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A Comparison across "Fractionalized" Immigrant Generations

Abstract

Using public-use data from the 2009 American Community Survey, this study analyzes poverty rates among Hispanic and Asian adults while considering "fractionalized" immigrant generations: Generation 1.75 (those who migrated to the U.S. before the age of six), Generation 1.5 (those who migrated at between the ages of 6-18 and acquired some of their primary or secondary education in the U.S.), and Generation 1.0 (those who migrated after completing all of their primary and secondary education abroad). Consistent with other studies on immigrant/native poverty differentials, first generation immigrants in both groups were significantly more likely to be impoverished than U.S. natives. However, Generation 1.75, and to a lesser extent, Generation 1.5 Hispanic adults had significantly *lower* poverty rates than their U.S.-born counterparts, while Generation 1.75 and 1.5 Asian adults had similar poverty rates as U.S.-born Asians. Differences in socioeconomic, demographic, and geographic characteristics do not fully explain these differences. Such findings indicate that poverty-reduction policies might be more effective if they go beyond considering broad classifications of race/ethnicity and birthplace, incorporating at a minimum the timing of migration among foreign-born in their lifecycles.

Poverty among U.S.- and Foreign-Born Hispanic and Asian Adults:

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I. Introduction and Background

Between 2008 and 2009, the number of people residing below the poverty line in the U.S. rose from 39.8 million to 43.6 million, causing the national poverty rate to increase for the third consecutive year (from 13.2 to 14.3 percent) to a 15-year high (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). The national poverty rate, however, masks stark differences across racial/ethnic populations. In 2009, for example, over one quarter of Blacks and Hispanics fell below the poverty line, compared to 12.5 percent of Asians and 9.4 percent of non-Hispanic Whites (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

Some of the disproportionate poverty among Hispanics can be explained by the fact that immigrants (many of whom have relatively low levels of education) represent a significant share (38 percent in 2009) of the Hispanic population—three times the 12.5 percent foreign-born share of the overall U.S. population (Pew Hispanic Center 2011).[1] Large numbers of immigrants, however, do not explain the high poverty rates among African Americans, as U.S.-natives represent over 92 percent of the non-Hispanic Black population; nor does immigration explain the relatively low poverty rates among non-Hispanic Asians, a group in which the foreign-born account for two-thirds (Pew Hispanic Center 2011).

Moreover, combining all immigrants into one group might gloss over intra-ethnic differences in poverty and other socioeconomic outcomes. Extant research indicates that the age of migration relates to a host of subsequent socioeconomic outcomes in the host country.[2] This issue is particularly important

[1] For a recent overview of immigration and poverty, see Raphael and Smolensky (2008).

[2] One of the most common socioeconomic outcomes analyzed along the lines of age-at-arrival is English-language acquisition (e.g., Myers, Gao and Emeka 2009; Bleakley and Chin 2004; Rumbaut 2004; Dávila and Mora 2000; Stevens 1999; Oropesa and Landale 1997), although other work considers educational attainment (e.g., Myers, Gao and Emeka 2009; Fry 2007; Gonzalez 2003), academic achievement (e.g., Cortes 2006; Glick and White 2003),

when considering that not all immigrants have a voice in migration decisions, as some children are "forced" to migrate to the U.S. with their parents. As such, during the past several years scholars have argued that the foreign-born should be partitioned into subpopulations along the lines of when they migrated [see Rumbaut (2004) for details]. Those who migrated before starting school or during their primary and secondary education were heavily exposed to U.S. institutions at an early age, and therefore they have a lot in common with U.S. natives. These immigrants should be considered separately from those who decide for themselves to migrate—the truly first generation immigrants.

Using public-use data from the 2009 American Community Survey (the largest nationally representative dataset currently available), I analyze the incidence of poverty among Hispanic and Asian adults of "prime" working age (25-64 years old) while considering "fractionalized" immigrant generations: Generation 1.75 (those who migrated to the U.S. before the age of six), Generation 1.5 (those who migrated between the ages of 6-18 and who acquired some of their primary or secondary education in the U.S.), and Generation 1.0 (those who migrated after completing their primary and secondary (if applicable) education abroad).[3] Comparisons between these groups and their U.S.-born counterparts, as well as with U.S.-born non-Hispanic Blacks and Whites, are also provided.[4]

As with other studies on immigrant/native poverty differentials, the findings presented here indicate that first generation immigrants in both groups were significantly more likely to be impoverished

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labor market earnings (e.g., Fry and Lowell 2006), geographic mobility (e.g., Ellis and Goodwin-White 2006; Rumbaut 2004), crime (e.g., Rumbaut 2004), and other outcomes.

[3] Rumbaut (2004) and others further distinguish between 2.0 (U.S.-born children of immigrant parents), 2.5 (U.S.-born children with one U.S.-born parent and one foreign-born parent), and 3.0+ (U.S.-born children of U.S.-born parents) generations. Such distinctions among U.S. natives in this study would be desirable, but the data used here do not provide information on the parents' birthplace unless they resided in the same household as their children.

[4] Hispanics can be of any race. Asians, Blacks, and Whites considered in this study are not Hispanic, such that terms of "non-Hispanic Black", "Black", and "African American" will be used interchangeably here, as will "Asian" and "non-Hispanic Asian".

than otherwise similar U.S.-born adults. Nevertheless, Generation 1.75, and to a lesser extent, Generation 1.5 Hispanic adults had significantly *lower* poverty rates than U.S.-born Hispanics, and among Asians, these two generations had similar poverty rates as Asian U.S. natives. When compared to other U.S.-born populations, Asians and Hispanics (particularly those who were not Generation 1.0) had lower poverty rates than African Americans. U.S.-born Asians also had lower poverty rates than their non-Hispanic White counterparts, and the Generations 1.75 and 1.5 had similar poverty rates. The impoverishment likelihoods among all of the Hispanic groups were significantly higher than those of otherwise similar U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites, except for the Generation 1.75; Hispanic adults who had migrated as young children fared the same as non-Hispanic White U.S. natives with respect to residing below the poverty threshold in 2009. Such findings indicate that policy approaches to reduce poverty-rate differentials across racial/ethnic groups should not only consider birthplace but also when the foreign-born migrated during their lifecycles.

II. Data and Population Characteristics

To illustrate the importance of distinguishing between immigrants and natives when analyzing socioeconomic outcomes, Figure 1 shows the estimated poverty rates during the period 2001-2009 for non-student adults between the ages of 25 and 64 based on the public-use American Community Survey (ACS) available in the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) provided by Ruggles et al. (2010). Focusing on individuals with these characteristics captures the "mainstream" working-age population, as members of this group have more control over their labor market outcomes than children or adults currently enrolled in school.

(FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE)

The poverty measure provided in the IPUMS—which calculates the family income from the past 12 months as a percentage of the Social Security Administration's official poverty threshold measure adjusted for inflation—is based on detailed income and family structure information for each individual and families living in the same household. These figures therefore exclude individuals living in group quarters. Appendix A provides information on the statistical significance of differences in poverty rates

(defined as the share of the population with family incomes below the official poverty line) between 2001 and 2009, as well as between the racial/ethnic groups in each year.

Of the six groups shown, U.S.-born non-Hispanic Asian adults had the lowest poverty rates in every year except for 2001, when they had the same poverty rate (5.5 percent) as U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites. For most of the decade, a significantly higher share of non-Hispanic Asian immigrants than non-Hispanic Whites resided below the poverty line, but in 2008 both groups had the same poverty rate (6.8 percent). In 2009, Asian immigrants were again more likely to be impoverished than non-Hispanic White U.S. natives, but with a narrower differential than earlier in the decade. This reduction of the poverty-rate differential between foreign-born Asians and U.S.-born non-Hispanic White adults occurred because the former group experienced relatively flat poverty rates between 2001-2009, while a rising share of the latter fell into impoverishment over time.

Hispanic adults, regardless of birthplace, had significantly higher poverty rates than Asians and U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites in every year shown. At the same time, a significantly lower share of U.S.-born Hispanics than U.S. non-Hispanic Blacks was impoverished.[5] In 2001, for example, 12.2 percent of adult Hispanic U.S. natives resided in poverty, compared to 16.0 percent of African Americans. These poverty rates increased for both groups by 2009, to 14.6 percent among Hispanic U.S. natives and 20.7 percent among African Americans. The disproportionate increase in the poverty rate of U.S.-born Blacks caused the Hispanic/Black poverty-rate differential to widen over time among U.S. natives.

Figure 1 further shows that the poverty rates of foreign-born Hispanic adults more closely resembled those of U.S.-born Blacks instead of U.S.-born Hispanics in the first decade of the 2000s. To illustrate, in 2009 the foreign-born Hispanic/U.S.-born Black poverty rate differential was 0.9 percentage points (21.6 percent among foreign-born Hispanics, and 20.7 among U.S.-born Blacks) versus seven percentage points between Hispanic immigrants and Hispanic U.S. natives (who had a poverty rate of

[5] Raphael and Smolensky (2008) also found that U.S.-born Hispanics had lower poverty rates than U.S.-born Blacks in various decennial censuses.

14.6 percent that year). This figure also shows that the difference between Hispanic immigrants and African Americans narrowed during the time period shown because a disproportionate share of the latter group became impoverished earlier in the decade.

Figure 2 provides the adult poverty rates for Hispanics (Panel A) and Asians (Panel B) between 2001 and 2009, partitioned by the fractionalized immigrant generations. Hispanics and African Americans had higher poverty rates than all of the Asian groups and U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites. Relative poverty rates within the foreign-born groups conform to conventional wisdom in that the Generation 1.75 Asian and Hispanic adults had the lowest poverty rates, and Generation 1.0 had the highest. However, Generation 1.75 Asian adults had similar or lower poverty rates than U.S.-born Asians over this time period, and among Hispanics, the Generation 1.75 had lower poverty rates than U.S. natives in every year. This figure further reveals that the poverty rates among Generation 1.5 Asian and Hispanic adults more closely mirrored those of U.S. natives instead of the Generation 1.0 in the same racial/ethnic group, indicating the heterogeneity of foreign-born populations along the line of migration timing in their lifecycles.

(FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE)

Moreover, Generation 1.75 and (except for in 2001) U.S.-born Asians had lower poverty rates than U.S-born non-Hispanic Whites between 2001 and 2009. With the exception of the Generation 1.0, Hispanics had significantly lower poverty rates than African Americans. Combined, these figures indicate that the incidence of impoverishment among adults varies considerably, not only between immigrants and U.S. natives, but also *within* immigrant groups depending on whether they migrated before completing their primary or secondary schooling abroad.

Insight into these differences can be found in Table 1, which displays selected average characteristics of Asian and Hispanic adults in 2009 separated by the fractionalized immigrant generations. Perhaps related to U.S. tenure and English-language fluency, despite being older, first generation immigrants in both groups were less likely to have been employed during the past 12 months than other immigrants. English-language proficiency related to the immigrant generations among both

Asians and Hispanics as expected, in which the U.S.-born were the most likely, and the Generation 1.0 the least likely, to be limited-English proficient (defined here as not speaking the English language "well" or better).[6] This information is important given the links between labor market outcomes and English fluency identified in the literature (e.g., Mora and Dávila 2006; Bleakley and Chin 2004; Chiswick and Miller 1995; McManus, Gould and Welch 1983). However, Table 1 shows that little difference existed in the employment rates between the 1.5 and 1.75 generations, such that English proficiency does not represent the only explanation for the likelihood of working.

(TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE)

Table 1 shows clear differences in educational attainment across the generations, which could explain the differences in the immigrant generation poverty rates observed in the figures above. Those who arrived before starting school were more likely to have a four-year college degree than either the Generation 1.5 or Generation 1.0 groups. In fact, college graduates represented a larger segment of Generation 1.75 Asians (58.8 percent) than Asian U.S. natives (55.3 percent), and among Hispanics, they accounted for a similar proportion of the Generation 1.75 (16.8 percent) as U.S. natives (17.0 percent) in 2009. The most dramatic difference in educational attainment within the Hispanic population can be observed in the category of fewer than nine years of schooling; four out of ten Generation 1.0 immigrants had this level of schooling, compared to only 4.6 – 7.2 percent of other Hispanics.

Marital status also differed according to birthplace and the fractionalized immigrant generations as seen in Table 1; the importance of this demographic variable stems from the fact that family structure impacts poverty and other measures of socioeconomic status. For both Asians and Hispanics, despite

[6] The ACS provides categorical information on how well individuals reported speaking the English language if they spoke a non-English language at home; the possible responses included "n/a - only speaks English at home", "very well", "well", "not well", and "not at all". The literature does not provide a uniform definition of the limited-English proficient, but one common measure combines the "not well" and "not at all" categories. See Mora and Dávila (2006) for a discussion of alternative measures.

having similar shares of people who had never been married between U.S. natives and the Generation 1.75 (around 28 percent of Asians, and 29 percent of Hispanics), the U.S.-born had higher proportions of divorced, widowed, and separated adults of the four generations analyzed (10 percent among U.S.-born Asians versus 7.3 percent in the Generation 1.75, and 19.5 percent among U.S.-born Hispanics versus 14.8 percent in the Generation 1.75). The lowest share of unmarried adults in both groups existed among the Generation 1.0—the population with the largest average number of children under the age of 18 who resided at home.

Consistent with well documented racial/ethnic fertility differentials (e.g., Pew Hispanic Center 2011), Hispanics had higher fertility rates than Asians in the same fractionalized generation category, as seen in the number of children in the household. In terms of gender, Hispanic women comprised their largest proportion among the U.S.-born, while Asian women had their largest representation in the Generation 1.0. The issue of why gender distributions differ across racial/ethnic foreign-born populations goes beyond the scope of this study, but it remains a topic worthy of future research.

Also observed in Table 1, a higher percentage of the U.S.-born reported having a disability (defined as a cognitive, ambulatory, independent-living, self-care, vision, or hearing difficulty) than the foreign born of the same race/ethnicity in 2009, particularly for Hispanics (12.8 percent of whom had a disability). The lower disability rates among the 1.5 and 1.75 generations could relate to differences in age distributions, as U.S. natives tend to be older. The relatively small proportion of individuals with disabilities among the Generation 1.0 could reflect migration selection, as studies have found that more "able" workers are the ones who tend to migrate (e.g., Orrenius and Zavodny 2005). Immigrants injured in the U.S. might also have relatively high return migration rates to their home countries, where their families can assist them. Asians had lower disability rates than Hispanics in the same generation; this difference could relate to the occupational hazards Hispanics tend to face versus other groups (e.g., Dávila, Mora, and González 2011; Orrenius and Zavodny 2009).

Table 2 provides selected average characteristics of Asian and Hispanic adults according to poverty status. For comparison, this table also reports these characteristics for U.S.-born non-Hispanic

Blacks and Whites. As intimated in Figure 2 above, Generation 1.0 immigrants, particularly the recent arrivals (defined as those who migrated to the U.S. within the past five years), disproportionately represented impoverished Asian and Hispanic populations.

(TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE)

Additional characteristics shown in Table 2 differ as expected with respect to residing below the poverty line. For example, impoverished adults were more likely than other adults in the same racial/ethnic group to: (1) have not been employed in the previous twelve months, (2) have less education, (3) be female, (4) be unmarried, (5) have more children (except among non-Hispanic Whites), and (6) be limited-English proficient (except among African Americans). With the exception of Asians, the average age of adults living in poverty fell below that of the non-impoverished in the same racial/ethnic group. Table 1 had indicated that many of these characteristics consistently related to the immigrant generation among Asians and Hispanics; perhaps they also explain the racial/ethnic generational poverty-rate differentials observed in Figures 1 and 2. The next section therefore provides a more detailed empirical analysis of poverty rates for Asians and Hispanics that controls for observable characteristics.

III. Empirical Methodology and Results

To test whether poverty rates differed across fractionalized immigrant generations in 2009 when taking into account other characteristics, I first estimate the following probit model:

(1) $Poverty^* = Generation\ \beta + Socio/Demo\ B_1 + Geography\ B_2 + u$,

where *Poverty* equals one if the latent variable $Poverty^* > 0$, and it equals zero otherwise. *Generation* represents a vector of binary variables identifying the fractionalized immigrant generations (Generation 1.0, Generation 1.5, Generation 1.75, and the U.S.-born), and β is its coefficient vector. *Socio/Demo* denotes a vector containing socioeconomic and demographic characteristics often identified in the literature as factors related to poverty: education, age, age-squared, being a recent immigrant, limited-English proficiency, gender, marital status, the number of children at home under 18 years old, having a disability, and a constant term. Because the official poverty thresholds do not account for regional

differences in cost-of-living or other economic conditions, the vector *Geography* includes the unemployment rate of the individual's state of residence (based on the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' estimates of the average state unemployment rates for 2008), binary variables for geographic region [New England, North Central, South Central, Middle and South Atlantic, Mountain, and Pacific (base)], and a binary variable indicating residence outside of a metropolitan area. Finally, vectors B_1 and B_2 denote the coefficient vectors for *Socio/Demo* and *Geography*, and u represents the error term in which $u \sim N(0,1)$.

I estimate Equation (1) three times each for Asians and Hispanics using different base groups: the U.S.-born of the same race/ethnicity, U.S.-born non-Hispanic Blacks, and U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites. Table 3 provides the estimated marginal effects for the *Generation* variables, while Appendix B contains the probit coefficients for the full set of variables.

(TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE)

The first column of Table 3 shows that Generations 1.75 and 1.5 Asians had statistically similar poverty rates as U.S.-born Asians when controlling for other characteristics. Moreover, Column IV indicates that Generation 1.75 , and to a lesser extent, Generation 1.5 Hispanics had significantly *lower* odds of residing below the poverty line than Hispanic U.S. natives, *ceteris paribus*. Specifically, compared to U.S.-born Hispanics, the probability of impoverishment was 2.9 percent lower for the Generation 1.75, and 1.5 percent lower for the Generation 1.5.

Table 3 further shows that Asian and Hispanic immigrants who migrated to the U.S. after completing their primary and secondary education abroad had a significantly higher likelihood of being impoverished than U.S. natives as well as other immigrants who migrated as children, other things the same. Compared to otherwise similar U.S.-born adults of the same race/ethnicity, the odds of being in poverty were 1.2 percent higher for Generation 1.0 Asians (Column I) and 1.7 percent higher for Generation 1.0 Hispanics (Column IV).

These findings indicate that Asian and Hispanic immigrants who migrated to the U.S. before completing their education did relatively well in terms of being above the poverty threshold in adulthood,

at least in 2009.[7] The results also suggest that among Hispanics, a greater poverty gap existed between the 1.75 and 1.0 Generations (and the 1.5 versus 1.0 Generations) than the gap that existed between the Generation 1.0 and the U.S.-born. Such intra-ethnic differentials in poverty rates remain hidden when combining all immigrants into one group.

Changing the base group of comparison does not alter these findings, as seen in the remaining columns of Table 3. Asians and Hispanics, particularly those who acquired some or all of their primary and secondary education in the U.S., had significantly lower odds of being impoverished than U.S.-born non-Hispanic Blacks (see Columns II and V). Also, except for the Generation 1.0, Asian immigrants had similar poverty rates on average as U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites, and U.S.-born Asians had lower rates (Column III). All of the Hispanic groups (except for the Generation 1.75) had higher probabilities of living below the poverty line than non-Hispanic White U.S. natives, particularly the Generation 1.0 (Column VI). However, Generation 1.75 Hispanic immigrants had statistically similar impoverishment odds in 2009 as U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites, again indicating the relative well-being of Hispanic immigrants who had migrated to the U.S. before starting school.

[7] It should be noted that when replicating this analysis using 2008 ACS data (and using state unemployment rates from 2007), the empirical results (available from the author) also show that compared to their U.S.-born counterparts, Generation 1.75 and 1.5 Hispanics had significantly lower poverty rates, as did Generation 1.75 and 1.5 *Asians* that year. Moreover, the Generation 1.0 in both groups had significantly higher poverty rates than otherwise similar U.S. natives as well as their Generation 1.75 and 1.5 counterparts. The estimated marginal effects (standard errors) from this analysis for the fractionalized immigrants in 2008 equal -0.029 (0.005) for Generation 1.75 Hispanics, -0.009 (0.004) for Generation 1.5 Hispanics, 0.010 (0.003) for Generation 1.0 Hispanics, -0.013 (0.005) for Generation 1.75 Asians, -0.007 (0.004) for Generation 1.5 Asians, and 0.012 (0.003) for Generation 1.0 Asians. This exercise suggests that 2009 was not an outlier year in terms of the relative well-being of Generations 1.75 and 1.5 Asians and Hispanics. Future research should continue to explore how fractionalized immigrant groups fared relative to their U.S.-born counterparts in other time periods.

Additional results from estimating Equation (1), shown in Appendix B, are consistent with other studies on poverty. For example, higher levels of education significantly reduced the likelihood of adult impoverishment, as did age (except for Asians in Column I) albeit at a diminishing rate. Characteristics related to higher adult poverty rates included: (1) being a recent immigrant, (2) lacking English-language fluency, (3) having children, (4) being unmarried, (5) being female (except for Asians in Column I), (6) having a disability, (7) living in states with relatively high unemployment rates, and (8) residing outside of an MSA. Regional differences in the probability of being impoverished are also apparent in Appendix B, although some of these geographic effects vary with respect to the population being analyzed.

It is worth noting that when focusing exclusively on Asians (Column I) in Appendix B, women had a statistically similar impoverishment likelihood as their male counterparts in 2009. The effect of gender on Asian American poverty therefore seems to work through other observable characteristics accounted for here. When including U.S.-born Blacks and Whites as comparison groups, however, women had higher poverty rates than men on average, as typically found in the literature.

Additional Analyses. Even though the summary statistics presented in Tables 1 and 2 above indicated that having a job related to lower poverty rates, the empirical analysis conducted thus far has not accounted for employment because of endogeneity issues. Many of the characteristics considered in the poverty model (including education and English-language fluency) also affect employment possibilities, such that the relative advantage that the Generations 1.5 and 1.75 had over their first generation counterparts might simply reflect unmeasured characteristics related to the likelihood of having a job. To address this possibility, I conduct two robustness tests. First, ignoring endogeneity, I re-estimate Equation (1) while including a binary variable indicating whether the individual worked at some point in the past twelve months. These results (available from the author) continue to show that compared to their U.S.-born counterparts: (1) Generation 1.75 Hispanics had significantly lower odds, (2) Generations 1.75 and 1.5 Asians had similar odds, and (3) Generation 1.0 Asians and Hispanics had significantly greater odds of residing below the poverty line. The only major difference with respect to the fractionalized

immigrant populations is that the statistical significance for Generation 1.5 Hispanics vanished. As expected, the coefficient on the employment variable is positive and statistically significant.

As a second robustness test, Equation (1) is simultaneously estimated as a bivariate probit with an employment model (using the same set of regressors), in which the dependent variable equals one for individuals who worked within the past 12 months, and equals zero otherwise. These results again indicate that among Hispanics, the Generations 1.75 and 1.5 had a significantly lower likelihood of falling below the poverty threshold than their U.S.-born peers, and Generations 1.75 and 1.5 Asians had similar impoverishment likelihoods as U.S.-natives. Combined, these two exercises suggest that mere differences in employment rates across fractionalized Hispanic and Asian groups were not the primary explanation behind the relative advantage of immigrants who migrated to the U.S. before completing high school.[8]

Another issue to consider is whether gender affected the likelihood that fractionalized immigrants lived in poverty *vis-à-vis* U.S. natives. Recall from Table 1 that the gender distributions differed across the immigrant populations but not in a consistent manner between Asians and Hispanics. I therefore re-estimate Equation (1) while splitting the samples between men and women. These results (available from the author) suggest that gender does not alter the basic findings discussed above with respect to the effects that fractionalized immigrants had on poverty rates. Among Asians, compared to their U.S.-born counterparts, the Generations 1.75 and 1.5 had statistically similar impoverishment likelihoods (and Generation 1.0 had higher likelihoods) for both men and women. When focusing on Hispanics, the same

[8] The results for the employment model further indicate that Hispanic immigrants, regardless of the fractionalized group, were significantly more likely than U.S. natives to be employed. The Generations 1.75 and 1.5 Asians had similar odds of being employed as their U.S.-born counterparts, while Generation 1.0 had significantly lower employment odds, other things the same. Consistent with conventional wisdom, the estimates of the correlation of the error terms (ρ) between the poverty and employment models were negative ($\rho = -0.454$ for Asians, and -0.532 for Hispanics), indicating that unexplained factors in the likelihood of impoverishment inversely related to unexplained factors associated with employment odds. Wald χ^2 tests indicate the statistical significance of the correlation between poverty and employment (with $\chi^2_1 = 1{,}203.1$ for Asians, and 5,611.12 for Hispanics).

pattern occurred with respect to the significantly lower odds that the Generations 1.75 and 1.5 resided in poverty, and the significantly greater odds that the Generation 1.0 did so, relative to Hispanic U.S. natives, regardless of gender.

Given that Asian and Hispanic populations consist of various subgroups, an additional consideration pertains to whether specific racial/ethnic groups influenced the relationship between fractionalized immigrant groups and the likelihood of impoverishment. Re-estimations of Equation (1) for specific Asian and Hispanic ethnicities suggest this possibility. For example, when focusing exclusively on individuals of Chinese descent, the Generation 1.75 had significantly lower poverty rates than U.S.-born Chinese Americans, and the Generation 1.0 had significantly higher poverty rates. Among the Japanese, both the Generation 1.75 and Generation 1.0 had significantly greater impoverishment odds than U.S. natives of Japanese descent, but the Generation 1.5 had lower odds. Yet, among Filipinos and Asian Indians, all of the fractionalized immigrant groups had statistically similar probabilities of being in poverty as their U.S.-born counterparts.

For Hispanic populations, the individual coefficients of the Generations 1.75 and 1.5 lost their statistical significance at conventional levels among Mexican-origin adults (who accounted for almost two-thirds of the Hispanic sample) as well as Dominicans; however the fractionalized immigrant variables as a group were statistically significant for both populations at the one-percent level. Generation 1.0 Mexicans, Cubans, and Dominicans had significantly higher odds of residing below the poverty line than their U.S.-born counterparts, but not among Salvadorans. In fact, for Salvadorans, none of the fractionalized immigrant populations had significantly different impoverishment odds (either individually or as a group) as U.S. natives. Future research should address why immigrant/native poverty-rate patterns differ across specific racial/ethnic subgroups versus the pan-racial/ethnic population.

IV. Empirical Extension - Decomposing Poverty Rates

One potential problem with estimating Equation (1) hinges on the underlying assumption that socioeconomic, demographic, and geographic conditions similarly affect the probability of being impoverished across the different racial/ethnic groups. As such, I turn to a poverty-rate decomposition

technique that can be used to partition the observed differences in poverty rates between the fractionalized immigrant groups and the U.S.-born into two components: one explained by differences in observable characteristics and the other component related to differences in the effects these characteristics have on poverty rates (essentially, an "unexplained" component).

To accomplish this, I estimate Equation (1) for each of the three base groups of comparison (U.S.-born Asians or Hispanics, U.S.-born Blacks, and U.S.-born Whites) to obtain the underlying structure of impoverishment probabilities that existed among U.S. natives in 2009. These estimates are used to predict (impute) poverty rates of the fractionalized immigrant groups. I then compare these imputed poverty rates with the actual poverty rates to determine what portion of the impoverishment-rate differential between immigrants and U.S. natives can be explained by differences in observable traits.[9]

Table 4 presents these decomposition results for the fractionalized immigrant groups using three different base groups. The top panel of this table designates U.S. natives of the same race/ethnicity as the comparison group. As with the probit regression results discussed above, in 2009 the impoverishment likelihoods for Generation 1.75 and U.S.-born Asians were statistically similar (see Panel A, Column II). Yet unlike the results from above, Generation 1.5 Asians had higher unexplained odds of residing below the poverty line than U.S. natives. The total poverty-rate differential between Generation 1.5 and U.S.-born Asians was a mere 0.08 percentage points (= the 5.31 percent poverty rate among Generation 1.5 – the 5.23 percent poverty rate of U.S.-born Asians). However, because of differences in observable characteristics, the average poverty rate of Generation 1.5 Asians should have been 0.56 percentage points below the rate of otherwise similar U.S. natives. This difference reveals a statistically significant unexplained poverty-rate gap of 0.64 percentage points between the two groups. For first generation

[9] For a recent poverty-rate application of this technique (which follows a similar procedure as the well known Blinder-Oaxaca wage decomposition technique), see Van Hook, Brown and Kwenda (2004). One difference in this technique for empirical models with limited dependent variables versus continuous ones is that the regression estimates must be applied to the full distribution of the observable characteristics in the sample, rather than the sample means (e.g., Robb and Fairlie 2009; Fairlie and Robb 2007).

Asian immigrants, observable characteristics explained 2.9 percentage points of the 4.0 percentage-point difference in their impoverishment rate *vis-à-vis* U.S.-born Asians, leaving 1.1 percentage points of the total differential unaccounted for by differences in these characteristics.

(TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE)

For Hispanics (in Columns V-VIII), the Generation 1.75 and to a smaller degree, the Generation 1.5 had significantly lower poverty rates than Hispanic U.S. natives; variations in observed demographic and socioeconomic traits did not account for much of these differences. For example, Column VI shows that these traits accounted for half a percentage point of the -2.4 percentage-point poverty-rate differential between Generation 1.75 Hispanics and U.S.-born Hispanics (= 12.28 percent – 14.64 percent) in 2009; as such, the impoverishment rate of Generation 1.75 Hispanics was inexplicably 1.9 percentage points below the rate of otherwise similar Hispanic U.S. natives. While differences in observable characteristics did little to explain poverty-rate differentials between immigrants who migrated before completing school and U.S.-born Hispanics, they accounted for the entire impoverishment differential between the Generation 1.0 and Hispanic U.S. natives (Column VIII).

Panels B and C in Table 4 show that changing the base group of comparison does not alter the finding that the Generation 1.0 fared worse than their Generations 1.75 and 1.5 peers with respect to being impoverished in 2009. For example, in Panel B, the unexplained portion of the poverty-rate differential of -3.64 percentage points between Generation 1.75 Asians and U.S.-born Blacks (Column II) was larger in magnitude than the -0.76 percentage point differential between first generation Asians and Blacks (Column IV).

With respect to U.S.-born Hispanics versus Blacks, the unexplained poverty gap was -3.56 points (Column V)—similar to the gap between U.S.-born Asians and Blacks (Column II). Nevertheless, as with the probit results discussed above, Generation 1.5 and particularly Generation 1.75 Hispanics fared significantly better than their U.S.-born counterparts. Generation 1.75 Hispanics (Column VI) had an unexplained poverty rate that fell six percentage points below otherwise similar African Americans (which was a statistically different rate than the one for U.S.-born Hispanics); the unexplained differential

in impoverishment between Generation 1.5 Hispanics and African Americans was -4.4 percentage points (Column VII).

The bottom panel in Table 4 indicates that relative to U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites, U.S.-born Asians had significantly lower poverty rates in 2009 when accounting for observable traits, and Generations 1.75 and 1.5 Asians had statistically similar poverty rates. The average impoverishment of all of the Hispanic groups significantly exceeded that of non-Hispanic Whites, but differences in socioeconomic and demographic characteristics explained much of these Hispanic/White poverty gaps. Of interest (and mirroring the probit regression results reported in Table 3), these characteristics accounted for basically all of the total poverty-rate difference between Generation 1.75 Hispanics and U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites, as the unexplained portion was statistically insignificant at conventional levels. These findings again support those reported above in that Generation 1.75 Hispanics fared significantly better than other Hispanic immigrants as well as Hispanic U.S. natives with respect to residing above the poverty threshold. In general, this table provides further confirmation that a wider variation in poverty rates exists *within* foreign-born Hispanic populations than between Hispanic immigrants and U.S. natives.

V. A Note on Some Possible Explanations for the Generation 1.75 Results

One matter that cannot be directly analyzed here using the ACS relates to *why* foreign-born Hispanic adults who had arrived to the U.S. before starting school tended to outperform not only other immigrants but also their U.S.-born counterparts with respect to staying out of poverty. One possibility is that their parents had more financial and social-capital resources than families with U.S.-born children on average, given the costs involved in family migration.[10] If the Generation 1.75 had grown up in households with a

[10] For example, the classic paper by Mincer (1978) discusses how family migration decisions involve maximizing family incomes, accounting for migration costs. While a host of studies explores socioeconomic outcomes (such as earnings and employment) among married versus single migrants, a void exists in the literature with respect to understanding the socioeconomic outcomes of immigrants who migrate with children versus without them.

higher socioeconomic status and greater social networks than U.S.-born children, they might have attended higher quality schools and subsequently obtained more lucrative employment, thus reducing their likelihood of impoverishment in adulthood.

The ACS data do not provide the information necessary to explore this possibility. However, as an ancillary exercise, I turn to data available in the 1970 decennial census [made available in the IPUMS by Ruggles et al. (2010)] to observe a similar cohort at a younger stage in their life cycles. I selected the 1970 census because young immigrant children living in the U.S. that year would have been adults in the 2000s and, for the most part, captured as a population in the ACS sample analyzed here. Moreover, the entire sample of Generation 1.75 adults (ages 25-64) in 2009 would have migrated to the U.S. 20-59 years earlier (i.e., between 1946-1989). 1970 thus represents the closest decennial census to the mid-point (1968) of this range.

In this exercise, I examine measures of the socioeconomic status (specifically poverty rates, homeownership rates, and family income) of children ages five and under in the 1970 census. These data reveal that on average, young Hispanic and Asian immigrant children did not exceed their U.S.-born peers with respect to these identifiers of socioeconomic prestige at that time. In fact, these foreign-born children had significantly higher poverty rates and they lived in households with lower rates of homeownership than U.S. natives in 1970; average family income levels of these young immigrant children also fell below those of U.S.-born Asians and Hispanics, although the immigrant/native difference lacked statistical significance among Hispanics.[11] These findings therefore fail to support the

[11] Excluding residents of group quarters, the poverty rates in 1970 among children under the age of six were 23.8 percent for Asian immigrants, 12.0 percent for U.S.-born Asians, 34.8 percent for Hispanic immigrants, and 29.2 percent for U.S.-born Hispanics. Also, among these children, 19.6 percent of Asian immigrants, 50.4 percent of Asian U.S. natives, 25.0 percent of Hispanic immigrants, and 39.9 percent of Hispanic U.S. natives lived in homes that were owned outright or in the process of being purchased. The average family income was $8,169 for Asian immigrants, $11,835 for U.S.-born Asians, $7,412 for Hispanic immigrants, and $7,686 for U.S.-born Hispanics in

notion that socioeconomic advantages in *early* childhood explained the significantly lower poverty rates of Generation 1.75 Hispanics (and similar poverty rates of Generation 1.75 Asians) *vis-à-vis* their U.S.-born counterparts in 2009.[12]

However, when synthetically tracking these children a decade later in the 1980 census (through individuals ages 10-15 who had migrated by 1970), the socioeconomic status of the Generation 1.75 seems to have improved relative to their U.S.-born counterparts in the same age group. Among non-Hispanic Asians in this cohort, the Generation 1.75 had a significantly higher average family income than the U.S.-born, and their poverty and homeownership rates were statistically similar as for U.S. natives in 1980.[13] Generation 1.75 Hispanics had a statistically similar average family income, as well as significantly lower poverty rates *and* homeownership rates compared to U.S.-born Hispanics that year.[14]

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this sample. The immigrant/native differences in these average poverty rates, homeownership rates, and for Asians, family income levels, are statistically significant at the one-percent level.

[12] I find similar patterns when focusing on children ages five and under (not living in group quarters) in the 1980 decennial census [the 5-percent sample, also made available in the IPUMS by Ruggles et al. (2010)]. In that year, the poverty rates of Hispanic and non-Hispanic Asian immigrant children under the age of six also significantly exceeded those of U.S. natives, while their average family incomes and homeownership rates were significantly lower than those of U.S.-born children. The use of the 1970 census therefore does not appear to have provided unique results for the socioeconomic status of young foreign-born versus U.S.-born children.

[13] These data show that among non-Hispanic Asian children ages 10-15 not residing in group quarters in 1980, the Generation 1.75 had a poverty rate of 7.8 percent, average family income of $32,147, and a homeownership rate of 78.0 percent; U.S. natives in the same age group had a poverty rate of 7.3 percent, average family income of $30,662, and a homeownership rate of 78.6 percent. Only the family income levels significantly differed (at the five-percent level) between the two groups.

[14] Among Hispanic children in this cohort, the Generation 1.75 had a poverty rate of 26.3 percent, average family income of $17,888, and a homeownership rate of 54.4 percent; their U.S.-born counterparts had a poverty rate of 28.1 percent, average family income of $17,859, and a homeownership rate of 59.7 percent. The immigrant/native differences in poverty and homeownership rates were statistically significant.

Despite the latter, the homeownership differential between Generation 1.75 and U.S.-born Hispanics had narrowed for this cohort between 1970 and 1980, suggesting that the families of the Generation 1.75 made greater progress than U.S. natives with respect to acquiring a home during the decade.

These synthetic cohort results indicate that *something* happened within Hispanic and Asian families who had migrated with children under the age of six by 1970 with respect to enhancing their socioeconomic status in the following decade compared to other families with U.S.-born children of the same age. While selective return migration among foreign-born parents after 1970 could have played a role, the relative socioeconomic improvements among Generation 1.75 Asian and Hispanic children in the 1970s appear to have continued into adulthood, at least with respect to residing above the poverty threshold in the first decade of the 2000s.

Another possibility for the relatively low adult poverty rate of Generation 1.75 Hispanics in 2009 is that their parents could have influenced their human capital development differently than U.S. natives. For example, foreign-born parents appear to have higher educational aspirations for their children than U.S.-born parents (Raleigh and Kao 2010) as well as different time-use patterns with respect to their children's education, such as being more likely than U.S. natives to attend parent-teacher conferences (Tienda and Kao 1995). While this study controlled for educational attainment, other factors such as schooling quality, household effects, and childhood peer effects have been excluded because of the lack of data. Incorporating these factors into future studies would assist in filling some of the voids in the literature on immigrant/native differentials in impoverishment and other socioeconomic outcomes.

VI. Concluding Remarks

Evidence in the social sciences indicates distinct differences in socioeconomic outcomes between U.S. natives and immigrants, yet official statistics utilized by policymakers and government agencies often focus on broadly defined populations such as "Hispanics" and "Asians" without considering birthplace. This distinction is important in light of the fact that the foreign-born represent significant shares of these populations; in 2009, for example, the foreign-born represented two-thirds of non-Hispanic Asians and over one-third of Hispanics (Pew Hispanic Center 2011).

Moreover, a host of studies has shown heterogeneity *within* immigrant populations that relates to the age of migration. Using data from the 2009 American Community Survey, the findings presented here on impoverishment provide supportive evidence of such heterogeneity along the lines of fractionalized immigrant generations. U.S.-born Hispanic adults of prime working age had significantly *higher* poverty rates than their otherwise similar Generation 1.75 (and to a lesser degree, Generation 1.5) peers. Non-Hispanic Asian U.S. natives also had statistically similar impoverishment likelihoods as Asian immigrants who completed some or all of their primary or secondary schooling in the U.S. Only for the Generation 1.0 (immigrants who completed all of their secondary schooling abroad) was the traditional immigrant/native differential in poverty observed for Hispanics and Asians.

Based on these results, "one-size-fits-all" policies designed to address impoverishment (and other socioeconomic outcomes) in the U.S. might not lead to the same outcomes *across* as well as *within* racial/ethnic populations. This observation fits within the current literature arguing that more defined subgroup analyses should be conducted to evaluate the relative socioeconomic status of various foreign-born and U.S.-born populations (e.g., Dávila, Mora and Stockly 2011; Duncan and Trejo 2011; Lowell and Fry 2006; Rumbaut 2004). Perhaps poverty-reduction policies will be more effective if they go beyond considering broad classifications of race/ethnicity and birthplace, incorporating along with other sociodemographic characteristics, the timing of migration among the foreign-born in their lifecycles.

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Table 1: Mean Characteristics of Adults Ages 25-64 by Immigrant Generation in 2009

Characteristic	U.S.-Born Asians	Gen 1.75 Asians	Gen 1.5 Asians	Gen 1.0 Asians	U.S.-Born Hispanics	Gen 1.75 Hispanics	Gen 1.5 Hispanics	Gen 1.0 Hispanics
Poverty rate	5.23%	5.44%	5.31%	9.21%	14.64%	12.28%	13.74%	23.49%
Employed in past 12 months	86.27%	88.41%	87.82%	77.20%	79.13%	84.64%	84.46%	78.02%
Age	39.672	34.685	38.082	45.437	40.740	37.708	38.301	41.706
(standard deviation)	(11.254)	(6.947)	(8.347)	(10.337)	(10.952)	(9.220)	(9.997)	(10.186)
Highest level of education:								
8 years or less	1.28%	0.85%	0.21%	9.32%	5.84%	7.16%	4.57%	40.12%
9-11 years	2.67%	2.80%	3.34%	7.26%	13.40%	15.45%	16.88%	18.33%
High school graduate	15.26%	12.63%	14.17%	17.42%	31.59%	30.36%	35.27%	22.76%
Some college	25.50%	24.93%	29.28%	16.02%	32.15%	30.27%	28.44%	10.94%
College graduate or higher	55.28%	58.79%	53.00%	49.99%	17.02%	16.75%	14.84%	7.86%
Recent immigrant	---	---	---	19.50%	---	---	---	14.71%
Limited English prof.	1.79%	1.89%	4.17%	25.14%	4.43%	9.45%	15.95%	59.21%
Female	47.91%	51.24%	47.34%	55.01%	49.72%	48.60%	45.95%	45.57%
Single	37.51%	37.99%	26.13%	9.35%	29.35%	29.11%	26.18%	21.83%
Div., widowed, sep.	9.95%	7.33%	7.92%	9.73%	19.48%	14.81%	15.25%	13.85%
Number of children	0.735	0.826	1.061	1.100	1.022	1.242	1.309	1.370
(standard deviation)	(1.105)	(1.093)	(1.184)	(1.106)	(1.252)	(1.359)	(1.363)	(1.388)
Work disability	5.77%	4.44%	3.31%	4.96%	12.77%	6.82%	5.73%	6.34%
N (unweighted)	11,051	2,947	8,874	48,029	75,164	5,536	13,886	79,735
N (weighted)	1,126,371	321,444	966,483	4,999,149	8,777,350	679,889	1,739,383	10,388,017

Notes: Hispanics can be of any race, while the category of Asians refers to non-Hispanics. These figures employ the sampling weights provided in the IPUMS ACS. The "unweighted N" refers to the actual sample size, while the "weighted N" reflects the number of people the sample represents.
Source: Author's estimates using the IPUMS ACS. Only non-student adults ages 25-64 living in non-group quarters are included.

Table 2: Mean Characteristics of Adults Ages 25-64 by Poverty Status in 2009

	Asians		Hispanics		U.S.-Born Blacks		U.S.-Born Whites	
Characteristic	In Poverty	Not In Poverty	In Poverty	Not In Poverty	In Poverty	Not In Poverty	In Poverty	Not In Poverty
U.S.-born	10.02%	15.64%	31.75%	42.72%	----	----	----	----
Gen 1.75	2.97%	4.45%	2.06%	3.40%	----	----	----	----
Gen 1.5	8.72%	13.41%	5.91%	8.56%	----	----	----	----
Gen 1.0	78.28%	66.50%	60.29%	45.32%	----	----	----	----
Recent immigrant	23.32%	12.27%	10.82%	6.22%	----	----	----	----
Employed in past 12 months	47.78%	83.26%	55.58%	84.65%	40.52%	82.79%	44.94%	84.83%
Age	43.978	43.064	39.351	41.273	42.694	44.032	44.128	45.608
(standard deviation)	(10.848)	(10.674)	(10.211)	(10.510)	(11.209)	(10.905)	(11.343)	(11.027)
Highest level of education:								
8 years or less	18.56%	5.51%	34.52%	19.45%	5.72%	1.90%	6.47%	1.12%
9-11 years	12.93%	5.25%	23.06%	14.51%	24.81%	8.80%	16.98%	4.59%
High school graduate	26.00%	15.64%	25.45%	28.09%	39.41%	33.29%	38.31%	27.69%
Some college	17.55%	19.75%	13.01%	23.56%	25.77%	35.47%	27.55%	31.71%
College graduate +	24.95%	53.86%	3.95%	14.38%	4.29%	20.55%	10.70%	34.90%
Limited English prof.	42.45%	15.73%	48.77%	27.98%	0.10%	0.10%	0.15%	0.11%
Female	56.85%	52.40%	55.29%	45.56%	61.18%	52.30%	55.95%	49.51%
Single	20.09%	16.80%	32.91%	23.75%	55.94%	34.61%	30.96%	16.43%
Div., widowed, sep.	19.68%	8.54%	21.30%	15.13%	30.20%	23.01%	40.44%	16.51%
Number of children	1.220	1.011	1.543	1.146	1.013	0.774	0.788	0.822
(standard deviation)	(1.437)	(1.091)	(1.575)	(1.270)	(1.452)	(1.073)	(1.269)	(1.095)
N (unweighted)	4,929	65,972	30,427	143,894	23,240	95,182	72,357	950,613
N (weighted)	588,197	6,825,250	4,046,811	17,537,828	3,077,080	11,767,614	7,564,328	88,592,446

Notes: Hispanics can be of any race, while the categories of Asians, Blacks, and Whites refer to non-Hispanics. These figures employ the sampling weights provided in the IPUMS ACS. The "unweighted N" refers to the actual sample size, while the "weighted N" reflects the number of people the sample represents.
Source: Author's estimates using the IPUMS ACS. Only non-student adults ages 25-64 living in non-group quarters are included.

Table 3: Marginal Effects of Immigrant Generations on Poverty for Asian and Hispanic Adults in 2009
(Dependent Variable = 1 for Residing Below the Poverty Line; = 0 Otherwise)

	Asians			Hispanics		
Characteristic	Relative to U.S.-Born Asians (I)	Relative to U.S.-Born Blacks (II)	Relative to U.S.-Born Whites (III)	Relative to U.S.-Born Hispanics (IV)	Relative to U.S.-Born Blacks (V)	Relative to U.S.-Born Whites (VI)
U.S.-born Asian or Hispanic	---	-0.056*** (0.004)	-0.008** (0.002)	---	-0.044*** (0.002)	0.017*** (0.001)
Gen 1.75	0.004 (0.007)	-0.052*** (0.007)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.029*** (0.006)	-0.063*** (0.005)	0.003 (0.004)
Gen 1.5	0.004 (0.005)	-0.046*** (0.005)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.015*** (0.004)	-0.050*** (0.004)	0.015*** (0.003)
Gen 1.0	0.012*** (0.005)	-0.029*** (0.003)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.017*** (0.003)	-0.027*** (0.003)	0.031*** (0.002)

***, **, * Statistically significant at the one, five, or ten percent level.

Notes: The parentheses contain standard errors. Hispanics can be of any race, but the categories of Asians, Blacks, and Whites refer to non-Hispanics. These figures employ the sampling weights provided in the IPUMS ACS, although the "unweighted" N refers to the actual sample size. See Appendix B for the full set of probit regression results.

Source: Author's estimates using the IPUMS ACS. Only non-student adults ages 25-64 living in non-group quarters are included. See text for additional sampling information.

Table 4: Actual and Predicted Poverty Rates of Asian and Hispanic Immigrants Ages 25-64 by Generation in 2009

Characteristic	U.S.-Born Asians (I)	Gen 1.75 Asians (II)	Gen 1.5 Asians (III)	Gen 1.0 Asians (IV)	U.S.-Born Hispanics (V)	Gen 1.75 Hispanics (VI)	Gen 1.5 Hispanics (VII)	Gen 1.0 Hispanics (VIII)
Actual Poverty Rate	5.23%	5.44%	5.31%	9.21%	14.64%	12.28%	13.74%	23.49%
Poverty rate differentials between Asian or Hispanic immigrants and U.S.-born Asians or Hispanics:								
Predicted poverty rate	---	4.95%	4.67%	8.12%	---	14.17%	14.59%	23.39%
Total poverty rate differential (Immigrant - U.S.-born Asian, Hisp.)	---	0.21	0.08	3.98***	---	-2.36***	-0.90**	8.85***
Explained differential (Predicted imm. - U.S.-born Asian, Hispanic)	---	-0.29*	-0.56***	2.89***	---	-0.46**	-0.04	8.76***
Unexplained differential (Actual immigrant - Predicted immigrant)	---	0.49	0.64**	1.09***	---	-1.89***	-0.85**	0.09
Poverty rate differentials between Asians or Hispanics and U.S.-born non-Hispanic Blacks:								
Predicted poverty rate	9.02%	9.08%	8.22%	9.97%	18.19%	18.22%	18.11%	26.34%
Total poverty rate differential (Asian, Hisp. - U.S.-born Black)	-15.49***	-15.29***	-15.42***	-11.52***	-6.09***	-8.45***	-6.99***	2.76***
Explained differential (Predicted Asian, Hisp. - U.S.-born Black)	-11.70***	-11.64***	-12.51***	-10.75***	-2.53***	-2.49***	-2.61***	5.62***
Unexplained differential (Actual Asian, Hisp. - Predicted Asian, Hisp.)	-3.78***	-3.64***	-2.91***	-0.76***	-3.56***	-5.95***	-4.37***	-2.86***
Poverty rate differentials between Asians or Hispanics and U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites:								
Predicted poverty rate	6.27%	6.18%	5.39%	6.92%	12.64%	12.46%	12.07%	19.22%
Total poverty rate differential (Asian, Hisp. - U.S.-born White)	-2.63***	-2.42***	-2.56***	1.34***	6.77***	4.41***	5.87***	15.62***
Explained differential (Predicted Asian, Hisp. - U.S.-born White)	-1.59***	-1.68***	-2.47***	-0.94***	4.78***	4.60***	4.21***	11.36***
Unexplained differential (Actual Asian, Hisp - Predicted Asian, Hisp.)	-1.04***	-0.74	-0.08	2.29***	2.00***	-0.18	1.67***	4.27***

***, **, * Differential is statistically significant at the one, five, or ten percent level.
Notes: Hispanics can be of any race, but the categories of Asians refer to non-Hispanics. The predicted results are based on estimating the probit models for U.S.-born populations; see the text for more information. These figures employ the sampling weights provided in the IPUMS ACS. The statistical significance was determined using t-tests on the differences using the "svy" commands in Stata.
Source: Author's estimates using the IPUMS ACS. Only non-student adults ages 25-64 living in non-group quarters are included. See text for additional sampling information.

Appendix A: Percent of Adults Ages 25-64 Below the Poverty Line by Race/Ethnicity and Fractionalized Immigrant Generation in 2001 and 2009

Race/Ethnicity	Poverty Rate in 2001	Poverty Rate in 2009	2001 & 2009 Significantly Different?	In 2001, Significantly Different from: U.S.-Born Same Race/ Ethnicity?	In 2001, Significantly Different from: U.S.-Born Blacks?	In 2001, Significantly Different from: U.S.-Born Whites?	In 2009, Significantly Different from: U.S.-Born Same Race/ Ethnicity?	In 2009, Significantly Different from: U.S.-Born Blacks?	In 2009, Significantly Different from: U.S.-Born Whites?
U.S.-born Blacks	16.0%	20.7%	Yes***	---	---	Yes***	---	---	Yes***
U.S.-Born Whites	5.5%	7.9%	Yes***	---	Yes***	---	---	Yes***	---
U.S.-born Asians	5.5%	5.2%	No	---	Yes***	No	---	Yes***	Yes***
Foreign-born Asians	7.1%	8.4%	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***
Asians, Gen 1.75	2.9%	5.4%	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	No	Yes***	Yes***
Asians, Gen 1.5	4.5%	5.3%	No	No	Yes***	Yes*	No	Yes***	Yes***
Asians, Gen 1.0	7.6%	9.2%	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***
U.S.-born Hispanics	12.2%	14.6%	Yes***	---	Yes***	Yes***	---	Yes***	Yes***
Foreign-born Hispanics	17.9%	21.6%	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***
Hispanics, Gen 1.75	9.9%	12.3%	Yes**	Yes**	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***
Hispanics, Gen 1.5	11.2%	13.7%	Yes***	No	Yes***	Yes***	Yes**	Yes***	Yes***
Hispanics, Gen 1.0	19.6%	23.5%	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***	Yes***

***, **, * Statistically significant at the one, five, or ten percent level.

Notes: Hispanics can be of any race, while the categories of Asians, Blacks, and Whites refer to non-Hispanics. These figures employ the sampling weights provided in the IPUMS ACS. The statistical significance was determined using t-tests on the differences using the "svy" commands in Stata.

Source: Author's estimates using the IPUMS ACS. Only non-student adults ages 25-64 living in non-group quarters are included.

Appendix B: Probit Regression Results for the Poverty of Asian and Hispanic Adults in 2009
(Dependent Variable = 1 for Residing Below the Poverty Line; = 0 Otherwise)

	Asians			Hispanics		
Characteristic	Relative to U.S.-Born Asians (I)	Relative to U.S.-Born Blacks (II)	Relative to U.S.-Born Whites (III)	Relative to U.S.-Born Hispanics (IV)	Relative to U.S.-Born Blacks (V)	Relative to U.S.-Born Whites (VI)
U.S.-born Asian or Hispanic	---	-0.344*** (0.030)	-0.086*** (0.028)	---	-0.188*** (0.010)	0.130*** (0.008)
Gen 1.75	0.031 (0.056)	-0.324*** (0.054)	-0.046 (0.054)	-0.127*** (0.030)	-0.303*** (0.030)	0.027 (0.030)
Gen 1.5	0.032 (0.039)	-0.277*** (0.033)	0.016 (0.032)	-0.063*** (0.019)	-0.230*** (0.019)	0.116*** (0.018)
Gen 1.0	0.104*** (0.032)	-0.157*** (0.019)	0.123*** (0.017)	0.069*** (0.013)	-0.113*** (0.013)	0.220*** (0.012)
Highest education level (Base = high school graduate)						
8 years or less	0.185*** (0.035)	0.306*** (0.022)	0.490*** (0.014)	0.271*** (0.014)	0.291*** (0.012)	0.383*** (0.010)
Some high school	0.127*** (0.037)	0.384*** (0.022)	0.419*** (0.009)	0.248*** (0.014)	0.321*** (0.010)	0.377*** (0.008)
Some college	-0.208*** (0.030)	-0.266*** (0.012)	-0.220*** (0.006)	-0.209*** (0.014)	-0.249*** (0.010)	-0.222*** (0.006)
College graduate	-0.474*** (0.028)	-0.655*** (0.016)	-0.572*** (0.029)	-0.497*** (0.019)	-0.653*** (0.014)	-0.584*** (0.007)
Recently arrived immigrant	0.413*** (0.028)	0.464*** (0.029)	0.470*** (0.029)	0.205*** (0.019)	0.229*** (0.019)	0.231*** (0.019)
Limited English proficient	0.383*** (0.026)	0.262*** (0.025)	0.250*** (0.023)	0.291*** (0.012)	0.266*** (0.012)	0.249*** (0.012)
Age	-0.007 (0.008)	-0.017*** (0.004)	-0.018*** (0.002)	-0.028*** (0.004)	-0.025*** (0.003)	-0.024*** (0.002)
$Age^2/100$	0.006 (0.009)	0.017*** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.004)	0.021*** (0.003)	0.022*** (0.002)
Marital status (base = married)						
Single, never married	0.469*** (0.030)	0.839*** (0.013)	0.817*** (0.008)	0.552*** (0.013)	0.692*** (0.010)	0.757*** (0.007)
Divorced, widowed, or separated	0.621*** (0.029)	0.716*** (0.013)	0.844*** (0.006)	0.568*** (0.013)	0.628*** (0.097)	0.794*** (0.006)
Number of children at home	0.124*** (0.009)	0.176*** (0.004)	0.141*** (0.003)	0.182*** (0.004)	0.184*** (0.003)	0.157*** (0.002)
Female	0.016 (0.019)	0.112*** (0.010)	0.142*** (0.005)	0.183*** (0.009)	0.169*** (0.007)	0.156*** (0.005)
Work disability	0.394*** (0.036)	0.521*** (0.013)	0.141*** (0.003)	0.476*** (0.015)	0.522*** (0.010)	0.583*** (0.006)

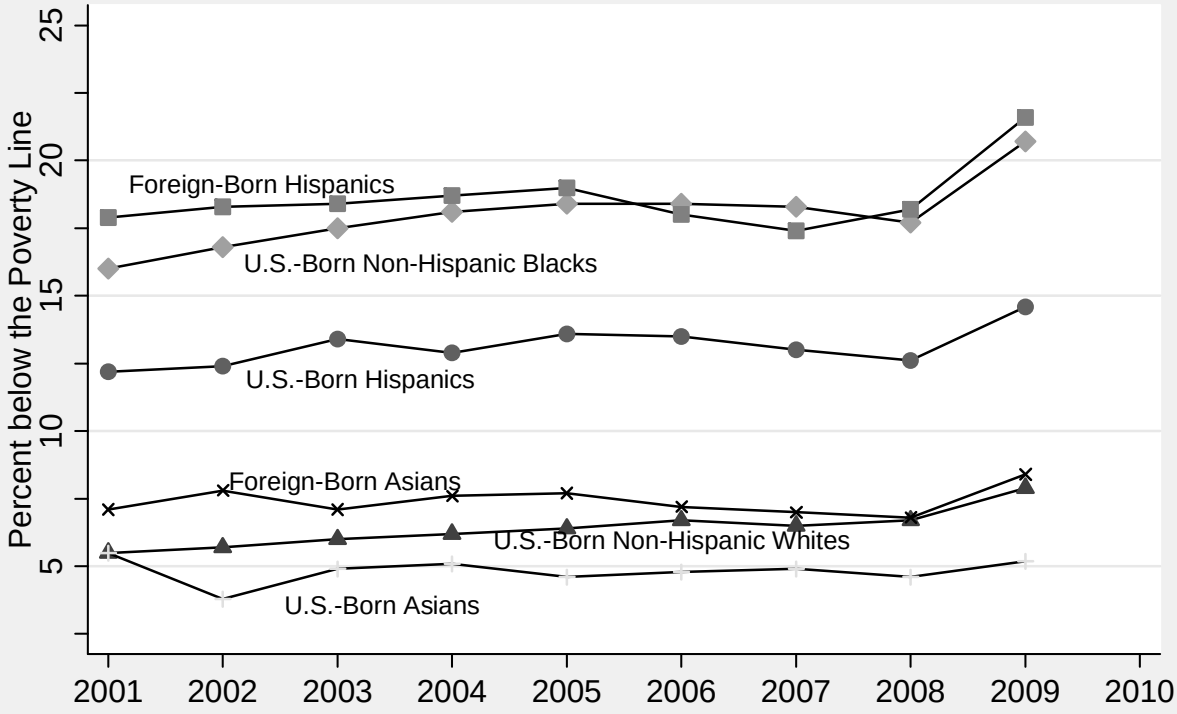
State unemp. rate in 2008	0.017 (0.011)	0.047*** (0.005)	0.051*** (0.003)	0.035*** (0.008)	0.050*** (0.005)	0.048*** (0.002)
Resides outside metropolitan area	0.130*** (0.042)	0.154*** (0.014)	0.185*** (0.006)	0.116*** (0.015)	0.130*** (0.011)	0.169*** (0.005)
Geographic region (base = Pacific)						
New England	-0.047 (0.054)	-0.029 (0.038)	-0.088*** (0.014)	0.266*** (0.031)	0.210*** (0.027)	0.008 (0.013)
North Central	0.064* (0.035)	0.199*** (0.019)	0.005 (0.009)	0.123*** (0.020)	0.235*** (0.014)	0.062*** (0.008)
South Central	0.087** (0.040)	0.166*** (0.020)	0.074* (0.010)	0.255*** (0.021)	0.265*** (0.015)	0.156*** (0.009)
Middle and South Atlantic	0.117*** (0.028)	0.074** (0.018)	0.037*** (0.009)	0.187*** (0.016)	0.165*** (0.013)	0.095*** (0.008)
Mountain	0.005 (0.049)	0.057 (0.035)	0.074*** (0.013)	0.238*** (0.021)	0.242*** (0.018)	0.149*** (0.011)
Constant	-1.755*** (0.189)	-1.627*** (0.093)	-1.909*** (0.048)	-1.287*** (0.094)	-1.388*** (0.069)	-1.736*** (0.043)
$\chi 2$ test: U.S.-born Asian or Hispanic = Gen 1.75	---	0.12	0.45	---	14.18***	11.28***
$\chi 2$ test: Gen 1.75 = Gen 1.5	0.00	0.57	0.97	3.73*	4.52**	6.50**
$\chi 2$ test: Gen 1.5 = Gen 1.0	4.40**	11.49***	9.42***	44.13***	33.68***	26.86***
Pseudo R^2	.124	.184	.177	.120	.138	.183
N (unweighted)	70,901	189,323	1,093,871	174,321	292,743	1,197,291

***, **, * Statistically significant at the one, five, or ten percent level.

Notes: The parentheses contain standard errors. Hispanics can be of any race, but the categories of Asians, Blacks, and Whites refer to non-Hispanics. These figures employ the sampling weights provided in the IPUMS ACS, although the "unweighted" N refers to the actual sample size.

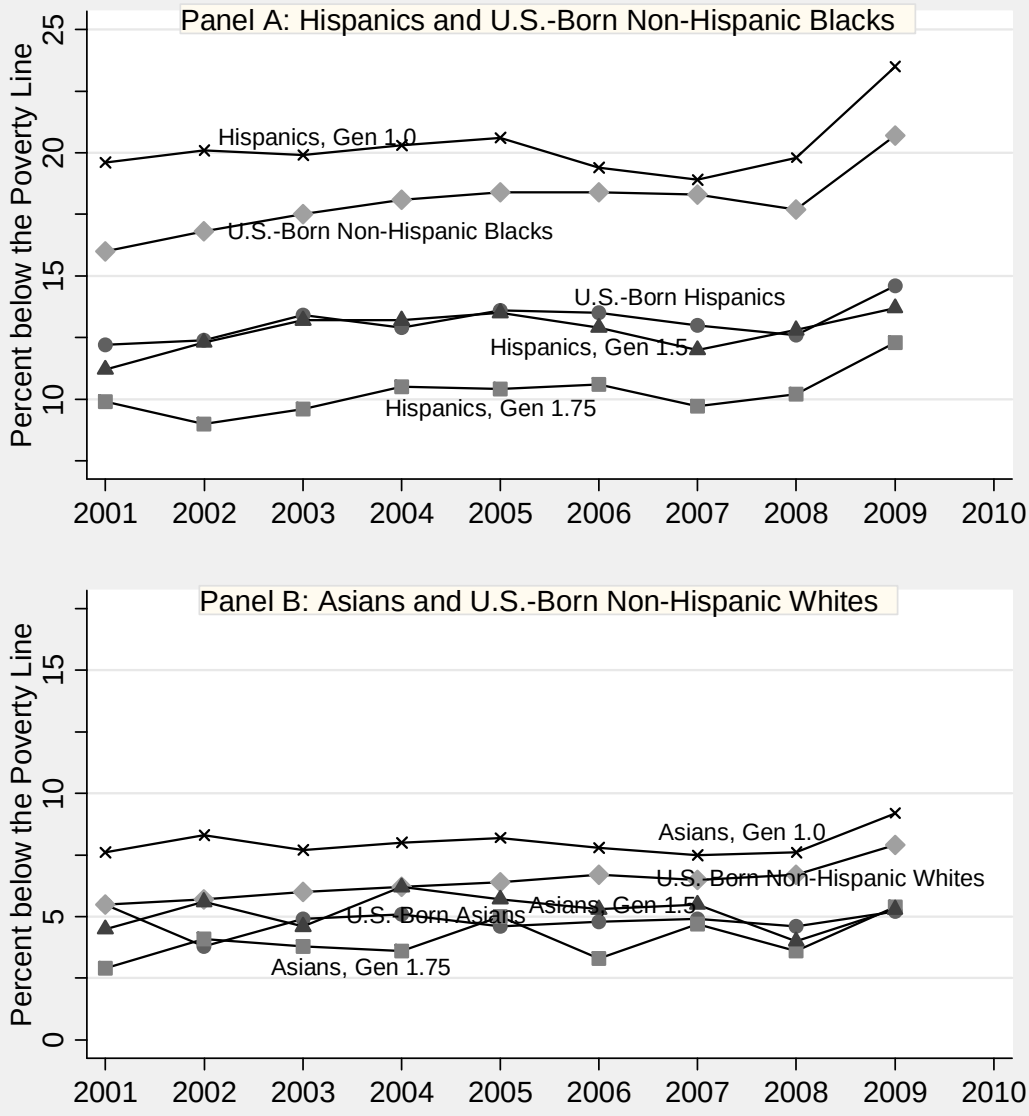
Source: Author's estimates using the IPUMS ACS. Only non-student adults ages 25-64 living in non-group quarters are included. See text for additional sampling information.

Figure 1: Adult Poverty Rates by U.S.- and Foreign-Born Status of Hispanics and Asians



Source: Author's estimates for individuals ages 25-64 in the ACS in the IPUMS
Note: Students, group quarter residents, and individuals born abroad to U.S. citizens are excluded.

Figure 2: Adult Poverty Rates of Hispanic and Asian Fractionalized Immigrant Groups



Source: Author's estimates for individuals ages 25-64 in the ACS in the IPUMS.
Note: Students, group quarter residents, and individuals born abroad to U.S. citizens are excluded.