

Comparing living arrangements of immigrant young adults in Spain and the US

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Abstract

How and with whom young adults live is associated with their socioeconomic status. Migration experience further shapes preference and opportunity in choosing one's living arrangement. Given limited literature on immigrant young adults living arrangements especially in a comparative perspective, this paper investigates the issue comparing Spain and the US. Based on the 2000 US Census and the 2001 Spanish Census made available through the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS-I), the paper compares four forms of living arrangements (living alone, living with parents, living with a partner/spouse, and living in an extended family) between immigrants and the native-born and between immigrants in the two destination contexts. We focus on the role of age at migration and country of birth in immigrants' living arrangement patterns. The sample includes young adults aged 18-35 years and in case of immigrants having migrated to the destination country at age 1-16 years. This gives us a sample of 518,882 natives and 7,620 immigrants in Spain and 1,836,401 natives and 217,054 immigrants in the US. Using multinomial logistic regression and controlling for demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, it is found that immigrants' living arrangements tend to be more similar to those of natives than to those of the same immigrant group in the other destination country. Immigrant young adults in Spain have more similar living arrangements to the native-born in Spain than to their fellow immigrants in the US. There remains however substantial variation by age at migration and country of birth, with those migrated at young age and those born in Western Europe having the most similar living arrangements to the natives both in Spain and the US alike.

Key words: Living arrangements, age at migration, immigrant, young adults, transition to adulthood

1. Introduction

Transition to adulthood is a crucial stage in the life course when young people face important life decisions. One of the first major transitions they encounter is leaving the parental home, which goes hand-in-hand with the completion of education, obtaining stable employment and forming their household and family (Goldscheider and DaVanzo 1985). Living arrangements of young people depend on many factors such as labour and housing market conditions, economic conditions, peer decisions, circumstances within the parental home as well as norms and cultures (Aassve et al 2013).

Meanwhile socioeconomic status of young adults is closely associated with their living arrangements. Living outside the parental home generally means a decline of disposable income for the young adult. It is found that leaving parental home increases the risk of entering poverty for young people (Aassve et al. 2007; Aassve, Iacovou and Mencarini 2006). While remaining in the parental home beyond mature age may facilitate young adults in pursuing higher education or obtaining a desirable job, they concurrently delay their independence including partnership formation and fertility (Chiuri and Del Boca 2010).

Apart from whether young adults live inside/outside parental home, another important aspect of the living arrangement for young adults is whether they live with a partner. It is important to consider a partnership status because this can be associated with a decision to leave home which is typically the case for Mediterranean countries (Iacovou 2002). Young adults living outside parental home with a partner are found to have less risk of being in poverty compared to their counterparts living alone due to the fact that poverty rates are lower in a two-adult than in a single-adult household (Aassve et al. 2007). Likewise, living in a multi-generational household or with an extended family is also found to reduce the risk of entering into poverty for young adults, especially during hard times (Kochhar and Cohn 2011).

With the new wave of mass immigration into the US and Europe since the 1970s and now

that young immigrants have entered adulthood, this raises an important question whether the same pattern of living arrangements holds true for immigrant populations. The fact that immigrant young adults have grown up and lived outside their country of origin implies that their living arrangement models could differ from those of the native population. Immigrants are of diversified background in terms of social, economic, legal status and cultural norms and these fundamental differences can shape their living arrangement decision. Besides, with whom immigrants migrated is also crucial in determining how they would live when they enter adulthood. Those who migrated at young age are more likely to have migrated with their parents or relatives while those who migrated in their teens or older might have migrated alone for study, work or other reasons. Thus age at migration could reflect different living arrangement options available when these migrants become adult.

At the same time, age at migration can affect young adult living arrangements in a similar way as other outcomes related to social integration such as schooling outcomes (Böhlmark 2008; Cortes 2006; Gonzalez 2003; van Ours and Veenman 2006), labour market success (Lee and Edmonston 2011; Myers, Gao and Emeka 2009) and residential segregation (Åslund, Böhlmark and Skans 2009). Living arrangements can reflect the level of social integration of immigrants because it reveals both their cultural preferences for a particular living arrangement and social conditions which shape the motives, opportunities or restrictions and costs associated with their living arrangement decision. Since it has been widely reported that immigrants who migrated to the receiving society at young age, particularly at pre-school age, achieved fairly similar socioeconomic outcomes to the native-born, similarly we expect the living arrangement patterns of these immigrants when they enter adulthood to be more similar to those of the natives with respect to living arrangements of young adults immigrated at older ages. With the growing number of foreign born population in many industrialised countries (Grieco 2010; Muenz 2006), it is important to investigate immigrant young adults living arrangements separately from those of the native born population.

While the literature on living arrangements of immigrant young adults in the US and Canada

is well developed (Boyd 2000; Burr and Mutchler 1993; Glick and Van Hook 2002; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1988; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1989; Mitchell 2004; Mitchell, Wister and Gee 2004; Rumbaut and Komaie 2010; Treas and Batalova 2011), to our knowledge, there are few studies that focus on Europe (De Valk and Billari 2007; Stone, Berrington and Falkingham 2011; Vitali and Arpino 2010; Windzio 2011; Zorlu and Mulder 2011). Cross-national studies of living arrangements of immigrants are even scarcer and usually limited to a small number of groups of immigrants.

This paper aims to add to the literature by conducting a comparative analysis of living arrangements of immigrant young adults in Spain and in the US across immigrant groups. Host country contexts are found to substantially contribute to variation in immigrants' outcomes in different countries of destination from education (Holdaway, Crul and Roberts 2009; Levels, Dronkers and Kraaykamp 2008), health (Kennedy, McDonald and Biddle 2006) to labour market performance (Adsera, 2007)). This suggests that immigrants are constrained to social, economic and political contexts in the host country. That Spain and the US have different social structures and norms related to leaving parental home is expected to result in differentials in immigrant young adults living arrangements likewise.

The two destination countries are chosen for two reasons. First, living arrangements for the native-born in these two countries are fundamentally different. Young adults from the US still have a relatively early exit from home by international standards (Furstenberg 2010). Nonetheless, the sequence of transitions has become less orderly and predictable. In the present day young American adults do not necessarily leave their parental nest for family formation but for many other reasons such as attending college, gaining independence and the like. On the other hand, in Spain, young adults leave parental home at older ages and usually for family formation (Corijn and Klijzing 2002; Fokkema and Liefbroer 2008; Holdsworth 2000). Compared with countries in Northern and Western Europe, leaving home in Spain has been protracted (Fokkema and Liefbroer 2008). Because of lack in state support and strong cultural norms of long period of co-residence with

parents young adults in Spain and other Mediterranean countries leave home at much later age than those from other parts of Europe especially Nordic countries (Billari, Philipov and Baizán 2001). The living arrangements of immigrant young adults in the US and Spain thus are expected to be different due to the disparities in economic and institutional structures and cultural norms between the two countries. That the norms of transition to adulthood and leaving parental home in Spain and the US differ considerably provides an interesting context to examine whether young adult immigrants would follow the same pattern of living arrangements with the natives of the country they migrated to.

Second, Spain and the US are under different welfare-state regimes. Educational systems and labour market regulation can substantially influence life trajectories of young people. The US is characterised as a “liberal welfare-state regime” where the market is the main provider of benefits while Spain fits into a “Mediterranean regime” where the family is the strong key provider of social benefits complementary with rudimentary benefits provided by the state (Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999). Despite its stronger employment protection compared to the US, the introduction of temporary employment contracts for young people during the late 1980s and 1990s place young Spaniards in a vulnerable position with high uncertainty of their labour market prospect (Breen and Buchmann 2002). The high degree of employment protection in Spain nevertheless favours male adult workers (typical head of household). This kind of labour market policy makes young Spaniards delay their transition into a stable full-time job and consequently have to rely heavily on family resources and prolong their dependency on the family. Besides, Spain and the US are different in educational systems where the average age of completing education is the youngest in liberal welfare regimes and much later in the Southern European regimes (Smeeding and Phillips 2002). The differences in welfare policies as indicated by the age of completion of full-time education and the labour market opportunity of young adults consequently result in different living arrangement patterns in the two countries.

Based on this comparative approach, this paper investigates living arrangements of

immigrant young adults comparing them with: 1) the native population; 2) fellow immigrants by age at migration; 3) fellow immigrants by country of birth; and 4) fellow immigrants who migrated to a different country. The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the data and Section 3 explains methods used in the empirical analysis. The results are presented in section 4. Section 5 summarizes and concludes our findings.

2. Data

This study is based on individual data for 5% of the households extracted from the 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing (U.S. Census Bureau) and from the 2001 Spanish Census of Population and Housing (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, INE)¹. The data are obtained from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS-I) produced by the Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota. IPUMS-I harmonizes and freely distributes census microdata for a variety of countries around the world. Variables are harmonized across countries and census years so cross-country and temporal comparisons are allowed. Apart from individual and household socioeconomic information, IPUMS also provides information on individuals' country of birth and year of immigration. This allows us to identify individuals with immigration background and distinguish between different ages at migration.

One of the main advantages of the IPUMS data is its large samples. Unlike survey data where only a few countries of origins of immigrants can be examined due to their limited sample size, IPUMS allows us to study immigration from multiple countries of origins simultaneously. Besides, being census data, the response rates are high.

The data supplied by IPUMS nevertheless are not without limitations. First, since censuses only collect basic demographic information, other relevant information that might affect living arrangement decisions such as preferences, attitudes, and intergenerational relations is not available. Besides, there is no retrospective information so it is not possible to identify, for instance, cases of

re-entry into the parental home. Also, depending on individual incentives, young adults who are currently living independently from their parents might not have registered as such, and thus are enumerated as still living with parents in the census. Another drawback of the IPUMS data is that the censuses usually do not collect information on parental country of birth. This information can be identified only in the case where an individual lives in the same household with their parent(s). Lacking information on parental country of birth, we cannot distinguish between those born to immigrant parents and to native parents in the destination country. Accordingly, this study does not include native-born second generation immigrants.

Focusing on living arrangements of young adults with immigrant background, the sample selected for the analysis includes those: 1) aged between 18–35 years old; 2) with non-missing information on country of birth, date of arrival in the destination country, gender and relation with household head; and 3) entered into the destination country at age 1–16 years old. We limit our sample to those who came into the destination country at age 16 or lower because the interest is to compare living arrangement patterns between immigrant and native young adults. Those who came to the destination country at older age are more likely to migrate independently unaccompanied by their family and their living arrangements would differ from those of the natives in the first place. Our analysis includes a sample of 518,882 natives and 7,620 immigrants in Spain and 1,836,401 natives and 217,054 immigrants in the US.

Natives are defined as individuals who were born in the countries studied i.e. Spain or the US. Immigrants are individuals who were born outside these two countries.

3. Methods

Our outcome variable, living arrangement is categorised as follows²: 1) living in a one-person household (living alone); 2) living in parental home, no spouse; 3) living with a partner/spouse (both cohabitation and marriage)³; and 4) living in an extended family (with relatives and in some

cases also with parents).

Since our outcome variable is nominal, multinomial logistic regression model is employed to estimate how the likelihood of the four types of living arrangements varies with demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Living in parental home is chosen as baseline category.

Independent variables included in the multivariate analysis are:

Gender (female is the reference category).

Age specified as a set of three binary variables: 1) 18-23 (reference); 2) 24-29; and 3) 30-35.

This variable captures the effects of age-norm and age-graded transition in the life course.

Age at arrival is divided into three categories: 1) 1-6 (reference); 2) 7-12; and 3) 13-16. This variable captures the effect of the nature of migration processes and social integration. The lower the age at migration, the more similar the living arrangements are expected to be to those of natives.

Education represents the highest level of educational attainment, divided into three categories: 1) no education or primary level (reference category); 2) secondary level; and 3) tertiary level.

Economic activity represents an individual economic status, divided into three categories: 1) employed; 2) unemployed or economically inactive (reference category) and 3) being in school.

Country of birth is divided into ten groups based mainly on geographical proximity and to a certain extent cultural proximity. These groups are 1) native (born in Spain or born in the US, reference category); 2) Caribbean and Central America; 3) South America; 4) West Europe including Canada, Australia & New Zealand; 5) East Europe; 6) South Europe; 7) East & Southeast Asia; 8) Middle East & North Africa; 9) rest of Africa; and 10) rest of the world. Note that for the US data, we further distinguish between racial/ethnic background of the natives, namely, White, Black and other natives.

4. Results

4.1. Descriptive results

Table 1 displays living arrangement patterns of young adults by age at migration and country of birth in Spain and the US. Given a similar age distribution of individuals ages 18-35 of the native-born in Spain and the US, we find remarkable differences in living arrangements between young adults born in the two countries. Overwhelmingly, living with parents is the most common living arrangement pattern of the native-born young adults in Spain. Living alone in a single-person household or living with other people rather than their parents, relatives or spouse is uncommon. In the US, on the other hand, the majority of native young adults live with their partner/spouse and only about a quarter still live with their parents. Another substantial difference between the two countries is the proportion of those in single parenthood, that is living with their children but not together with their partner/spouse. Note that in the US, among the natives, living arrangements also vary considerably by race. Non-whites and especially blacks have much lower proportion of young adults living with their partner/spouse and higher proportion of those living in an extended family compared to white natives.

[TABLE 1: ABOUT HERE]

Interestingly, although the living arrangement patterns of migrants differ substantially from those of the natives, in both host countries, the living arrangements of migrants resemble more the living arrangements of the natives than the living arrangements of immigrants of the same origin who migrated to a different host country. This holds in particular for those who migrated to the host country at younger ages. For young adults who migrated to Spain at age 1-6 and 7-12, the proportion living with parents (37% and 36%, respectively) is almost as high as that of the natives (48%). Similarly, for those who migrated to the US at age 1-6 and 7-12, the proportion living with parents (21% and 20%, respectively) is very close to that of the US natives (18%). Both in Spain and the US, almost half of migrants who migrated at age 13-16 live with extended family members or non-kin members (42% and 45%, respectively). This is probably because the older the age at

migration, the less likely that these migrants migrated with their parents.

We also observe substantial variation in living arrangements both by country of birth and country of destination. Meanwhile for many immigrant groups in Spain, such as those born in Africa, Middle East & North Africa, East Europe, and East & Southeast Asia, living in an extended family is the most common pattern of living arrangement. Many groups also have high rates of living in parental home similar to the Spanish natives such as those from Caribbean & Central America (32%), South America (35%), and West Europe (39%). In fact, apart from those born in West or South Europe, young immigrants in Spain are found to live in two main living arrangement outcomes: with their parents or with an extended family. This might reflect cultural preferences of those born in Caribbean & Central America, South America and East & Southeast Asia since their counterparts in the US also have relatively high percentages of those living in extended family. It could also imply that immigrants in Spain and the US, despite being born in a similar region, have different demographic and socioeconomic characteristics resulting in different living arrangements such as those born in Africa and South Europe.

4.2. Multivariate results

Multivariate analysis is introduced to examine: 1) socioeconomic factors influencing living arrangement patterns and whether the association is in a similar direction for immigrants and natives; and 2) whether after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, there remains a variation in living arrangement outcomes between immigrants and natives and, among immigrants, across age at migration and country of birth.

Table 2 displays the multinomial logistic regression estimates of living arrangements of natives and immigrants in Spain and the US separately. This allows us to compare the factors associated with living arrangement outcomes between immigrants and natives and across the two destination countries. Note that the results provided in Table 2 for the US natives only refer to White natives. The direction of the association between demographic and socioeconomic

characteristics associated with living arrangements for Black natives and other natives are in general similar to that of White natives⁴ (see Appendix A).

[TABLE 2: ABOUT HERE]

Controlling for age and gender, socioeconomic characteristics associated with living arrangements of the natives in Spain and the US differ considerably. In Spain, the likelihood of living alone as compared to live in the parental home decreases as the educational attainment increases. The opposite is true for the US whereby the higher the level of education, the higher the likelihood to live alone. Similarly, while those who are still in school are less likely to live alone or live with their spouse/partner in Spain, their counterparts in the US are significantly more likely to do so. These results are consistent with previous studies on leaving parental home in both countries. It is common for young people to live away from home for higher education in the US (Mulder, Clark and Wagner 2002) whereas in Spain, living with parents enable young adults to pursue higher education with low financial cost (Aassve et al. 2002).

Likewise, in the US where cohabiting unions are more common, many young people cohabit with their partner while pursuing higher education. This explains why those who are in school are more likely to live with their partner/spouse in the US but less likely to do so in Spain. Correspondingly, the likelihood to live with a partner/spouse rather than with parents increases with educational attainment. In the US where living apart from parents is perceived as a milestone in the transition to adulthood (Settersten 1998), this finding might reflect the better socioeconomic position of the more educated young adults which allows them to form an independent household more rapidly. On the other hand, in Spain, the likelihood to live with a partner/spouse rather than with parents decreases with educational attainment. This can be explained by the fact that those with higher education often postpone their family formation. Those who are in employment, being economically more independent, are more likely to live by themselves, rather than with parents,

both in the US and Spain and more likely to live with their partner/spouse in the US. Note that in Spain, the native-born who are in employment are less likely to live with their partner/spouse as compared to living with their parents. Despite being in employment, it is plausible that these young adults decided to continue to reside in the safety ‘ne(s)ts’ of their parental home until a stable job position is obtained (Aassve et al. 2002).

Both in Spain and the US, natives with higher education are less likely to live in an extended family as opposed to living with their parents. Likewise, those who are in employment and in school in Spain are also less likely to live in an extended family. This might reflect household socioeconomic conditions whereby those with poorer socioeconomic resources cannot afford to form a nuclear family thus they have to live in and rely on an extended family at least in the beginning of their family formation.⁵ In the US, on the other hand, those who are in school and in employment are more likely to live in an extended family as opposed to living in their parental home. It might be the case that these people move to pursue their education or career away from their parental home and an extended family provides a primary shelter until they settle down and move on to live by themselves later on.

Turning to living arrangements of young immigrants, we find that socioeconomic characteristics associated with living arrangements of natives and immigrants generally are in the same direction in both countries. In other words, the effects of the correlates of living arrangements of immigrants in Spain are more similar to Spanish natives than to their fellow immigrants in the US. This is probably due to macro-structural characteristics of the destination country. For example, with smaller housing markets for renting, staying in the parental home while pursuing higher education is common in Spain. Thus both the natives and immigrants who are in school are not necessarily more likely to live alone like in the US where going away from home for college education is more common.

In the subsequent analysis, we examine the association between country-of-birth-specific age at migration and living arrangement outcomes taking into account demographic and

socioeconomic characteristics. We estimate multinomial logistic regression of living arrangements for immigrants and natives combined. This allows us to directly test the relationship between age at migration and living arrangements by comparing different categories of age at migration against the outcomes of the natives (Appendix B). Besides, we also examine how the association between age at migration and living arrangements varies with country of birth (Appendix C). In order to make the results easier to interpret, we compute predicted probabilities of living arrangement patterns for the natives and immigrants by age at migration (migrated between ages 1-6, 7-12 and 13-16) and educational attainment (secondary and tertiary level) in Spain and the US, controlling for demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Predicted probabilities are calculated for a hypothetical man aged 24-29 years and in employment. Figure 1 presents predicted probabilities by level of education based on multinomial logit estimates in Appendix B.

[FIGURE 1: ABOUT HERE]

Figure 1 shows that both in Spain and the US, living arrangements of immigrant young adults vary substantially according to age at migration, with age at migration gradients being slightly larger in Spain. The higher the age at migration, the greater is the difference in living arrangement outcomes between immigrant and native young adults. In the case of Spain –a “latest-late” transition to adulthood country– it is particularly interesting to compare the predicted probability of living with parents between native and immigrant young adults. For example, the predicted probability to live in the parental home for native men in the age group 24-29 and with tertiary-level education equals to 0.54. Immigrant young adults with the same demographic characteristics faces a predicted probability of living in the parental home which equals to 0.45 if they migrated before the primary school age (1-6), to 0.42 if they migrated during the primary school age (7-12) and it drops to 0.30 if they migrated in their teens (13-16). The same pattern is observed for young men with the same demographic characteristics as above and secondary level of

education, with a predicted probability to live in the parental home equal to 0.47 for natives and equal to 0.37, 0.34 and 0.23 for immigrants migrated at ages 1-6, 7-12 and 13-16, respectively. Particularly in the US, having tertiary education reduces the gap in all living arrangement outcomes between immigrants and natives as well as among immigrants of different ages at migration. The disparities in the distribution of living arrangement outcomes are smaller among those with tertiary education compared to their counterparts with secondary education.

In Figure 1 we considered immigrants as a homogeneous group, irrespectively of their country of birth. Next, we examine how living arrangements vary by country of birth and age at migration. Figure 2 presents predicted probabilities for the four living arrangement outcomes by age at migration and country of birth in Spain and the US for a hypothetical man, aged 24-29, employed and with secondary education based on the multinomial logit estimates presented in Appendix C. Note that only some countries of birth are presented here for simplicity of the graphs. Countries of birth are selected to represent different world regions.

[FIGURE 2: ABOUT HERE]

The age at migration difference is particularly evident for the outcomes living with parents and living in an extended family. In the case of immigrants, it seems that the two living arrangement outcomes replace one another. Migrants migrated at age 1-6 years are more likely to be accompanied with their parents than those migrated at older age. Thus, the former have higher propensity to live with parents while those migrated at older age have higher propensity to live in an extended family, possibly as a substitute for parental home. Meanwhile, there is substantial country of birth variation in the likelihood of living in parental home and in an extended family. In Spain, the native-born have the highest propensity to live with parents and no immigrant groups supersede that. In the US, many groups, i.e. those born in West Europe and East & Southeast Asia, have almost the same probability of living with parents as the US native-born. Both in the US and Spain,

young immigrants born in East & Southeast Asia have the highest propensity to live in an extended family, followed by those born in the Middle East & North Africa and those born in South America.

With respect to the propensity to live with a spouse/partner, those migrated at age 1-6 years old are more similar to the natives but this varies substantially by country of birth and country of destination. The native-born in Spain have lower likelihood of living with a spouse/partner than their counterparts born in the US and this is evident also for immigrants in Spain. In particular, those born in East & Southeast Asia, South America and Middle East & North Africa in the case of the US, have the lowest likelihood of living with a spouse/partner.

In Spain, the probability of living alone is well below 10% both for the natives and immigrants except for those born in West Europe. In the US we observe variation in the propensity to live alone both by age at migration and country of birth. Those migrated at 1-6 years old have more similar propensity to live alone to the natives than those migrated at older ages.

Overall, both in the US and Spain, immigrants born in West Europe have the closest distribution of living arrangement outcomes to the natives and vice versa for those born in East & Southeast Asia.

5. Conclusion

We have analysed living arrangement patterns of young adults in Spain and the US comparing natives and immigrants and immigrants with different age at migration and origin. Our results show that living arrangement of immigrant young adults is related to international migration experience as evident in the diversity in living arrangement outcomes by age at migration, country of birth and country of destination.

While cultures and norms from the country of origin might affect preference in the choice of living arrangement, we find that the context of the country of destination plays a key role in shaping living arrangement outcomes. Our findings indicate that the socioeconomic characteristics

associated with living arrangement patterns affect immigrants in a similar way to the native-born both in Spain and the US. This implies that immigrant young adults are subjected to similar macro-structural characteristics influencing their living arrangement choice to the natives. For instance, the lack of affordable rental housing market in Spain (Ortega, Rubio and Thomas 2011) constrains native as well as immigrant young adults to live in their parental home or with an extended family while pursuing education while the opposite is true in the US. Hence, we observe that although in both countries living arrangements of immigrant young adults differ from those of the natives, they do resemble more those of the native-born than their fellow immigrants in another country of destination.

The only case where socioeconomic factors work differently for immigrants and natives is the association between educational attainment and the likelihood of living with partner/spouse in the US. Having higher educational qualification lowers the likelihood of living with a partner/spouse for immigrant young adults in the US whereas the opposite is true for the natives. According to the “minority group status” hypothesis (Goldscheider and Uhlenberg 1969), minority group members delay their family formation in order to invest in education, an important mean for achieving upward mobility. To set up an independent household, young adults also need to secure remunerative and relatively secure employment. Thus, it is possible that immigrant young adults with high education have high aspiration to achieve a middle-class style of life and would not leave their parental home to live with their partner/spouse until they gain sufficient financial independence.

Meanwhile, living arrangements vary with age at migration, with those migrated at young age (1-6 years) having more similar living arrangement patterns to the natives than their counterparts migrated at older ages. It is possible that cultural preferences and norms in living arrangements weaken for immigrant young adults who came to the destination country when they were very young because they would have been socialised and exposed to the host country environment for a substantial period of time. This finding is in line with previous empirical studies

on generational disparity showing that those born in the host country (second generation) or migrated at pre-school age (1.5 generation) generally achieved similar socioeconomic outcomes to the majority population than first generation migrants (Heath, Rethon and Kilpi 2008). However, based on cross-sectional data, our study cannot distinguish between the role of age at migration and the role of duration of stay in the destination country on living arrangement patterns.

Apart from determining when immigrants started their socialization in the destination country, age at migration is also related to with whom migrants might have migrated. We observe that the likelihood of living with parents decline with age at migration and vice versa for the likelihood of living in an extended family. Intuitively those migrated at very young age are likely to be an accompanying family member of adult migrants while those migrated at older age might have come at their own will such as for schooling or job purpose. Thus, naturally for the latter, they do not have their parents to live with in the destination country and an extended family can serve as an alternative for parental home. This finding is in accordance with previous literature showing that migrants, especially those who recently arrived in the host country, often live in an extended family as a survival strategy because extended-family members can provide social and financial support to dependent kin (Kamo 2000; Tienda and Angel 1982; Van Hook and Glick 2007).

There is substantial country of birth variation in living arrangement patterns, which could partially be related to culture and norms associated with young adult choice of living arrangements. For young adult immigrants born in Western Europe, their living arrangements are the most similar to the native-born both in Spain and the US. Previous studies focusing on different outcomes reported a similar result ranging from educational attainment, family formation, and labour market achievement. Apart from cultural proximity, it is possible that human capital acquired in Western European countries is more easily transferrable in Spain and the US as compared to immigrants from other countries of origin. Thus, the living arrangement patterns of young adult immigrants born in Western Europe converge to those of the natives more than other groups. On the other hand, those born in East & Southeast Asia and Middle East & North Africa exhibit rather diverse living

arrangement outcomes from the natives. For example, the proportion living in an extended family for these groups is much greater than that of the natives, which could be partly due to cultural preferences since living in extended families remains common in many countries in Africa, East & Southeast Asia and in the Middle East & North Africa (Chu and Jiang 1997; Ram and Wong 1994). With limitation of our data, unfortunately we cannot distinguish cultural aspects such as values and norms which can influence living arrangement decision. Our results however is in line with previous studies such as that of Windzio (2011) which argues that cultural differences explain variation in the patterns of leaving parental home between Turkish immigrants and native Germans.

Our findings on the strong association between country of birth and living arrangements are consistent with previous studies investigating the pattern of leaving inside and outside the parental home of young immigrants in the US (Giuliano 2007) and Spain (Vitali and Arpino 2013). Both studies have argued that culture and values inherited from the country of origin could play a major role in determining living arrangements. By comparing immigrants in two destination countries, the US and Spain, this chapter has shown that immigrant young adults are subjected to similar macro-structural and socioeconomic influences to the native-born in making their living arrangement decisions. This means that the context at destination is also important for the living arrangement decisions.. Furthermore, this chapter adds that age at migration is critical in shaping living arrangement outcomes both in terms of opportunities (i.e. who young adult immigrants migrated with) and preferences (i.e. those migrated at young age acquired similar norms to the natives).

Notes

1 Note that there are slight different definitions in the Spanish 2001 Census and the US 2000 Census. In the Spanish 2001 Census, the resident population refers only to a individuals whose regular residence is located in Spain when the census is performed (de jure population). A household refers to a group of persons resident in the same family dwelling (that is excluding dwellings which are used exclusively for other purposes such as offices, workshops and warehouses) (INE 2001). In the 2000 U.S. Census, the population to be included in the census refers to individuals whose usual residence was in the US regardless of the person's legal status or citizenship. Usual residence refers to the place where the person lives and sleeps most of the time regardless of his/her legal residence or voting residence (U.S. Census Bureau 2003).

2 In principle it would be worth including three more categories of living arrangements, namely, living as a single parent (with (a) child(ren) without a partner/spouse), living in parental home (marital status is married, divorced, widowed), living with other (non-kin members). We include these categories in the descriptive analysis but not in the multivariate analysis because the proportion of

individuals living in such living arrangements is too small.

3 We do not distinguish between marriage and cohabitation because particularly for the US, cohabiting with an unmarried partner has become a common reason for leaving parental home.

4 The exception is for the association between educational attainment and the likelihood of living with partner/spouse for Other natives. For this group, the higher the educational qualification, the lower the chance of living with partner/spouse similar to the immigrant population.

5 Note that the causal direction can be reversed. Living in an extended family means a larger share of household resources between generations and among relatives. Thus, an individual growing up in an extended family might have less chance to invest in their human capital because the household might decide to use economic resources for other household members.

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Table 1: Distribution of living arrangements by age at migration and country of birth (age at migration 1-16 years old)

	Alone	Single parent	With parents (single)	With parents (not single)	With partner/spouse	Extended Family	Other	N
Spain								
Natives	4.8	0.9	48.2	2.2	27.4	15.7	0.9	540,452
All immigrants	5.4	1.0	33.5	2.4	27.2	27.1	3.3	8,288
<i>Age at migration</i>								
1 - 6 years old	5.2	1.1	36.9	2.6	33.5	19.1	1.7	3,814
7 - 12 years old	5.4	0.9	36.2	2.2	24.0	27.8	3.5	2,554
13 - 16 years old	6.1	1.0	23.2	2.5	18.9	42.3	6.0	1,920
<i>Country of birth</i>								
Africa	5.6	2.0	8.6	1.0	18.3	55.3	9.1	197
North Africa & Middle East	5.3	0.6	18.0	2.4	15.9	53.1	4.7	904
Caribbean & Central America	4.2	1.2	32.3	2.4	18.1	36.5	5.3	337
South America	4.7	1.3	35.2	2.8	16.2	35.9	4.0	1,667
West Europe	6.0	1.0	39.4	2.5	35.6	14.2	1.4	4,490
East Europe	5.1	0.9	24.9	0.9	13.4	44.7	10.1	217
South Europe	4.8	1.2	11.5	0.8	38.1	36.1	7.5	252
East & Southeast Asia	3.2	0.0	20.3	3.8	8.9	56.3	7.6	158
Rest of the world	4.6	0.0	31.8	1.5	9.1	37.9	15.2	66
USA								
All Natives	8.0	4.4	18.2	2.1	44.1	16.7	6.5	2,638,280
White natives	8.2	3.1	18.1	1.9	48.1	13.5	7.0	2,087,169
Black natives	8.1	12.7	17.5	2.9	26.7	28.6	3.5	334,198
Other natives	5.7	4.2	20.5	2.9	32.5	28.2	6.1	216,913
All immigrants	4.3	2.3	17.0	3.0	30.6	37.6	5.1	214,762
<i>Age at migration</i>								
1 - 6 years old	6.3	2.8	20.5	2.9	32.8	28.5	6.2	63,558
7 - 12 years old	4.1	2.2	19.8	3.4	28.6	37.3	4.7	68,630
13 - 16 years old	3.0	2.1	12.1	2.8	30.5	44.8	4.7	82,574
<i>Country of birth</i>								
Africa	8.6	2.6	21.3	2.0	27.1	29.0	9.4	2,939
North Africa & Middle East	7.7	1.2	24.6	2.9	34.9	22.0	6.8	3,788
Caribbean & Central America	2.4	2.8	11.8	3.3	30.9	45.3	3.6	121,741
South America	4.4	2.1	23.1	4.1	27.4	33.8	5.0	10,227
West Europe	10.1	3.2	17.4	1.9	43.1	14.2	10.1	15,335
East Europe	6.3	1.0	37.2	2.3	26.4	20.6	6.4	6,089
South Europe	7.2	2.8	19.1	2.8	47.0	16.2	4.9	4,029
East & Southeast Asia	6.3	1.2	24.1	2.6	25.8	33.2	6.8	40,982
Rest of the world	6.1	0.8	28.7	3.3	26.0	28.7	6.5	9,632

Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)

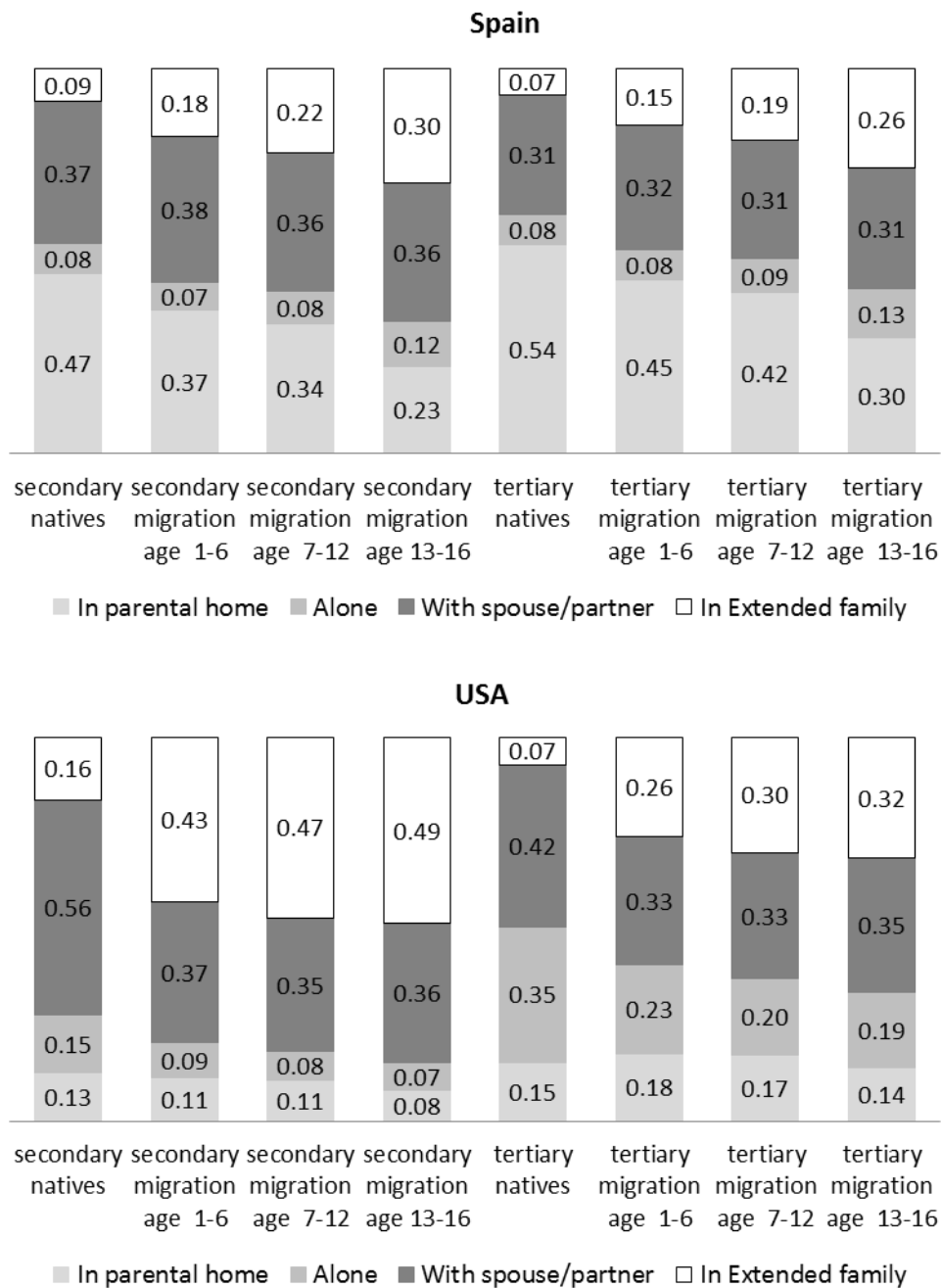
Table 2: Multinomial logistic regression estimates of living arrangements (baseline: living with parents) for natives and immigrants in Spain and the US

	Spain				US			
	Natives		Immigrants		White Natives		Immigrants	
	β	<i>s.e.</i>	β	<i>s.e.</i>	β	<i>s.e.</i>	β	<i>s.e.</i>
Living alone								
Men	-0.050	0.014	-0.239	0.112	-0.181	0.007	-0.025	0.025
<i>Age (ref: 18-23)</i>								
Age: 24-29	1.301	0.021	0.885	0.158	1.809	0.008	1.615	0.033
Age: 30-35	2.455	0.022	1.861	0.163	2.741	0.009	2.685	0.038
<i>Age at migration (ref:1-6)</i>								
Age at migration: 7-12	-	-	<i>0.242</i>	0.129	-	-	-0.248	0.029
Age at migration: 13-16	-	-	1.081	0.141	-	-	0.016	0.031
<i>Education (ref: lower than secondary-level)</i>								
Secondary-level education	-0.071	0.015	-0.108	0.121	0.878	0.013	0.346	0.044
Tertiary-level education	-0.151	0.022	-0.385	0.189	1.691	0.015	1.089	0.048
<i>Employment status (ref:unemployed/inactive)</i>								
In employment	0.443	0.021	0.744	0.165	0.560	0.008	0.531	0.029
In school	-0.077	0.025	0.035	0.198	2.838	0.057	3.265	0.208
Constant	-3.732	0.026	-3.333	0.214	-3.320	-0.015	-3.269	0.053
Living with partner/spouse								
Men	-0.793	0.008	-0.953	0.069	-0.844	-0.005	-0.740	0.015
<i>Age (ref: 18-23)</i>								
Age: 24-29	2.272	0.016	1.891	0.119	2.481	0.006	2.299	0.019
Age: 30-35	4.044	0.016	3.497	0.122	3.737	0.007	3.849	0.026
<i>Age at migration (ref:1-6)</i>								
Age at migration: 7-12	-	-	-0.059	0.077	-	-	-0.051	0.018
Age at migration: 13-16	-	-	0.452	0.096	-	-	0.348	0.019
<i>Education (ref: lower than secondary-level)</i>								
Secondary-level education	-0.481	0.009	-0.581	0.074	0.407	0.007	-0.786	0.019
Tertiary-level education	-0.970	0.014	-1.199	0.118	0.515	0.009	-1.169	0.026
<i>Employment status (ref:unemployed/inactive)</i>								
In employment	-0.104	0.010	0.110	0.085	0.269	0.005	0.249	0.016
In school	-1.103	0.015	-0.908	0.114	3.045	0.053	3.357	0.190
Constant	-2.079	0.016	-1.498	0.134	-1.018	-0.007	-0.352	0.024
Living with extended family								
Men	-0.282	0.008	-0.316	0.061	-0.532	-0.005	-0.267	0.014
<i>Age (ref: 18-23)</i>								
Age: 24-29	0.338	0.010	-0.058	0.074	1.196	0.006	1.056	0.016
Age: 30-35	1.055	0.011	0.379	0.087	1.899	0.008	1.874	0.025
<i>Age at migration (ref:1-6)</i>								
Age at migration: 7-12	-	-	0.352	0.071	-	-	0.283	0.016
Age at migration: 13-16	-	-	1.161	0.079	-	-	0.774	0.017
<i>Education (ref: lower than secondary-level)</i>								
Secondary-level education	-0.433	0.009	-0.661	0.067	-0.118	0.007	-0.892	0.017
Tertiary-level education	-0.686	0.016	-1.037	0.124	-0.672	0.011	-1.658	0.026
<i>Employment status (ref:unemployed/inactive)</i>								
In employment	-0.158	0.011	-0.042	0.079	0.053	0.006	0.232	0.014
In school	-0.461	0.013	-0.419	0.090	1.860	0.057	1.568	0.197
Constant	-0.823	0.011	0.015	0.095	-0.495	0.007	0.628	0.021
Log likelihood (df)	-498116.51 (21)		-7992.58 (27)		-1802505.30 (21)		-197546.46 (27)	
N	518,882		7,620		1,836,401		270,495	

Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)

Note: Statistically significant results at the .05 and .10 level are highlighted in bold and italicized respectively

Figure 1: Predicted probabilities of living arrangement patterns for the natives and immigrants by age at migration and educational attainment in Spain and the US

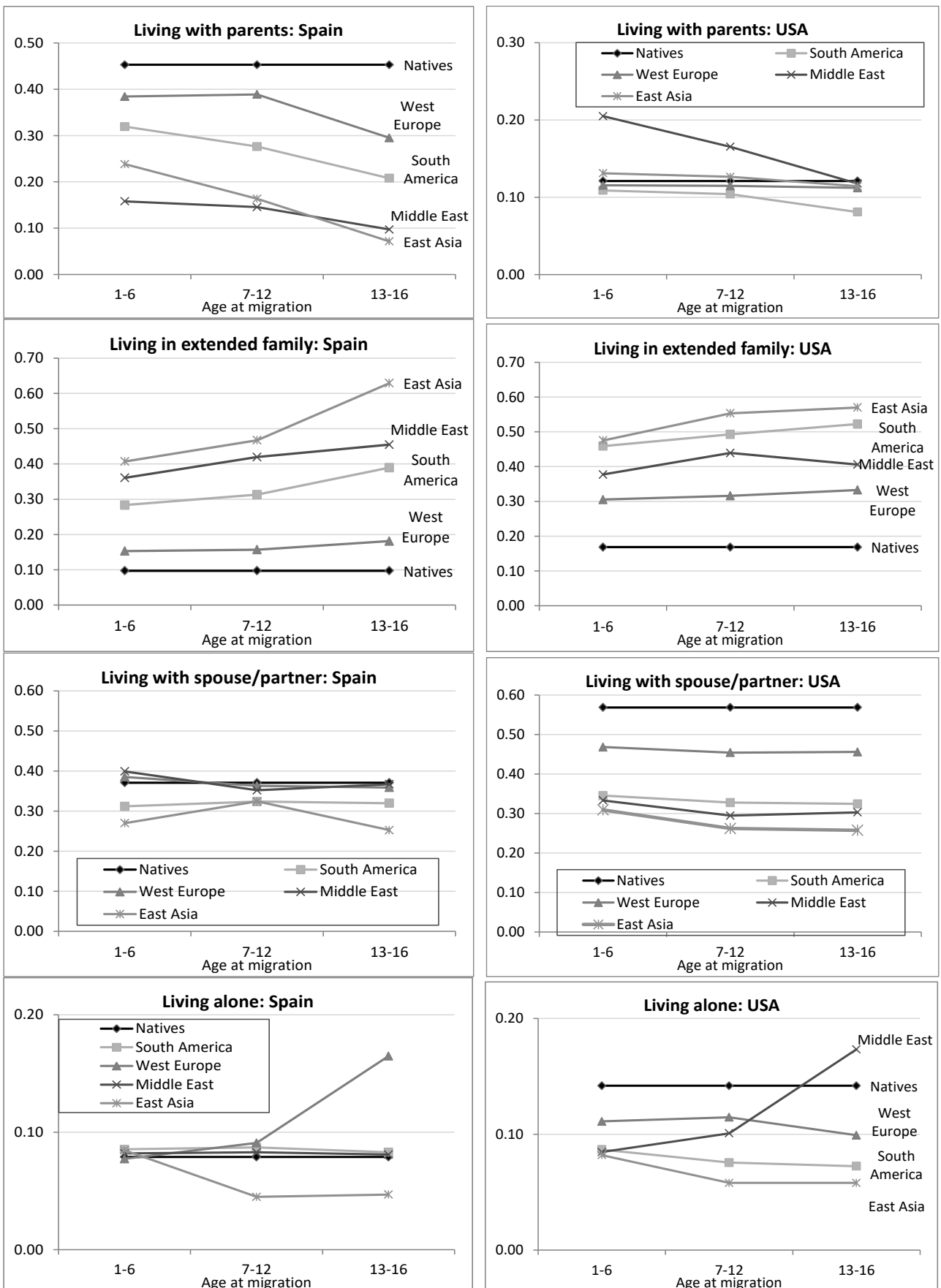


Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)

Note: 1) Secondary and tertiary refers to individuals with secondary and tertiary education respectively.

2) Predicted probabilities are calculated for a hypothetical person who is male, aged 24-29 years and is in employment

Figure 2: Predicted probabilities of living arrangement patterns for the natives and immigrants by age at migration and selected country of birth in Spain and the US



Note: Predicted probabilities are calculated for a hypothetical person who is male aged 24-29 years in employment with secondary education.
 Appendix A: Multinomial logistic regression estimates of living arrangements for Black and other

natives in the US (baseline comparison: living with parents)

	Black natives		Other natives	
	β	<i>s.e.</i>	β	<i>s.e.</i>
Living alone				
Men	-0.391	0.016	-0.126	0.022
<i>Age (ref: 18-23)</i>				
Age: 24-29	1.661	0.021	1.692	0.028
Age: 30-35	2.489	0.023	2.707	0.032
<i>Education (ref: lower than secondary-level)</i>				
Secondary-level education	0.563	0.027	0.567	0.040
Tertiary-level education	1.243	0.034	1.266	0.046
<i>Employment status (ref:unemployed/inactive)</i>				
In employment	0.525	0.017	0.598	0.026
In school	3.018	0.128	2.908	0.163
Constant	-2.649	0.029	-3.320	0.043
Living with partner/spouse				
Men	-0.605	0.012	-0.805	0.014
<i>Age (ref: 18-23)</i>				
Age: 24-29	2.172	0.016	2.261	0.017
Age: 30-35	3.249	0.018	3.487	0.023
<i>Education (ref: lower than secondary-level)</i>				
Secondary-level education	0.385	0.018	-0.082	0.019
Tertiary-level education	0.197	0.026	-0.517	0.028
<i>Employment status (ref:unemployed/inactive)</i>				
In employment	0.558	0.013	0.403	0.015
In school	3.598	0.120	3.316	0.143
Constant	-1.592	0.019	-0.758	0.020
Living with extended family				
Men	-0.716	0.011	-0.516	0.013
<i>Age (ref: 18-23)</i>				
Age: 24-29	0.906	0.013	1.046	0.016
Age: 30-35	1.464	0.016	1.699	0.023
<i>Education (ref: lower than secondary-level)</i>				
Secondary-level education	-0.160	0.014	-0.376	0.016
Tertiary-level education	-0.787	0.025	-1.179	0.028
<i>Employment status (ref:unemployed/inactive)</i>				
In employment	0.092	0.011	0.112	0.013
In school	1.517	0.126	1.540	0.151
Constant	0.494	0.014	0.434	0.017
Log likelihood (df)	-309964.06 (21)		-206599.95 (21)	
N	270,495		188,355	

Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)

Note: Statistically significant results at least at the .05 and .10 level are highlighted in bold and italicized respectively

Appendix B: Multinomial logistic regression estimates of living arrangements in Spain and the US (baseline: living with parents), natives and immigrants combined

	Spain		USA	
	β	<i>s.e.</i>	β	<i>s.e.</i>
Living alone				
Men	-0.123	0.087	-0.060	0.023
<i>Age (ref: 18-23)</i>				
Age: 24-29	1.058	0.126	1.639	0.030
Age: 30-35	2.098	0.130	2.699	0.034
<i>Age at migration (ref:native)</i>				
Age at migration: 1-6	0.058	0.105	-0.368	0.033
Age at migration: 7-12	0.344	0.120	-0.614	0.035
Age at migration: 13-16	1.209	0.129	-0.344	0.036
<i>Education (ref: lower than secondary-level)</i>				
Secondary-level education	-0.189	0.095	0.419	0.041
Tertiary-level education	-0.206	0.136	1.117	0.045
<i>Employment status (ref:unemployed/inactive)</i>				
In employment	0.626	0.127	0.533	0.027
In school	-0.016	0.154	3.051	0.186
Constant	-3.516	0.164	-2.932	0.053
Living with partner/spouse				
Men	-0.886	0.053	-0.749	0.014
<i>Age (ref: 18-23)</i>				
Age: 24-29	2.027	0.093	2.316	0.018
Age: 30-35	3.685	0.095	3.829	0.024
<i>Age at migration (ref:native)</i>				
Age at migration: 1-6	0.240	0.060	-0.373	0.023
Age at migration: 7-12	0.220	0.074	-0.414	0.023
Age at migration: 13-16	0.758	0.091	0.003	0.024
<i>Education (ref: lower than secondary-level)</i>				
Secondary-level education	-0.533	0.056	-0.685	0.018
Tertiary-level education	-1.188	0.090	-1.014	0.025
<i>Employment status (ref:unemployed/inactive)</i>				
In employment	0.024	0.065	0.259	0.015
In school	-1.049	0.090	3.209	0.168
Constant	-1.846	0.102	-0.081	0.027
Living with extended family				
Men	-0.320	0.049	-0.298	0.013
<i>Age (ref: 18-23)</i>				
Age: 24-29	0.075	0.058	1.069	0.015
Age: 30-35	0.641	0.069	1.865	0.023
<i>Age at migration (ref:native)</i>				
Age at migration: 1-6	0.395	0.062	0.433	0.024
Age at migration: 7-12	0.799	0.065	0.721	0.024
Age at migration: 13-16	1.637	0.073	1.222	0.024
<i>Education (ref: lower than secondary-level)</i>				
Secondary-level education	-0.558	0.053	-0.820	0.016
Tertiary-level education	-0.971	0.098	-1.565	0.025
<i>Employment status (ref:unemployed/inactive)</i>				
In employment	-0.046	0.063	0.218	0.013
In school	-0.481	0.073	1.448	0.176
Constant	-0.543	0.073	0.151	0.026
Log likelihood (df)	-13097.95 (30)		-223593.91 (30)	
N	12,860		217,054	

Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)

Note: 1. Statistically significant results at the .05 and .10 level are highlighted in bold and italicized respectively.

2. A 1% random sample of natives in Spain and the US is extracted in order to avoid the skewing of the estimation due to a much larger size of the native population compared to the immigrant population. The random sample is drawn on the basis of province/state sample size in the original sample.

