Economic Strategies of Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Families in Los Angeles

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Families with children use of a variety of resources to meet their economic needs, including earnings, public assistance (including cash transfers, food stamps, and housing subsidies), shared housing with kin, unemployment compensation, or child support payments. Many families rely primarily on earnings from work, while others combine earnings with other resources or rely primarily on resources other than earnings. Some combinations of resources generate more income than others. Families that rely on work as their primary means of support or combine work with other resources are less likely to experience material hardship than families that do not earn any income from work (Proctor and Dalaker, 2002). Thus, differences among families in how they combine resources contribute to economic inequalities among families.

Differences between types of families in the amount of income generated by a given combination of resources also contributes to inequality. Immigrant men are more likely to be employed than native-born men with similar levels of educational attainment. However, those low-skilled native-born men who are employed are more likely than low-skilled immigrant men to be employed full-time in jobs that pay at least fifty-percent of the poverty rate for a one-person household (Waldinger, 2001). It is these differences in type of employment, rather than differences in employment rates, that drive differences in poverty rates between immigrants and native-born whites (Waldinger, 2001; Clark, 2001). This implies that immigrant families may need to use more types of resources than native families in order to achieve the same standard of living.

Differences in resource use and poverty rates have important implications for inequality between the children of immigrants and natives. Poverty has negative effects on a number of child outcomes including academic test scores, high school drop out rates, educational attainment, teen pregnancy, adult labor force participation, and adult income levels (Mayer, 1997; Smith et al., 1997; Peters and Mullis, 1997; Duncan et al., 1998; Corcoran and Adams, 1997). How families generate income may affect child outcomes and overall family well-being through mechanisms other than levels of income. The evidence regarding the effects of welfare receipt on child outcomes is mixed, many of the negative outcomes

associated with welfare reliance can be explained by differences in income, family structure, and other family characteristics related to welfare use (Currie, 1995; Corcoran and Adams, 1997; Teachman et al. 1997). However, independent of the effect of poverty and other family characteristics, children who grew up in families that received income from welfare have fewer years of work experience in young adulthood, lower educational attainment, and lower income to needs ratios as adults (Peters and Mullis, 1997; Corcoran and Adams, 1997; Duncan and Yeung, 1995) . In addition to affecting children's future well-being, the types of resources families use may also affect parental well-being. Single mothers who made the transition from welfare to work reported feeling more independent, having higher self-esteem, and feeling more connected socially (London et al., 2004). Thus, as with poverty levels, if there are differences between immigrant and non-immigrant families in the combinations of resources used, these differences may contribute to inequalities across generations.

Stability of resource use over time is another important aspect of families' economic and psychological well-being. Frequent changes in income can be stressful and lead to less effective parenting (Duncan 1991; Elder & Liker 1982). Changes that result in lower levels of family income have negative effects for children's behavioral and cognitive outcomes, a relationship that is stronger for children in poor families than those in non-poor families (Dearing et al., 2001). Change is not always negative, however, and transitions can lead to increased access to resources which is beneficial both economically and psychologically. For mothers of young children, employment changes that result in increased income levels lead to lower levels of depression, an effect particularly strong for low-income mothers (Dearing et al., 2004). Transitions from welfare to work can make women feel better about themselves and lead to increased income (London et al., 2004; Polit et al., 2001). However, such transitions can also cause stress, and women who work in low-prestige jobs are more likely to engage in negative parenting styles (Raver, 2003). Additionally, such transitions may be short-term; many women who make transitions from welfare to work return to welfare within two years (Harris, 1996). Thus,

while some changes may be a sign of upward mobility, highly unstable resource use may contribute to stress and negative effects on children.

This paper focuses on mothers in Los Angeles and asks how these mothers and their families combine employment earnings with other resources to meet their economic needs. Los Angeles is a diverse metropolitan area with a large immigrant population. I ask whether immigrant mothers in this diverse urban environment use different combinations of resources than native-born mothers. If there are differences in the range of resources families use can these differences be explained by differences in human capital and other individual and family characteristics? I also examine the stability of two particular income generating activities of mothers: employment and public assistance. I ask whether the combinations of employment and public assistance used by immigrant mothers are likely to be more or less stable over the short-term than that of native-born mothers and what factors, other than immigration, account for differences in stability.

Resource Use as a Family Strategy

The combinations of resources that families use can be characterized as a family strategy, a concept more often applied to developing countries or rapidly changing societies—for example the United States and Canada during the period of industrialization—than the contemporary United States. In these contexts strategies are seen as a way for families embedded in risky economic environments to reduce their risk by diversifying their means of economic support. This may be accomplished by having individual family members each engaged in different activities or by having single individuals combine different resources (Wolf, 1990; Hareven, 1990). If family members collectively participate in a wider variety of activities, the family may be somewhat protected against adverse changes occurring in only one sector of the economy. In the contemporary urban context, combinations of employment, private resources, and public support can be seen as diversification and a means of risk management analogous to the strategies pursued by families in developing countries.

Many single mothers on welfare combine resources to provide for their children, supplementing their public assistance income through work (both reported and unreported) and through help from family, friends, boyfriends, and the fathers of their children (O'Hara, 2002; Edin and Lein, 1997). For single mothers not on welfare, having access to other resources can helps facilitate employment. For single mothers, coresidence with kin increases chances of employment (Hao and Brinton, 1997). Family strategies may also involve substituting one available resource for one another. Individuals receiving unemployment insurance are less likely to receive support from family members (Schoeni, 2002). Single mothers who receive economic support from kin are less likely to rely on public assistance, and mothers in states with higher welfare benefits are less likely to coreside with kin (Hao, 1995).

Strategy Differences Between Immigrant and Native-born Families

Immigrants and native-born citizens may pursue different strategies due to differences in access to resources, access to information about resources, or values and beliefs about how best to insure against changes in economic circumstances. Public resources including TANF, food stamps, and SSI have eligibility requirements based on immigration and citizenship status and length of stay in the United States. In 1996 the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) replaced Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) with Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF). TANF takes the form of block grants to states and includes time limits and stricter work requirements than AFDC. Since the implementation of TANF, welfare caseloads have decreased dramatically, with the most rapid decrease among immigrants (Lofstrom and Bean, 2002; Borjas, 2002; Fix and Passel, 1999; Zimmerman and Fix, 1998). Much of the national decline is driven by a steep decline in public assistance use by immigrants in California, a decline which cannot be explained by policy changes alone (Borjas, 2002). Eligibility for federal food stamps for immigrants became more restrictive after the 1996 reform. However, in California immigrants who had been eligible for AFDC before the 1996 reform retained eligibility for cash benefits under TANF. Some of the difference between immigrants and natives in welfare use after 1996 may be attributable to immigrant families'

confusion about their eligibility in the wake of the new welfare rules (Zimmerman and Fix, 1998; Fix and Passel, 1999). However, Lofstrom and Bean (2002) argue that much of the decline in caseload for both immigrants and natives was related to improvements in labor market conditions and that immigrants benefitted more from the economic upturn of the late 1990's than native-born citizens. They conclude that because immigrants tend to be disproportionately concentrated in low-income occupations, they are more vulnerable to changing labor market conditions than native-born workers.

In addition to potentially having less access to public resources, immigrant families may also face limited access to familial assistance and employment. Immigrants are more likely than natives to live in extended households (Glick and Van Hook, 2002; Glick et al., 2004). Differences in household structure by nativity, however, are most pronounced in household in which older parents depend on adult children for support (Glick and Van Hook, 2002). Immigrant mothers are less likely than native-born mothers, particularly native-born blacks, to receive private support in the form of coresidence with kin who pay the cost of housing or provide housing assistance and transportation assistance (Hao, 2003). Additionally, the effects of education and wealth on the receipt of public and private support are less pronounced for immigrant mothers than natives. Immigrants are also less likely than natives to receive economic support from non-coresident kin (Glick, 1999).

Immigrant women are less likely than native-born women to be in the labor force, and more likely to be unemployed when they are in the labor force (Capps et al., 2003; Schoeni, 1998). While differences in completed education between foreign-born and native-born women account for much of the disparity in labor force outcomes between the two groups, some differences in labor force participation persist once years of schooling, fertility, and English language skills are controlled (Schoeni, 1998). Low-skill immigrant men are more likely than comparatively-skilled native-born men to be employed. However, their chances of finding jobs with adequate wages and hours are low (Waldinger, 2001). That low-skill immigrant men are more likely than their native-born counterparts to accept low-wage and part-time employment suggests that either immigrant men are less likely to have

access to other substitute resources or immigrant men have different preferences for work than native-born men.

The decision to migrate is itself often an economic strategy. Families may send individuals members to other areas to pursue employment opportunities not available in their local labor market (Roberts, 1997) or entire family units may move to take advantage of more stable economic circumstance elsewhere (Massey et al., 1993). Eligibility for public assistance varies for immigrant mothers and thus the range of strategies available to families may be constrained by the immigration and citizenship statuses of family members, but family members may also make decisions about their own status in response to available resources. For instance, immigrants may choose to pursue citizenship precisely because naturalized immigrants have access to a larger variety of public resources (Borjas, 2002). For this analysis I look at the immigration and documentation status of mothers to see how these are related to their families' economic strategies. Because the analysis focuses on working-age mothers with minor children in the household few of the families included in the analysis will be short-term labor migrants. Therefore, for this analysis I assume that migration is a long-term strategy. Thus, I focus on the combinations of resources families use, conditional on living in the United States. I treat both the choice to migrate itself and mothers' choices regarding citizenship and documentation status as past strategy decisions and examine current strategy choices as being made conditional on those past choices.

Relationship of Union Formation and Fertility to Economic Strategies

Because there are more adults in the family available to pursue different strategies, married and cohabiting couples may combine resources in different ways from single mothers. Marital status also affects eligibility for some public resources. While family structure affects the resources available, at the same time, the availability of economic resources affects a mothers choices about marriage, cohabitation, and fertility. Higher welfare benefits are associated with higher rates of single motherhood, a result of both an increased likelihood of non-marital childbearing and decreased likelihood of remarriage among divorced mothers (Moffit, 1998). Prior to the 1996 reforms AFDC may have provided an incentive for

mothers to live with, but not marry, men unrelated to her children because the incomes of cohabiting men were not deducted from cash grants (Moffitt et al., 1998). Like union formation, a woman's fertility decisions are likely to be influenced by the economic resources to which she has access and the stability of those resources. A woman may also choose to have a child, or an additional child, to secure resources through public assistance (Aassve, 2003).

This analysis focuses on resource use during a period after the 1996 reform replaced AFDC with Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), the goals of which include prevention of out of wedlock pregnancies, and increasing formation of two-parent families (Schoeni and Blank, 2000). The effect of these policy changes on the behavior of economically vulnerable families is unclear. Low-skilled women were less likely than more skilled women to head their own households in the wake of welfare policy changes but there is little evidence to suggest that these shifts are due to increases in marriage (Schoeni and Blank, 2000). The relationships between welfare benefits, union formation, and fertility suggests that union formation and childbearing are themselves economic strategies for some mothers. For the purpose of this analysis, however, I assume that union formation and fertility are relatively long-term strategies and I focus primarily on the combination of economic resources mothers (and, when present, her spouse or partner) use given their current marital status and family size.

Other Individual and Family Characteristics Related to Resource Use

This paper asks whether differences in economic strategies between immigrant and native-born families can be accounted for by other individual and family characteristics. I include in the analysis mother's education, ability to speak English, marital status, race, age, number of children, and age of the youngest child. Education affects both the likelihood of employment and use of public assistance. In general, the higher a woman's level of education the more likely she is to be in the labor force (Spain and Bianchi, 1996). Women with more education are less likely to use public assistance, use it for shorter periods, and are less likely to return to welfare dependency after making a transition to paid employment (Harris, 1996; Boisjoly et al., 1998). For immigrant mothers and their families, an important determinant

of employment and public assistance use is language ability. Limited English language proficiency is associated with lower wages and immigrants with limited English skills are more likely to remain on welfare (Capps et al., 2003; Schoeni, 1998; Tumlin and Zimmerman, 2003). Women with more children or younger children may find it more difficult to find and maintain stable employment, resulting in more time spent on public assistance and more transitions between public assistance and work (Harris, 1993). Additionally, married and cohabiting mothers face different choices and constraints than single mothers by virtue of having more adults in the household to work.

Data And Methods

The analysis uses the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey (L.A. FANS), a study of families in Los Angeles County which was designed specifically to address questions about welfare use and the experiences of economically vulnerable families. The design is clustered by census tract and includes over-samples of both households with children and households in high-poverty tracts (Sastry et al., 2000). The data contain weights to take account of unequal probabilities of sample selection and to adjust for non-response at the household level. Data collection began in April, 2000 and was completed in January, 2002. The data are cross-sectional with followup data collection planned for 2005.

For each household in which at least one child under the age of 18 resides half-time or more, a focal child was selected randomly. The household member completing the household roster was then asked to name an adult who served as the primary care-give for the randomly selected child. For this analysis I use only those households with at least one child and further limit the sample to those households in which the adult named as the primary care-giver for the child is the child's biological or adoptive mother. This is done because the strategies of kin care-givers (primarily grandmothers) may be very different from the strategies of mothers.

L.A. FANS interviews were conducted in English and Spanish, a design which reflects the composition of the immigrant population in Los Angeles. According to the 2000 U.S. census, 62% percent of the foreign born in Los Angeles County are from Latin American countries and about 82% of

individuals not fluent in English speak Spanish (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). However, this interview process means that immigrants who speak neither English nor Spanish were not eligible to be interviewed.

The analysis has two parts. The first part examines the sources of income received by the mother and her spouse or partner during the calendar year prior to the interview. Detailed information is available regarding the annual receipt of income from the following sources: employment, child support, unemployment compensation, worker's compensation, social security, supplemental security income (SSI), food stamps, public assistance (TANF), housing and energy assistance, foster care payments, VA payments, pensions and trusts, and alimony. There is no information about cash assistance from family members. However, respondents were asked which individuals in the household paid the rent or mortgage for the house. I use this information to construct a measure of shared housing that indicates if the mother's family (defined as the mother, her spouse or partner, and their children) lives in housing paid for by another individual or shares the cost of housing with other adults in the household. In the absence of information about financial transfers across household boundaries, I use this measure of shared housing as a proxy for familial assistance. Using this information on income and shared housing I develop a typology of strategies including: relying on work only, combining work with other private and public resources, and relying only on non-work resources.

Using a multinomial logit model, I examine these family strategies and the individual and family characteristics related to resource use. I ask whether immigrant and native-born families use different strategies and whether these differences can be accounted for by differences in human capital and other personal and family characteristics. In order to provide preliminary evidence on whether different combinations of resources affect the economic well-being of immigrant and native families, I then examine the average family income for each type of strategy. Using an income-to-needs ratio as a measure of economic well-being, I ask which strategies are most effective in meeting immigrant and native families' needs.

Women's union formation and fertility choices are not only likely to affect her strategy but may also be made in response to the resources available to her. Less than 15 percent of the mothers had a change in union status during the two-years preceding the interview and less than 20 percent gave birth to a child during this period. Due to these relatively small sample sizes I am unable to model union formation, fertility, and economic strategy as jointly determined choices. As a first step toward understanding the dynamics of family formation and economic strategy, I treat union formation and fertility as relatively long-term strategies and focus on the effects of marital status and number of children on short-term use of economic resources. In the first part of the analysis, which focuses on sources of family income in the previous year, I use mother's marital status at the time of the interview. For the second part of the analysis, where I examine the stability of mothers' employment and public assistance use over time, I allow mother's marital status to change over time. For some mothers classifying marital and cohabitation status at the time of the interview is difficult. For 33 mothers marital status at the time of interview as determined by using just the mother's retrospective marital and cohabitation history does not agree with marital status as determined by combining information from the marital and cohabitation history, mother's self-reported status, and information on the presence of a partner in the household from the household roster. I use marital status as determined by the retrospective marital and cohabitation history for both analyses in order to facilitate comparison.

The second part of the analysis shifts the focus from the combination of resources used by the whole family, to the short-term stability of mother's employment and public assistance use. Here I use two-year retrospective histories of work and public assistance use (including cash assistance, food stamps, and SSI) to examine how stable mother's income-generating strategies are in the short-term. The data do not include a similar retrospective history for the mother's spouse or partner so I am unable to examine the stability of resource use for the whole family. However, the income available to mothers may have particular salience for her children's well-being. Evidence suggests that income paid to mothers is more likely to be spent on children than is income paid to other members of the household

(Lundberg et al. 1997; Thomas, 1990). Thus looking at the stability of mother's income-generating activities may offer some indication of how stable spending on child-related expenses is likely to be over time. Additionally, while the composition of the family as a whole may change over time, children are likely to remain in the care of their mothers through these changes.

In the stability analysis I use event history techniques to analyze mother's detailed two-year employment and public assistance histories. I ask whether there are differences in the short-term stability of immigrant and native-born mothers' combinations of employment and public assistance. To the extent that there are differences in the amount of strategy stability between immigrants and native-born mothers, I ask what factors account for these differences.

With the exception of marital status, all explanatory variables are measured at the time of the interview for all analyses. For this analysis I characterize the family using the mother's immigration and documentation status. A strength of the L.A.FANS data is that it includes specific questions about the type of documentation that respondents have. This allows me to categorize immigrant mothers by whether they are naturalized citizens, and if not whether they are documented or undocumented. Documentation status is an important component of eligibility for public assistance. However, one of the most important aspects of public assistance eligibility for immigrant mothers is citizenship of their children. Because information on country of birth and citizenship is not available for all children in the family, I am unable to model family eligibility for public assistance. The L.A.FANS data do not include information on language proficiency. For this analysis I use the language of the interview as a proxy for English language proficiency. As noted above, however, immigrants from non-Spanish speaking countries who do not speak English are not represented. The reported levels of education represent both education received in the United States and education received in other countries. For mothers who were educated in other countries the degrees reported have been coded to the U.S. degree equivalent[1].

[1] This was done using stata code provided by Anne Pebley.

When constructing the household roster, interviewers asked respondents to identify an adult who is like a mother to the child and an adult who is like a father. For these analyses, the count of children that I use is the number of children in the household for whom the respondent is listed as the mother figure. In nearly all cases this includes the children for whom the mother's spouse or partner is listed as the father figure. An alternative measure could be constructed using the mother's fertility and adoption history to identify her children by birth or adoption who currently reside in the household. However, since the first part of the analysis focuses on the income of both the mothers and their spouses or partners the relevant measure is the number of children for whom they are collectively responsible. For the stability analysis I create a time-varying count of the number of children. Detailed information on all children's residential history is not available. However, there is information on the movement in and out of the house of the randomly selected child and one randomly selected sibling, which I use in combination with the mother's fertility history to construct a time-varying count of the number of children in the household. For comparability between analyses I start with the measure of the number of children in the household at the time of the interview used in the family income analysis. For each week I then subtract those children who were not yet born or who were reported to be living elsewhere. This measure is not an exact measure of changes in the number of children in the household over time since it does not take into account all children's movement in and out of the household. However, very few of the randomly selected children and siblings lived away from their mother during the two-year period, suggesting that most changes in family size come from fertility.

Characteristics of Mothers and Their Families

My sample include 1466 mothers. Table 1 shows the characteristics of the sample. The sample reflects the somewhat unique characteristics of Los Angeles population. More than half of the mothers are Latina. About 40 percent were interviewed in Spanish. About 34 percent have less than a high school education or its equivalent. About 43 percent of mothers are native-born U.S. citizens. About 17

percent are immigrants who have naturalized as U.S. citizens. Twenty-two percent of mothers are documented immigrants and about 18 percent are undocumented.

[Table 1 here]

Table 2 shows the mother's areas of origin and the distribution of documentation statuses within origin areas. A third of all mothers in the sample are from Mexico. About 12 percent are from other areas of Central and South America while about 11 percent come from areas outside Latin America. Mothers from Mexico are the most likely to be undocumented, while mothers from areas outside Latin America are the the most likely to be naturalized citizens and the least likely to be undocumented.

[Table 2 here]

Marital status is an important component of mothers' strategies. Married and cohabiting mothers have an additional adult in the household to pursue different sources of income. Table 3 shows the distribution of mothers' marital statuses across immigration and documentation statuses. Mothers who are naturalized citizens are the most likely to have a spouse or partner in the household. Additionally naturalized citizens are much more likely to be married than cohabiting. Native-born mothers are the least likely to have a spouse or partner present. Undocumented and documented mothers are about equally likely to be single, but undocumented immigrant mothers are more likely to be cohabiting than are documented immigrant mothers.

[Table 3 Here]

Sources of Family Income in the Previous Year

Table 4 shows the top five sources of family income, distinguishing single mothers from those who are married or cohabiting. Regardless of marital status, work is the primary source of family income. About 73 percent of single mothers report income from work. Eighty-nine percent of married and cohabiting mothers report income from their spouse or partner's employment and 64 percent report income from their own employment. There are notable differences in the pattern of reported employment income across immigration and documentation statuses. About 54 percent of married and cohabiting

immigrants reported income from their own employment, compared to nearly 80 percent of native-born married and cohabiting mothers. Only about a third of married or cohabiting undocumented mothers report working. Among single mothers the difference is smaller. Seventy-seven percent of native-born single mothers reported income from work compared to 68 percent of immigrant single mothers. This is consistent with previous evidence that immigrant women are employed at lower levels than native-born women (Schoeni, 1998; Clark 2001).

[Table 4 here]

About ten percent of married and cohabiting mothers received food stamps and about eight percent received cash assistance. Notably, among married and cohabiting mothers naturalized immigrant mothers are the least likely to receive public assistance or food stamps and undocumented immigrant mothers are the most likely to report receiving these sources of income. About a third of single mothers received food stamps and/or cash assistance in the previous year. Single naturalized mothers are the least likely of all single mothers to receive either of these sources of public assistance. Since naturalized immigrants are more likely to be eligible for public assistance than non-citizen immigrants—particularly undocumented immigrants—the fact that there are fewer naturalized immigrants receiving public assistance suggests that naturalized immigrants are a select group within immigrants. It is important to note that while naturalized immigrants are more likely to be eligible for public assistance, other immigrants are not necessarily ineligible. PRWORA limits immigrants' eligibility for food stamps but California uses state funds to make cash assistance through TANF available to immigrants who were previously eligible for AFDC. Additionally immigrant mothers with U.S.-born children are eligible for public assistance for those children regardless of their own eligibility and documentation status. About 6 percent of couples share housing costs with other adults, while nearly a quarter of single mothers share housing.

Table 5 shows a distribution of the combinations of types of income that families received. Here I have categorized resources into four types: work, public assistance, other public resources, and private

resources. Other public resources include unemployment, workers' compensation, social security, and veterans benefits. Private and family resources, including child support, foster care payments, alimony, pensions, and shared cost of housing. I then examine the distribution of the combinations of these four types of resources. About 60 percent of families relied on earnings from employment alone. Families of mothers who are naturalized citizens have a higher proportion whose income solely from earnings. Almost 12 percent of families combined work with private/family resources (mostly shared housing). About 9 percent of families combine work with public assistance and 7 percent combine work with other public resources.

[Table 5 here]

For the multivariate analysis I condense the combinations of resources that families use into three categories: work only, work and other resources, and other resources only. Table 6 shows the distribution of this condensed categorization of strategies by immigration and documentation status. I focus on employment as the main dimension of family strategies because of the evidence from other studies linking employment with family economic well-being. I estimate a multinomial logistic regression model using the three category typology of strategies as the dependent variable. The model is estimated using survey weights to take account of unequal probabilities of sample selection and to adjust for non-response at the household level. I also adjust for the clustering by neighborhood.

[Table 6 here]

Table 7 shows the average income generated by each strategy by immigration and documentation status. Table 8 shows the average income to needs ratio for each strategy by immigration and documentation status. The income to needs ratio is a measure of the family's income proportionate to the federal poverty line for a family of that size. Thus a family with an income-to-needs ration of one has an income exactly at the poverty line. I calculated the income-to-needs ratio using the 2000 poverty line. Strategies that rely only income from work generate the most income for all types of families. Strategies that involve combining work with other resources generate more income than strategies involving only

non-work resources. However, there are dramatic differences in the amount of income generated by these strategies for families with mothers of different documentation status. Families in which the mother is undocumented earn 140% of the poverty line when relying on work alone. In comparison, families in which the mother is native-born earn on average 730% of the poverty line when relying on only employment income. For undocumented mothers whose families rely only on non-work resources the picture is particularly grim as these families earn on average less than one third of the poverty line. Thus, though work is the most common strategy among families in which the mother is undocumented, these types of families are nonetheless quite likely to be near or below the poverty line.

[Tables 7 and 8 here]

Table 9 shows the results of the multivariate analysis. Work is the omitted category of the dependent variable. Net of other factors, naturalized citizens, documented immigrants, and undocumented immigrants are all less likely than native-born mothers to combine work and other resources rather than relying on work alone. There is no difference, however, between any of the immigrant groups and native born mothers in the odds of relying only on other resources instead of work. Using a wald test (not shown) on the coefficients for naturalized immigrants, documented immigrants, and undocumented immigrants I find that these coefficients are collectively different from zero but not significantly different from one another, suggesting that a categorization of immigrant versus native captures all significant variation.

[Table 9 here]

Single and cohabiting mothers are both more likely than married mothers to choose either work and other resources or other resources only over work only. Single mothers are also significantly more likely than cohabiting mothers to engage in strategies that combine work and other resources or rely only on other resources. Those mothers with more than a high school education are significantly more likely, all other things equal, to choose work alone rather than combining work with other resources or relying

just on other resources. Older women are less likely to use other resources, either alone or combined with work, than rely on work alone.

Not shown are models in which I interact immigration status with education and immigration status with marital status. Neither set of interactions added any explanatory power to the model and are not shown here. Additionally I find that I lose no explanatory power by collapsing education into three categories: less than high school, high school graduate, more than high school.

To address the question of whether human capital and other individual and family characteristics explain family strategy differences between immigrant and native-born mothers figure 1 shows predicted probabilities of choosing each strategy. Because there are no statistically significant differences among immigrant groups by citizenship and documentation status, for this comparison I characterize families by whether the mother is an immigrant or native-born. For each strategy, the first set of bars show the direct effect of immigrant status on strategy, that is, the probability of choosing each strategy taking into account only immigration status. The second set of bars show the adjusted probability taking into account all other covariates in the model, which are set to the sample mean[2]. The light grey bars show the probability of choosing each strategy for native-born mothers. The dark grey bars show the probability of choosing each strategy for immigrant mothers. As shown in table 6, the probability that a family's economic strategy will involve only employment income is much higher for all families than the probability of combining work with other resources or using other resources alone. Additionally, immigrant mothers are notably more likely than native-born mothers to have family strategies involving only employment income, which is consistent with evidence that suggests that even low-skilled immigrant men are more likely to be employed than their native-born counterparts (Clarke, 2001). Families in which the mother is native-born have a higher probability than the families of immigrant mothers of combining work income with other resources, consistent with the post-reform drop in public

[2] Adjusted probabilities were computed using a model identical to the model in table 9, except immigration status is characterized as native or immigrant.

assistance use among immigrants as well as previous findings that immigrant single mothers have a lower probability of receiving assistance from family (Lofstrom and Bean, 2002; Borjas, 2002; Fix and Passel, 1999; Zimmerman and Fix, 1998; Hao, 2003).

[Figure 1 here]

The difference between immigrant and native-born mothers' family strategies is largely unchanged when other individual and family characteristics are controlled. Taking other characteristics into account actually slightly increases the difference between the families of immigrant and native-born mothers. These findings are consistent with previous research regarding immigrant employment rates and public assistance usage. However, it is unclear what accounts for the differences between the families of immigrant and native-born mothers. The fact that there are no family strategy differences between undocumented immigrant mothers, documented immigrant mothers, and naturalized immigrant mothers suggests that differences between immigrants are not likely due to uncontrolled differences in eligibility for public assistance..

Short-term Dynamics of Mother's Income-generating Activities

The families of immigrant mothers combine resources differently than the families of native-born mothers. These combinations also result in different levels of income. In addition to the combination of resources families use, the stability of resource use is another important aspect of family strategy. In the next portion of the analysis I shift the focus from annual sources of family income to the short-term stability of mother's employment and public assistance use. Stability is an important component of family well-being. Changes can be positive or negative. For example transitions into work from public assistance or unemployment are often associated with income increases, while transitions out of employment lead to lower levels of income. Large numbers of resource changes are likely to be stressful, which can have psychological effects on mothers and affect parenting (Dearing et al., 2004; Duncan, 1991; Elder and Liker, 1982).

This portion of the analysis uses mother's retrospective employment and public assistance histories for the two years prior to the interview. I use these retrospective histories to classify mother's activities into four categories: working, receiving public assistance, combining working and receiving public assistance, and neither working nor receiving public assistance. The data on employment and public assistance use for the previous two years include dates of stopping and starting each status. Because the data is retrospective, however, these dates are often an approximation. When respondents did not specify an exact date of the change in status they were asked whether it occurred in the beginning, middle or end of the month, which were coded as the first, eleventh, twenty-first of the month respectively (Peterson et al., 2003). I analyze the time spent in each status in terms of weeks. For each mother I start at the date two years before the interview and assess her reported activity every seven days. In some cases dates in the retrospective histories did not line up and it was impossible to determine a mother's activity in a given week. The majority of spells of unknown activity are less than two weeks long and likely result from approximations in reporting the dates that statuses began and ended. I drop these spells from the analysis.[3] A transition occurs when a mother's reported activity in a given week is different from the activity of the previous week. Changes in employers (or in number of hours worked) are therefore not counted as transitions unless there is at least a week's break in employment. For mother's first status I measure the duration in weeks from the date when the mother began the activity. The analysis includes a total of 2840 transitions for the 1466 mothers. This resulted in 434,318 person weeks.

Over the two year period mothers can make multiple transitions. Table 10 shows the number of transitions mothers make by immigration and citizenship status. About half of all mothers make at least

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[3] In addition to the employment history mothers also provided an unemployment history, in which they note their activities during periods of non-employment. In some cases the dates in which a mother indicated that she was working in the employment history did not match up with dates in which she reported not working in the unemployment history. The majority of these cases of non-matching dates result in very short spells (one or two weeks) of unknown activity, which are likely the result of approximate date reporting. Of the total 3,776 spells 932 spells were dropped due to unknown activities. Of these, 847 were spells with durations of one or two weeks. This reduced the total number of person weeks from 437,411 to 434,698. An additional 4 spells were dropped due to data entry errors on the start date (reducing the total person weeks to 434,318).

one transition. About 27 percent make at least two transitions. Native-born mothers are the most likely to make any transitions and naturalized mothers are the least likely to make a transition. About 58 percent of native-born mothers make at least one transition compared to about 39 percent of naturalized mothers, 48 percent of documented mothers, and 44 percent of undocumented mothers. Table 11 shows the average number of transitions by mother's citizenship/documentation status. Native-born mothers made an average of 1.6 total transitions. Naturalized mothers made an average of .9 transitions. Documented mothers averaged 1.4 and undocumented mothers average 1.1 transitions.

[Tables 10 and 11 here]

I use event history techniques to describe the amount stability in mother's strategies taking into account the amount of time spent in each status and other characteristics of mothers and their families. I create a stacked data set with a line of data for each week that an individual is at risk of making a transition (for each transition the individual makes). I then estimate a binary logistic regression on whether or not the individual made a transition in the given week. For duration in the current status I use a linear spline with 5 segments with knots at week 50, week 148, week 363, and week 1230.[4] I use a random effects model to account for the clustering by individual that results from the ability to make multiple transitions. Table 12 shows the results of two event history models. Model one includes all the explanatory variables included in the analysis of family strategy, as well time spent in a given status, and the mother's activity at the beginning of the spell (i.e. the status she started out in before making a transition). Model two includes an interaction between citizenship/documentation status and mother's activity at the start of the spell.

[Table 12 here]

Net of other factors, mothers who are naturalized citizens and mothers who are undocumented immigrants are less likely than native born mothers to make a transition. Documented mothers who start

[4] The results are robust to various spline specifications (not shown). This particular specification was chosen by selecting the week by which 98 percent of all transitions occur (week 1230). The other four segments represent the twenty-fifth percentiles of durations that are less than 1230 weeks.

out neither working nor receiving public assistance have higher odds than native-born mothers of making a transition. However, documented mothers starting in other statuses have the same likelihood of transition as native-born mothers. Mothers who started the spell either receiving public assistance or neither working nor receiving public assistance are less likely to make a transition than mothers who were employed at the start of the spell. Mothers who were combining work and public assistance, however, have odds of making a transition that are two and a half times higher than mothers who started out working. Cohabiting mothers have odds about 32 percent higher than married mothers of making a transition. There is no significant difference, however, between single and married mothers. Older women, and women with more children are less likely to make transitions.

Figure 2 shows the predicted probability of making a transition by mother's citizenship/documentation status and the activity she was engaged in at the beginning of the spell. Because time is measured in weeks, the resulting probabilities are the probabilities of making a transition in a one week period, and are thus very small. The left panel shows unadjusted probabilities, taking into account only immigration and citizenship status and employment and public assistance status at the start of the spell. The right panel shows adjusted probabilities using model two shown in table 12, with all other covariates set to the mean.

[Figure 2 here]

Regardless of initial employment and public assistance status native born mothers are the most likely to make a transition and undocumented mothers are the least likely to make a transitions. Mothers who began the spell combining work and public assistance are more likely than other mothers to make a transition. Among all three immigrant groups, mothers who began the spell not working or receiving public assistance are the least likely to make transitions. For native-born mothers, those starting the spell receiving public assistance are the least likely to make a transition.

Conclusions

The most common strategy that mothers and their families engage in is relying only on income from employment and reliance on only income from sources other than work is a rare strategy for all families. Families of immigrant mothers are more likely than the families of native-born mothers to rely soley on income from work, rather than combining work with other resources. There are no strategy differences among naturalized immigrant mothers, documented immigrant mothers, and undocumented immigrant mothers. Since citizenship and documentation status are important components of public assistance eligibility, these findings suggest that the primary explanation for differences in strategies is not likely differences in access to public resources. Other family and individual characteristics such as marital status, education, race, language of interview, age, and number and age of children account for almost none of the difference between immigrant and native-born mothers' family strategies, indicating that some other difference between immigrant and native-born mothers affects their propensity to work and draw on other economic resources. It is important to keep in mind, however, that, due to the nature of the L.A. FANS design, these findings may apply only to immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries.

The preliminary evidence that I present here suggests that though the families of immigrant mothers are more likely to engage in strategies that involve income from employment, there are dramatic differences among families in the amount of income generated through these strategies. This is consistent with previous studies that show that immigrants are more likely to be employed than similarly skilled natives but less likely to be working full-time for non-poverty wages (Waldinger, 2001).

Women with more children make fewer transitions. This may indicate that the cost of making transitions is high for these women. When they change jobs, for instance, they may leave their first job only when they have a second job beginning immediately (which would not appear as a transition in this framework), whereas other mothers may take some chances with periods of unemployment when switching jobs. Alternatively the effect might be a sign that mothers with more stable sources of support are able to have more children.

In addition to the differences between immigrant and native-born mothers there are notable differences in family strategies and the stability of mothers' activities by marital status. Single mothers are less likely than other mothers to rely only on employment income during the course of a year. Cohabiting mothers, are more likely than single mothers to rely only on income from employment but less likely to do so than married mothers. Additionally, mothers who are cohabiting with partners are more likely than married mothers to make transitions in their income generating activities. Differences between cohabiting and married mothers may reflect differences in selection into marriage. That is, mothers whose income generating activities are unstable may be less likely to choose to marry than mothers with more stable sources of income. However, fully understanding the relationship between marital status and family strategies employment and public assistance across marital statuses will require further work using longitudinal data over a longer period in order to allow joint modeling of economic strategies and union formation.

These findings show that immigrant and native mothers engage in different strategies to support their families and the preliminary evidence suggests that how much income families are able to generate using a given strategy varies by mother's citizenship and documentation status. This potentially has important consequences for the well-being of the children of immigrants. Regardless of starting strategy, immigrant mothers are generally less likely to make transitions in strategies than are native-born mothers. Undocumented immigrants are the least likely to make transitions. While this level of stability may be somewhat protective against decreases in income and parental stress, it may also be a sign of lack of opportunities for upward mobility. Important next steps include further exploration of the relationship of economic strategy to family income and an assessment of the relationship between family's strategies and indicators of child well-being. Additionally, more exploration of the stability of strategies over time is necessary using longitudinal data that takes into account changes in all family members' income generating activities.

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Table 1: Characteristics of Mothers with Minor Children in Los Angeles County (N=1466)

	Percent/Mean (SD)
Marital Status	
Married	61.5%
Cohabiting	11.6%
Single (never married, separated & divorced)	26.9%
Age	35.7 (8.4)
Race/Ethnicity	
White	25.4%
Black	7.4%
Latina	58.2%
Other	9.0%
Education	
Primary School or Less	17.3%
Some High School	17.4%
High School Graduate	24.5%
Some Post Secondary	23.9%
BA or More	17.0%
Language	
Interview Administered in English	60.3%
Interview Administered in Spanish	39.7%
Immigration Status & Citizenship	
Native Born-U.S. Citizen	43.1%
Total Immigrants	66.9%
Naturalized Citizen	16.9%
Documented	22.1%
Undocumented	17.9%
Number of Children in Respondent's Care	2.0 (1.1)
Age of Youngest Child	5.9 (4.9)

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Note: Percentages are weighted.

Table 2: Mother's Country of Origin and Citizenship/Documentation Status (N=1,466)

Native-born US citizen	43.1%
From Mexico	33.3%
Naturalized Citizen	20.0%
Documented Immigrant	35.5%
Undocumented Immigrant	44.5%
From Central & South America	12.3%
Naturalized Citizen	26.5%
Documented Immigrant	49.8%
Undocumented Immigrant	23.7%
From Countries Outside Latin America	11.4%
Naturalized Citizen	61.8%
Documented Immigrant	36.4%
Undocumented Immigrant	1.8%

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Note: Percentages are weighted.

Table 3: Marital Status at Time of Interview by Citizenship/Documentation Status (N=1,466)

	Native-born Citizen	Naturalized Citizen	Documented Immigrant	Undocumented Immigrant
Married	59.2%	76.9%	63.7%	49.8%
Cohabiting	8.8	2.6	12.8	25.5
Single	32.0	20.5	23.5	24.8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100.1%
(N)	(576)	(232)	(353)	(305)

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Notes: Percentages are weighted. Ns are unweighted.

Table 4: Percent of Families Reporting Income from Each of The Top Five Sources of Income by Marital Status and Citizenship/Documentation Status (N=1,466)

Married and Cohabiting Mothers (N=1,075)						
		Mother's Immigrant and Citizenship Status				
			Immigrants			
Source of Income	Native Born	All Immigrants	Naturalized	Documented	Undocumented	total (N)
Spouse/Partner's Employment	88.9	89.0	88.6	87.5	91.3	89.0 (943)
Mother's Employment	78.5	54.3	70.9	57.8	33.5	64.0 (697)
Food Stamps	10.3	9.5	4.6	10.0	13.9	9.8 (112)
Public Assistance	8.0	7.1	2.8	7.7	10.6	7.5 (83)
Shares Cost of Housing	5.2	6.7	3.3	5.0	12.2	6.1 (69)

Single Mothers (N=391)						
		Mother's Immigrant and Citizenship Status				
			Immigrants			
Source of Income	Native Born	All Immigrants	Naturalized	Documented	Undocumented	total (N)
Mother's Employment	76.9	68.3	84.0	60.5	65.3	72.7 (277)
Public Assistance	34.9	33.4	16.07	46.3	31.9	34.2 (146)
Food Stamps	34.8	32.6	22.0	38.9	33.44	33.7 (156)
Shares Cost of Housing	26.0	23.8	2.27	20.2	44.7	24.9 (79)
Child Support	28.3	12.6	19.7	11.8	8.1	20.7 (80)

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Notes: Percentages are weighted. Ns are unweighted.
Percentages do not sum to 100% because families may use multiple sources of income.
Income sources shown are top five sources of income received by mothers and their spouse or partner.

Table 5: Detailed Combinations of Income by Immigration and Citizenship Status.

Combinations of Income	Native Born Citizen	Naturalized Citizen	Documented Immigrant	Undocumented Immigrant	Total (N)
Work only	50.1%	74.3%	63.3%	60.4%	59.0% (870)
Public Assistance Only	4.0	2.2	3.2	3.5	3.4 (63)
Other Public Resources Only	.01	.29	0	.49	.14 (6)
Private/Family Resources Only	1.2	0	.78	2.6	1.2 (14)
Work & Public Assistance	9.5	5.5	10.0	10.6	9.1 (150)
Work & Other Public Resources	10.7	4.9	4.1	3.3	7.0 (83)
Work & Private/Family Resources	14.1	9.0	8.7	12.6	11.8 (162)
Public Assistance & Other Public Resources	.31	.10	1.6	0	.5 (9)
Public Assistance & Private/Family Resources	1.5	.09	2.5	4.4	2.01 (26)
Other Public Resources & Private/Family Resources	.2	.29	0	0	.13 (2)
Work, Public Assistance, & Other Public Resources	1.7	.84	1.2	.30	1.2 (22)
Work, Public Assistance & Private/Family Resources	3.3	.70	4.1	1.7	2.8 (37)
Work, Other Public Resources & Private/Family Resources	2.5	1.3	.20	0	1.4 (16)
Public Assistance, Other Public Resources & Private/Family Resources	.5	0	.29	.18	.32 (3)
Work, Public Assistance, Other Public Resources, & Private/Family Resources	.27	.55	0	0	.21 (4)
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	576	232	353	305	

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Notes: Percentages are weighted. Ns are unweighted.

Table 6: Condensed Combinations of Income by Mother's Immigrant and Citizenship Status

	Mother's Immigrant and Citizenship Status					
			Immigrants			
Source of Income	Native Born	All Immigrants	Naturalized	Documented	Undocumented	total (N)
Work Only	50.1%	65.7%	74.3%	63.3%	60.4%	58.9% (870)
Work and Other Sources	42.1	26.7	22.8	28.3	28.5	33.4 (473)
Other Sources Only	7.8	7.6	2.9	8.4	11.1	7.7 (123)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(576)	(890)	(232)	(353)	(305)	(1466)

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Notes: Percentages are weighted. Ns are unweighted.

Table 7: Average Annual Family Income by Strategy and Immigration and Documentation Status

Strategy	Native Born	Naturalized Immigrant	Documented Immigrant	Undocumented Immigrant	total
Work Only	$118,027	$71,592	$39,904	$24,054	$72,367
Work and Other Resources	50,493	37,050	26,383	16,272	39,173
Other Resources Only	13,283	24,090	13,661	4,359	11,765

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.

Table 8: Average Family Income to Needs Ratios by Strategy and Immigration and Documentation Status

Strategy	Native Born	Naturalized Immigrant	Documented Immigrant	Undocumented Immigrant	total
Work Only	7.3	4.5	2.5	1.4	4.5
Work and Other Resources	3.4	2.5	1.6	.98	2.6
Other Resources Only	1.0	1.6	.96	.27	.85

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Income to needs ratio calculated using 2000 poverty line.

Table 9: Relationship of Mother's Individual Characteristics to Family Strategy (N=1466)

	Work and Other Resources[1]		Other Resources Only	
	b	e^b	b	e^b
	(se)		(se)	
Mother's Citizenship and Documentation Status[2]				
Naturalized Citizen	-.972	0.38*	-.740	0.48
	(.408)		(.929)	
Documented Immigrant	-.787	0.46*	.052	1.05
	(.316)		(.742)	
Undocumented Immigrant	-.988	0.37*	.317	1.37
	(.359)		(.922)	
Marital Status[3]				
Cohabiting	.814	2.26*	1.52	4.57*
	(.220)		(.387)	
Single	1.91	6.75*	3.92	50.40*
	(.205)		(.418)	
Education of mother[4]				
Less than high school	-.096	0.91	.191	1.21
	(.212)		(.527)	
More than high school	-.520	0.59*	-1.84	0.16*
	(.172)		(.453)	
Interview Conducted in Spanish	-.015	0.99	-.345	0.71
	(.360)		(.843)	
Number of Children	.204	1.23*	.435	1.55*
	(.084)		(.107)	
Age of Youngest Child	-.019	0.98	-.037	0.96
	(.027)		(.041)	
Age of mother	-.163	0.85	-.292	0.75*
	(.087)		(.114)	
Age of mother Squared	.002	1.00	.004	1.00*
	(.001)		(.001)	
Race/ethnicity of mother[5]				
Latina	.135	1.14	-1.56	0.21*
	(.269)		(.628)	
Black	.253	1.29	-.783	0.46
	(.322)		(.529)	
Other	.125	1.13	-1.77	0.17
	(.455)		(1.06)	
Constant	1.94		1.87	
	(1.42)		(2.22)	

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Note: Model is estimated using the svymlogit procedure in Stata 8 to correct for non-response and differential probability of selection by neighborhood poverty level.
*Significant at p<.05 level.

1 Omitted Category is work.
2 Omitted Category is native-born.
3 Omitted Category is married.
4 Omitted Category is high school graduate.
5 Omitted Category is white.

Table 10: Total number of Transitions in Employment and Public Assistance Use by Mother's Citizenship and Documentation Status

Number of Transitions	Native Born Citizen	Naturalized Citizen	Documented Immigrant	Undocumented Immigrant	Total (N)
0	42.4%	61.0%	52.3%	56.8%	50.3%
1	23.6	23.8	22.2	23.8	23.4
2	19.9	12.5	11.1	12.2	15.3
3	5.6	1.5	7.5	5.8	5.5
4	5.3	.38	6.1	1.4	3.9
5	1.1	.78	.33	0	.70
6	.45	0	.38	.11	.30
7	1.1	0	.09	0	.51
8	.06	0	0	0	.03

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Notes: Percentages are weighted. Ns are unweighted.

Table 11: Average Number of Transitions by Mother's Citizenship and Documentation Status

	Native Born Citizen	Naturalized Citizen	Documented Immigrant	Undocumented Immigrant	Total
Average	1.6	.92	1.4	1.1	1.3
(SD)	(1.3)	(.91)	(1.3)	(1.0)	(1.2)

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Note: Means are weighted.

Table 12: Binary Logistic Regression Model of Mothers' Transitions Among Statuses With Random Effects Component for Individuals (N=1466 individuals; 434,698 person weeks)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	b (se)	e^b	b (se)	e^b
Mother's Citizenship/Documentation Status[1]				
Naturalized Citizen	-.626 (.151)	0.53*	-.663 .172	0.515*
Documented Immigrant	-.194 (.148)	0.82	-.059 .163	0.943
Undocumented Immigrant	-.760 (.179)	0.47*	-.407 .208	0.666*
Marital Status[2]				
Cohabiting	.281 (.113)	1.32*	.275 .112	1.317*
Single	.151 (.098)	1.16	.133 .098	1.142
Education of mother[3]				
Less than high school	-.047 (.112)	0.95	-.057 .112	0.945
More than high school	-.101 (.114)	0.90	-.072 .115	0.931
Interview Conducted in Spanish	.018 (.155)	1.02	.033 .154	1.034
Number of Children	-.121 (.039)	0.89	-.124 .039	0.883*
Age of Youngest Child	.011 (.011)	1.01	.010 .011	1.010
Age of mother	-.051 (.007)	0.95*	-.050 .007	0.951*
Race of mother[4]				
Latina	-.022 (.136)	0.98	.016 .135	1.016
Black	-.296 (.166)	0.74	-.247 .166	0.781
Other	-.133 (.184)	0.88	-.087 .185	0.917
Time				
Weeks 1 through 49	.008 (.002)	1.01*	.008 (.002)	1.008*
Weeks 50 through 147	-.006 (.001)	0.99*	-.006 (.001)	0.994*
Weeks 148 through 362	-.002 (.001)	1.00*	-.002 (.001)	0.998*

[continued on next page]

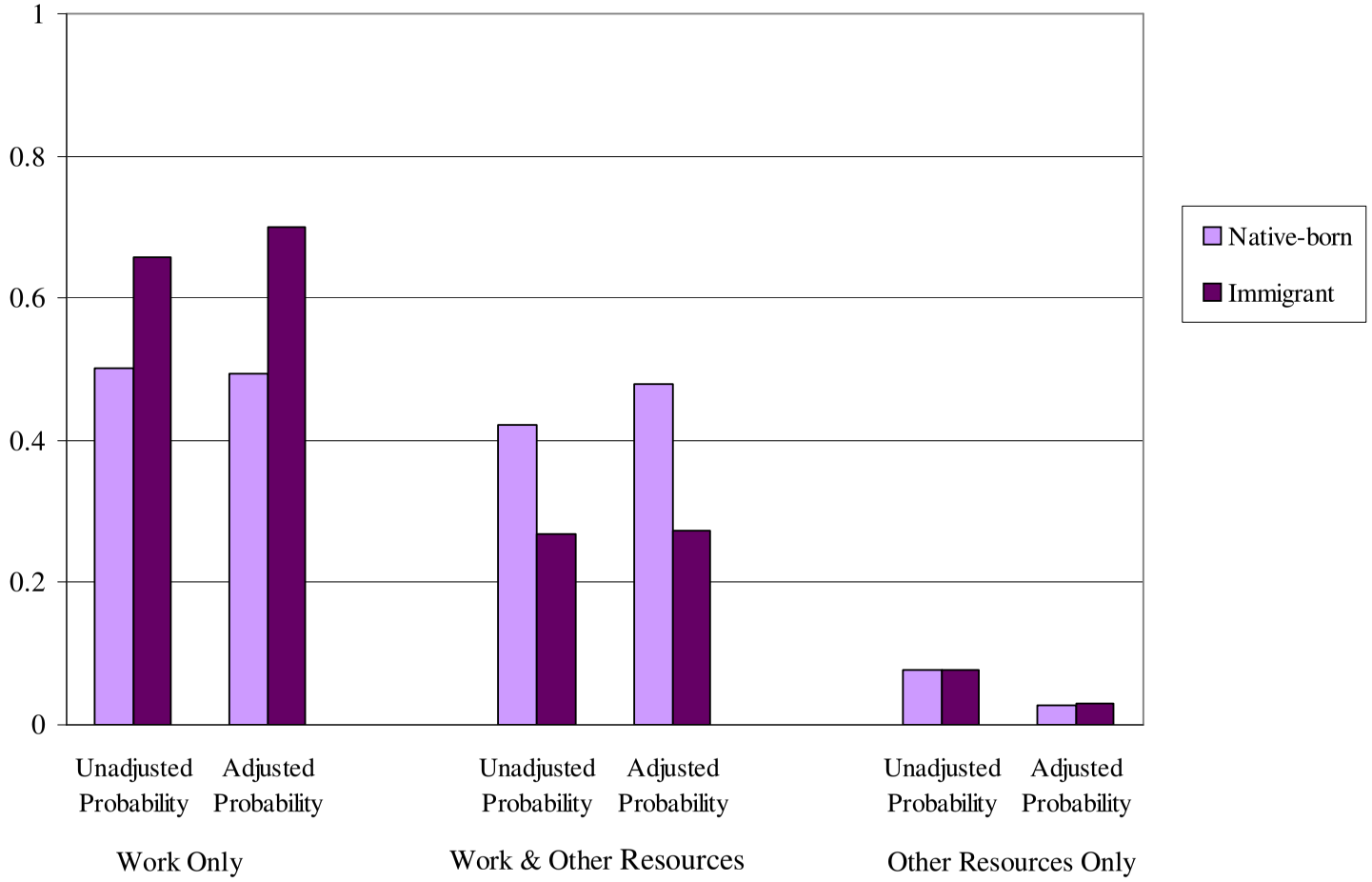
[1] Omitted Category is native-born.
[2] Omitted Category is married.
[3] Omitted Category is high school graduate.
[4] Omitted Category is white.

[continued from previous page]				1.000
				1.000
Weeks 363 through 1229	.0004	1.00	.0004	1.000
	(.0004)		(.0004)	1.000
Weeks 1230 through End	.0008	1.00	.0008	1.001
	(.001)		(.001)	
Strategy at beginning of period[5]				
Public Assistance	-.263	0.77*	-.206	0.814
	(.124)		(.178)	
Work and Public Assistance	.899	2.46*	.934	2.545*
	(.133)		(.186)	
Neither work nor public assistance	-.348	0.71*	-.009	0.991
	(.088)		(.132)	
Constant	-3.57		-3.67	0.025
	(.260)		(.265)	
Interaction between Cit/Doc Status and Strategy				
Immigrant citizen * public assistance			.368	1.445
			(.445)	
Immigrant citizen * work and public assistance			.138	1.148
			(.511)	
Immigrant citizen * neither work nor public assistance			-.023	0.977
			(.296)	
Documented immigrant * public assistance			-.177	0.838
			(.293)	
Documented immigrant * work and public assistance			-.040	0.961
			(.312)	
Documented immigrant * neither work nor public assistance			-.535	0.586*
			(.207)	
Undocumented immigrant * public assistance			-.309	0.734
			(.309)	
Undocumented immigrant * work and public assistance			-.292	0.747
			(.345)	
Undocumented immigrant * neither work nor public assistance			-.926	0.396*
			(.234)	
Random Effects Coefficients				
lnsig2u	-.073		-.102	
	(.134)		(.137)	
sigma_u	.964		.950	
	(.065)		(.065)	
rho	.220		.215	
	(.023)		(.023)	
Log-Likelihood	-8671.00		-8661.22	

Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey
Note: Data are unweighted.
*Statistically significant at the $p \leq .05$ level.

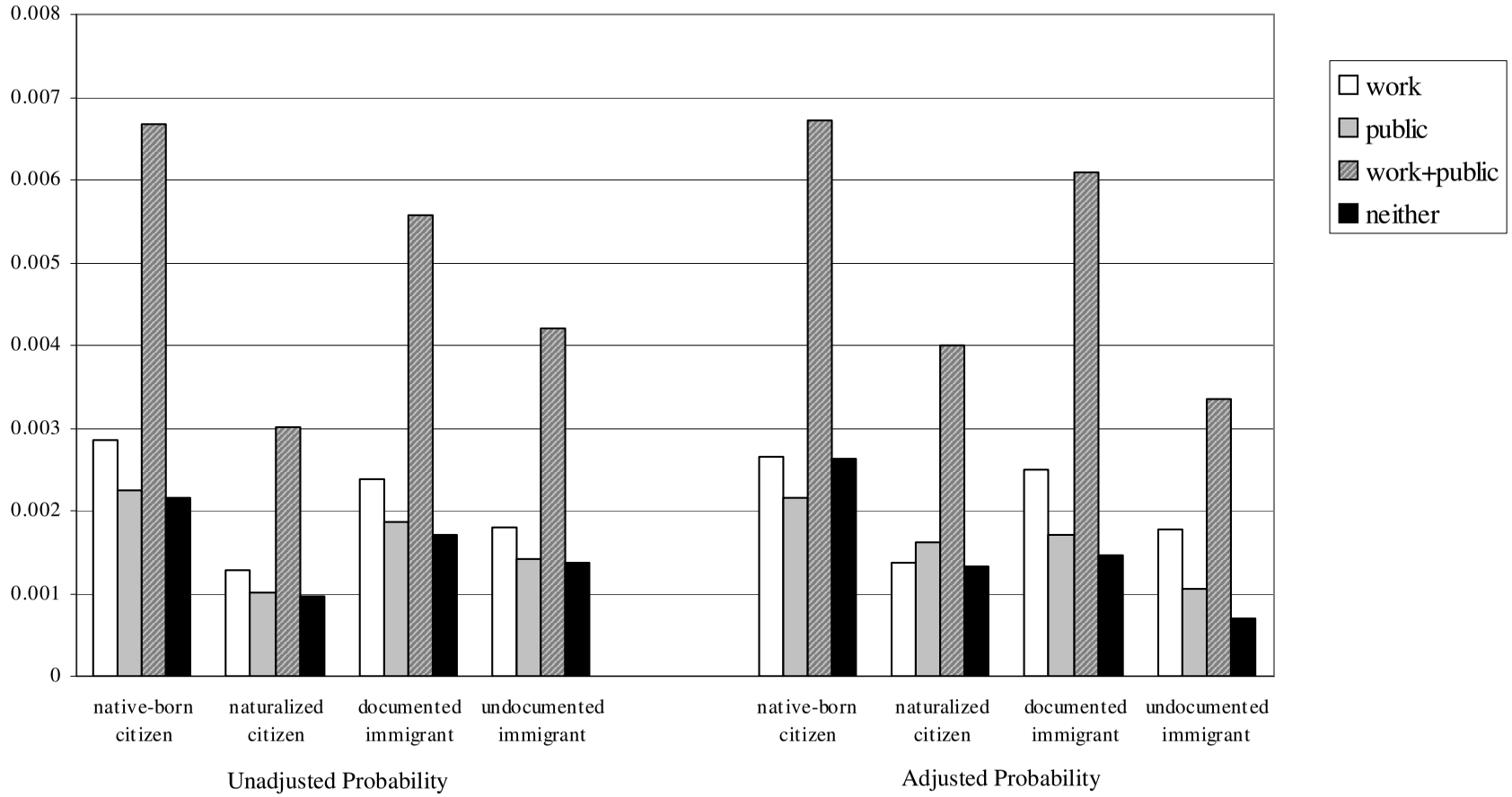
[5] Omitted Category is work.

Figure 1: Unadjusted and Adjusted Probabilities of Working, Combining Work and Other Resources, and Relying Only on Other Resources by Immigrant Status



Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey
Note: Adjusted probabilities include controls for marital/cohabitation status, race/ethnicity, education, whether the interview was conducted in Spanish, number of children, and age of youngest child. Probabilities are evaluated with controls set to sample means.

Figure 2: Unadjusted and Adjusted Probabilities of Changing Strategies by Strategy Type for Native-Born and Immigrant Mothers



Source: Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey.
Notes: Data are mother's (not family's) strategies during the two year period prior to the interview.
Adjusted probabilities include controls for marital/cohabitation status, race/ethnicity, education, whether the interview was conducted in Spanish, number of children, and age of youngest child. Probabilities are evaluated with controls set to sample means.