Living Arrangements of Children of Immigrants in Spain and the United States
The Role of Cultural Heritage and Residential Context

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Abstract

This paper investigates living arrangements of immigrant young adults age 18–35 in Spain and the US. Since the two countries differ not only in the nature of transition to adulthood but also in migration history, migration policies and social welfare system, it is expected that living arrangements of young immigrants vary between Spain and the US, and within each country of destination with country of origins. The data analysis is based on the 2000 US Census and the 2001 Spanish Census made available through the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS-I). The main questions are to investigate whether after accounting for relevant demographic and socioeconomic characteristics living arrangements of young immigrants 1) differ from the native-born in Spain and the US; 2) differ from immigrants from different country of origin; and 3) vary with age at migration. Multinomial logistic regression are employed for modeling immigrants' living arrangements.

The results from multinomial logistic regression show that both individual-level and country-level characteristics affect living arrangement patterns. While the effects of age and gender on living arrangements are similar in both Spain and the US, the association between education and living arrangements, as well as economic activity and living arrangements differ in the two countries. Those with higher education and being in employment in the US are more likely to live alone or live with their partner/spouse where as the opposite is true for Spain. This reflects different culture and socioeconomic structure in the host country. However note that in the US the socioeconomic factors associated with living arrangement patterns do not operate in the same way for the natives and immigrants. Subsequently, controlling for individual demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, we find that living arrangements vary significantly with country of origins. But young immigrants born in the same country do not necessarily have similar living arrangement patterns in the country of destination. This suggests that the US and Spain differ not only in macro-structural factors associated with living arrangements but the two countries might also attract different types of immigrants. This reflects cultural norms and preferences in living arrangement decisions.

Key words: living arrangements, immigrant, young adults, transition to adulthood, multilevel model

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.

Concurrently, socioeconomic conditions of young adults are closely associated with their living arrangements. Living outside the parental home generally means a decline of household 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 *et al.* 2006). While remaining in 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). Living arrangements thus reflect wellbeing and life trajectories of young adults.

During the last half of the 20th century, the patterns of entry into adulthood in the advanced industrial societies have become de-standardized. The sequence of events is diversified and less predictable (Shanahan 2000). Since the 1970s, the proportion of young people following a traditional sequence of transition to adulthood – beginning with educational completion, then gaining employment, leaving parental home, forming a partnership and having a first child – has declined. Longer years of schooling mean later entry into the labour market and more dependent on the state or families for financial support (Aassve, Iacovou, and Mencarini 2006; Settersten and Ray 2010). Facing rising housing costs, higher job insecurity and higher unemployment, it has been widely observed that young adults across Western Europe, North American and Japan live longer at home than in the past five decades (Gauthier 2007; Newman 2008).

This raises a question whether the same pattern of living arrangements holds true for immigrant populations. The growth of foreign born population in many industrialised countries in the past decade is not negligible. In the US in 2007, 12.6% of the total population (or 38.1 million persons) are foreign born (Grieco 2010). In the EU-25 in 2005, 8.6% of the total population (or 39.7 million persons) are foreign born (Muenz 2006). Many of these immigrants are young adults who might have migrated alone or with their family. Their migration network would affect their living arrangements likewise. Since immigrants who come to North America and Europe are of diversified background in terms of social, economic, legal status and cultural backgrounds, these fundamental differences play a key role in shaping living arrangement patterns of these immigrants.

Nevertheless, following the argument of the assimilation theory, one could expect the gaps between immigrants and the natives, and between fellow immigrants to decline over time. Assimilation theory, first developed in the 1920s to describe assimilation patterns of European migrants in the US, originally posited that over time and across generations, immigrants would adopt values, language and culture of the receiving society and becoming more like the natives (Park 1950). Although the theory has been criticized for its potential in-applicability to other migrant groups and other national contexts (Portes and Zhou 1993), it is widely observed in many societies such as the US (Kasinitz *et al.* 2008), Canada and the UK (Dustmann and Theodoropoulos 2010) that the second generation acquire more similar socioeconomic outcomes to members of the receiving society as compared to their foreign-born parents (Heath *et al.* 2008). Likewise, immigrants who migrated to the receiving society at young age particularly pre-school are reported to be fairly similar to the native-born. Following this line of argument, we might expect to see the living arrangement patterns of immigrants who were born in the receiving society or migrated there at young age to converge to those of the natives.

Since the foreign born population accounts for a significant proportion of population in Europe and North America, it is important to investigate their living arrangements separately from those of the native born population. The differences in living arrangements help us understand the

underlying socioeconomic inequality and mobility among different groups, as well as their preferences, ties with their family of origin and residing kin. For example, it has been found that in US second generation young adults of Filipino, Indian, Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese origins have higher rates of living at home than other groups and this enables them to pursue higher education and consequently occupy better economic positions (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). The study of living arrangements of immigrants thus is crucial to shed light on the issues of integration and ethnic inequality.

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 *et al.* 2004; Rumbaut and Komaie 2010), to our knowledge, there are few studies that focus on Europe (De Valk and Billari 2007; Vitali and Arpino 2010; Zorlu and Mulder 2011). Cross-national studies of living arrangements of immigrants are even scarcer and usually limited to a few number of groups of immigrants.

This paper aims to add to the literature by conducting a comparative analysis of living arrangements of young adult immigrants in Spain and in the US, across immigrant groups. It is expected that living arrangements vary between Spain and the US, and within each country of destination with country of origins. The empirical analysis is based on the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS-I) data, a 5% sample of all households drawn from the Spanish and US Censuses in 2001 and 2000, respectively. Using the census data and multilevel modelling techniques, we are able to consider immigrants from all countries of origin. It is of importance to distinguish between different national groups as detailed as possible since the pan-ethnic categories such as “Hispanic” or “Asian” commonly used studies of US immigrants fail to capture structural differences between countries of origins (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010).

The results from multinomial logistic regression show that both individual and country of origin characteristics are associated with living arrangement patterns. While gender and age

associations with living arrangements are similar in both countries, the association between education and living arrangements as well as economic activity and living arrangements differ in the US and in Spain. Those with higher education and bin employment in the US are more likely to live alone or live with partner/spouse as compared to their counterparts in Spain. This might reflect different culture and socioeconomic structure in the host country. However note that in the US the socioeconomic factors associated with living arrangement patterns do not operate in the same way for the natives and immigrants. Meanwhile, controlling for individual demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, we find that living arrangements vary significantly with country of origins. But young immigrants born in the same country do not necessarily have similar living arrangement patterns in the country of destination. This suggests that the US and Spain does not only differ in macro-structural characteristics associated with living arrangements but the two countries might also attract different types of immigrants. The results from the multilevel analysis with country of birth random intercept further confirm the role of country of origin in shaping living arrangements. This reflects cultural preference in living arrangement decisions.

1.1. Reasons why studying Spain and US

We chose to compare immigrants in the US and Spain for many 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. The traditional definitions of adulthood have changed. While marriage and fertility were key markers of adulthood in the early days, recent public opinion surveys in the US show that they were no longer perceived as important indicators of adult status unlike financial autonomy, finishing schooling, ability to support a family and to a certain extent, leaving home (Furstenberg *et al.* 2004). Young American adults consequently 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

marriage and 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) show that among the 25 to 28 year-old women, the proportion of those living with parents increased from 40% in 1987 to 54% in 2002. The proportion of males living with parents is even higher: 65.7% of men age 25 to 29 live in parental home in Spain compared to only 20.6% and 22.6% of their counterparts in the Netherlands and in France respectively. Because of lack in state support and strong cultural norms of long period of co-residence, 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 *et al.* 2001). The living arrangements of young immigrant adults in the US and Spain thus are expected to be different due to the disparities in socioeconomic and institutional structures and cultural norms in the two countries.

Second, the two countries have different migration experiences and policies. The US has a much longer and more prominent experience of immigration for well over a century while mass immigration into Spain is a more recent phenomena. Not only that migration experience of immigrants in the two countries is different but also the experience of the native members in accommodating immigrants. This could affect immigrants' adaptation to host society norms and traditions likewise. We might expect that, due to its long-lasting immigration history, in the US integration of immigrants is easier than it is in a recent country of immigration like Spain. Meanwhile, immigration policies can also directly or indirectly affect living arrangement patterns of immigrant young adults. For instance, Spain has a relatively generous family reunification policies compared to the US (Huddleston *et al.* 2011). The presence or absence of family members in the host country is naturally related to immigrants' living patterns. Spain and the US also differ in terms of obtaining a citizenship. Relatively, requirements for citizenship in the US are less cumbersome than in Spain. Having a citizenship of the host country is found to be associated with schooling and labour market success of children of immigrants (Fibbi *et al.* 2007; Holdaway *et al.* 2009). This

could also indirectly influence young adults living arrangements.

Third, Spain and the US are under different welfare-state regimes. Life-course transition experience is largely determined by state policies and programmes. Educational systems and labour market regulation can substantially influence life trajectories of young people. According to Esping-Andersen (Esping-Andersen 1990; Esping-Andersen 1999), 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. 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 Spanish 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 together make young adults 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. Likewise, 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 in the two countries 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 Spain and in the US.

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 2003) and from the 2001 Spanish Census of Population and Housing (Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas, INE 2001). 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 collects 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 socio-economic information, IPUMS also provides information on individuals' country of birth and year of immigration (and years since immigration). This allows us to identify individuals with immigration background and distinguish between different generations based on the information on age at migration.

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 an individual 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 is a person 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 (Bureau 2003).

One of the main advantages of the IPUMS data is its large-scale coverage of the population, that is 5% sample of the US and Spanish population. This enables us to study small and geographically dispersed population subgroups like immigrants from a particular country of origin living in a particular city or region. Thus, 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. Being census data, the data used also have high response rates and the questionnaires are robust. Another strength of the IPUMS data is its complete geographical coverage. This does not only allow generalization at the national level but also allow systematic comparisons across cities and regions. The relatively large sample size also allows us to consider geographical variation in patterns of living arrangement and distribution of different immigrant groups.

The availability of the information on date of arrival in the destination country further allows us to distinguish between those who came to the destination country at young age, i.e. before age 18 (the so-called 1.5 generation) and at older age, i.e. after age 18 (first generation). There is evidence that the patterns of transitions to adulthood vary considerably between generations: with the 1.5 generation resemble the second generation (those born in the destination country with an immigrant background) (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). Date of arrival thus is crucial information to identify how many years an immigrant has been living in the destination country and approximate how much they have been socializing in the country of destination.

The data supplied by IPUMS nevertheless are not without limitations. First, since census data is a general-purpose survey and 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-entrance into the parental household (boomerang children). Also, depending on individual incentives, young adults who are currently living independently from their parents might not register as such, and thus be enumerated as still living with parents in the census. Another drawback of the IPUMS data is that the censuses 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 in the destination country to immigrant

parents and to native parents. Accordingly, this study does not include second generation.

Furthermore, some inconsistency is found on the information on age at arrival in the 2001 Spanish census. Out of 48,589 immigrants, as many as 8,845 (18.2%) migrated to Spain at age 0 compared to only 3% in the 2001 US Census. Certainly, it is not unusual for an individual to enter the country in the same year s/he was born but we suspect that such a high proportion of individuals entering Spain at age 0 found in the 2001 Spanish Census might be due to the way the Census records missing information on date of arrival. In response to a similar problem, previous studies on immigrants in Spain dropped these individuals from their study (Cortina Trilla *et al.* 2008; Vitali and Arpino 2010). We thus follow their approach and exclude individuals who migrated to Spain and the US (for consistency) at age 0 from our analysis.

Focusing on living arrangements of young adults with immigrant background, the sample selected for the analysis includes those: 1) age 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[1]. We limit our sample to those who came into the destination country at age less than 16 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 hence would differ from those of the natives in the first place. Our analysis includes a sample of 586,696 natives and 6,579 immigrants in Spain and 3,002,435 natives and 139,275 immigrants in the US.

3. Model specification and methods

3.1. Model specification

3.1.1. Dependent variable

[1] Note that in the descriptive analysis, those who migrated to the destination country at age 13 or over are included in order to investigate whether our expectation that they are less likely to migrate with their family members hold.

The outcome of interest is living arrangement. We distinguish between four types of living arrangements[2]:

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)
4) Living in an extended family (with relatives and in some cases also with parents)

This paper focuses on four types of living arrangements of young adults. We aim to investigate not only whether young adults live inside/outside parental home but also whether they are living with/without a partner. It is important to examine their partnership status because this can be associated with a young person's 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 two-adult than for a single-adult household (Aassve, Davia, Iacovou, and Mazzuco 2007).

3.1.2. Independent variables

Living arrangements of young people are likely to be associated with the following characteristics.

Gender is a dummy variable coded 1 if a respondent is male; 0 otherwise.

Age is divided into three age groups: 1) 18-23; 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; 2) 7-12; and 3) 13-16. This variable captures the effect on living arrangements due to both the nature of migration processes and integration. The lower the age at migration, the more similar are the living arrangements to those of the natives.

[2] In fact, we can further add 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 arrangement is too small to make a meaningful statistical analysis.

Education represents the highest level of educational attainment, divided into 3 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 3 categories: 1) employed; 2) unemployed or economically inactive (reference category) and 3) being in school.

Country of birth is divided into 10 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); 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.

3.2. Methods

Since our outcome variable – living arrangements – is nominal and consists of several categories, multinomial logistic regression model is employed to estimate the likelihood of having four types of living arrangement taking into account the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics described above. Living in parental home is chosen as baseline category. The multinomial logistic models are estimated using the *mlogit* command in *STATA 11*.

4. Results

4.1. Descriptive results

This section examines living arrangement patterns of young adults with immigrant background by their age at migration and country of birth. Figure 1 shows the distribution of living arrangements by migration status and age at arrival in Spain and the US.

[FIGURE 1: ABOUT HERE]

Given a similar age distribution of natives in Spain and the US, we find remarkable

differences in living arrangements between those born in the two countries. Overwhelmingly, living with parents is the most common living arrangement pattern of native Spanish young adults. Living alone in a single-person household or living with other people rather than their parents, relatives or spouse are 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.

Interestingly, although the living arrangement patterns of migrants especially those who migrated to the destination country at older age differ substantially from those of the natives, we find that living arrangements of migrants in Spain resemble those of Spanish natives and similar findings apply for migrants in the US. For instance, taken those who migrated to the destination country when they were less than 6 years old, the proportion of those living with parents for migrants in Spain is almost as high as that of the natives in Spain and for migrants in the US, this proportion is almost identical to that of the US natives. Besides, in both countries, we observe a positive relationship between age at migration and living arrangements, that is the younger the age at migration, the more the living arrangements of migrants resemble those of the natives. Both in the US and Spain, more than half of migrants who migrated at age 13-17 live with extended family members or non-kin members. The proportion of those living with non-kin members is even higher for migrants who migrated at age 18 or over. This is probably because the older the age at migration, the less likely that these migrants migrated with their parents. In fact, for those who migrated at age 18 or over both in the US and Spain, less than 5% of them live with their parents.

[TABLE 1: ABOUT HERE]

Next we examine living arrangements by country of birth as displayed in Table 1. Here we observe substantial variation in living arrangements both by country of birth and country of

destination. In general, it can be seen that in the US, immigrants from all groups of country of birth except for those born in East Europe have very similar living arrangements to those of the US natives: roughly about one-third live in parental home, a quarter live with their partner/spouse and about one-sixth either live alone or with non-kin members. Meanwhile for many immigrant groups in Spain, such as those born in Africa, East Europe, East & Southeast Asia, Middle East & North Africa and rest of the world, 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, South America, West Europe and rest of the world. In fact, apart from those born in West Europe or South Europe, young immigrants in Spain either live with their parents or with 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.

We also observe a country of origin effect. Those born in South America and in West Europe have relatively similar living arrangements regardless of country of destination. However, note that those migrated to Spain have high rates of living in parental home similar to young Spaniards.

Ideally we would like to compare living arrangements of immigrants in Spain and the US who were born exactly in the same country rather than grouping different countries together as presented in Table 1. We could do this for selected immigrant groups with a relatively large size both in Spain and the US (See Appendix A for a frequency distribution of immigrants by country of birth). Yet, since we limit our analysis only to those who migrated to the destination country at age less than 13 years old, the sample size becomes much smaller even for some large immigrant groups such as Romanians in Spain. Thus, the results should be interpreted with caution. Figure 2 presents the percentages of those living alone, living with parents and living in an extended family

in Spain and the US by selected countries of birth.

[FIGURE 2: ABOUT HERE]

Comparing immigrants born in the same country, one group migrated to Spain, one group migrated to the US, we find both similarities and differences in living arrangements across countries of birth and countries of destination. Roughly speaking immigrants born in Central or South American countries such as Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Argentina and Columbia, have similar percentages distribution of those living alone, living with parents and living in an extended family in Spain and the US. Those migrated to Spain generally have higher rate of living with parents compare to their counterparts born in the same country but migrated to the US. This could reflect both the country of destination effect and the plausible selection effect of immigrants (i.e. despite being born in the same country, those migrated to Spain have different socioeconomic characteristics with those migrated to the US). Immigrants born in Western Europe such as France, Germany and the UK including the Spanish in the US and the Americans in Spain have more or less similar living arrangement patterns to those of the natives in the country they migrated to. It is possible that the cultural distance within Western Europe and between Western Europe and the US is not so large that the adoption of host country norms and practices is easily obtained.

The descriptive results show living arrangements vary considerably with age at migration, country of birth and country of destination. Nevertheless, the variation observed could be due to different distributions in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of each immigrant group. Next, we introduce multivariate models which account for different individual characteristics including age at migration of immigrants from different country of birth and country of destination.

4.2. Multivariate results

The outcome of interest is four alternatives of living arrangements as mentioned above. Living in parental home is chosen as the baseline category. Table 2 displays the multinomial logistic

regression estimates of living arrangements of natives and immigrants in Spain and the US separately. 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 natives (See Appendix B).

[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, compared to those with no or primary-level of education, those with higher education are less likely to live by themselves as compared to co-residence with parents. 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 *et al.* 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 union is 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 in the US but less likely to do so in Spain. Correspondingly, in the US those with higher education are more likely to live with their partner/spouse than their counterparts with no or low education. This could be because individuals with high educational qualifications continue living with their partner after finishing their schooling. It could also be due to the fact that in the US, those with higher socioeconomic background are more likely to be in partnership (Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi 2008). On the other hand, in Spain, those with higher

education especially tertiary education are less likely to live with a partner/spouse. This can be explained by the fact that those with higher education often postpone their family formation. Those who are in employment are more likely to live by themselves both in the US and Spain and more likely to live with their partner/spouse in the US. Being in employment is one key transition to adulthood. This also implies economic independency of young people enabling them to depart from parental home and form their own household. Note that in Spain, the Spanish natives who are in employment are less likely to live with their partner/spouse as compared to living with their parents. This result might be due to gender difference in living arrangements. While young men living with parents usually have higher rate of unemployment, young women staying in parental home display higher labour force participation rate than married women (Glick and Lin 1986).

Regarding the likelihood of living in an extended family as opposed to living in parental home, we observe that those with higher education are less likely to live in an extended family as opposed to living with their parents both for those born in Spain and in the US. Likewise, those who are in employment in Spain and the US and those who are 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[3]. In the US, on the other hand, those who are in school 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 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 in Spain and the US, we find a strong country of destination effect in Spain and mixed country of destination and migration effects in the US. In Spain, socioeconomic characteristics associated with living arrangements of natives and

[3] 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.

immigrants are in the same direction. 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 parental home while pursuing higher education is common is Spain. Thus those who are in school both the natives and immigrants alike are not necessarily more likely to live alone like in the US where going away from home for college education is more common.

Meanwhile, in the US, we observe that socioeconomic characteristics associated with living arrangement patterns do not operate in the same way for the natives and immigrants. For immigrants in the US, those who are in school are less likely to live alone unlike their native counterparts. Similarly, having higher educational attainment and being in employment or in school lower the likelihood of living with a partner/spouse for immigrant young adults in the US. For some immigrant groups such as those with Filipino, Indian, Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese background, it is not uncommon to postpone marriage and childbearing to pursue higher education (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). Living at home while pursuing college education is a strategy for achieving socioeconomic mobility since they can avoid heavy education loan and can save money for, for instance, buying a home (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway 2008). Living arrangements of immigrant young adults thus are influenced both by the characteristics of the country of destination and their migration background.

[TABLE 3: ABOUT HERE]

This however does not mean that controlling for relevant demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, the difference in living arrangements between migrants and natives disappear. Taking natives in the destination country as a reference group, Table 3 shows that there remains substantial variation in living arrangements between natives and immigrants. Note that living alone

is not such a common phenomenon in Spain so the estimated standard errors are large for many groups of country of birth. Controlling for age, education and economic status, those born in South American and Middle East & North Africa are significantly more likely to live alone as opposed to living with parents than those born in Spain. Those born in South Europe and Middle East & North Africa are also more likely to live with a partner/spouse than the Spanish natives. We might expect those born in South Europe such as Italy, Greece and Portugal to have similar living arrangement patterns (e.g. high rates of co-residence with parents) to their counterparts born in Spain but this is not the case. This probably reflects selective migration effect whereby young Southern European immigrants in Spain are dissimilar to non-migrant peers, resulting in distinctive living arrangement patterns. We also might expect immigrants born outside Europe to have higher likelihood of living with a partner/spouse than the Spanish natives because the mean age of first marriage is generally higher in these countries than in Spain (UN 2009). This is found to be the case only for those born in the Middle East & North Africa.

In the US, even among those born in the US (US natives), living arrangements vary considerably. Black natives are significantly more likely to live alone compared to White natives. Our results for Black natives differ from previous studies which demonstrate that Black are more likely to live with family members than Whites (Goldscheider and DaVanzo 1989; Hernandes 1989; Tang 1995). This differential might be due to different time period examined. Apart from those born in West Europe, young immigrants born overseas are less likely to live alone as compared to US-born Whites. This could be due to cultural differences in co-residency with family members. Black natives and other natives also have lower likelihood of living with partner/spouse compared to White natives. This could be explained by the fact that generally Black Americans have lower rates of marriage than White Americans (Teachman *et al.* 2000). For other natives, it is found that Hispanic and Asian young adults commonly leave home at relatively later age than White natives partly due to cultural preferences (Hernandes 1989; Kanjanapan 1989). Likewise, cultural differences and socioeconomic constraints might also explain the lower likelihood of living with

partner/spouse for young immigrants born overseas.

Controlling for demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, young adult immigrants both in Spain and the US are still more likely to live in an extended family than their native-born counterparts. This is probably due to a combination of cultural preferences and migration experience. 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). Meanwhile, it is also found 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). It is however beyond the scope of this paper to tease out the effects of cultural norms and socioeconomic and demographic structural constraints on extended family co-residence.

[TABLE 4: ABOUT HERE]

Next, we examine variation in living arrangements among immigrants in Spain and in the US by country of birth as presented in Table 4. Those born in West Europe are chosen as the reference group. We find that despite being born in a similar group of country of birth, living arrangement patterns of immigrants in Spain and in the US differ considerably. With respect to the likelihood of living with partner/spouse, most immigrant groups in the US are less likely to live with partner/spouse compared to those born in West Europe while many groups in Spain such as those born in Africa, South Europe and the Middle East & North Africa are more likely to do so. It is possible that in Spain, where cohabiting union is uncommon, immigrants born in Africa and Middle East & North Africa are more likely to live with their partner/spouse because they are more likely to marry at younger age compared to those born in West Europe. Meanwhile, in the US where cohabitation is more widespread, immigrants with more traditional background are less likely to do

so compared to their counterparts born in West Europe.

Considering the likelihood of living alone as opposed to living with parents, there is not much variation among immigrants in Spain whereas in the US, those born in other parts of the world are significantly less likely to live alone. This might be due to cultural norms of later home leaving compared to those born in West Europe which generally have closer mean age of home leaving to that of the US native-born.

With respect to the likelihood of living with extended family, both in Spain and the US, most immigrant groups are more likely to live in extended families than those born in West Europe. This could be due to cultural norms or certain socioeconomic constraints that make immigrants born in these countries more likely to live in an extended family.

5. Concluding remarks

Our analysis shows that living arrangements of young adult immigrants can be explained both by their individual demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and macro-structural characteristics namely country of birth and country of destination. The effects of age and gender are in an expected direction both in Spain and the US whereby in the age group 16 – 35 studied, those who are younger and being male are more likely to remain in parental home. Although living arrangement patterns of immigrants differ substantially from the natives, we find that socioeconomic characteristics associated with living arrangement patterns affect immigrants in Spain in a similar way to Spanish-born natives. In other words, young immigrants in Spain resemble native-born Spanish more than their fellow immigrant counterparts in the US. Thus, the characteristics of the country of destination such as latest-late home leaving in Spain also influence living arrangement patterns of immigrants in that country.

In the US, on the other hand, we find that unlike the natives, young adult immigrants who are pursuing education or who possess higher educational qualification are less likely to live

independently on their own and less likely to live with their partner/spouse. This implies that some immigrant groups might strongly maintain their cultural norms in living arrangements from their country of origin.

Focusing on immigrants who migrated to the destination country at age less than 13 years old, we expect that cultural variation in living arrangements might be weakening because these immigrants have been socialised and exposed to the host country environment for a substantial period of time. However, we find that controlling for relevant socioeconomic characteristics, country of birth still has a significant effect on living arrangement patterns. The results from the multilevel models confirm the significant country of birth variation in living arrangements both in Spain and the US. Although we expect the country of origin variances to be smaller in the US due to its longer history of immigration, controlling for age and age at migration, the variances are more or less similar in the two countries. This shows that culture and norms from the country of origin continue to play a significant role in living arrangements but they also interact with the culture and norms of the host country.

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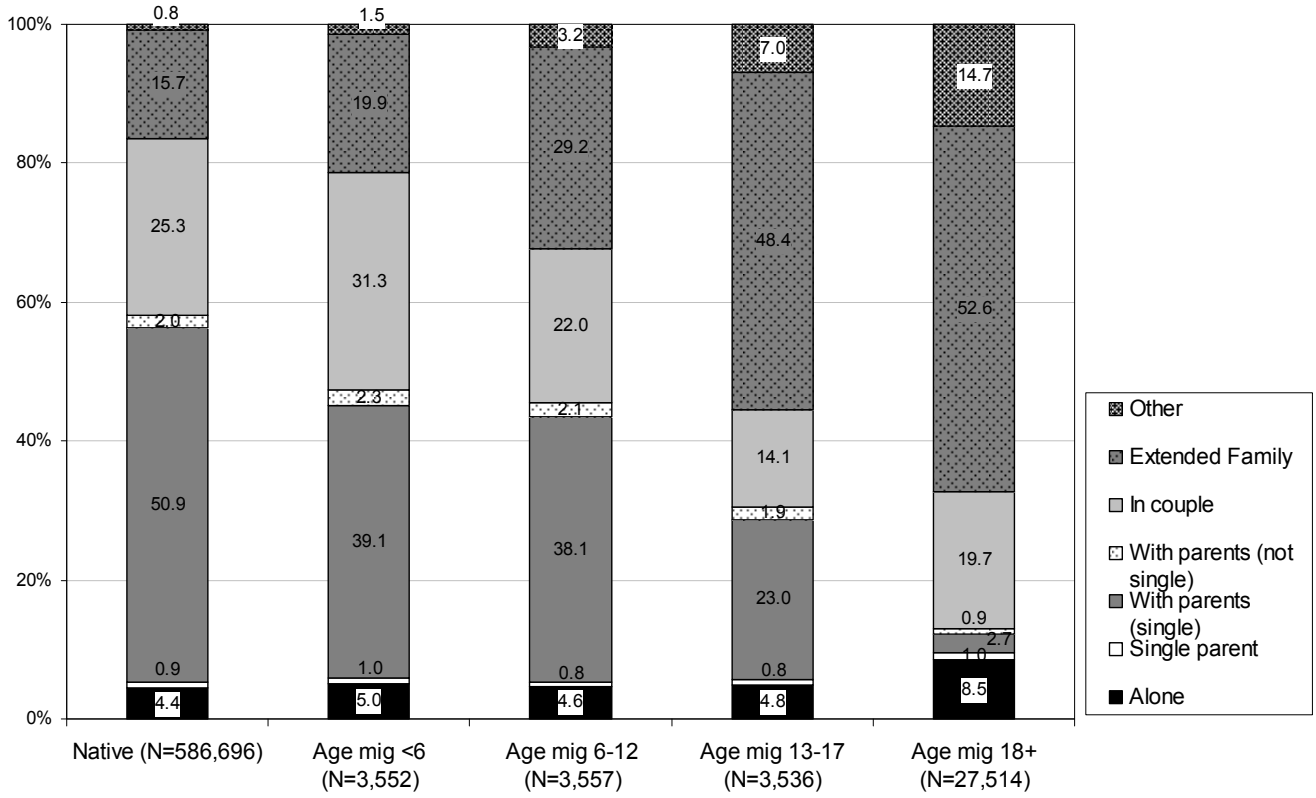
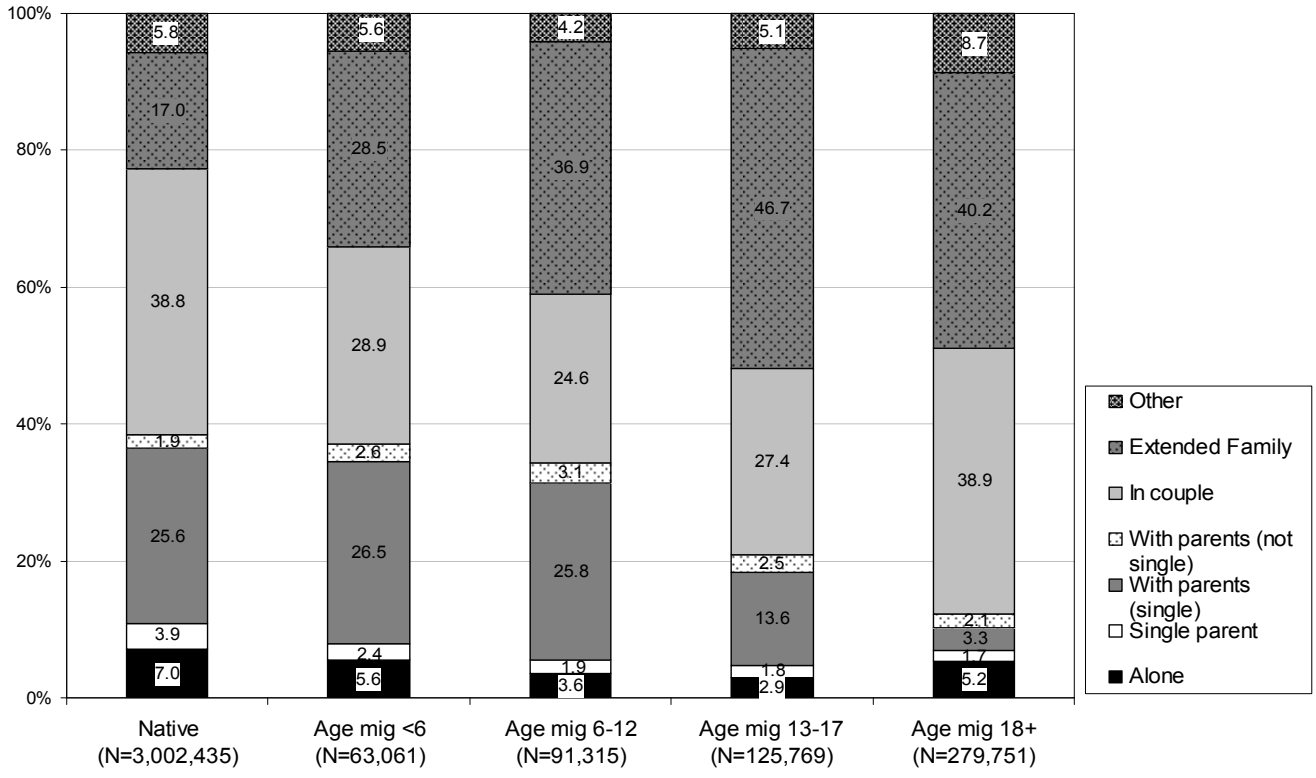
Figure 1A: Distribution of living arrangements by migration status and age at arrival in Spain



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

Figure 1B: Distribution of living arrangements by migration status and age at arrival in the US



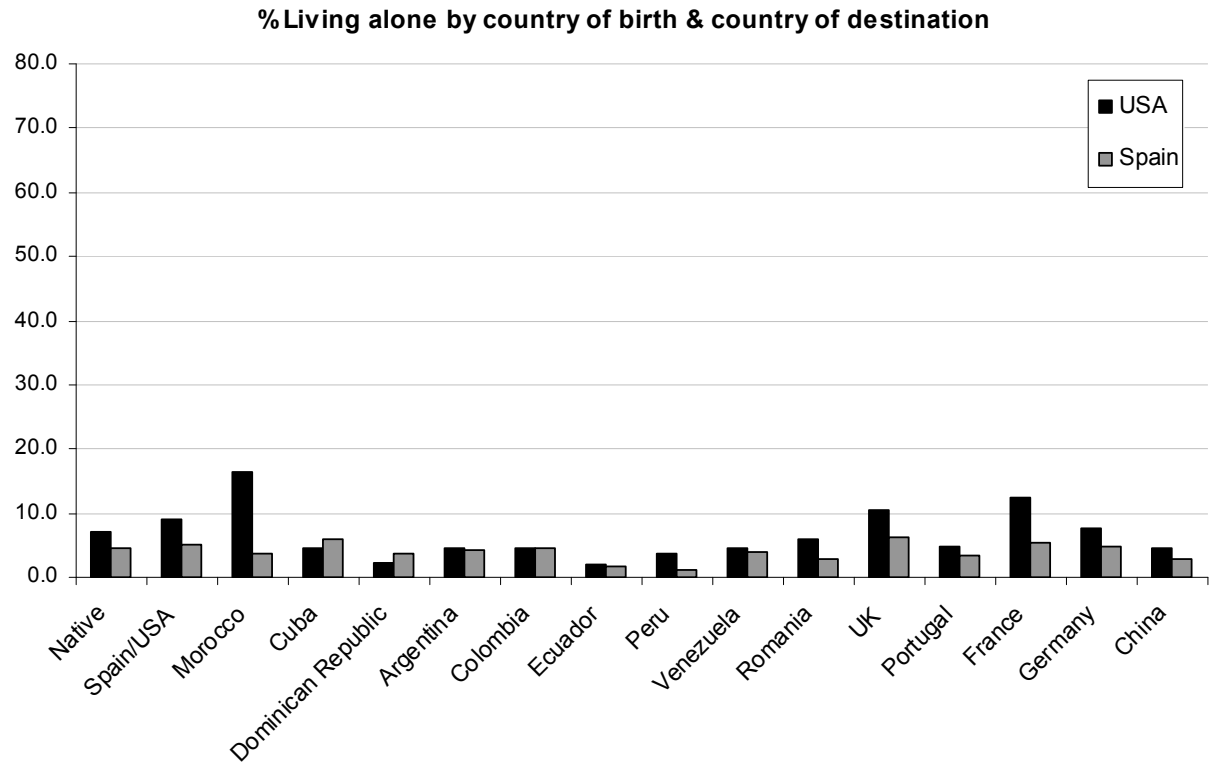
Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)

Table 1: Distribution of living arrangements by country of birth (age at migration 1-12 years old)

	Alone	Single parent	With parents (single)	With parents (not single)	With partner/ spouse	Extended Family	Other	N
Spain								
Native	4.4	0.9	50.9	2.0	25.3	15.7	0.8	586,696
Africa	4.0	3.2	12.0	0.8	20.0	51.2	8.8	125
Caribbean & Central America	4.2	0.4	38.9	3.1	14.2	35.8	3.5	260
South America	4.3	1.2	40.9	2.3	14.7	33.7	3.0	1,384
West Europe	5.2	0.8	42.1	2.3	34.5	14.0	1.1	4,218
East Europe	5.7	0.0	32.1	1.3	8.8	42.1	10.1	159
South Europe	3.8	1.1	19.6	1.1	30.4	35.3	8.7	184
East & Southeast Asia	3.3	0.0	26.7	3.3	8.3	51.7	6.7	120
Middle East & North Africa	3.6	0.8	24.5	2.0	14.6	52.2	2.3	604
Rest of world	3.6	0.0	40.0	0.0	7.3	43.6	5.5	55
US								
Native	7.0	3.9	25.6	1.9	38.8	17.0	5.8	3,002,435
Africa	7.1	2.3	30.6	1.6	23.5	26.7	8.2	2,163
Caribbean & Central America	2.4	2.7	20.9	3.4	25.9	41.7	2.9	77,085
South America	4.1	2.0	31.9	3.4	23.1	30.9	4.6	7,932
West Europe	9.0	2.8	25.8	1.7	37.8	14.0	8.9	15,109
East Europe	5.0	0.8	47.2	2.1	20.5	18.8	5.6	4,818
South Europe	6.8	2.5	23.2	3.0	43.8	15.9	4.7	3,735
East & Southeast Asia	6.0	1.1	30.8	2.2	22.6	31.0	6.4	32,927
Middle East & North Africa	6.9	1.1	33.1	2.7	30.6	19.5	6.2	3,066
Rest of world	5.5	0.7	36.6	2.9	21.6	26.8	6.0	7,541

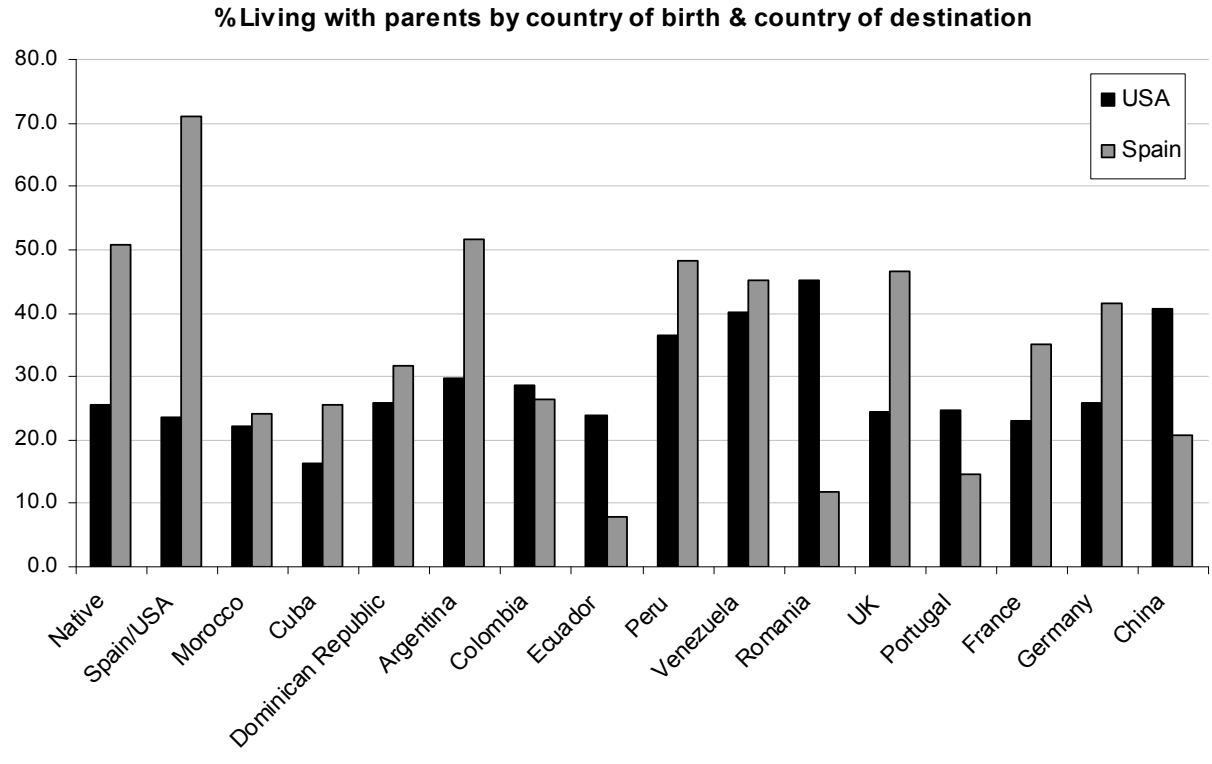
Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)

Figure 2A: Percentages of individuals who live alone by selected countries of birth



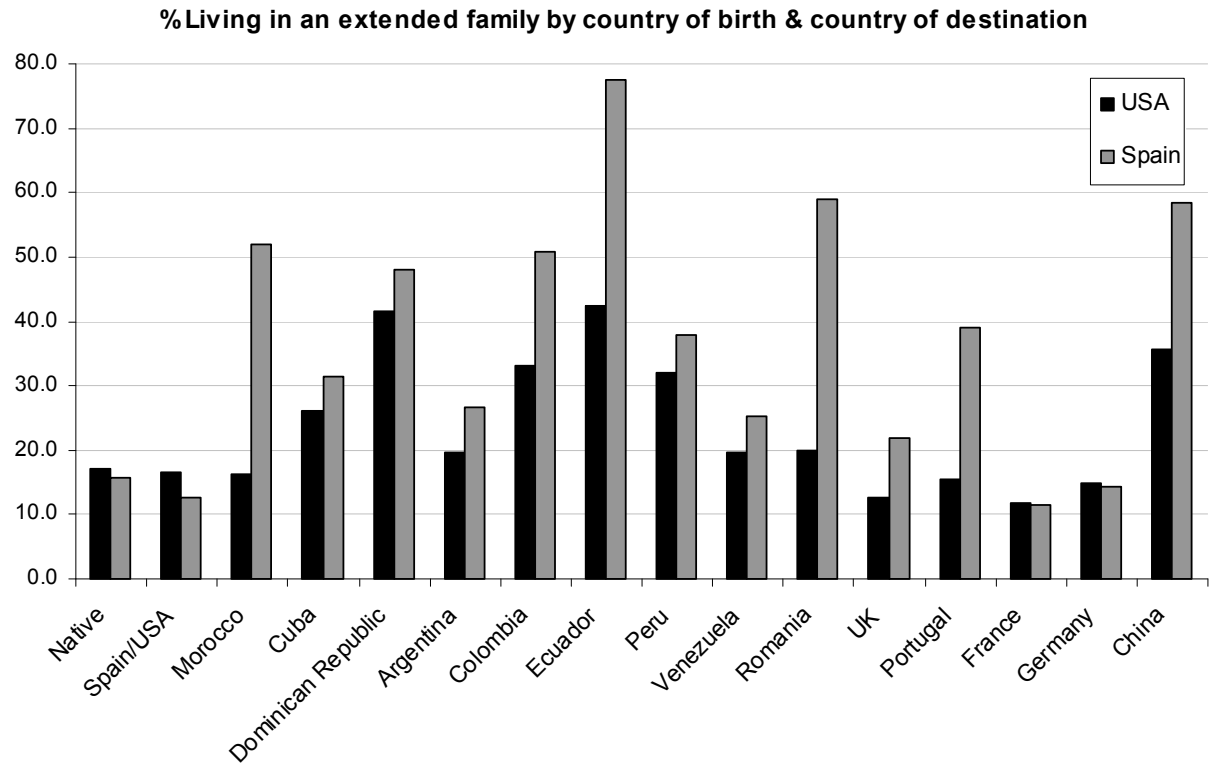
Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)
Note: The category Spain/USA refers to the Spanish-born in the US and the US-born in Spain.

Figure 2B: Percentages of individuals who live with parents by selected countries of birth



Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)
Note: The category Spain/USA refers to the Spanish-born in the US and the US-born in Spain.

Figure 2C: Percentages of individuals who live in an extended family by selected countries of birth



Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)
Note: The category Spain/USA refers to the Spanish-born in the US and the US-born in Spain.

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

	Natives		Immigrants		White Natives		Immigrants	
	β	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*
Living alone								
male	**-0.050**	0.014	**-0.239**	0.112	**-0.181**	0.007	-0.025	0.025
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
age at migration: 7-12	-	-	*0.242*	0.129	-	-	**-0.248**	0.029
age at migration: 13-16	-	-	**1.081**	0.141	-	-	0.016	0.031
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
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								
male	**-0.793**	0.008	**-0.953**	0.069	**-0.844**	-0.005	**-0.740**	0.015
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
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
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
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								
male	**-0.282**	0.008	**-0.316**	0.061	**-0.532**	-0.005	**-0.267**	0.014
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
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
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
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
N	586,696		6,579		2,107,918		138,289	

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

Table 3: Multinomial logistic regression estimates of living arrangements in Spain and the US, natives and immigrants combined (baseline comparison: living with parents)

	Spain		US	
	β	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*
Living alone				
male	**-0.178**	0.089	**-0.055**	0.023
age: 24-29	**1.032**	0.129	**1.633**	0.030
age: 30-35	**2.110**	0.133	**2.665**	0.035
age at migration: 7-12	0.231	0.131	**-0.185**	0.030
age at migration: 13-16	**1.048**	0.147	**0.094**	0.031
secondary-level education	-0.066	0.098	**0.344**	0.042
tertiary-level education	-0.092	0.142	**1.148**	0.048
in employment	**0.751**	0.135	**0.501**	0.027
in school	0.081	0.162	**3.206**	0.195
country of birth (ref:Spain/US White natives)				
Africa	0.546	0.648	**-0.063**	0.087
South America	0.206	0.165	**-0.213**	0.045
West Europe	0.097	0.110	**0.126**	0.045
East Europe & Russia	-0.817	0.734	**-0.654**	0.068
South Europe	**1.251**	0.380	**-0.557**	0.079
East & Southeast Asia	0.184	0.623	**-0.752**	0.040
Middle East & North Africa	**1.073**	0.207	**-0.453**	0.078
Rest of Asia,Rest of World	-15.323	1499.138	**-0.846**	0.058
Carribean & Central America	-0.280	0.389	**-0.521**	0.043
constant	-3.763	0.173	-2.806	0.054
Living with partner/spouse				
male	**-0.856**	0.053	**-0.766**	0.014
age: 24-29	**2.191**	0.098	**-1.497**	0.063
age: 30-35	**3.896**	0.101	**-1.635**	0.064
age at migration: 7-12	-0.079	0.079	**-1.774**	0.064
age at migration: 13-16	**0.416**	0.101	**-1.913**	0.065
secondary-level education	**-0.459**	0.057	**-2.052**	0.066
tertiary-level education	**-0.988**	0.090	**-2.190**	0.067
in employment	0.073	0.066	**-2.329**	0.068
in school	**-0.948**	0.091	**-2.468**	0.068
country of birth (ref:Spain/US White natives)				
Africa	**1.399**	0.348	**-2.607**	0.069
South America	0.079	0.103	**-2.745**	0.070
West Europe	**0.130**	0.062	**-2.884**	0.071
East Europe & Russia	**0.718**	0.279	**-3.023**	0.072
South Europe	**1.813**	0.250	**-3.162**	0.072
East & Southeast Asia	0.540	0.378	**-3.300**	0.073
Middle East & North Africa	**0.724**	0.148	**-3.439**	0.074
Rest of Asia,Rest of World	-14.644	567.914	**-3.578**	0.075
Carribean & Central America	**0.509**	0.199	**-3.717**	0.076
constant	-2.108	0.108	**-3.855**	0.076
Living with extended family				
male	**-0.318**	0.051	**-0.315**	0.013
age: 24-29	**0.290**	0.061	**1.038**	0.016
age: 30-35	**0.969**	0.072	**1.844**	0.023
age at migration: 7-12	0.117	0.075	**0.191**	0.017
age at migration: 13-16	**0.677**	0.086	**0.644**	0.018
secondary-level education	**-0.514**	0.055	**-0.525**	0.017
tertiary-level education	**-0.812**	0.099	**-0.970**	0.026
in employment	-0.037	0.066	**0.226**	0.014
in school	**-0.360**	0.076	**1.735**	0.187
country of birth (ref:Spain/US White natives)				
Africa	**2.759**	0.287	**0.152**	0.060
South America	**1.040**	0.086	**0.324**	0.030
West Europe	-0.103	0.069	**-0.265**	0.037
East Europe & Russia	**1.490**	0.193	**-0.627**	0.044
South Europe	**2.000**	0.229	**-0.507**	0.060
East & Southeast Asia	**2.104**	0.228	**0.134**	0.028
Middle East & North Africa	**1.816**	0.117	**-0.249**	0.055
Rest of Asia,Rest of World	**1.067**	0.323	**-0.101**	0.037
Carribean & Central America	**1.037**	0.152	**1.131**	0.027
constant	-0.825	0.077	-0.112	0.028
N	593,275		271,955	

Source: 2000 U.S. Census and 2001 Spanish Census (IPUMS-I)
Note: 1. Statistically significant results at least at the .05 and .10 level are highlighted in bold and italicized respectively.
2. The random sample of natives in the US is selected in order to avoid the skewing of the estimation due to a much larger size of the native population compared to the immigrant population.

Table 4: Multinomial logistic regression estimates of living arrangements of immigrants in Spain and the US (baseline comparison: living with parents)

	Spain				US			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	β	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*
Living alone								
male	**-0.258**	0.113	**-0.249**	0.113	-0.023	0.025	-0.027	0.025
age: 24-29	**0.971**	0.161	**0.976**	0.162	**1.627**	0.033	**1.630**	0.033
age: 30-35	**1.939**	0.168	**1.944**	0.169	**2.676**	0.038	**2.692**	0.038
age at migration: 7-12	0.210	0.131	0.141	0.158	**-0.187**	0.030	0.025	0.084
age at migration: 13-16	**1.002**	0.148	**1.100**	0.192	**0.087**	0.031	-0.121	0.105
secondary-level education	-0.016	0.124	-0.007	0.125	**0.286**	0.046	**0.309**	0.046
tertiary-level education	*-0.327*	0.190	*-0.324*	0.191	**1.103**	0.052	**1.117**	0.052
in employment	**0.777**	0.166	**0.767**	0.166	**0.489**	0.029	**0.482**	0.029
in school	0.100	0.199	0.099	0.199	**3.182**	0.209	**3.178**	0.209
country of birth (ref:West Europe)								
Africa	0.423	0.644	1.191	1.171	**-0.187**	0.088	-0.207	0.152
South America	0.083	0.148	0.267	0.223	**-0.337**	0.047	**-0.334**	0.068
East Europe & Russia	-0.975	0.731	0.464	1.083	**-0.778**	0.069	**-0.759**	0.126
South Europe	**1.120**	0.374	-0.211	1.045	**-0.682**	0.081	**-0.606**	0.102
East & Southeast Asia	0.037	0.619	0.474	1.055	**-0.874**	0.042	**-0.646**	0.056
Middle East & North Africa	**0.945**	0.196	*0.736*	0.392	**-0.580**	0.080	**-0.731**	0.123
Rest of Asia,Rest of World	-15.551	1569.528	-15.559	3266.579	**-0.970**	0.060	**-0.854**	0.089
Carribean & Central America	-0.408	0.381	-1.030	1.026	**-0.655**	0.045	**-0.807**	0.064
*age at migration*country of birth*								
age at migration: 7-12 * Africa			-15.598	1541.895			-0.216	0.222
age at migration: 7-12 * South America			0.055	0.333			-0.164	0.112
age at migration: 7-12 * East Europe & Russia			-15.177	1202.283			-0.126	0.175
age at migration: 7-12 * South Europe			*2.060*	1.226			**-0.401**	0.196
age at migration: 7-12 * East & Southeast Asia			-0.350	1.490			**-0.506**	0.100
age at migration: 7-12 * Middle East & North Africa			0.200	0.531			0.021	0.188
age at migration: 7-12 * Rest of World			0.543	3999.270			**-0.348**	0.143
age at migration: 7-12 * Carribean & Central America			1.361	1.141			-0.018	0.105
age at migration: 13-16 * Africa			-0.270	1.470			0.334	0.221
age at migration: 13-16 * South America			*-0.633*	0.369			0.195	0.130
age at migration: 13-16 * East Europe & Russia			-1.566	1.504			0.154	0.184
age at migration: 13-16 * South Europe			1.465	1.210			0.129	0.250
age at migration: 13-16 * East & Southeast Asia			-0.471	1.532			**-0.236**	0.120
age at migration: 13-16 * Middle East & North Africa			0.195	0.486			**0.562**	0.208
age at migration: 13-16 * Rest of World			-0.953	4561.531			0.021	0.157
age at migration: 13-16 * Carribean & Central America			-0.006	1.272			**0.521**	0.123
constant	-3.535	0.224	-3.545	0.227	-2.642	0.063	-2.677	0.068
Living with partner/spouse								
male	**-0.966**	0.070	**-0.970**	0.070	**-0.759**	0.015	**-0.765**	0.015
age: 24-29	**1.955**	0.122	**1.961**	0.122	**2.300**	0.019	**2.293**	0.019
age: 30-35	**3.572**	0.126	**3.588**	0.126	**3.853**	0.026	**3.857**	0.026
age at migration: 7-12	-0.103	0.079	**-0.181**	0.094	*-0.034*	0.019	-0.037	0.066
age at migration: 13-16	**0.364**	0.101	0.195	0.144	**0.338**	0.019	-0.007	0.080
secondary-level education	**-0.495**	0.075	**-0.495**	0.075	**-0.514**	0.020	**-0.470**	0.020
tertiary-level education	**-1.134**	0.119	**-1.128**	0.120	**-0.599**	0.029	**-0.565**	0.029
in employment	0.128	0.086	0.124	0.086	**0.233**	0.016	**0.226**	0.016
in school	**-0.870**	0.115	**-0.871**	0.116	**3.416**	0.191	**3.403**	0.191
country of birth (ref:West Europe)								
Africa	**1.219**	0.344	**1.972**	0.688	**-0.526**	0.068	**-0.344**	0.119
South America	-0.085	0.097	**-0.285**	0.143	**-0.367**	0.035	**-0.386**	0.050
East Europe & Russia	*0.504*	0.275	0.436	0.627	**-0.748**	0.048	**-0.663**	0.089
South Europe	**1.617**	0.247	**1.527**	0.355	**-0.432**	0.057	**-0.435**	0.074
East & Southeast Asia	0.334	0.374	-0.244	0.818	**-0.935**	0.032	**-0.793**	0.043
Middle East & North Africa	**0.527**	0.143	0.395	0.250	**-0.539**	0.058	**-0.582**	0.087
Rest of Asia,Rest of World	-15.041	632.025	-15.489	1247.012	**-0.910**	0.042	**-0.885**	0.066
Carribean & Central America	*0.326*	0.193	-0.188	0.374	**0.252**	0.031	-0.010	0.042
*age at migration*country of birth*								
age at migration: 7-12 * Africa			-1.464	0.891			-0.278	0.171
age at migration: 7-12 * South America			**0.422**	0.218			0.006	0.083
age at migration: 7-12 * East Europe & Russia			-0.331	0.795			-0.085	0.123
age at migration: 7-12 * South Europe			0.068	0.617			-0.081	0.134
age at migration: 7-12 * East & Southeast Asia			0.920	0.990			-0.181	0.076
age at migration: 7-12 * Middle East & North Africa			0.153	0.356			-0.063	0.136
age at migration: 7-12 * Rest of World			1.255	1578.288			-0.040	0.103
age at migration: 7-12 * Carribean & Central America			0.645	0.487			**0.184**	0.073
age at migration: 13-16 * Africa			-0.478	0.936			-0.024	0.171
age at migration: 13-16 * South America			0.352	0.256			**0.242**	0.096
age at migration: 13-16 * East Europe & Russia			0.626	0.751			0.103	0.129
age at migration: 13-16 * South Europe			0.363	0.603			0.196	0.172
age at migration: 13-16 * East & Southeast Asia			0.986	1.082			-0.112	0.089
age at migration: 13-16 * Middle East & North Africa			0.294	0.348			**0.414**	0.150
age at migration: 13-16 * Rest of World			-0.116	1721.037			0.151	0.112
age at migration: 13-16 * Carribean & Central America			*0.902*	0.499			**0.784**	0.086
constant	-1.669	0.140	-1.638	0.141	-0.341	0.036	-0.321	0.041

(Table 4: continued)

	Spain				US			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	β	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*
Living with extended family								
male	**-0.361**	0.064	**-0.362**	0.065	**-0.290**	0.014	**-0.296**	0.014
age: 24-29	**0.245**	0.079	**0.240**	0.079	**1.033**	0.017	**1.026**	0.017
age: 30-35	**0.811**	0.094	**0.815**	0.094	**1.879**	0.025	**1.880**	0.025
age at migration: 7-12	0.099	0.075	0.000	0.108	**0.190**	0.017	0.042	0.072
age at migration: 13-16	**0.646**	0.086	**0.492**	0.146	**0.638**	0.018	0.133	0.086
secondary-level education	**-0.507**	0.071	**-0.504**	0.071	**-0.570**	0.017	**-0.534**	0.018
tertiary-level education	**-1.011**	0.129	**-1.004**	0.130	**-1.019**	0.028	**-0.992**	0.028
in employment	0.015	0.083	0.009	0.084	**0.236**	0.014	**0.228**	0.014
in school	**-0.341**	0.095	**-0.337**	0.095	**1.698**	0.198	**1.689**	0.198
country of birth (ref:West Europe)								
Africa	**2.840**	0.286	**2.945**	0.635	**0.420**	0.063	**0.283**	0.118
South America	**1.120**	0.080	**0.936**	0.123	**0.589**	0.036	**0.543**	0.050
East Europe & Russia	**1.545**	0.190	**2.227**	0.450	**-0.358**	0.048	**-0.264**	0.093
South Europe	**2.073**	0.228	**2.126**	0.327	**-0.243**	0.063	**-0.230**	0.083
East & Southeast Asia	**2.165**	0.227	**1.595**	0.409	**0.404**	0.033	**0.337**	0.045
Middle East & North Africa	**1.886**	0.113	**1.731**	0.216	0.019	0.058	-0.150	0.093
Rest of Asia,Rest of World	**1.129**	0.321	0.898	0.655	**0.169**	0.041	**0.158**	0.063
Carribean & Central America	**1.113**	0.149	**0.954**	0.281	**1.389**	0.033	**1.123**	0.043
*age at migration*country of birth*								
age at migration: 7-12 * Africa			-0.450	0.755			0.244	0.163
age at migration: 7-12 * South America			0.281	0.179			0.097	0.085
age at migration: 7-12 * East Europe & Russia			-0.843	0.533			0.025	0.126
age at migration: 7-12 * South Europe			-0.191	0.549			-0.123	0.147
age at migration: 7-12 * East & Southeast Asia			0.580	0.540			**0.193**	0.080
age at migration: 7-12 * Middle East & North Africa			0.378	0.280			0.203	0.140
age at migration: 7-12 * Rest of World			0.559	0.796			0.132	0.100
age at migration: 7-12 * Carribean & Central America			0.155	0.374			**0.238**	0.077
age at migration: 13-16 * Africa			0.374	0.833			**0.478**	0.164
age at migration: 13-16 * South America			*0.369*	0.211			**0.351**	0.098
age at migration: 13-16 * East Europe & Russia			-0.658	0.551			0.145	0.132
age at migration: 13-16 * South Europe			0.101	0.567			0.203	0.183
age at migration: 13-16 * East & Southeast Asia			**1.277**	0.642			**0.251**	0.093
age at migration: 13-16 * Middle East & North Africa			0.170	0.291			**0.641**	0.152
age at migration: 13-16 * Rest of World			-0.061	0.917			**0.218**	0.111
age at migration: 13-16 * Carribean & Central America			0.397	0.381			**0.868**	0.090
constant	-0.846	0.107	-0.796	0.111	-0.359	0.036	-0.268	0.042
N	6,579				139,275			

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 A: Frequency distribution of selected countries of birth in Spain and the US

	USA	Spain
Native	3,002,435	586,696
Spain/USA	692	79
Morocco	86	554
Cuba	2,483	51
Dominican Republic	3,275	79
Argentina	430	312
Colombia	1,905	136
Ecuador	1,092	115
Peru	1,171	87
Venezuela	494	497
Romania	548	34
UK	3,193	337
Portugal	1,329	144
France	519	1,499
Germany	6,687	1,124
China	2,087	72

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

Appendix B: 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	*s.e.*	*β*	*s.e.*
Living alone				
male	**-0.391**	0.016	**-0.126**	0.022
age: 24-29	**1.661**	0.021	**1.692**	0.028
age: 30-35	**2.489**	0.023	**2.707**	0.032
secondary-level education	**0.563**	0.027	**0.567**	0.040
tertiary-level education	**1.243**	0.034	**1.266**	0.046
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				
male	**-0.605**	0.012	**-0.805**	0.014
age: 24-29	**2.172**	0.016	**2.261**	0.017
age: 30-35	**3.249**	0.018	**3.487**	0.023
secondary-level education	**0.385**	0.018	**-0.082**	0.019
tertiary-level education	**0.197**	0.026	**-0.517**	0.028
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				
male	**-0.716**	0.011	**-0.516**	0.013
age: 24-29	**0.906**	0.013	**1.046**	0.016
age: 30-35	**1.464**	0.016	**1.699**	0.023
secondary-level education	**-0.160**	0.014	**-0.376**	0.016
tertiary-level education	**-0.787**	0.025	**-1.179**	0.028
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
N	318,598		228,404	

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