**The Effects of Recession on Household Composition:
"Doubling Up" and Economic Well-Being**

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ABSTRACT

The current recession presents the opportunity to study the effect of economic strain on contemporary family behavior and household structure. The extent to which young adults delay home-leaving, adults join households, or families combine households in response to economic stress is not well-documented. Using the US Census Bureau's Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement for 2008 and 2010, we find an increase in the number and share of doubled-up households and adults residing in doubled-up households since the start of the recession in 2007. Results from logistic regression models predicting doubled-up status suggest that younger adults and those who were not in the labor force were more likely to be doubled up in 2010 than in 2008. In general, doubled-up householders and adults were more disadvantaged and experienced a larger increase in poverty rates during the recession than their counterparts.

One way people may cope with challenging economic circumstances is to combine households and household resources with other families or individuals. Preliminary evidence suggests that the number of persons and families sharing households in the U.S. has increased since the start of the recession in December 2007. For example, there were 1.6 million more multi-family households between 2008 and 2010, an increase of 12 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). A recent study by The Pew Research Center also reports that 1 in 10 young adults aged 18 to 34 moved back with parents due to the recession (Pew Research Center 2009). However, the extent to which individuals and families actually share households and how household sharing has changed over time has not been well documented in the literature. The recent economic recession offers the opportunity to assess the effect of economic conditions on contemporary demographic behaviors. Although an extensive literature cites the effects of macroeconomic conditions on marriage (Liker & Elder, 1983, Conger & Elder 1994) and fertility (Billari & Kohler 2004; Goldstein et al. 2009; Kravdal 2002, Rindfuss et al. 1988), less attention has been given to how diminished economic resources affect family and household composition (see Wiemers 2010; Pew Research Center 2009 for exceptions).

In this paper, we examine "doubled-up" households, which we define as households that include an adult who is not the householder, spouse or cohabiting partner of the householder.[1] Although recent research and media attention has focused on adult children moving back with parents or grandparents sharing a household with their children and grandchildren, doubled-up households may also include nonfamily household arrangements as well. We use data from the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey's Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS ASEC) to explore both the socio-demographic characteristics and the economic well-being of adults in doubled-up households.[2]

As shown in Figure 1, the percent change in the number of doubled-up households has been volatile over the past two decades ranging from -0.7 percent in 1998 to 6.4 percent in 2010. Sharp increases in doubling up occurred during or soon after economic recessions (1991-1992, 2000-2001, and 2008-2010). The most recent recession is marked by a disproportionate increase in the number of doubled-up households relative to total households, as shown in Figure 1. The pattern suggests a correlation between doubled-up households and economic recessions that warrants further investigation. In this paper, we focus on the effect of the most recent recession on doubling up. Specifically, we ask:

(1) Has there been an increase in the number of "doubled-up" households or the number of persons in doubled-up households since the start of the recession at the end of 2007?

(2) What are the socio-demographic characteristics of adults (including both householders and non-householders) who reside in doubled-up households? Have these characteristics changed since the recession began in 2007?

(3) Does doubling up improve the economic well-being of persons living in the household?

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[1] Cohabiting households (i.e. households having a household head cohabiting with another individual) may also be considered "doubled-up" households. However, in this paper, we do not define cohabiting households as doubled up if the only adults living in the household are the household head and his/her cohabiting partner (See Kreider 2010 for discussion of the recent increase in cohabiting households).

[2] The estimates in this paper are based on responses from a sample of the population. As with all surveys, estimates may vary from the actual values because of sampling variation and other factors. All comparisons made in this paper have undergone statistical testing and are significant at the 95-percent confidence level unless otherwise noted. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, non-sampling error, and definitions see <http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar10.pdf> and <http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar08.pdf>.

Background

        Sharing a household with family members is a time-honored strategy for stretching thin resources (Hareven 1990; Ruggles 1987). Yet much of the literature that examines how macroeconomic factors influence household sharing has focused on housing affordability and availability (Mutchler & Krivo 1989; Whittington & Peters 1996; Kiernan 1989) or on the influence of policy changes (Bitler, Gelbach & Hoynes 2006; Acs & Nelson 2004; Costa 1999; McGarry & Schoeni 2000; Ellwood & Bane 1985), and not on the effect of economic downturns.

        In an early study, Monahan (1956) used U.S. Census data to estimate the percentage of families who shared households with other families in the first half of the 20th century. Monahan found that this type of doubling up increased between 1910 and 1955, peaking in 1947 when 9.9 percent of all families shared households with other families. Monahan attributed the increase in doubling up to macroeconomic factors – i.e., the Great Depression, shortages of housing materials during wartime, and limited postwar housing stock. Yet his descriptive analysis did not test these propositions.

        More recently, London and Fairlie (2006) examined the association between state unemployment rates and the living arrangements of minor children using data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) and the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP). They concluded that unemployment was not significantly associated with children residing in a shared household in the CPS and found a weak relationship between unemployment and household sharing in the SIPP. Using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics and the American Community Survey, Painter (2010) found that macroeconomic conditions, including unemployment and the housing market, were associated with household formation.

        Prior research has also found individual characteristics to be associated with coresidence of young adults with parents. Researchers have noted an increase in the average age of home-leaving over the past few decades (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1994). Previous studies also suggest that males were likely to stay in the parental home longer than females (Goldscheider and DaVanzo 1985; Mitchell et al. 1989) and whites were more likely to leave home at younger ages than blacks or Hispanics (Aquillino 1991; Bianchi 1987; Painter 2010; and Sarksian, Gerena and Gerstel 2006). Marriage has a

strong, negative effect on coresidence, whereas school enrollment increases the likelihood of coresidence (Aquillino 1991).

Other studies identified a relationship between own employment status and living arrangements, although much of this literature focuses on home-leaving among young adults. Using data from the 1997 National Longitudinal Study of Youth, Kaplan (2009) concluded that moving from employment to unemployment increases the likelihood of moving back to the parental home by about 70 percent. Wiemers (2010) also found that adults transitioning to unemployment were twice as likely to join other households. Examining cohabiting couples, Kreider observed differences in employment status between existing and newly formed cohabiting couples and concluded that economic pressures may have contributed to an increase in cohabitation between 2009 and 2010. Other research also suggests a positive association between unemployment and coresidence (Aassve et al. 2002; Avery, Goldscheider, and Speare 1992; Ermisch and Di Salvo 1997; Aquillino 1991; Painter 2010).

Data

For this analysis, we use the U.S. Census Bureau's CPS ASEC for years 2008 and 2010 to isolate the changes occurring in household structure since the start of the recent recession. The CPS ASEC is well suited to examine the change in household composition because it contains detailed demographic information on households and the relationship of individuals to the household head as well as other socioeconomic and demographic information. Collected annually between February and April, the CPS ASEC captures information on current household composition and income for the prior year. The 2008 ASEC captures household composition in spring 2008 and income in calendar year 2007; the 2010 ASEC captures household composition in spring 2010 and income in calendar year 2009. Thus, the 2008 CPS ASEC reflects economic conditions prior to the recession while the 2010 CPS ASEC reflects economic conditions during the recession.

In this analysis, although we include households headed by persons under 18 years of age in the sample, our measure of doubling up focuses on "extra adults in the household" because minor children are typically considered dependents. Although young adults ages 18 to 24 live with parents while

attending school[3], we include them in our sample but control for school enrollment in the models. The analytic sample consists of 75,659 households and 145,520 adults in 2008 and 76,067 households and 149,011 adults in 2010. The weighted figures represent: in 2008, 116.8 million households and 224.5 million adults, and in 2010, 117.5 million households and 229.1 million adults.

Methods

Defining Doubled-Up Households

In this analysis, we estimate the number and percent of households designated as doubled-up-- that is, households that include at least one extra adult. We define "extra adults" as persons aged 18 years and older who reside in a household and who are neither householders, nor the spouses or cohabiting partners of householders. Our definition of "extra adults" includes adults related to the householder and thus captures adult children of householders who move in with parents as well as parents who move in with adult children.[4] That is, estimates of "extra adults" include both relatives of the householder (except spouses) and non-relatives of the householder (except cohabiting partners). The "extra adults" concept also includes persons who are the roommates or housemates of the reference person.

Predicting Doubled-Up Household Status

Using a pooled sample of households in the 2008 and 2010 CPS ASEC, we estimate logistic regression models to predict the doubled-up status of households. The dichotomous dependent variable in the household models is coded 1 if the household is doubled up and 0 if the household is not doubled up. Independent variables for the full model include survey year as well as the following household characteristics: type, income (in thousands), tenure and geographic region. Other independent variables

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[3] The CPS ASEC also classifies unmarried young adults temporarily residing in college dorms or away at school as living with their parents. We control for school enrollment in our models and also estimate extra adult status for adults aged 25 years and older and for adults not enrolled in school.

[4] The CPS ASEC sample includes the civilian noninstitutionalized population. This universe includes civilians in households, people in noninstitutional group quarters (other than military barracks) and military in households living off post or with their families on post (as long as at least one household member is a civilian adult). The universe excludes other military in households and in group quarters (barracks), and people living in institutions. As we are interested in individuals residing in households, our estimates of "extra adults" in doubled-up households excludes the group quarters population.

include householder characteristics such as age, sex, race-ethnicity, nativity, educational attainment, marital status, employment and personal poverty status.

In this analysis, we estimate a set of nested models: Model 1 includes survey year as the only covariate; Model 2 incorporates household characteristics and the householder's socio-demographic characteristics; in Model 3, we test interactions between survey year and the covariates in order to assess whether determinants of doubled-up status changed for households over the course of the recession.

Predicting the Doubled-Up Status of Adults

Using a pooled sample of households in the 2008 and 2010 CPS ASEC, we estimate two sets of logistic regression models to predict both the doubled-up status of adults and extra adult status. In models predicting doubled-up status, the dichotomous dependent variable is coded 1 if the adult resides in a doubled-up household, and coded 0 otherwise; in models predicting extra adult status, the dichotomous dependent variable is coded 1 if the adult is not the householder, or the spouse or cohabiting partner of the householder, and 0 otherwise. Independent variables in these analyses include the following demographic characteristics: age, sex, race-ethnicity, nativity, marital status, and school enrollment.[5] We also incorporate covariates representing individual socioeconomic status, including educational attainment, employment and personal poverty status. For both analyses, we estimate a set of nested models: Model 1 includes year as the only covariate; Model 2 incorporates the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the householder. In Model 3, we test interactions between survey year and the covariates in order to assess whether the determinants of doubled-up and extra adult status changed over the course of the recession.

Poverty Status of Adults in Doubled-Up Households

In this analysis, we also consider whether doubling up masks higher poverty rates (particularly among family members) and whether doubling up improves the well-being of households and adults. The official poverty measure ("*family poverty status*") assigns the poverty status of the primary family to any

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[5] The school enrollment variable is restricted to persons aged 18 to 24 years.

related subfamilies in the household.[6] We assign "personal poverty status" to individuals in related subfamilies based on the subfamily's own income. We also assign "personal poverty status" based on subfamily income to individuals who are members of unrelated subfamilies. For persons who are not part of a subfamily, we assign "*personal poverty status*" based on their own total personal income and the poverty threshold for a single individual. For householders, their spouses and cohabiting partners, we assign *"personal poverty status"* based on the combined income of the householder and spouse in married family households; based on the combined income of the householder and cohabiting partner in cohabiting households; and based on the income of the householder in unmarried family and nonfamily households.[7] In addition, we assign "*household poverty status*" by comparing the total income for all household members to the official poverty threshold for a given household size and configuration based on the number of persons in the household, the number of children (under 18 years) in the household and the age of the householder.

Descriptive Results

Doubled-Up Households, Adults Living in Doubled-up households and Extra Adults

In Table 1, we present estimates for the number and percent of doubled-up households and adults as well as the change in doubled up status from 2008 to 2010. In March 2008, just after the start of the economic recession, doubled-up households totaled 26.1 million. By March 2010, the number had increased by 2.2 million to 28.4 million doubled-up households (+1.7 percentage points). By comparison,

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[6] A family is a group of two people or more (one of whom is the householder) related by birth, marriage, or adoption and residing together; all such people (including related subfamily members) are considered as members of one (primary) family. A related subfamily is a married couple with or without children, or one parent with one or more own never married children under 18 years old, living in a household and related to, but not including, the person or couple who maintains the household. An unrelated subfamily is a married couple with or without children, or a single parent with one or more own never-married children under 18 years old living in a household. Unrelated subfamily members are not related to the householder. Unrelated individuals are people of any age who are not members of families or subfamilies.

[7] We compare the constructed "personal" income measures for householders to the two-person poverty threshold, based on the age of the householder.

the net change (755,000) in all U.S. households over the same period was not significant. In 2010, doubled-up households represented 24.1 percent of total households, up from 22.4 percent in 2008.[8]

Among adults, 82.1 million or 36.5 percent were doubled up in 2008. This describes all the adult residents who lived in households which included an extra adult. Householders and their spouses and partners who invite another adult to share their living quarters are all considered doubled-up adults. By 2010, the number had increased to 88.5 million, or 38.6 percent of 229.1 million adults.

A subset of persons in doubled-up households were "extra adults", those who by our definition lived in someone else's household. Extra adults totaled 42.9 million or 19.1 percent of adults in 2008 (Table 1). By 2010, the number of extra adults had increased to 46.0 million, or 20.1 percent of adults not living in group quarters. While the adult population itself increased by 4.6 million persons between 2008 and 2010, the number of extra adults increased proportionally more than the adult population as a whole (7.3 percent compared to 2.0 percent).

Extra adults in doubled-up households can be further categorized by relationship to householder, and adults in each relationship category increased over the period. In both 2008 and 2010, more than one-half of extra adults residing in doubled-up households were the child of the householder. Adult children in doubled-up households increased by 1.2 million between 2008 and 2010; the number of other adult

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[8] Households can also be classified by the number of families in residence. Multifamily households – households which include more than one family group or include a subfamily – provide an imprecise but straightforward method of gauging the extent of doubling up since the start of the recent recession. A subfamily is minimally composed of either a married couple or a lone parent and his/her minor child. Subfamilies may be related or unrelated to the householder. An unrelated individual is also counted as a "family". However, a householder sharing a household with a single adult relative(s) with no own children is considered to head a one-family household, not a multi-family household.

In 2008, there were an estimated 13.9 million households comprised of two or more families. By 2010, the number of multifamily households increased to 15.5 million, accounting for 13.2 percent of all households. In contrast to the increase in multi-family households, the net change in one-family households (-862,000) and in single-person households (-767,000) between 2008 and 2010 was not significant. The estimates of multifamily households are lower than estimates of doubled-up households because single adults with no children who are related to the householder are counted as members of the primary family, rather than as a related subfamily.

relatives (including parents and other relatives) residing in doubled-up households increased by 1.2 million during the same period while adult non-relatives in doubled-up households increased by 794,000.[9]

Characteristics of households and householders

In Table 2, we present characteristics of households and householders in 2008 and 2010, by doubled-up status. In both years, unmarried family householders were significantly more likely to head doubled-up households than householders who were not doubled up. In contrast, 9.9 percent of doubled-up households were headed by a nonfamily householder compared to 35 to 36 percent of non-doubled up households.[10]

Table 2 also reports demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of householders. Doubled-up householders in our sample were relatively disadvantaged. For example, doubled-up householders were more likely than non-doubled-up householders to have not completed high school or to be unemployed, and to have incomes below the "personal poverty" threshold than their not doubled up counterparts. Furthermore, doubled-up householders also saw a larger increase in personal poverty rates (2.5 percentage points v. 0.5 percentage points) between 2008 and 2010 than their non-doubled up counterparts.

Characteristics of adults

In Table 3, we report characteristics for adults by whether or not they resided in doubled-up households in 2008 and 2010. In general, doubled-up adults were younger (under age 25) than those not doubled up. The reverse is true for those aged 65 years and older. Just under ten percent of doubled-up adults were age 65 years and older compared to 20 to 21 percent of adults who were not doubled up. Doubled-up adults were also less likely to be married than the non-doubled-up adult population. Consistent with descriptive results for households, doubled-up adults were more disadvantaged than their

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[9] Although not the focus of this paper, we note that the number of children under age 18 residing in doubled-up households increased 2.2 million (+2.7 percent) while the number of children residing in households that were not doubled up declined by 1.5 million (Table 1).

[10] An unmarried family household consists of a householder who is not married, but who shares a home with at least one related family member. A nonfamily household consists of a householder living alone (a one-person household) or where the householder shares a home exclusively with people to whom he/she is not related.

non-doubled up counterparts, with lower educational attainment, and higher personal poverty and unemployment rates in both 2008 and 2010.

In Table 4, we report characteristics for adults, distinguishing between those who were extra adults living in someone else's household and those who were not extra adults (i.e. a householder, or the spouse or cohabiting partner of a householder). Although the highest proportion of extra adults (46 percent) resided in married family households in both 2008 and 2010, a large proportion (40 percent) of extra adults lived in unmarried family households. In contrast, while nearly two-thirds of all other adults lived in married family households, less than 10 percent resided in unmarried family households. Extra adults were younger, had lower educational attainment, had higher "personal" poverty rates and were more likely to be unemployed than householders and the spouses or cohabiting partners of householders. Furthermore, unemployment rates among extra adults increased significantly more between 2008 and 2010 than unemployment rates for other adults (4.5 v. 2.8 percentage points).

Regression Results

Doubled-up Households

In Table 5, we present regression results from logistic models predicting doubled-up household status in 2008 and 2010. As shown in Model 1, the odds of a household being doubled up in 2010 were 10 percent higher in 2010 than in 2008, a result consistent with the hypothesis that combining households serves as an economic strategy. Controlling for household and householder characteristics in Models 2 and 3 did not reduce the odds of being a doubled-up household in 2010 relative to 2008.

Models 2 and 3 indicate that, relative to married family householders, cohabiting and nonfamily householders are less likely to reside in a doubled-up household while unmarried family householders have more than 7 times the odds of their married counterparts of living in a doubled-up household. Householders renting their homes were less likely to be doubled up than those who owned their homes. Although our results indicate doubled-up households are more likely to report higher household income, doubled-up households have more adults contributing to household income than non-doubled-up households. Households in the Midwest and South had lower odds of being doubled up than households

in the Northeast, yet there was no significant difference in doubling up among households in the West and Northeast.

Householder characteristics were also significantly associated with household doubled-up status. Younger householders (those less than 25 years of age) were significantly more likely to be doubled up than those aged 35 to 64 years. However, householders aged 25 to 34 years or 65 years and older were less likely to be doubled up than householders 35 to 64 years of age. Householders aged 35 to 64 years represent the so-called "sandwich generation" and are likely to have children of their own, including adult children, as well as older relatives.

In terms of race and ethnicity, Hispanic householders and householders identified as other race/ethnicity were about 1.5 times and 1.3 times more likely to head a doubled-up household than white non-Hispanic householders, respectively. Foreign-born householders were 1.6 times more likely than native-born householders to head doubled-up households, suggesting that extended family households may be culturally normative among immigrant families. Householders who were never married also had higher odds of being doubled up than married householders.

Consistent with the descriptive results, relatively disadvantaged householders are more likely to head doubled-up households than those who are less disadvantaged. For example, in Models 2 and 3, householders with less than a high school degree had about 19-20 percent higher odds of residing in a doubled-up household compared to householders with a high school diploma. In contrast, householders with a bachelor's degree were about one-third less likely than those with high school degrees to head a doubled-up household. Further, householders with personal incomes below poverty were about 1.2 to 1.3 times more likely to be doubled up.

Finally, in Model 3, we interact several householder characteristics with survey year to determine whether the association between these characteristics and household doubled-up status changed between

2008 and 2010.[11] In Model 3 with a few exceptions, the main effects remain robust for household and

householder characteristics. As shown in Model 3, householders aged 25 to 34 years old had about 14

percent higher odds (OR=1.138) of being doubled up in 2010 relative to householders aged 35 to 64

years in 2008. In 2010, householders who were unemployed or not in the labor force had significantly

higher odds of heading a doubled-up household relative to employed householders in 2008.

Adults in Doubled-up households

        In Table 6, we present regression results from logistic regression models predicting whether or

not an adult lived in a doubled-up household in 2008 and 2010.[12] Model 1 indicates that the odds of

residing in a doubled-up household were 9 percent higher in 2010 than in 2008. However, this result is no

longer significant after including interaction effects in Model 3.

        In Models 2 and 3, adults residing in households headed by cohabiting or nonfamily householders

were significantly less likely to be doubled up compared to adults living in married family households.

However, adults in households headed by an unmarried family householder had nearly 1.7 times the odds

of living in a doubled-up household compared to those living in a married family household. Although

adults living in the Midwest and South also had lower odds of being doubled up than those in the

Northeast, the odds of doubling up for adults in the West did not differ significantly from those in the

Northeast.

        The youngest adults (ages 18 to 24) had 32 percent (Model 2) and 21 percent (Model 3) higher

odds of residing in a doubled-up household than adults aged 35 to 64, even after controlling for school

enrollment and other characteristics. In contrast, adults in all other age groups were less likely to be

doubled up than those aged 35 to 64. Hispanics, adults identified as other race/ethnicity, and foreign-born

adults were roughly 1.5, 1.4 and 1.6 times more likely than white non-Hispanic or native-born adults to

live in doubled-up households, respectively. In contrast, black non-Hispanic adults had slightly lower

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[11] Although we tested interactions between survey year and all covariates included in the models, we report the
results only for interactions in which the associations between the interaction terms and the odds of being a doubled
up or an extra adult were significant.
[12] Limiting the sample to aged adults 25 years and older did not change the substantive results reported here.

odds of being doubled up than white non-Hispanic adults. Young adults enrolled in school were 2.7 times more likely to live in doubled-up households than those who were not enrolled in school. With respect to marital status, widowed, separated or divorced adults as well as those who were married had significantly lower odds of residing in a doubled-up household than adults who had never been married.

Consistent with our results for householders, socioeconomic disadvantage is associated with residing in a doubled-up household for adults. For example, adults who did not complete high school were more likely to be doubled up compared to adults with a high school diploma; adults with higher educational attainment had lower odds of residing in a doubled-up household. Personal poverty status is associated with 1.9 times the odds of living in a doubled-up household. However, adults who were not in the labor force were less likely to reside in a doubled-up household than employed adults. Surprisingly, there was no difference in the odds of living in a doubled-up household between employed and unemployed adults.

Finally, in Model 3, we include interactions between several household and adult characteristics and survey year. Our results suggest that adults residing in households headed by a cohabiting householder had increased odds of residing in a doubled-up household than those living in married family households in 2010 compared to 2008. Further, the odds of residing in a doubled-up household for younger adults (i.e. adults less than 35 years of age) increased compared to those aged 35 to 64 years in 2010 relative to 2008. In addition, females had slightly higher odds of living in a doubled-up household than males in 2010 compared to 2008. Finally, the effect of employment status changed over time; those who were not in the labor force had slightly higher odds of being doubled up than employed adults in 2010 compared to 2008.

Extra Adults in Doubled-up households

In Table 7, we report odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting whether or not an individual was an extra adult in someone else's household (i.e. neither the householder, nor the spouse or cohabiting partner of the householder). Because 18-24 year-olds make up such a sizable proportion of the extra adult population (about 45.0 percent in 2008 and 2010), we report results from an additional set of

models for individuals aged 25 years and older in order to better separate extra adult status from the special circumstances of the youngest adult age group.[13] Table 7 shows that the odds of being an extra adult in a doubled-up household were slightly higher in 2010 compared to 2008 (Model 1). However, Table 7 shows that survey year was not significantly associated with extra adult status for adults aged 25 years and older after controlling for household and individual characteristics and interaction effects in Model 3.

Results for Model 3 reveal few differences in the characteristics of extra adults ages 18 years and older compared to those ages 25 years and older.[14] In both sets of models, adults residing in the Midwest and South[15] had lower odds of being an extra adult in a doubled-up household than those in the Northeast, whereas those living in the western region of the United States were slightly more likely to be extra adults residing in a doubled-up household. Females had lower odds of being extra adults than males. Extra adults were more likely to be Hispanic or foreign-born compared to white non-Hispanic and the native-born, respectively. Black non-Hispanic adults had lower odds of being extra adults, whereas those identified as other race/ethnicity were more likely to be extra adults compared to white non-Hispanic adults. Not surprisingly, extra adults were significantly less likely to be to be married or widowed, separated or divorced than to have never been married. As expected, young adults enrolled in school were more than twice as likely to be extra adults compared to those who were not enrolled in school.[16]

Again, socioeconomic disadvantage was associated with extra adult status. For example, having at least some college experience or a bachelor degree reduced the odds of being an extra adult aged 18 years or older in a doubled-up household. Personal poverty status more than doubled the odds of being an extra adult for adults aged 18 years and older and nearly doubled the odds of being an extra adult for

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[13] We also estimated models predicting extra adult status in which young adults enrolled in school were not defined as extra adults. Although not reported here, the results of these models were not significantly different than results based on the full adult sample.

[14] We tested for differences in the regression coefficients predicting extra adult status for adults ages 18 years and older and adults ages 25 years and older. We tested only those coefficients which were included in both models.

[15] However, adults 25 years and older residing in the South did not have significantly different odds of being an extra adult than those in the Northeast.

[16] School enrollment information was available only for adults aged 18 to 24 years.

adults aged 25 years and older. However, labor force status was not significantly associated with extra adult status.

Extra adults aged 18 years and older and those aged 25 years and older differed with respect to household type. Living in an unmarried family household was negatively associated with extra adult status relative to a married family household for adults aged 18 years and older. In contrast, residing in an unmarried family household increased the odds of being an extra adult by 22 percent for adults aged 25 years and older. This result is not surprising, as 45 percent of extra adults were aged 18 to 24 and more than one-half of extra adults were children of the householder in 2008 and 2010.

Finally, interaction effects reported in Model 3 suggest that the association between household and personal characteristics and extra adult status changed since the recession. Females were about 18 percent more likely to be extra adults relative to males in 2010 than in 2008. For adults aged 25 years and older, not being in the labor force was positively associated with extra adult status in 2010, although this variable was not significant for all adults ages 18 years and older. Adults residing in a cohabiting household were more likely to be extra adults in 2010 than in 2008 compared to those in married couple households.

For adults aged 65 and over household composition is more complex. Model 3 reveals slightly higher odds of being an extra adult in someone else's household in compared to those aged 35-64 (main effect). Although this seems counter to previous results for doubled-up householders and adults which show the elderly to be significantly less likely than their counterparts aged 35-64 to be part of doubled-up households, this result suggests that adults aged 65 and over are more likely to be parents, siblings, grandparents, or boarders of the householder than are prime working age adults at 35-64 years. As shown by the interaction between age and survey year, the elderly are less likely to be extra adults in 2010 than 2008 however. The evidence is consistent with the finding that the economic recession did not create more extra adults among the elderly.

<u>Doubled-Up Households and Poverty Status</u>

Finally, we examine whether doubling up improved the economic well-being of adults who joined households with others by comparing official poverty status with constructed measures of poverty status based on personal (or subfamily) income as well as the combined income of household members.[17] Throughout this paper we use the terms official poverty and family poverty interchangeably. Table 8 compares family, personal and household poverty rates and median income[18] for householders and adults by doubled-up status, while the reported change from 2008 to 2010 describes the economic effect of the recession.

In both 2008 and 2010, family and household poverty rates for doubled-up householders were lower than for non-doubled-up householders. However, personal poverty tells a different story, with higher rates for doubled-up householders (4.9 percentage points higher in 2008; 6.9 percentage points higher in 2010). The difference between family poverty rates and personal poverty rates was also greater for doubled-up householders than for those not doubled up in both 2008 and in 2010. For example, the gap between personal poverty rates and family poverty rates was 6.7 percentage points for doubled-up householders and -0.4 percentage points for those not doubled up in 2008. The same was true in 2010. Personal poverty rates for doubled-up householders were 7.0 percentage points higher than family poverty rates and personal poverty rates for non-doubled-up householders were 0.7 percentage points lower than family poverty rates in 2010. The gap between personal and family level poverty among the two groups is consistent with the conclusion that doubling up lessened the effect of economic strain on doubled-up householders compared to those not doubled up.

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[17] The official poverty measure assigns the poverty status of the primary family to any related subfamilies in the household. We assign the "personal poverty status" to individuals in related subfamilies based on the subfamily's own income. We also assign "personal poverty status" based on subfamily income for individuals who are members of unrelated subfamilies. For persons who are not part of a subfamily, we assign "personal poverty status" based on their own total personal income and the poverty threshold for a single individual. In addition, we assign "household poverty status" by comparing the total income for all household members to the official poverty threshold for a given household size and configuration based on the number of persons in the household, the number of children under 18 years in the household and the age of the householder.

[18] In Table 8, median personal income is based on each adult's total personal income.

Family and personal poverty rates increased more over the course of the recession among doubled-up householders than among those not doubled up. Between 2008 and 2010, personal poverty increased by 2.5 percentage points for doubled-up householders; in contrast, the change in personal poverty among non-doubled-up householders was not significant. The increase in household poverty rates between 2008 and 2010 did not differ significantly for doubled-up and non-doubled-up householders.

Similar results are observed for median income. In 2008 and 2010 median family and median household income were substantially higher for doubled-up householders compared to non-doubled-up householders. However, median personal income is lower among doubled-up householders. Despite having lower personal income in 2008, median personal income fell a greater amount for doubled-up householders (-$3,416) than for householders who were not doubled-up (-$1,406) from 2008 to 2010. Household income for doubled-up household fell almost $5,000 since the start of the recession compared to $1,600 for non-doubled-up household. Nonetheless, median household income for doubled-up household ($62,547) was still greater than for those not doubled up ($45,000) in 2010, a result consistent with a pooled resource strategy for economic well-being.

For extra adults and non-extra adults (i.e. householders, their spouses or cohabiting partners), doubling up had an impact on poverty and income. For extra adults, although household poverty rates do not significantly differ from poverty rates for non-extra adults in 2008 and 2010, family and personal poverty rates are greater. The difference between personal poverty rates and family poverty rates is also larger for extra adults than for their counterparts. These results were consistent for extra adults aged 18 years and older and extra adults aged 25 years and older.

Family and personal poverty rates increased to a greater extent over the course of the recession for extra adults than for other adults (i.e. householders, spouses or their cohabiting partners).[19] For example, among extra adults ages 25 years and older, the personal poverty rate increased 4.3 percentage

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[19] Household poverty rates increased more for extra adults aged 18 years and older than for their counterparts who were householders, spouses, or cohabiting partners. However, changes in household poverty rates between 2008 and 2010 were not significantly different for extra adults and householders, spouses or cohabiting partners aged 25 years and over.

points between 2008 and 2010, compared to an increase of 0.8 percentage points for other adults. However, the decline in median personal income between 2008 and 2010 was not significantly different for extra adults compared to householders, their spouses and cohabiting partners.

Comparing the number of extra adults with household incomes below household poverty (8.5 percent in 2008; 10.6 percent in 2010) to the number of extra adults with incomes below personal poverty (48.9 percent in 2008; 53.7 percent in 2010) suggests that doubling up reduced the number of extra adults aged 18 and older in "poverty" by 17.3 million in 2008 and in 19.8 million 2010 and reduced the number of extra adults aged 25 and older in "poverty" by 6.5 million in 2008 and 7.5 million in 2010.

Discussion

In this paper, we present estimates of the number and percent of doubled-up households, doubled-up adults and extra adults and we examine the extent to which doubling up has changed since the recession began in December 2007. We find an increase in the number and percent of doubled-up households. We also find an increase in the number and percent of all adults who lived in doubled-up households as well the subpopulation of extra adults (non-householders and non-spouses/partners) who reside in doubled-up households. Moreover, increases in doubled-up households and their adult residents significantly outpaced increases in the number of households and adults overall.

Consistent with media reports of a rise in the number of young adults who live with parents, we find an increase in the number of adult children of householders. However, since the start of the recession, the number of parents, siblings and other relatives doubling up with family members also increased as did the number of nonrelatives doubling up.

Younger adults (aged 18-34) were more likely to be an extra adult in someone's household (a non-householder and not a spouse/partner) and were more likely to be residents of doubled-up households overall. This was true in both 2008 and 2010 – the Great Recession did not result in dramatic change in the composition of the doubled up population.

We also find doubled-up householders and doubled-up adults to be more disadvantaged than their counterparts. Less educated adults and those with personal incomes below poverty had greater odds of being doubled up or heading a doubled-up household. Further, our results suggest that economic strain was greater for the doubled up throughout the recession. Among householders, being unemployed or not in the labor force increased the odds of being doubled up in 2010 relative to 2008 compared to the employed, suggesting that economically vulnerable householders may seek the resources of additional family members by opening up their homes to others. Additionally, not being in the labor force (though not unemployment) increased the odds of being doubled up or being an extra adult (for those ages 25 years and older) in 2010 relative to 2008. Losing a job may not immediately affect one's living arrangements. Instead, it is likely that unemployment may only affect doubling up after unemployment compensation, savings and other sources of assistance are exhausted, or after the long-term unemployed become discouraged from labor force participation because of the weak labor market.

Finally, our analysis reveals that the official poverty rate masks higher personal poverty rates among all householders and adults but the gap between these rates was larger for the doubled up. Median personal income was lower and personal poverty rates were higher for doubled-up adults than for those not doubled up. Consistent with our assertion that doubling up is a strategy to pool economic resources, when combined household resources are taken into account, the situation improves as sharing a household reduces family poverty and household poverty for doubled-up adults, relative to their personal poverty rates. We do caution that though adults in doubled-up households share their living quarters, we cannot determine the extent to which they share other resources or basic living expenses such as food and utilities. As such, our results with respect to household poverty should be interpreted with care.

The analytical approach presented here has several limitations. The CPS ASEC is an annual survey, but is not conducted on a longitudinal sample. From this cross-sectional analysis, we cannot determine whether the onset of the recession caused the observed increase in doubled-up households, and this analysis also focuses on changes in doubling up only during the most recent recession. However, in another paper we investigate changes in doubling up over the last two decades to determine whether the

observed increase is consistent with the historical trend and whether macroeconomic factors (including unemployment rates and housing market conditions) explain the trend in doubling up over the past two decades. Finally, the divergence in Figure 1 in the percent change in doubled-up households and the percent change in total households since the beginning of the most recent recession reflects a different pattern than the past two decades and warrants additional investigation.

In this analysis, we consider all adults, including young adults aged 18 to 24 years, in defining doubling up. Yet, many would expect that young adults of college age to reside with their parents and would not define young adult children of householders who have not completed their schooling as doubled up. Indeed, research suggests that the transition to adulthood is lengthening, and that the age of homeleaving is increasing. Furthermore, our focus on the recession may obscure the longer time-trend in delayed homeleaving. However, as mentioned above, we control for school enrollment in our models, and the results of our sensitivity checks (limiting extra adults to: (1) adults ages 25 years and older; or (2) adults who were not enrolled in school) were not substantively different from those for all adults aged 18 years and older. Moreover, restricting the sample to adults 25 years and older, the percent of doubled-up adults increased by 1.8 percentage points over the course of the recession and the number of extra adults aged 25 years and older increased by 1.7 million.

Although our analysis does not enable us to determine the direction of support, our results provide evidence that doubling up is a strategy employed by less advantaged individuals and householders to handle economic uncertainty and to make ends meet during times of economic strain. The current recession contributed to the observed increase in doubled-up households and we found doubling up to be consistent with household level economic well-being.

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Figure 1: Percent Change in Total Households and Percent Change in Doubled-up households, 1988-2010
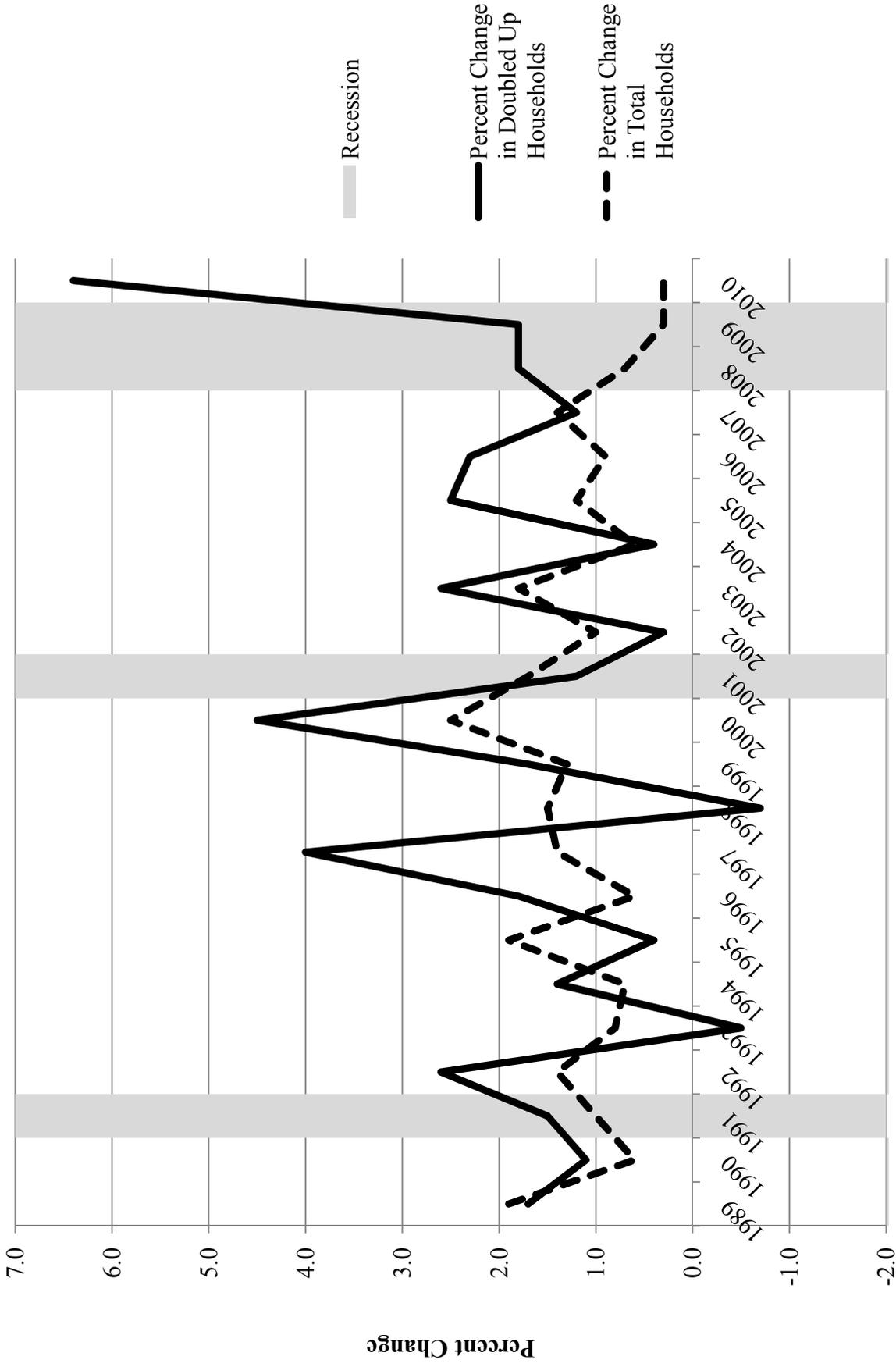
Note: Excludes group quarters population; Cohabiting households are defined as "doubled up" in Figure 1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 1988-2010

Table 1: Doubled Up Status of Households and Persons. 2008 and 2010

Numbers in thousands	2008				2010				Difference 2010 - 2008			
	Number	S.E.	Percent	S.E.	Number	S.E.	Percent	S.E.	Number	SE	Percent	SE
Total households	116,783	291	100.0	---	117,538	300	100.0	---	755	418	---	---
Doubled-up households	26,139	178	22.4	0.2	28,357	190	24.1	0.2	2,218*	260	1.7*	0.4
Not doubled-up households	90,645	354	77.6	0.2	89,181	380	75.9	0.2	-1,464*	520	-1.7*	0.4
Adult (18 years or more)	224,548	109	100.0	---	229,120	106	100.0	---	4,572*	152	---	---
In Doubled-up households	82,058	530	36.5	0.2	88,506	545	38.6	0.2	6,448*	761	2.1*	0.3
Householder	25,947	178	11.6	0.1	28,171	191	12.3	0.1	2,224*	261	0.7*	0.1
Spouse	12,382	135	5.5	0.1	13,215	140	5.8	0.1	833*	194	0.3*	0.1
Cohabiting partner	869	43	0.4	0.0	1,135	45	0.5	0.0	266*	62	0.1*	0.0
Extra adult	42,859	403	19.1	0.2	45,984	404	20.1	0.2	3,125*	571	1.0*	0.2
Child of householder	24,129	284	10.7	0.1	25,286	286	11.0	0.1	1,157*	402	0.3	0.2
Relative of householder (except child of householder)	12,208	248	5.4	0.1	13,382	231	5.8	0.1	1,174*	339	0.4*	0.1
Parent of householder	4,053	129	1.8	0.1	4,507	119	2.0	0.1	454*	175	0.2*	0.1
Other relative of householder	8,156	168	3.6	0.1	8,876	166	3.9	0.1	720*	236	0.3*	0.1
Non-relative of householder	6,521	189	3.0	0.1	7,315	210	3.3	0.1	794*	282	0.3*	0.1
Not in doubled-up households	142,491	508	63.5	0.2	140,614	528	61.4	0.2	-1,877*	733	-2.1*	0.3
Householder	90,631	354	40.4	0.2	89,160	380	38.9	0.2	-1,471*	519	-1.5*	0.2
Spouse	45,981	244	20.5	0.1	45,181	237	19.7	0.1	-800*	340	-0.8*	0.2
Cohabiting partner	5,879	120	2.6	0.1	6,273	106	2.7	0.0	394*	160	0.1	0.1
Child (0-17 years)	74,387	88	100.0	---	75,011	88	100.0	---	624*	124	---	---
In Doubled-up households	17,419	238	23.4	0.3	19,580	271	26.1	0.4	2,161*	361	2.7*	0.5
Not in doubled-up households	56,968	263	76.6	0.3	55,431	287	73.9	0.4	-1,537*	389	-2.7*	0.5

Note: * Estimate is significant at the 95-percent confidence level.

Details may not sum to totals due to rounding

For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, non-sampling error, and definitions see <www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar10.pdf> and

<http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar08.pdf>.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 2008 and 2010

Table 2: Characteristics of Households, by Doubled Up Status, CPS ASEC 2008 & 2010

Percent reported unless otherwise specified	2008 Doubled Up	SE	2008 Not Doubled Up	SE	2010 Doubled Up	SE	2010 Not Doubled Up	SE	2008-2010 Change in Doubled Up +/-%	SE
TOTAL (in 1,000s)	26,139	178	90,645	354	28,357	190	89,181	380	2,218*	260
Household Characteristics										
Household type										
Married family household	47.4	0.4	50.7	0.3	46.6	0.4	50.7	0.3	-0.7	0.6
Cohabiting household	3.2	0.2	6.4	0.1	4.0	0.2	7.0	0.1	0.8*	0.2
Unmarried family household	39.5	0.4	7.3	0.1	39.4	0.4	7.1	0.1	-0.1	0.6
Nonfamily household	9.9	0.3	35.6	0.3	9.9	0.3	35.2	0.3	0.1	0.4
Region										
Northeast	20.1	0.3	17.8	0.1	19.5	0.3	17.9	0.2	-0.6	0.4
Midwest	19.9	0.3	23.3	0.2	20.1	0.3	23.2	0.2	0.2	0.4
South	35.7	0.3	37.2	0.2	36.2	0.3	37.4	0.2	0.4	0.5
West	24.3	0.3	21.8	0.2	24.2	0.3	21.5	0.2	-0.1	0.4
Household tenure										
Owned	70.0	0.4	67.3	0.3	68.3	0.4	66.6	0.4	-1.7*	0.6
Rent/No cash rent	30.0	0.4	32.7	0.3	31.7	0.4	33.4	0.4	1.7*	0.6
Demographic Characteristics										
Age										
Less than 18 years	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.0	-0.1	0.1
18 to 24 years	7.5	0.3	4.8	0.1	7.9	0.2	4.4	0.1	0.4	0.3
25 to 34 years	10.2	0.3	18.3	0.1	10.8	0.3	18.2	0.2	0.6	0.4
35 to 64 years	67.5	0.5	54.3	0.2	66.3	0.4	53.8	0.2	-1.3*	0.6
65 years and older	14.0	0.3	22.6	0.2	14.4	0.3	23.8	0.2	0.4	0.4
Sex										
Male	48.8	0.4	51.3	0.2	48.1	0.4	51.6	0.3	-0.8	0.6
Female	51.2	0.4	48.7	0.2	51.9	0.4	48.4	0.3	0.8	0.6
Race										
White Nonhispanic	60.9	0.4	73.7	0.2	60.2	0.3	74.1	0.2	-0.7	0.5
Black Nonhispanic	14.3	0.2	11.4	0.1	14.4	0.2	11.5	0.2	0.1	0.3
Hispanic	17.3	0.3	9.7	0.1	18.0	0.2	9.2	0.1	0.7*	0.3
Other	7.4	0.2	5.1	0.1	7.4	0.2	5.2	0.1	0.0	0.2
Nativity										
Born in U.S.	80.3	0.3	88.4	0.1	80.4	0.3	88.9	0.1	0.1	0.4
Foreign-born	19.7	0.3	11.6	0.1	18.6	0.3	11.1	0.1	-1.1*	0.4
Marital status										
Married	49.6	0.4	52.2	0.3	48.7	0.4	52.1	0.3	-1.0	0.6
Separate/Divorce/Widow	28.0	0.4	28.6	0.2	28.1	0.4	28.1	0.2	0.1	0.6
Never married	22.4	0.4	19.2	0.2	23.3	0.4	19.8	0.2	0.9	0.6
Educational attainment										
Less than high school	16.7	0.3	12.1	0.2	16.4	0.3	11.0	0.1	-0.3	0.5
High school graduate	30.1	0.4	29.2	0.2	31.3	0.4	29.0	0.3	1.2*	0.6
Some college	28.6	0.4	27.7	0.2	28.3	0.4	27.9	0.2	-0.4	0.6
Bachelor's degree+	24.6	0.4	31.0	0.3	24.1	0.4	32.2	0.3	-0.5	0.6
Work status										
Employed	68.4	0.4	63.0	0.2	63.1	0.4	59.7	0.2	-5.3*	0.6
Unemployed	3.5	0.2	2.9	0.1	7.0	0.2	5.7	0.1	3.5*	0.3
Not in labor force	28.1	0.4	34.1	0.2	29.9	0.4	34.7	0.2	1.8*	0.6
Below personal poverty	17.2	0.3	12.3	0.2	19.7	0.4	12.8	0.2	1.6*	0.4

Note: * Estimate is significant at the 95-percent confidence level.
For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions see
<www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar10.pdf> and <http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar08.pdf>.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 2008 and 2010

Table 3: Characteristics of Adults, by Doubled Up Status, CPS ASEC 2008 & 2010

Percent reported, unless otherwise specified	2008 Doubled Up	SE	Not Doubled Up	SE	2010 Doubled Up	SE	Not Doubled Up	SE	2008-2010 Change +/- %	SE
TOTAL (in 1,000s)	82,058	530	142,491	508	88,506	545	140,614	528	6,448*	761
<u>Household Characteristics</u>										
Household type										
Married family household	54.3	0.5	64.5	0.2	53.8	0.4	64.3	0.3	-0.5	0.6
Cohabiting household	3.7	0.2	8.2	0.2	4.6	0.2	8.9	0.1	0.9*	0.3
Unmarried family household	33.5	0.4	4.7	0.1	33.4	0.4	4.5	0.1	-0.1	0.6
Nonfamily household	8.5	0.3	22.6	0.2	8.3	0.3	22.3	0.2	-0.2	0.4
Region										
Northeast	20.5	0.3	17.4	0.1	19.6	0.3	17.6	0.2	-0.9*	0.4
Midwest	19.4	0.3	23.4	0.2	19.6	0.3	23.2	0.2	0.2	0.4
South	35.1	0.3	37.3	0.2	35.4	0.3	37.5	0.2	0.3	0.4
West	25.0	0.3	22.0	0.2	25.3	0.3	21.8	0.2	0.4	0.4
Household tenure										
Owned	71.8	0.4	71.5	0.3	69.6	0.4	70.5	0.3	-2.2*	0.6
Rent/No cash rent	28.2	0.4	28.5	0.3	30.4	0.4	29.5	0.3	2.2*	0.6
<u>Individual Characteristics</u>										
Age										
18 to 24 years	26.2	0.2	4.8	0.1	26.3	0.2	4.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
25 to 34 years	15.4	0.2	19.3	0.1	16.0	0.2	19.2	0.1	0.5	0.3
35 to 64 years	48.7	0.2	55.7	0.1	48.1	0.3	55.2	0.2	-0.6	0.4
65 years and older	9.7	0.2	20.2	0.1	9.6	0.2	21.4	0.1	0.0	0.3
Sex										
Male	51.2	0.2	46.9	0.1	50.7	0.2	47.1	0.1	-0.5*	0.3
Female	48.8	0.2	53.1	0.1	49.3	0.2	52.9	0.1	0.5*	0.3
Race										
White Nonhispanic	58.8	0.3	74.6	0.2	57.4	0.3	75.0	0.2	-1.4*	0.4
Black Nonhispanic	13.9	0.2	9.9	0.1	13.9	0.2	9.9	0.1	0.1	0.3
Hispanic	19.2	0.2	10.2	0.1	20.7	0.2	9.6	0.1	1.5*	0.3
Other	8.2	0.2	5.3	0.1	8.0	0.2	5.5	0.1	-0.2	0.2
Nativity										
Born in U.S.	80.1	0.3	87.4	0.1	80.0	0.3	87.8	0.1	-0.1	0.4
Foreign-born	19.9	0.3	12.6	0.1	20.0	0.3	12.2	0.1	0.1	0.4
Marital status										
Married	36.8	0.3	65.5	0.3	36.6	0.3	65.2	0.2	-0.2	0.4
Separate/Divorce/Widow	18.0	0.3	19.6	0.2	18.3	0.3	19.4	0.2	0.3	0.4
Never married	45.2	0.3	14.8	0.2	45.2	0.2	15.3	0.2	-0.1	0.4
Enrolled in school	14.1	0.2	1.1	0.0	14.2	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.2
Educational attainment										
Less than high school	19.1	0.3	11.5	0.2	19.1	0.2	10.3	0.1	0.1	0.4
High school graduate	32.3	0.3	30.1	0.2	33.0	0.3	29.8	0.2	0.6	0.4
Some college	29.8	0.3	26.9	0.2	29.1	0.3	27.2	0.2	-0.7	0.4
Bachelor's degree+	18.8	0.3	31.6	0.3	18.8	0.3	32.6	0.2	0.0	0.4
Work status										
Employed	63.8	0.3	64.1	0.2	58.3	0.3	61.0	0.2	-5.5*	0.4
Unemployed	4.8	0.1	2.7	0.1	8.7	0.2	5.4	0.1	4.0*	0.2
Not in labor force	31.5	0.3	33.2	0.2	33.0	0.3	33.7	0.2	1.6*	0.4
Below personal poverty	31.3	0.2	8.7	0.2	34.7	0.3	9.3	0.1	3.4*	0.4

Note: * Estimate is significant at the 95-percent confidence level.
For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions see
<www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar10.pdf> and <http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar08.pdf>.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 2008 and 2010

Table 4: Characteristics of Adults, by Extra Adult Status, CPS ASEC 2008 & 2010

Percent reported, unless otherwise specified	2008 Extra Adults	SE	2008 Householders, Spouses or Cohabiting Partners	SE	2010 Extra Adults	SE	2010 Householders, Spouses or Cohabiting Partner	SE	2008-2010 Change +/-%	SE
TOTAL (in 1,000s)	42,859	403	181,689	397	45,984	404	183,136	403	3,125*	571
Household type										
Married family household	46.3	0.6	64.2	0.2	46.1	0.5	63.8	0.2	-0.2	0.7
Cohabiting household	3.1	0.2	7.4	0.1	3.8	0.2	8.1	0.1	0.8*	0.2
Unmarried family HH	40.4	0.5	9.2	0.1	40.3	0.5	9.5	0.1	-0.2	0.7
Nonfamily household	10.2	0.4	19.2	0.2	9.8	0.4	18.7	0.2	-0.4	0.5
Region										
Northeast	20.6	0.3	18.0	0.1	19.6	0.3	18.1	0.1	-1.0*	0.4
Midwest	18.8	0.3	22.7	0.1	18.9	0.3	22.5	0.1	0.1	0.4
South	35.1	0.3	36.8	0.1	35.5	0.4	37.0	0.1	0.3	0.5
West	25.5	0.3	22.5	0.1	26.1	0.3	22.4	0.1	0.6	0.5
Household tenure										
Owned	69.2	0.5	72.2	0.2	66.8	0.5	71.0	0.3	-2.4*	0.7
Rent/No cash rent	30.8	0.5	27.8	0.2	33.2	0.5	29.0	0.3	2.4*	0.7
Age										
18 to 24 years	45.0	0.4	5.0	0.1	45.1	0.4	4.7	0.1	0.1	0.6
25 to 34 years	21.5	0.4	17.0	0.1	21.9	0.4	16.9	0.1	0.4	0.5
35 to 64 years	26.2	0.5	59.5	0.1	26.1	0.5	59.1	0.1	-0.1	0.7
65 years and older	7.4	0.3	18.5	0.1	6.9	0.3	19.3	0.1	-0.5	0.5
Sex										
Male	56.7	0.3	46.5	0.1	55.3	0.4	46.8	0.1	-1.4*	0.5
Female	43.3	0.3	53.5	0.1	44.7	0.4	53.2	0.1	1.4*	0.5
Race										
White Nonhispanic	55.3	0.4	72.0	0.1	53.3	0.4	71.9	0.1	-2.0*	0.6
Black Nonhispanic	15.3	0.3	10.4	0.1	15.1	0.3	10.5	0.1	-0.1	0.4
Hispanic	20.9	0.3	11.7	0.1	23.2	0.3	11.6	0.1	2.3*	0.4
Other	8.6	0.2	5.9	0.1	8.4	0.2	6.0	0.1	-0.2	0.3
Nativity										
Born in U.S.	81.0	0.3	85.6	0.1	80.9	0.3	85.8	0.1	0.0	0.5
Foreign-born	19.0	0.3	14.4	0.1	19.1	0.3	14.2	0.1	0.0	0.5
Marital status										
Married	11.2	0.3	65.4	0.2	11.6	0.3	64.8	0.2	0.4	0.4
Separate/Divorce/Widow	16.6	0.4	19.6	0.2	16.7	0.4	19.6	0.2	0.2	0.5
Never married	72.2	0.4	15.0	0.2	71.7	0.4	15.6	0.2	-0.6	0.6
Enrolled in school	25.1	0.3	1.3	0.0	25.1	0.4	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.5
Educational attainment										
Less than high school	22.2	0.3	12.4	0.1	22.3	0.3	11.6	0.1	0.1	0.5
High school graduate	33.1	0.4	30.4	0.2	33.4	0.4	30.4	0.2	0.4	0.6
Some college	31.5	0.4	27.1	0.2	30.8	0.4	27.2	0.2	-0.7	0.6
Bachelor's degree+	13.2	0.3	30.1	0.2	13.4	0.3	30.8	0.2	0.2	0.4
Work status										
Employed	58.2	0.4	65.3	0.1	51.7	0.4	62.0	0.2	-6.4*	0.6
Unemployed	6.3	0.2	2.8	0.1	10.8	0.2	5.6	0.1	4.5*	0.3
Not in labor force	35.6	0.4	31.9	0.1	37.5	0.4	32.4	0.2	1.9*	0.6
Below personal poverty	48.9	0.4	9.4	0.1	53.7	0.4	10.4	0.1	1.0*	0.6

Note: * Estimate is significant at the 95-percent confidence level.

For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions see
<www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar10.pdf> and <http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar08.pdf>.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 2008 and 2010

Table 5: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Doubled Up Status of Households, CPS ASEC 2008-2010

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	OR	S.E.	OR	S.E.	OR	S.E.
Year (*0 = 2008; 1 = 2010*)	1.103**	0.013	1.120**	0.014	1.124**	0.033
HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS						
Household Type (*Married family householder*)						
Cohabiting householder			0.578**	0.079	0.577**	0.079
Unmarried family householder			7.224**	0.069	7.237**	0.069
Nonfamily householder			0.358**	0.074	0.358**	0.074
Rented home			0.716**	0.021	0.715**	0.021
Total household income (*in 1000$*)			1.004**	0.000	1.004**	0.000
Region (*Northeast*)						
Midwest			0.836**	0.027	0.836**	0.027
South			0.854**	0.023	0.854**	0.023
West			0.969	0.027	0.968	0.027
HOUSEHOLDER CHARACTERISTICS						
Demographic Characteristics						
Age (*35 to 64 years*)						
Less than 18 years			4.160**	0.239	5.972**	0.340
18 to 24 years			1.299**	0.046	1.199**	0.068
25 to 34 years			0.368**	0.029	0.345**	0.043
65 years or more			0.682**	0.025	0.719**	0.034
Female			0.836**	0.017	0.836**	0.017
Race/ethnicity (*White Non-Hispanic*)						
Black Non-Hispanic			1.011	0.027	1.012	0.028
Hispanic			1.462**	0.031	1.464**	0.031
Other race/ethnicity			1.338**	0.038	1.339**	0.038
Not born in US			1.600**	0.025	1.602**	0.025
Marital status (*Married*)						
Widowed/separated/divorced			0.909	0.067	0.909	0.067
Never married			1.535**	0.070	1.535**	0.070
Socioeconomic Characteristics						
Educational attainment (*High school graduate*)						
Less than high school			1.201**	0.025	1.192**	0.037
Some college			0.923**	0.022	0.963	0.027
Bachelor's degree or more			0.627**	0.027	0.663**	0.036
Labor force status (*Employed*)						
Unemployed			0.977	0.037	0.858*	0.068
Not in labor force			0.963	0.024	0.912**	0.031
Personal/subfamily income below poverty			1.252**	0.030	1.249**	0.030
Interaction Effects						
Age*Year						
Less than 18 years*Year					0.508	0.431
18 to 24 years*Year					1.178	0.089
25 to 34 years*Year					1.138*	0.054
65 years or more*Year					0.905*	0.047
Educational attainment*Year						
Less than high school*Year					1.020	0.055
Some college*Year					0.919*	0.038
Bachelor's degree or more*Year					0.899*	0.047
Employment status*Year						
Unemployed*Year					1.214*	0.082
Not in labor force*Year					1.112*	0.039

Note: * *p* <0.05; ** *p*<0.01

For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions see
<www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar10.pdf> and <http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar08.pdf>.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 2008 and 2010

Table 6: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Doubled Up Status of Adults, CPS ASEC 2008-2010

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	OR	S.E.	OR	S.E.	OR	S.E.
Year (*0 = 2008; 1 = 2010*)	1.093**	0.013	1.106**	0.015	0.912	0.065
Household Type (*Married family householder*)						
Cohabiting householder			0.062**	0.050	0.056**	0.075
Unmarried family householder			1.658**	0.037	1.667**	0.050
Nonfamily householder			0.062**	0.047	0.059**	0.066
Region (*Northeast*)						
Midwest			0.785**	0.029	0.785**	0.029
South			0.808**	0.025	0.808**	0.025
West			0.953	0.028	0.953	0.028
Age (*35 to 64 years*)						
18 to 24 years			1.324**	0.030	1.208**	0.043
25 to 34 years			0.505**	0.023	0.479**	0.033
65 years or more			0.605**	0.022	0.644**	0.031
Female			0.760**	0.009	0.747**	0.013
Race/ethnicity (*White Non-Hispanic*)						
Black Non-Hispanic			0.910*	0.030	0.910*	0.030
Hispanic			1.475**	0.029	1.475**	0.029
Other race/ethnicity			1.385**	0.033	1.384**	0.033
Not born in US			1.607**	0.024	1.609**	0.024
Enrolled in school			2.693**	0.049	2.685**	0.049
Marital status (*Never married*)						
Married			0.062**	0.037	0.057**	0.052
Widowed/separated/divorced			0.364**	0.028	0.324**	0.039
Educational attainment (*High school graduate*)						
Less than high school			1.142**	0.020	1.104**	0.030
Some college			0.837**	0.017	0.871**	0.022
Bachelor's degree or more			0.685**	0.019	0.702**	0.027
Labor force status (*Employed*)						
Unemployed			0.949	0.027	0.905	0.055
Not in labor force			0.844**	0.018	0.814**	0.025
Personal/subfamily income below poverty			1.920**	0.025	1.916**	0.025
Household Type*Year						
Cohabiting household					1.217*	0.095
Unmarried family household					0.992	0.060
Nonfamily household					1.035	0.079
Age*Year						
18 to 24 years*Year					1.205**	0.059
25 to 34 years*Year					1.106*	0.043
65 years or more*Year					0.889*	0.042
Sex*Year					1.036*	0.018
Marital status*Year						
Married					1.182*	0.062
Widowed/separated/divorced					1.254**	0.048
Educational attainment*Year						
Less than high school*Year					1.073*	0.043
Some college*Year					0.923**	0.031
Bachelor's degree or more*Year					0.954	0.040
Employment status*Year						
Unemployed*Year					1.075	0.065
Not in labor force*Year					1.074*	0.032

Note: * *p* <0.05; ** *p*<0.01

For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions see

<www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar10.pdf> and <http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar08.pdf>.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 2008 and 2010

Table 7: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Extra Adult Status, CPS ASEC 2008-2010

Reference category in italics	Ages 18 and older (n = 453,668)		Ages 25 and older (n = 396,015)	
	OR	S.E.	OR	S.E.
Model 1				
Year (*0 = 2008; 1 = 2010*)	1.064**	0.015	1.059*	0.024
Model 3				
Year (*0 = 2008; 1 = 2010*)	0.816*	0.090	0.825	0.111
Household Type (*Married family householder*)				
Cohabiting householder	0.031**	0.083	0.040**	0.106
Unmarried family householder	0.706**	0.071	1.224**	0.090
Nonfamily householder	0.060**	0.078	0.094**	0.100
Region (*Northeast*)				
Midwest	0.816**	0.027	0.810**	0.030
South	0.925**	0.023	0.976	0.025
West	1.099**	0.027	1.146**	0.029
Age (*35 to 64 years*)				
18 to 24 years	3.713**	0.053	---	---
25 to 34 years	1.789**	0.043	1.814**	0.043
65 years or more	1.092	0.062	1.172**	0.061
Female	0.446**	0.029	0.393**	0.036
Race/ethnicity (*White Non-Hispanic*)				
Black Non-Hispanic	0.747**	0.034	0.807**	0.040
Hispanic	1.262**	0.032	1.363**	0.037
Other race/ethnicity	1.388**	0.031	1.554**	0.033
Not born in US	1.871**	0.026	1.934**	0.029
Enrolled in school	2.189**	0.061	---	---
Marital status (*Never married*)				
Married	0.017**	0.086	0.020**	0.101
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	0.360**	0.038	0.355**	0.040
Educational attainment (*High school graduate*)				
Less than high school	1.017	0.026	1.023	0.031
Some college	0.683**	0.021	0.651**	0.025
Bachelor's degree or more	0.647**	0.026	0.616**	0.028
Labor force status (*Employed*)				
Unemployed	0.979	0.062	1.104	0.077
Not in labor force	0.994	0.036	0.992	0.041
Personal/subfamily income below poverty	2.459**	0.025	1.996**	0.025
INTERACTION TERMS				
Household Type*Year				
Cohabiting household	1.329*	0.100	1.230	0.135
Unmarried family household	0.964	0.083	0.988	0.109
Nonfamily household	1.109	0.090	1.083	0.119
Age*Year				
18 to 24 years*Year	1.152	0.076	---	---
25 to 34 years*Year	1.038	0.057	1.053	0.057
65 years or more*Year	0.818*	0.084	0.796**	0.082
Sex*Year	1.180**	0.044	1.178**	0.052
Enrolled in School*Year	0.852*	0.079	---	---
Marital status*Year				
Married	1.262*	0.102	1.227	0.123
Widowed/separated/divorced	1.163*	0.051	1.141*	0.054
Employment status*Year				
Unemployed*Year	1.027	0.078	0.929	0.092
Not in labor force*Year	1.090	0.046	1.131*	0.049

Note: * *p* <0.05; ** *p*<0.01

For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions see

<www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar10.pdf> and <http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar08.pdf>.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 2008 and 2010

Table 8: Poverty Status and Income for Householders and Extra Adults, 2008 and 2010

	2008						2010						Percentage Change 2010 - 2008					
	Family Income below Poverty		Personal Income below Poverty		Household Income below Poverty		Family Income below Poverty		Personal Income below Poverty		Household Income below Poverty		Family Income below Poverty		Personal Income below Poverty		Household Income below Poverty	
	%	SE	%	SE	%	SE	%	SE	%	SE	%	SE	+/-	SE	+/-	SE	+/-	SE
Householders																		
Doubled Up	10.5	0.3	17.2	0.3	8.7	0.3	12.7	0.3	19.7	0.4	10.3	0.3	2.2*	0.4	2.5*	0.5	1.6*	0.4
Not Doubled Up	12.7	0.2	12.3	0.2	11.8	0.2	13.5	0.2	12.8	0.2	12.6	0.2	0.8*	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.8*	0.3
Adults																		
Extra Adults																		
Ages 18 Yrs +	12.2	0.3	48.9	0.4	8.5	0.3	15.1	0.4	53.7	0.4	10.6	0.3	2.9*	0.5	4.7*	0.6	2.1*	0.4
Ages 25 Yrs +	11.9	0.4	35.7	0.5	8.3	0.3	14.6	0.4	40.0	0.5	10.1	0.4	2.7*	0.6	4.3*	0.7	1.8*	0.5
Not Extra Adults[A]																		
Ages 18 Yrs +	10.3	0.1	9.4	0.1	9.0	0.1	11.5	0.1	10.4	0.1	10.0	0.1	1.2*	0.2	1.0*	0.2	1.0*	0.2
Ages 25 Yrs +	9.4	0.1	8.7	0.1	8.5	0.1	10.5	0.1	9.5	0.1	9.4	0.1	1.1*	0.2	0.8*	0.2	0.9*	0.2

In 2009 $	2008						2010						Percentage Change 2010 - 2008					
	Median Family Income		Median Personal Income		Median Household Income		Median Family Income		Median Personal Income		Median Household Income		Median Family Income		Median Personal Income		Median Household Income	
	$	SE	$	SE	$	SE	$	SE	$	SE	$	SE	+/-$	SE	+/-$	SE	+/-$	SE
Householders																		
Doubled Up	54,114	589	28,145	344	67,514	474	49,101	510	24,999	242	62,547	580	-5,013*	779	-3,146*	420	-4,967*	749
Not Doubled Up	44,490	309	30,543	263	46,611	182	42,397	255	29,137	215	45,000	211	-2,093*	401	-1,406*	339	-1,611*	279
Adults																		
Extra Adults																		
Ages 18 Yrs +	61,044	528	11,374	161	71,748	426	55,190	484	9,997	104	66,137	462	-5,854*	716	-1,377*	192	-5,611*	629
Ages 25 Yrs +	54,546	701	16,805	325	67,253	606	50,013	344	14,999	164	63,235	701	-4,533*	781	-1,806*	271	-4,018*	927
Not Extra Adults[A]																		
Ages 18 Yrs +	53,796	200	29,280	210	59,104	236	50,955	222	27,759	171	56,527	254	-2,841*	299	-1,521*	364	-2,577*	347
Ages 25 Yrs +	56,436	263	31,035	151	61,206	298	53,006	261	28,999	130	58,216	217	-3,430*	371	-2,036*	200	-2,990*	368

* Indicates a statistically significant difference between 2008 and 2010 at the 95-percent confidence level.

[A] "Not Extra Adults" are defined as householders, and spouses or cohabiting partners of householders.

For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions see <www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar10.pdf> and <http://www.census.gov/apsd/techdoc/cps/cpsmar08.pdf>.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 2008 and 2010