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# IMMIGRATION AND LIVING ARRANGEMENTS: MOVING BEYOND ECONOMIC NEED VERSUS ACCULTURATION\*

JENNIFER VAN HOOK AND JENNIFER E. GLICK

*Prior research seeking to explain variation in extended family coresidence focused heavily on the potentially competing roles of cultural preferences and socioeconomic and demographic structural constraints. We focus on challenges associated with international immigration as an additional factor driving variation across groups. Using 2000 census data from Mexico and the United States, we compare the prevalence and age patterns of various types of extended family and non-kin living arrangements among Mexican-origin immigrants and nonimmigrants on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. Additionally, we use the Survey of Income and Program Participation to examine the stability of extended family living arrangements among Mexican-origin immigrants and natives in the United States. We find that newly arrived immigrants to the United States display unique patterns in the composition and stability of their households relative to nonimmigrants in both Mexico and the United States. Recent immigrants are more likely to reside in an extended family or non-kin household, and among those living with relatives, recent immigrants are more likely to live with extended family from a similar generation (such as siblings and cousins). Further, these households experience high levels of turnover. The results suggest that the high levels of coresidence observed among recently arrived Mexican immigrants represent a departure from “traditional” household/family structures in Mexico and are related to the challenges associated with international migration.*

Racial and ethnic minorities in the United States are more likely to reside with extended family than are non-Hispanic whites, even after demographic and socioeconomic differences are taken into account (Beck and Beck 1989; Chavez 1985; Kamo 2000; Kamo and Zhou 1994; Speare and Avery 1993; Tienda and Angel 1982; Worobey and Angel 1990). However, researchers still grapple with the meaning of these patterns. Living with family members is often regarded as an important social support strategy that provides financial and social resources to dependent kin (e.g., Gonzales de la Rocha 1994; Stack 1974). But among Hispanics, high levels of coresidence are also often viewed as emblematic of “familism,” a tendency to subordinate individual preferences or needs to those of the immediate and extended family (Kamo 2000; Rumbaut 1994; Staples and Mirande 1980).

The literature seeking to explain racial and ethnic variation in extended family coresidence has thus focused heavily on the potentially competing roles of cultural preferences for coresidence on the one hand and socioeconomic and demographic structural constraints on the other (Angel and Tienda 1982; Blank 1998; Blank and Torrecilha 1998; Burr and Mutchler 1993a; Tienda and Angel 1982; Vega 1990). Empirical efforts to tease out the effects of cultural norms typically involve examining differences in coresidence in the United States while controlling for demographic characteristics and variables associated with instrumental needs. Remaining differences

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\*Jennifer Van Hook, Department of Sociology, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43403; E-mail: vanhook@bgsu.edu. Jennifer E. Glick, School of Social and Family Dynamics, Arizona State University. This research was supported in part by a grant from the NICHD (R03-HD44700-01A1). Infrastructure support was provided by a center grant to the Center for Family and Demographic Research from the National Institutes of Health (R21-HD-42831-01). We are grateful to Katherine Donato for providing helpful comments.

by nativity and time in the United States are then attributed to culturally enforced norms that are assumed to originate in the country of origin. Similarities in living arrangements between the U.S.-born population and immigrants with longer residence are taken as evidence of assimilation in the United States and a break with the cultural patterns from the country of origin.

As Blank (1998) pointed out, this line of reasoning is problematic because it assumes that the results for recent immigrants are similar to those from the country of origin, often without a direct comparison to these sending countries. Further, this focus on adaptation over time in the United States ignores the possibility that immigrants' family behaviors may be directly affected by the challenges of the migration process itself. For example, newly arrived immigrants tend to have lower returns to education and labor market experience than natives do. Not taking such challenges into account may exaggerate the degree to which culturally enforced norms for coresidence account for the relatively high levels of coresidence among Hispanics and the extent to which acculturation accounts for the declining rates of coresidence with exposure to the United States.

To assess the importance of recent migration for living arrangements, we compare the living arrangements of recently arrived immigrants with those of other immigrants and nonimmigrants. We reason that if the high levels of extended family living arrangements of immigrants emerge from the exigencies of migration and not solely from cultural preferences carried with immigrants to the United States, the patterns of extended family living arrangements among newly arrived immigrants will be distinctive on multiple dimensions compared with settled immigrants and nonimmigrants in both origin and destination countries. In order to place useful limits on group-level variation in cultural preferences and migration experiences, we focus on a single national-origin group, Mexicans. The Mexican-origin population is an important group because it represents the largest Hispanic subgroup in the United States and has been identified in prior research as a group that derives benefits from strong family support networks (Mooney 2003; Rumbaut 1994; Varley and Blasco 2003; Vega 1990).

In order to assess the extent to which living arrangements among immigrants are attributable to the migration process *per se* rather than merely cultural vestiges from the country of origin, we first make a binational comparison of household structures between Mexico and the United States. This is key because binational comparisons help evaluate whether the patterns observed among newcomers to the United States represent a continuation of patterns of their counterparts in origin countries or whether they are unique to immigrants themselves (Feliciano, Bean, and Leach forthcoming; Singley and Landale 1998). Descriptive analyses of living arrangements among Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the Mexican and U.S. census data have provided some preliminary comparisons (Feliciano et al. forthcoming). We extend this work by taking steps to reduce the potentially confounding effects of immigration selectivity, kin availability, and cultural preferences. Immigrants are not selected randomly from sending countries but are likely to differ substantially from nonimmigrants along the lines of age, gender, education, kin availability, and culturally enforced familial norms and behaviors (Massey et al. 1987; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002; Massey and Espinosa 1997).

We examine living arrangements along four dimensions. Using the binational census data, we examine three such dimensions: the prevalence of coresidence, the relationships of family members living in extended family households, and the degree to which households contain non-kin. We also examine a fourth dimension of coresidence—its temporal stability—by using U.S. longitudinal data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP). Although data limitations permit us to examine stability only for those living in the United States, no prior research has examined the stability of extended family households among Mexican-origin immigrants and natives in any national context. Studies that have explored household dynamics are often focused on

the elderly (e.g., Peek et al. 2004; Wilmoth 2000). As we discuss in the next section, each of the four dimensions of coresidence is theoretically linked to the Mexican migration process.

## BACKGROUND

Attempts to explain racial and ethnic variation have focused on demographic and socioeconomic factors. Demographic factors associated with stage in the life course are important because the formation and dissolution of extended family living arrangements are strongly associated with significant life-course events (Burr and Mutchler 1992, 1993a, 1993b; McGarry and Schoeni 2000; Mutchler and Burr 1991; Pampel 1983; Schwartz, Danziger, and Smolensky 1984; Wolf and Soldo 1988). For example, 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), and interruptions such as divorce or unemployment may trigger the formation of an extended family household. 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 who can ill afford such expense (Burr and Mutchler 1992).

Socioeconomic factors are also important because coresidency often operates as a cost-efficient mechanism for providing support to family members (Beresford and Rivlin 1966; Burr and Mutchler 1992, 1993a, 1993b; McGarry and Schoeni 2000; Michael, Fuchs, and Scott 1980; Pampel 1983; Schwartz et al. 1984; Wolf 1994; Wolf and Soldo 1988). The primary assumption in the United States 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 1994). The most common pattern in the United States is for assistance to flow from parents to adult children (Cooney and Uhlenberg 1992), particularly from married adults to unmarried children (Choi 2003; Speare and Avery 1993).

Prior research on living arrangements of Hispanics has shown that some variation in living arrangements can be accounted for by life-course stage and socioeconomic conditions, but that the tendency to coreside remains higher for recently arrived immigrants and declines over time net of controls (Blank 1998; Blank and Torrecilha 1998). Similarly, Kamo (2000) found, even after controlling for economic and demographic variables, that Hispanic foreign born are more likely to live with siblings. She concluded that this indicates "racial/ethnic preference of certain household types, given identical situational imperatives" (p. 226). Other research suggests that the tendency for coresidence becomes accentuated during times of economic hardship (Angel and Tienda 1982), suggesting an interaction effect between socioeconomic status and cultural preferences. For example, Burr and Mutchler (1993a) found heightened levels of coresidence at lower levels of socioeconomic status and further, that indicators of acculturation (e.g., language usage) are much more strongly positively associated with coresidence at lower than at higher levels of socioeconomic status. Our research will continue to control for the demographic and socioeconomic factors associated with extended family living. However, we do not want to assume that any residual nativity differences are entirely due to cultural preferences, but look to studies of other family processes for other possible explanations as well.

One factor that could alter the influence of life course or socioeconomic status on family patterns is the international migration process itself. Here we suggest that immigration, as much or even more so than cultural patterns from the country of origin, explains the high prevalence of extended family coresidence among immigrants who have recently

arrived in the United States (Glick, Bean, and Van Hook 1997). International migration may be associated with extended family coresidence because immigrants encounter additional challenges beyond those faced by nonimmigrants of similar life-course stage and socioeconomic status. First, newly arrived immigrants tend to have lower returns to education and work experience than natives (Duleep and Dowhan 2002; Duleep and Regets 1997, 1999), particularly among Hispanics (Hu 2000). Second, newly arrived immigrants tend to have fewer social and legal rights than citizens. Noncitizens are not permitted to vote, work in certain jobs (because many government, defense, and other jobs require U.S. citizenship), or receive many types of public assistance (although access to public assistance by noncitizens varies by state; Huber and Espenshade 1997; Jasso and Rosenzweig 1990; Zimmermann and Tumlin 1998). Many immigrants from Mexico also struggle with the uncertainties and risks associated with unauthorized migration status. Among recently arrived Mexicans in the country less than five years, an estimated 85% are unauthorized (Passel, Van Hook, and Bean 2004). These legal restrictions may contribute to immigrants' feelings of vulnerability and risk (Bean et al. forthcoming; Kamo 2000).

In the face of these challenges, culturally enforced norms favoring extended family coresidence may become accentuated beyond what is normative in immigrants' country of origin. Prior research on marriage and gender roles suggests that "traditional" familial norms are reinforced among newly arrived immigrants, particularly in times of hardship (Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995; Valenzuela and Dornbusch 1994). For example, Bean, Berg, and Van Hook (1996) found that Mexican-origin immigrant women were least likely to divorce at low levels of education. This contrasted with natives of all racial and ethnic groups, among whom divorce was highest at low levels of education. Thus, the combination of immigrant status and low structural (socioeconomic) incorporation appeared to reinforce marital bonds. Parrado and Flippen (2005) found a similar accentuation of traditional gender roles for migrant Mexican women. They concluded, "[i]t is not that migrant women fail to 'progress' toward more egalitarian norms because of their cultural background or patterns of behavior brought from their communities of origin. Rather, it is their structural position within the U.S. society including their precarious legal status, unfavorable work conditions, and lack of social support that undermines their well-being and power within relationships" (Parrado and Flippen 2005:628).

## RESEARCH EXPECTATIONS

We employ prior findings on marriage and gender roles to inform our expectations for household composition and dynamics among recent immigrants. Our first hypothesis concerns the prevalence of extended family coresidence. Just as in the case of marital relationships, the unique challenges confronting newcomers may lead to the accentuation of extended family bonds. In this case, newly arrived Mexican immigrants will be more likely to live in an extended family household than more-settled immigrants, U.S.-born natives, and Mexicans living in Mexico, net of factors associated with immigration selectivity, such as age, sex, socioeconomic status, and marital status. In addition to these factors, kin availability and preferences for coresidence could also mask the relationship of immigration to living arrangements. We take a rigorous approach addressing the role of kin availability and acculturation (e.g., language use) in determining differences in living arrangements. Our goal is to examine whether the differences across groups change after kin availability and acculturation are taken into account. If the findings do not change when we restrict our samples, we can be more confident that our results are robust across groups in Mexico and the United States.

Our second hypothesis concerns the type of extended family coresidence. Because family networks available to newcomers to the United States are spotty (not all relatives migrate, and migration is most common for working-aged adults), their households are likely to have a different composition than others either in the country of origin or of longer

duration in the destination country. We expect the recently arrived migrant households to be constructed from conveniently available kin (primarily siblings and cousins) and non-kin rather than older family members, such as parents. This hypothesis is partially supported by prior research focusing on the U.S. context (Glick 1999; Glick et al. 1997; Kamo 2000). Glick et al. (1997) found 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 or other regions of the world, where vertical extension is the predominate form of household extension (Bongaarts 2001; DeVos 2000; DeVos and Solis 2004). It remains uncertain (and thus our research here focuses on) the degree to which Mexican-origin immigrants and nonimmigrants live with non-kin, and whether the tendency to live in horizontal versus vertical extended households observed among Mexican newcomers to the United States is similar to or deviates from the patterns occurring among their counterparts in Mexico, net of factors associated with immigration selectivity.

Finally, our third hypothesis concerns the stability of extended family and non-kin living arrangements. If extended families formed by recent immigrants are created to meet the immediate needs associated with immigration, these households will not only vary compositionally from those in Mexico or among natives in the United States but will likely be less stable as well. Until the 1990s, migration from Mexico to the United States had been dominated by circular labor migration, a highly dynamic migration pattern in which one or two members of a household are sent to the United States to work for a few years and send remittances to their families before returning home (Massey et al. 1987; Massey et al. 2002; Massey and Espinosa 1997). Repeated trips were common, and in certain areas of Mexico, nearly everyone made at least one U.S. trip. In more recent years, circular migration patterns have diminished somewhat due to stricter border enforcement (ironically, more unauthorized workers appear to be staying longer in the United States due to the hazards of crossing the border; Massey et al. 2002). However, secondary migration, whereby migrants make multiple moves within the United States after crossing the border, appears to have increased. Because of these migration patterns (both circular and secondary), immigrant households in the United States 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, and are subsequently replaced by other immigrants.

Consistent with this idea, Glick (1999), using retrospective data on place of residence one year earlier, found that many Mexican-origin extended family households changed composition from one year to the next even though they retained their extended structures. We extend this work by employing longitudinal data with which we are able to track changes in household composition as they occur. Second, we focus on recently arrived immigrants, whom we theorize will experience particularly high levels of “turn-over” in their extended family households even if they do not make the transition to non-extended household structures.

## DATA AND METHODS

We rely on two different types of data sources to examine the prevalence and stability of extended family living arrangements: census data from both Mexico and the United States and the SIPP. We discuss the data, measures, and models associated with each in turn below.

### **Binational Census Data, Measures, and Models**

**Data.** We use 2000 census data from Mexico and the United States to compare living arrangements in Mexico with those of the Mexican-origin population living in the



United States. Both the Mexican and U.S. census samples were obtained from the IPUMS International data archive (Minnesota Population Center 2006) and consist of approximately 0.1% of the Mexican population and 1% of the U.S. Mexican-origin population.<sup>1</sup> The Mexican census sample includes 44,827 Mexican-born adults aged 25 and older, and the U.S. census sample includes 100,962 Mexican-origin adults aged 25 and older (61,631 Mexican-born and 39,331 U.S.-born). The IPUMS census data include variables that were constructed in a consistent manner for both Mexican and U.S. residents, including indicators of household relationships (with which we construct prevalence measures of household structure) and key demographic and socioeconomic factors (e.g., age, sex, marital status, education, and disability status). Because the census data are cross sectional, we are unable to examine the formation or dissolution of extended family living arrangements with the census data.

**Extended family and non-kin household structure.** We predict the probability of an individual living in an extended family or non-kin household. We define household structure based on the number of, and relationships among, minimal household units (MHU). The MHU, previously relied on in research on extended family households, refers to smaller identifiable units within households based on marriage and parentage of minor children (Biddlecom 1994; Ermisch and Overton 1985; Glick et al. 1997; Glick and Van Hook 2002). It allows us to measure household structure from anyone's perspective, not just the householder's. For our purposes, married or cohabiting couples and parents with unmarried, childless children younger than 25 are defined as belonging to the same MHU.<sup>2</sup> Young adults aged 24 and younger who are married or cohabiting or who have children of their own are classified in their own MHU with their spouse/partner or children. In addition, single adults aged 25 or older without minor children make up their own MHU by themselves. Finally, minor children not living with a parent (such as foster children) are classified in the same MHU as the householder. For example, a household containing a man, his wife, his mother-in-law, his 20-year-old, single, childless daughter, and a boarder would include three separate MHUs: (1) the man, wife, and daughter, (2) the mother-in-law, and (3) the boarder. The man and his wife would be in the same MHU because they are married, and their daughter would be in her parents' MHU because she is younger than 25, unmarried, and has no children of her own. If their daughter had a young child or were married, for example, she would be put in a separate MHU along with her child and/or husband. The mother-in-law in our example would be in a separate MHU because she is older than 25 and her daughter (the man's wife) is married and older than 25. If the mother-in-law were married, the mother-in-law and her husband would be put in the same MHU.

We identify extended family households as those containing at least two related MHUs, and non-kin households as containing more than one unrelated MHU and no related MHUs. Among extended family households, we further distinguish among different types depending on whether the household contains MHUs from multiple generations, such as households including adult children and their elderly parents ("vertically extended"); from a single generation, such as households formed by adult siblings and their young children ("horizontally extended"); or a combination of the two ("mixed"). We infer the relationships among MHUs based on relationship of the MHU head to the householder (the MHU head is defined as the oldest member of each MHU). For example, in a household with three MHUs, if the first MHU head was the householder, the second was the child of the householder, and the third was the sibling of the householder, we would code the third MHU as the uncle or aunt of the second MHU. The entire household

1. A randomly selected 1-in-100 subsample was taken of the 10.6% sample of the 2000 Mexican census.

2. Other researchers have chosen other ages when examining the living arrangements of young adults (e.g., Goldscheider and Waite 1991).

would be classified as “mixed” horizontal and vertical because it contains both “vertical” relationships (i.e., a parent-child relationship between the first and second MHUs, and a nephew/niece-aunt/uncle relationship between the second and third MHUs) and “horizontal” relationships (i.e., a sibling relationship between the first and third MHUs). This approach has been used successfully in other research on household structure (Coward, Cutler, and Schmidt 1989; Glick et al. 1997; Schmertmann et al. 2000).

**Immigration status and time in the United States.** The binational census data permit us to examine both Mexicans living in Mexico and Mexican Americans living in the United States. Among U.S. residents, we identify the following groups: U.S.-born Mexican Americans, Mexican-born who arrived in the United States as children younger than 12 (the “1.5 Generation”), and Mexican-born who arrived at age 12 or older (the “1.0 Generation”). For the 1.0 Generation, we further examine the effects of time in the United States, differentiating among settled immigrants who have been in the United States for 10 years or more, recent arrivals who have been in the United States for 5 to 9 years, and newcomers who have been in the United States for less than 5 years. In supplementary analyses, we also examine the nativity composition of households among U.S. residents who are currently living in an extended family or non-kin household. For this group, we estimate the percentage of newcomer adults (age 15 or older who were living in the United States less than five years) residing with the respondent. We specifically estimate the percentage sharing a household with all (100%) newcomer adults versus no (0%) newcomer adults. When calculating the share of newcomer coresidents, we do not count household members who are in the same MHU as the respondent.

**Other variables.** In analyses of the binational census data, we model living arrangements while controlling for the influence of socioeconomic and demographic factors. Age (35–44, 45–54, 55–64, and 65 or older versus 25–34), sex, marital status (married and previously married versus never married), and the presence of younger (ages 0–4) and older (ages 5–17) children in the MHU provide an indication of life-cycle stage. Disability status (whether the respondent has a work-preventing or work-limiting disability) provides an indication of health care needs of the respondent. Educational attainment (9–11 years, 12 years, and 13 or more years versus 0–8 years) serves as an indicator of socioeconomic attainment. Finally, place of residence (size of metropolitan area or municipio and urban/rural status) serves as a proxy for the availability and cost of housing. Because the definition of urban areas (metropolitan areas versus municipios) differs between the United States and Mexico, we use standardized measures of the population size of the urban area (standardized within country).

Although we control for the influence of socioeconomic and demographic factors (listed above) in models predicting living arrangements in Mexico and the United States, differences in kin availability could mask the relationship of recent migration to living arrangements. Immigrants, particularly newcomers to the United States, are less likely to have kin living nearby. Simply moving away from one’s place of birth is likely to reduce the likelihood of extended family living arrangements and may increase the likelihood of living with non-kin. Although the binational census data do not include direct measures of kin availability, we conduct tests of robustness in which we restrict the sample to reduce variation in kin availability. First, we remove persons living in U.S. states other than Texas or California while retaining the entire Mexico sample. The rationale for this is that kin availability for Mexican Americans is likely to be higher—and closer to the levels in Mexico—among those living in California and Texas, the two U.S. states that have had the longest histories of receiving Mexican immigrants and the largest Mexican immigrant populations. Second, we remove nonimmigrants who are living in the state of their birth; in other words, we restrict the sample of nonimmigrants to “lifetime” internal migrants. This restriction is applied to both the United States and Mexico portions of the sample. We reason that kin availability among nonimmigrants in Mexico

and the United States is likely to be lower—and closer to the levels of international immigrants—among lifetime internal migrants. We impose each restriction separately and then both simultaneously. When the restrictions are imposed simultaneously, the sample is reduced to internal lifetime migrants and international immigrants living in Mexico, Texas, and California.

A second concern is that the effects of recent migration on living arrangements may be confounded with preferences for extended family coresidence. Immigrants may be selective of those who have tightly knit kinship networks that extend across the U.S.-Mexico border (Massey et al. 1987). Those without strong kinship ties may be less likely to immigrate and thus may be more likely to prefer to live with extended family than nonimmigrants living in Mexico. In addition, preferences for extended family coresidence may decline over time as immigrants and their offspring assimilate toward U.S. mainstream residential preferences for independent living. Similar to our strategy for addressing kin availability, we restrict the sample to limit variation in cultural preferences. First, we remove persons who speak a language other than Spanish at home to reduce the effects of assimilation for later generations of Mexicans in the United States. This restriction operates virtually exclusively on the U.S. sample because nearly all Mexicans in Mexico speak Spanish at home. With this restriction, the entire binational sample is limited to a single language group that presumably shares common cultural norms and/or practices. Second, we remove those in the Mexico portion of the sample who live in areas that send very few international migrants, keeping only those from immigrant-sending areas. This restriction applies only to those living in Mexico—the U.S. sample is unaffected. The Mexican census collects data on the number of household members currently living abroad. The total number of household members reported by householders to be living abroad varies across municipios in Mexico from 0% to 23% of the total Mexican-resident population in the municipio. We restrict the sample to those living in municipios in which 2% or more of the population is reported to be living abroad (representing 40% of the 2,442 municipios identified in the Mexican census data). Nearly two-thirds (63%) of all immigrants who reported living abroad came from these municipios. Thus, this restriction increases the likelihood that we compare U.S. immigrants with residents of their “hometowns” in Mexico, who may have similar preferences for living arrangements. We first impose each restriction separately and then both simultaneously. When applied simultaneously, the sample is reduced to persons who live in immigrant-sending municipios in Mexico or who live in the United States and speak Spanish at home. When all four restrictions are imposed, the sample is further reduced to lifetime internal migrants and international immigrants who live in immigrant-sending municipios in Mexico or in Texas or California and who speak Spanish at home.

**Models.** Using the binational census data, we estimate two models of living arrangements. The first predicts the likelihood of living in an extended family household of any type (vertical, horizontal, or mixed), and the second predicts the likelihood of living in one of five types of households: vertically extended, horizontally extended, both vertically and horizontally extended, and non-kin versus living in a simple household structure. We estimate logistic regression models for the first outcome because the dependent variable is dichotomous; we use multinomial logistic regression for the second because the dependent variable is categorical, with five outcomes (DeMaris 1992).

### Survey of Income and Program Participation Data, Measures, and Models

**Data.** We use the pooled 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 panels of the SIPP, a longitudinal survey, to study the stability of extended family living arrangements of Mexican-origin adults living in the United States. Each of the five SIPP panels includes a separate, independent sample that is interviewed every four months for roughly three to four years. For example, the 1990 panel includes individuals who were interviewed up to eight times over



a period of 32 months between 1990 and 1992, and the 1991 panel includes an entirely new sample that was interviewed up to eight times over a period of 32 months between 1991 and 1993. The respondents in the 1992, 1993, and 1996 panels were interviewed every four months over 40, 36, and 48 months, respectively.

The advantages of using the SIPP are numerous. First, the SIPP follows individuals over time even if they leave their original households and form new ones. Second, it includes time-varying information on living arrangements as well as standard social, demographic, and economic variables (these questions are asked at every interview every four months). 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 baseline interview.

By combining five SIPP panels, we amass a sufficiently large sample to examine in depth the stability of living arrangements of Mexican-origin adults in the United States aged 25 and older at first interview who ever lived in an extended family or non-kin household ( $N = 3,433$ ; 1,897 immigrants and 1,536 natives). Using the pooled data, we construct a longitudinal data file that includes an observation for each time an individual is interviewed (every four months for three to four 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 sociodemographic variables.

Even though the SIPP offers unique advantages, it suffers the disadvantage of moderately high attrition rates. In a typical SIPP panel, 18% to 22% of the original sample drop out during the course of the study period, and roughly half of all attrition occurs between the first and second interviews (Jabine 1990). However, even large amounts of attrition will not bias results unless cases fall out of the sample in a nonrandom manner such that attrition is significantly associated with the error term (i.e., associated with both the dependent and key independent variables; Fitzgerald, Gottschalk, and Moffitt 1998). We find that attrition in the SIPP is not significantly associated with nativity, time in the United States, or living arrangements. Questions about migration history and immigration status are asked at the second-wave interview. Of Mexican-origin adults aged 25 or older interviewed in the second wave, 10.6% of natives and 10.2% of immigrants dropped out of the sample. Further, attrition rates did not vary significantly by original family structure: 10.4% for those in nonextended households versus 10.6% for those in extended family households. The corresponding figures were 10.1% and 10.6% for immigrants and 10.7% and 10.6% for natives. Because the dependent and key independent variables in our analysis—household structure, nativity, and time in the United States—are not significantly associated with attrition, we believe it is unlikely that attrition is a significant source of bias in the findings presented here.

**Extended family and non-kin household structure.** In the SIPP-based analyses, we measure extended family and non-kin living arrangements in the same manner as with the binational census data (see description above). The only difference is that living arrangements in the SIPP-based analysis are treated as time-varying and thus measured every four months at each interview. Among those who ever lived in an extended household during the SIPP study period, we model two types of household instability: (1) changes in the household composition without a transition to a simple household structure (i.e., “turnover”), and (2) transitions to a simple household structure (i.e., no longer living with extended family or non-kin). This means we can determine the extent to which immigrants move out of extended family households and into independent households of their own over time in the United States, as might be predicted by a model of acculturation, and the extent to which immigrants reside with a new set of extended family members, as we expect based on the constraints of migration. To distinguish changes in the household composition arising from births or adoption from other types of turnover, we do not count

changes arising from additions or departures of children under age 15 as changes in the household roster.<sup>3</sup>

**Duration of ongoing spells.** It is necessary to control for the duration of spells in extended family or non-kin living arrangements in both the life-table and multivariate analyses (described below). For those entering extended family or non-kin living arrangements during the SIPP panel, measuring the duration of extended family spells (in months since formation) is straightforward. 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 aged 15 or older moved into the household. We use this information to reconstruct households back in time in order to estimate how long adult (aged 25 and older) family members had been living together. Most (61%) ongoing spells lasted 3 years or less 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 United States.** In analyses involving the SIPP, we employ the same immigration categories as with the binational census data (U.S.-born Mexican Americans, immigrants who arrived before age 12, and other immigrants who had been in the country 0–4 years, 5–9 years, and 10 or more years). The only difference is that the SIPP-based measure does not include Mexicans living in Mexico because the SIPP universe is restricted to U.S. residents. In supplementary analyses, we examine the effects of household nativity composition on the stability of extended family and non-kin households. In these analyses, we distinguish among the following: (1) newcomers (in United States 0–4 years) sharing a household composed entirely of newcomers, (2) newcomers residing with settled immigrants or natives, (3) settled immigrants (in the United States 5 or more years) residing with newcomers, (4) settled immigrants not residing with newcomers, (5) natives residing with newcomers, and (6) natives not residing with newcomers. Because the analytic sample for the SIPP-based analysis is restricted to those who start out living in an extended family or non-kin household, there is no need to add a category for those not coresiding.

**Other variables.** In analyses of the SIPP data, we model the instability of extended family or non-kin living arrangements among those originally in such households. In these models, we control for the influence of economic and dependent care and health needs of household members, which are likely to be associated with instability. Economic need is measured as the income-to-poverty ratio of the respondent's MHU. Dependent care is measured with age (and a squared term to account for nonlinearity) and the presence of newborn children 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/divorced/separated and married versus 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 the size and complexity of the household (number of adults, number of children, and horizontal, vertical, or non-kin household structure).

**Life tables of household instability.** We use double-decrement life-table techniques to estimate the probability that those living in extended family and non-kin living arrangements experience transitions to simple living arrangements or turnover in their household

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3. We experimented with the definition of turnover, first including and then excluding changes in marital status from the definition. However, because the number of cases that underwent a change in marital status during the SIPP panel was small, the results were unaffected by this issue.

composition within two years since the formation of the living arrangement (Preston, Heuveline, and Guillot 2001). The life tables model reductions in the size of a synthetic cohort of 100,000 persons originally living in the extended family or non-kin household (i.e.,  $I_0 = 100,000$ ). Decrements from the synthetic cohort (i.e., reductions in  $I_x$ ) occur as people make the transition to a simple household or experience turnover in the household composition. The conditional probabilities of making each type of exit ( $q_x^1$  and  $q_x^2$ ) are calculated directly from the SIPP person-interview sample as the proportion making the transition by duration of coresidence spell (measured in four-month segments), conditional on having not made any transition prior to segment  $x$ . The two-year probability of making each transition  $i$  is calculated as  $\sum_{x=0}^{x=6} d_x^i / 100,000$ . (We sum over six time segments to get two years of time because each segment represents four months.) The life tables are estimated separately by original living arrangement (horizontal, vertical, non-kin), nativity, and years in the United States (0–4, 5–9, and 10 or more). Complete life tables are available to any interested readers from the authors.

**Models.** We also estimate conditional-likelihood discrete-time hazard models (Allison 1995; Guo 1993) to model household instability. We use discrete-time 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 know only 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 four months apart. We do not use person-months because the SIPP does not provide monthly data on household composition. 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 interview at which they are no longer living in one, experience a change in the household roster (apart from changes due to births or adoptions), or are right-censored. We 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 we exclude cases with missing observations, the analytical sample for the models of extended family instability includes 12,935 person-interviews (7,215 immigrant and 5,720 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 ( $D_{it}$ ), and individual ( $I$ ) and household ( $H$ ) characteristics at time  $t - 1$ :

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

The estimation of standard errors depends on the assumption that observations are selected independently. We use modeling procedures designed by Stata Corporation (1997) to take into account clustering within sampling strata and primary sampling units. (See also Levy and Lemeshow 1999.)

**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 (Allison 1995; Guo 1993), 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, which is possible because the SIPP includes retrospective data on place of residence for all adults aged 15 and older, and then 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  $D_i$  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 (Guo 1993).

## RESULTS

### Comparisons Between Mexico and the United States

We first use the binational census data to examine the prevalence of extended family living arrangements for Mexicans living in Mexico, Mexican immigrants living in the United States, and U.S.-born Mexican Americans (Table 1). In support of our first hypothesis, we find that Mexican immigrants to the United States are more likely to live in extended family or non-kin households than Mexicans in Mexico, the 1.5 Generation, and U.S.-born Mexican Americans. Recently arrived Mexican immigrants with less than five years of experience in the United States are particularly likely to live with extended family or non-kin, far exceeding levels in Mexico (66.8% versus 42.4% among Mexicans in Mexico). When we focus only on extended family living arrangements (not counting non-kin), the results are similar in that newcomers to the United States are more likely than any other group to reside with kin (e.g., 49.4% versus 41.4% among Mexicans in Mexico).

The importance of the binational comparison becomes salient when we examine changes in extended family coresidence with time in the United States. If we were to focus only on the U.S. sample, one might conclude that the 22-percentage-point difference in extended family coresidence between newcomers and the U.S.-born is due to acculturation. However,

**Table 1. Percentage Living in an Extended Family or Non-kin Household, by Type of Extension: Mexican-Origin Adults in Mexico and the United States, 2000**

	Extended Family Household or Living With Non-kin	Extended Family Household			Living With Non-kin	
		All Types	Vertical	Horizontal		Mixed
Mexicans in Mexico	42.4	41.4	21.0	4.0	16.5	1.0
In the United States 0–4 Years	66.8	49.4	11.6	25.0	12.9	17.4
In the United States 5–9 Years	53.9	41.6	10.4	19.4	11.8	12.4
In the United States 10+ Years	47.2	38.5	15.7	10.5	12.3	8.6
Arrived in the United States as a Child	40.8	33.7	13.1	9.0	11.5	7.1
U.S.-born	32.7	26.9	15.1	3.8	7.9	5.8

*Notes:* The sample includes adults aged 25 and older. The Mexican portion of the sample is restricted to Mexican-born respondents. The U.S. portion of the sample is restricted to Mexican-born or Mexican-origin respondents.

*Source:* 2000 Mexican and U.S. censuses.

if we instead compare Mexicans in Mexico with the U.S.-born (and attribute the difference to acculturation), the difference is reduced to 15 percentage points, or about one-third lower than the original estimate of the acculturation effect.

We also find that the types of extended family households, when formed, are unique among newly arrived immigrants. As predicted in our second hypothesis, horizontal and non-kin coresidence is particularly prevalent among newly arrived immigrants. Of those in the United States 0–4 years, one-quarter (25%) live in a horizontally extended household, and 17.4% live with non-kin. By comparison, the corresponding numbers for Mexicans living in Mexico are very small: 4.0% and 1.0%. In addition, the percentages living in horizontally extended and non-kin households decline dramatically with additional time spent in the United States, ultimately reaching levels among the U.S.-born that are more similar to Mexicans in Mexico than to recently arrived immigrants in the United States. In contrast, the prevalence of vertical and “mixed” types of coresidence is low for recent arrivals (11.6% and 12.9%, respectively) compared with nonmigrants in Mexico (21.0% and 16.5%). With additional time in the United States, vertical living arrangements tend to increase, and “mixed” types of living arrangements remain at about the same level.

Constraints in kin availability for U.S. immigrants—in particular, the lack of members of the older generation in the United States to form vertical or mixed households—may play some role in determining the horizontally extended living arrangements that are most common among U.S. newcomers. Nevertheless, kin availability is unlikely to account for the overall pattern in which newcomers to the United States are more likely to live with non-kin or extended family members of any type. The major reason is that newly arrived immigrants probably have lower kin availability than nonimmigrants in Mexico yet are still more likely to live with extended family.

To investigate this issue further, we restrict the sample in an effort to reduce variation in kin availability. As might be expected, when we limit the U.S. sample to those living in states with the longest histories of immigration from Mexico—California and Texas—extended family coresidence increases somewhat for U.S. residents, with the greatest changes occurring for the U.S.-born from 26.9% to 29.9% (Table 2, column 2). And when we restrict the entire binational sample to lifetime internal migrants (i.e., those no longer living in their state of birth; column 3), extended family coresidence declines somewhat for nonimmigrants in both Mexico and the United States (from 41.4% to 39.8% for Mexicans in Mexico and from 26.9% to 21.9% for the U.S.-born). We also limit the sample to reduce variation in preferences for extended family coresidence. When we restrict the sample to those speaking Spanish in their homes (column 5), extended family coresidence increases from 26.9% to 31.2% among U.S. natives, and when we limit those in the Mexico sample to persons living in “immigrant-sending” municipios (column 6), extended family coresidence in Mexico actually declines somewhat (from 41.4% to 38.8%). Nevertheless, whether any of these four restrictions are applied separately or together (columns 4, 7, and 8), the basic patterns remain remarkably consistent, with recently arrived U.S. immigrants exhibiting the highest levels of coresidence of all groups and lower coresidence with time in the United States.

Age differences among the various immigrant and nonimmigrant populations may also confound the relationship between immigration and coresidence because age is strongly linked to living arrangements. But when we examine extended family living arrangements separately by age group (Figure 1), we find that Mexican immigrants with 0–4 years and 5–9 years of U.S. experience exhibit the highest levels of extended family coresidence across *all* age groups. Only the U.S.-born and the 1.5 Generation have lower levels of extended family coresidence than Mexicans in Mexico, most dramatically among older adults (i.e., around age 50 and above). As might be expected, the elevated levels of coresidence among newcomers to the United States are concentrated among younger adults in the case of horizontally extended family and non-kin living arrangements and among older adults in



Table 2. Percentages Living in Extended Family and Non-kin Households, by Type of Extension, Using Various Sample Restrictions

	U.S. Residents and Mexican Residents From Immigrant-Sending Municipios (6) Together <sup>b</sup> Restrictions <sup>c</sup> (8)							
	No Restrictions (all Mexican-origin U.S. and Mexican residents) (1)	California Texas, and Mexican Residents (2)	Lifetime Internal Migrants and International Immigrants (3)	Restrictions (3) Together <sup>a</sup> (4)	Spanish Speakers (5)	Immigrant-Sending Municipios (6)	Restrictions (5) and Together <sup>b</sup> (7)	All Restrictions <sup>c</sup> (8)
Living in an Extended Family Household								
Mexicans in Mexico	41.4	41.4	39.8	39.8	41.4	38.8	38.8	33.5
In the United States 0-4 years	49.4	51.9	49.4	51.9	49.2	49.4	49.2	51.6
In the United States 5-9 years	41.6	42.3	41.6	42.3	41.5	41.6	41.5	42.2
In the United States 10+ years	38.5	40.2	38.5	40.2	38.5	38.5	38.5	40.0
Arrived in the United States as a child	33.7	35.3	33.7	35.3	34.7	33.7	34.7	36.0
U.S.-born	26.9	29.9	21.9	25.1	31.2	26.9	31.2	28.8
Living With Non-kin								
Mexicans in Mexico	1.0	1.0	1.8	1.8	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.5
In the United States 0-4 years	17.4	15.0	17.4	15.0	17.6	17.4	17.6	15.1
In the United States 5-9 years	12.4	12.2	12.4	12.2	12.4	12.4	12.4	12.3
In the United States 10+ years	8.6	8.4	8.6	8.4	8.7	8.6	8.7	8.4
Arrived in the United States as a child	7.1	7.0	7.1	7.0	7.2	7.1	7.2	7.0
U.S.-born	5.8	5.9	7.1	7.7	6.3	5.8	6.3	8.0

Notes: The sample includes adults aged 25 and older. The Mexican portion of the sample is restricted to Mexican-born respondents. The U.S. portion of the sample is restricted to Mexican-born or Mexican-origin respondents.

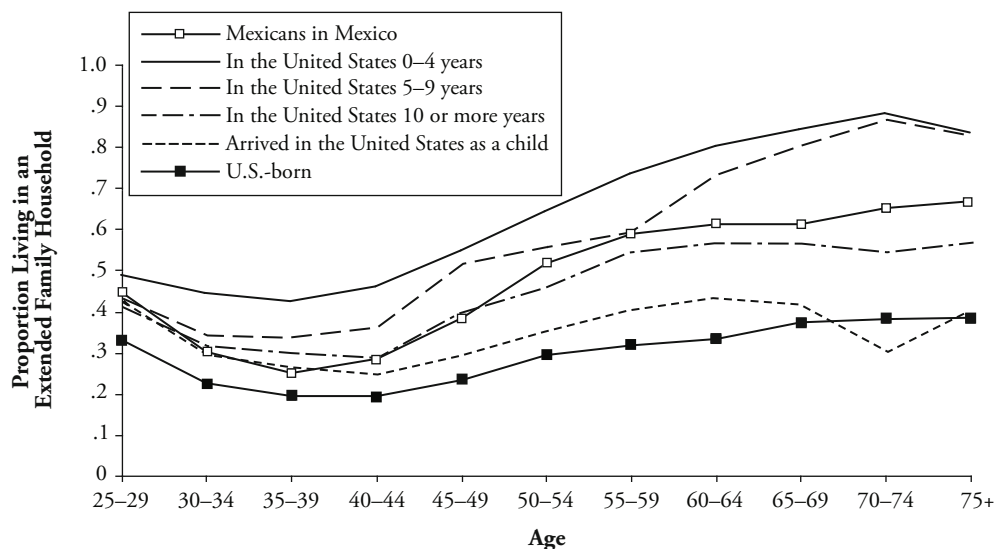
Source: 2000 Mexican and U.S. censuses.

<sup>a</sup>Sample includes lifetime internal migrants and international immigrants living in California, Texas, or Mexico.

<sup>b</sup>Sample includes U.S. residents who speak Spanish at home and Mexican residents of immigrant-sending municipios.

<sup>c</sup>Sample includes lifetime internal migrants and international immigrants who speak Spanish at home and who live in California, Texas, or an immigrant-sending municipio in Mexico.

**Figure 1. Proportion Living in an Extended Family Household: Mexican-Origin Adults in Mexico and the United States, 2000**



the cases of vertically and mixed extended family living arrangements (results not shown but available from the authors upon request).

Finally, we compare the living arrangements of immigrants and nonimmigrants in Mexico and the United States while controlling for the influence of age, sex, marital status, the presence of minor children, disability status, education, and urban/rural residence. As expected, being older, being unmarried, having lower levels of education, and living in a large city are positively associated with extended family coresidence (Table 3, Model 1). The results also confirm the descriptive findings concerning migration status. Newly arrived immigrants (0-4 years in the United States) are 37% more likely than Mexicans in Mexico to live with extended family, and those with 5-9 years of U.S. experience are 13% more likely. Finally, the 1.5 Generation and the U.S.-born are 25% and 60% less likely than Mexicans to coreside, respectively. The difference from newly arrived immigrants, however, is even greater. This suggests that important information would be lost in the absence of a binational comparison. For example, if we were to attribute the entire difference from new arrivals to acculturation (as is sometimes done in research on living arrangements), we would conclude that acculturation reduces coresidence by as much as 46% for the 1.5 Generation and by 71% for the U.S.-born. However, if we used Mexicans in Mexico as the comparison group, the acculturation effect would be reduced by roughly 44% for the 1.5 Generation and by 15% for the U.S.-born.

Model 2 displays the results of a multinomial logistic regression predicting the various types of living arrangements compared with living in a simple household. Newcomers to the United States are more likely than any other group—including Mexicans in Mexico—to live in nonsimple households. This is especially the case for horizontally extended and non-kin living arrangements but is also true for vertical and mixed extended family households. Participation in extended family living arrangements declines with time in the United States,

**Table 3. Logistic Regression Models of Extended Family and Non-kin Living Arrangements, by Type of Extension: Mexican-Origin Adults in Mexico and the United States, 2000 (estimates are odds ratios)**

	Model 1		Model 2		
	Extended Family Household	Vertically Extended Versus Non-extended	Horizontally Extended Versus Non-extended	Mixed Versus Non-extended	Non-kin Versus Non-extended
Mexican Immigrants (ref. = Mexicans in Mexico)					
In the United States 0–4 years	1.37***	1.27***	11.17***	1.61***	27.47***
In the United States 5–9 years	1.13**	0.90*	6.72***	1.14**	15.59***
In the United States 10+ years	0.96	0.91**	3.56***	1.05	11.58***
Arrived in the United States as a child	0.74***	0.72***	2.10***	0.71***	5.34***
U.S.-born	0.40***	0.47***	0.60***	0.30***	2.64***
Aged 35–44	0.80***	0.83***	1.05	0.68***	1.01
Aged 45–54	1.51***	1.96***	0.99	1.17**	0.91
Aged 55–64	2.26***	2.83***	0.84	2.08***	0.81
Aged 65 or older	2.18***	2.92***	0.97	1.69***	0.60***
Male	0.93**	0.91**	1.12*	0.95	1.18**
Married	0.15***	0.15***	0.10***	0.07***	0.06***
Previously Married	0.33***	0.34***	0.25***	0.19***	0.31***
Children Aged 0–4	0.71***	0.72***	0.75***	0.66***	0.78***
Children Aged 5–17	0.82***	0.88***	0.72***	0.73***	0.66***
Disabled	1.02	0.98	0.93	1.05	0.91
9–11 Years of Education	0.89***	0.87**	0.88 <sup>†</sup>	0.86**	0.79**
12 Years of Education	0.83***	0.91 <sup>†</sup>	0.79***	0.72***	0.89 <sup>†</sup>
13 or More Years of Education	0.71***	0.77***	0.60***	0.60***	0.75***
Size of Metropolitan Area/Municipio	1.06***	1.04***	1.07***	1.10***	1.04***
Rural	0.74***	0.78***	0.69***	0.61***	0.61***
Observations	145,761		145,761		
Pseudo- <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.16		0.145		

Notes: The sample includes adults aged 25 and older. The Mexican sample is restricted to Mexican-born respondents. The U.S. sample is restricted to Mexican-born or Mexican-origin respondents.

Source: 2000 Mexican and U.S. censuses.

<sup>†</sup> $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

falling below Mexican levels in the case of vertical living arrangements. However, they do not fall below Mexican levels until the second or higher generation (i.e., “U.S.-born”) in the case of horizontal living arrangements, or the 1.5 Generation in the case of mixed living arrangements. These results do not change when we impose the sample restrictions to account for kin availability and preferences (i.e., the four sample restrictions applied separately and in combination for the descriptive analyses presented in Table 2) (results not shown but available from the authors upon request).

## Stability of Extended Family and Non-kin Living Arrangements

Our first and second hypotheses are supported by the findings that the prevalence and types of extended family living arrangements of immigrants diverge from both Mexican Americans and those in Mexico. To test our third hypothesis that migration processes would alter the stability of extended family and non-kin living arrangements, we use multidecrement life table techniques to estimate the percentage expected to experience some type of instability in their living arrangements within two years from the time they started coresiding. 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. This analysis requires the usage of longitudinal data to track changes in household structure over time. Therefore, we now turn to analyses based on the SIPP.

Recently arrived Mexican immigrants in extended family households tend to have less stable living arrangements than those who have lived in the United States for longer periods, a finding that is consistent with our third hypothesis (Table 4). Among recent immigrants with 0–4 years of U.S. experience, 83.1% in horizontal, 86.4% in vertical or mixed, and 92.3% in non-kin households experienced some type of instability over two years. These percentages tend to decline with increasing time in the United States. For example, the comparable figures for more-settled immigrants with 10 or more years in the country are 75.9%, 74.6%, and 87.1%; and for the U.S.-born, the estimates are mostly lower still: 77.4%, 66.1%, and 85%. Further, much 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. While transitions to a simple household form tend to increase with time in the country, turnover in household composition declines. In other words, recent 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 present the results of the multivariate models of household instability, which again are based on the SIPP data. We estimate event-history models predicting instability due to transition to a simple household structure or turnover among those living in an extended family household. We originally estimated instability models separately by type of extension (vertical, horizontal, mixed, non-kin). Because the results did not differ by type, we pooled those in horizontal and vertical living arrangements and included in the models dummy variables indicating type of extension.

It is striking that some predictors of living arrangements turn out not to be associated with the stability of extended family or non-kin living arrangements, including educational attainment, income-to-poverty ratio, and age (Table 5, Models 1 and 2), even though these factors are strongly associated with current living arrangements (Table 3). However, marital status and having a child in the prior time period are associated with subsequent dissolution either through transitions to a simple household structure or by the “turnover” of adults living in the household. It is important to note that marital status and the addition of a child are not by definition captured in the dependent variable because the marital status measure is taken from a prior point in time (and does not indicate change in marital status) and because we count changes in the adults only and not in children living in the household in our definition of *turnover*. Nevertheless, if changes in marital status are recent, it makes sense that marital status would be associated with changes in household composition as newly divorced persons may be more likely to move and/or move in with new partners. More work is required to examine whether the changes in household composition and structure associated with marital status and the birth of children are due to moves to new households or are a result of relatives moving out. In any case, the results suggest that the factors

**Table 4. Percentage Experiencing Instability in Extended Family or Non-kin Living Arrangements Within Two Years: Mexican-Born or Mexican-Origin Adults Aged 25 and Older**

	Originally Horizontally Extended			Originally Vertically Extended or Mixed Vertical and Horizontal			Originally Living With Non-kin		
	Any Instability	Transition to Simple	Turnover	Any Instability	Transition to Simple	Turnover	Any Instability	Transition to Simple	Turnover
Mexican Immigrants	80.3	52.3	28.0	77.7	44.3	33.4	85.9	56.1	29.8
In the United States 0–4 Years	83.1	50.4	32.7	86.4	26.1	60.3	92.3	43.2	49.1
In the United States 5–9 Years	82.6	53.3	29.2	83.0	29.6	53.4	76.4	47.5	28.9
In the United States 10+ Years	75.9	52.0	23.9	74.6	52.2	22.4	87.1	60.9	26.2
Arrived in the United States as a Child	82.3	63.9	18.4	72.1	42.2	30.0	88.6	81.2	7.5
U.S.-born	77.4	56.8	20.6	66.1	43.2	22.8	85.0	67.6	17.4

*Source:* 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 panels of the SIPP.



**Table 5. Event-History Models of Instability of the Extended Family Living Arrangement, by Type of Change (estimates are odds ratios)**

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Transition to Simple Household	Turnover	Transition to Simple Household	Turnover
Individual-Level Migration Status (ref. = U.S.-born)				
In the United States 0–4 years	0.87	2.90***		
In the United States 5–9 years	0.95	2.16***		
In the United States 10+ years	1.15	1.36 <sup>†</sup>		
Arrived in the United States as a child	1.20	0.96		
Household-Level Migration Status (ref. = U.S.-born not living with newcomers)				
Newcomers (0–4 years in the United States)				
All adults in the household are newcomers			1.33	3.29***
Some adults in the household are newcomers			0.49*	2.59***
Other immigrants				
Some adults in the household are newcomers			0.69 <sup>†</sup>	2.22**
No adults in the household are newcomers			1.19	1.30 <sup>†</sup>
U.S.-born, some adults in the household are newcomers				
			0.96	1.61
Years in Living Arrangement	0.90***	1.04 <sup>†</sup>	0.90***	1.03 <sup>†</sup>
Years in Living Arrangement, Squared	1.00***	1.00	1.00***	1.00
Horizontal Household	1.22	0.59**	1.19	0.61**
Vertical and Horizontal Household	1.18	0.80	1.16	0.80
Non-kin	1.61**	0.83	1.56*	0.88
Householder	1.28*	1.19	1.26*	1.16
Adults in the Household	0.93 <sup>†</sup>	1.17***	0.94 <sup>†</sup>	1.18***
Children in the Household	1.08	0.86*	1.08	0.86*
Age	0.98	0.99	0.97	1.00
Age Squared	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Male (vs. female)	0.98	1.10	0.98	1.08
Married	1.69**	1.18	1.73***	1.15
Divorced/Widowed	1.34 <sup>†</sup>	1.41 <sup>†</sup>	1.38 <sup>†</sup>	1.37 <sup>†</sup>
General Health Status	0.94*	0.98	0.94*	0.98
Child Borne/Fathered	0.96	1.02	0.96	1.01
New Child in the Household	2.24**	3.21***	2.22**	3.37***
0–8 Years of Schooling	0.93	1.18	0.95	1.17
9–11 Years of Schooling	1.03	1.02	1.06	0.98
12 Years of Schooling	0.90	1.07	0.90	1.07
Income-to-Poverty Ratio	1.02	1.01	1.03	1.00
Intercept	0.24**	0.07***	0.25**	0.06***
<i>N</i>	11,621		11,621	
Pseudo- <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.06		0.06	

Notes: The sample includes person-months of the original SIPP Mexican-origin respondents aged 25 and older from all available interviews during the first observed spell of extended living arrangements until and including the month of change in living arrangements or censorship.

Source: 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1996 panels of the SIPP.

<sup>†</sup>  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

associated with extended household formation (socioeconomic status) are unrelated to the stability of extended family households; rather, family formation and dissolution appear to be more important for household stability.

The results also lend further support to our third hypothesis by demonstrating the importance of migration for household change. Net of demographic and socioeconomic controls, nativity and time in the United States are significantly related to the likelihood of turnover but not to the likelihood of making a transition to a nonextended living arrangement (Model 1). The probability of experiencing turnover is highest for new arrivals and declines sharply with time and generations in the United States. 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 socioeconomic status alone.

We further examine the effects of household nativity composition on stability (Model 2). Consistent with the results based on the individual-level measure of nativity, we find that households composed entirely of newcomers (with 0–4 years in the country) are more than three times as likely to experience turnover than households that include natives and no newcomers. Moreover, as the proportion of immigrants (especially newcomers) in the household declines, so does the likelihood of turnover. Interestingly, we find that households containing a mixture of newcomers and settled immigrants are significantly less likely to make a transition to a simple household form yet are still more likely to experience turnover than native households. This suggests that the “port-in-a-storm” pattern observed for newcomers (high turnover but continued extension) occurs most often in households that are formed and maintained by settled immigrants or natives (most likely for the purpose of helping new arrivals for short periods). By contrast, households composed entirely of newcomers are more likely to experience turnover but are not more likely to continue to coreside, suggesting that their living arrangements are the most precarious. It makes sense that those individuals who have experienced the most recent long-term move are also those most likely to experience continued instability as they search for employment and permanent housing. As a final note, our analysis of U.S. census data shows that the majority of newcomers who live in extended family or non-kin households share living arrangements with natives or more-settled immigrants (63%), although a significant minority live in households composed entirely of newcomers, particularly those living in horizontally extended and non-kin households (41% and 47%, respectively).

## DISCUSSION

Our analyses are designed to shed light on the extent to which Mexican immigrants in the United States adopt household strategies that are distinct from the patterns observed among their nonmigrant counterparts in the United States or in Mexico. We also move beyond the conclusion that variation in living arrangements by nativity that is not explained by socioeconomic status must be evidence of acculturation. We find strong support for our expectation that migration itself alters, perhaps even accentuates, the normative pattern of extended family household formation found in the United States and Mexico. Perhaps the most compelling evidence is that the pattern of coresidence is more similar between U.S.-born Mexican Americans and individuals in Mexico than between Mexican immigrants and those in Mexico.

Overall, recent immigrants exhibit especially unique characteristics that differ markedly from other immigrants and natives on multiple dimensions. All three of our hypotheses are supported. 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. Recent immigrants are also much more likely to live with non-kin, a household form that is rare in Mexico. This suggests that newcomers to the United States are likely

to reside with conveniently available friends or relatives and not particular relatives (such as parents and children) who normally (in Mexico) share mutual obligations. Finally, the extended households of recent immigrants are more likely to experience turnover in composition than natives or immigrants in the United States for longer durations. 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, particularly for households including a mixture of new arrivals and others, is also suggestive 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 family 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, the results are not altered when we limit the sample to U.S. residents who are likely to have the most kin nearby—those living in California or Texas—or when we limit the entire binational sample to lifetime internal migrants (thereby leveling the playing field between international immigrants and nonimmigrants). Third, 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 extended family households.

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. The U.S.-born and 1.5 Generation are still much less likely to reside with extended family than Mexicans in Mexico. Breakdowns by age show that these differences are concentrated among persons about age 50 and older. This difference is not necessarily solely attributable to cultural differences between Mexico and the United States, however. Indeed, the pattern remains when we limit the U.S. sample to Spanish speakers or when we limit the Mexican sample to places that send the most immigrants. Another possible explanation is that retirement programs like social security have not historically been widely available in Mexico. Even in the United States, elderly coresidence was high during the years when and in states where social security benefits were not yet fully available, but then declined to present levels when and where social security was fully phased in (McGarry and Schoeni 2000). This suggests that, at least in the United States, a major engine of change was the governmental provision of the means to live independently at older ages.

Our findings resonate with recent critiques of overly favorable treatments of kinship support (e.g., Feliciano et al. forthcoming; Menjivar 2000) and challenge the conventional image of large immigrant families in long-term extended households held together through cultural norms and providing instrumental support to all. This image is indeed codified by the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act and the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act, which requires statements of financial support from sponsoring family members. Our results call into question the ability of family members, many of whom are new arrivals themselves, to provide financial support to newly arrived immigrants. Although we do not observe the extent to which recent immigrants are receiving economic support from nonresidential kin, within households it appears that coresidence is often a temporary arrangement during the short period following immigration regardless of age at arrival or income. The stability of extended family living arrangements does not appear to be associated with instrumental needs. Further, the most recent arrivals, who presumably need the most assistance, tend to have the least stable extended family living arrangements.

In summary, the results suggest that the very high levels of coresidence observed among recently arrived Mexican immigrants derive in part from the migration process and are not solely a cultural import from Mexico. Some 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. Our results cast doubt on this routinely used explanation, particularly for the results of research that do not make comparisons with nonmigrants in sending countries. We strongly suggest that nativity differences in family behaviors are likely to derive in part from a disruption of routine family behaviors by migration itself, and are not solely attributable to differential assimilation.

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