

Migration, living arrangements and poverty among Puerto Rican-origin children:
Puerto Rico and the United States
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Abstract (150 words)

Recent linkages between migration experiences, living arrangements and poverty are poorly understood for Puerto Rican-origin children. Despite very high poverty rates (58 percent for island-resident children and 32 percent for U.S.-resident Puerto Rican children), high levels of migration between the United States and Puerto Rico and high levels of single parenthood, Puerto Rican-origin children are often not the focus of research on children, families, poverty and migration (Mayol-García and Burd 2018). This research uses data on Puerto Rican-origin children (defined by detailed Hispanic origin data) ages 1-17 living in Puerto Rico and the United States to examine the ties among poverty, family migration and living arrangements. Family migration combines information on place of birth, residence one year ago and current place of residence. Logistic regression models predicting household poverty are run using American Community Survey and Puerto Rico Community Survey 5-year 2012-2016 estimates. The findings are evaluated regarding prior research.

Short Paper

Statement of the problem:

Living in poverty as a child can greatly restrict the resources available to children while growing up. Puerto Rican-origin children residing in Puerto Rico and in the United States live in poverty at higher rates than other groups. For example, in 2015, 58 percent of Puerto Rican-origin children in Puerto Rico lived below the poverty threshold, and Puerto Rican-origin children in the United States had a poverty rate of 32 percent, while the U.S. national child poverty rate was 20 percent (Mayol-García and Burd 2018; Semega, Fontenot and Kollar 2017). These poverty rates alone identify Puerto Rican children as a highly vulnerable group. Yet, Puerto Rican children experience a double exclusion in social science research.

First, Puerto Ricans living on the island are excluded from studies and reports on poverty, children and their families in the United States because the island is a U.S. territory, where many population surveys are not fielded as they are across states.^{2,3} Who children live (or do not live) with can tell us important things about their lives, opportunities and struggles. Numerous studies show that family arrangements in which a parent is absent, such as through divorce or single parenting, are linked to negative child outcomes (Amato 2005). Many of these living arrangements co-occur with other sources of disadvantage. For example, single parents are more likely than married parents to have low education, low income, to be younger and to be part of an ethnic/racial minority. By 2015, Puerto Rican children

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² The U.S. Census Bureau relies on data from the Current Population Survey to derive official national level poverty estimates and national annual family estimates. This survey is not conducted in Puerto Rico or any other U.S. territories.

³ Puerto Rican-origin people living in the 50 states and D.C. are included in the national U.S. estimates.

became as likely to live with a single mother (40 percent) as with married parents (39 percent), which may also be associated with limited family resources (Mayol-García and Burd 2018).⁴ Thus, research on this vulnerable population contributes to the literature by expanding knowledge about the distribution, characteristics and dynamics of poverty among children of Puerto Rican origin.

Second, Puerto Rican-origin children are often left out of research on immigrants and their families because Puerto Ricans are not foreign born. All people born on the island of Puerto Rico, a U.S. territory since 1898, are U.S. citizens by birth. Yet, Puerto Ricans have highly mobile lives moving back and forth between the U.S. mainland and the island of Puerto Rico, to the extent that one researcher has called Puerto Ricans a “Nation on the Move” (Duany 2002). Apart from legal status, the experiences of Puerto Ricans moving to and from the U.S. is quite similar to those of other immigrant groups. Like other immigrants, many Puerto Ricans also move to the United States for economic opportunities and experience culture shock.

One study that used 1990 Census data points out that Puerto Rican immigrants to the U.S. mainland show lower child poverty rates, in fact corroborating that migration may benefit these families (Oropesa and Landale 2000). In contrast, return migration to the island was associated with higher poverty rates for children. This is the only study to date that has applied an origin-destination approach to study the intersection of family, migration and poverty among Puerto Rican children. However, since 1990, drastic changes in the distribution and size of the Puerto Rican population have occurred, particularly after the economic crisis of the late 2000s. Now over half of the Puerto Rican-origin population lives on the U.S. mainland (Hugo López and Velasco 2011). Furthermore, the Puerto Rican-origin child population on the island decreased 27 percent between 2006 and 2015, while the Puerto Rican-origin child population in the United States increased by 28 percent (Mayol-García and Burd 2018). This stems from differences in migration and fertility patterns between Puerto Rican-origin people in the United States and Puerto Rico. As a result, recent linkages between family migration experiences and poverty are poorly understood for Puerto Rican children.

Additionally, the devastation produced by the 2017 hurricanes Irma and Maria continues to change the Puerto Rican population. This study will provide a pre-hurricane baseline on the impact that migration and living arrangements have on Puerto Rican-origin children’s poverty status, against which future changes can be measured.

This study addresses several gaps in the literature. Specifically, this study provides updated information on the socioeconomic well-being of Puerto Rican-origin children. This research applies a destination-origin framework by using information from children living in Puerto Rico and children living in the U.S. mainland. In particular, this research examines the linkages among poverty, family migration and living arrangements among Puerto Rican-origin children.

Research Questions:

- 1) How is poverty status related to Puerto Rican-origin children’s family migration experiences and living arrangements?

⁴ Estimates of children with two married parents and a single mother do not differ statistically from each other.

- 2) Do these connections differ between Puerto Rican-origin children living in the United States and Puerto Rico?

Data and Methods:

I use the American Community Survey (ACS) and Puerto Rico Community Survey (PRCS) 5-year estimates for 2012-2016, which provide nationally representative demographic, social, economic and housing information about the U.S. and P.R. resident populations.⁵ These data also include information on place of birth, current place of residence and residence one year ago. Children ages 1-17 who are the child of the householder are the main focus of this paper. These youth are categorized as Puerto Rican based on responses to the detailed survey question asking whether respondents are of Hispanic or Latino ethnicity. They may be of any race. All further mentions of children in this paper are Puerto Rican-origin children of the householder between 1 and 17 years of age.

First, I discuss descriptive statistics of the Puerto Rican-origin child population and their families. Second, I show the results of several logistic regression models predicting household poverty status by considering different family, householder and child characteristics using Puerto Rico and United States data. This facilitates the analysis of characteristics linked to child poverty, including family migration experiences and living arrangements. I use the *proc surveylogistic* statements and also replicate weights to develop the logistic regression models in SAS. Negative replicate weights were set to zero.

All of the characteristics included in the model are coded as dummy variables. The dependent variable in all models is **household poverty status**, which identifies whether children live in households with income in the past 12 months below the poverty threshold.

Two measures of living arrangements will be included in the analysis. Children's **living arrangements** will be classified as children living with two married parents, children living with a cohabiting parent, or children living with one parent, no spouse or partner present. For reasons stated in the limitations part of this study, children who are not the child of the householder are excluded from the analysis. The parent's cohabiting partner may or may not be the child's second parent; for simplification purposes we label this group of children as living with two cohabiting parents. Some children living with their mother only or father only may be living with a parent married to an absent spouse who is stationed overseas with the armed forces, or is incarcerated, for example.

An indicator of the **presence of grandparents** in the household is also included in the analysis. The presence of grandparents is important because they can offer children and their families additional financial, emotional and child-care resources. Children are identified as living with grandparents if there is a parent or parent-in-law of the householder present. Living arrangements measures of grandparents overlap with the living arrangements measures of parents described above. So, for example, a child living with a grandparent may be living with married parents, cohabiting parents, or only a single parent.

Regarding the migration measure, I combine information on place of birth (POB), residence one year ago (ROYA) and current place of residence (NOW) of the householder and child of the householder to develop **family migration experience** dummy variables. I restrict this study to children of the

⁵ Note that these data were collected pre-hurricane(s) of 2017.

householder because I can capture migration information of at least one parent and their child. Children with householder or own migration experience, like place of birth and residence one year ago, that is abroad (not Puerto Rico or the United States) are excluded from the analysis. This allows me to focus specifically on Puerto Rico-United States migration dynamics. Zero-year-old children are excluded because they do not have values for their ROYA.⁶

Table 1 shows how each migration variable is developed based on the child and householder migration experience information. So, children in “P.R. no migration” family experiences live in families where the child and the householder were both born in Puerto Rico (POB=P.R.), lived in Puerto Rico one year ago (ROYA=P.R.) and lived in P.R. at the moment of the survey (NOW=P.R.). Because this is a family level variable, if either the child or the householder were determined to have migration experience, then the child was categorized in the corresponding migration category. For example, if a child was born in P.R., ROYA=P.R. and was interviewed in P.R. (NOW=P.R.), but the householder either had POB=U.S., or ROYA=U.S., then the child was categorized as in a P.R. migrant family. I created two versions of migration categories: a **detailed** version with six categories (results are discussed only in the descriptive statistics section) and a **collapsed** version with four categories (used in the regression models).

I was particularly interested in providing basic frequencies and poverty rates for families with recent migration experiences (migrated less than one year ago) either from the United States to Puerto Rico (P.R. recent migrants), or from Puerto Rico to the United States (U.S. recent migrants). But, due to small sample size, I had to collapse these migration variables with the long-term migration variables (migrated more than one year ago) into the “P.R. migrants” and “U.S. migrants” categories used in the regression analyses. If we think of Puerto Rico as the “origin” country from which all Puerto Rican-origin people and their ancestors come, then the United States could be considered the “destination.” Even U.S. non-migrants could be considered a third immigrant generation if we apply an immigrant generations framework (Jensen 1997). Social science researchers identify the first immigrant generation by being foreign born, the second immigrant generation if they are native born and at least one of their parents are foreign born, and the third immigrant generation if they and their parents are both native born. However, it is worth noting that among Puerto Ricans, the situation is a bit more complicated than that of traditional immigrant groups who settle at the destination permanently due to the continuous back and forth movement of people. In this regard, a transnationalist framework helps us understand that distinctions among Puerto Rican people on the island and in the U.S. mainland are blurred because borders, identities and culture are fluid (Duany 2002).

Other variables included in the analysis are dichotomous **householder characteristics** (having a Bachelor’s degree or more vs. having less than a Bachelor’s degree and participating in the labor force vs. not participating in the labor forces) and the **child’s age** as a continuous variable going from 1 to 17. I rely on information from the parent who is the householder.

This research is limited in several ways. Due to the complicated nature of the family migration measure, this study excludes children in subfamilies (who are not children of the householder), children not living with parents and children living in group quarters. These children may be particularly vulnerable due to

⁶ Appendix A shows the frequencies of each group excluded from the analysis.

more complex or unstable living arrangements, and would greatly benefit from future research on them. U.S. Census Bureau data provide information at the time of interview but not at the time of migration. For example, among migrants we know the poverty status of households at the time of interview, but not at the specific moment when they decided to move. Potentially, poverty could have been a factor in motivating migration. Selection into migration may play a role, but due to the cross sectional nature of the data, cannot be fully accounted for or measured. Also, poverty status is updated annually for changes in cost of living using the Consumer Price Index, but does not take into account regional or state differences (Bishaw and Benson 2017).

Results:

Descriptive Results:

This project is a first step toward assessing the relationship between current migration trends, living arrangements and Puerto Rican-origin children's poverty rates for both those who live in Puerto Rico and those in the U.S. mainland. This research benefits from using nationally representative data for the sending and receiving populations.

Table 2 shows the percent distribution, weighted frequencies and poverty rates of Puerto Rican-origin children by **detailed** family migration experience. Overall, there are 1.8 million Puerto Rican children of the householder between 1-17 years old that only have family migration experiences between Puerto Rico and the United States. Children in P.R. non-migrant families make up 29 percent of the total sample. Children in families that arrived to Puerto Rico more than one year ago (P.R. long-term migrants) comprise 3 percent, while children in families who arrived to Puerto Rico less than a year ago (P.R. recent migrants) make up 0.1 percent out of all Puerto Rican-origin children. As previous literature points out (Mayol-García and Burd 2018), more Puerto Rican-origin children live in the United States than on the island. Almost half of the sample (48 percent) are in U.S. non-migrant families, a whopping 19 percent live in U.S. long-term migrant families, and 0.6 percent live in U.S. recent migrant families.

It is also important to note the differences in migration experiences of children's families within Puerto Rico, separately from the United States. Among children currently living in Puerto Rico, 10 percent are children in P.R. migrant families. This is much lower than the proportion of children living in the United States in U.S. migrant families, 29 percent. In other words, family migration experience is much more common from Puerto Rico to the United States, rather than the other way around.

Overall, the poverty rate for Puerto Rican-origin children in 2012-2016 is 41 percent. However, this number masks significant differences across migration groups. Children in P.R. non-migrant families have a poverty rate of 57 percent, which is almost double that of children in U.S. non-migrant families (30 percent). These rates are much higher than the U.S. child poverty rate in 2016 of 18 percent (Semega, Fontenot and Kollar 2017). Children in P.R. long-term migrant families have a poverty rate of 56 percent but this is not statistically different from children in P.R. non-migrant families. However, children in P.R. recent migrant families have the highest poverty rate of all, 71 percent.⁷ This trend is consistent with previous research on return migration to Puerto Rico and on the timing of immigration.

⁷ This poverty rate is not statistically different from the poverty rate of U.S. recent immigrants (62 percent).

On one hand, return migration to Puerto Rico has been linked to higher levels of disadvantage (Duany 2004). These migrants left Puerto Rico for the United States and returned for a variety of reasons, including economic difficulties. After returning they might also suffer discrimination for having left in the first place and possibly not speaking Spanish as a native any longer (Duany 2002). On the other hand, research on the immigrants points out how recently-arrived immigrants are often in a precarious socioeconomic situation. They have to learn to navigate a new culture which might not be welcoming of foreigners and they might not have access to an established social network that can provide them with tips on jobs, housing and schools (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Living in the U.S. is linked to lower poverty rates than living in Puerto Rico. Children in U.S. non-migrant families have the lowest poverty rates of all groups, 30 percent. They are followed by children in U.S. long-term migrant families (40 percent) and children in U.S. recent migrant families (62 percent).⁸

So in general, Puerto Rican origin-children have high poverty rates. Living in the U.S. is linked to lower poverty rates than living in Puerto Rico. Migration, particularly recent migration occurring in the past year, is linked to the highest poverty rates.

Table 3 shows the percent distribution of the characteristics included in the regression models. Puerto Rican-origin children have a mean age of 9 years and are 49 percent female. Due to small sample sizes of the recent migrant groups, the family migration experience variables were collapsed into four categories. About 29 percent are children in P.R. non-migrant families, 3 percent are in P.R. migrant families, 48 percent are in U.S. non-migrant families and 20 percent are in U.S. migrant families. As noted above, the proportion of Puerto Rican-origin children with migration experience is much higher in the United States than in Puerto Rico. Less than half of the sample live with married parents (47 percent), compared to 14 percent living with cohabiting parents and 39 percent living with one parent, no spouse or partner present. These proportions are similar for children in Puerto Rico and children in the United States, with a higher proportion of children in Puerto Rico living with cohabiting parents (16 percent) compared to children in the U.S. (12 percent) in this same living arrangement. As noted in previous research, the proportions of children living with one parent are quite high (Mayol-García and Burd 2018). About 4 percent live with a grandparent in the household. Over three-fourths of householders participate in the labor force (76 percent) and over one-fifth have a Bachelor's degree or higher (22 percent).

Regression Results:

In order to disentangle the linkages between poverty, migration and living arrangements I ran three logistic regression models to predict the odds of a Puerto Rican child living in a poor household (see Table 4). First, I included only family migration experience (Model 1), then added living arrangements and presence of grandparents (Model 2), and finally added householder and child characteristics (Model 3). The results are shown in Table 4. At the bottom of the table I've included the -2 log likelihood for each model which shows that the full model #3 has the best fit with the lowest value.

The results for family migration experiences as predictors of household poverty show the same trend across models. In all models, children in P.R. non-migrant families are the reference group. The odds of

⁸ The poverty rate for U.S. recent immigrant families (62 percent) is not statistically different from the poverty rate of P.R. no migration families (57 percent), nor of the P.R. recent immigrant families (71 percent).

living in a poor household for P.R. migrants are not statistically different from the odds of living in a poor household for children in P.R. non-migrant families. However, the odds of living in a poor household for the other two groups, U.S. non-migrants and U.S. migrants, is significantly lower than for children in P.R. non-migrant families. These odds become even smaller as we place additional variables in the models. For example, in Model 1, children in U.S. migrant families have an odds of being poor that is about half (52 percent) the odds of P.R. non-migrant families; after including all variables in Model 3, these odds for U.S. migrant families decrease to about a third (31 percent) of the odds of being poor for the reference group. In the full Model 3, the odds of living in a poor household for children in non-migrant families in the United States is less than one-fifth (18 percent) the odds of living in a poor household for non-migrants in Puerto Rico. Children in U.S. resident families are much less likely to live in poverty than children in P.R. non-migrant families.

Living arrangements and the presence of grandparents are also linked to household poverty levels among Puerto Rican-origin children. Children living with married parents comprise the reference group. The odds of living in a poor household for children with cohabiting parents is 5.7 times higher than for children living with married parents. Children with one parent have an odds of being poor that is 7.3 times higher than children living with married parents. The direction of these trends was expected based on previous literature (Amato 2005). However, children in cohabiting households seem to be more similar to children with one parent than those living with married parents, in terms of their very high odds of being poor. The results for grandparents' presence in the household confirms our expectations. Children living with grandparents have a lower odds of being poor, an odds that is two-fifths (40 percent) the odds of being poor among children who do not live with grandparents.

Regression results for householder and child characteristics show expected trends. Children living with householders who are in the labor force show much lower odds (85 percent) of being poor than children with a householder who is not in the labor force. Similarly, children living with a householder who has earned a Bachelor's degree or more show much lower odds (85 percent) of being poor than the reference group. These two outcomes, participating in the labor force and having a college education, may be considered as higher socioeconomic characteristics which tend to be linked to lower poverty rates and increased resources for families and children. Regarding children's age, for each year of age, a Puerto Rican-origin child has lower odds of living in a poor household (decrease of 5 percent). This is consistent with prior research which identifies young children as being more likely to live in poor households than teenagers (Amato 2005).

Predicted probabilities:

I also calculated predicted probabilities of living in a poor household for the family migration groups by living arrangements to get a better understanding of how these interact. In all cases, the predicted probabilities are based on the full logistic regression model, where a child with a mean age lives with no grandparents, a householder in the labor force and with a BA degree. In Figure 1, I show the predicted probabilities of children living with married parents, cohabiting parents and one parent, across migration categories. The probabilities of being poor among children with married parents are very low across migration categories, less than 10 percent, indicating that living with married parents is quite protective against poverty.

The difference between children with different family migration experiences is pretty stark. About one third (32 percent) of children in P.R. non-migrant families with cohabiting parents are predicted to live in a poor household holding other factors constant. Children in P.R. migrant families with cohabiting parents are not far off, with a predicted 31 percent in poverty. However, children in the United States with cohabiting parents are much less likely to be poor. Only 8 percent of children in U.S. non-migrant families with cohabiting parents are predicted to be poor, and 13 percent of children in U.S. migrant families with cohabiting parents. The probabilities of living in a poor household among children with one parent are only slightly higher across family migration experiences compared to those of children with cohabiting parents.

These results point to similarities in the economic outcomes of children living with cohabiting parents and those living with one parent. The probabilities of living in poor households across living arrangements and family migration experience replicate the patterns in the regression findings shown by migration categories. Regardless of living arrangements, children in P.R. non-migrant families and P.R. migrant families have the highest predicted probabilities of being poor.

Summary of results:

This research has benefited from using current data from both Puerto Rico and the United States to study the linkages between Puerto Rican-origin children's living arrangements, family migration experiences and poverty. The results confirm the findings of prior research regarding Puerto Rican immigrant generations and their socioeconomic outcomes, as well as prior research on children and families, and provide additional insight into current child situations. There are 1.8 million Puerto Rican-origin children with child and householder residence and migration experiences solely between Puerto Rico and the United States. The majority of children are in P.R. non-migrant families (29 percent) or U.S. non-migrant families (48 percent), while only 3 percent are in P.R. migrant families and 20 percent are in U.S. migrant families.

At the descriptive level, P.R.-origin children in migrant families, particularly children in P.R. recent migrant families, live in poverty at higher rates than children in P.R. non-migrant families. In the U.S., children in U.S. recent migrant and U.S. long-term migrant families show higher household poverty rates than children in U.S. non-migrant families. However, children living in U.S. long-term migrant families have lower poverty rates compared to children in P.R. non-migrant families.

After considering family migration experience, living arrangements, householder and child characteristics together, I find that U.S. resident children are less disadvantaged than P.R. resident children. Children in migrant families to the United States are less likely to live in poverty than children in non-migrant families in P.R.. Children in U.S. non-migrant families have the lowest odds of being poor compared to children in non-migrant families in P.R.. Surprisingly, children in P.R. migrant families are not statistically different from P.R. non-migrant families, which may be due to small sample size or actual similarities between these groups.

Living arrangements are particularly important. Children living with cohabiting parents and with one parent are several times more likely to live in poor households than children living with married parents. The predicted probabilities of living arrangements by family migration experience offer two important

takeaways. First, regardless of living arrangements, children in P.R. non-migrant families and P.R. migrant families have the highest predicted probabilities of being poor. Second, children in families with cohabiting parents are very similar to children with one parent regarding their probabilities of being poor.

Conclusions:

Poverty levels among Puerto Rican-origin children are very high. Family migration experiences and living arrangements of children can either exacerbate or diminish these poverty levels greatly. Living in the United States is linked to lower poverty levels after considering island and mainland Puerto Rican-origin children as one population. In other words, moving to the United States results in increased resources for Puerto Rican-origin children. However, by comparing migrant groups to their respective non-migrant groups by place of residence (P.R. recent migrants to P.R. non-migrants or U.S. long-term migrant/U.S. recent migrants/U.S. migrants to U.S. non-migrants), I find that migration is associated with higher poverty levels. Migration is associated with higher levels of poverty and vulnerability for children and their families. Finally, living arrangements play a role in this. Children living with cohabiting parents or one parent fare much worse than children with married parents. Puerto Rican-origin children make up a vulnerable group because they experience high poverty rates, on the island and the mainland, that deepen across family migration experiences and vary by living arrangements.

Next steps include adding interactions of living arrangements and family migration experiences, running additional sensitivity analyses to evaluate the robustness of findings by changing the measurement of variables, considering additional variables and including some of the excluded groups, and running additional models by place of residence. Finally, I plan to use ACS 2018 data, expected to become available in December 2019, to compare to pre-hurricane Maria levels for understanding and measuring the impact that the deadly hurricane season of 2017 had and continues to have on the lives of the Puerto Rican child population.

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Tables

Table 1. Puerto Rico - United States family migration experience categories

Family migration experience		Child and householder migration experience information		
Family migration experience (Collapsed)	Family migration experience (Detailed)	Place of birth (POB)	Residence one year ago (ROYA)	Current place of residence (NOW)
P.R. No migration	P.R. No migration	P.R.	P.R.	P.R.
P.R. Migrants	P.R. Long-term migrants	U.S.	P.R.	P.R.
P.R. Migrants	P.R. Recent migrants	P.R. or U.S.	U.S.	P.R.
U.S. No migration	U.S. No migration	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.
U.S. Migrants	U.S. Long-term migrants	P.R.	U.S.	U.S.
U.S. Migrants	U.S. Recent migrants	P.R. or U.S.	P.R.	U.S.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, ACS 2012-2016 5-year estimates and PRCS 2012-2016 5-year estimates.

Table 2. **Detailed** family migration experience and household poverty rates of Puerto Rican-origin children of the householder 1-17 years old

Detailed family migration experience	All children	SE	Frequency (in thousands)	SE (in thousands)	Poverty rate	SE
Total	100.0	NA	1,848	7.40	40.6	0.27
P.R. No migration	28.6	0.16	529	2.55	57.1	0.46
P.R. Long-term migrants	2.9	0.08	54	1.51	55.8	1.45
P.R. Recent migrants	0.1	0.02	3	0.35	71.0	5.57
U.S. No migration	48.3	0.22	893	6.28	29.7	0.34
U.S. Long-term migrants	19.4	0.21	358	4.23	40.4	0.55
U.S. Recent migrants	0.6	0.03	11	0.63	61.5	2.92

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, ACS 2012-2016 5-year estimates and PRCS 2012-2016 5-year estimates.

Notes: NA: not applicable; SE: standard error.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics of Puerto Rican-origin children of the householder 1-17 years old

Place of residence	All PR-origin children	SE
Total Weighted (in thousands)	1,848	7.40
Child characteristics		
Age (Mean)	9.2	0.02
Male	51.3	0.13
Female	48.7	0.13
Family characteristics		
Family migration experience		
P.R. No migration	28.6	0.16
P.R. Migrants	3.0	0.08
U.S. No migration	48.3	0.22
U.S. Migrants	20.0	0.21
Living arrangements		
2 Married parents	47.0	0.28
2 Cohabiting parents	13.6	0.17
One parent, no spouse or partner	39.4	0.26
Grandparent presence		
No grandparent present	96.4	0.08
Grandparent present	3.6	0.08
Householder characteristics		
Labor force participation		
Not in the labor force	23.6	0.24
In the labor force	76.4	0.24
Householder educational attainment		
Less than a BA	77.7	0.22
BA or more	22.3	0.22
Household characteristics		
Poverty Status		
Not in poverty	59.4	0.27
In poverty	40.6	0.27

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, ACS 2012-2016 5-year estimates and PRCS 2012-2016 5-year estimates.

Note: SE: standard error.

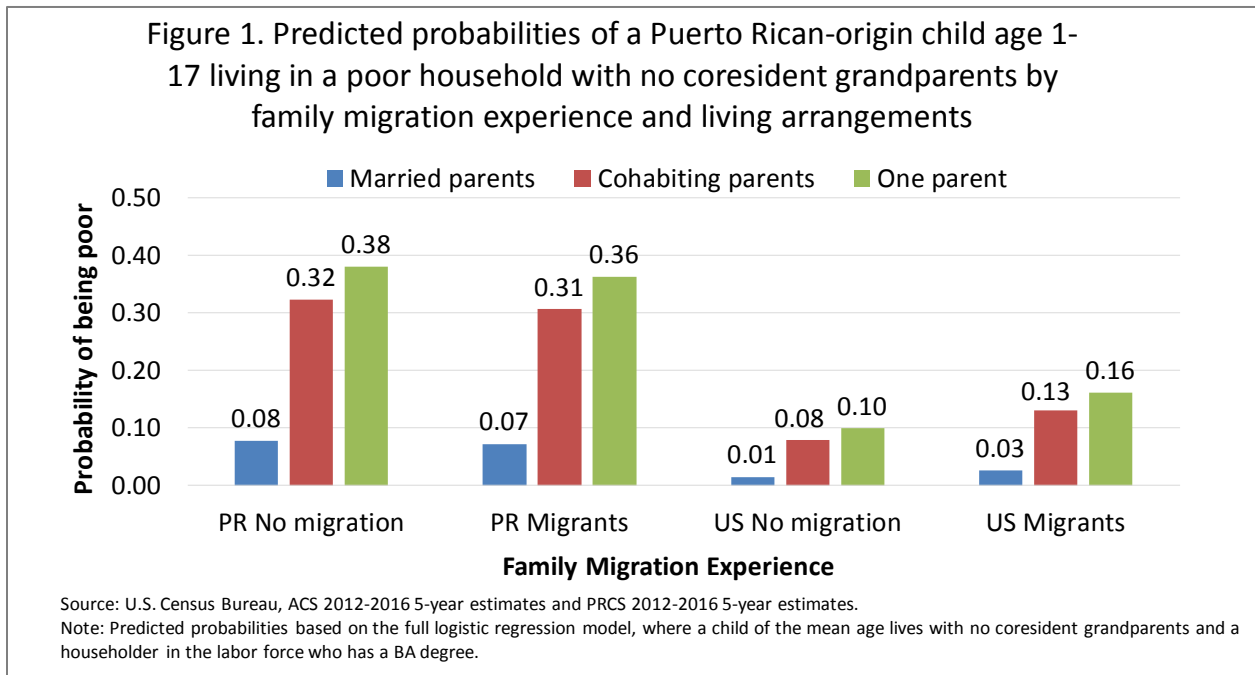
Table 4. Odds ratios of living in a poor household for Puerto Rican-origin children of the householder 1-17 years old

Variables/Models	2-Living		
	1-Migration	arrangements	3-Full
Dependent variable (<i>Household in poverty</i>)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Independent variables			
Family migration experience (<i>Ref. no migration in P.R.</i>)	1.00	1.00	1.00
P.R. Migrants	0.98	0.95	0.93
U.S. No migration	0.32***	0.26***	0.18***
U.S. Migrants	0.52***	0.46***	0.31***
Living arrangements (<i>Ref. 2 Married parents</i>)		1.00	1.00
2 Cohabiting parents		5.79***	5.67***
One parent, no spouse or partner present		6.97***	7.32***
Grandparent presence (<i>Ref. no grandparents</i>)		1.00	1.00
Grandparent present		0.48***	0.40***
Householder labor force participation (<i>Ref. Not in the labor force</i>)			1.00
Householder in the labor force			0.15***
Householder educational attainment (<i>Ref. Less than a BA</i>)			1.00
Householder has a BA degree or more			0.15***
Child age (continuous variable 1-17 yrs)			0.95***
Model			
Unweighted sample (in thousands)	105	105	105
-2 Log-likelihood (in thousands)	2,386	2,058	1,689

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, ACS 2012-2016 5-year estimates and PRCS 2012-2016 5-year estimates.

Note: Statistical significance at 0.05 (*), 0.01 (**), 0.001 (***).

Figures



Appendices

Appendix A. Excluded groups

Groups	Frequency (in thousands)	SE (in thousands)
All Puerto Rican-origin children	2,413	8.47
In group quarters	10	0.38
In subfamilies	246	3.21
Living with no parents	112	1.83
0 year old children of the householder	92	1.69
Abroad family migration experience of child or householder	105	2.15
Final sample: Child of householder 1-17 years old with P.R./U.S. family migration experiences	1,848	7.40

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, ACS 2012-2016 5-year estimates and PRCS 2012-2016 5-year estimates.

Note: SE: standard error.