Household Extension, Reducing or Reinforcing Inequality?

Women's Employment, Immigration, Children and Household Extension

By

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Abstract

OBJECTIVE
This paper explores the implication of household extension for women's employment, according nativity and considering extended households by demographic and structural characteristics.

METHODS
Using the American Community Survey 2008-2010, the paper uses logistic regression, predicting employment of women who are age 18-45, married, and not attending school.

RESULTS
Household extension is associated with increased women's employment, especially for immigrants. Extended family member's support or hindrance depends on their gender, employment, health status, and interacts with the presence of children. Importantly, the patterns vary by women's nativity and duration of residence

CONCLUSION
The patterns of family roles provide important implications for the reproduction of inequality in women's employment. Women's nativity and duration of residence is an important dimension in understanding family dynamics

Introduction

Immigrant women's market employment participation is an important indicator of adaptation to the new country as it allows women to access to economic resources (Blood and Wolfe 1960). Recent research suggests different effects of education, family structure, and immigration experience to explain immigrant women's employment (e.g. Espiritu 1999; Read and Cohen 2007; Read 2004). Household extension has been recognized as important economic strategy for immigrants, but there has been little empirical attention to the specific role of extended household members (for more work, see Sarkisian, Gerena, & Gerstel, 2006; Kamo, 2000; Uttal, 1999; Angel & Tienda, 1982).

From an economic perspective, household extension possibly increases women's employment chances by increasing their resources available to overcome challenges such as lower returns to education and labor market experience, and limited social and legal rights (Van Hook & Glick, 2007). However, from a gender and family perspective, the effects of extended adults depend on their demographic and structural characteristics. Extending a household to include those with higher economic standings is likely to add extra house labor burdens for women (Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004); female members are likely to bring benefits to hosting women with provision of domestic labor and childcare. In addition, recent immigration, often neglected, can translate into gender-specific implications in determining women's work and house labor. For example, among Mexicans, recent migration accentuated "traditional" gender roles (Parrado, Flippen, & McQuiston, 2005; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch 1995; Valenzuela & Dornbusch 1994), rendering women more concentrated in child care and house works.

In summary, the implications of household extension should be considered in light of women's immigrant experience, and the resources or constraints associated with additional members, and their family roles, should be understood in interaction with women's family roles. This paper examines the demographic and structural characteristics of extended members (e.g. gender, employment, and health difficulties) to assess how each characteristic influences women's employment. Specifically, I explore how the presence of extended household members affects mothers' response to children through employment patterns, and if immigrants exhibit different dynamics in how extended members facilitate or limit women's employment. I expect the interactions among extended members can capture different familial contexts for women to determine their employment. The different patterns among groups will provide a clue to learning immigrant women's unique economic adaptation processes. I argue that extended families roles will differ by their gender, employment, and health status, and interact with the presence of women's children, and that the patterns will vary by women's nativity and duration of residence.

Women's employment and the factors

Family Conditions

Extended family

Extended members' gender, employment, and health status are important factors in determining their family roles and contributions. Women spend more time giving help than do men. Practical assistance such as cooking, cleaning, and babysitting is mostly taken care of by women. Despite the argument that the gender gap in informal care-giving was closely related to employment status and job characteristics (Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004), gender roles and socialization will render women

members more likely to share young women's burdens of housework. Thus,

1) Female extended members will be positively associated with women's employment.

Child care is especially an important support. Women members are much more likely to care for young children (Eggebeen and Hogan 1990; England, Hermsen, and Cotter 2000) in intergenerational families. Children, particularly young children, universally dampen mothers' employment. Previous researches focused on extended adults' (mostly grandparents) child care finds that grandparents provide practical assistance such as child care and housework, especially when adult children had families of their own (Wang & Marcotte 2007). Thus,

1-a) Female extended members will be even more positively associated with women's employment when they have children under age 5.

Employment status of extended members can be a hindrance or support for women's employment. On one hand, higher socioeconomic standing of extended members is found to lower the likelihood of housework involvement (Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004). On the other hand, economically active members may help women's employment by contributing income for child care services (Cohen & Casper 2002, Jarrett 1994) or by generating employment contacts (Stoloff, Glanville, and Jayne 1999). On Hispanic immigrant women's labor force participation, Tienda and Glass (1985) found positive effects of extended member. Generally, findings for employed other adults' assistance are mixed.

However, this paper focuses on extended members who are older adults and not living in their own homes (see data and methods), so their socioeconomic status will be lower. Thus,

2) Employed extended members will be positively associated with women's employment

Although no empirical research documents the interactional effects between employed extended adults and presence of children on immigrant mothers' employment, I pay attention to the income contribution for child care services (Cohen & Casper 2002, Jarrett 1994) by employed members. Therefore,

2-a) Employed extended members will be even more positively associated with women's employment when they have children under age 5.

Extended members' health status may determine their ability to work around the house versus their needs for assistance and support. Co-residence with disabled older relatives may lower women's market employment considering the primary tendency of women's care work. Also, considering that Social Security has made it more possible for older relatives to live alone (McGarry and Schoeni 2000), co-residing disabled adults might be those who cannot receive governmental provision of means, who are in poverty, or tied to familial attachment. Although it is less known of how disabled adults come to co-reside with their younger relatives, and what implications this might have for women, my emphasis is on the demand for care from disabled adults. Thus,

3) Disabled extended members will be negatively associated with women's employment.

No empirical research documents the interaction between disabled adults and young children. However, some qualitative research reports on women's doubled care-giving stress from elder care and child care in extended families (Remennick, 1999, 2001). Thus,

3-a) Disabled extended members will be even more negatively associated with women's employment with children under age 5.

Immigrant women's experience, often measured by duration of residence, can be an important dimension of understanding the implication of household extension, but has been long neglected (for discussion in detail, see Glick, 2000). Especially for recent immigrants adapting to a new society, and with economic hardship, family roles among extended members are more diverse. On one hand, extended households may have a negative implication for women's market employment (Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995; Valenzuela and Dornbusch 1994). Mexican immigrant women are found to accentuate their traditional gender roles compared to those in the country of origin when in the presence of extended family members (Parrado, Flippen & McQuiston 2005).

On the other hand, in an effort to adjust to a new society, recent immigrants' family behaviors tend to be more cooperative, with sharing of individual, social and economic resources within the household (Kibria, 1994). Among Vietnamese refugees, the poverty and uncertainty posed by migration calls for additional wage contributions, often encouraging women to work. In their difficult economic conditions, family roles are organized around cooperation and negotiation (1994: 20-21). In this sense, women's burdens of housework will be lightened by extended household members sharing.

As a first approach to this issues, this paper identifies differences in the effects of extended members between immigrant women, particularly recent ones, compared to US-born women in the population;

4) The extent of effects of extended members on women's employment will

differ by women's duration of residence as well as nativity among US-born, foreign-born and recent immigrant women.

Data and Methods

Using American Community Survey 2008-2010 pooled data, I sample married, foreign-born immigrant women and US-born women living in their own households. Each group of women is divided between US-born, foreign-born, and recent immigrant (in the US less than 10 years). The subject of the study is women who are ages 18-45, married, and not attending school. Students are excluded because the dynamics of their labor force participation are unique. Women aged 18-45 are both more likely to have young children (living in their homes) – thus potentially needing for childcare support – and to be hosting older extended household members. If these women invite additional family members, that might indicate women's needs for childcare support.

Important to note, I restrict the sample to those who are householders or spouses of the householder. When those who live in the homes of others entered into analysis, then it becomes more difficult to know in what family context women make her employment decisions. By the distinction of householder status I seek to understand how extended household "guests," who live others' homes (Casper & Cohen 2002), shape the context of employment for householder women. Three years of data are pooled to increase the reliability of estimates of smaller groups in the sample. The data include approximately 3 percent of the population.

Measures and Descriptions

Dependent Variable

Women's current employment status specifies whether each woman was employed at least one hour for pay or profit during the reference period. This indicator is used because it identifies those who are gainfully employed from those who are unemployed as well as those who are not in labor force. This specification is preferred because the measure of finding and keeping a job can filter the respondents' subject definition of "actively" looking for work. By excluding that, the current employment status assures clearer measure. In addition, the ACS is not designed primarily as a labor force survey and does not measure unemployment consistently compared with a standard reference such as the Current Population Survey (Kromer & Howard 2011).

Table 1 presents disparities in employment rates among US-born, foreign-born, and recent immigrant women. US-born women in nuclear households are the most employed, about 1.5 times more employed than are recent immigrant women. Women in extended households were more employed than those in nuclear households, except for US-born women who are slightly less employed. Foreign-born women in extended households are as likely to be employed as US-born women in nuclear households, while recent immigrants are still the least likely employed.

Independent Variables

Family conditions include, most importantly, the presence of extended family members. These are defined as any parent, parent-in-law, sibling, sibling-in-law, or other relatives of the householder over the age of 45. Their gender, employment and disability status are coded with dummy variables. To identify the most pertinent disabilities for the question of care-intensive labor demands, I code those defined as self-care, ambulatory, and independent living disabilities.

Foreign-born women are more likely to extend their households (8 percent) than the US-born counterparts (Table 1). Fewer (7 percent) recent immigrant women have extended adults in their households, probably due to limited kin availability (Glick 2000). Among those extended adults, nearly 80 percent are women. About 30 percent are employed adults, and those living with recent immigrant women are more economically active (33 percent). While 39 percent of extended adults are disabled in the households of US-born women, only 21 percent are disabled in recent immigrant women's households.

Control Variables

Control variables consist of individual and other family conditions. Individual factors include age, education, and duration of U.S. residence for immigrant women. Human capital theory suggests that women with adequate education and job skills are more likely to enter employment compared to those with lower levels of these resources (Cohen and Bianchi's 1999). Age is measured as a continuous variable. Educational attainment (high school graduate, some college, four-year degree, advanced degree) is treated with dummy variables. English ability is measured with dummy variable indicating whether the women report speaking English "very well."

Duration of residence is an important indicator of knowledge and resources needed for the labor market of the host country, including language skills as well as formal credentials and licenses. For those from more traditional societies, longer duration increases women's exposure to social norms regarding dual-earner roles (Schoeni, 1998; Yamanaka & McClelland, 1994). These factors may affect immigrant employment rates. Duration of U.S. residence 10 years or more is treated with a dummy variable.

Table 1 presents distinctions in women's individual resources between US-born women and foreign-born women. Foreign-born women are less educated than US-born counterparts. As to English proficiency only about 70 percent foreign-born women and 60 percent recent immigrants are proficient at English. The disparities are intensified for extended household women. These findings substantiate the lower structural positions and lack of resources of immigrant women, especially who extended their households.

Recent immigrant women are more likely to be mothers of young children (under age 5). Considering the negative effects of young children to mother's employment (Cohen and Bianchi 1999; Tienda and Glass 1985; Juhn & Potter 2006; Leibowitz & Klerman, 1995), this finding partly explains the lowest level of employments for foreign-born recent immigrant women.

Additional family variables are controlled including husband's income (logged), squared logged husband's income, and any income except the husbands' or wife's wages (also logged), the presence of the school-aged children (5-17) and presence of children under age 5.

US-born women's husband incomes are at the highest level, while the figures are at the lowest level for recent immigrant women. About other household incomes, Foreign-born women, except recent immigrants, access to the higher level of other incomes than do US-born counterparts, and again recent immigrant women access to the lowest level of other incomes. When it comes to extended households, the US-born women's husband incomes are at the lowest, even lower than those of recent immigrant women's husbands. Still, recent immigrant women access to the lowest other incomes.

Race and ethnicity of women are also controlled: Black, Hispanic (Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban), other Hispanic (other than the three), East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean), West Asian (Asian Indian and Pakistani), Southeast Asian (Filipina and Vietnamese), other Asian, and Middle Eastern origin.

Models

The questions that I seek to answer are: 1) Do the effects of household extension change by gender, employment, and health status of extended members? 2) How do these effects interact with the presence of young children? And, 3) Do these patterns vary by nativity and the duration of residence of women?

I use logistic regression to examine the effects of extended members by categorical characteristics and include interaction terms between the presence/characteristics of extended members and the presence of kid under age 5. The analysis produces predictions of women's employment.

The analyses are performed for three stratified groups by women's nativity/duration of residence: US-born, all foreign-born, and recent immigrant women. Preliminary analysis reveals statistically significant difference ($p<0.001$) in patterns of employment and household extension by women's nativity and duration of residence. Based on this finding, each group of women is examined to see any changes in the effects of household extension by extended member's gender, employment, and health status of extended members and their interaction with the presence of young children.

Model 1 includes all women with a variable indicating the presence of an extended family member and the interaction with the presence of a child under age 5. Model 2 includes only those in extended family households and examines the effects

of extended members by gender, employment, and health status, and interaction effects between the extended members and the presence of kid under age 5.

Analytical Results

Family Conditions

Figure 1 depicts women's predicted probabilities of being employed by the presence of extended adults and children under age 5 for each sub-group. Net of the covariates, household extension increases women's employment, except for US-born women. Specifically, co-residence of female adults increases all women's employment (Figure 2). Employed adults also increase women's employment to less extent than that women adults make (Figure 3). Disabled adults decrease all women's employment (Figure 4). In sum, extended adults' support or hindrance depends on their gender, employment, health status.

The effects vary by women's nativity/duration of residence. Household extension has positive effects more for foreign-born women than for US-born women unless they have young children (Figure 1). Co-residence of disabled adults more decreases women's predicted probability of employment, when they are recent immigrants (Figure 4).

Next question is about the interaction effects between household extension and young children within extended households. Figure 1 shows that extended members further increase women's employment when young child is present. When broken down by extended members' gender, employment, and health status, however, more complex relationships are revealed. Employed adults show the reversed patterns of the effects with introduction of the interaction terms (Figure 3). Employed extended adults now visibly lower women's employment for mothers of children under age 5.

Female extended adults increase women's employment more in the presence of young children, compared to the figure in the absence (Figure 2). Disabled adults still have a negative effect, regardless of the presence or absence of young children. To summarize, extended adults' gender and employment have significant interactions with the presence of young children.

Women's nativity/duration of residence also adds important variance to the interactions patterns. The negative interaction effects between young children and employed adults are the largest for recent immigrants. The negativity between young children and disabled adults is also the largest for the same group. They show the negative interaction effects are strengthened for recent migrant women.

Other household resource effects are constant across models. With increase in husband's earnings, women are more likely to be employed, but with highest husbands' income levels women are less likely to work. The findings are consistent with those of Cohany and Sok (2007) in which married women with infants whose husbands earnings were in the top 20 percent and bottom 20 percent quintile recorded the lowest participation rates. US-born women are more responsive to husbands' incomes than are foreign-born women. With increase in other additional incomes, women are less likely to be employed. Children decrease mothers' employment less for foreign-born women. School-aged children of recent immigrants in extended households even increase mothers' employment.

Human Capital

Differentials in the effects of human resources exist between US-born and foreign-born women. Either with high school diploma, college degree, or more advanced degrees, foreign-born women, particularly recent immigrants, are less likely

to increase their employment. English proficiency plays an important role in increasing employment for foreign born women, more than does college degree for recent immigrant women.

Racial and ethnic groups present different patterns. Blacks, South Asian, and other Hispanic are more likely to work, regardless of women's nativity/duration of residence, whereas West Asian, Middle Eastern women are less likely to work. Among the three largest Hispanic groups only US-born women are more employed. East Asian and other Asian women are more employed, unless they are newly arrived.

Discussion

The current study shows that extended adults' support or hindrance for host women's employment is determined by adult members' demographic characteristics and the presence of children. Three findings warrant further discussion. First, the interaction between extended adults and young children captures important findings: In the presence of young children, employed adults discourage mothers' employment. That is in contrast to their positive association in the absence of young children. The results support that household decision-making structures and divisions of labor are maintained and reproduced by traditional gender roles in which women do care work when other adults do breadwinning.

Second, women's nativity and duration of residence is highlighted as another important dimension in the dynamics of women's employment. Recent immigrant mothers' employment is the most precarious as their employment is easily altered by the presence of children and other family members' employment and disability. In addition to her disadvantaged negotiating power compared with employed adults, recent immigrants' illegibility to receive governmental provision of means, and/or

familial attachment may come into play in explaining lower employment rates with disabled adults. The variance in extended adult effects by women's nativity and duration of residence implies that the migration process is crucial to understanding family inequalities.

The implications of women's nativity and duration, however, need cautious interpretation. Some literature focuses on assimilation in explaining recent immigrants' patterns of behaviors. Van Hook and Glick (2007) warned of the hasty conclusion of assimilation when explaining difference in household extension between newcomers and the U.S. born. By comparing the pattern of co-residence, which is one of the more common behaviors for immigrants, between Mexicans in Mexico and the U.S.-born, they argued that challenges immigrants encounter in the US are important factors.

Indeed, foreign-born mothers are less affected than their US-born counterparts by young children, implying immigrants' limited options not to work. The effects of husband's incomes, squared husband's incomes and additional household incomes are also smaller for foreign-born women. Considering immigrants' lower economic resources, economic needs might encourage mothers to work for pay. Because women's work in the United States is frequently spurred by poverty and economic necessity, it will be more a reflection of the extreme marginality of migrant households than of the liberation of migrant women (Parrado et al., 2005 see Fernandez-Kelly and Garcia 1990; Kibria, 1990; Oropesa 1997). Immigrant women's concentration in low-skilled, poorly paid, and unstable occupations will support this idea.

Third, extended adults' care assistance is explored and partly supported. Female adults are the most likely to facilitate women's employment and even more so with

children in the household, supporting my hypothesis. While women's child care burden remains as the main barrier to market employment, women receive help from older women adults—mostly their mothers (in-law). However, employed adults' support in the presence of young children is reversed, contradicting to my hypothesis. Disabled adults' hindrance maintain regardless of the presence of young children. The significant implications of extended adults' gender and employment to mothers needs further study.

Extended adults' care assistance is further explored. In results not shown, I conducted an analysis to examine interaction effects between school-aged children and extended adults. I found female adults' positive effects were strengthened with school-aged children, especially for recent immigrant women. This can explain why negative effects of school-aged children flip to positive effects for recent immigrant women in extended households. With school-aged children, employed adults make almost no difference in mothers' predicted probabilities of employment. The same pattern is found with disabled adults. As children go to school, mothers' child care burdens decreases and the effects of extended adults reduce, although female adults maintain their support.

Conclusion

Household extension is an important strategy for less privileged women to overcome the disadvantage. However, the kind of household extension, and the pattern of family roles, has important implications for the reproduction of inequality in women's employment. For US-born women, who receive little support from household extension, it might be a dead-end choice, not necessarily benefitting women. For recent immigrant women in extended households, women's employment

is especially discouraged by extended adults' employment. These findings point to low social positions and low level of social support for less privileged women.

The variations and dynamics among extended households by women's nativity/duration of residence offer important dimensions of inequality. Particularly, women's recent immigration experience interacts with the employment of extended member and presence of children, limiting women's capacity to work. The results highlight the importance of explicitly accounting for multiple immigration-related variables and their interactions with family conditions. The corollary contribution to inequality in women's employment will be crucial.

The research shows some limitations. With cross-sectional data it is difficult to discern the effect of duration of residence in the United States and migration cohort effects. Among immigrants, the differences by duration of residency can result from various reasons including assimilation over time or differences in the characteristics of members from different arrival times. To disentangle the effects, future research should consider using longitudinal data.

Nevertheless, the present study makes three noteworthy contributions to the literature on immigrant women's work and family. First, the importance of explicitly accounting for women's duration of immigration is highlighted with the interactions with her gender and family roles. The patterns of women's employment in the presence of extended members and young children vary by women's nativity and duration of residence. Secondly, most studies of household extension fail to identify who lives in whose home. In this paper, the "hosts" and "guests" are identified by their householder status; the "hosts" are married, younger generation; the "guests" are older, moved in with the younger generation, and thus are largely

dependent members. In making this distinction, younger generation's needs rather than older generation's preference for extended family are recognized. Thirdly, at the same time, I use the most recent large-scale Census data to gain up-to-date information. The pooled American Community Survey data allow us to assess the possible family dynamics within extended households, otherwise impossible to capture with a small sample.

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Figure1. Predicted Probabilities of Women's Employment by Extended Adult and Young Child

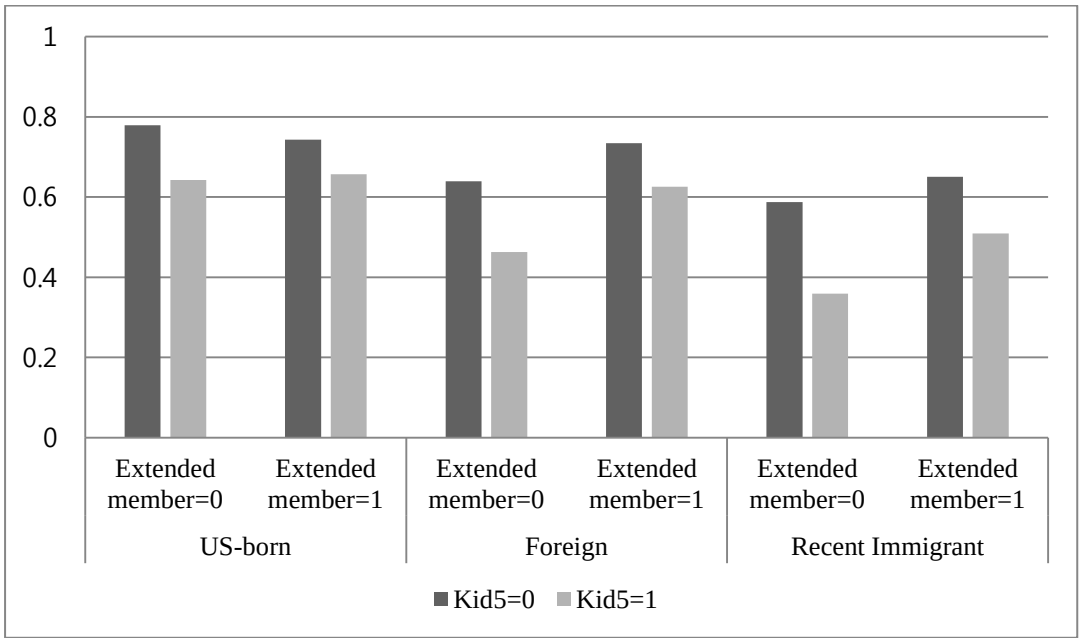

Figure2. Predicted Probabilities of Women's Employment by Female Adult and Young Child

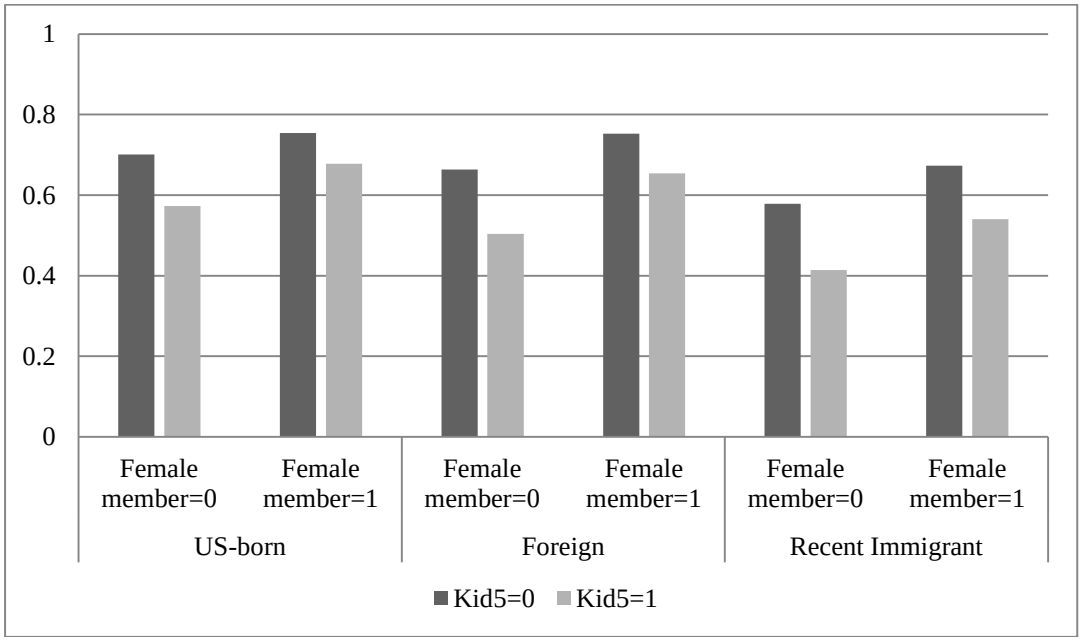

Figure3. Predicted Probabilities of Women's Employment by Employed Adult and Young Child

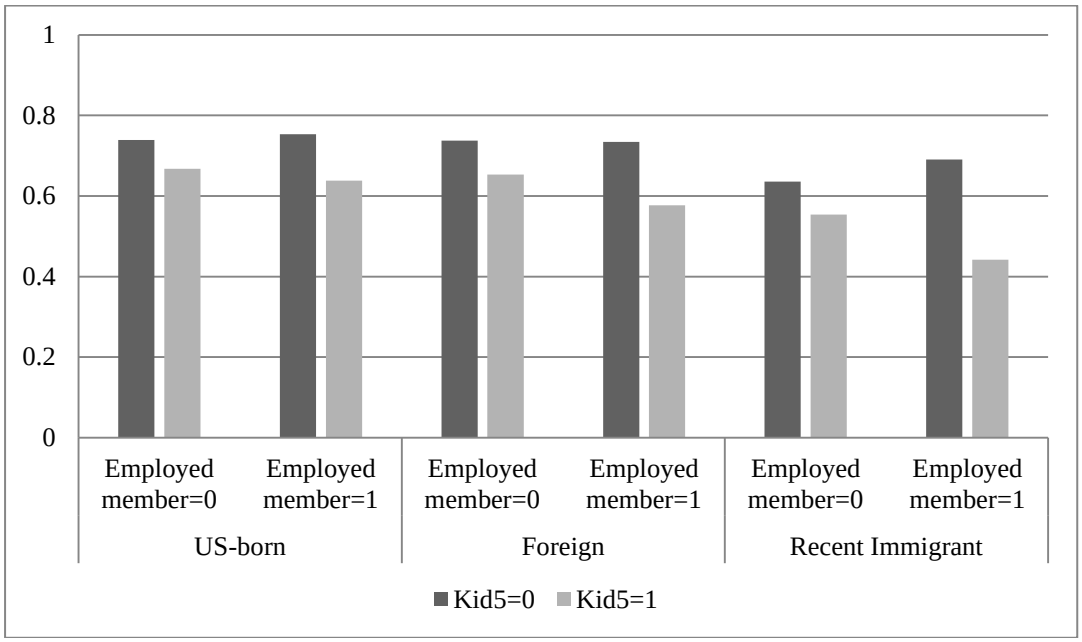

Figure4. Predicted Probabilities of Women's Employment by Disabled Adult and Young Child

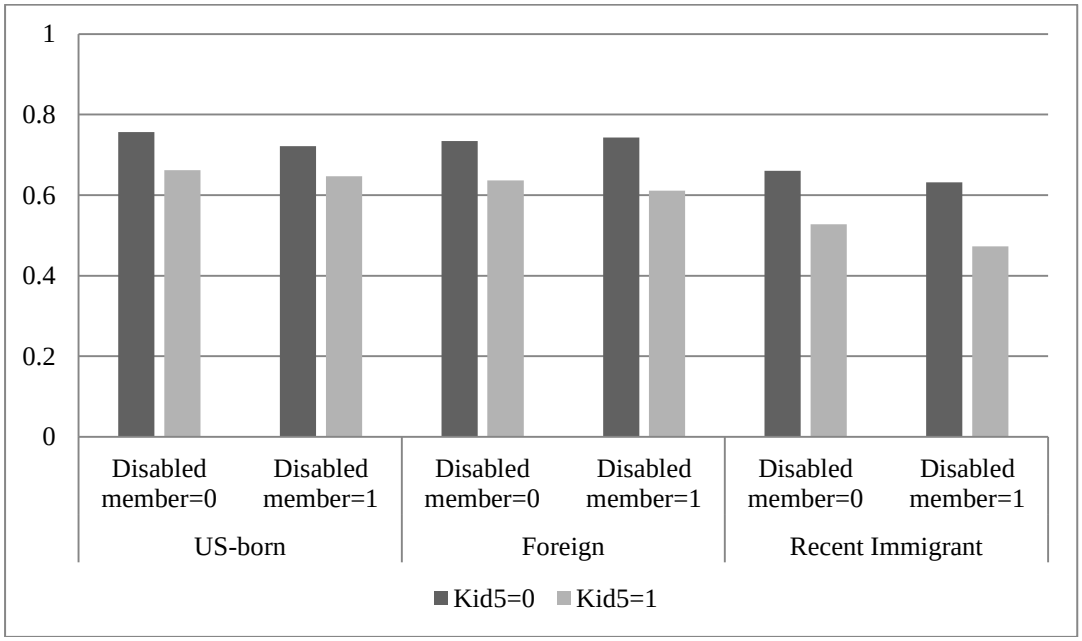

Table. 1. Sample characteristics by Nativity, duration of residency, and by household extension

All	US-born	Foreign	Recent immigrant	Extended	US-born	Foreign	Recent immigrant
Employment	0.73	0. 58	0.48	Employment	0.71	0.69	0.59
Extended member				*Extended member*			
Extended Adult	0.02	0.08	0.07				
Female Adult	0.02	0.07	0.05	Female adult	0.79	0.83	0.81
Employed Adult	0.01	0.02	0.02	Employed adult	0.28	0.27	0.33
Disabled Adult	0.01	0.02	0.01	Disabled adult	0.38	0.26	0.21
Human capital				*Human capital*			
AGE	35.95	35.98	33.34	AGE	36.76	36.36	33.02
English	1.00	0.71	0.63	English	0.99	0.74	0.61
Less high	0.05	0.24	0.23	Less high	0.09	0.22	0.23
High school	0.22	0.20	0.2	High school	0.3	0.22	0.23
Some-college	0.33	0.19	0.16	Some-college	0.36	0.22	0.17
BA	0.27	0.22	0.25	BA	0.17	0.23	0.24
Advanced	0.13	0.14	0.16	Advanced	0.08	0.12	0.12
Family Condition				*Family Condition*			
Kid 0-4	0.36	0.41	0.5	Kid 0-4	0.33	0.42	0.57
Kid 5-18	0.59	0.64	0.48	Kid 5-18	0.66	0.69	0.5
Husband earning (Ln)	10.10	9.81	9.7	Husband earning (Ln)	9.46	9.72	9.57
Other income (Ln)	3.60	3.72	3.11	Other income (Ln)	9.46	7.76	7.46
Black	0.06	0.05	0.05	Black	0.08	0.05	0.04
Hispanic	0.06	0.33	0.29	Hispanic	0.13	0.28	0.25
Other Hispanic	0.01	0.12	0.13	Other Hispanic	0.02	0.13	0.12
East Asia	0.00	0.10	0.11	East Asia	0.01	0.13	0.13
West Asia	0.00	0.08	0.12	West Asia	0.003	0.11	0.13
South Asia	0.00	0.08	0.08	South Asia	0.01	0.15	0.16
Middle East	0.00	0.03	0.03	Middle East	0.003	0.03	0.04
Other Asia	0.01	0.04	0.04	Other Asia	0.01	0.05	0.06
N	529284	139311	45891	N	12222	11593	3011

Table2. The effects of the Extended Adult and Extended Adult* Kid under age 5

	US-born		Foreign-born		Recent Immigrant	
Parameter	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate
Intercept	-2.8966***	-2.8977***	-2.6851***	-2.6794***	-2.7911***	-2.7865***
(S.E.)	*-0.0167*	*-0.0167*	*0.0289*	*0.0289*	*0.0446*	*0.0446*
Extended Adult	0.2891***	0.1645***	0.5216***	0.4307***	0.4695***	0.3014***
(S.E.)	*-0.0038*	*-0.0047*	*0.00386*	*0.00514*	*0.00693*	*0.0103*
Kid under 5	-0.8868***	-0.8947***	-0.6387***	-0.6523***	-0.8288***	-0.846***
(S.E.)	*-0.0013*	*-0.0013*	*0.00204*	*0.00211*	*0.00333*	*0.00343*
Kid5*Extended Adult	--	0.3332***	--	0.1939***	--	0.2875***
(S.E.)		*-0.0077*	--	*0.00739*	--	*0.0133*
School-aged Kid	-0.4011***	-0.4016***	-0.2736***	-0.2734***	-0.2349***	-0.235***
(S.E.)	*-0.0013*	*-0.0013*	*0.00225*	*0.00225*	*0.00358*	*0.00358*
AGE	0.1779***	0.1783***	0.1314***	0.1314***	0.1605***	0.1608***
(S.E.)	*-0.001*	*-0.001*	*0.00169*	*0.00169*	*0.0027*	*0.0027*
Age square	-0.0024***	-0.00241***	-0.00159***	-0.00159***	-0.00197***	-0.00197***
(S.E.)	*-0.00001*	*-0.00001*	*0.000024*	*0.000024*	*0.00004*	*0.00004*
Duration>10yr	--	--	0.5851***	0.5858***	--	--
(S.E.)	--	--	*0.00218*	*0.00218*	--	--
English well	--	--	0.6228***	0.6224***	0.6559***	0.6552***
(S.E.)	--	--	*0.00249*	*0.00249*	*0.00412*	*0.00412*
(Ref: Less than High School)						
High school	1.0068***	1.0061***	0.2425***	0.2427***	0.1714***	0.1711***
(S.E.)	*-0.0025*	*-0.0025*	*0.00281*	*0.00281*	*0.00479*	*0.00479*
Some college	1.4647***	1.4639***	0.4953***	0.4951***	0.2157***	0.2152***
(S.E.)	*-0.0025*	*-0.0025*	*0.00321*	*0.00321*	*0.00568*	*0.00568*
B.A	1.7552***	1.7545***	0.6407***	0.6411***	0.2771***	0.2771***
(S.E.)	-0.0027	*-0.0027*	*0.00349*	*0.00349*	0.00569	*0.00569*
Advanced degree	2.4082***	2.408***	1.1547***	1.155***	0.7453***	0.7449***
(S.E.)	*-0.0032*	*-0.0032*	*0.00421*	*0.00421*	*0.00671*	*0.00671*
Husband income (Ln)	0.5034***	0.5033***	0.2451***	0.2449***	0.2706***	0.2703***
(S.E.)	*-0.0009*	*-0.0009*	*0.00149*	*0.00149*	*0.00253*	*0.00253*
Husbandincome^2 (Ln)	-0.0463***	-0.0463***	-0.0263***	-0.0263***	-0.0293***	-0.0293***
(S.E.)	*-0.00008*	*-0.00008*	*0.000128*	*0.000128*	*0.00022*	*0.00022*
Other income (ln)	-0.0462***	-0.0464***	-0.00357***	-0.00367***	0.00258***	0.0025***
(S.E.)	*-0.0001*	*-0.0001*	*0.000228*	*0.000228*	*0.000396*	*0.000396*
Black	0.2138***	0.2135***	0.4326***	0.4338***	0.2834***	0.2861***
(S.E.)	*-0.0024*	*-0.0024*	*0.00518*	*0.00518*	*0.00829*	*0.0083*
Hispanic	0.1095***	0.1083***	-0.2323***	-0.2318***	-0.2937***	-0.2924***
(S.E.)	*-0.0023*	*-0.0023*	*0.00326*	*0.00326*	*0.00572*	*0.00572*
Other Hispanic	-0.0104***	-0.0124*	0.0781***	0.0784***	0.0549***	0.0555***
(S.E.)	*-0.0053*	-0.0053	*0.00369*	*0.00369*	*0.00615*	*0.00615*
East Asia	0.1806***	0.1805***	-0.2141***	-0.2143***	-0.437***	-0.4378***
(S.E.)	*-0.0095*	*-0.0095*	*0.00393*	*0.00393*	*0.00657*	*0.00657*

West Asia	-0.2051***	-0.212***	-0.5182***	-0.5174***	-0.5555***	-0.5546***
(S.E.)	*-0.0152*	*-0.0152*	*0.0041*	*0.0041*	*0.00631*	*0.00631*
South Asia	0.3517***	0.3487***	0.5614***	0.5607***	0.5628***	0.5618***
(S.E.)	*-0.0122*	*-0.0122*	*0.00467*	*0.00467*	*0.00775*	*0.00775*
Middle East	-0.4014***	-0.404***	-0.7752***	-0.7742***	-0.9562***	-0.9545***
(S.E.)	*-0.0097*	*-0.0097*	*0.00605*	*0.00605*	*0.0103*	*0.0103*
Other Asia	0.00892	0.00617	-0.0117*	-0.0125*	-0.2876***	-0.2886***
(S.E.)	*-0.008*	*-0.008*	*0.00551*	*0.00551*	*0.00925*	*0.00926*
N	529284	529284	139311	139311	45891	45891
Likelihood Ratio	1713111	1714997	767323.6	768010.6	251068	251529.4
df	20	21	22	23	21	22

Table3. The effects of the Presence of Extended Adult and Extended Adult*Kid under age 5 by Gender/Employment/Disability for Extended Household

Extended Parameter	US-born Estimate	Estimate	Foreign-born Estimate	Estimate	Recent Immigrant Estimate	Estimate
Intercept	-4.3352***	-4.2389***	-3.6396***	-3.6021***	-3.4037***	-3.4355***
(S.E.)	*-0.107*	*-0.1074*	*0.115*	*0.1156*	*0.1851*	*0.1861*
Female adult	0.2721***	0.2312***	0.2797***	0.2577***	0.3319***	0.4367***
(S.E.)	*-0.0087*	*-0.0107*	*0.00937*	*0.0123*	*0.0167*	*0.0244*
Employed adult	0.0412***	0.063***	0.1279***	0.2488***	0.1348***	0.4625***
(S.E.)	*-0.0091*	*-0.0114*	*0.00945*	*0.0127*	*0.0166*	*0.024*
Disabled adult	-0.0896***	-0.1334***	-0.0494***	0.0355***	-0.176***	-0.1304***
(S.E.)	*-0.0081*	*-0.0098*	*0.00885*	*0.0115*	*0.0172*	*0.0248*
kid5*Female	--	0.1247***	--	0.0572***	--	-0.2021***
(S.E.)		*-0.0183*	--	*0.0188*		*0.033*
kid5*Employed	--	-0.051***	--	-0.2418***	--	-0.5609*
(S.E.)		*-0.0174*	--	*0.0168*		*0.0293*
kid5*Disabled	--	0.1391***	--	-0.1943***	--	-0.0718***
(S.E.)	--	*-0.017*	--	*0.0176*		*0.0338*
Kid under 5	-0.5617***	-0.6899***	-0.4472***	-0.378***	-0.5111***	-0.1478***
(S.E.)	*-0.0084*	*-0.0188*	*0.00799*	*0.019*	*0.014*	*0.0331*
School-aged Kid	-0.284***	-0.2847***	-0.0196***	-0.0127***	0.0494***	0.0722***
(S.E.)	*-0.0084*	*-0.0084*	*0.00867*	*0.00869*	*0.0145*	*0.0146*
AGE	0.2424***	0.2393***	0.1739***	0.1692***	0.1799***	0.1695***
(S.E.)	*-0.0062*	*-0.0062*	*0.00668*	*0.0067*	*0.0114*	*0.0114*
Age square	-0.00325***	-0.00321***	-0.00215***	-0.00209***	-0.00204***	-0.00189***
(S.E.)	*-0.0001*	*-0.0001*	*0.000096*	*0.000096*	*0.00017*	*0.00017*
Duration>10yr	--	--	0.5902***	0.5942***	--	--
(S.E.)	--	--	*0.00881*	*0.00882*	--	--
English well	--	--	0.5661***	0.5638***	0.4569***	0.4549***
(S.E.)	--	--	*0.00927*	*0.00928*	*0.0162*	*0.0162*
(Ref: Less than High School)						
High school	0.9364***	0.9328***	0.1438 *	0.143***	-0.076***	-0.084***
(S.E.)	*-0.0122*	*-0.0123*	*0.0103*	*0.0103*	*0.0186*	*0.0186*
Some college	1.394***	1.3949***	0.5652***	0.5651***	0.2714***	0.2701***
(S.E.)	*-0.0123*	*-0.0124*	*0.0117*	*0.0117*	*0.0216*	*0.0217*
B.A	1.7321***	1.7293***	0.7224***	0.7223***	0.3671***	0.377***
(S.E.)	*-0.0213*	*-0.0152*	*0.013*	*0.0131*	*0.0227*	*0.0227*
Advanced degree	2.389***	2.3859***	1.2843***	1.2823***	0.7565***	0.7631***
(S.E.)	*-0.0086*	*-0.0213*	*0.0176*	*0.0176*	*0.0289*	*0.029*
Husbandincome (Ln)	0.3858***	0.3858***	0.2403***	0.2419***	0.1633***	0.1694***
(S.E.)	*-0.0057*	*-0.0057*	*0.00572*	*0.00572*	*0.0104*	*0.0105*
$Husbandincome^2$ (Ln)	-0.0345***	-0.0344***	-0.0245***	-0.0247***	-0.0189***	-0.0194***
(S.E.)	*-0.0005*	*-0.0005*	*0.0005*	*0.0005*	*0.000924*	*0.000925*
Other income (Ln)	-0.0414***	-0.0415***	-0.0114***	-0.0111***	-0.0137***	-0.0138***
(S.E.)	*-0.0017*	*-0.0017*	*0.001*	*0.001*	*0.00179*	*0.00178*

Black	0.3776***	0.3767***	0.6439***	0.6376***	0.5264***	0.5073***
(S.E.)		*-0.0138*	*0.0227*	*0.0227*	*0.0387*	*0.0388*
Hispanic	0.2849***	0.2885***	-0.362***	-0.365***	-0.4177***	-0.4221***
(S.E.)		*-0.0109*	*0.0146*	*0.0146*	*0.0268*	*0.0269*
Other Hispanic	0.2573***	0.2604***	0.1374***	0.1327***	0.2034***	0.1912***
(S.E.)		*-0.0253*	*0.0161*	*0.0161*	*0.029*	*0.0291*
East Asia	0.414***	0.411***	0.2497***	0.2472***	0.0636*	0.0509
(S.E.)		*-0.051*	*0.0169*	*0.0169*	*0.0293*	*0.0294*
West Asia	-0.1659***	-0.1786***	-0.0328	-0.0377*	0.0236***	0.0111
(S.E.)		*-0.0603*	*0.0167*	*0.0167*	*0.0286*	*0.0286*
South Asia	1.037***	1.025***	0.922***	0.9183***	0.9445***	0.9377***
(S.E.)		*-0.0551*	*0.0176*	*0.0176*	*0.0301*	*0.0302*
Middle East	-0.234***	-0.2401***	-0.7053***	-0.7035***	-1.2076***	-1.206***
(S.E.)		*-0.0556*	*0.0234*	*0.0234*	*0.0422*	*0.0422*
Other Asia	0.7136***	0.7115***	0.1477***	0.1383***	-0.2248***	-0.2585***
(S.E.)		*-0.0389*	*0.0198*	*0.0198*	*0.0343*	*0.0344*
N	12222	12222	11593	11593	3011	3011
Likelihood Ratio	36511.11	36659.86	63098.94	63399.71	17743.08	18119.23
df	22	22	24	27	23	26