that lead to the formation of extended households from those that result from their formation, we use Minimal Household Units (MHUs) as the unit of analysis. 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; Ermish and Overton, 1985; Glick, Bean, and Van Hook, 1997). Independent of whomever they live with, married couples, single adults age 25 and olderⁱ, and parents with minor children are counted as separate MHUs. Non-extended households contain only one MHU (or two or more non-related MHUs), while extended family households are made up of two or more related MHUs. In contrast to using households, the usage of MHUs allows the isolation of characteristics of subfamilies or single adults from those of the larger household. And, in contrast

to using individuals, MHUs take into account the associations of individuals with non-extended family members (e.g., spouses and minor children).

The sample is restricted to MHUs in which the head or spouse (whoever is older) is (1) either living autonomously (with no other MHUs) or living with at least one adult child or adult grandchild¹ and (2) age 45 or older. The small percentage of MHUs involved in other living arrangements are excluded from the sample, such as those living in group quarters and those living with non-relatives or other relatives but not an adult child. Those living with an adult child *in addition to* other relatives or non-relatives are retained in the sample². With respect to the age cut-off, we focus on an older population since older adults are more likely to have adult-aged children. But at the same time, we include those as young as age 45 because we wish to include middle-aged parents, most of whom are still in the labor force, in order to gain a more complete picture of the financial relationships parents have with co-residential adult children. Finally, we retain child-parent pairs in which the parent belongs to one of the following race/ethnic groups: non-Hispanic white, Black, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central/South American, Cuban, East Asian, Southeast Asian and South Asian/Middle Eastern. Because of ambiguities concerning those identifying as “other” or “other Spanish,” we drop these cases from the sample. The final sample includes 69,921 MHUs, 8.2 percent of whom reside with an adult child.

Relative Economic Contributions.

Our analysis of the potential for economic support and exchange in multigenerational households uses a series of proxy variables including the ratio of household income that is brought to the household by parents living with adult children. Unfortunately, the CPS does not contain information on economic exchange between family members. Therefore, we infer financial

¹ Defining the relationship is relatively simple when the parent is also the head of the household. In this case, we rely on the relationship code that is provided in the CPS, which identifies the relationship of each person in the household to the household head. However, when the parent is not the head of the household, we use the relationship codes of both the parent and the other MHU head to infer what the relationship must be. For example, if the head of the first MHU is the mother of the householder, and the head of the second MHU is the householder, then we conclude that the head of the second MHU is the child of the first.

² Of households containing parents and adult children, only fifteen contain multiple “parent units” (0.3 percent). For the purpose of analysis, we focus on a single parent-child pair in each household selected randomly from the pairs in the

relationships indirectly by examining the distribution of income of the parent and child units in the household. We cannot directly measure whether resources pass between the generations in the household but we assume that household income is distributed in a more or less uniform fashion (Lazear and Michael, 1988). Thus, we presume that the generation (parent or adult child) with the least amount of income receives some economic benefit from sharing residence with the generation with the greater amount of income (e.g. Rosenzweig and Wolpin, 1994). Individuals may provide other types of support and assistance to family members including advice, childcare and assistance with household chores but we do not measure these types of support here since our data are limited to the distribution of income within households. In addition, we note that our investigation applies only to those economic resources brought in by individuals within the same household. The extent to which these groups differ in their economic contributions to those living in other households goes beyond the scope of the present study.

Income is measured as the total income for all the persons in the MHU accrued over the previous calendar year. We assume that parents who report much less income than their co-residential adult children are, to some degree, financially supported by their children. Conversely, if the adult children report much less income than their co-residential parents, we infer that the adult children are, at least in part, financially supported by their parents. The primary assumption we make is that household income is shared roughly equally among household family members (Speare and Avery, 1993; see also Citro and Michael (1995) for a discussion on this yet unresolved issue).

We estimate the degree to which the parent's income "contributes" to the overall income of the parent-child pair as the ratio of income per adult in the parent unit to income per adult across both the parent and children MHUs³. This measure ranges from zero to about three, with a value of

household. We first randomly select one parent unit from each household. Of these randomly selected parent units, 120 live with more than one "child unit" (2.7 percent). For these households, we randomly select one of the child units.

³ We experimented with a number of different measures, including a ratio of the income of the parent MHU to the total income of both the parent and child MHUs, ratios of income per person, adult, and working-aged adult in the parent unit to that in the combined parent and children MHUs, and the income-to-poverty ratio of the parent unit over the combined parent-child units. Preliminary analyses show that all five of the measures are highly correlated ($r > .75$ for all pair-wise

one meaning that the parental unit “contributes” about as much per adult as does the “child” unit. In other words, if the parental unit were to reside apart from the child unit, income per adult in the parental household would not change. A value of 1.5 indicates that the household income per adult would increase for the parental unit by 50 percent if it lived apart from the child unit (i.e., the parents make more money than the co-residential adult children, so if the adult children moved out, income per adult would increase). Conversely, a value of 0.5 indicates that the household income per adult would be reduced by 50 percent if the parental unit were to live apart from the child unit. For the analyses, we further collapse this variable into three categories: (1) Parent “dependent” on child unit (values less than about 0.6), (2) child “dependent” on parent (values greater than about 1.2), and (3) neither dependent—with one-third of the co-resident sample falling in each category.

Race/ethnicity.

Because of the large sample size of the combined CPS files, we are able to identify nine separate groups in sufficient numbers for analysis: non-Hispanic White, Black, East Asian, Southeast Asian, South Asian/Middle Eastern, Mexican, Central/South American, Puerto Rican and Cuban. Except among Asians, race and ethnicity are based on the self-identification of the head of the parent unit. The race and ethnic identifiers in the CPS do not allow the distinction among different Asian sub-populations. However, because nearly all of the Asian families in our sample were either immigrants or children of immigrants (92 percent), we were able to further classify this group on the basis of place of birth or parents’ place of birth. Asians who reported that they or one of their parents were born in China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, or Taiwan were classified as East Asian. Those originating from Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore or Vietnam were classified as Southeast Asian, and the remaining were classified as South Asian/Middle Eastern (most reported coming from India, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey). These

correlations), and load heavily on a single factor in a confirmatory factor analysis. As such, there exists no empirical basis for selecting one measure over another.

categories do mask some of the variation within these Asian subgroups but our classification is preferable to grouping all Asians into a single panethnic group.

Potential Income.

Previous research has demonstrated the importance of income—and socioeconomic status in general—as a predictor of extended family living arrangements (Lee and Dwyer, 1996; McGarry and Schoeni, 2000). However, an observed negative association between *current* income and living arrangements may result from a tendency for income to decline *as a result of* transitions into extended family living. For example, older adults may opt to retire early and move in with their adult children in order to help care for grandchildren.

Rather than use observed income as a predictor of living arrangements, we attempt to construct a measure of potential income, that is, a measure of the MHU income *if it was autonomous (i.e. without coresidential units)*. For units already living autonomously, this is simply reported income of the MHU. For those in households with more than one unit, potential MHU income is estimated on the basis of fixed characteristics (education, gender of the MHU head, marital status, and race). That is, we first estimate OLS models of income among those living autonomously, using educational status (Aquilino, 1990), gender, and marital status (Eggebeen and Lichter, 1991; Burkhauser, Butler and Holden, 1991) as independent variables. Since different race/ethnic groups may exhibit differential income returns to education, gender, and marital status, we estimated the models separately for Blacks, non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and Asians. We then use the results of the models to estimate predicted income for the co-resident MHUs (i.e., for each co-resident MHU, we substitute into the models values for education, gender, and marital status separately by race/ethnicity). As expected, our measure of potential income tends to be higher than actual income among co-resident MHUs (by about three thousand dollars for blacks, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans, four thousand for Central/South Americans, five thousand for non-Hispanic whites, nine thousand for Cubans, and sixteen thousand dollars for Asians).

Other Measures.

In addition to the measures discussed above, we rely on a number of other variables as controls or conditional variables in the multivariate analyses. Each is a characteristic of parents that is hypothesized to affect the likelihood of coresidence as well as the type of financial relationship parents have with resident children. Although the characteristics of the parent's children also play a role in determining type of living arrangement, we cannot control for their characteristics because the CPS does not collect information about children living in other households. To the degree that children's characteristics are correlated with their parents', the coefficients for the parent's variables may capture some of the effects of the children (McGarry and Schoeni, 2000).

We include an indicator of Social Security receipt since this type of income, over and above our measure of potential income described above, may indicate the degree to which a parent can depend upon a steady source of income regardless of whether they are able to work or not. Marital status is important for a number of reasons. Families headed by never married or divorced persons often lack a second wage earner leading to higher poverty rates (Eggebeen and Lichter, 1991). Widows may also experience drops in income if they do not qualify for the same levels of Social Security or retirement benefits as did their spouse (Burkhauser, Butler and Holden, 1991). We therefore include indicators of marital status for both the parent and child units (widowed, divorced or separated, never married, versus currently married).

We also include measures of age and disability because these are likely to be associated with health, labor force participation and income. We measure age of the oldest member of the parent unit as continuous variables. Disability is measured as a dichotomous variable, with those indicating that they cannot work, retired, or work limited hours because of illness or disability classified as "disabled."

Finally, we examine the effects of nativity and recency of arrival among immigrants since the process of incorporation (associated with time in the United States) for immigrants may be associated with living arrangements as well as lower labor force participation, earnings, or

retirement income (Boyd, 1991; Smith and Edmonston, ch. 8, 1997). Specifically, we examine the effects on living arrangements of having immigrated in the past ten years and more than ten years ago. We also examined the effects of generation in the United States (i.e., immigrants are specified as first generation, U.S. born children of immigrants as second generation). However, since second generation immigrants were very similar with respect to living arrangements to the U.S. born, we combined the second generation with U.S. born.

Results

We first examine parent-adult child coresidence by race and ethnicity and find that residence with an adult child varies widely by race and ethnicity. In contrast to non-Hispanic whites, significantly higher percentages of minority group members live with adult children (Table 1, first column). Twenty-four percent of MHUs headed by Asians (and nearly 30 percent of Southeast Asian MHUs), 20.6 percent of Mexican, 17.5 percent of other Hispanics, and nearly 15 percent of Black MHUs live with an adult child. By contrast, only about six percent of MHUs headed by non-Hispanic whites do.

[Table 1 about here]

While minority parents are more likely to live with their adult children than non-Hispanic whites, the fact that many are involved in this type of living arrangement does not reveal how race and ethnic groups may vary in the direction of economic support within these multigenerational households. As described above, we divide the co-resident sample in three equally sized groups on the basis of the distribution of household income. This results in roughly 2.7 percent classified as living in a household in which the income distribution suggests that the parent is financially dependent on the adult child, another 2.7 percent in households where the parent and child units appear to contribute equally, and the final 2.7 percent in households where the child unit appears to be financially dependent on the parental unit (Table 1, see first row in both the top and bottom panels).

Most notably, Asians and Hispanics (particularly Central and South Americans) appear financially dependent on resident children more often than others both in absolute terms (top panel) and relative to those who live with adult children (bottom panel). Nearly 14 percent of all Asians and 12 percent of Central/South Americans appear to be financially dependent on a co-resident adult child. These groups are also among the most likely to be involved in the other two types of living arrangements. Regardless, the “dependent-parent” type of living arrangement clearly predominates, with more than half of all resident parents in these groups appearing to be financially dependent.

The prevalence of the “dependent-parent” household among Asians and Central/South Americans is even more pronounced when compared to other minority groups. Members of these groups (Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and to some extent, Mexicans) are less likely to be involved in extended households in which they appear to be financially supported by their children; their distribution across the three types of living arrangements is much more even. We note that Black parents are slightly more likely than the average resident parent to be involved in a “Dependent Child” type of extended household although the distribution across household types for Blacks is actually quite flat and very similar to non-Hispanic whites (see bottom panel). Moreover, other groups are more likely than blacks to be involved in the “child-dependent” type of living arrangement (i.e., Mexicans) or in the combined “child-dependent” and “neither dependent” categories (i.e., Southeast Asians, Mexicans, and Central/South Americans).

We expect characteristics associated with the immigration process and with being an immigrant to be related to the likelihood that parents live with their children and with the financial relationship that parents have with resident children. If race/ethnic groups vary substantially in immigration status and if immigration status is an important predictor of living arrangement, the race/ethnic variations observed in Table 1 may be partially or entirely explained by immigration. As shown in Table 2, immigration status and recency of arrival vary substantially by race/ethnicity. Nearly all non-Hispanic white and black MHU heads are U.S. born (close to 95 percent for both groups). In contrast, nearly half of Mexicans and nearly all Asians and other Hispanics are foreign-

born (81 percent of Asians and 90 percent of other Hispanics). Moreover, Asians (particularly southeast Asians) and Central/South Americans—the groups with the highest rates of residence with an adult child—stand out as the groups with the least experience in the United States; 14.2 percent of Asians (17.6 percent of southeast Asians) and 12.9 percent of Central/South Americans arrived in the United States within the past ten years.

[Table 2 about here]

Immigration status, independent of race/ethnicity, is associated with coresidence, but only in the case in which it appears that the parent is financially dependent on the child. As shown in Figure 1, Panel A, recently-arrived immigrants are much more likely to live with an adult child as a financial “dependent” than other immigrants, and both groups of immigrants are more likely to be involved in this type of household than U.S.-born citizens. This basic pattern can be observed for each of the race/ethnic groups (Figure 1, Panel A, shows the pattern for larger race/ethnic groupings, but the results are the same for “Asian” and “Other Hispanic” subgroups as well). The relationship between nativity/recency of arrival and other types of coresidence (i.e., the combined “Neither dependent” and “child dependent” categories), is not as strong or consistent across groups (Figure 1, Panel B). This suggests preliminary support for our hypothesis that groups for whom recent immigration among older adults is more prevalent will have higher rates of parent-adult child coresidence.

To determine the extent to which race and ethnic variations in living arrangements can be explained by compositional differences in nativity and recency of arrival, we conduct a decomposition analysis following the methodology of Kitagawa (1956). That is, for each race/ethnic group, we partition the difference from non-Hispanic whites in coresidence into parts attributable to (1) differences in coresidence within nativity/recency groupings and (2) differences in nativity/recency composition⁴. The results are shown in Table 3; Panel A shows results for

⁴ This technique was first introduced by Kitigawa (1955) and later elaborated groups $(R1 - R2)$ can be expressed as the sum of two terms: $\sum[(r1,j - r2,j)(p1,j + p2,j)/2]$, and $\sum[(p1,j - p2,j)(r1,j + r2,j)/2]$, where j indicates the j th group among the component sub-populations (based on nativity and recency of arrival) and P is the proportion of the total

residence with parents as financial dependents, and Panel B pertains to the other types of coresidence (i.e. where “Neither is dependent” or “Child-Dependent”). The first two columns show the difference from non-Hispanic whites in coresidence (within each nativity/recency of arrival group) and nativity/recency composition. The last two columns show the amount of the total difference from non-Hispanic whites that may be attributed to (or explained by) differences in coresidence rates and nativity/recency composition.

[Table 3 about here]

For example, coresidence levels among East Asians tend to be much higher than non-Hispanic whites among recent arrivals and other immigrants, but nearly identical among the U.S. born (column 1). Taken together, these differences would result in an overall difference in coresidence of about 4.1 percentage points if the two groups were identical in composition (“Total” row, column 3). Most of this amount ($1.0 + 2.7 = 3.7$ percentage points) can be attributed to differences among recent arrivals and other immigrants; only 0.4 is due to differences among the U.S. born. East Asians are also much more likely to be foreign born than non-Hispanic whites. This compositional difference accounts for about 7.3 percentage points (about 64%) of the overall 11.3-point differential, twice the amount attributable to differences in rates. Taken together, the results suggest that most of the difference in coresidence between East Asians and non-Hispanic whites is related to immigration: 64% due to the fact that more East Asians are immigrants (and immigrants in general have higher levels of coresidence), and 32.6% due to the fact that East Asian immigrants are even more likely to coreside than non-Hispanic white immigrants.

In the case of the type of coresidence in which the parent appears to be financially dependent, immigration composition and high coresidence levels among immigrants explain most of the difference between race/ethnic minority groupings and non-Hispanic whites. In most cases (East Asians, other Asians, and Central/South Americans), only a small fraction of the differential can be

population that belongs to each sub-population. The first term indicates the change that can be attributed to changes in the relative sizes of the sub-populations (the "composition" component), the second to change in fertility within the sub-populations (the "rates" component).

explained by differences among U.S. natives. Puerto Ricans would even have lower overall levels of coresidence if they were identical to majority whites in nativity/recency composition. Even among Southeast Asians and Mexicans, who exhibit the largest differences from majority whites in the U.S.-born generation, the difference in coresidence among the U.S. born accounts for only a few percentage points (or about one-third) of the overall differential. The only exceptions are Blacks. Differences in composition and immigrant coresidence levels explain virtually none of the black-white differential because the two groups are relatively similar in nativity/recency composition.

In the case of the type of coresidence in which the parent is *not* financially dependent, however, a very different pattern appears. The linkage between immigration and race/ethnic variation is weak at best (Table 3, Panel B). First, except among East Asians, very little of the observed difference from non-Hispanic whites can be explained solely by differences in nativity/recency composition. Among Southeast Asians and Puerto Ricans, roughly one-fourth can be explained by composition; for the remaining groups (other Asians, Mexicans, and Central/South Americans), even less is attributable to composition. Among Blacks, virtually none of the difference can be explained by nativity/recency composition. Second, differences from majority Whites in coresidence levels remain large in the U.S.-born generation. For many groups, these differences account for a large part of the overall differential. Not surprisingly, the black-white differences in coresidence observed among the U.S. born account for virtually the entire black-white differential. But this general pattern holds even for minority groups with relatively small U.S.-born populations. In particular, in the case of “other” Asians and Mexicans, differences from majority whites in the U.S.-born generation account for more than 60% of the overall differences (or 3.0 percentage points out of 4.8 for other Asians, and 6.0 out of 8.8 for Mexicans), and among Puerto Ricans and Central/South Americans, differences in the U.S.-born generation account for about 40% of the overall differential.

Clearly, much of the explanation for the relatively high levels of coresidence among Asian and Hispanic ethnic groups is that these groups contain large proportions of immigrants. This is particularly true in the case of coresidence in which the parental generation appears to be financially dependent on resident adult children. However, the reason immigrants--recently arrived immigrants in particular--exhibit higher levels of this type of coresidence than the U.S. born remains unclear. Recent arrivals and other immigrants may be less able to support themselves in an independent household; they may be less likely to qualify for Social Security and they may have different age and marital-status profiles. All of these characteristics could affect the likelihood that individuals reside as a dependent relative in the household. Independent of these factors, immigrants may have greater preference for coresidence.

To determine the extent to which the higher levels of coresidence among recently-arrived and other immigrants can be explained by the socioeconomic and demographic factors mentioned above (as opposed to greater preferences for coresidence), we estimate multinomial logistic regression models of living arrangements. The models simultaneously predict the likelihood of coresidence as a dependent versus other types of coresidence versus living alone. The models are estimated separately for the recently-arrived immigrants, other immigrants, and the U.S. born, and include the full set of socioeconomic and demographic indicators (marital status, age, disability, gender, Social Security receipt, and predicted income). In the first set of models, we combine all race/ethnic groups together and include a set of detailed race/ethnic indicators. The model estimates are shown in Appendix Table 1. We also estimate the models separately for non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and Asians, and include appropriate indicators of ethnic subgrouping in the Hispanic and Asian models. Because of the small number of Black immigrants in the sample, we do not estimate a separate set of models for blacks. Also, because of the small number of never-married in the immigrant subsamples, we restrict the non-Hispanic white, Hispanic, and Asian models to MHUs headed by ever-married persons. The parameter estimates for these models are available on request.

We use the results of the multivariate models to decompose the differences between recent arrivals and other immigrants (see Appendix Table 2), and between other immigrants and the U.S. born (Appendix Table 3) into parts due to differences in composition (i.e., differences in *means* on the independent variables in the model) versus differences in rates (i.e., differences in *coefficients* in the model). We apply a method for decomposition employed by Glick, Bean and Van Hook (1997). In each of the two appendix tables, the first three columns display the difference in means and coefficients on all the independent variables between the two groups. The next two columns provide an estimate how much of the difference in coresidence as a dependent parent can be attributed to differences in means and coefficients; the last two columns repeat the results but in the case of other types of coresidence. Positive values indicate that the difference in the mean or coefficient *explains* the overall differential, while negative values indicate that the overall differential exists *despite* the difference in the mean or coefficient.

For example, recently arrived immigrants are more likely to be widowed and never married (Appendix Table 2, column 1). If this were the only difference between the two groups of immigrants, this would result in recent arrivals being more likely to coreside as a dependent parent than other immigrants, but only by about 0.03 percentage points ($0.10 + 0.00 + -0.06 = 0.03$). At the same time, the effects of being widowed, divorced/separated, or never married on the “dependent-parent” type of coresidence are negative for recent arrivals but positive for other immigrants. These differences—if they were the only factors distinguishing the two groups of immigrants—would result in recent arrivals being less likely to reside as a dependent parent than other immigrants (by about 6.69 percentage points). Scanning down the table, we see that differences in composition (i.e., means) account for very little of the difference in coresidence—only 3.71 percentage points of the entire 14 point differential (2nd row from the bottom).

Despite the fact that recent arrivals are less likely to receive Social Security, differences in income and Social Security account for only about 3 percentage points of the 14 point differential, and shifts in ethnicity (recent arrivals are more likely to be Asian) account for only about 2.7

percentage points. By contrast, a much greater portion of the 14-point differential can be attributed to differences in coefficients (i.e., the “propensity” to coreside given certain socioeconomic and demographic characteristics). Most striking is that recent arrivals exhibit much stronger effects of age (i.e., the slope is steeper). This difference would produce a much greater difference between the two groups than actually observed (exceeding 50 percentage points) if it weren’t for counterbalancing tendencies on the part of recent arrivals. For example, given the same marital status, predicted income and ethnicity, recent arrivals are less likely than other immigrants to coreside.

Table 4 summarizes the results of the decomposition analyses of the differences in residence as a dependent parent. Among non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics, very little of the difference between recent arrivals and other immigrants (top panel) can be attributed to differences in composition. Among Asians, the fact that recent arrivals are less likely to receive Social Security and have lower “predicted” income explains part of their high tendency to coreside. Age structure also influences coresidence both in the age composition of recent arrivals but also because recent arrivals of all groups are simply more likely to coreside, especially as they grow older.

[Table 4 about here]

The analysis of the difference between other immigrants and the U.S. born is presented in the bottom panel of Table 4. In the aggregate (“Total” row), a substantial portion of the differential can be explained by compositional differences in income and ethnicity (4.0 out of 6.2 percentage points). However, when broken down by race/ethnic grouping, very little can be explained by composition. Among Hispanics and Asians, only about two percentage points (out of about 16) can be attributed to immigrants having lower incomes, and this amount is counterbalanced by differences in ethnic and age composition that would result in immigrants having *lower* coresidence levels than the U.S. born if no other differences were present (i.e., the ethnic and age differences cannot explain the difference). Like the comparison of recent arrivals with other immigrants, other immigrants, in turn, are more likely to coreside than the U.S. born. In addition, it is interesting to note that Asian

immigrants exhibit a very different pattern of coefficients from U.S. born Asians. Given the same level of “predicted” income and within sub-ethnic groups, Asian immigrants are much more likely to coreside than their U.S. born counterparts, but these tendencies are counterbalanced partially by the fact that the effect of age is much weaker among immigrants.

Discussion

There is great variation in coresidence by race and ethnicity in the United States. This study has extended much of the previous work on intergenerational relations by examining a larger number of racial and ethnic groups than are usually considered with a single data source. We are able to go beyond comparisons of one or two groups contrasted with Non-Hispanic Whites. This study has also extended previous work by examining the financial situation within households shared by parents and their adult children. Racial and ethnic variation in intergenerational relations is more pronounced when households with the same demographic structure but different relative economic positions of household members are compared.

Consistent with our expectations, racial and ethnic variations in parent-adult child coresidence are greatly influenced by the nativity composition of the groups. That some groups contain larger proportions of recent arrivals and other immigrants than other groups, and that recent arrivals and other immigrants are more likely to coreside, explains a large part of the race/ethnic variation in living arrangements observed among Hispanics and Asians. Still more of the variation can be explained by race/ethnic variation in coresidence among immigrants—very little race/ethnic variation remains in the U.S. born generation. This finding is consistent with previous research and lends support to our first hypothesis.

However, this is true *only* in the case of coresidence in which the parent unit appears to be financially dependent on adult children. In other words, nativity differences in living arrangements are most pronounced when we consider households in which parents rely on their adult children for financial support as predicted by our second hypothesis. The smaller racial/ethnic variation in

residence with adult children who are not providing the majority of the household income is not explained by immigration. Variation in the prevalence of households in which neither unit is financially dependent or in which adult children are worse off relative to their parents may be more related to the constraints related to poverty and discrimination experienced by U.S.-born children and young adults (e.g., single parenthood, unemployment and underemployment) (Avery, Goldscheider and Speare, 1992; Jayakody, 1998; Szinovacz, 1996).

Contrary to our expectations presented in our third hypothesis, the high levels of coresidence among recent arrivals and other immigrants, for the most part, are not explained by differences in socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. While access to Social Security and income does reduce the likelihood of being in a financially disadvantaged position relative to resident adult children, little of the variation across groups is explained away by group level differences in these economic measures.

Our findings suggest that extended family households in which the parent generation is financially dependent upon the younger generation is largely a result of recent immigration among older Asian and some Hispanic parents. This situation appears to be confined to these recent arrivals suggesting that we will not see a fundamental or long-term change in the trend towards more economically independent older adults. However, racial and ethnic diversity in the financial relationship of older adults to their adult children will continue particularly under current immigration and domestic welfare policies.

Groups for whom immigration continues at high rates, particularly through the policy of family reunification which provides the opportunity to bring older adult relatives to the United States, are likely to see an increase in the number of adult children called upon to provide housing and economic support to these relatives. The 1996 Welfare Reform Act and subsequent amendments grant eligibility for welfare benefits to immigrants who were in the country as of August 22, 1996, but reduce eligibility for most kinds of welfare for the most recent arrivals (National Governor's Association, 1996). The limitation on access to public resources for

immigrants who do not become employed in the United States, some families may find they must provide “old age” assistance themselves. Our results suggest that such policies will have a differential effect on racial and ethnic groups.

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Table 1
 Percent MHU's Headed by Older Adults (age 45+) CoResident with Adult Child
 By type of Economic Relationship and Race/Ethnicity

	Total	Dependent Parent	Neither Dependent	Dependent Child
Total	8.2	2.7	2.8	2.6
Non-Hispanic White	5.9	1.8	2.1	2.0
Asian	23.8	13.8	6.0	4.0
East Asian	20.4	13.1	4.6	2.7
Southeast Asian	29.2	15.2	8.8	5.1
Other	20.9	12.0	4.3	4.6
Mexican	20.6	7.6	6.5	6.5
Other Hispanic	17.5	7.9	5.5	4.1
Cuban	14.0	6.8	4.7	2.5
Puerto Rican	14.1	4.1	6.1	3.9
Central/South American	22.6	11.9	5.5	5.2
Black	14.8	4.3	5.2	5.4
<i>Among those living with adult children</i>				
Total	100.0	33.5	34.2	32.2
Non-Hispanic White	100.0	29.9	36.0	34.0
Asian	100.0	57.9	25.1	17.0
East Asian	100.0	64.1	22.5	13.4
Southeast Asian	100.0	52.2	30.2	17.6
Other	100.0	57.3	20.5	22.2
Mexican	100.0	37.0	31.5	31.5
Other Hispanic	100.0	45.0	31.6	23.4
Cuban	100.0	48.6	33.3	18.1
Puerto Rican	100.0	29.1	43.1	27.9
Central/South American	100.0	52.6	24.4	23.0
Black	100.0	28.7	34.9	36.4

Source: 1995-1998 March Current Population Surveys

Table 2
Nativity and Time in the United States by Race/Ethnicity
Among the MHU's Headed by Older Adults

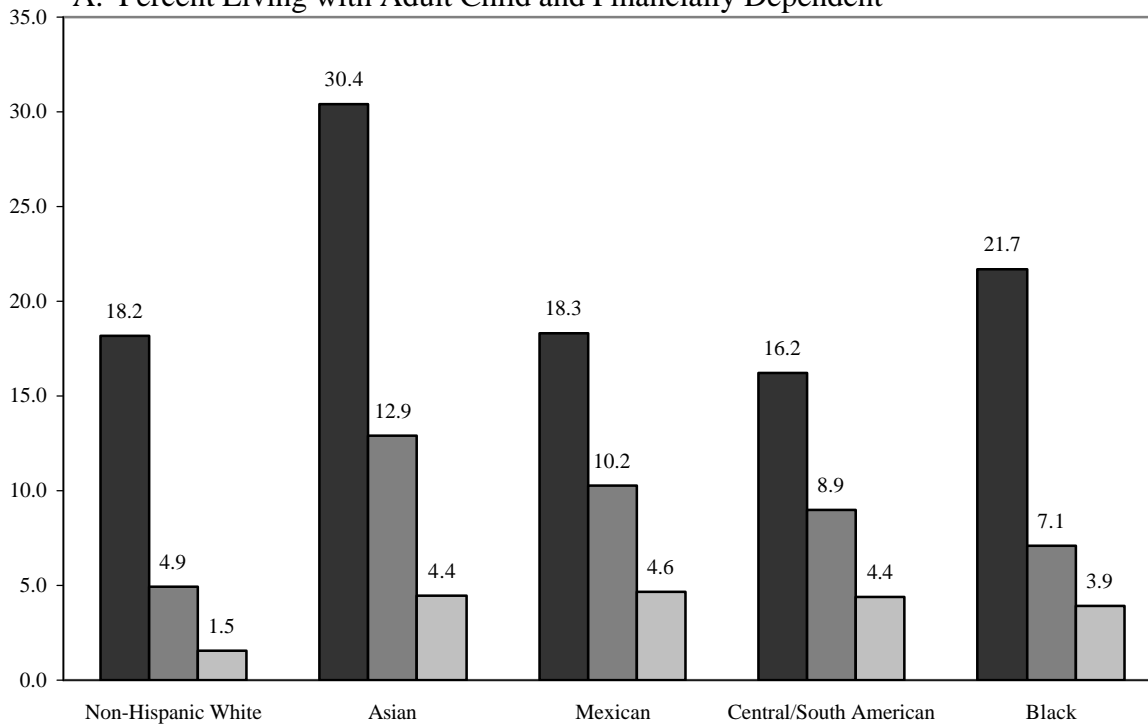
	Imm., Arrived <10 Years Ago	Imm., Arrived 10+ Years Ago	U.S. Born
Non-Hispanic White	0.4	4.7	94.9
Asian	14.2	67.1	18.7
East Asian	13.4	66.1	20.5
Southeast Asian	17.6	76.2	6.2
Other	10.6	56.6	32.7
Mexican	4.7	42.2	53.1
Other Hispanic	7.6	82.4	10.1
Cuban	4.6	91.5	4.0
Puerto Rican	3.6	76.8	19.6
Central/South American	12.9	81.7	5.3
Black	0.9	5.4	93.7
Total	1.2	9.8	89.0

Source: See Table 1

Figure 1

Living Arrangements by Nativity and Recency of Arrival and Race/Ethnicity

A. Percent Living with Adult Child and Financially Dependent



B. Percent Living with Adult Child, Not Financially Dependent

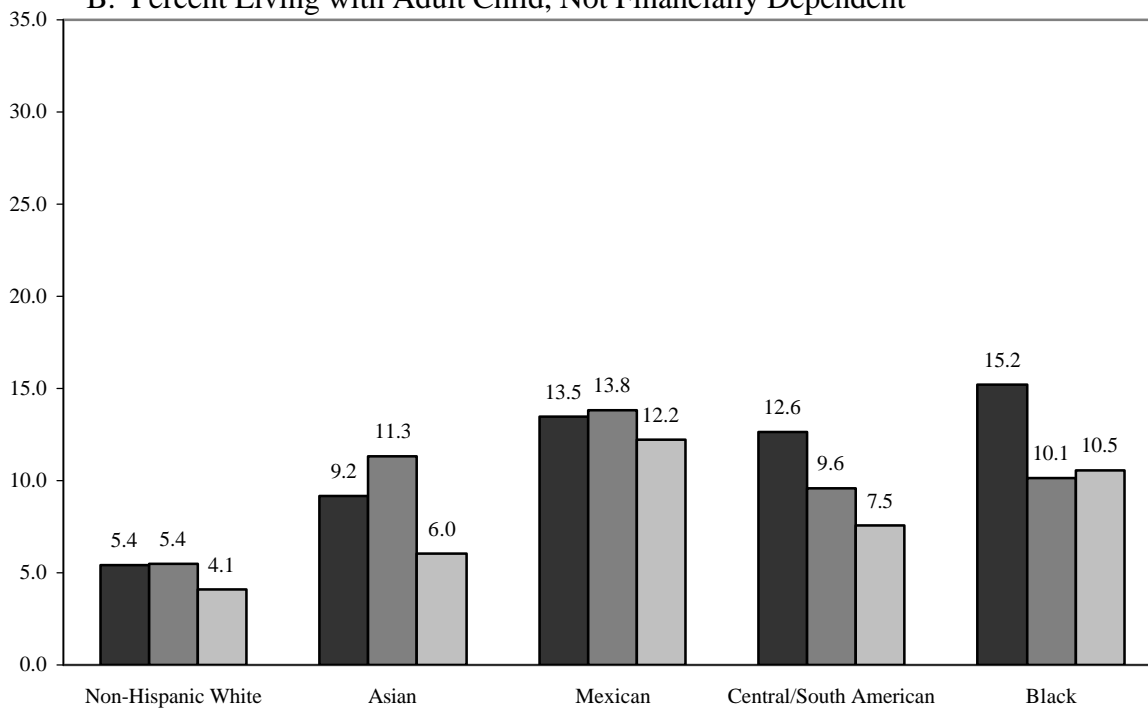


Table 3

Percentage of MHUs Coresiding with an Adult Child by Type of Economic Relationship, Nativity/Time in the U.S. and Race/Ethnicity

<i>% Dependent on Resident Child</i>		Difference From NH-Whites		Amount Due to Difference in:	
		Coresidence Rates	Nativity & Recency of Arrival	Coresidence Rates	Nativity & Recency of Arrival
East Asian	Recent Arrival	13.8	13.0	1.0	3.3
	Other Immigrant	7.7	61.4	2.7	5.4
	U.S. Born	0.6	-74.4	0.4	-1.4
	Total	11.3		4.1	7.3
SE Asian	Recent Arrival	10.9	17.2	1.0	4.1
	Other Immigrant	7.6	71.5	3.1	6.2
	U.S. Born	8.1	-88.7	4.1	-4.9
	Total	13.5		8.1	5.3
Other Asian	Recent Arrival	12.2	10.2	0.7	2.5
	Other Immigrant	9.2	51.9	2.8	4.9
	U.S. Born	0.8	-62.1	0.5	-1.2
	Total	10.2		4.0	6.2
Mexican	Recent Arrival	0.1	4.3	0.0	0.8
	Other Immigrant	5.3	37.5	1.2	2.8
	U.S. Born	3.1	-41.8	2.3	-1.3
	Total	5.9		3.5	2.3
Puerto Rican	Recent Arrival	-8.7	3.1	-0.2	0.4
	Other Immigrant	-0.3	72.1	-0.1	3.4
	U.S. Born	-0.1	-75.3	-0.1	-1.1
	Total	2.3		-0.4	2.7
Central/S. American	Recent Arrival	-2.3	12.5	-0.2	2.1
	Other Immigrant	6.9	77.0	3.0	6.4
	U.S. Born	1.9	-89.5	1.0	-2.2
	Total	10.1		3.8	6.3
Black	Recent Arrival	3.5	0.5	0.0	0.1
	Other Immigrant	2.2	0.7	0.1	0.0
	U.S. Born	2.4	-1.2	2.2	0.0
	Total	2.5		2.4	0.1

Table 3 (continued)

Percentage of MHUs Coresiding with an Adult Child by Type of Economic Relationship, Nativity/Time in the U.S. and Race/Ethnicity

% Living With Adult Child, Not Dependent		Difference From NH-Whites		Amount Due to Difference in:	
		Coresidence Rates	Nativity & Recency of Arrival	Coresidence Rates	Nativity & Recency of Arrival
East Asian	Recent Arrival	-1.8	13.0	-0.1	0.6
	Other Immigrant	4.1	61.4	1.4	4.6
	U.S. Born	-1.4	-74.4	-0.8	-2.5
	Total	3.2		0.5	2.7
SE Asian	Recent Arrival	10.7	17.2	1.0	1.9
	Other Immigrant	8.5	71.5	3.4	6.9
	U.S. Born	5.4	-88.7	2.7	-6.0
	Total	9.9		7.1	2.8
Other Asian	Recent Arrival	-0.7	10.2	0.0	0.5
	Other Immigrant	4.4	51.9	1.4	4.0
	U.S. Born	4.6	-62.1	3.0	-4.0
	Total	4.8		4.3	0.5
Mexican	Recent Arrival	8.1	4.3	0.2	0.4
	Other Immigrant	8.4	37.5	2.0	3.6
	U.S. Born	8.1	-41.8	6.0	-3.4
	Total	8.8		8.2	0.6
Puerto Rican	Recent Arrival	12.4	3.1	0.3	0.4
	Other Immigrant	4.8	72.1	1.9	5.6
	U.S. Born	3.9	-75.3	2.3	-4.5
	Total	5.9		4.4	1.5
Central/S. American	Recent Arrival	8.7	12.5	0.6	1.2
	Other Immigrant	4.8	77.0	2.1	6.0
	U.S. Born	5.3	-89.5	2.6	-6.0
	Total	6.6		5.3	1.3
Black	Recent Arrival	9.8	0.5	0.1	0.0
	Other Immigrant	4.7	0.7	0.2	0.1
	U.S. Born	6.5	-1.2	6.1	-0.1
	Total	6.4		6.4	0.0

Table 4
Decomposition of Differences in Living Arrangements by Race/Ethnicity Between Recent Immigrant,
Non-Recent Immigrant, and U.S. born Native MHUs

	Difference			Due To Compositional Differences in:				Due To Differences in Coefficients:				
	Total	Due to Means	Due to Coef's	Due to Residual	Income	Ethnicity	Age	Other	Income	Ethnicity	Age	Other
<i>Recent Immigrants - Non-Recent Immigrants</i>												
Total	14.0	3.7	14.6	10.3	3.0	2.7	-2.5	0.5	-8.5	-4.1	54.1	-26.9
NH White *	13.3	-0.8	13.5	14.1	-0.1	---	-0.9	0.1	-16.2	---	6.6	23.1
Hispanic *	7.3	1.7	12.5	5.5	1.3	1.4	-1.8	0.8	-1.7	1.8	62.8	-50.4
Asian *	17.5	10.9	15.1	6.6	8.9	-0.2	3.7	-1.5	-16.7	2.5	42.0	-12.6
<i>Non-Recent Immigrants - U.S. Born</i>												
Total	6.2	4.0	5.3	2.1	1.1	2.8	-0.1	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.5	3.9
NH White *	3.4	0.6	3.9	2.7	0.4	---	0.2	0.0	0.8	---	-5.1	8.2
Hispanic *	4.6	0.7	7.2	3.8	1.5	-1.2	0.1	0.3	0.7	-1.3	-3.0	10.8
Asian *	8.5	-0.9	28.2	9.4	2.0	-0.2	-3.0	0.3	32.3	2.0	-35.6	29.5

Source: See Table 1.

*Sample restricted to MHUs headed by ever-married persons.

Appendix Table 1
 Logistic Regression Models of Type of Living Arrangement by Nativity/Time in the U.S.
 Among MHUs Headed by Older Adults (45+)

Variable	<u>Recent Imm.</u>		<u>Non-Recent Imm.</u>		<u>U.S. Born</u>	
	Dep. Parent	Not Dep	Dep. Parent	Not Dep	Dep. Parent	Not Dep
Intercept	-7.79 *	-2.56	-5.76 *	-2.10 *	-6.83 *	-1.23 *
Widowed	-0.18	-0.51	0.81 *	-0.01	1.60 *	0.01
Divorced/Sep.	-0.41	-0.41	0.55 *	-0.23	1.23 *	-0.43 *
Never Married	-1.36	-1.70	0.07	-0.88 *	0.27	-1.66 *
Age	1.14 *	0.24	0.42 *	0.04	0.40 *	-0.10 *
Disabled	-0.40	-0.37	-0.56 *	-0.47 *	-0.41 *	-0.46 *
Female-headed	1.68 *	0.70	0.77 *	0.26	0.36 *	0.32 *
Social Security	-2.20 *	0.18	-1.02 *	-0.58 *	-1.19 *	-0.80 *
Pred. Income	-0.04 *	-0.03	-0.03 *	-0.02 *	-0.03 *	-0.03 *
Black	0.37	0.81	0.72 *	0.70 *	0.76 *	0.80 *
East Asian	0.72	-0.79	1.22 *	0.74 *	0.48	-0.96
SE Asian	1.37 *	1.53	2.12 *	1.60 *	2.54 *	1.48 *
Other Asian	2.00 *	0.35	2.36 *	1.22 *	1.62 *	1.53 *
Mexican	1.12 *	1.08	1.30 *	0.96 *	1.29 *	0.93 *
Puerto Rican	-0.61	1.25	-0.14	0.44 *	0.42	0.66 *
Central/S. Am	0.18	0.78	1.01 *	0.58 *	0.98	-0.01

Source: See Table 1. Sample includes 668 Recent Arrivals, 6,568 Non-Recent Arrivals, and 58,631 U.S. Born.

Appendix Table 2
Decomposition of Difference in Type of Living Arrangement between Recently Arrived MHUs
and other Immigrant MHUs

Variable	Diff. in Means	Diff. in Coefficients		Dependent Parent Difference Due To:		Not Dependent Difference Due To:	
		Dep. Parent	Not Dep	Means	Coef.	Means	Coef.
Intercept	---	-2.03	-0.46	---	-24.99	---	-3.87
Widowed	0.03	-0.99	-0.50	0.10	-2.93	-0.06	-1.03
Divorced/Sep.	0.00	-0.95	-0.18	0.00	-2.45	0.00	-0.33
Never Married	0.01	-1.43	-0.81	-0.06	-1.30	-0.09	-0.51
Age/10	-0.26	0.72	0.20	-2.47	54.13	-0.30	10.19
Disabled	-0.01	0.16	0.10	0.06	0.45	0.04	0.20
Female-headed	0.03	0.91	0.43	0.44	4.33	0.12	1.42
Social Security	-0.19	-1.18	0.75	3.78	-3.14	0.32	1.38
Pred. Income (\$1,000s)	1.91	-0.01	-0.01	-0.81	-5.34	-0.45	-3.01
Black	0.02	-0.35	0.12	0.14	-0.30	0.14	0.07
East Asian	0.05	-0.50	-1.53	0.60	-0.64	-0.01	-1.36
SE Asian	0.07	-0.75	-0.07	1.44	-1.03	0.89	-0.07
Other Asian	0.02	-0.36	-0.86	0.59	-0.24	0.15	-0.39
Mexican	-0.02	-0.18	0.12	-0.22	-0.33	-0.13	0.15
Puerto Rican	-0.04	-0.46	0.81	0.19	-0.26	-0.30	0.32
Other Hispanic	-0.01	-0.83	0.20	-0.08	-1.32	-0.06	0.22
<i>Subtotals of Variable Groupings</i>							
Marital Status				0.03	-6.69	-0.14	-1.87
Age				-2.47	54.13	-0.30	10.19
Disability				0.06	0.45	0.04	0.20
Gender				0.44	4.33	0.12	1.42
Income and Social Security				2.97	-8.48	-0.12	-1.64
Ethnicity				2.66	-4.12	0.67	-1.07
Intercept				---	-24.99	---	-3.87
Total Difference					13.99		0.67
Amount Due to Differences in Means or Coefficients				3.71	14.64	0.26	3.38
Unexplained Amount (Residual)					-4.36		-2.97

Source: See Table 1.

Appendix Table 3
Decomposition of Difference in Type of Living Arrangement between Recent Immigrant MHUs
and other Immigrant MHUs

Variable	Diff. in Means	Diff. in Coefficients		Dependent Parent Difference Due To:		Not Dependent Difference Due To:	
		Dep. Parent	Not Dep	Means	Coef.	Means	Coef.
Intercept	---	1.07	-0.88	---	4.95	---	-5.69
Widowed	0.00	-0.79	-0.02	0.02	-0.84	0.00	-0.03
Divorced/Sep.	0.02	-0.68	0.20	0.06	-0.64	-0.03	0.26
Never Married	0.00	-0.19	0.78	0.00	-0.06	-0.01	0.35
Age/10	-0.03	0.02	0.14	-0.05	0.46	0.01	5.62
Disabled	-0.03	-0.14	-0.01	0.07	-0.17	0.09	-0.02
Female-headed	0.03	0.41	-0.06	0.09	0.68	0.06	-0.14
Social Security	-0.08	0.17	0.22	0.43	0.27	0.38	0.51
Pred. Income (\$1,000s)	-4.55	0.00	0.00	0.64	0.57	0.74	1.06
Black	-0.05	-0.04	-0.11	-0.18	-0.02	-0.26	-0.06
East Asian	0.08	0.74	1.70	0.30	0.14	-0.05	0.45
SE Asian	0.08	-0.42	0.12	0.83	-0.08	0.77	0.03
Other Asian	0.04	0.74	-0.32	0.37	0.08	0.36	-0.05
Mexican	0.13	0.02	0.02	0.80	0.01	0.82	0.01
Puerto Rican	0.07	-0.57	-0.21	0.04	-0.09	0.23	-0.05
Other Hispanic	0.13	0.03	0.59	0.61	0.01	0.25	0.26
<i>Subtotals of Variable Groupings</i>							
Marital Status				0.08	-1.54	-0.05	0.58
Age				-0.05	0.46	0.01	5.62
Disability				0.07	-0.17	0.09	-0.02
Gender				0.09	0.68	0.06	-0.14
Income and Social Security				1.08	0.84	1.11	1.57
Ethnicity				2.77	0.05	2.10	0.60
Intercept				---	4.95	---	-5.69
Total Difference					6.16		4.03
Amount Due to Differences in Means or Coefficients				4.03	5.28	3.33	2.52
Unexplained Amount (Residual)					-3.15		-1.82