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Living Arrangements Throughout Life: The Experiences of Diverse American Families

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Living Arrangements Throughout Life:

The Experiences of Diverse American Families

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in Sociology

by

Sung Shim Park

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Living Arrangements Throughout Life:

The Experiences of Diverse American Families

by

Sung Shim Park

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Judith Ann Seltzer, Chair

Coresidence is of enduring importance across an individual's life and a recurring feature of kinship. Most individuals will live with at least one person related to them through biological or legal ties for a majority of their lives. Given that demographic processes, social change, and economic development during the 20th century have resulted in increasingly diverse families, along economic, race/ethnic, geographic, and cultural lines, studying coresidence among contemporary American families is crucial. This research will inform the development of social and economic policies for the well-being of an increasingly heterogeneous American population. In this dissertation, I expand our current understanding of kinship relationships by studying coresidence among diverse American families. Recognizing that the prevalence of coresidence and the individuals with whom one lives will vary by life stage, I take a life course approach,

studying coresidence at different developmental stages: middle childhood (Chapter 1), young adulthood (Chapter 2), and late middle-age (Chapter 3). Moreover, I build on the foci of prior work at each developmental stage, but shift attention to the aspects of households and families that are of particular relevance today: multigenerational households and immigrant families, the role of geographic opportunities and constraints in becoming residentially independent, and racial differences in support to aging parents. Across the three chapters, the results underscore the reliance on family members for help. Thus, variations in living arrangements are reflective of the hardships distributed unevenly across the population that contribute to the growing economic inequality characterizing the United States. Given that large swaths of the American population continue to experience financial insecurity, this research may inform the development of social and economic policies for the well-being of an increasingly heterogeneous American population.

The dissertation of Sung Shim Park is approved.

Roger Waldinger

Robert Denis Mare

Michael H. Seltzer

Judith Ann Seltzer, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

For my brother

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INTRODUCTION

Coresidence is of enduring importance across an individual's life and a recurring feature of kinship. Most individuals will live with at least one person related to them through biological or legal ties for a majority of their lives. This mutually agreed upon living arrangement implies resource-sharing. Furthermore, living together (or not) signifies the types and quality of intimate relationships between family members, and draws boundaries of who counts as family (Cherlin 1978). Beyond the material value and cultural distinctiveness of coresidence, research has established a range of both positive and negative consequences associated with different living arrangements, from educational to health-related outcomes. Given that demographic processes, social change, and economic development during the 20th century have resulted in increasingly diverse families along economic, race/ethnic, geographic, and cultural lines, studying the diversity in household formation and its consequences among contemporary American families is crucial. Households are no longer synonymous with families, and differences in living arrangements reflect both the causes and consequences of between- and within-family inequality (Seltzer 2019).

Residential independence continues to be an important barometer of societal inequality in Western countries. Adopting a life course approach, I study the etiology of familial living arrangements at different developmental stages because living arrangements are dynamic, changing with the circumstances of the individuals in the family. Moreover, a life course approach is most appropriate in studying intergenerational relationships because the scholarly emphasis on either causes or consequences depends on life stage. During childhood, individuals are most connected to the family as a social institution. Thus, researchers have placed importance on exposure to different family members, and the implications of this exposure for the well-

being of youth. In contrast, the processes contributing to the transition to adulthood are of interest because family relationships in the 20th century have shifted from parental dependence on children to children's dependence on parents. Coresidence is one way in which children of adult age continue to rely on their parents; thus, if and how individuals attain residential independence elucidates how adulthood has evolved. Finally, late-middle and older age potentially reverses the direction of intergenerational interdependence. Coresidence is one type of a family-level strategy developed in response to age-induced health and economic changes.

Examining Living Arrangements By Developmental Age

Among family researchers who are interested in childhood development, the household is oftentimes the analytic unit for investigation because the care of infants and young children is predicated on shared residence. But beyond basic necessities such as shelter, food, and subsistence money, the presence of a family member, usually a parent, is important for a child's development in several non-material ways (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994). Parents who live in the same house as their young offspring are able to regularly provide social support, such as nurturance, which promotes emotional growth. They are also more readily available to help their children with schoolwork, which can affect cognitive development. Thus, having an absent biological father, for example, is associated with more negative outcomes such as lower academic achievement, poorer psychological health, and being less likely to graduate from college (McLanahan and Percheski 2008; Tach 2015). With increasing family complexity due to rising cohabitation, growing marital instability, rising non-marital fertility, and remarriage, more American youth today live at some point during their childhood outside of a two-parent intact family (Tach 2015), and are more likely to be living with quasi- and extended kin (Taylor et al. 2010), than any other period of the latter half of the 20th century. Thus, the influence of

residential family members can have far-reaching consequences for children's current well-being and future socioeconomic status.

Even when children grow up, living arrangements remain relevant, as moving out of the parental home is often considered a marker of adulthood (Furstenberg et al. 2004). Living away from one's parents implies more independence not only because a young adult will likely assume increased financial responsibilities, but because physical separateness also limits parental monitoring of a child's behaviors (Waite et al. 1986). Taken at a broader, societal level, stagnating or declining rates of homeleaving as young adults delay establishing their own independent household (Goldschieder 1999) can also be of greater concern beyond the individual or family-level. A higher rate of household formation also translates to stronger economic growth. Hence, the living arrangements of young adults not only reflect an adult child's psychological and social autonomy, but are indicative of the nation's overall economic health (Paciorek 2016).

There is also renewed interest in coresidence in later life as people live longer, with the Census estimating that the number of 65+ year olds will almost double in the next 35 years (Ortman et al. 2014). In the United States, independent living among the elderly is generally preferred to living with children (Ruggles 2007; Seltzer et al. 2012) such that older parents resort to intergenerational coresidence only when they have limited resources (Costa 1999). For some populations, however, higher rates of intergenerational or multigenerational coresidence cannot be entirely explained by economic factors. Along with socioeconomic status, *both* parent *and* adult child characteristics in health, immigration status, and cultural tastes for living together jointly operate to influence how and when the elderly change their living arrangements (Ward et al. 1992; Wolf and Soldo 1988). In particular, racial minorities, whose share of the overall

population is expected to rise in coming years, contribute to the heterogeneity in the types of and associated processes leading up to distinct living arrangements in later life (Speare and Avery 1993; Swartz 2009). Thus, understanding the residential experiences of the elderly is imperative as a matter of measuring overall support available to a large swath of the current population, changes in intergenerational pressures experienced by contemporary adult children, and foreshadowing the potential experiences in living arrangements for a diverse individuals in future generations as they age.

Dissertation Summary

My dissertation builds on the foci of prior work at each developmental stage, but shifts attention to the aspects of households and families that are of particular relevance today: multigenerational households and immigrant families, the role of geographic opportunities and constraints in becoming residentially independent, and racial differences in support to aging parents.

In Chapter 1, I examine the influences of coresident grandparents on children's academic engagement, with a focus on Hispanics where the research remains scant. I examine three measures of academic engagement: being enrolled in gifted classes, working hard in school, and participating in any extracurricular activities. These measures represent different aspects of academic engagement and signal increased social connections to institutions that encourage academic achievement. Using data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation, I find Hispanic children of immigrants exhibit both strengths and weaknesses in academic engagement relative to other race/ethnic and immigrant generation groups. While they are no different than their native-born Hispanic peers of later generations with respect to often working hard in school, they do work harder relative to native-born Whites and native-born Blacks. However,

they are the least likely to be part of gifted programs and connected to extracurricular activities. Thus, the "immigrant paradox" which has been used to explain Hispanic children of immigrants' higher academic achievement despite fewer socioeconomic resources appears to have limited applicability for academic engagement.

Grandparent coresidence is associated with some measures of academic engagement. Specifically, grandparent coresidence is negatively associated with participation in extracurricular activities. Yet there are important qualifications based on race/ethnic and generational differences. While this negative association is maintained for native-born Blacks as it relates to the likelihood of being enrolled in gifted courses, for native-born Hispanics the effect is positive. In contrast, contrary to expectations, there is no relationship among Hispanic children of immigrants, most likely because multigenerational household formation among Hispanic children of immigrants is affected by the migration process. For higher-order native-born Hispanics, these issues are significantly diminished. For this reason, a coresident grandparent has the expected positive effect for being enrolled in gifted classes. Finally, I find that immigrant incorporation traits of parents explain Hispanic children's academic engagement on select outcomes: being enrolled in gifted classes is more likely among children whose parents have greater fluency with English, and longer years since parents' arrival in the United States predicts greater participation in activities.

Millennials' delayed residential independence is widely accepted as fact, but past research has not examined the timing of first departures over time using longitudinal data for multiple cohorts, assessing the importance of not only demographic and socioeconomic traits, but multiple types of local institutional structures across labor market, housing, and education domains. Chapter 2 compares the timing of first homeleaving between two large and highly

visible cohorts: Early Millennials born between 1980-1984 and late Baby Boomers born from 1961-1964. This paper is the first to include granular county-level measures of multiple types of local institutional structures (labor market, housing, education) in studying the timing of first homeleaving. I examine these geographic variables' relationships to the outcome, net of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, and test if the effects for each covariate differ by cohort. Furthermore, because the residential detachment of young adults from their parents often coincides with changing attachments to other social institutions such as the ceasing of full-time education, joining the full-time labor market, or being involved in a coresidential romantic union, I fill a gap in existing research investigating whether local structural characteristics can explain the adoption of different social roles that are also commonly accepted as markers of adulthood at the time of first departure. I examine whether local geographic covariates predict membership in each category, net of controls, by cohort, as well as whether these associations have changed between cohorts.

I use two sets of National Longitudinal Surveys, the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79) and the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 (NLSY97), as well as several external federal data sources to construct multiple measures of annual, county-level labor market (unemployment and wages), housing (rent), and educational (number of postsecondary institutions) structures. By linking people with places (Entwisle 2007), and examining these links over time, I find young adults' first experience of residential independence to be more complex than previously described in research. Treating young adults who are at college as residentially dependent, I find the age-specific probabilities of departure are not linear or uniformly lower than late Baby Boomers during the ages of 18 to 29. These differences at ages younger than 24 are partially explained by the rapid escalation of local area rents. There is

increasing heterogeneity among those who leave, with the average early Millennials being more likely to leave home to attend college full-time, but also more weakly attached to the labor market, working only part-time or not at all. Differentiating homeleavers by their observed social roles at the time of first departure sample shows that all four types of institutional structures are associated with early Millennials' probability of leaving and being a full-time worker. Yet the relationships between local institutions and individual behaviors do not remain constant; rather, they can wane over time, with young adults aged 18-23 being more affected by housing costs compared to those who are 24-29.

In recent years, coresidence in the form of doubling up and multigenerational households has become increasingly common across a wide range of socioeconomic groups (Kahn et al., 2013; Wiemers 2014), but whether this has diminished or exacerbated racial differences in later life, when aging parents may require more assistance, is unknown. In Chapter 3, I investigate two forms of child-to-parent, or upstream support, in Black and White families, as both parent (G1) and adult child (G2) generations age: coresidence and financial assistance. I examine the prevalence of intergenerational coresidence and upstream financial transfers between adult children and parents in Black and White families over an 18-year period (1996-2014), from G2's perspective. I also evaluate the role of the number and type of siblings in giving this assistance between Blacks and Whites. These findings will inform if and to what extent racial differences in *intragenerational* relationships influence *intergenerational* relationships between Black and White parents and children during adulthood.

Using random effects logistic and ordinary least squares regression models applied to data from the Health and Retirement Study (HRS), I find that after controlling for child traits, the observed unadjusted effect of greater coresidence among racial minorities is reversed. In fact,

Black adult children are marginally less likely to coreside with a parent. Controlling for parent and sibling traits does little to change this gap. However, both coresident and noncoresident Black adult children provide more financial help to their parents, although with on average lower amounts.

The addition of the number of siblings to the regressions explains little of the Black-White gap in coresidence and financial assistance from both coresident and noncoresident adult children. Having more sisters reduces the likelihood of an adult child providing any type of support for both Blacks and Whites. However, more brothers is negatively associated with financial giving, but positively associated with coresidence for both groups. Finally, there are notable race differences in financial assistance. For both coresident and noncoresident Blacks and Whites, having siblings who provide monetary support increases the likelihood of their supporting parents as well, but noncoresident Whites are more sensitive to synchronizing this help with siblings than their Black peers.

Discussion and Implications

In this dissertation, I expand our current understanding of kinship relationships by studying coresidence among diverse American families. Recognizing that the prevalence of coresidence and the individuals with whom one lives will vary by life stage, I take a life course approach, studying coresidence at different developmental stages: middle childhood (Chapter 1), young adulthood (Chapter 2), and late middle-age (Chapter 3). Throughout all three chapters, I find coresidence patterns and processes are complex and can either exacerbate or alleviate group differences among different subpopulations. What is common, however, is that coresidence serves as a social or economic safety net among family members (Seltzer et al. 2012). The results

from these studies demonstrate the value of shared living arrangements, in various forms, for Americans today.

The results underscore the reliance on family members for help. Thus, variations in living arrangements are reflective of the hardships distributed unevenly across the population that contribute to the growing economic inequality characterizing the United States. Given that a large portion of the American population continues to experience financial insecurity after the Great Recession (Brown and Braga 2019; Bruce et al. 2019; Mutchler et al. 2019), and these individuals are not limited to only those who meet official poverty thresholds (Fisher 1992), this research may inform the development of social and economic policies for the well-being of an increasingly heterogeneous American population.

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CHAPTER 1

The Influences of Parenting and Coresident Grandparents on the Academic Engagement of Hispanic Children of Immigrants

INTRODUCTION

Hispanic[1] youth are the largest and fastest growing segment of the United States population (Passel and Cohn 2008), with more than 60 percent being either foreign-born or having a parent who is foreign-born (Passel et al. 2011). Although significant achievement gaps compared to native-born Whites remain (Crosnoe 2013), Hispanic children of immigrants have slowly made academic gains in recent years (Murphey et al. 2014). Given the rapidly changing demography of school-age children, the academic progress of Hispanic children of immigrants will foreshadow the extent of their socioeconomic incorporation in American society.

Research about Hispanic immigrant children's academic progress has focused on grades and completing specific educational milestones, such as graduating from high school or receiving a college degree. Although these indicators quantify the extent of the race-ethnic achievement gap, they provide little information about the processes that may contribute to the achievement gap. Examining behavioral attributes associated with academic achievement, such as participating in extracurricular activities or working hard, can be informative (Johnson et al. 2001). These examples of academic engagement, defined as "active, goal-directed, flexible, construction, persistent, focused interactions with the social and physical environments" (Furrer and Skinner 2003:149), are shown to improve academic performance and reinforce expectations about one's abilities (Skinner et al. 1998). Additionally, academic engagement indirectly aids

[1] The Census currently refers to Hispanics as individuals of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South American, Central American, or other Spanish culture.

high school completion through the adoption of role models and mentors established in in- and out-of-school activities (Ream and Rumberger 2008).

Past scholarly work has identified successively declining academic orientations among Hispanics with increasing immigrant generational status (Aretakis et al. 2015; Feliciano and Lanuza 2016). These findings support the notion of an "immigrant paradox" whereby children of immigrants, despite possessing few socioeconomic resources and greater linguistic barriers, perform similarly or better than their third-generation or higher counterparts (Conger et al. 2007; Crosnoe et al. 2004; Kao and Tienda 1995; Pong and Hao 2007; Schwarz and Stiefel 2006). For example, among Mexican-origin respondents, Greenman (2013) finds an inverse relationship between generational status and positive attitudes about school. First-generation Mexican immigrant adolescent youth expressed more positive attitudes towards school than both second- and third-generation Mexican youth, and second-generation Mexican youth also had more positive attitudes about school compared to their third-generation counterparts. Furthermore, only first-generation adolescent Mexicans exhibited significantly more effort in school than native-born White students. Although some scholars reason that immigrant children's academic achievement stems from the positive self-selection of immigrants compared to non-migrants from their country of origin (Chiswick 1978; Feliciano and Lanuza 2016), recent evidence challenges this premise. Mexicans, the most dominant subgroup of Hispanic immigrants, were shown to be very modestly positively selected (Feliciano 2005) or consistently negatively selected on education (Rendall et al. 2014).

The immigrant paradox has been explained by the salience of family processes unique to immigrant families. Hispanic immigrant families are often characterized as close-knit with strong ethnic social networks, which may foster children's good behavior and academic orientation

(Amato and Fowler 2002; DeGarmo and Martinez 2006; Hsin 2009). Group-oriented values such as *familismo* and *respeto* are maintained in culturally traditional Hispanic families, along with more authoritarian parenting styles (Lorenzo-Blanco et al. 2012; Pong et al. 2005). Thus, some scholars argue Hispanic children of immigrants perform better in school than their third-generation or higher Hispanic counterparts in part because their families shield them from opportunities to become delinquent (Rumbaut 1990; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995). Gonzales et al. (2008) also find academic engagement was higher among children of immigrant mothers who held strong cultural values.

One noticeable oversight in advancing this argument is the lack of attention to other non-parental adult kin on immigrant youths' academic experiences, especially given Hispanic youths' high rates of coresidence with extended family members relative to their non-Hispanic White counterparts (Landale et al. 2011). While parents play a critical role in their child's well-being and academic success, coresident extended family members such as grandparents can foster youths' academic performance (DeLeire and Kalil 2002; Dunifon and Kowaleski-Jones 2007; Molborn et al. 2012; Roosa et al. 2012). Compared to other extended family members, grandparents may be more attached to the household and more likely to interact with grandchildren because of the strong intergenerational solidarity in Hispanic families. Thus, grandparents can provide help either directly or indirectly, that in turn affects children's education. Directly, grandparents may give advice about school or help with homework (Suarez-Orozco et al. 2009). Indirectly, they may provide supervision, monitoring, and emotional support (Greenberger et al. 1998; Sanchez et al. 2010). Grandparents can also facilitate the transmission and reinforcement of traditional cultural values to grandchildren, which is positively associated with academic engagement (Silverstein and Chen 1999). Moreover, the presence of grandparents

in the household may make it easier for parents to spend time with children and reduce parents' stress through the sharing of household labor.

My study makes five unique contributions to address gaps in existing studies of the effects of family members on Hispanic children's academic outcomes. First, I consider a range of academic engagement measures to better understand the educational experiences of Hispanic children of immigrants beyond educational attainment, and assess whether the immigrant paradox applies with respect to academic engagement. Second, while existing work on race/ethnic and nativity differences in academic engagement has focused on early childhood or adolescence, I concentrate on middle childhood (ages 6 through 14). Third, to provide a more nuanced view of immigrant incorporation, I compare the academic engagement outcomes of Hispanic children of immigrants to three native-born groups: 1) native-born Hispanic children of native-born parents (3rd generation or higher Hispanics) (NBH), 2) native-born non-Hispanic White children of native-born parents (NBW), and 3) native-born non-Hispanic Black children of native-born parents (NBB). Fourth, I examine the relationship between parenting practices and the presence of coresident grandparents and academic engagement, before and after accounting for demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Finally, because we know that children of immigrants face unique challenges depending on their parents' level of integration with the host country, I conduct a subgroup analysis restricted to Hispanic children of immigrants. I investigate whether the degree of *parental* incorporation explain changes in academic engagement outcomes among Hispanic children of immigrants.

BACKGROUND

Parenting Practices and Academic Outcomes

In his foundational work, economist Becker emphasizes the importance of parental time for children's success, asserting that more attention spent on each child results in "quality" offspring with superior endowments that are rewarded in the "marketplace" (1965). Others have conceptualized the time parents spend with children as part of a family's social capital (Coleman 1988) or cultural capital (Lareau 1987) that is "invested" in their offspring with the goal of facilitating the adoption of behaviors and attitudes that will later help them navigate relationships outside of the family, such as at school or the workplace. Recent empirical work has paid close attention to the specific link between parental practices and academic outcomes because education is one avenue through which to achieve financial stability and mobility. These studies consistently show a positive association between parental time and academic outcomes.

Parental time may involve either cognitive-enhancing or non-cognitive-enhancing activities. While cognitive-enhancing activities, such as reading to children, are more relevant during early childhood, non-cognitive measures of parent-child interactions, such as eating meals together, have more significance for children in middle childhood and older. In fact, shared meals are associated with higher test scores and less delinquency (Eisenberg et al. 2004; Hofferth and Sandberg 2001). Scholars have put forth two different explanations for this relationship. First, structured meal times can provide opportunities for children to engage in higher-quality conversations (Snow and Beals 2006) that can contribute to cognitive development. Second, sharing meals with parents may have a protective effect as a family ritual that contributes to a child's sense of social support and stability in their home life, which is negatively associated with behavioral problems that can disrupt academic progress, particularly among adolescents (Hofferth and Sandberg 2001; Meier and Musick 2014).

Although Hispanic immigrant families' lower socioeconomic background compared to native-born Whites would suggest less parent-child interaction, some researchers have argued that traditional cultural values in Hispanic families may promote parents' time with children. As a result of familism, Hispanics are less likely to use paid childcare; rather family members may look after children (Fram and Kin 2008). Additionally, values such as parents making sacrifices for their children (*sacrifidos*) and raising children well (*bien educado*) which includes *educacion,* or emphasis on teaching children academic skills (Murphey et al. 2014; Suizzo 2014) increases the time spent with their children (Yeung et al. 2001). Even so, it is unclear whether additional time with parents in non-cognitive-enhancing activities can significantly influence academic outcomes for Hispanic children because many foreign-born Hispanic immigrants lack the ability to speak English well or do not speak English at all. Speaking in Spanish may curb opportunities for children to gain verbal fluency while conversing with a parent with limited English abilities may do little for children's academic development.

Parents also provide children with emotional support. Emotional support can include an array of constructs such as encouragement, acceptance (Booth et al. 1998), and nurturance (Cobb 1976). Demonstrations of parents' emotional support are important for children's academic success because positive reinforcement through encouraging words and interactions may increase a child's feeling of closeness to parents. In turn, these feelings can motivate children to perform better in school (Lynch and Cicchetti 1997; Ryan et al. 1991). Emotional support from parents can also indirectly affect academic outcomes, if youth modeling interactions with other adults such as teachers after their relationship with parents (Rhodes et al. 2000). This positive association between parents' emotional support of children and children's academic outcomes

have been confirmed during childhood (Lynch and Cicchetti 1997) as well as adolescence (Rhodes et al. 2000).

Emotional support in Hispanic immigrant families may alleviate the negative effects of living with fewer economic resources on academic engagement. Valenzuela and Dornbusch (1994) find that close parent-child bonds can improve academic outcomes for some Hispanic children where their parents had at least a high school diploma. However, the protective shield of familism may weaken over generations of Hispanic children, making academic progress more challenging. Familism may decline with longer exposure to the United States culture, affecting how parents raise children and how children respond to parents (Driscoll et al. 1999; Pong et al. 2005). Over time, parents may shift from emphasizing loyalty and obligation in families to a more individualistic orientation for their children (Delgado-Gaitain 2014). Kao (2004) finds that first-and second-generation Hispanic youth are closer to their parents compared to third-generation or higher White youth, and the quality of these parent-child relationships partially explains the educational advantages of these Hispanic children of immigrants.

Grandparent Coresidence and Academic Outcomes

There is no conclusive evidence about the influence of grandparent coresidence on children's educational outcomes. On one hand, some scholars find grandmothers' presence had compensating, positive effects for children in single-mother families (DeLeire and Kalil 2002; Monserud and Elder 2011), but no impact of grandparental coresidence on high school completion and college enrollment among children living with two biological parents. Arenas (2019) also presents similar findings of the positive effects of grandparent coresidence in Mexican single-mother families arising out of union dissolution, as well as in two-parent families where the father is absent due to internal or international migration.

Scholars have posited several explanations about the negative association between coresident grandparents and educational outcomes. First, socioeconomic resources are strongly linked to greater academic achievement presumably through increased investments in education. Because multigenerational households are more common among families with fewer resources in the United States, children in these families may possess differing study habits, executive functioning skills, and priorities. Similarly, children who are exposed to lesser-educated grandparents, particularly those in skipped-generation households, may also have weaker academic capital (DeLeire and Kalil 2002). Secondly, household instability in the form of grandparents moving in and out of the home can disrupt the daily routines and roles of existing household members, adversely impacting children. Relatedly, it is possible *children*'s residential mobility will also unsettle their academic schedules and plans.

Heterogeneity in the Influence of Grandparent Coresidence

Prior studies agree that the effects of grandparental coresidence vary enormously by family structure, as well as race/ethnic background, and immigrant generation. The results are also complicated by the fact that examining point-in-time living arrangements with grandparents sometimes yields different results than studies that examine transitions of grandparents in and out of the child's home.

Race/Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation

Recent work about non-Hispanic Whites consistently shows negative effects of grandparent coresidence for children of different ages. Both continuity in grandparent coresidence and transitions into grandparent coresidence reduced cognitive scores at age two among non-Hispanic Whites (Mollborn et al. 2012). Pilkauskas (2014) also found that three-generation coresidence was negatively associated with expressive language for White children.

These deleterious effects on education appear to extend beyond early childhood. Household instability involving the movement of extended family members depresses the likelihood of high school graduation and college enrollment among non-Hispanic Whites (Perkins 2019).

In contrast, the findings for Black children show more variation about the benefits of grandparent coresidence. Conclusions depend on the particular educational outcome of interest and stage in childhood. Stable grandparent coresidence was associated with increased cognitive scores at age two relative to not living with grandparents at all (Mollborn et al. 2012). However, Pilkauskas (2014) finds three-generation coresidence to be associated with lower levels of expressive language for Black children. Perkins (2019) finds no association between coresidence with grandparents and non-Hispanic Blacks' likelihood of high school graduation and college enrollment.

Studies of grandparent coresidence and children's academic outcomes among Hispanics are even more limited. Among the handful of studies of Hispanic children, most focus on early childhood. Pilkauskas (2014) finds three-generation coresidence was positively associated with school readiness for Hispanic children. But these associations were concentrated among Hispanic children of foreign-born mothers. On the other hand, Mollborn et al. (2012) finds that having a coresident grandparent exit the household by age two is associated with a quarter of a standard deviation increase in cognitive scores among Hispanic children compared to children who never lived with grandparents and those continuously living with grandparents in both waves. Glick and Van Hook (2008) conclude there are no effects of household gains and losses of grandparents on third-grade reading scores among Hispanic children.

PRESENT STUDY

The current study contributes new information about the influences of coresident grandparents on children's academic engagement, with a focus on middle childhood, where the research remains scant. Academic engagement is especially important to examine during middle childhood, a developmental stage where children begin school and increase their interactions with peers and adult non-family members. These activities contribute to cognitive development, which is highly predictive of socioeconomic outcomes in adulthood, and in some cases, exceed the effects of cognitive development in early childhood (Feinstein and Bynner 2004).

I examine three measures of academic engagement: being enrolled in gifted classes, working hard in school, and participating in any extracurricular activities. These measures represent different aspects of academic engagement. Being enrolled in gifted classes is an indicator of superior academic achievement for the student at his/her grade level, as well as the extent to which a student is sufficiently academically motivated to participate in the activities and tasks conducted in a gifted class. Working hard in school is an indicator of a different, but equally important aspect of education: the learning process. Working hard in school illustrates an understanding of the causal link between the degree of effort expended on a task and academic results (Schunk 1984). Lastly, extracurricular activities provide structured time with new adult role models or similarly oriented peers that may discourage participating in risky behaviors that impede academic performance (Jordan and Nettles 2000). Consequently, student participation in these activities may signal increased social connections to institutions that discourage delinquency.

I investigate the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the differences in academic engagement of Hispanic children with immigrant parents compared to NBHs, NBWs, and NBBs? Does the immigrant paradox exist as it pertains to academic engagement?

RQ2: (i) Does the presence of coresident grandparents explain differences in academic engagement among of Hispanic children with immigrant parents compared to NBHs, NBWs, and NBBs?, even after (ii) accounting for child- and family level demographic and socioeconomic controls (iii) as well as the intensity of parenting time and emotional support from parents?

RQ3: Do the associations found in RQ2 above between coresident grandparents and academic engagement vary by race-ethnicity and nativity, net of controls?

RQ4: Among Hispanic children of immigrants, do parents' length of time in the United States and English language proficiency explain differences in academic engagement, net of controls?

DATA, SAMPLE, AND MEASURES

Data

The Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) is a nationally representative, longitudinal sample of non-institutionalized U.S. households. Since the 1980s, each panel has collected data over a course of 2.5 to four years. In each wave for a given panel, there are four randomly selected rotation groups who are interviewed in staggered months.[2] In wave 1, demographic and socioeconomic data are collected about all individuals in households in the sample. In subsequent waves, all adult original sample persons (OSPs) are followed, regardless of whether they live in the same household or not. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. The core questions, collected every four months about the prior four months, cover socioeconomic and program participation variables of household members. Since 1996, topical

[2] In 2014, the SIPP was reengineered and thus reflects a different structure than described here.

modules have been added in specific waves on questions of broad interest, such as child care and migration history.

This study uses the 2004 and 2008 panels of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) that collect data at two points in time (t_1 and t_2) on childhood well-being and parenting among respondents who are living with their minor child (under 18 years old). I pool these two panels to maximize my sample size of school-age children, particularly Hispanic children of immigrants.[3] I study children between six and 14 years old living with their biological or adoptive mother at each time point. I restrict attention to those living with a mother because I am interested in the additive effects of the presence of extended kin beyond what parents do for and with children, and mothers are more likely to remain with her children, even after union dissolution. Approximately 10 percent of children aged six to 14 are excluded from my sample because there is no mother in the household. [4]

Information about the child's academic engagement comes from the reference parent, who is the mother unless the mother is unavailable for interview within a two-parent household. In that case, the father completes proxy reporting on behalf of the mother. If no parents are available, the guardian is the reference parent. Over 97 percent of reports about children are from the biological or adoptive mother. Migration-specific data such as whether the parent and child

[3] The 2001 panel cannot be used for this study because the child well-being module was only asked one time. The 2014 panel cannot be used for this study for different reasons. The 2014 reengineered SIPP panel was significantly altered to minimize respondent burden and attrition. Therefore, reference parents were only asked if questions about academic engagement applied to any child. Questions used to construct parenting practice variables were also modified. Reference parents were asked about their involvement for all age-eligible children, rather than asked about their engagement with each child separately. As a result, the adjacent 2001 and 2014 SIPP panels were not used for this analysis.

[4] My analytic sample excludes a significant portion of skipped-generation families where the parent is absent. While skipped generation families make up a significant portion of households in which a grandparent relationship exists, because the parent is likely not present because of death, illness, or some other incapacitation, grandparents (or other relatives) likely assume a parenting role.

are foreign-born, country of origin, and time of arrival are collected one time in the Migration topical module in wave 2.

Analytic Samples

I determined six to be the lower age bound for children because the questions about academic engagement in the SIPP apply to the universe of children who are entering compulsory primary education. The upper age bound is based on the when children are just entering adolescence. Children identified as Asian, Native American, mixed race, who have mixed-race parents, or who possess parents in mixed-race unions are excluded from this analysis. For multivariate results, listwise deletion resulted in 21,192 child-period observations (reflecting 13,550 children) for the full sample used to answer RQ1 through RQ3 about differences among Hispanic children of immigrants, NBHs, NBWs, and NBBs.

Because I am interested in evaluating measures of parental immigrant incorporation on children's academic engagement, my second analytic sample is a subset of my first analytic sample, restricted to Hispanic children of immigrants. After two additional variables are added to the analysis, years since arrival and English proficiency, after listwise deletion, this subsample consists of 807 child-period observations (reflecting 510 children).

Measures: Dependent Variables

There are three academic engagement outcomes: 1) being enrolled in gifted classes, 2) working hard in school, and 3) participating in any extracurricular activities. *Being enrolled in gifted classes* is a binary variable based on the response to the question "Did [CHILD] go to a special class for gifted students, or do advanced work in any subjects?" *Working hard in school* is also a binary variable based on responding "often true" to the question "In general, [CHILD] works hard at school. Would you say this statement is not true, sometimes true, or often true?"

Participating in any extracurricular activities is a binary variable constructed from three separate questions about extracurricular activities: "Did [CHILD] take lessons after school or on weekends in subjects like music, dance, language, computers, or religion?" "Did [CHILD] participate in any clubs or organizations after school or on weekends, such as Scouts, a religious group, or a Girls or Boys club?" "Was [CHILD] on a sports team either in our out of school?" If the parent affirmatively answered at least one out of the three questions, this variable is set to one, and otherwise it is equal to zero.

Measures: Key Independent Variables

Race/Ethnicity-Generation Variable

The race/ethnicity-generation variable is a four category polytomous variable representing: 1) Hispanic children of immigrant, 2) native-born Hispanic children of native-born parents (3rd generation or higher Hispanics) (NBH), 3) native-born non-Hispanic White children of native-born parents (NBW), and 4) native-born non-Hispanic Black children of native-born parents (NBB). This variable is constructed from the core interview data where the household reference person reports the parents and children's place of birth, race, and ethnicity. [5] I classify minors as being part of a Hispanic immigrant family if the child has at least one foreign-born parent, and the child's race is single-race Hispanic. Children who were born in the United States, identified as single-race Hispanic, and have native-born parents are classified as NBH. Similarly, children who were born in the US, identified as single-race White, and have native-born parents are classified as NBW, and children who were born in the US, identified as single-race Black, and have native-born parents are classified as NBB.

I group first- and second-generation Hispanic children together as being part of Hispanic immigrant families because I pay special attention to the child's parental background and how

[5] This identification is based on proxy reports by the household reference person.

support from both parents and other family members can affect a range of academic engagement outcomes. In other words, I underscore how nativity differences in parenting and the presence of immigrant family members affects children. In fact, over 80 percent of the children in Hispanic immigrant families in my study are second generation, born in the US but with at least one foreign-born parent. I also group children who are third-generation Americans with higher-order generations because the data do not include grandparents' place of birth, unless grandparents are part of the household.

Individuals who self-identify and who identify family members (through proxy reports) as third-generation or higher Hispanics may be a select subset for whom this identity is more salient. Citrin et al. (2007) finds evidence of increasing Hispanic acculturation over generations. Yet, according to social identity theory, one reason that group identification can be heightened among individuals is when resources and opportunities are distributed based on group membership (Fuligni 2011). Because native-borns with Hispanic ancestry sometimes report being non-Hispanic White or inconsistently identify as Hispanic (Harris and Sim 2002), third-generation or higher individuals who identify as Hispanics are likely a selective group. I return to this point in the *Discussion* section.

Coresident Grandparents

Using the household roster generated through the core interview in the same round as when the topical module of child well-being was conducted, I produce a dichotomous variable of the presence of any coresident grandparent.

Child, Family, and Household Characteristics

I include two child traits in my models: a continuous variable for *child's age*, as well as a dichotomous variable for whether the child is male. Several family characteristics are included in

my models. *Family structure* refers to the child's living arrangement with parents. There are three types of family structures: (1) a single biological/adoptive mother, (2) a biological/adoptive mother and a biological/adoptive father who are either married or cohabiting, and (3) biological mother and stepfather stepfamily. I include dichotomous variables for whether the child has *any parent who is not working*, *at least one parent who has a college degree or higher*, and *total gross household income* (adjusted to 2011 dollars) as indicators of socioeconomic status. An indicator variable for whether the child experienced *a move during the wave* is included as a control because residential moves may disrupt educational activities. I include a continuous measure of the *number of minor children in the household* because this may affect the amount of time spent with and the nature of interactions among adult family members with each child.

Parenting: Shared Meal Time and Emotional Support

A continuous variable, *number of shared dinners in a week,* is constructed using the question "In a typical week last month, how many days did [REFERENCE PARENT] eat dinner with [CHILD]?" I choose to use this variable rather than the number of shared breakfasts because dinners may be less affected by alternating school and work schedules. I construct a measure of the *daily emotional support* the child receives from the reference parent is based on responses to the question "How often does [REFERENCE PARENT] praise or compliment [CHILD] by saying something like, "Good for you!" or "What a nice thing you did!" or "Way to go!"? A dichotomous variable is based on responding "one or two times a day" or "many times each day" from a five-point ordinal scale.

Immigrant Incorporation Variables

I include two additional variables about parents' immigrant incorporation in the analyses of immigrant families. *Average length of time in the United States* is a continuous variable for

the mean number of years the child's parents have been living in the US. It is constructed from a question about the year of arrival to the US. In some cases, a range rather than an exact year was provided. In these instances, I choose the year closest to the midpoint of the interval as the year of arrival. The *average length of time in the United States* is based on using the mother's report first, and if missing, using the father's report. I choose to rely on mothers' reports first because they are less likely to separate from children, and women's reports are more likely to illustrate settlement than men, who may be more likely to exhibit circular migration.

English language proficiency is constructed from the question "How well does [NAME] speak English – would you say very well, well, not well, or not at all?" I use the mother's report first, and if missing, rely on the father's report. The resulting dichotomous variable equals one if the parent speaks English well or very well, else it is set to zero.

METHODS

I begin by conducting a descriptive analysis of the three dependent variables as well as the key independent variables of interest among each of the race/ethnic-generation groups: Hispanic children of immigrants, NBHs, NBWs, and NBBs. These results are weighted using individual cross-sectional weights. I then proceed to the multivariate results. Because children are observed repeatedly over time, I use the *xtlogit* procedure in STATA to estimate the log odds of each of the academic outcomes while accounting for the clustering of observations. The model is expressed as:

$$\log\left(\frac{p_{it}}{1-p_{it}}\right) = \mu_t + \beta x_{it} + \gamma z_i + \alpha_i, \quad t = 1, 2, \ldots, T$$

where for each individual i at time t, p_{it} is the probability the outcome is 1, x_{it} is a vector of time-varying variables, $x_{it,}$ z_i is a vector of time-invariant predictors, and α_i is the vector of unobserved variables constant across time. Because children may be observed over time and multiple

children share mothers, the standard errors are adjusted at the mother-level. For each outcome, the random effects logit models successively add covariates for coresident grandparents; then child, family, and household characteristics; and the full model which also accounts for parenting traits. I subsequently run interactive models to understand whether the associations between coresident grandparents and each of the academic engagement outcomes differ for each race/ethnic-generation group.

Assuming they do, I then run fixed effects logit models for each of the four race/ethnic-generation groups separately. These models focus on change over time within individuals. Thus, only observations associated with children reported to have changed their academic engagement between t_1 and t_2 with outcomes that vary over time are included. The model is expressed as:

$$\log\left(\frac{p_i}{1-p_i}\right) = (\mu_1 - \mu_2) + \beta(x_{i2} - x_{i1})$$

Child fixed effects models account for both observed and unobserved non-time varying sources of endogeneity. Controlling for within-person heterogeneity is important because, for example, there may be shared traits that lead families who form multigenerational households to also produce highly academically engaged children. However, panel data are not a panacea. In particular, individual fixed effects do not correct for reverse causality; I take care to interpret the results as associations rather than causal effects. Because fixed effects regressions model within-person change, the results presented are based on children who appeared at t_1 and t_2 who fall within the six to 14 age bounds, or more explicitly, six to twelve over the course of the two waves.

Finally, I restrict my sample to children from Hispanic immigrant families, and examine whether two measures of parents' immigration incorporation have any statistically significant

associations with academic engagement outcomes among Hispanic youth, net of the aforementioned covariates from prior analyses.

RESULTS

The summary statistics shown in Table 1 are based on t_1 characteristics, with the weighted percent of the sample in each group with unweighted Ns. NBWs are the most likely to be enrolled in gifted classes as well as participate in at least one extracurricular activity, followed by NBHs and NBBs, who exhibit similar levels of engagement on these two measures. In contrast, Hispanic children of immigrants are about half as likely to be enrolled in gifted classes relative to NBWs, and only about 40 percent engage in out-of-school activities. Hispanic children of immigrants do, however, exhibit similarly high levels of often working hard in school as their native-born White and Hispanic counterparts. The average age of these respondents is about 10 years old across all groups.

[Table 1]

The family and household characteristics also vary widely across groups. NBW children are the least likely to have a grandparent in their household. Race/ethnic minorities are twice as likely as NBWs to have a coresiding grandparent, with NBBs being the most likely of all. This is unsurprising given over 63 percent of NBB children live in single parent homes, while more than 71 percent of NHW children live in intact families. Consistent with other studies, multigenerational households are more common among immigrants. Among the 75 percent of Hispanic children of immigrants in intact families, almost seven percent also live with grandparents. Table 1 also shows that families of Hispanic children of immigrants possess the fewest socioeconomic resources compared to their native-born counterparts.

The parenting practices of Hispanic children are also distinct from native-born children. While Hispanic children of immigrants share dinners the most frequently with their mothers, they are the least likely to receive daily emotional support from mothers. In comparison, NBW children receive the most praise from their mothers.

Table 2 summarizes the additional immigrant incorporation variables for the second analytic sample of Hispanic children of immigrants. Most children are in families in which the parents have resided in the United States for over a decade. But, over half have parents who do not speak English at all or do not speak English well.

[Table 2]

The multivariate results from Tables 3 through 5 summarize the main effects models for each of the academic engagement outcomes. As established in the descriptive results and shown in Model 1 of Table 3, Hispanic children of immigrants are the least likely to be enrolled in gifted classes. NBWs are almost three times more likely to be taking advanced classes, while NBHs are over 1.4 times more likely. These differences remain even after accounting for the presence of a coresident grandparent in Model 2. Having a coresident grandparent is negatively associated with being enrolled in gifted classes. The addition of child, family, and household characteristics, however, does explain some of the differences among race/ethnic-generation groups. While all native-born groups are still much more likely than Hispanic children of immigrants to be enrolled in gifted classes, the differences have been dramatically reduced. NBWs and NBHs are now 1.7 times and 1.3 times more likely, respectively.

Model 4 adds the two parenting variables to the regression. The parenting variables further reduce the differences in academic engagement across race/ethnic-generation groups. While still statistically different from Hispanic children of immigrants at the $p<.10$ level, NBH

and NBB children are both about 1.3 times more likely to be enrolled in gifted classes than Hispanic children of immigrants. Emotional support, but not shared dinners, is positively associated with being enrolled in gifted classes. In the final model, grandparent coresidence is no longer associated with being enrolled in gifted classes.

With respect to child-level variables, being male is negatively associated with being enrolled in gifted classes. This is consistent with prior work on the gender gap in academic achievement (Legewie and DiPrete 2012). Family variables such as having any parent not working as well as non-intact family structure are also negatively associated with being enrolled in gifted classes. Covariates reflecting socioeconomic resources, having any college-educated parent and household income, as expected, are positively associated.

[Table 3]

Parallel results for the outcome often working hard in school are presented in Table 4. NBBs are less likely to often work hard in school compared to Hispanic children of immigrants. Considering the presence of a coresident grandparent as well as child, family, and household traits reduces the difference between Hispanic children of immigrants and NBB children from 31 percent less likely to 15 percent less likely to often work hard in school. With the addition of the parenting variables, which are both statistically significant and positively associated with working hard in school, the differences in academic engagement between Hispanic children of immigrants and NBWs are now significant. NBWs are 20 percent less likely to often work hard in school. This change may be the result of the emotional support variable being collinear with reporting a child's efforts in school.

[Table 4]

The regression results in Table 5 of participating in any extracurricular activities indicate the presence of a grandparent is negatively associated with this outcome, and does little to change the differences among race/ethnic-generation groups. While child, family, household, and parenting variables diminish some of the gaps between groups, Hispanic children of immigrants are still less engaged than their native-born counterparts, particularly NBWs. Daily emotional support from mothers is also predictive of participation. Similar to the results from Table 3, children from single-parent families are less likely to participate in extracurricular activities compared to children in two-parent biological families. Single mothers possess limited time and financial resources to help their children engage in these activities.

[Table 5]

While grandparent coresidence was found to be negatively associated with one of the three academic engagement outcomes, prior work has established that this relationship differs by race/ethnicity and immigrant generation. Therefore, Table 6 presents the results from interactive models based on the full models (Model 4) from Tables 3 through 5, but changing the reference group to NHWs. The results here show that the additive models mask an important difference. There are no differences in academic engagement among Hispanic children of immigrants who live with grandparents and their NBW counterparts. Grandparent coresidence has positive associations for different outcomes among NBHs. NBHs who live with a grandparent are 2.3 times more likely to be enrolled in gifted classes, 1.9 times more likely to work hard in school, and 1.6 times more likely to participate in extracurricular activities compared to NBW children who live with a grandparent. In results not shown here, NBHs are also 2.7 times more likely than Hispanic children of immigrants to be enrolled in gifted classes.

[Table 6]

Given there are differences in the direction and magnitude of the associations between coresident grandparents and each of the academic engagement outcomes, I run separate fixed effects models for each race/ethnic-generation group with full controls. Panel A shows that after accounting for time-invariant within-child characteristics, grandparent coresidence is positively associated with being enrolled in a gifted class for NBHs but negatively associated for NBBs. Grandparent coresidence has no statistically significant association with working hard in school or participating in extracurricular activities (Panels B and C). These differing results tell us that having a grandparent move in (out) of the child's home is not explaining greater (less) engagement on these two outcomes; instead, the NBH children who live in multigenerational households tend to be involved in greater activities more generally.

[Table 7]

Finally, Table 8 results are based on the subsample of Hispanic children of immigrants. As expected, having parents with greater English proficiency increases the probability of being enrolled in gifted classes by over 50 percent, while it has no associations with effort in school or participating in activities. After examining different functional forms for year of arrival, I find that the years since arrival has a positive but non-linear association with participating in extracurricular activities.

[Table 8]

Figure 1 shows the predicted probabilities of participating in any gifted classes by parental years since arrival from Table 8, holding other covariates at their means. While the relationship increases more rapidly among children with parents who arrived within the last years, for those whose parents have been residing for over 15 years, there is a smaller incremental rise in the likelihood of participating in extracurricular activities. During the first

few years of residence, greater social integration among immigrant parents through co-ethnic networks will also influence their children's time in these groups. However, over time, this association will wane.

[Figure 1]

DISCUSSION

Hispanic children of immigrants exhibit both strengths and weaknesses in academic engagement relative to other race/ethnic and immigrant generation groups. While they are no different than their native-born Hispanic peers of later generations with respect to often working hard in school, they do work harder relative to NBWs and NBBs. However, they are the least likely to be part of gifted programs and connected to extracurricular activities. Thus, the "immigrant paradox" which has been used to explain Hispanic children of immigrants' higher academic achievement despite fewer socioeconomic resources appears to have limited applicability for academic engagement.

Grandparent coresidence is associated with some measures of academic engagement. Specifically, grandparent coresidence is negatively associated participation in extracurricular activities. Yet there are important qualifications based on race/ethnic and generational differences. While this negative effect is maintained for NBBs as it relates to the likelihood of being enrolled in gifted courses, for NBHs the effect is positive. In contrast, contrary to expectations, there is no relationship among Hispanic children of immigrants. Why might this be the case? Multigenerational household formation among Hispanic children of immigrants is most likely affected by the migration process. While grandparent coresidence is affected by geographic proximity among generations, this is even more challenging for immigrant families. Most of the international migration among older adults such as grandparents is motivated by

family reunification, rather than economic reasons. Thus, grandparents will likely reside in the United States through family sponsorship, a long and arduous administrative process. Among undocumented migrants, unauthorized migration for older adults to reunite with kin is less common given its physical and psychological demands. Consequently, grandparent coresidence among immigrant families may reflect a living arrangement as a result of family reunification, whereby grandparents themselves require acclimation to the host country, or potentially have little connection to their grandchildren given cultural differences between the two generations (Kang and Cohen 2017). In either case, despite a strong, familistic culture, grandparents may not perform the expected direct and indirect roles that would affect their grandchildren's academic engagement.

For higher-order native-born Hispanics, these issues are significantly diminished. In fact, a coresident grandparent has the expected positive effect for all three measures of academic engagement. This is explained in part by the fact that third-generation+ Hispanics are a self-selecting group who exhibit biculturalism – identification with both Americans and Hispanics or Latinos. Greater academic achievement among third-generation+ Hispanics may operate through possessing greater familism, a facet of biculturalism (Rodriguez et al. 2007; Taylor et al. 2012). Children may view commitment to academics as a form of fulfilling family obligations while their parents, who are at least second-generation Hispanics, expect the younger generation to fulfill them (Fuligni 2001). Both children and parents may also view the presence of grandparents in their household as a reminder of these obligations, while the grandparents assume these active roles in supervising and mentoring them, particularly in conjunction with parents. Thus, NBH children are part of families whose members are likely to provide more support to each other that facilitate support for academic engagement.

Parenting practices also remain important in explaining academic engagement. Maternal emotional support is positively associated with increased academic engagement across all three outcomes, while greater shared mealtimes increases the likelihood of self-efficacy, such as persistence in schoolwork. For Hispanic children of immigrants, emotional support is positively associated with the likelihood to be enrolled in gifted classes and to work hard in school. However, there was no association with extracurricular participation, possibly because these activities require greater financial investments or time commitments from parents.

Immigrant incorporation traits of parents explain Hispanic children's academic engagement on select outcomes. As expected, being enrolled in gifted classes is more likely among children whose parents have greater fluency with English. Communication in English will facilitate English comprehension among children, which contributes to qualifying for gifted courses. Additionally, parents who speak English well or fluently are more capable of navigating the school system to help their children meet the requirements to enroll in gifted courses. However, parents' English fluency has no bearing on working hard in school or participating in extracurricular activities. Instead, longer years since parents' arrival in the United States predicts greater participation in activities. Again, children's participation warrants greater parental involvement in their children's education, from obtaining information about such programs to arranging transportation to and from program sites to paying for them. Immigrant parents' availability and ability to do so only increases with greater economic and social incorporation in the host country.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

I review three types of limitations in this study: measurement of variables, omitted variables, and restrictions to the population interest. From a measurement perspective,

grandparent coresidence is treated as a proxy for grandparental influence but this may be a crude substitute for preferred measures, which would ideally include the nature of interactions between grandchild and grandparent, actual time spent together, and relationship quality. Unfortunately, there are no existing longitudinal surveys that capture this information along with grandchildren's academic engagement outcomes.

Secondly, relying on mother's reports of their children, particularly on subjective measures such as how hard the child works in school, may be problematic. Because only the reference parent is asked to provide these assessments, the academic engagement measures involving self-efficacy may be upwardly biased. Relatedly, information about interactions with both coresident and noncoresident fathers is absent from this analysis. Fathers also play an important role in child development and academic outcomes. Thus, the effects of the parenting variables may be understated once we take into account the incremental parenting activities of fathers.

In terms of migration processes, my models use global "parent" variables for years since arrival, taking the mother's report and then if missing, substituting the father's report, if available. Yet, immigration research has shown these this incorporation variable may differ based on the gender of the parent. Migration is a gendered process, with men and women's arrival depending a range of circumstances (Dreby 2010; Parrado and Flippen 2005). Simultaneous migration of family units, rather than individuals, may be infeasible, resulting in transnational families, where minor children and one or more of their parents live in different countries (Park and Waldinger 2017). Consequentially, accounting for only one parent's migration history, and prioritizing mother's migration history first, may underestimate the level of incorporation in the child's family if fathers are the family's "pioneer" migrant. I plan to

conduct additional analyses to understand the extent of this underestimation, and how sensitive my results are to alternative specifications of parental incorporation variables.

There are likely several other factors that may explain children's academic engagement have been omitted from the study, such as school and neighborhood contexts. Hispanic children of immigrants study and live in areas with fewer resources that would facilitate academic engagement (Conchas 2001). Although school information is not available in the SIPP, I plan to extend my study by accounting for the geographic characteristics of where these children live.

Today, more children today are raised by their grandparents than ever before (Scommegna 2012). Future work should consider this type of household, where the grandparent is the primary guardian, in studying academic engagement differences across race/ethnic-generation groups. Secondly, increasing diversity in immigration streams as well as rising rates of intermarriage support including both mixed-race children as well as other race/ethnic and generation groups besides Hispanics. Data from the reengineered SIPP may provide opportunities to conduct such an analysis, as these populations grow.

This study has established how academic engagement differs by race/ethnicity and immigrant generation, and the heterogeneous effects of coresident grandparents on academic engagement. These findings underscore the importance of considering immigrant generation in addition to race/ethnicity when conducting studies of extended kin in the United States. Given that multigenerational coresidence is on the rise in the United States, recommendations include collecting information about child interactions with all household members, not only a reference parent. In addition, more detailed information that interacts this information with more objective reports of academic performance by teachers as well as school and community contexts will

further inform how unequally distributed resources within and outside families affect the educational experiences of a growing Hispanic student population.

TABLES

Table 1.1. Descriptive Statistics of Analytic Sample at Time 1

	Hispanic Children of Immigrants		3G+ Hispanics		3G+ Non-Hispanic Whites		3G+ Non-Hispanic Blacks	
Dependent Variables	Mean or %	Std. Dev.	Mean or %	Std. Dev.	Mean or %	Std. Dev.	Mean or %	Std. Dev.
% Enrolled in Gifted Classes	11.2		14.7		20.4		15.0	
% Working Hard in School-Often True	75.7		76.4		76.1		70.7	
% Participating in Extracurriculars	39.7		48.7		70.6		50.3	
Key Independent Variables								
Any Coresident Grandparent	6.6		8.0		3.6		8.3	
Child Characteristics								
Age	10.0	2.55	9.9	2.57	10.1	2.53	10.1	2.51
Male	49.9		52.8		50.8		50.9	
Family Characteristics								
Family Structure								
Single Mother	18.1		37.7		19.6		63.7	
2 Parent Bio	75.1		53.6		71.8		30.5	
Stepfamily	6.8		8.6		8.6		5.9	
Any Parent Not Working	49.1		34.8		28.6		30.7	
Any College-Educated Parent	23.5		44.6		66.5		46.2	
Total Annual HH Income (2011 $)	45,560.2	40,069.00	60,748.3	63,650.84	92,442.3	86,129.95	46,292.0	49,345.12
Moved Residences During Wave	4.5		7.5		3.9		7.1	
Household Composition								
Number of Children in Household	2.8	1.24	2.7	1.16	2.4	1.13	2.7	1.36
Parenting								
Number of Dinners w Parent/Week	6.4	1.54	6.1	1.71	6.1	1.58	5.9	1.84
Emotional Support - At Least Daily	70.4		77.9		85.2		78.7	
N	1,916		1,642		10,906		2,548	

Notes: Source is SIPP 2004 and 2008 panels. Weighted using cross-sectional person weights. Variables are defined in the text.

Table 1.2. Additional Characteristics of Hispanic Children of Immigrants at Time 1

	Mean or %	Std. Dev.
Additional Independent Variables		
Parental Years Since Arrival	15.0	8.24
Parental English Proficiency: Speaks English: Well or Very Well	48.3	
N	862	

Notes: Source is SIPP 2004 and 2008 panels. Weighted using cross-sectional person weights. Variables are defined in the text.

Table 1.3. Random Effects Logistic Regression Models of Being Enrolled in Gifted Classes

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Race-Ethnic-Nativity Group (ref: Hisp. C. of Imm.)	OR	OR	OR	OR
3G+ Hispanics	1.543**	1.560**	1.341*	1.293+
	(0.213)	(0.215)	(0.183)	(0.176)
3G+ NH Whites	2.850***	2.812***	1.708***	1.598***
	(0.299)	(0.295)	(0.179)	(0.167)
3G+ NH Blacks	1.493**	1.505**	1.311*	1.267+
	(0.187)	(0.188)	(0.166)	(0.161)
Coresident Grandparent		0.636***	0.784+	0.805
		(0.087)	(0.106)	(0.108)
Child Characteristics				
Age			1.239***	1.251***
			(0.014)	(0.015)
Male			0.844***	0.853**
			(0.043)	(0.044)
Family Characteristics				
Family Structure (ref: 2 Parent Bio)				
Single Mother			0.778***	0.771***
			(0.058)	(0.058)
Stepfamily			0.726**	0.724**
			(0.073)	(0.072)
Any Parent Not Working			0.883*	0.880*
			(0.055)	(0.055)
Any College-Educated Parent			2.244***	2.196***
			(0.144)	(0.140)
Logged Annual HH Income			1.052**	1.049**
			(0.019)	(0.019)
Moved Residences During Wave			0.995	0.991
			(0.125)	(0.124)
Household Composition				
Number of Children in the HH			0.893***	0.897***
			(0.024)	(0.024)
Parenting				
# Dinners w. Parent/Week				0.973+
				(0.015)
Emotional Support (Daily Praise)				1.895***
				(0.135)
N	27165	27165	27165	27165

Notes: Source is SIPP 2004 and 2008 panels. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown. All models control for interview year. †<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 1.4. Random Effects Logistic Regression Models of Often Works Hard in School

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Race-Ethnic-Nativity Group (ref: Hisp. C. of Imm.)	OR	OR	OR	OR
3G+ Hispanics	1.026	1.028	1.086	1.040
	(0.107)	(0.107)	(0.113)	(0.108)
3G+ NH Whites	0.990	0.986	0.897	0.821*
	(0.075)	(0.074)	(0.069)	(0.064)
3G+ NH Blacks	0.708***	0.710***	0.846+	0.829*
	(0.064)	(0.065)	(0.079)	(0.078)
Coresident Grandparent		0.879	0.936	0.965
		(0.087)	(0.095)	(0.096)
Child Characteristics				
Age			0.901***	0.920***
			(0.008)	(0.008)
Male			0.439***	0.445***
			(0.018)	(0.018)
Family Characteristics				
Family Structure (ref: 2 Parent Bio)				
Single Mother			0.664***	0.667***
			(0.038)	(0.038)
Stepfamily			0.616***	0.626***
			(0.045)	(0.045)
Any Parent Not Working			1.099+	1.072
			(0.054)	(0.052)
Any College-Educated Parent			1.410***	1.374***
			(0.068)	(0.066)
Logged Annual HH Income			1.031**	1.029*
			(0.012)	(0.012)
Moved Residences During Wave			0.896	0.880
			(0.086)	(0.083)
Household Composition				
Number of Children in the HH			1.000	1.006
			(0.020)	(0.020)
Parenting				
# Dinners w. Parent/Week				1.076***
				(0.013)
Emotional Support (Daily Praise)				2.298***
				(0.118)
N	27165	27165	27165	27165

Notes: Source is SIPP 2004 and 2008 panels. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown. All models control for interview year. †<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 1.5. Random Effects Logistic Regression Models of Participating in Any Extracurriculars

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Race-Ethnic-Nativity Group (ref: Hisp. C. of Imm.)	OR	OR	OR	OR
3G+ Hispanics	1.738***	1.749***	1.438***	1.389***
	(0.181)	(0.183)	(0.144)	(0.138)
3G+ NH Whites	6.150***	6.068***	3.246***	3.023***
	(0.503)	(0.496)	(0.258)	(0.238)
3G+ NH Blacks	1.607***	1.617***	1.468***	1.428***
	(0.152)	(0.153)	(0.141)	(0.136)
Coresident Grandparent		0.693***	0.807*	0.825*
		(0.071)	(0.079)	(0.080)
Child Characteristics				
Age			1.084***	1.098***
			(0.009)	(0.010)
Male			1.109*	1.123**
			(0.045)	(0.045)
Family Characteristics				
Family Structure (ref: 2 Parent Bio)				
Single Mother			0.681***	0.682***
			(0.041)	(0.041)
Stepfamily			0.663***	0.669***
			(0.054)	(0.054)
Any Parent Not Working			0.699***	0.690***
			(0.035)	(0.035)
Any College-Educated Parent			2.526***	2.474***
			(0.134)	(0.130)
Logged Annual HH Income			1.105***	1.104***
			(0.015)	(0.015)
Moved Residences During Wave			0.699***	0.692***
			(0.068)	(0.067)
Household Composition				
Number of Children in the HH			0.891***	0.896***
			(0.021)	(0.021)
Parenting				
# Dinners w. Parent/Week				1.018
				(0.013)
Emotional Support (Daily Praise)				1.916***
				(0.103)
N	27165	27165	27165	27165

Notes: Source is SIPP 2004 and 2008 panels. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown. All models control for interview year. †<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 1.6. Random Effects Logistic Regression Models with Interactions of Race-Ethnic-Nativity Group and Coresident Grandparent

Race-Ethnic-Nativity Group (ref: 3G+ NH Whites)	Gifted Classes OR	Often Works Hard in School OR	Any Extracurriculars OR
Hisp. C. of Imm.	0.633***	1.210*	0.326***
	(0.068)	(0.096)	(0.027)
3G+ Hispanics	0.754**	1.207*	0.444***
	(0.082)	(0.103)	(0.037)
3G+ NH Blacks	0.819*	1.004	0.469***
	(0.076)	(0.070)	(0.035)
Any Grandparent	0.778	0.834	0.709*
	(0.143)	(0.125)	(0.102)
Race-Ethnic-Nativity Group*Any Grandparent			
Hisp. C. of Imm.*Any grandparent	0.849	1.150	1.313
	(0.366)	(0.323)	(0.371)
3G+ Hispanics*Any grandparent	2.265*	1.916*	1.567+
	(0.849)	(0.562)	(0.407)
3G+ NH Blacks*Any grandparent	0.659	1.149	1.168
	(0.224)	(0.270)	(0.282)

Notes: Source is SIPP 2004 and 2008 panels. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown. Models include full controls from Model 4 in Tables 3-5. †<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 1.7. Fixed Effects Logistic Regression Models of Academic Engagement

Panel A. Being Enrolled in Gifted Classes

	Hispanic Children of Immigrants	3G+ Hispanics	3G+ Non-Hispanic Whites	3G+ Non-Hispanic Blacks
Coresident Grandparent	4.997	3.832+	0.634	0.070*
	(6.190)	(2.772)	(0.304)	(0.076)
N	360	378	2656	538

Panel B. Often Working Hard in School

	Hispanic Children of Immigrants	3G+ Hispanics	3G+ Non-Hispanic Whites	3G+ Non-Hispanic Blacks
Coresident Grandparent	0.503	1.191	0.876	0.527
	(0.695)	(0.785)	(0.302)	(0.304)
N	666	502	3610	988

Panel C. Participating in Any Extracurricular Activities

	Hispanic Children of Immigrants	3G+ Hispanics	3G+ Non-Hispanic Whites	3G+ Non-Hispanic Blacks
Coresident Grandparent	2.296	1.075	0.637	2.128
	(1.669)	(0.607)	(0.234)	(1.126)
N	864	724	3508	1020

Note: Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown. Models include full controls from Model 4 in Tables 3-5.
†<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

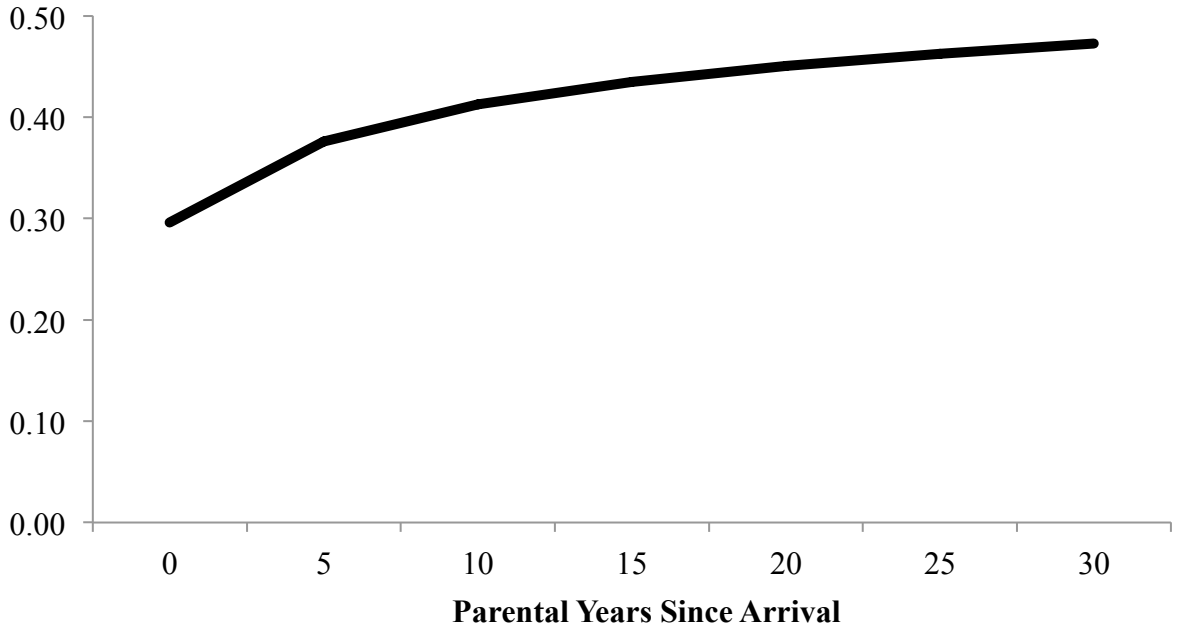
Table 1.8. Random Effects Logistic Regression Models of Academic Engagement Among Hispanic Children of Immigrants

	Gifted Classes OR	Often Works Hard in School OR	Any Extracurriculars OR
Log Parental Years Since Arrival	0.969	1.089	1.249*
	(0.154)	(0.145)	(0.139)
Parent Speaks English Well or V. Well	1.516+	1.139	1.009
	(0.362)	(0.232)	(0.187)
Coresident Grandparent	0.488	0.594	0.635
	(0.257)	(0.199)	(0.218)
Child Characteristics			
Age	1.181**	0.897**	1.109**
	(0.060)	(0.038)	(0.040)
Male	1.186	0.613**	1.746***
	(0.238)	(0.102)	(0.272)
Family Characteristics			
Family Structure (ref: 2 Parent Bio)			
Single Mother	0.462+	0.436**	0.427**
	(0.196)	(0.127)	(0.121)
Stepfamily	0.529	1.162	0.687
	(0.277)	(0.422)	(0.240)
Any Parent Not Working	0.813	1.183	0.543***
	(0.189)	(0.236)	(0.094)
Any College-Educated Parent	2.070**	1.300	1.709*
	(0.550)	(0.322)	(0.384)
Logged Annual HH Income	0.946	1.029	1.013
	(0.038)	(0.044)	(0.040)
Moved Residences During Wave	0.326	2.871*	1.452
	(0.234)	(1.491)	(0.563)
Household Composition			
Number of Children in the HH	0.813+	0.962	0.896
	(0.090)	(0.082)	(0.074)
Parenting			
# Dinners w. Parent/Week	0.928	1.076	1.085
	(0.058)	(0.051)	(0.054)
Emotional Support (Daily Praise)	1.929**	1.927***	1.469*
	(0.482)	(0.357)	(0.252)
N	1721	1721	1721

Notes: Source is SIPP 2004 and 2008 panels. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown. All models control for interview year. †<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Predicted Probabilities of Participating in Any Extracurriculars by Parental Years Since Arrival among Hispanic Children of Immigrants



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CHAPTER 2

Changing Times and Places: First Homeleaving Among Late Baby Boomers and Early Millennials During the Transition to Adulthood

INTRODUCTION

In the last four decades, the proportion of young adults establishing their own households has declined, and instead, many are opting to remain in their parents' homes. Compared to the 1970s, the fraction of 18-24 year olds who were residentially independent in 2012 decreased from 58 percent (Goldscheider 1997) to 44 percent (Frye 2013). This decline in residential autonomy has garnered significant scholarly and popular attention for three reasons. First, living arrangements are considered a barometer of the elongation in the transition to adulthood which in turn has important implications on young adults' well-being across a range of social and economic outcomes such partnership formation, completing education, and employment (Billari and Tabellini 2010; Rosenfeld and Kim 2005; White and Lacy 1997). It also indicates family-level changes with increasing intergenerational pressures facing parents of these young adults as they serve as a safety net for their offspring more frequently than before (Schoeni and Ross 2005). Finally, at a societal level, fewer new households means less housing construction and consumer spending, which result in weaker annual economic growth for the country. These aggregate trends in the decline of residential autonomy have been explained as a result of behavioral changes among young adults' delaying marriage, higher levels of college attendance, and looser participation in the full-time labor market than earlier cohorts (Aquilino 2001; Furstenberg et al. 2004; Rosenfeld and Kim 2005).

Implicit in these explanations is that young adults' behaviors reflect adaptive strategies in response to opportunities and constraints shaped by evolving social and economic circumstances.

Thus, these explanations emphasize the agency of young adults but spend less empirical attention linking their agency to the specific local institutional structures within which they operate. However, sociological inquiry into changing social behaviors has traditionally explicated the interplay between agency and context (Durkheim 1933; Elder et al. 2003). In the case of delayed residential independence among young adults, several broad structural changes since the 1970s have coincided with this trend: significant economic restructuring (Danziger and Gottschalk 1995), rising housing costs (Hughes 2003), and the expansion of the post-secondary educational system (Goldin 1999). One would expect these contextual factors to be incorporated into the calculus of a young adult in deciding whether to live with one's parents or on one's own. Yet the handful of studies that do take into account an individual's location rely on repeated, cross-sectional data (Hughes 2003; Matsuidaira 2015; Mykyta 2012; Yelowitz 2007), which pose a different concern in studying the mechanisms of residential independence. Though there are two distinct *processes* governing residential independence, exits from the parental home and subsequent "boomeranging" back, census data cannot distinguish between them, limiting the ability to study how the timing of (age at which) these moves has changed, and correspondingly, which correlates are associated with each type of movement.

Examining delays in the timing of first residential "launching", or age of moving out of the parental home is important because it is unclear whether the fraction of young adults living with parents is a result of never leaving or having returned home. Greater financial pressures specific to Millennials, such as college debt, as well as shifts in more accommodating parenting approaches, may justify young adults' deferring their initial residential independence. This study focuses on comparing the timing of first homeleaving between two large and highly visible cohorts: Early Millennials (EMs) born between 1980-1984 and late Baby Boomers (LBBs) born from 1961-1964. I examine the probability of first departure at ages 18 to 29 for these two

groups using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79) and the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 (NLSY97). I rely on several external federal data sources to construct multiple measures of annual, county-level labor market (unemployment and wages), housing (rent), and educational (number of postsecondary institutions) structures facing young adults in both cohorts. This paper is the first to include granular county-level measures of multiple types of local institutional structures (labor market, housing, education) in studying the timing of first homeleaving. I examine these geographic variables' relationships to the outcome, net of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, and test if the effects for each covariate differ by cohort. Furthermore, because the residential detachment of young adults from their parents often coincides with changing attachments to other social institutions such as the ceasing of full-time education, joining the full-time labor market, or being involved in a coresidential romantic union, I fill a gap in existing research by investigating whether local structural characteristics can explain the adoption of different social roles that are also commonly accepted as markers of adulthood at the time of first departure. First-time leavers are classified into mutually exclusive categories of whether they are employed full-time, in a union through either marriage or cohabitation, and/or no longer enrolled in school as a full-time student. I examine whether local geographic covariates predict membership in each category, net of controls, by cohort, as well as whether these associations have changed between cohorts.

Given the growing importance of college in the development of young adults, this paper pays close attention to how college residence is treated. Full-time college students are often considered "semi-autonomous" (Goldscheider and DaVanzo 1986), and there is no clear consensus on their classification when measuring residential autonomy. I treat full-time college students living away from home as *residentially dependent* since college is not traditionally accepted as a final destination or a permanent living arrangement (Goldscheider and DaVanzo

1986; Katz and Davey 1978). However, I show select results from supplementary analyses where these college students physically living apart from their parents are defined as *residentially independent* in order to assess how the residential ambiguity of college students changes the findings (see Appendix).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND PRIOR RESEARCH

Cohort Analysis to Understand Social Change

Birth cohorts are comprised of persons who are born during the same period and "move through life together… encounter[ing] the same… events at the same ages" (Yang 2007:20) and "are presumed to have similarities due to shared experiences that differentiate them from other cohorts" (Mason and Wolfinger 2001). More specifically, these "shared experiences" can encompass the degree to which individuals interact with existing institutional structures. Since modern societies are typically organized on institutional structures that have "age-specific character" (Hogan and Astone 1986), cohort analysis enables the study of how transformations in "age-graded" institutional structures over time affect age-related social development such as the transition to adulthood (Elder 1992; Ryder 1965).

What shared exogenous institutional changes have occurred around the time LBBs and EMs came of age that might affect their timing residential independence, albeit to varying degrees? Compared to the post-World War II era, low-skilled young adults growing up in the 1970s and later have experienced a less favorable labor market in terms of employment and earnings. This can be attributed to the acceleration of opportunities shifting from goods-producing to service-oriented industries brought on by the early 1980s recessions, as well as technological change which diminished the availability of jobs not requiring a college degree (Danziger and Ratner 2010; Schrammel 1998). Meanwhile, with the expansion of high-skilled jobs, the gap in education-adjusted earnings steadily rose (Danziger and Gottschalk 1995),

contributing to the rise in income inequality (Piketty 2014). These two cohorts also experienced the two largest economic downturns since the Great Depression: the 1981-1982 recession and the 2007-09 "Great Recession", with unemployment peaks of 10.8 percent and 9.5 percent, respectively[6] (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). These challenging economic conditions have made independent living more difficult for young adults because of the direct financial costs required to maintain a household of one's own, and indirectly, because poor economic prospects can negatively influence other avenues by which young adults leave home, such as marriage and childbearing (Cherlin et al. 2016), and prolong attachments to other institutions that are proximate to the parental home, such as a local college.

The rental housing market is also considered an institution that most individuals must navigate at some point in their lives, with a housing structure in any particular location consisting of the actual stock of housing units (production), the potential dwellers who may rent (consumption), and the interaction between renters and those who manage the housing units (Burke and Hulse 2010). In general, entry into the rental housing market has become more challenging for resource-strained Americans. Renters' cost burdens have increased over time. Nationally, median rents have increased by anywhere from 35 to over 50 percent between 1980 and 2012 (Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University 2013). In the midst of these rising housing costs, the stock of affordable housing for individuals at the lower end of the income distribution like young adults has tightened (Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University 2006). Thus, high local rents can constrain young adults financially and deter independent living, and/or encourage them to devise other independent living arrangements such as living with roommates or other nonfamily members (Goldscheider and DaVanzo 1989; Waite et al. 1986).

[6] In the few months following the official "end" of the Great Recession, the unemployment rate was as high at 10 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012).

Third, in the 1970s, the influx of two-year or "community colleges" increased access to post-secondary education for even more young adults, building on several early to mid 20th century advances, such as the increase in high school completion, the passage of the G.I. Bill, and the democratization of college admissions through standardized exams such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (Goldin 1999). These compounded changes increased the fraction of 18-24 year olds enrolled in postsecondary education, from about 26 percent in 1980 to 36 percent in 2000 and 41 percent in 2012 (Aud et al. 2012). To date, there has been more than a four-fold increase in college completion by age 25 among Americans (Bailey and Dynarksi 2011). Thus, both (LBBs) and (EMs) have benefitted from the expansion of post-secondary education, allowing more young adults, particularly women, to postpone other milestones such as living independently, marriage, and full-time employment (Corcoran and Matsudaira 2005; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999).

Intercohort Differences in First Homeleaving: Institutional Explanations

In the previous section, I reviewed how EMs and LBBs have grown up amidst significant economic, housing, and educational developments. In this section, I discuss the possible institutional reasons for differences in first homeleaving between these two groups, discriminating between expected changes due to compositional differences or behavioral differences where applicable.

TIGHTER LABOR MARKET Labor market opportunities, as measured by low local unemployment rates and higher real wages, increases in the probability of homeleaving (Aassve et al 2002; Buck and Scott 1993; Garasky 2002; Garasky et al. 2001; Hughes 2003; Matsudaira 2016; Mykyta 2012; Whittington and Peters 1996). Thus, fewer jobs and lower wages during severe economic contractions such as the Great Recession may contribute to the delays in first homeleaving for EMs more so than LBBs. Another explanation for EMs delays in homeleaving

is that compared to the previous cohort, they are relatively more sensitive about changing their living arrangements based on local labor market opportunities, being more (less) likely to move out with lower (higher) unemployment and higher (lower) wages.

HIGHER RENTAL HOUSING COSTS The cost of housing is an important consideration in predicting coresidence with parents (Hughes 2003; Mykyta 2012; Yelowitz 2007). Young adults in high-cost metropolitan areas such as New York are more likely to live with parents (Qian 2012), and those in the Northeast leave home later than residents of the South, Midwest, or West (Card and Lemieux 2000; Gutmann et al. 2002). While both cohorts have seen rises in housing costs, the pace of this increase has accelerated in the 1990s and 2000s compared to the 1980s. Given this surge, EMs may be priced out finding affordable housing compared to their LBB counterparts (Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University 2013). Behaviorally, EMs facing the same real rent prices as LBBs may be more responsive to each dollar increase in rent, reducing their propensity to move out by more than a LBB would. This might be explained by higher financial pressures experienced by the newer cohort with higher loads of college debt (Dettling and Hsu 2014) or stagnant or lower real wages (Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University 2006).

EXPANDING HIGHER EDUCATION The proliferation of local community colleges since the 1970s expanded the opportunities for young adults to continue their education after high school (Settersten Jr. and Ray 2010), particularly for more recent cohorts, with only 6.9 percent of 18-24 year olds enrolled in two-year colleges in 1973, but doubling by 2008 (Fry 2009). While attending college is often understood as a chance to be residentially "semi-autonomous" by moving into dormitories or other group quarters, in fact, only 25 percent of community colleges have on-campus housing (American Association of Community Colleges 2015). Thus, EMs' delay in first homeleaving may be partially accounted for by increasing local

opportunities to remain home and continue their education. On the other hand, living near areas with higher concentrations of local community colleges may not influence EMs' behaviors as much as would be expected by LBBs. For example, the rising costs of community college in recent years (Rouse 1994) may make community colleges less attractive or viable for EMs who would have otherwise enrolled.

Intercohort Differences in the Social Roles Observed at First Homeleaving

Youths' residential independence is often motivated by one or more other life events that are also commonly cited benchmarks for adulthood, such as entering the full-time workforce, finishing education, or joining a coresidential romantic union such as marriage or cohabitation (Avery et al. 1992; Buck and Scott 1993; Furstenberg et al. 2004; Hughes 2003; Zorlu and Mulder 2014). Differentiating first homeleavers by their varying social attachments to work, school, and romantic partnerships at the time of first departure can provide further insights into the heterogeneity of "adult" roles adopted among the residentially independent, connecting different types of young adult transitions. Moreover, depending on the extent to which local institution(s) affect the adoption of these social roles, selected structures may bear varying relationships to the probability of departure among different subsets of first-time homeleavers. I elaborate on these relationships and potential cohort differences in more detail below.

TIGHTER LABOR MARKET AND SOCIAL ROLES There are substantial costs required for maintaining a residence, so when individuals leave the parental home, they are observed as having strong attachments to the labor market characterized by their role as full-time workers (Haurin et al. 1997; Kaplan 2012). Likewise, there is evidence that local economic conditions have consequences for attachments to other institutions besides the labor market, such as romantic partnerships, and more specifically marriage. In general, marriage rates are lower during economic downturns (Cherlin 1992), but beyond this association, recent studies using

longitudinal data support the theory that there is an "affordability" dimension to marrying (Oppenheimer 1994). Supporting evidence includes men's potential economic earnings being an important factor predicting first marriage for men (Mare and Winship 1991; Oppenheimer 1988; Xie et al. 2003), while living in areas with higher proportions of full-time employed men and men with adequate earnings increases the likelihood of first marriage among females (Lichter et al. 1992). Since both cohorts have lived through periods of severe economic downturns, it is unknown whether the relationship between limited labor market opportunities and adopting different social roles at first departure have changed between cohorts.

HIGHER RENTAL HOUSING COSTS AND SOCIAL ROLES The lack of affordable housing will stymie leaving home and assuming additional social roles related to employment, education, and partnership by virtue of rent being the main contributor to the costs of independent living. However, the effect of rent may differ across cohorts, with a more pronounced negative relationship among EMs than LBBs. The distribution of average rents have been so high in recent years that even small increases in housing prices may deter EMs from leaving home and working full-time more so than among LBBs, particularly because this group includes individuals who are truly living alone (without a supporting spouse/partner).

EXPANDING HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ROLES Proximity to a higher number of postsecondary institutions may present different choices to young adults who are deciding whether to continue their education as full-time students or pursue full-time employment, as a small fraction do both simultaneously (six to seven percent in 2012) (Aud et al. 2012). The availability of colleges nearby has been shown to increase the odds of applying to college (Turley 2009), which would have an expected negative effect on leaving home and working full-time, and a positive effect on leaving home and being enrolled full-time. As it relates to partnership, it can be argued the marriage in particular is negatively related to college

enrollment, especially at younger ages (Teachman and Polonko 1988). Moreover, among more recent cohorts, higher educational attainment increases the prospects of getting married for both men and women (Musick et al. 2012; Oppenheimer 1994). Thus, young adults living in areas with higher concentrations of educational institutions would be less likely to leave home and be in a marital union. It is unclear whether this same argument applies to cohabitation, but we know that these romantic unions are considered a prelude to marriage, and in some cases, supplant it altogether (Seltzer 2000). There is limited evidence to hypothesize whether the relationship between the expansion of higher education has had a different effect among homeleavers' social roles in the Millennial generation compared to LBBs.

Prior Research About the Timing of First Departures and the Distribution of Social Roles

While there is limited information about Millennials' first departures, there is some prior research on LBBs. Using multiple waves of the National Survey of Family and Households, Demarco and Berzin (2008) and Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1994) both estimate the median age of LBBs' first homeleaving to be approximately 19.6. The expectation is that EMs' median age at first departure would be slightly higher.

When examining the social roles adopted among LBB homeleavers, about 10 (men) to 33 (women) percent left and married, 28 to 36 percent left for school, while only about seven to eight percent left for a job, and the remaining left for other reasons (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1994). Contrasting these figures to those of the immediately preceding "War Babies" birth cohort born between 1941 to 1947, who experienced the Great Depression as young adults, the proportion leaving for marriage was much higher at 25 to 66 percent, 23 to 27 percent left for school, while only about 39 percent left for a job. While the magnitude of these percentages are likely biased as the design of the survey permitted only one reason for explaining a respondent's departure, the direction of changes in terms of the relative distribution of social

roles among homeleavers between War Babies and LBBs reaffirm that young adults' social roles have indeed changed between birth cohorts who differ by only one to two decades. In this case, these differences support established demographic facts of young adults' lower rates of marriage, extended time in school, and loosening attachments to the labor force beginning in the 1970s. The expectation is the continuity of these trends in the comparison of EMs and LBBs.

DATA AND METHODS

This analysis uses data from the NLSY79 and NLSY97. The NLSY79 is a nationally representative sample of individuals who were born in the years 1957 to 1964. This survey was first conducted in 1979, when 12,686 young men and women were aged 14 to 22. These original respondents were followed annually from 1979 to 1994. Similarly, the NLSY97 is a nationally representative sample of individuals who were born in the years 1980 to 1984 and interviewed every year[7]. 8,984 young men and women were first surveyed in 1997 and recontacted each year.

To examine young adults' timing of first homeleaving and the associated social roles they adopt at first departure, I construct an analytic sample for each birth cohort. For each analytic sample, I restrict my sample to respondents who were living with at least one biological or adoptive parent at age 17. The samples consist of person-year observations, with age as the clock. Because adolescents are at risk beginning at age 17, I restrict the NLSY79 sample to individuals whom are not left- censored; that is, I include respondents born in the 1961-1964 period, who I define as LBBs. The analytic sample using NLSY97 includes all respondents who were born between 1980 and 1984, or EMs. The end of the observation period is at age 29, which is the oldest age at which data are available from both surveys as of May 2019. I censor observations when the individual first leaves the parental home, is lost to follow-up, or at the end

[7] After 1994, the survey became biennial, but this has no bearing on this cohort because the latest interview year for respondents from the NLSY during the observation period for this study is 1994 (when the oldest LBB was 29). However, the NLSY97 became biennial after 2011, which may affect the last two years of data in the EM cohort. I plan to conduct a sensitivity analysis of this change by comparing results where I restrict the EM cohort to the earliest birth years where the complete age interval at risk (17 to 29) is observed.

of the observation period. I exclude all respondents who have any missing residential information during the observation period, as well as those who were ever enlisted in the military, in an orphanage, jail, or a religious institute such as convents or monasteries. I replace missing values for household income with the global means of the cohort, but otherwise drop person-year records where individuals are missing information on the remaining covariates (about five and four percent of LBB and EM observations, respectively). My final analytic samples consist of 16,573 person-year observations associated with 3,070 LBBs and 31,526 person-year observations associated with 6,075 EMs. A comparison of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the cohorts in the analytic samples with those reported in U.S. population-level sources provides further evidence of the national representativeness of my samples across demographic traits although they are slightly more advantaged in terms of socioeconomic characteristics (Appendix Table C).

Dependent Variables

There are two dependent variables of interest in this study: *the timing of first departure* and the associated *social roles associated with first departure*.

TIMING OF FIRST DEPARTURE I operationalize residential independence as a binary variable equal to one if at the time of interview, a young adult is living with at least one biological or adoptive parent, and otherwise equal to zero. Young adults who are enrolled as full-time college students are considered *residentially dependent*. Because of the ambiguity surrounding college students' residential autonomy, I conduct parallel analyses where college students who live away at college are treated as residentially independent. These results are selectively presented, with the full set of results in the Appendix.

I rely on several key pieces of information available in the NLSY79 and NLSY97 to determine residential independence because the household roster does not consistently reflect the

respondent's actual living arrangement across all interview years. For the NLSY79, from 1979 to 1986, the respondent's living arrangement is determined based on a combination of the version of the household interview form and the current residence of the respondent.[8] From 1987 onward, I use the household roster and the "Type of Residence R is Living In" question to code living arrangements. In the NLSY97, to ascertain residential independence from 1997 to 2002, I use a set of questions about whether the respondent is currently living with any resident or nonresident biological or adoptive parent full-time. From 2003 onward, I use the household roster to determine if there is any biological or adoptive parent in living with the respondent.

SOCIAL ROLES ASSOCIATED FIRST DEPARTURE I create a polytomous measure of the social roles observed (regardless of whether it was the first time) when first leaving the parental home by jointly considering three common markers of adulthood: full-time employment, being involved in a coresidential union (either marriage or cohabitation), and ceasing full-time education. Figure 1 summarizes these mutually exclusive categories of social roles at the time of departure for each sample. I focus on the most prevalent combinations of social roles adopted among over 95% of the homeleavers in both my LBB and EM samples, which result in the following distinct categories:

- Independent Living, FT Work: R is residentially independent, works full-time, not in a coresidential marriage or cohabiting union
- Independent Living, Union: R is residentially independent, in a coresidential married or cohabiting union and does not work full-time

[8] Three different forms were used prior to 1987: Version A was completed by a parent of those respondents living in a parental household, Version B was administered to youth not living at a permanent address, and Version C was answered by those respondents living in their own dwelling or independent living quarters. Beginning in 1987, the several versions of the Household Interview Forms were combined and all types of residences were coded in one question. The 'Type of Residence R is Living In' variables include categories such as dorm, fraternity or sorority, hospital, jail or juvenile detention center, orphanage, religious institution, own dwelling unit, parents' household, and specific types of military quarters.

- Independent Living, Union, and FT Work: R is residentially independent, in a coresidential union and works full-time
- Independent Living, No FT Work, No Union: R is residentially independent, does not work full-time and not in a coresidential union.

The fifth category of the polytomous dependent variable is the reference category:

- Living with Parents:. These individuals may also have adopted one or more social roles related to work, romantic unions, and education while still living in the parental home, but I do not differentiate among these subcategories of stayers.

[Figure 1]

Ascertaining Social Roles at the Time of Interview

Full-time employment status in the NLSY79 sample is based on an annual CPS question about the specific employment status in the week before the survey week for the respondent. For the NLSY97 sample, full-time employment is determined by identifying the survey week of the interview, and then finding the total number of hours worked for the prior week. If the respondent worked at least 35 hours that week, they were coded as full-time workers. To determine union status for both cohorts, I use a combination of the marital status variable, the household roster, the beginning and end dates of marital histories and cohabitation spells. Finally, full-time college enrollment in the NLSY79 sample is based on questions about whether the respondent is currently enrolled in college full-time. For the NLSY97 sample, full-time student status is based on questions about whether the respondent is currently enrolled in college and if the respondent reported attending school for greater than six months of the past year.

Independent Variables

Several individual, family-level, and contextual characteristics are included in the multivariate analyses.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS *Age* is included as a time-varying categorical variable in this analysis in order to identify non-linear, single-year differences in the timing of first homeleaving within the young adult age range from 18 to 29 years old. *Race/ethnicity* is a time-invariant, categorical variable operationalized as Non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and Non-Hispanic Non-Black. This last category consists mainly of Whites.

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS *Immigrant family* is a time-invariant dichotomous variable for whether the respondent is foreign-born or has at least one immigrant parent. *Parent's education* is a time-invariant, three-category variable of the highest level of education across both parents: less than 12 years, 12 years, or greater than 12 years. *Annual household income* is the parental household income in 1979 or 1997, operationalized as four categories and adjusted to 2019 dollars: $25K or less, greater than $25K and less than or equal to $50K, greater than $50K and less than or equal to $75K, and greater than $75K. *Family structure* is a time-invariant, three-category variable that reflects the respondent's family type at age 17: two biological/adoptive parents, a step-parent family, or a single-parent family.

LOCAL INSITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS The NLSY79 and NLSY97 geocoded data provides the counties where respondents lived at each interview. Using these county codes, I match individuals to their local geographic housing, labor market, and educational conditions for each year (spanning 1979 through 2019) from multiple data sources. I describe four of the main county-level variables used in the multivariate analyses below, with additional details on the construction of each of these variables in Table B of the Appendix.

As a measure of local housing costs, I use the natural log of *average rent*. Obtained from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, it is a time-varying, continuous variable of fair market rents at the 40^{th} percentile for two-bedroom apartments in the respondent's county c in year y, in 2019 dollars. Local economic opportunity structures are represented by two time-

varying, continuous variables: the natural log of *average weekly wage* and the *unemployment rate*. The *average weekly wage* also serves as a control to adjust for the wide disparities in the cost of living across the country. The *average weekly wage* is the mean wage for individuals in county *c* in year *y,* in 2019 dollars, obtained from the Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW) program of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The *unemployment rate* is the percent of the civilian labor force that is unemployed in the respondent's county *c* in year *y* obtained from the restricted geocoded data for the NLSY79 and NLSY97 data, originally from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. A time-varying dummy variable *number of postsecondary institutions* indicates the number of educational opportunities in the respondent's county *c* in year *y*. This measure is obtained from the National Center for Education Statistics Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System's (IPEDS) Data Center. *Region* is included as a four-category time-varying variable to control for regional variation across a wide range of economic characteristics across the nation.

Analytic Strategy

I describe my analytic samples of LBBs and EMs in terms of demographic, socioeconomic, and geographic traits. I also summarize the overall, gross rates of first homeleaving and the distribution of the different social roles adopted by each cohort at first departure. These descriptive analyses are weighted using individual weights. Discrete time population average logistic models are estimated separately for each cohort to examine the association between different demographic, socioeconomic, family-background, and contextual covariates and the timing of first homeleaving.

Population average models, also referred to as marginal models, are appropriate when the focus of the analysis is on population-level inference, explaining the effects of covariates on changes in the "average" response while accounting for within-individual dependence of

observations. For example, while regression coefficients in subject-specific logistic models describe the log odds of an individual *i* first leaving the parental home if he or she is from an immigrant family compared to the log odds of the *same* person first leaving the parental home if from a non-immigrant family, in population average models, the regression coefficients describe the log odds of an average person from an immigrant family living independently compared to the log odds of an average person from a nonimmigrant family living independently. I assume an exchangeable correlation for the within-subject association, which assumes that the correlation between observations within the same person is the same no matter when in time the observation occurs.

To understand whether the effects for each covariate predicting first exits differ by cohort, data from both cohorts are pooled, and a dummy variable representing the *Early Millennial cohort* (0=LBBs, 1=EMs) is interacted with each one of the predictors in the model. Examination of whether the timing of the different social roles associated with first homeleaving differs by cohort is based on discrete-time multinomial logistic regression, with standard errors clustered at the individual level. I focus the discussion on the relative risk ratios of the contextual variables for each outcome based on the full models with controls.

RESULTS

Homeleaving Trends

Compared to the 1980s, the proportion of young adults living in the parental home today has increased dramatically. Using repeated cross-sectional household data from the decennial Censuses and American Community Surveys, Figure 1 illustrates the time trends from 1980 to 2017 of individuals who are living with their parents, at different ages during the transition to adulthood. While there is a small decrease from 1990 to 2000, more generally there are clearly growing trends of parental coresidence observed from 1980 to 1990 and from 2000 onward.

The age at which one observes living arrangements is important for understanding changes in residential independence among young adults. While at age 18, there are negligible differences in the fraction of men and women who coreside with parents, these disparities grow as we examine young adults' residencies at older ages, with higher coresidence occurring in more recent years. In 1980, at age 26, about 13 percent of young adults lived with their parents, but by 2014, this proportion more than doubled, to 28 percent. Admittedly, the largest gaps in coresidence across the five time periods occur at these mid-20s ages, but these disparities and the relative ranking by time period persist even at age 30. Among persons aged 30 in 1980, about seven percent remained in the parental home, but more than doubled to approximately 17 percent in 2017.

[Figure 1]

Table 2 summarizes first homeleaving and the social roles among leavers by cohort. EMs have clearly delayed leaving their parents' homes relative to LBBs. When treating college students as residentially dependent, approximately 86 percent of EMs first left home by age 29 compared to 96 percent of LBBs. However, when focusing on young adults who did leave, EMs' mean age of first homeleaving is slightly younger than the mean age of nest-leaving LBBs (22 versus 22.4). In contrast, when living away at college is treated as being residentially independent, the mean age of leaving home is slightly younger, between 20 and 21 years old for both LBBs and EMs.

[Table 2]

The distribution of the social roles adopted by each cohort at the time of first homeleaving has also significantly changed. Lower fractions of EMs are leaving and working full-time, or leaving and working full-time while in a romantic union. Disaggregation of union status for this descriptive analysis shows the significant change in the type of union associated

with leaving between the two cohorts. EMs are much more likely to leave for cohabitation than marriage. When treating college students as residentially independent, because college is treated as a route out of the parental home, a smaller proportion are working full-time or in a romantic union.

It is also notable that compared to LBBs, a significantly higher fraction of EMs who leave the parental home for the first time are not working full-time, attending college full-time, or in a romantic coresidential union. Yet a closer inspection of the young adults in this residual category in Table 3 show that only about 5.9 percent (21.7 percent of the 27.1 percent in Table 2) of EM youth are in fact "disconnected." This falls within the four to eight percent range from federal estimates (Congressional Research Service 2015). Rather, over 70 percent of EMs in this residual category are actually loosely connected to the labor market through working on a part-time basis, in contrast to only approximately 36 percent of their LBB counterparts. Unsurprisingly, given the economic downturn during the early 1980s, a higher fraction of these LBBs (58.3 percent of 18.5 percent) do seem to be "disconnected."

[Table 3]

Characteristics of LBBs and EMs

Table 4 presents the weighted descriptive statistics of the individuals in the samples by cohort. EMs are more racially diverse, with over a quarter of EMs identifying as non-White compared to less than 20 percent of LBBs, and higher proportions of EMs coming from immigrant families. The increasing complexities of American family structure is reflected in the composition of these two cohorts, as more than 40 percent of EMs are raised in non-intact families, compared to about a quarter of LBBs. Socioeconomically, a higher proportion of EMs originate from families where at least one parent has greater than 12 years of education and parental income is greater than $50K per year (in 2019 $). On the other hand, almost 20 percent

of EMs' families make $25K or less, while among LBBs, this group comprised about 11 percent of the birth cohort.

[Table 4]

The local economic and educational landscapes have also changed for young adults. In Table 4, I show the descriptive statistics of the county-level contextual variables at the person-year level for each cohort (with almost identical results regardless of how college students are classified). EMs experienced better economic conditions than LBBs with lower unemployment rates and higher weekly wages, but simultaneously face higher housing costs compared to LBBs. EMs are also more likely to live in places with higher concentrations of two- and four-year postsecondary institutions.

The Timing of First Homeleaving

Figure 2 plots the hazard estimates of first departure from the parental home by cohort for the two samples that treat college stays differently. The hazard is the conditional probability that an individual will leave home for the first time during the age interval. Note, while the phenomena are represented in discrete time, the exact time of homeleaving during a given age is unknown. Since time is interval censored, the estimated hazards shown are produced from the actuarial method that assumes the hazard of removal from the risk set is uniform over the full age interval.

The hazard rate function is non-monotonic. When treating away at college as residentially dependent at age 18, the cohorts resemble each other in terms of the hazard increasing slowly until about age 23, presumably after college is completed. At 23, LBBs have a greater hazard than EMs, with this gap growing through age 26. While this gap shrinks in the late 20s for both cohorts as the hazard increasing rapidly for both cohorts, the gains made by LBBs remain. When college residence is treated as independent, the lower panel shows that the hazard

increases at age 18 when individuals begin postsecondary education. Then the cohorts begin to diverge again at age 21, and follow a similar pattern in hazard rate plots throughout their 20s as in the top panel.

[Figure 2]

The results of the discrete time logistic models of first homeleaving are presented in Table 5. The first two columns show the results based on separate cohort samples, while the "Pooled" column shows the tests of differences in the coefficients from the full interactive model using the pooled sample. Several consistent relationships hold across both cohorts when examining the association between several traits and the timing of first homeleaving. As expected, men are less likely to depart, as are non-Hispanic Blacks and young adults from immigrant families. Compared to the reference age of 22 years old, younger ages 18, 19, and 20 are negatively associated with departures, while ages older than 22 are positively associated with leaving. Socioeconomically, young adults from families who have higher levels of education and income are less likely to become residentially independent. When examining differences by region, those living in other areas besides the Northeast have a higher likelihood of leaving the parental home for both cohorts.

[Table 5]

However, there are some notable differences in the statistical significance of select covariates across cohorts. The pooled model results in Table 5 indicate that even among covariates that are significant in both cohorts, the average effect of the covariates on the odds of living independently differ across cohorts.

To facilitate comparisons, I plot the population-average predicted probabilities of first homeleaving for each of the categorical covariates that differ in their associations across cohorts in Figure 3, holding the other covariates at their mean values. The figure shows that change

across the two cohorts is significant, and there is convergence in the probability of first homeleaving across sex, race/ethnicity, and regional dimensions. The difference in the probability of homeleaving by sex has decreased, with EM women being less likely to depart compared to their LBB counterparts. Delays in marriage, which contribute to women leaving home faster than men, have shrunk the gender gap in homeleaving for EMs. In terms of race, non-Whites show the largest differences between cohorts. EM Blacks are more likely to depart while Hispanics' propensity to depart has declined to the extent that their probability of departure is statistically different from Whites. Finally, the lowest probabilities of departing remain among Northeasterners, but there has been a slight increase among those from the EM generation, but declines in leaving in the South and West.

[Figure 3]

For both cohorts, local labor market conditions such as unemployment depresses the likelihood of leaving home. However, there are several changes in associations between contextual variables and first homeleaving across cohorts. In Table 5, it appears that EMs are more sensitive to housing costs than the earlier cohort: rent becomes negatively associated with first homeleaving for EMs, but LBBs are insensitive to changes in housing costs. Although higher unemployment depresses leaving the parental home, EMs are more responsive to economic downturns. The concentration of postsecondary institutions nearby bears no statistically significant relationship to first homeleaving for EMs, but has a small negative effect on homeleaving among LBBs.

Stratifying First Homeleaving By Age

Expectations to live independently will vary by developmental age. Younger adults, particularly those who are in the process of and just completing school may behave differently than young adults in their mid-to late 20s possessing more education and/or work experience. I

look at whether locational traits affect first homeleaving differently by age in Table 6. The models presented here are the same as those from Table 5, only stratified by two age groups: 18 through 23 and 24 through 29. For LBBs and EMs in the younger age group, the results are quite similar to the prior results. Additionally, for LBBs only, local wages are statistically significant and increases the probability of first departures. Because working rather than attending college was more common during the 1980s relative to more recent periods, it is not surprising this would influence younger LBBs to move out. However, for ages 24 to 29, none of the local contextual variables explain homeleaving for LBBs at all. For EMs, only the unemployment rate appears to impact the timing of first departures. For LBBs in this older age group, other personal circumstances related to job, health, or family relationships may be more consequential in leaving home. For EMs in their mid-to-late 20s, housing costs do not matter as much in this decision as for their younger EM counterparts. Young adults at this age may already be well-informed about housing costs and the price of living independently. Thus, only less predictable conditions, such as those measured by the unemployment rate, may affect older EMs' decisions to move out.

[Table 6]

The Social Roles Associated with First Homeleaving

Table 7 shows the relative risk ratios for contextual variables from the full discrete-time multinomial logit models predicting the type of social role adopted when leaving home, compared to the base category of residing with the respondent's parent(s). Among LBBs, consistent with the logistic regression results, housing costs are not statistically significant predictors of leaving home and adoption of any social role. While we know local labor market factors, wages and the unemployment rate, were significant predictors of first homeleaving from the logistic regression models, these local economic traits in fact are significantly associated with

two specific social roles involving full-time employment, *FT Work* and *Union and FT Work*. Weekly wages are positively associated with *FT Work* for LBBs. The county-level unemployment rate is negatively associated with two specific social roles involving full-time employment but not other non-employment categories, compared to living with one's parents. In terms of educational opportunities, when there is a higher concentration of colleges in the same county, the probabilities of living independently for the first time for any of the social roles except *Union* are lower. Clearly, living near colleges depresses the likelihood of leaving and assuming full-time employment, but it also decreases the likelihood that a LBB would leave home with no strong institutional attachments to a union or full-time work.

[Table 7]

For EMs, average weekly wages were positively correlated with leaving and *FT Work*, while other forms of social roles at the time of homeleaving have no statistically significant association with this economic characteristic. A higher unemployment rate is negatively associated with all social roles. Rent is negatively associated with three outcomes*, FT Work, Union,* and *Union and FT Work*. If the average log rent were to increase, the probability that an individual would leave home and also adopt *FT Work* would decrease by a factor of 0.533 relative to staying at home with one's parents, while the probability of leaving and being in *Union and FT Work* is even lower with a relative risk ratio of 0.539. Leaving and being in a *Union* is also less likely when rents are higher, at the $p<.10$ level. While the logistic regression results showed no association between the concentration of postsecondary institutions and first homeleaving, the multinomial results here show at the $p<.10$ level, it is negatively associated with the probability of leaving home and *FT Work* and *Union* compared to living with one's parents.

The grey-shaded cells shows the results of joint tests of significance of the coefficients for each respective outcome from the two cohort equations. The effects of most of the geographic covariates do not differ across cohorts except as they relate to housing costs and the concentration of postsecondary institutions. There is a negative relationship between rent and leaving home and *FT Work*, as well as leaving home and *Union and FT Work* among EMs compared to the null effect found among LBBs. Secondly, EMs' probability of being in the *No FT Work or Union* category is unaffected by the concentration of postsecondary institutions in their counties, while there is a small, but statistically significant effect among their LBB counterparts.

DISCUSSION

To what extent are EMs "delayed" in the timing of first homeleaving compared to LBBs? The answer hinges on two factors: the age(s) at which one studies these young adults, and how residential independence is defined. Overall, EMs are less likely to ever leave home for the first time during the ages of 18 to 29. Looking across single-year ages, the probability of first departure is similar until the early 20s. After age 22, the two cohorts' probabilities of first departure diverge, and by the mid-20s, the differences between the cohorts are much starker, prominently underscoring EMs' delays in residential autonomy. The hazard of leaving for the first time increases the most rapidly at age 28 for both cohorts.

How can these differences be explained? Beyond the standard demographic and socioeconomic correlates of residential independence, this paper finds new evidence of three forms of local institutional structures affecting these two cohorts' first homeleaving patterns: the labor market, the housing market, and the post-secondary educational system. When college students are treated as residentially dependent, while poor labor market conditions deter both cohorts' first departures, EMs are more sensitive to these changes. This recent cohort is also

more sensitive to changes in rent, but unlike LBBs, insensitive to whether there are numerous opportunities to attend colleges nearby.

It is difficult to study residential autonomy without reflecting on the heterogeneity of nestleavers, as they leave for multiple, diverse reasons to varying destinations. While the motives and objectives of departure cannot be fully examined with these data, this paper shed light on the social roles of these residentially independent young adults, and how this distribution changed over time. Clearly, Millennial nestleavers are more weakly attached to the labor market than LBBs. A smaller fraction of young adults have assumed full-time work, or full-time work with a union when they first leave home. Meanwhile, the proportion of EMs leaving home and in college full-time has grown, but so has the percentage who do not assume any attachments to the full-time labor force, full-time college, or in a union. A closer inspection of this group shows that a majority of EMs in this residual category are not necessarily disconnected; rather they are working and/or attending college, but only part-time, and at higher levels than those of LBBs.

Differentiating homeleavers by their observed social roles at the time of first departure shows that all four types of institutional structures are associated with EMs' probability of leaving and being a full-time worker, whereas rents had no influence on the LBBs homeleaving and assuming any social role. The fact that proximity to more local educational institutions is negatively associated with leaving home and working full-time (but not attending college full-time) for EMs (see Appendix Table F) emphasizes how young adults make decisions based on the full range of opportunities they identify near them, and that being presented with both local educational and employment opportunities operate as competing choices rather than independent or complementary ones. Yet the relationships between local institutions and individual behaviors do not remain constant; rather, they can wane over time, with young adults aged 18-23 being more affected by housing costs compared to those who are 24-29. This is consistent with other

work about economic decisions have a greater effect on younger adults' decisions to depart (Cooper and Luengo-Prado 2018).

Institutional contexts do not explain the probability of leaving and not adopting any social roles among EMs. It is possible that other geographic measures may be predictors of their departure, such as the county-level proportion of service or retail jobs, which are characterized by their seasonal and part-time nature. More precise measures of local income inequality (Cherlin et al. 2016) may also explain membership in this residual category, as these young adults may leave home, but be resigned to only partially attach to the labor market or educational institutions. This latter argument also speaks to the importance of unobservable, non-institutional characteristics in studying first homeleaving, such as personality and emotional disposition (Sandberg-Thoma et al. 2015) or the quality of relationship with parents (South and Lei 2015).

As a final point, it is possible that these young adults may in fact assume another social role that was not demarcated in this analysis due to sample size constraints, such as parenthood (Goldscheider et al. 2014). Emerging research by Cherlin et al. (2016) points to the increasing influence of macro-level changes to economic opportunities on union status and fertility, suggesting that future research on residential independence and family formation would do well to incorporate local institutional variables.

Data limitations also prevent a careful multivariate analysis that distinguishes marriage from cohabiting unions, but descriptively, the samples used in this paper reflect the expected trends of Millennials' retreat from marriage and rising cohabitation because of the low incidence of cohabitation among LBBs and fewer marriages among EMs during the age range for this analysis (not shown here). Statistical power for LBBs is diminished when analyzing samples by sex, and thus this paper provides general cohort trends without addressing whether institutional

effects differ for women than men and if these differences have changed with women's educational and economic progress.

CONCLUSION

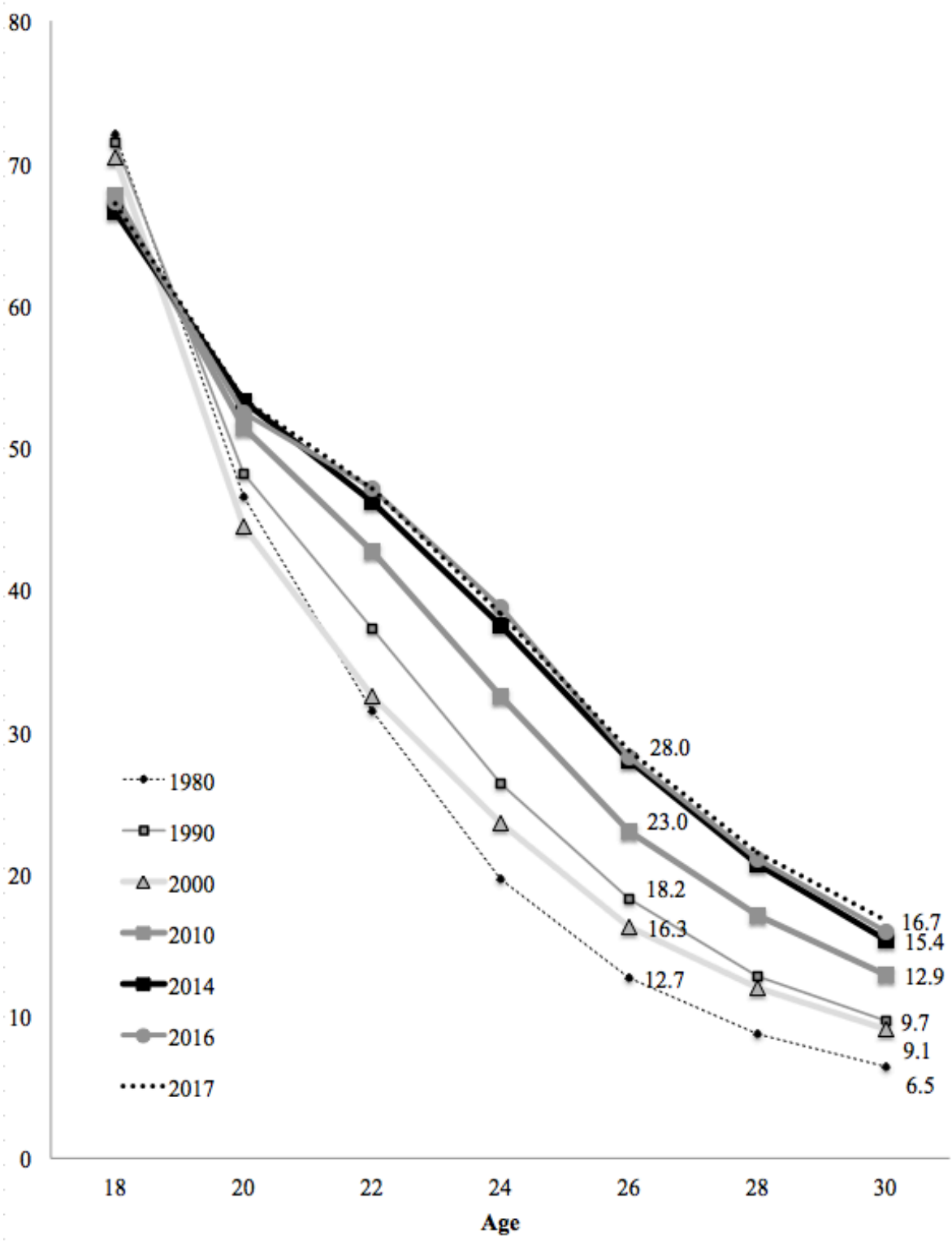
Where one lives is important in determining when and how young adults "launch." Accounting for local institutional structures has generated additional insights on under what conditions young adults use coresidence with parents as a safety net (Kaplan 2012; Schoeni and Ross 2005), and coupled with a cohort analysis, how local institutional structures have evolved to interact unevenly with different types of young adults in the population. By linking people with places (Entwisle 2007), and examining these links over time, I find young adults' first experience of residential independence to be more complex than previously described in research, as the age-specific probabilities of departure are not linear or uniformly lower than LBBs during the ages of 18 to 29. These differences at ages younger than 24 are partially explained by the rapid escalation of local area rents. There is increasing heterogeneity among those who leave, with the average EM being more likely to leave home to attend college full-time, but also more weakly attached to the labor market, working only part-time or not at all. These findings substantiate the diverging destinies of children (McLanahan 2004) by not only their family background, but where they grow up during the transition to adulthood. As more Millennials age into their 30s, the full extent of disparities in residential independence will more become apparent by considering both returns back to the parental home and subsequent departures, across places and over time.

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 2.1. Combinations of Social Roles Adopted During the Transition to Adulthood

FT Work	Union (Married or Cohabiting)	FT School
✔	✖	✖
✖	✔	✖
✔	✔	✖
✖	✖	✖

Figure 2.1. Percent of Young Adults Living with Parents By Age, 1980-2017



Sources: 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010 Decennial Censuses and the 2014, 2016, and 2017 American Community Survey. Weighted using individual weights.

Table 2.2. Summary of First Homeleaving and Social Roles among Leavers by Cohort

	Classifying College Students as Residentially Dependent			Classifying College Students as Residentially Independent		
	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials	Cohort Differences	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials	Cohort Differences
Percent Leaving By Age 29	95.7	86.1	***	94.6	84.0	***
Mean Age of Leaving Home (conditional on leaving)	22.4	22.0	***	21.3	20.6	***
	(0.05)	(0.04)		(0.05)	(0.04)	
Social Roles Adopted (conditional on leaving)						
FT Work	36.8	31.5	***	22.9	19.3	***
FT College	-	-		26.5	32.4	
Union						
Marriage	12.0	7.0		10.4	4.9	
Cohabitation	4.4	10.4		3.6	8.2	
Union + FT Work						
Marriage + FT Work	20.6	10.0		16.3	5.9	
Cohabitation + FT Work	7.6	14.0		5.8	9.9	
No FT Work, FT College, or Union	18.5	27.1		14.5	19.3	
N	2,908	5,202		2,870	5,036	

Notes: Weighted using individual weights. Standard deviations in parentheses. *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test).

Table 2.3. Distribution of Part-time Social Roles among Leavers in Residual Category

	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials
No FT Work or Union		
Part-time College Only	6.2	6.3
Part-time Work Only	24.5	58.9
Part-time College and Part-time Work	11.1	13.0
No Part-time College or Part-time Work	58.3	21.7
N	601	1,355

Note: Weighted using individual weights.

Table 2.4. Characteristics of Samples by Cohort

	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials	Cohort Differences
Independent Variables			
Male	46.4	48.7	N.S.
Race/Ethnicity			***
Hispanic	6.2	12.3	
Non-Hispanic Black	12.2	13.6	
Non-Hispanic Non-Black	81.6	74.2	
Immigrant Family	9.6	13.0	***
Parent's Education			***
Less Than 12 Years	20.4	10.6	
12 Years	43.5	31.1	
More Than 12 Years	35.8	58.3	
Parent's Household Income In 1979 or 1997 (2019 $)			***
≤ $25K	11.0	18.5	
>$25K and ≤ $50K	19.3	13.9	
>$50K and ≤ $75K	20.7	16.4	
>$75K	31.5	36.8	
Missing	17.5	14.5	
Family Structure at Age 17			***
Two biological/adoptive parents	73.5	57.0	
Single-parent family	19.6	28.8	
Step-parent family	6.9	14.2	
N	3,070	6,075	
Contextual Variables (Person-Years)			
Region			
Northeast	22.6	21.0	***
Central	30.3	34.3	
South	32.9	33.8	
West	14.2	10.9	
Rent (2016 $)	877.8	951.1	***
	(174.96)	(303.03)	
Weekly Wage (2016 $)	830.4	939.9	***
	(162.74)	251.55)	
Unemployment Rate	9.0	5.5	***
	(3.66)	(2.27)	
Number of postsecondary institutions	9.9	12.7	***
	(17.37)	(22.02)	
N	13,911	24,316	

Notes:Person observations weighted using individual weights. Standard deviations in parentheses. *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test). N.S.: Not statistically significant.

Figure 2.2. Hazard Estimates of First Departure from Parental Home by Cohort

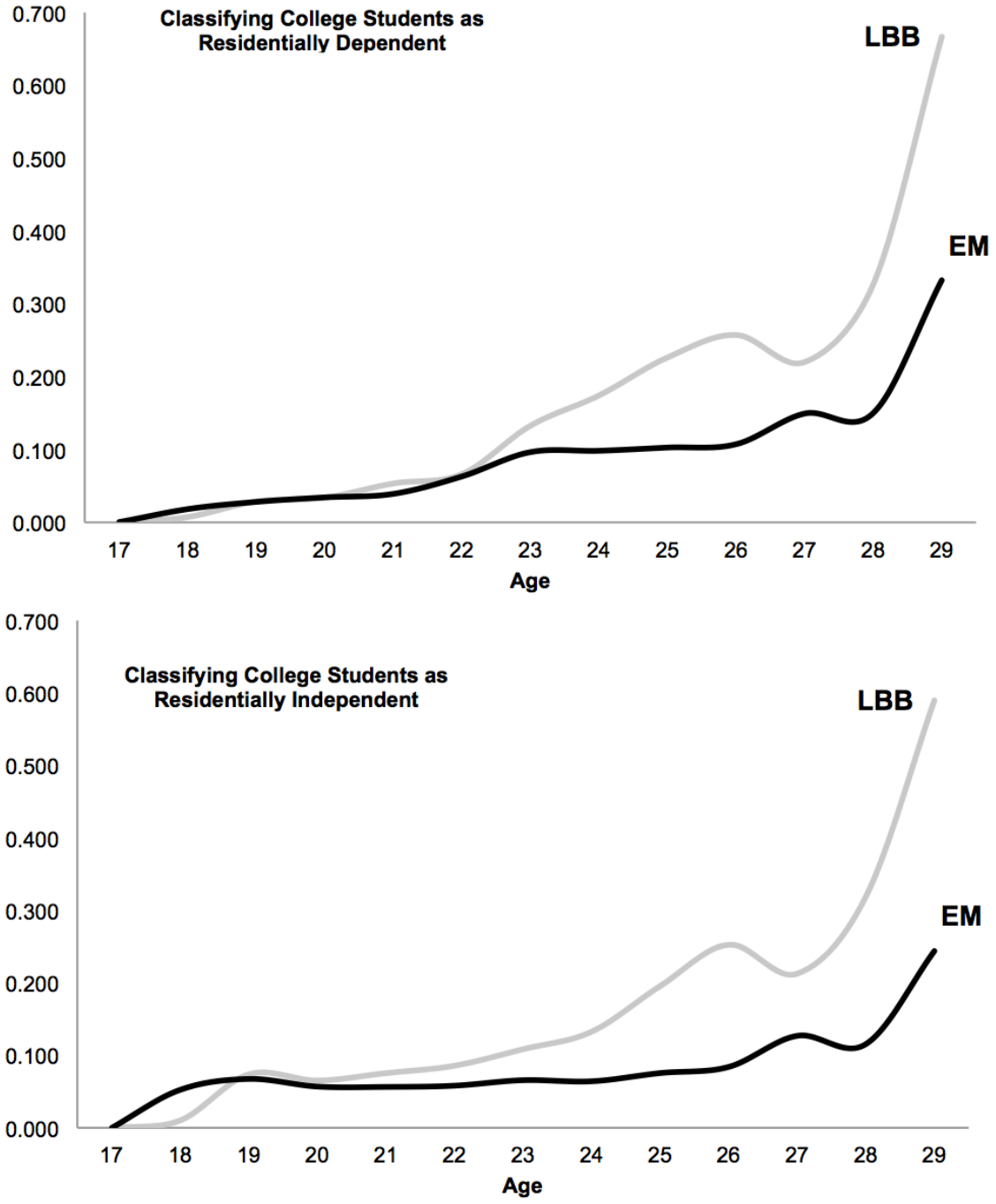


Table 2.5. Discrete Time Logistic Regression Models of First Homeleaving by Cohort

	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials	Pooled
	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	
Male	0.676***	0.775***	**
	(0.032)	(0.029)	
Race/Ethnicity (ref: NH Non-Black)			***
Hispanic	0.859+	0.756***	
	(0.067)	(0.047)	
Black	0.475***	0.619***	
	(0.032)	(0.034)	
Immigrant Family	0.743***	0.674***	N.S.
	(0.058)	(0.042)	
Parent's Education (ref:Less Than 12 Years)			N.S.
12 Years	1.017	1.001	
	(0.066)	(0.070)	
More Than 12 Years	0.873+	0.817**	
	(0.061)	(0.055)	
Parental HH Income (1979) (ref:<=25K)			N.S.
>25 & <=50K	0.956	0.966	
	(0.074)	(0.065)	
>50K & <=75K	0.877	1.003	
	(0.077)	(0.067)	
>75K	0.794**	0.878*	
	(0.069)	(0.051)	
Missing	0.860+	0.885+	
	(0.076)	(0.057)	
Family Structure @ Age 17 (ref:Two bio./adopt. parents)			N.S.
Single-Parent	1.344***	1.459***	
	(0.084)	(0.068)	
Step-family	1.918***	1.766***	
	(0.211)	(0.101)	
Age (ref:22 years old)			***
18	0.127***	0.238***	
	(0.014)	(0.013)	
19	0.519***	0.408***	
	(0.042)	(0.021)	
20	0.605***	0.541***	
	(0.049)	(0.027)	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. †p<.10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test). N.S.: Not statistically significant.

Table 2.5. (Continued)

	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials	Pooled
	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	
21	0.900	0.635***	
	(0.070)	(0.032)	
23	1.976***	1.620***	
	(0.156)	(0.082)	
24	2.678***	1.876***	
	(0.231)	(0.105)	
25	3.646***	2.035***	
	(0.358)	(0.126)	
26	4.143***	2.055***	
	(0.483)	(0.142)	
27	3.204***	2.276***	
	(0.465)	(0.172)	
28	4.179***	1.963***	
	(0.738)	(0.176)	
29	3.713***	1.971***	
	(0.786)	(0.206)	
Region (ref:Northeast)			*
Central	1.601***	1.348***	
	(0.137)	(0.091)	
South	1.816***	1.409***	
	(0.148)	(0.091)	
West	2.125***	1.670***	
	(0.189)	(0.115)	
Rent for 2-Bedroom (2019 $)	1.338	0.724*	**
	(0.240)	(0.094)	
Weekly Wage (2019 $)	1.201+	1.322	N.S.
	(0.114)	(0.244)	
Unemployment Rate	0.966***	0.945***	*
	(0.008)	(0.008)	
Number of Postsecondary Institutions	0.993***	0.998	*
	(0.002)	(0.001)	
Constant	0.015***	0.713	
	(0.019)	(0.609)	
N	16,573	31,526	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. †p<.10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test). N.S.: Not statistically significant.

Figure 2.3. Predicted Probabilities of Selected Covariates on First Homeleaving

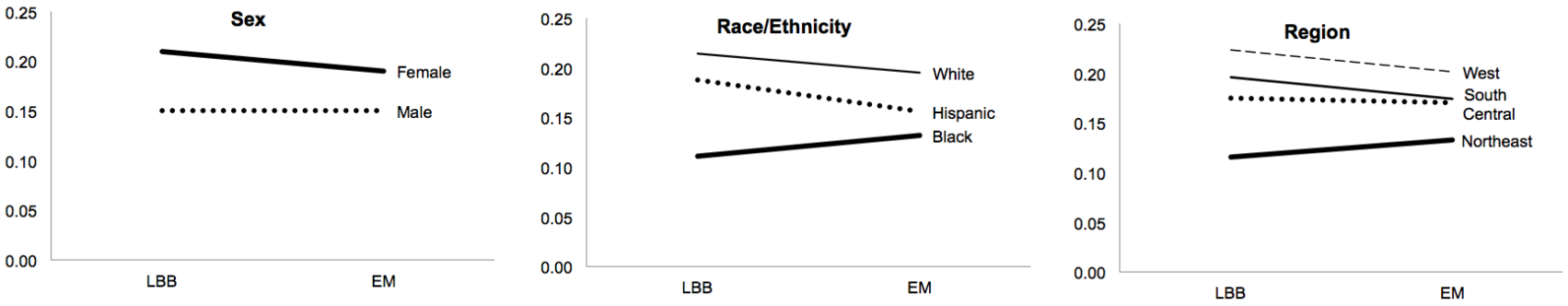


Table 6. Discrete Time Logistic Regression Models of First Homeleaving by Cohort and Stratified by Age

	Ages 18-23		Ages 24-29		Pooled	
					18-23	24-29
	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials		
Rent for 2-Bedroom (2019 $)	1.173	0.683**	1.117	0.752	*	N.S.
	(0.257)	(0.094)	(0.556)	(0.189)		
Weekly Wage (2019 $)	1.448*	1.21	1.054	1.328	N.S.	N.S.
	(0.231)	(0.207)	(0.074)	(0.499)		
Unemployment Rate	0.964***	0.935***	0.969	0.952***	*	N.S.
	(0.008)	(0.207)	(0.029)	(0.012)		
Number of Postsecondary Institutions	0.994**	0.998	0.993	0.998	*	N.S.
	(0.002)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.002)		
Constant	0.010**	1.551	4.401	1.339		
	(0.016)	(0.001)	(15.618)	(2.493)		
N	13,985	25,349	2,588	6,177		

Notes: Models control for sex, race/ethnicity, immigrant family, parent's education, parent's household income in 1979 or 1997 (in 2019 $), family structure at age 17, age, and region. Standard errors in parentheses. †p<.10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test). N.S.: Not statistically significant.

Table 2.7. Discrete Time Multinomial Logistic Regressions of First Homeleaving by Cohort

(Reference Category: Living with Parents)

	Late Baby Boomers				Early Millennials			
	FT Work	Union	Union + FT Work	No FT Work or Union	FT Work	Union	Union + FT Work	No FT Work or Union
Rent (2019 $)	1.513	0.812	1.187	1.129	0.553***	0.712+	0.539***	0.987
	(0.434)	(0.291)	(0.346)	(0.343)	(0.082)	(0.125)	(0.086)	(0.169)
Weekly Wage (2019 $)	1.886**	1.086	1.162	1.017	2.393***	0.899	1.095	1.009
	(0.438)	(0.111)	(0.109)	(0.107)	(0.359)	(0.065)	(0.123)	(0.195)
Unemployment Rate	0.928***	1.001	0.950***	0.990	0.926***	0.963*	0.915***	0.957**
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Number of Postsecondary Institutions	0.994**	0.995	0.995+	0.990**	0.997+	0.996+	0.997	1.000
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)

Notes: Models control for sex, race/ethnicity, immigrant family, parent's education, parent's household income in 1979 or 1997 (in 2019 $), family structure at age 17, age, and region. Standard errors in parentheses. †p<.10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test). N.S.: Not statistically significant. Grey cells indicate statistically significant differences between cohorts at *p<.05.

APPENDIX

Table 2.A. Summary of Residence Classifications in U.S. National Surveys, Including Assignment of College Students

Survey	Residence Rule	Description	Treatment of College Students
American Community Survey	Current Residence	The ACS counts everyone who is currently living or staying at an address for more than two months as a resident of that address.	Beginning in 2006, the ACS included group quarters in its sample. Additionally, beginning January 2013, for those living in dorms, the ACS collected data at college dorms in only the nonsummer months of January-April, and from September-December of each data collection year.
March Current Population Survey (Annual and Social Economic Supplement)	Usual Residence	The CPS ASEC sample includes only individuals who are "usual residents" at a sample address, where "usual" is defined as the place where the person lives and sleeps most of the time, or the place he or she considers to be his or her usual residence.	The CPS ASEC sample includes only noninstitutional group quarters.
Decennial Census	Usual Residence	The Decennial Census counts individuals at their "usual residence" where "usual" is defined as the place where the person lives and sleeps most of the time, or the place he or she considers to be his or her usual residence.	Includes both institutional and non-institutional group quarters. College students living away from their parental home while attending college in the U.S. (living either on-campus or off-campus) are counted at the on-campus or off-campus residence where they live and sleep most of the time.
Survey of Income and Program Participation	Usual Residence	The SIPP defines a person as a member of a household if the sample unit is that person's usual place of residence at the time of the interview. A usual place of residence is the place where a person normally lives and sleeps. This must be specific living quarters held for the person to which he or she is free to return at any time.	A college student living on campus with a room held at home is still a household member at the sample address.

Table 2.B. Construction of County-level Variables

Variable	Source	Construction of Variable
Rent	Department of Housing and Urban Development	Fair market rents for two-bedroom apartments at the 40th percentile obtained from HUD by county code and year (1983-2015) to generate annual county-level monthly rents. Nearest neighbor interpolation and extrapolation used to arrive at values for missing years. Rents adjusted to 2019 $.
Weekly wage	Bureau of Labor Statistics Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages	Average weekly wage based on the 12-monthly employment levels and total annual wage levels obtained from the County High-Level Annual files. Nearest neighbor interpolation used to arrive at values at values for missing years. Wages adjusted to 2019 $.
Unemployment rate	Bureau of Labor Statistics	Continuous Unemployment Rate for the Labor Market of Current Residence obtained directly from the NLSY restricted geocoded data.
Number of postsecondary institutions	National Center for Education Statistics Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System	Two- and four-year colleges that are Title IV degree-granting institutions from 1980, 1984-2015 obtained from IPEDS. Each institution's zipcode was matched to their corresponding county each year to generate annual county-level counts of the total number of postsecondary institutions. Nearest neighbor interpolation used to arrive at values for missing years.

Table 2.C. Comparison of Analytic Samples' Cohort Characteristics to External U.S. Population-Level Sources

	Late Baby Boomers Analytic Sample	Early Millennials Analytic Sample	External Population Estimates: Late Baby Boomers	External Population Estimates: Early Millennials	Universe	Source(s)
Race/Ethnicity					Late Baby Boomers: 14-17 year olds in 1979 living with parents Early Millennials: 13-17 year olds in 1997 living with parents	1979, 1997: Current Population Survey author estimates
Hispanic	6.2	12.3	6.0	12.6		
Non-Hispanic Black	12.2	13.6	13.6	14.5		
Non-Hispanic Non-Black	81.6	74.2	80.5	72.9		
Immigrant Family	9.6	13.0	8.4	12.3	Late Baby Boomers: Under 18 in 1970 in non-group quarters households Early Millennials: 13-17 year olds in 1997 living with parents	1970: American Community Survey author estimates; 1997: Current Population Survey 1997 author estimates
Parent's Education					Late Baby Boomers: Paternal education of 6-18 year olds in 1979 Early Millennials: Paternal education of 6-18 year olds in 1999	Estimates from Wirt and Livingston (2001) Table 4-1, reweighted by race/ethnicity for overall calculation
Less Than 12 Years	20.4	10.6	27.3	14.0		
12 Years	43.5	31.1	37.5	31.9		
More Than 12 Years	35.8	58.3	35.2	54.1		
Median Parent's Income in 1979 or 1997 (2019 $)	56,137.6	66,710.0	65,504.9	66,588.9	Late Baby Boomers: Median income from families with one or more children under 18 in 1976, adjusted to 2019 $ Early Millennials: Median income from families with one or more children under 18 in 1996, adjusted to 2019 $	1976, 1996: Current Population Survey, U.S. Census Bureau, Table F10
Family Structure at Age 17					Late Baby Boomers: Living arrangements of under 18 year olds in 1980 Early Millennials: Living arrangements of	1980: Hernandez (1993); 1996: Fields (2001)
Two biological/adoptive parents	73.5	57.0	72.6	57.7		
Single-parent family	19.6	28.8	19.2	26.4		
Step-parent family	6.9	14.2	8.2	15.9		

Table 2.D. Discrete Time Logistic Regression Models of First Homeleaving by Cohort, Classifying College Students as Residentially Independent

	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials	Pooled
	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	
Male	0.699***	0.649***	N.S.
	(0.036)	(0.033)	
Race/Ethnicity (ref: NH Non-Black)			***
Hispanic	0.808**	0.615***	
	(0.066)	(0.050)	
Black	0.505***	0.669***	
	(0.036)	(0.048)	
Immigrant Family	0.873	0.717***	N.S.
	(0.074)	(0.061)	
Parent's Education (ref:Less Than 12 Years)			***
12 Years	1.094	1.051	
	(0.071)	(0.086)	
More Than 12 Years	1.676***	1.261**	
	(0.130)	(0.102)	
Parental HH Income (1979) (ref:<=25K)			N.S.
>25 & <=50K	1.104	0.938	
	(0.088)	(0.076)	
>50K & <=75K	0.996	1.087	
	(0.092)	(0.092)	
>75K	1.072	1.166+	
	(0.100)	(0.091)	
Missing	1.110	1.083	
	(0.102)	(0.090)	
Family Structure @ Age 17 (ref:Two biological/adoptive parents)			*
Single-Parent	1.469***	1.294***	
	(0.097)	(0.079)	
Step-family	1.698***	1.331***	
	(0.192)	(0.099)	
Age (ref:22 years old)			***
18	0.077***	0.187***	
	(0.008)	(0.009)	
19	0.676***	0.496***	
	(0.048)	(0.021)	
20	0.713***	0.671***	
	(0.052)	(0.030)	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. †p<.10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test). N.S.: Not statistically significant.

Table 2.D. (Continued)

	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials	Pooled
	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	
21	0.869+	0.855***	
	(0.064)	(0.039)	
23	1.296**	1.218***	
	(0.106)	(0.064)	
24	1.618***	1.358***	
	(0.147)	(0.078)	
25	2.463***	1.544***	
	(0.261)	(0.098)	
26	3.295***	1.677***	
	(0.424)	(0.117)	
27	2.624***	1.935***	
	(0.403)	(0.151)	
28	3.637***	1.695***	
	(0.706)	(0.142)	
29	2.968***	1.673***	
	(0.650)	(0.157)	
Region (ref:Northeast)			N.S.
Central	1.482***	1.503***	
	(0.140)	(0.146)	
South	1.409***	1.461***	
	(0.125)	(0.135)	
West	1.750***	1.859***	
	(0.165)	(0.178)	
Rent for 2-Bedroom (2019 $)	0.704+	0.791+	N.S.
	(0.137)	(0.101)	
Weekly Wage (2019 $)	1.127*	1.116	N.S.
	(0.057)	(0.162)	
Unemployment Rate	0.950***	0.958***	N.S.
	(0.008)	(0.007)	
Number of Postsecondary Institutions	0.992***	0.998	**
	(0.002)	(0.001)	
Constant	3.015	2.750	
	(4.099)	(2.685)	
N	13,911	24,316	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. †p<.10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test). N.S.: Not statistically significant.

Table 2.E. Discrete Time Logistic Regression Models of First Homeleaving by Cohort and Stratified by Age, Classifying College Students as Residentially Independent

	Ages 18-23		Ages 24-29		Pooled	
					18-23	24-29
	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials	Late Baby Boomers	Early Millennials		
Rent for 2-Bedroom (2019 $)	0.556**	0.626***	0.924	0.671	N.S.	N.S.
	(0.115)	(0.075)	(0.473)	(0.165)		
Weekly Wage (2019 $)	1.153*	1.094	1.048	1.060	N.S.	N.S.
	(0.070)	(0.143)	(0.066)	(0.281)		
Unemployment Rate	0.946***	0.936***	0.961	0.948***	N.S.	N.S.
	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.029)	(0.015)		
Number of Postsecondary Institutions	0.993***	0.997**	0.989*	0.998	†	N.S.
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.002)		
Constant	8.597	6.111*	7.104	6.367		
	(12.192)	(4.620)	(25.909)	(11.617)		
N	12,008	19,841	1,903	4,475		

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. †p<.10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test). N.S.: Not statistically significant.

Table 2.F. Discrete Time Multinomial Logistic Regressions of First Homeleaving by Cohort, Classifying College Students as Residentially Independent

	Late Baby Boomers					Early Millennials				
	FT Work	FT College	Union	Union + FT Work	No FT Work or Union	FT Work	FT College	Union	Union + FT Work	No FT Work or Union
Rent for 2-Bedroom (2019 $)	1.601	0.139***	0.521+	1.015	0.974	0.547**	0.643*	0.625*	0.490***	0.807
	(0.543)	(0.049)	(0.200)	(0.335)	(0.333)	(0.102)	(0.116)	(0.130)	(0.098)	(0.193)
Weekly Wage (2019 $)	1.464+	1.062	1.095	1.151	1.023	1.609*	1.041	0.858*	1.135	1.072
	(0.316)	(0.052)	(0.118)	(0.105)	(0.106)	(0.303)	(0.189)	(0.063)	(0.190)	(0.332)
Unemployment Rate	0.914***	0.931***	0.984	0.946***	0.985	0.921***	0.933***	0.974	0.911***	0.974
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.016)
Number of Postsecondary	0.992**	0.993+	0.996	0.993*	0.989**	0.995**	1.000	0.996+	0.997	0.997
Institutions	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)

Notes: Models control for sex, race/ethnicity, immigrant family, parent's education, parent's household income in 1979 or 1997 (in 2019 $), family structure at age 17, age, and region. Standard errors in parentheses. †p<.10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed test). N.S.: Not statistically significant. Grey cells indicate statistically significant differences between cohorts at *p<.05.

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CHAPTER 3

Black-White Differences in Siblings' Coresidence with and Financial Support to Aging Parents

INTRODUCTION

Black families have been characterized as having strong relationships across generations, with frequent exchanges of assistance among kin (Taylor 1986). Among the different types of family relationships, the adult child-parent bond has received a significant amount of attention (Chatters et al.1986; Gibson and Jackson 1987; Silverstein et al. 2012; Taylor 1988). Black adult children typically express a stronger sense of filial obligation compared to Whites (Burr and Mutchler 1999), and unlike Whites, upstream help occurs at younger ages, and as early as adolescence (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1991; Park 2017). In particular, recent scholarship using reports from the older generation's perspective has found that two forms of assistance, intergenerational coresidence and financial help to parents, are much higher in Black families than White families (Fingerman et al. 2011; Park 2017). However, these race differences may differ in children's reports than parent's reports because with greater numbers of siblings, the prospect of helping may be diminished for each child. Moreover, several established demographic facts about racial differences in family structure and socioeconomic resources between Blacks and Whites in the United States suggest that from the younger generation's perspective, minorities' help to parents may be weaker.

First, while the economic and cultural motivations for doubling up among Blacks are stronger (Freedman et al. 1991), Blacks' higher fertility means there are more adult children with which the older generation could potentially choose to live (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004), reducing the likelihood of any individual child to reside with a parent. Secondly, step-kin

relationships are typically associated with weaker support (Pezzin et al. 2008; Seltzer et al. 2013; Wiemers et al. 2019), and Blacks are more likely than Whites to have stepsiblings as a result of higher rates of both premarital childbearing and union dissolution (Seltzer 2019). This implies coresidence with parents and providing money to parents would be reduced among Black adult children. Third, Blacks are significantly disadvantaged in their socioeconomic resources across generations (Park et al. 2019). Thus, despite parents' relatively economic precarity, Black adult children's own ability to provide financial support may be limited (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004).

Taken together, these facts motivate the current study, which investigates two forms of child-to-parent, or upstream support, in Black and White families, as both parent (G1) and adult child (G2) generations age: coresidence and financial assistance. This comparative analysis focuses on Blacks as the minority group of interest because they are currently the largest minority group aged 65 and over and are projected to remain so through 2050 (Grayson and Velkoff 2010). Using the Health and Retirement Study, I examine the prevalence of intergenerational coresidence and upstream financial transfers between adult children and parents in Black and White families over an 18-year period (1996-2014), from G2's perspective. I answer three research questions. First, are Black adult children more likely to a) coreside with and b) provide financial assistance to parents than their White counterparts? Second, are these differences explained after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the child, and the parent generation, as well as the number and type of siblings? Third, does a sibling's assistance to parents in the form of coresidence and financial help explain whether an adult child provides help to parents? These findings will inform if and to what extent racial differences in *intragenerational* relationships influence *intergenerational* relationships between Black and White parents and children during adulthood.

BACKGROUND

Coresidence with Parents as a Form of Assistance

Much of the research on living arrangements indicates that coresidence can be a mutually beneficial arrangement, with both parties benefitting from it, although not necessarily equally or at the same time (Seltzer and Bianchi 2013; Smits et al. 2010). As a transfer, coresidence minimizes the costs associated with establishing and maintaining one's own household for an adult child and can reduce an elderly individual's likelihood of living in poverty (Rendall and Speare 1995). Parents who are older (Seltzer and Friedman 2014), unmarried, have lower levels of education, and with lower socioeconomic backgrounds tend to live with adult children in later life (Choi 2003). Several child-level attributes such as being unmarried and lower socioeconomic status predict increased probabilities of coresidence (McGarry and Schoeni 1995; Speare and Avery 1993). In particular, adult sons who are single are more likely to live with parents (Wolf and Soldo 1988).

However, it is unclear whether coresidence is higher among Black adult children with living parents. Prior work has analyzed coresidence at the household or parent-level among older household heads which may result in greater race differences in coresidence since the chance of having any given child living in the household increases with greater numbers of offspring, the latter of which is more common among Blacks. Even so, some of these studies found persistent racial differences net of both parent and child characteristics (Angel and Tienda 1982; Speare and Avery 1993) while in others, they no longer were significant (Aquilino 1990; Choi 2003). An additional limitation is that these frequently cited studies of parent-child coresidence use data from over twenty years ago. In recent years, coresidence in the form of doubling up and multigenerational households has become increasingly common across a wide range of

socioeconomic groups (Kahn et al., 2013; Wiemers 2014), but whether this has diminished or exacerbated racial differences in middle-aged adult children's coresidence with parents is unknown.

Accounting for siblings further complicates whether Blacks differ from Whites in parent-child coresidence, as overcrowding may be an important consideration, especially among individuals with fewer assets, such as renters (Golant and La Greca 1994; White 1994). Others have explained the negative relationship between the number of siblings and coresidence, especially in stepfamilies, in terms of the younger generation's competition for parents' resources and/or attention (Ward and Spitze 1992). Finally, some scholars have adopted a family systems perspective to describe siblings' coordinated division of labor for parental caregiving (Leopold et al. 2014; Szinovacz and Davey 2013). These three distinct arguments imply that an adult child will be less likely to move in with a parent if there is already a coresident sibling residing with the parent. By extension, given that Blacks have more siblings and are more likely to have a stepkin than Whites, I would expect Black adult children to be less likely to live with a parent.

Financial Assistance to Parents

Parents and children help each other in times of need by giving one another the scarce resource of money. This form of assistance alleviates families' economic hardship. Prior studies have established that financial assistance to parents is less common than financial assistance from parents but the estimates vary based on the needs the parent, which will change over time (Lin 2008; Eggebeen 1992; Furstenberg et al. 1995; Park 2017; Schoeni 1997). For example, widowed and divorced mothers are more likely to receive assistance than coupled parents (Boaz et al. 1999; Furstenberg et al. 1995). With respect to child traits, offspring who have more

financial resources will be able to give help. That is, higher earning and better-educated individuals will be more likely to give money (Ioannides and Kan 1999; McGarry and Schoeni 1995; Zissimopoulos 2001). Raley and Bianchi (2006) suggest that "gender-role socialization" may influence tasks during adulthood, with daughters helping with chores and sons providing more financial help.

In 2010, Kahn et al. (2013) estimate Black parents were 27 percent more likely than Whites to be financially dependent on their children, and Park (2017) finds Black mothers to be more than three times as likely as Whites to receive financial assistance, net of controls for both parental and child traits. Both economic and cultural arguments have been advanced to explain greater levels of intergenerational assistance in Black families. Financial instability and poorer health in later life compared to Whites (Bloome and Western 2011; Shuey and Wilson 2008) will contribute to greater demands for assistance. Black families have been portrayed as familistic, possessing active kin networks in which both material and in-kind support are exchanged (Reyes 2018). Thus, while Black adult children tend to possess fewer economic resources than their White counterparts, filial obligation may contribute to the propensity to provide assistance up the generational ladder, despite these barriers.

Sibling configurations among Blacks tend to be larger and more complex because of greater family size as well as more stepkin (Martinez et al. 2012; Raley et al. 2015). Sibling composition will likely affect the incidence of financial assistance to parents. Based on the caregiving literature (Grigoryeva 2017; Ingersoll-Dayton et al. 2003; Tolkacheva et al. 2010; Tolkacheva et al. 2014), the potential for the distribution of financial responsibilities with a greater number of siblings is expected to reduce the likelihood of any one child having to provide financial help, or each child could contribute smaller amounts. Furthermore, since step-ties are

weaker than biological ties, assistance such as financial transfers are less likely in stepfamilies compared to other family structures (Wiemers et al. 2019). Because the impact of Blacks' sibling traits can mitigate the expected effects of stronger economic demands and familism in Black families, it is unclear whether Black adult children would be more or less likely to provide financial assistance than Whites.

The Relationship Between Financial Assistance and Coresidence

As previously discussed, intergenerational coresidence and monetary transfers are two forms of assistance. However, these forms of assistance can occur simultaneously. An adult child can live with their parents and provide financial help to them. This economic support may directly benefit the parental generation in their personal consumption. However, this support may contribute to household purchases (rent/mortgage, utilities, etc.) that also benefit the child as well as the parent. In the latter example, financial assistance provided to a parent while living together can be interpreted as a form of resource-pooling with ambiguous benefits to both the donor and recipient. For this reason, in this study, I differentiate whether financial assistance is from a coresident or noncoresident adult child.

Transfers from Siblings

In families with more than one adult child, an individual's sibling may provide help to their parents concurrently. From a family systems perspective, this synchronous support could be coordinated with the same or different types of assistance. Multiple siblings may choose to help their parents by giving money, or some siblings may choose to move-in with the parent at the same time. Alternatively, siblings may opt to provide different forms of aid that complement the help received from another because of each sibling's comparative advantage in different sorts of helping behaviors, as well individual preferences. For example, one child may live with a parent,

but other children who are financially better off and want to maintain privacy and independence may opt to give money (McElroy 1985; Rosenzweig and Wolpin 1993; Ruggles 1994).

PRESENT STUDY

In this paper, I contribute new information on Black-White differences in help to aging parents in several ways. First, I examine racial differences in support to parents from adult children in middle age. Second, I incorporate the connectedness of family members' behaviors, by studying how help to parents may be affected by siblings' concurrent assistance to parents. Furthermore, I study whether these behaviors explain racial differences in helping parents. Finally, I contribute new information on the financial assistance of both coresident and noncoresident adult children, and how they differ from one another. I investigate three research questions:

RQ1: Are Black adult children more likely to a) live with and b) provide financial assistance to parents than their White counterparts?

RQ2: Are these differences explained after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the child, and the parent generation, as well as the presence of siblings?

RQ3: Does a sibling's assistance to parents in the form of coresidence and financial help explain whether other adult children in the family provide help to parents?

DATA, SAMPLE, AND MEASURES

Data

The Health and Retirement Study (HRS) is a longitudinal panel study that is nationally representative sample of adults over 50 years old in the United States. At the time of the survey, those individuals whose age qualifies them to be included in the study are selected as respondents. It is designed as a multistage area probability sample, with oversamples of Blacks

to permit analyses of subpopulations by race/ethnicity. It has been conducted every two years beginning in 1992. In the cases of couple households, one respondent was deemed the family respondent, and answered all family-related questions, including questions about relationships with their parents and children, at each wave. Other demographic, health, and socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents and spouses are collected at each wave. Consequently, the HRS is one of the few longitudinal datasets that can be used to understand group differences in the intergenerational relationships of diverse mid- to later-life populations.

I use three data sources for this analysis: 1) the RAND HRS Family Data File[9], which incorporates the core interviews from 1992-2014 to link HRS families within and across waves resulting in both a respondent-level file and a respondent-child level file, 2) the RAND HRS Data File[10], which is a respondent-level file of participants across interview waves 1992-2014, and 3) the RAND Income and Wealth Imputation File[11]. These publically available files are cleaned and aggregated versions of the variables from the separate HRS biannual interview files.

Analytic Sample

My analytic sample consists of non-Hispanic Black and non-Hispanic White adult children with at least one sibling (biological, adopted or step) observed over time[12], where the age of the parent (or in the case of coupled parents, the older of the two parents) is over 50 at the time of interview. I use the term "parent generation" and "G1" interchangeably throughout the paper. Similarly, I also refer to "child generation" as "G2".

The race of the adult child is based on G1's reports of their own and spouse/partner's race and ethnicity. I include adult children from families in which the parent generation is in a

[9] http://www.rand.org/labor/aging/dataprod/family.html
[10] http://www.rand.org/labor/aging/dataprod/hrs-data.html
[11] http://www.rand.org/labor/aging/dataprod/income-wealth-imputation.html
[12] I estimate about 20 percent of Blacks and 16 percent of Whites have only one living adult child. See Table A of the Appendix for the full distribution.

monoracial union with either a non-Hispanic White or non-Hispanic Black.

The analytical unit of interest is the child-parent dyad over time, where offspring are observed from the period 1996-2014. The child-parent dyad remains in the sample as long as there is at least one living parent and at least one sibling in a given wave. If these criteria are not met, the family is censored for that wave. After listwise deletion based on the key dependent and independent variables, the final analytic sample consists of 245,406 adult child-parent-wave records (196,975 for Whites and 48,431 for Blacks). This represents observations for 45,898 adult children (34,873 Whites and 11,035 Blacks) from 14,121 parents (11,150 Whites and 2,971 Blacks). Because these records are created from G1's reports about their offspring, these analyses are conducted without survey weights.

Measures: Dependent Variables

There are two dichotomous dependent variables in this analysis. Coresidence is based on information from the household roster and questions posed to the family respondent about the residence of each child reported by the respondent or the spouse/partner.

Financial assistance is constructed from questions[13] as to whether parents received any financial help equal to or greater than $500 from the child since the last wave. The question does not specify whether financial transfers are given to a specific parent, the dependent variables are based on the giving of intergenerational financial transfers from child generation (G2) to the parent generation (G1).

Measures: Key Independent Variables

[13] Based on questions "Since (Previous Wave/In the last two years) did you or your husband/wife/partner receive (give) financial help totaling $500 or more from (to) your child/any of your children (or grandchildren)?" Because the question wording varied in terms of the time horizon (12 months) and amount ($100) prior to 1996, I begin my observation period in 1996.

The main predictor of interest is *Black,* which is time-invariant. *Black* is a dichotomous variable of self-reported race of the parents (0=Non-Hispanic White, 1=Non-Hispanic Black). I include several adult child traits in my analysis. *Age* is a continuous variable, with the minimum age being 18. The remaining characteristics are all dichotomous variables: *female, being at least college-educated, working full-time, being coupled, owning a home, and having any children.*

I also include eight parent-dyad variables. *Family structure* is a four-category variable that reflects whether the family is a two-parent biological family, a step-family, a single father, or a single mother. The parent dyad is characterized as a two-parent biological family if the respondent has a spouse/partner, and all the reported children the biological or adopted offspring of both members of G1. If there is any child that is reported as a stepchild, the parent dyad is reported as a step-family. If the respondent is a mother or a father who is not in a union, I classify them as a single mother or single father, respectively. Any *immigrant parent* is a dichotomous variable that reflects whether anyone in the parent generation is foreign-born. This is included in the model because intervivo transfers from immigrants of developing countries are more common compared to the native-born population. As African immigrants are more recent and consequently comprise a larger share of the Black sample, excluding this variable may overstate the assistance Blacks provide to parents. I include the *age of the older parent* of the parent dyad as a continuous variable. I account for the health of the parent with the dichotomous variable of whether there is *at least one parent who reports fair or poor health*. Finally, four socioeconomic variables are considered: a binary variable for *whether any parent has at least a college degree*, a binary variable for *whether any parent works full-time*, a binary variable for *whether the parental generation owns a home,* and a continuous variable for *parents' total*

household income (in 2014 dollars) which includes both earned and unearned income but does not include private transfer amounts.

There are four sibling-related variables in my multivariate analyses. I include two continuous variables for the *number of sisters* and the *number of brothers*. Rather than include a single variable for the total number of siblings, I choose to distinguish between the gender of the siblings because it is unknown whether coresidence and financial assistance is more likely among daughters than sons. Finally, I include two dichotomous variables about the adult child's siblings' transfers to parents: *any sibling living with the parent generation* and *any sibling giving money to the parent generation*.

I control for period effects by including dummy variables for the interview wave.

METHODS

I describe my analytic sample using the first observation that the family appears in the survey to compare parent, child, and sibling traits by race. I also examine the frequency of coresidence and financial assistance across all adult child-parent dyad-wave records to understand how common it is for these two types of assistance to jointly occur. I then describe the gender configurations of the adult children, as well as the giving behaviors, by family size and race.

I run separate random effects logit models for three outcomes: coresidence, financial assistance to parents among coresident adult children, and financial assistance to parents among noncoresident adult children. The standard errors in all models are adjusted to account for the clustering of children who share the same parent dyads. The models successively add child, parent, and finally sibling traits to the analysis. I then run separate analyses for Blacks and Whites and use Chow tests to determine if the coefficients differ between these two groups.

Finally, among those children who report giving any financial assistance, I use ordinary least squares regression to examine the amount of assistance (in 2014 dollars) provided among coresident and noncoresident adult children.

RESULTS

Black adult children are more likely to coreside and provide financial assistance to their parents. Table 1 shows over 15 percent and almost five percent of Blacks provided help, compared to only 10 and 3 percent of their White counterparts. Yet, we also observe that among those who give, Whites tend to provide higher amounts of help than Blacks.

Both Black and White adult children in this sample are in their mid-to-late 30s, but show stark differences in their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. As expected, Blacks are more likely to be parents, but only 39 percent of them were in a union at the time of the interview, compared to over 63 percent of White adult children. Blacks are also significantly disadvantaged in their socioeconomic resources. This disadvantage is also apparent when examining their parents. While only 23 percent of White adult children have a college-educated parent, for Blacks, this percentage is more than halved. There are large health disparities, with over 47 percent versus 32 percent of Black and White adult children having at least one parent in fair or poor health, respectively.

Single mother families are the dominant family structure among Black adult children. Only 20 percent of Black adult children are in two-parent biological families, while for Whites it is twice as prevalent. Black adult children also have more siblings, and are more likely to have a sibling who is also helping their parent. More than 35 percent of Black adult children have at least one sibling coresiding, compared to 20 percent of White adult children. Additionally, Blacks are twice as likely to have a sibling giving financial assistance to their parents.

[Table 1]

Table 2 provides a closer look at the interaction of coresidence and financial assistance using all adult child-parent dyad-wave records. In fact, for both Blacks and Whites, coresidence and financial assistance from the same adult child at the same time is rare. Rather, providing coresidence only is more common. A Chi-square test confirmed that the distribution of help from Black adult children is statistically different from that of White adult children.

[Table 2]

Table 3 summarizes the gender configuration of the adult children, by family size and race. I select the time of the earliest observation the HRS respondent appears for this descriptive analysis. Black parents are more likely to be coresiding with a child as the number of adult children increases. The fraction receiving money also increases with family size. These relationships are not as strong among White families. There are also racial differences in the type of assistance received from children by the gender configuration of children. Black parents who have all sons are more likely to have a child living with them compared to those who have all daughters. This is not the case for Whites. Secondly, in Black families with all daughters, a larger share of parents receive money, while in White families, it is reversed. Sons are more likely to give financial assistance to parents. This is consistent with the findings on White men's greater earnings relative to White women, and Black women's greater earnings relative to Black men.

Model 1 in Table 4 shows the gross association between race and living with parents, with Blacks being about 3.3 times more likely to coreside compared to Whites. However, after controlling for the adult child's characteristics in Model 2, Blacks are now less likely than Whites to coreside. There is no single attribute that is contributing the most to this change

(analyses not shown here). After adding parents' characteristics in Model 3, race differences are slightly larger, but with the inclusion of the number of siblings and their transfers in Models 4 and 5 respectively, the differences shrink. In the full model (Model 5), Blacks adult children are about 13 percent less likely to coreside with their parents at the $p<.10$ level.

The independent variables show the expected signs for both child and parent traits. Focusing on Model 5, an adult child who has greater resources is less likely to move-in with a parent, and having other family members like a spouse/partner and one's own children will decrease the likelihood of coresidence. In terms of parental traits, there is evidence that both having greater resources, such as working full-time and higher incomes, as well as having greater needs such as being in poor or fair health, are associated with parent-child coresidence. Adult children with single mothers are much more likely to be living together compared to those with two biological parents. In keeping with prior research, it is unlikely for adult children with single fathers and stepparents to live with them, relative to those who have two biological parents.

The results in Model 5 also indicate that siblings' coresidence with parents will vary based on the gender of the siblings. While greater numbers of sisters can depress the probability of coresidence, having more brothers increases the likelihood. It is possible that having sisters might provide additional options for housing in lieu of living with one's parents; this alternative may not be available with brothers. Moreover, having a sibling who lives with a parent will decrease the propensity to live with one's parents.

[Table 4]

Table 5 presents the separate regression results by race. Among Black adult children, being college-educated or having college-educated parents has no bearing on intergenerational coresidence. In contrast, for White adult children, there is a negative association between

educational attainment of either generation and coresidence. Black adult children's coresidence is also insensitive to the health needs of the parent generation, while that appears to increase the likelihood of coresidence for Whites. There is also a notable difference with regards to parent homeownership. It increases coresidence among Black adult children, but has the opposite association for Whites. Thus, homeownership among Whites may indicate less of a need for the parent to rely on their children for housing, while for Blacks, greater wealth in the form of owning a home may encourage parents and children to stay together. Finally, while being in a union or owning one's home are negatively associated with coresidence for both groups, Whites are more sensitive to changes in these traits than Blacks. Similarly, Whites are also more responsive to the number of other siblings on their own decision to live with a parent.

[Table 5]

Turning to financial assistance among coresident adult children, we see that accounting for child traits increases the existing gap between Blacks and Whites' support, but is reduced after considering parental characteristics. Thus, the younger generation's levels of help among Blacks are far greater than what would be expected given their ability based on demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Model 3 results point to the greater needs of Black parents driving some of the racial differences. The full model, Model 5, shows the expected statistically significant associations with the child and parent traits: greater resources among coresident adult children will increase financial help, but greater resources among parents will reduce it. Net of controls, Black coresident adult children are almost 1.3 times more likely than Whites to give money to their parents.

One finding that is different from the results of coresidence from Table 4 is that while adult children who live with single mothers continue to be more likely to give financial help than

those who live with two biological parents, coresident adult children who live with a single father or with a stepfamily are also more likely to give money. Thus, adult children who live with a parent with whom they have tenuous relationships may feel more obligated to provide financial assistance. The results from Model 5 provide mixed evidence of the how siblings influence a coresident adult child's own helping behaviors with parents. Having more sisters and brothers reduces the probability of one's own financial help to parents. On the other hand, having siblings who provide financial help will increase the probability of giving financial help. Separate results by race in Table 7 are similar to those from the full, pooled model in Table 6. White coresident adult daughters are less likely to give money to their parents while for their Black counterparts, there appears to be no gender differences. Additionally, parental income does not influence whether a coresident adult child gives money to parents for Blacks, but lowers the probability for Whites. With respect to siblings' help, Table 6 shows for Whites only, having a sibling who also lives with them and their parent is likely to increase the possibility of providing financial help to their parents at the $p<.10$ level. Thus, siblings in White families show more similar patterns of upward financial giving when living together. Otherwise, there are few differences in the strength of the associations by race.

[Table 6]

[Table 7]

The results from Table 8 show a similar pattern as from Table 5 with respect to the gains and reductions in the gap between Black and White noncoresident adult children's upstream financial help after accounting for child traits, parent traits, and then sibling traits. In the full model, Black noncoresident adult children are more than twice as likely to provide financial help compared to Whites. Among noncoresident children, only single mothers are more likely to

receive help than biological two-parent families; there are no statistically significant differences among single fathers and stepparents. Contrary to expectations, daughters are more likely to give financial help. Model 5 also shows that while having more siblings decreases the probability of helping, sibling transfers can have opposite results depending on the type of assistance. While having a sibling giving money is positively associated with one's own giving, having a sibling who lives with the parent is negatively associated with providing financial help among noncoresident adult children. This suggests siblings may be coordinating assistance sequentially, with the decision to coreside occurring first, followed by transfers conditional on whether the child coresides or not with the parent (Pezzin et al. 2007).

[Table 8]

The race-specific models in Table 9 show that compared to Whites, Black noncoresident adult children are more responsive to helping parents financially depending on their own ability to help through working full-time or homeownership. Additionally, only among Blacks is being female positively associated with providing more financial help. However, children's union status has no bearing on helping among Blacks, while for Whites, presumably the resources available through being in a union enable them to provide help. The type of family structure also affects Blacks and Whites differently. Compared to having one's biological parents who remain together, having a single father depresses financial assistance among only noncoresident Blacks, and Blacks are also more sensitive to helping when they have a single mother. In contrast, Black noncoresident adult children are less sensitive than Whites to help based on their parents' socioeconomic traits, such as homeownership and income, and are also less sensitive to the age and health of the parent. Siblings' helping behaviors have different associations with noncoresident financial help by race. While the direction and the strength of the associations

between number of sisters and brothers among Blacks and Whites are the same, Whites are more responsive to their siblings' financial giving than Blacks. When children in White families give financial assistance, they appear more likely to give concurrently. However, if the parent is living with a sibling, White noncoresident adult children are less likely to contribute financially.

[Table 9]

Among those who give, the descriptive results from Table 1 show that Black adult children give lower amounts. I find that for both coresident and noncoresident adult children, the average amount of help is remains lower, net of controls for child, parent, and sibling traits, as shown in Tables 10 and 11, respectively. Additionally, very few characteristics are statistically significant predictors of the amount of financial assistance from a child in or outside the household. For Blacks, none of the traits at the individual, parent, or sibling-level explain amounts of support. Among only Whites is the amount of financial assistance to parents among coresident adult children positively associated with homeownership in both the younger and older generations. Also, among White noncoresident adult children's assistance, being college-educated or having college-educated parents is associated with greater amounts of support.

[Table 10]

[Table 11]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

There is mixed evidence as to whether Black adult children's support for their parents differs from Whites. I find that after controlling for child traits, the observed unadjusted effect of greater coresidence among racial minorities is reversed. In fact, Black adult children are marginally less likely to coreside with a parent. Controlling for parent and sibling traits does

little to change this gap. However, both coresident and noncoresident Black adult children are more likely to provide financial help to their parents, although with on average lower amounts.

When the younger generation possesses greater resources, the likelihood of coresiding with a parent decreases but increases the probability of giving financial support. The associations between parents' attributes and receiving support from their children are more complex. Race-specific models for coresidence show when Black parents have more resources, coresidence increases, but for Whites, indications of parental need influence shared living arrangements. In contrast, for both Blacks and Whites, greater economic and health needs affect financial assistance from noncoresident adult children, although Whites are more sensitive to these needs than Blacks. Among coresident adult children, a parent with health challenges will raise the prospect of providing financial help, but the financial health of the older generation does not explain intrahousehold assistance.

The addition of the number of siblings to the regressions explains little of the Black-White gap in coresidence and financial assistance from both coresident and noncoresident adult children. Having more sisters reduces the likelihood of an adult child providing any type of support for both Blacks and Whites. However, number of brothers is negatively associated with financial giving, but positively associated with coresidence for both groups. It is possible that for coresidence, siblings are potential sources of support for each other. Daughters appear to be more receptive to either coresiding with their parents, reducing other sibling's obligations to move-in, or sisters may be able to provide housing for a sibling who may benefit from sharing a household. Brothers may not assume such roles in families as often as sisters.

Finally, coresidence is deterred when there are siblings who already live with their parents already for both Blacks and Whites. Conversely, there are notable race differences for

financial assistance. For both coresident and noncoresident Blacks and Whites, having siblings who provide monetary support increases the likelihood of their supporting parents as well, but noncoresident Whites are more sensitive to synchronizing this help with siblings than their Black peers. I also find that having a sibling coreside influences Whites' financial giving behaviors, but the direction of this association depends on whether the adult child is coresiding or not. Among coresident adults, living with a sibling and a parent increases the likelihood of giving financial support, but among noncoresident adults, having a sibling living with their parent lowers it. Thus, for Whites, when there are multiple adult children coresiding with the older generation, providing financial help is in line with resource-pooling behaviors, rather than a direct form of help to parents in order to alleviate economic distress.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Race differences in financial assistance for both coresident and noncoresident adults remain, as information on parental needs and siblings only partially explain why Blacks are more likely to help them. A range of omitted variables may explain this gap, but have not been included in this analysis. For example, measures of relationship quality may explain part of this gap, but this type of information is unavailable in the HRS. Families also provide in-kind assistance, but these data are not available. Future data collection efforts would do well to consider collecting this type of help which is more common among economically disadvantaged households.

This study would benefit from including several aspects of transfer behavior over time. First, it is possible that an individual's prior transfer behavior will affect their current behavior. Second, greater specificity in the patterns of both historical and current assistance among their siblings would advance our understanding of how the dynamics of help affect adult children's

helping behaviors in the present. Similarly, from a methodological standpoint, by using multilevel models, further detail on within-family differences can be understood. Fourth, a large body of work on intergenerational assistance has shown that downward flows are more likely. Future research should consider whether Black-White differences in financial assistance to parents during adulthood can be explained by prior help received from parents, earlier in life.

Finally, this study has intentionally excluded help in the form of time assistance. This is an important type of assistance that grows as parents age and become infirm. Although coresidence and money may also be potential forms of aid provided in response to deteriorating health conditions, they are distinct from time-based help in that they are used to address economic hardships. With widening economic inequality across race/ethnic lines, it is important to focus on how families may rely on one another during periods of financial instability. This study provides new information on parents' financial reliance on adult children, and how adult children and their siblings respond to these demands together. In comparing Black and White Black adult children, it is clear there are differing motivations and familial processes underlying coresidence and monetary assistance. Continued emphasis on studying the interrelationships in assistance both within and across generations will shed light on how family members respond in concert to financial uncertainty.

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 3.1. Characteristics of Adult Children with at Least One Sibling and Their Parents at Earliest Observation, by Race

	Blacks		Whites	
	% or Mean	Std. Dev.	% or Mean	Std. Dev.
Coresidence	15.3		10.3	
Financial Assistance	4.9		2.9	
Amount of Financial Assistance Since Last Wave (2014 $) (conditional on giving)	2,258.3	2,997.12	3,365.0	8,774.27
Adult Child Traits				
Age	34.8	9.99	37.7	11.09
Female	52.5		49.4	
College-Educated or Higher	18.3		32.3	
Works Full-time	61.9		71.4	
Coupled	38.7		63.1	
Owns Home	24.4		58.1	
Has Children	70.0		65.8	
Parent Traits				
Family Structure				
Single Father	16.8		10.4	
Single Mother	49.2		31.1	
Two-Parent Bio	19.7		40.0	
Step-family	14.3		18.6	
Any Immigrant Parent	6.9		5.5	
Age of the Older Parent	62.2	9.27	66.3	10.41
Any Parent College-Educated or Higher	10.8		22.6	
Any Parent Working Full-time	38.6		39.7	
Any Parent Owns Home	54.9		81.3	
Family Income (Adjusted to 2014 $)	30,910.3	42,679.24	54,476.0	82,365.14
Any Parent in Poor or Fair Health	47.1		31.8	
Sibling Traits				
# Sisters	1.7	1.43	1.4	1.27
# Brothers	2.0	1.66	1.5	1.44
Any Sibling Living w/ Parent Generation	35.2		20.3	
Any Siblings Giving $ to Parent(s)	10.2		4.9	
N	9,893		32,780	

Note: Unweighted.

Table 3.2. Differences in Coresidence with and Financial Support to Parents, by Race

	Blacks	Whites
No Support	83.5	91.1
Coresidence Only	11.8	6.7
Financial Assistance Only	3.8	1.9
Both	1.0	0.3
N	48,431	196,975

Notes: Adult child-parent dyad-wave observations. Unweighted.

Table 3.3. Summary of Type of Children and Assistance By Family Size of HRS Respondent and Spouse/Partner, by Race

Two Adult Children	Blacks	Whites
% All Daughters	25.8	22.5
% All Sons	23.1	24.6
% Mixed	51.1	52.9
N	841	4,094
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	34.0	23.7
% receiving $ from any adult child	8.9	5.5
Among All Daughter Families…		
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	30.0	21.5
% receiving $ from any adult child	10.1	4.3
Among All Son Families…		
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	39.7	25.6
% receiving $ from any adult child	9.8	6.2

Three Adult Children	Blacks	Whites
% All Daughters	15.3	12.1
% All Sons	11.5	12.5
% 1 Daughter, 2 Sons	37.3	39.1
% 2 Daughters, 1 Son	35.9	36.2
N	633	2,887
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	37.6	24.8
% receiving $ from any adult child	10.3	5.0
Among All Daughter Families…		
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	33.0	24.6
% receiving $ from any adult child	9.3	5.4
Among All Son Families…		
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	34.3	22.7
% receiving $ from any adult child	9.6	6.3

Notes: Unweighted. Children includes biological, adopted, and step-children of HRS respondents and spouse/partners in a monoracial union.

Table 3.3. (continued)

Four Adult Children	Blacks	Whites
% All Daughters	7.0	6.3
% All Sons	4.8	8.2
% 1 Daughter, 3 Sons	24.3	25.0
% 3 Daughters, 1 Son	30.1	37.2
% Equal Number Daughters and Sons	33.8	23.3
N	518	1,782
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	40.4	27.7
% receiving $ from any adult child	11.2	6.0
Among All Daughter Families…		
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	30.6	27.7
% receiving $ from any adult child	27.8	4.5
Among All Son Families…		
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	40.0	26.0
% receiving $ from any adult child	8.0	6.8

Five Adult Children	Blacks	Whites
% All Daughters	5.1	3.4
% All Sons	4.1	3.2
% 1 Daughter, 4 Sons	13.9	17.7
% 2 Daughters, 3 Sons	27.4	30.9
% 3 Daughters, 2 Sons	30.0	29.7
% 4 Daughters, 1 Son	19.6	15.2
N	317	920
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	45.1	25.2
% receiving $ from any adult child	11.7	6.4
Among All Daughter Families…		
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	12.5	22.6
% receiving $ from any adult child	6.3	3.2
Among All Son Families…		
% with at least 1 coresiding adult child	53.9	24.1
% receiving $ from any adult child	0.0	6.9

Notes: Unweighted. Children includes biological, adopted, and step-children of HRS respondents and spouse/partners in a monoracial union.

Table 3.4. Logistic Regression Models of Coresidence with Parents

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
	OR	OR	OR	OR	OR
Black	3.344***	0.836**	0.752***	0.816*	0.866+
	(0.181)	(0.057)	(0.053)	(0.067)	(0.075)
Age		0.945***	0.868***	0.846***	0.841***
		(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Female		1.005	0.967	0.781***	0.764***
		(0.053)	(0.050)	(0.048)	(0.048)
College or Higher		0.705***	0.651***	0.563***	0.549***
		(0.045)	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.044)
Works Full-time		0.269***	0.283***	0.265***	0.259***
		(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Coupled		0.074***	0.075***	0.062***	0.060***
		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Owns Home		0.093***	0.090***	0.080***	0.077***
		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Has Children		0.377***	0.418***	0.381***	0.369***
		(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.023)
Family Structure of Parent Generation (Ref: Two Parent Bio)					
Single Father			0.504***	0.458***	0.428***
			(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.053)
Single Mother			2.577***	2.713***	2.810***
			(0.177)	(0.202)	(0.221)
Stepfamily			0.211***	0.193***	0.177***
			(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.022)
Any Parent Foreign-born			1.452**	1.131	1.153
			(0.183)	(0.155)	(0.167)
Age of Older Parent			1.106***	1.135***	1.137***
			(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Any Parent College or Higher			0.812**	0.690***	0.690***
			(0.062)	(0.061)	(0.064)
Any Parent Works Full-time			1.615***	1.519***	1.554***
			(0.083)	(0.082)	(0.088)
Any Parent Owns Home			0.925	0.983	0.990
			(0.057)	(0.064)	(0.068)
Log Parental Income (2014 $)			1.033*	1.037*	1.039*
			(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Any Parent in Fair or Poor Health			1.121**	1.168***	1.173***
			(0.042)	(0.046)	(0.048)
Number of Sisters				0.254***	0.235***
				(0.011)	(0.011)
Number of Brothers				2.203***	2.397***
				(0.059)	(0.074)
Any Sibling Living w/ Parent Generation					0.538***
					(0.044)
Any Sibling Giving Money					1.096
					(0.084)
N	245406	245406	245406	245406	245406

Notes: Adult child-parent dyad-wave observations. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown.
†<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3.5. Logistic Regression Models of Coresidence with Parents, by Race

	Blacks	Whites	Difference in Coefficients
	OR	OR	
Black			
Age	0.846***	0.836***	
	(0.009)	(0.006)	
Female	0.730**	0.764***	
	(0.079)	(0.058)	
College or Higher	1.040	0.455***	***
	(0.158)	(0.043)	
Works Full-time	0.318***	0.231***	**
	(0.025)	(0.013)	
Coupled	0.091***	0.050***	***
	(0.011)	(0.004)	
Owns Home	0.106***	0.073***	**
	(0.015)	(0.005)	
Has Children	0.358***	0.388***	
	(0.039)	(0.031)	
Family Structure of Parent Generation (Ref: Two Parent Bio)			
Single Father	0.177***	0.608***	
	(0.041)	(0.088)	
Single Mother	2.672***	2.677***	
	(0.410)	(0.248)	
Stepfamily	0.281***	0.137***	
	(0.069)	(0.020)	
Any Parent Foreign-born	1.355	1.094	
	(0.334)	(0.193)	
Age of Older Parent	1.145***	1.132***	
	(0.012)	(0.008)	
Any Parent College or Higher	1.342	0.585***	***
	(0.253)	(0.064)	
Any Parent Works Full-time	1.437***	1.551***	
	(0.150)	(0.105)	
Any Parent Owns Home	1.613***	0.726***	***
	(0.185)	(0.061)	
Log Parental Income (2014 $)	1.031	1.036+	
	(0.024)	(0.021)	
Any Parent in Fair or Poor Health	1.034	1.236***	*
	(0.072)	(0.063)	
Number of Sisters	0.279***	0.215***	**
	(0.020)	(0.013)	
Number of Brothers	2.167***	2.528***	*
	(0.112)	(0.097)	
Any Sibling Living w/ Parent Generation	0.515***	0.536***	
	(0.070)	(0.056)	
Any Sibling Giving Money	1.100	1.053	
	(0.116)	(0.113)	
N	48431	196975	

Notes: Adult child-parent dyad-wave observations. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown.
†<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3.6. Logistic Regression Models of Financial Assistance to Parents among Coresident Adult Children

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
	OR	OR	OR	OR	OR
Black	1.891***	2.071***	1.520***	1.612***	1.275*
	(0.200)	(0.224)	(0.173)	(0.183)	(0.134)
Age		1.031***	1.016*	1.013+	1.017*
		(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Female		1.119	1.072	0.927	1.009
		(0.098)	(0.095)	(0.094)	(0.102)
College or Higher		1.327*	1.493***	1.424**	1.448***
		(0.149)	(0.168)	(0.161)	(0.161)
Works Full-time		2.529***	2.652***	2.638***	2.725***
		(0.229)	(0.240)	(0.238)	(0.246)
Coupled		1.431**	1.292*	1.274*	1.383**
		(0.158)	(0.142)	(0.140)	(0.149)
Owns Home		0.810	0.750*	0.745*	0.739*
		(0.109)	(0.103)	(0.102)	(0.102)
Has Children		1.067	0.996	1.019	1.018
		(0.114)	(0.105)	(0.107)	(0.105)
Family Structure of Parent Generation (Ref: Two Parent Bio)					
Single Father			1.541*	1.570*	1.658*
			(0.329)	(0.332)	(0.327)
Single Mother			3.435***	3.521***	2.915***
			(0.525)	(0.535)	(0.412)
Stepfamily			1.251	1.434	1.636*
			(0.292)	(0.338)	(0.360)
Any Parent Foreign-born			1.137	1.098	0.993
			(0.216)	(0.208)	(0.167)
Age of Older Parent			0.991	0.996	0.992
			(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Any Parent College or Higher			1.344*	1.282+	1.271+
			(0.191)	(0.181)	(0.167)
Any Parent Works Full-time			0.724*	0.697**	0.732*
			(0.098)	(0.094)	(0.090)
Any Parent Owns Home			0.908	0.898	0.864
			(0.103)	(0.102)	(0.090)
Log Parental Income (2014 $)			0.912**	0.911**	0.921**
			(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.023)
Any Parent in Fair or Poor Health			1.324**	1.339**	1.318**
			(0.121)	(0.122)	(0.113)
Number of Sisters				0.774***	0.753***
				(0.039)	(0.035)
Number of Brothers				0.972	0.895**
				(0.036)	(0.032)
Any Sibling Living w/ Parent Generation					1.133
					(0.119)
Any Sibling Giving Money					13.999***
					(1.729)
N	19989	19989	19989	19989	19989

Notes: Adult child-parent dyad-wave observations. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown.
†<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3.7. Logistic Regression Models of Financial Assistance to Parents among Coresident Adult Children, by Race

	Blacks	Whites	Difference in Coefficients
	OR	OR	
Black			
Age	1.016	1.017+	
	(0.011)	(0.010)	
Female	1.302	0.853	*
	(0.217)	(0.109)	
College or Higher	1.554*	1.391*	
	(0.281)	(0.197)	
Works Full-time	2.815***	2.574***	
	(0.399)	(0.305)	
Coupled	1.410*	1.310+	
	(0.230)	(0.192)	
Owns Home	0.706	0.730+	
	(0.191)	(0.119)	
Has Children	0.923	1.086	
	(0.140)	(0.151)	
Family Structure of Parent Generation (Ref: Two Parent Bio)			
Single Father	1.471	1.707*	
	(0.497)	(0.418)	
Single Mother	2.100**	3.406***	
	(0.479)	(0.602)	
Stepfamily	1.722	1.396	
	(0.579)	(0.429)	
Any Parent Foreign-born	0.963	0.950	
	(0.234)	(0.224)	
Age of Older Parent	0.991	0.992	
	(0.012)	(0.011)	
Any Parent College or Higher	1.335	1.278	
	(0.279)	(0.215)	
Any Parent Works Full-time	0.749	0.703*	
	(0.134)	(0.117)	
Any Parent Owns Home	0.938	0.809	
	(0.138)	(0.118)	
Log Parental Income (2014 $)	0.981	0.868***	*
	(0.039)	(0.028)	
Any Parent in Fair or Poor Health	1.304*	1.292*	
	(0.175)	(0.144)	
Number of Sisters	0.762***	0.751***	
	(0.053)	(0.047)	
Number of Brothers	0.898+	0.888*	
	(0.050)	(0.041)	
Any Sibling Living w/ Parent Generation	0.959	1.318+	
	(0.147)	(0.186)	
Any Sibling Giving Money	13.493***	14.343***	
	(2.358)	(2.523)	
N	6190	13799	

Notes: Adult child-parent dyad-wave observations. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown.
†<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3.8. Logistic Regression Models of Financial Assistance to Parents among Noncoresident Adult Children

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
	OR	OR	OR	OR	OR
Black	1.891***	4.200***	2.819***	3.021***	2.198***
	(0.200)	(0.356)	(0.242)	(0.266)	(0.143)
Age		1.044***	1.000	0.999	1.001
		(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Female		1.190***	1.162**	1.132**	1.128*
		(0.060)	(0.056)	(0.052)	(0.055)
College or Higher		1.667***	2.006***	1.921***	1.963***
		(0.105)	(0.123)	(0.117)	(0.109)
Works Full-time		1.368***	1.434***	1.438***	1.409***
		(0.068)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.072)
Coupled		1.092+	1.091+	1.092+	1.079
		(0.057)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.058)
Owns Home		1.554***	1.657***	1.648***	1.749***
		(0.086)	(0.091)	(0.091)	(0.099)
Has Children		0.866*	0.846**	0.857**	0.810***
		(0.051)	(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.048)
Family Structure of Parent Generation (Ref: Two Parent Bio)					
Single Father			0.892	0.902	1.000
			(0.119)	(0.121)	(0.101)
Single Mother			2.513***	2.557***	2.018***
			(0.243)	(0.248)	(0.149)
Stepfamily			0.742*	0.841	0.901
			(0.099)	(0.116)	(0.092)
Any Parent Foreign-born			1.362*	1.354*	1.209+
			(0.202)	(0.201)	(0.128)
Age of Older Parent			1.016***	1.018***	1.010*
			(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Any Parent College or Higher			0.718**	0.696***	0.699***
			(0.074)	(0.072)	(0.054)
Any Parent Works Full-time			0.708***	0.696***	0.829**
			(0.060)	(0.058)	(0.054)
Any Parent Owns Home			0.720***	0.716***	0.748***
			(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.039)
Log Parental Income (2014 $)			0.874***	0.873***	0.882***
			(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.011)
Any Parent in Fair or Poor Health			1.466***	1.471***	1.395***
			(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.061)
Number of Sisters				0.912**	0.839***
				(0.027)	(0.020)
Number of Brothers				0.925**	0.870***
				(0.022)	(0.018)
Any Sibling Living w/ Parent Generation					0.818**
					(0.052)
Any Sibling Giving Money					47.193***
					(4.065)
N	225417	225417	225417	225417	225417

Notes: Adult child-parent dyad-wave observations. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown.
†<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3.9. Logistic Regression Models of Financial Assistance to Parents among Noncoresident Adult Children, by Race

	Blacks	Whites	Difference in Coefficients
	OR	OR	
Black			
Age	1.003	0.999	
	(0.007)	(0.005)	
Female	1.234*	1.051	†
	(0.107)	(0.062)	
College or Higher	2.096***	1.913***	
	(0.210)	(0.126)	
Works Full-time	1.638***	1.269***	*
	(0.144)	(0.081)	
Coupled	0.910	1.191*	*
	(0.075)	(0.084)	
Owns Home	2.091***	1.522***	**
	(0.189)	(0.104)	
Has Children	0.779*	0.818**	
	(0.076)	(0.060)	
Family Structure of Parent Generation (Ref: Two Parent Bio)			
Single Father	0.641**	1.099	**
	(0.109)	(0.130)	
Single Mother	1.776***	1.893***	
	(0.232)	(0.166)	
Stepfamily	0.882	0.806+	
	(0.159)	(0.097)	
Any Parent Foreign-born	1.668**	1.040	*
	(0.285)	(0.141)	
Age of Older Parent	0.996	1.017***	*
	(0.007)	(0.005)	
Any Parent College or Higher	0.834	0.687***	
	(0.136)	(0.060)	
Any Parent Works Full-time	0.774*	0.816*	
	(0.078)	(0.069)	
Any Parent Owns Home	0.897	0.721***	*
	(0.084)	(0.046)	
Log Parental Income (2014 $)	0.961*	0.834***	***
	(0.018)	(0.013)	
Any Parent in Fair or Poor Health	1.177*	1.492***	**
	(0.087)	(0.079)	
Number of Sisters	0.834***	0.859***	
	(0.031)	(0.025)	
Number of Brothers	0.863***	0.882***	
	(0.026)	(0.022)	
Any Sibling Living w/ Parent Generation	0.947	0.727***	*
	(0.091)	(0.063)	
Any Sibling Giving Money	19.607***	71.110***	***
	(2.411)	(7.939)	
N	42241	183176	

Notes: Adult child-parent dyad-wave observations. Unweighted. Exponentiated coefficients shown.
†<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3.10. OLS Regression Models of the Amount of Financial Assistance to Parents among Coresident Adult Children (Conditional on Giving)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Blacks	Whites	Difference in Coefficients
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	
Black	-2148.816***	-1679.348***	-1665.377***	-1617.698***	-1417.557**			
	(474.427)	(448.588)	(431.465)	(446.042)	(440.622)			
Age		17.381	3.487	-0.254	-5.093	19.993	-24.073	
		(22.284)	(34.612)	(35.314)	(35.175)	(42.608)	(50.400)	
Female		-106.009	-188.320	-253.478	-450.336	205.356	-834.180	
		(435.678)	(446.830)	(515.128)	(530.542)	(451.092)	(911.159)	
College or Higher		801.610	579.650	573.792	531.570	493.019	757.532	
		(636.528)	(585.429)	(594.661)	(588.258)	(501.343)	(949.269)	
Works Full-time		-218.492	-76.557	-91.183	-172.016	-243.583	97.310	
		(553.697)	(567.419)	(572.224)	(567.364)	(507.675)	(882.739)	
Coupled		1015.228+	1049.050+	1030.267+	920.768	326.252	1621.370+	
		(538.161)	(554.262)	(551.299)	(564.914)	(551.770)	(896.143)	
Owns Home		1664.549+	1721.412+	1702.594+	1783.615+	-1067.866+	2411.594+	*
		(932.815)	(944.476)	(948.520)	(951.703)	(644.936)	(1280.802)	
Has Children		-1211.746**	-1134.827*	-1089.661*	-1180.356**	-664.136	-1565.581*	
		(447.991)	(456.623)	(450.311)	(448.981)	(543.819)	(692.316)	
Family Structure of Parent Generation (Ref: Two Parent Bio)								
Single Father			-520.988	-526.111	-731.520	-175.986	-691.507	
			(1013.124)	(1014.218)	(985.462)	(1002.114)	(1458.545)	
Single Mother			540.601	551.149	566.099	-261.920	1259.944	
			(829.079)	(824.945)	(831.069)	(768.589)	(1287.354)	
Stepfamily			-698.346	-563.272	-857.617	491.700	-1956.470	
			(890.533)	(889.747)	(937.123)	(1233.546)	(1470.315)	
Any Parent Foreign-born			-966.882	-963.614	-847.824	-676.186	-1425.044	
			(714.048)	(730.167)	(726.893)	(868.553)	(1194.974)	
Age of Older Parent			11.896	14.943	20.776	-14.571	26.151	
			(35.843)	(36.608)	(36.192)	(43.159)	(57.603)	
Any Parent College or Higher			1395.292	1359.810	1354.913	530.037	2145.769	
			(900.378)	(921.249)	(900.916)	(901.425)	(1453.848)	
Any Parent Works Full-time			-280.606	-315.915	-202.447	496.262	-1321.723	
			(592.652)	(583.361)	(588.851)	(598.163)	(1051.767)	
Any Parent Owns Home			209.214	199.452	262.592	-870.782	1396.091+	*
			(481.728)	(482.615)	(489.352)	(601.674)	(740.780)	
Log Parental Income (2014 $)			-35.061	-35.951	-68.428	-92.773	-3.571	
			(117.927)	(118.187)	(118.718)	(117.947)	(200.556)	
Any Parent in Fair or Poor Health			322.608	320.933	369.056	-391.931	1038.184	
			(528.121)	(529.568)	(533.850)	(458.229)	(858.483)	
Number of Sisters				-180.772	-168.440	-7.146	-538.606	
				(215.046)	(220.350)	(224.679)	(352.959)	
Number of Brothers				-68.476	78.493	-190.156	138.678	
				(147.126)	(184.402)	(181.505)	(322.335)	
Any Sibling Living w/ Parent Generation					-409.602	-363.217	-841.470	
					(667.763)	(588.923)	(1041.632)	
Any Sibling Giving Money					-1965.639*	-33.132	-205.056	
					(769.246)	(520.392)	(782.029)	
Constant	3885.255***	3371.368**	2676.928	2920.114	3628.287+	5121.253*	1290.970	
	(409.157)	(1099.613)	(2058.019)	(2065.072)	(2160.906)	(2189.901)	(3251.251)	
N	1113	1113	1113	1113	1113	478	633	

Notes: Adult child-parent dyad-wave observations. Unweighted. †<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3.11. OLS Regression Models of the Amount of Financial Assistance to Parents among Noncoresident Adult Children (Conditional on Giving)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Blacks	Whites	Difference in Coefficients
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	
Black	-1384.672***	-1232.689***	-1000.889***	-888.627***	-951.937***			
	(256.657)	(266.737)	(250.409)	(255.687)	(265.549)			
Age		19.831	27.225	24.945	22.973	28.278	22.520	
		(14.583)	(19.805)	(19.380)	(19.037)	(26.624)	(27.462)	
Female		-322.872	-273.274	-316.667	-288.972	-240.707	-263.499	
		(251.325)	(250.065)	(248.328)	(247.810)	(238.326)	(366.403)	
College or Higher		1457.512***	1099.176***	1043.823***	1013.806***	307.926	1250.000***	†
		(272.804)	(232.213)	(235.197)	(237.339)	(332.798)	(305.897)	
Works Full-time		-68.222	-43.767	-38.872	-21.975	139.683	-66.053	
		(289.290)	(287.069)	(286.577)	(287.358)	(299.523)	(403.273)	
Coupled		-346.219	-354.694	-362.594	-336.823	-83.664	-545.229	
		(248.264)	(249.695)	(247.924)	(246.059)	(225.655)	(389.705)	
Owns Home		28.439	54.294	67.377	40.229	251.329	-55.365	
		(277.569)	(281.370)	(280.890)	(278.597)	(246.452)	(445.567)	
Has Children		-404.936	-357.212	-350.520	-221.683	-681.929+	-127.975	
		(272.616)	(271.773)	(272.564)	(275.388)	(404.347)	(369.404)	
Family Structure of Parent Generation (Ref: Two Parent Bio)								
Single Father			-1157.139+	-1181.178+	-1376.277*	-519.326	-1271.890	
			(634.663)	(634.312)	(642.976)	(727.001)	(782.520)	
Single Mother			-1432.564**	-1444.973**	-1503.277**	-847.848	-1619.184*	
			(529.243)	(534.781)	(539.072)	(584.111)	(669.715)	
Stepfamily			-687.753	-481.004	-697.274	-257.593	-621.394	
			(590.633)	(629.905)	(639.476)	(718.774)	(803.121)	
Any Parent Foreign-born			318.032	309.225	335.789	914.200	-50.571	
			(523.674)	(526.721)	(539.658)	(666.030)	(702.461)	
Age of Older Parent			15.262	17.665	26.783	-27.918	41.114	†
			(25.433)	(25.151)	(25.016)	(22.831)	(37.676)	
Any Parent College or Higher			1868.018**	1807.115*	1819.306**	616.004	2247.066*	*
			(698.032)	(702.178)	(699.829)	(472.285)	(975.067)	
Any Parent Works Full-time			96.420	14.410	-16.225	-486.453+	226.799	
			(431.756)	(432.683)	(431.556)	(295.501)	(707.162)	
Any Parent Owns Home			-455.819	-472.642	-494.841	331.548	-802.071+	*
			(311.321)	(310.091)	(310.189)	(301.076)	(411.401)	
Log Parental Income (2014 $)			-44.096	-45.244	-64.315	-141.412+	48.941	
			(85.885)	(84.637)	(83.750)	(84.180)	(127.964)	
Any Parent in Fair or Poor Health			-297.246	-294.319	-310.975	-144.337	-351.090	
			(265.289)	(263.282)	(263.244)	(269.416)	(373.093)	
Number of Sisters				-170.154	-50.899	-171.181	-123.263	
				(128.276)	(125.924)	(131.610)	(186.893)	
Number of Brothers				-107.640	-62.094	-58.975	-176.273	
				(93.844)	(96.675)	(120.976)	(127.504)	
Any Sibling Living w/ Parent Generation					347.647	165.721	475.405	
					(315.079)	(356.738)	(502.760)	
Any Sibling Giving Money					-1994.651***	18.251	-571.082	
					(393.508)	(254.196)	(383.736)	
Constant	2643.197***	1876.447*	2041.585	2436.676	2667.567	5292.643*	308.736	
	(340.371)	(857.474)	(1868.187)	(1829.701)	(1821.937)	(2075.332)	(2498.988)	
N	5555	5555	5555	5555	5539	1818	3721	

Notes: Adult child-parent dyad-wave observations. Unweighted. †<.10; *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

APPENDIX TABLES

Table 3.A. Percentage Distributions in the Number of Children by Race among HRS Respondents and Spouse/Partners at Time of Earliest Observation

# Children	Blacks	Whites
1	20	16
2	23	32
3	18	22
4	14	14
4+	25	16
N	3,605	12,940

Notes: Unweighted. Children includes biological, adopted, and step-children of HRS respondents and spouse/partners in a monoracial union.

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