

Spatial Distance between Parents and Adult Children in the United States*

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ABSTRACT

Objective: This brief report presents contemporary national estimates of the spatial distance between residences of parents and adult children in the United States, including distances to nearest and to all such kin.

Background: The most recent national estimates of family spatial proximity come from data for the early 1990s. Moreover, research has rarely assessed full-family spatial clustering.

Method: Data are from the 2013 Panel Study of Income Dynamics on residential locations of adults 25 and older and each of their parents and adult children. Two measures of spatial proximity are estimated: distance to nearest parent or adult child, and the share of adults who have all such kin living nearby. Sociodemographic and geographic differences are examined for both measures.

Results: Among adults with at least one living parent or adult child, a significant majority (75%) have their nearest such kin within 30 miles, while a minority (36%) have all such kin living that close. Spatial proximity differs substantially among sociodemographic groups, with those who are disadvantaged more likely to have kin nearby. In most cases, sociodemographic disparities are much higher when spatial proximity is measured by proximity to all kin instead of nearest kin.

Conclusion: Disparities in having all kin nearby may be a result of family solidarity and also may affect family solidarity. This report sets the stage for new investigations of the spatial dimension of family cohesion.

INTRODUCTION

Families are a significant source of help for child care, coping with physical or cognitive limitations, emotional support, and help with routine tasks (Compton & Pollak, 2014; Houtven & Norton, 2004; McGarry & Schoeni, 1995; Sasso & Johnson, 2002; Sloan, Zhang, & Wang, 2002; Stone, Cafferata, & Sangl, 1987). Close proximity is strongly positively associated with help provided to aging parents and relatives (Joseph & Hallman, 1998; Litwak & Kulis, 1987; Rossi & Rossi, 1990), assistance with household chores (Mulder & van der Meer, 2009), and the frequency of intergenerational contact (Grundy & Shelton, 2001; Hank, 2007; Kalmijn, 2006; Lawton, Silverstein, & Bengtson, 1994; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Spitze & Logan, 1990). Having an adult child living nearby reduces nursing home entry and the use of formal care following a decline in health (Choi, Schoeni, Langa, & Heisler, 2014). Migration decisions are influenced by the location of relatives (Dawkins, 2006; Longino, 2008; Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Spilimbergo & Ubeda, 2004; Spring, Ackert, Crowder, & South, 2017; Zorlu, 2009). Having parents living nearby improves labor market outcomes for both men and women (Coate, 2013; Coate, Krolkowski, & Zabek, 2017; Compton & Pollak, 2014).

This brief report contributes to the literature in several ways. First, we update previous national estimates of family proximity in the United States, the most recent of which use data from the 1990s. We provide contemporary estimates of the proximity to the nearest parent, nearest adult child, nearest parent *or* adult child, and, nearest parent *and* adult child. By examining adults of all ages, this approach contrasts with most previous research that examines proximity of older adults to their children or proximity of younger adults to their parents. Our approach also recognizes that many families have three generations of adults for whom measures of kin proximity should consider relatives both up and down their family tree simultaneously.

Second, we also provide a more holistic view of family proximity by identifying adults who have all of their kin up and down one generation living nearby. Having all such kin nearby may enhance solidarity or potential for family help, for instance if children take turns helping aging parents or each child helps instead of one designated caregiver, or if both own parents and in-laws provide childcare. At the same time, when all family members are concentrated in the same geographic area they share the vulnerabilities of local labor market declines, strained housing markets, and natural disasters. Our attention to the co-location of all family members addresses a major gap in past research (Agree, 2018).

Third, we report differences in these two measures of spatial proximity of kin by five key sociodemographic and geographic factors: education, race, marital status, metropolitan residence, and region. Prior research has found differences in distance to nearest kin by these factors. We determine whether similar differences exist when kin proximity is measured by having all kin up and down a generation living nearby.

Taken together, this report on the contemporary estimates of family proximity sets the stage for future work to examine the causes and effects of spatial proximity of families in the United States.

The next section of this report briefly summarizes past research on intergenerational proximity. Section 3 describes the sample, measures of proximity, and methods. Section 4 reports estimates of proximity and how proximity varies by key sociodemographic characteristics. The last section summarizes major findings, discusses limitations, and considers the implications of the study.

PRIOR STUDIES

Family scholars have a long-standing interest in the proximity of kin and geographic

mobility, which was motivated by debates about nuclear family isolation from extended kin and the effects of industrialization and urbanization on family cohesion (Litwak, 1960a, 1960b; Parsons, 1943). A large literature examines coresidence (Wolf & Soldo, 1988; Costa, 1999; Choi, 2003; Wiemers, Slanchev, McGarry & Hotz., 2017), with a much smaller body of evidence on spatial distance beyond shared housing. Previous national estimates indicated that among older parents 60-75% lived with or close to (i.e., within 25 miles or 30 minutes of) their nearest child (Crimmins & Ingegneri, 1990; Hoyert, 1991; Shanas, 1984), and very few had their nearest child living more than several hundred miles away (Lin & Rogerson, 1995). Between the early 1960s and early 1980s, the percentages living near but not with a child rose while coresidence declined (Shanas, 1982). Coresidence has increased in the recent period (Kahn, Goldscheider, & García-Manglano, 2013).

From the adult child's perspective, data from the early 1990s indicated that most lived fairly close to their parents. The median distance to mother was just 8 miles, 5 miles, and 20 miles for unmarried women, unmarried men, and married couples, respectively (Compton & Pollak, 2015). At the same time, for these three groups, one-quarter were more than 150 miles, 67 miles, and 300 miles from their mothers, respectively. Co-residence of young adults with their parents declined from 1930-1970, but has been increasing since then (Glick & Lin, 1986; Goldscheider & DaVanzo, 1989, 1985; Matsudaira, 2016), particularly for young adults in their 20s. By 2011, 22.7% of men and 18.3% of women age 28 were living with parents (Matsudaira, 2016).

U.S. family scholars have paid little attention to the geographic dispersion of all members of a family since the 1960s. Adams' (1968) influential study of *Kinship in an Urban Setting* examined the percentages of total kin (parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins) living nearby for White married couples in Greensboro, North Carolina. Klatzky (1972) used

data from a 1965 national sample to describe the geographic distance of married men to other male kin, and examined how the proximity of other kin was associated with contact with fathers or other family members. Although these early U.S. studies set the stage for recent research that examines the effects of the location of kin on residential mobility, few studies even approached the question of the geographic dispersion of parents and adult children holistically. Dykstra et al. (2006) described average distances between types of kin (a parent, sibling, offspring) for a sample of adults in the Netherlands, but they have information about only one parent (offspring). Konrad et al. (2002) used German data to describe the relative proximity to middle-aged and older parents of first- and second-born children in two-child families to examine whether older siblings strategically move farther away from parents to limit caregiving for parents in older age. Compton and Pollak (2015) described the distance of married couples to the husband's and wife's mother. But, to our knowledge, there are no U.S. datasets other than the 2013 PSID that includes information about all parents, parents-in-law, and adult children for a representative sample of adults. This report provides unique, contemporary information about the prevalence of family members' co-location, that is, how common it is to have all family members nearby.

Prior studies of the United States and other countries that examined proximity beyond coresidence found that adults with lower education were more likely to live close to their parents and other family members (Chan & Ermisch, 2015a, 2015b; Choi, Schoeni, Langa, & Heisler, 2015; Clark & Wolf, 1992; Compton & Pollak, 2015; Garasky, 2002; Kalmijn, 2006; Lauterbach & Pillemer, 2001; Leopold, Geissler, & Pink, 2012; Malmberg & Pettersson, 2008; Rogerson, Weng, & Lin, 1993). There also were differences in proximity to parents by race, with Blacks living closer to their parents than Whites (Bianchi, McGarry, & Seltzer, 2010; Compton & Pollak, 2015). Compared to unmarried (adult) children, studies found that married children were

less likely to live with their mother, but they were no less likely to live near their mother relative to living farther away (Bianchi et al., 2010; Chan & Ermisch, 2015b; Compton & Pollak, 2015). In general, the less urban a parents' municipality of residence, the farther away parents and children lived from each other (Lee, Dwyer, & Coward, 1990; van der Pers & Mulder, 2013), but adult children in more rural areas lived closer to their parents than adult children who lived in more urban areas (van der Pers & Mulder, 2013). U.S. parents and children live closest to one another in the Northeast (Lin & Rogerson, 1995; Rogerson et al., 1993).

DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

Data and measures

We use the 2013 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) main interview data and the Rosters and Transfers Module data that provide for a national sample of household heads and spouses the locations of each biological and adopted adult child and each biological or adoptive parent (Schoeni, Bianchi, Hotz, Seltzer, & Wiemers, 2015). Because location of kin was collected for both the head and spouse, it includes location for adult stepchildren, stepparents, and parents-in-law associated with current spouses.

The unit of analysis is adults 25 and older (i.e., PSID heads and spouses ages 25 and older). We use the term "spouse" to refer to what PSID calls wife/"wife," where "wife" is a female cohabiting partner who has lived with the PSID head for at least one year. For each adult, we examine proximity to parents, including biological/adoptive parents and spouse's (if present) biological/adoptive parents, and to adult biological/adopted and step children who are ages 25 and older. We include in our sample only adults who have a living relative of the given type (e.g., parent or adult child), which is determined from the 2013 roster of parents and adult children.

Distance from the focal person to each parent and adult child is determined using the data from the Rosters and Transfers Module and the PSID household roster in the main interview. The household roster is used to determine which parents and adult children live in the same household as the focal person. The Rosters and Transfers data include the city/town/village and state of residence of each living parent and adult child, and the core PSID data include the full address of the PSID household. City/town/village and state were used by PSID staff to identify the Census “place” in which PSID households as well as each parent and adult child lived. We use this information to determine whether the parent or adult child lived in the same Census place as the focal person and, if not, the distance in miles between them based on the latitude and longitude of the centroid of the Census place using the great-circle distance formula. The geographical data we use are from the PSID restricted data files.

We examine the following distance categories: living in the same household (“co-resident”); <30 miles or in the same place, but not in the same household (“close”); and ≥ 500 miles within the United States (“very far”). Less than thirty miles was chosen because a number of prior studies used this cutpoint (Compton & Pollak, 2015; Lin & Rogerson, 1995; Rogerson, Weng, & Lin, 1993), and because in most locations 30 miles could be traveled easily for a part-day visit. Few Census places contain two locations where the distance between the locations is more than 30 miles. For example, in 2015 Census places where the sample we analyzed lived, the 75th percentile of the distribution of square miles of the place is 16.8. We chose the cutpoint for “very far” so that a meaningful share of the total sample, roughly 5-10%, is in that category. Results from preliminary analyses including categories of intermediate distance and having a parent living abroad indicated that the three categories we use capture well most subgroup differences.

Methods

We describe the spatial distance between persons 25 and older and their parents, and between persons 25 and older and their adult children based on two measures of proximity. First, we report the distance to the nearest such relative, that is, nearest parent, nearest adult child, and nearest parent or adult child. The second measure indicates the proportion of adults 25 and older who have all of their parents, all their adult children, or all parents and adult children living within a given distance. We restrict the analysis to those with a living relative of the given type.

When we estimate distance to the nearest relative, we include all adults 25 and older who have non-missing location data for themselves and for at least one relative of the specified type (i.e., parents, adult children, or both). When we estimate the proportion of adults who have all relatives living within a given distance, we include only those adults who have non-missing location data for themselves and all relatives of the specified type (i.e., parents, adult children, or both). The less restrictive elimination of missing data for the measure of nearest relative implies slightly different sample sizes between the two measures for a given type of relative. The rate of missing data on locations is low, ranging from 1.3% for adults with a parent or an adult child to 2.7% for adults with at least one parent and at least one child. Among adults with a living parent or adult child, 7.9% have missing data for at least one such relative. All analyses use the PSID cross-sectional individual sample weight for 2013, adjusted for immigration since 1997 (when PSID refreshed its sample for immigration).

We consider adults in their potential dual roles as children to their parents and as parents to their children by estimating spatial proximity to either one's parents or adult children. Accordingly, all measures are provided from the perspective of adult children (i.e., where the focal person is an adult who has a living parent), the perspective of parents (i.e., where the focal person is a parent of an adult child), the perspective of adults who are either children or parents

of adult children (i.e., where the focal person has a living parent or is the parent of an adult child), and the perspective of adults who are both children and parents to adult children (i.e., where the focal person has a living parent and is her/himself the parent of an adult child).

We also consider how distance between family members varies by education, race, marital status, metropolitan status, and region. We distinguish among focal persons who have fewer than 16 years of schooling versus 16 or more years of schooling; non-Hispanic Black versus non-Hispanic White focal persons; and, those who are partnered (i.e., married or cohabitating) versus unpartnered. We also examine whether or not they live in a metropolitan area (central or fringe counties of a metropolitan area of 1 million population or more, or counties in metropolitan areas of over 20,000 population), and whether proximity to family members differs based on which of the four Census Regions the focal person lives in. All of these characteristics are obtained from the main PSID interview.

FAMILY SPATIAL PROXIMITY

Distance to *nearest* parent or adult child

Table 1, Panel A, reports the distance to the nearest relative of a given type. Among adults with a living parent, 5.9% have a parent living with them and 59.8% have their nearest parent living close. Fewer than one in ten (9.2%) have their nearest parent very far away. Among persons with adult children, 19.1% have an adult child living with them, 57.1% have their nearest child living close to them, and 6.6% have their nearest child very far away.

Table 1 here.

Among all adults with a living parent or adult child, 13.2% live with a parent or adult child, and an additional 61.6% have their nearest parent or adult child living close to them. A substantial minority do not have a parent or adult child nearby; the nearest such relative living in

the United States is very far away for 6.8% of adults. For the 21% (estimate not shown in tables) of adults who have at least one living parent and at least one adult child (i.e., there are at least three living adult generations), almost one quarter of them (22.4%) have at least one coresident parent or adult child, another 63.5% have at least one parent or adult child in close proximity, and only 2.8% have their nearest parent or adult child living very far away. Table 1 highlights that having at least one relative within 30 miles (including coresident) is the norm.

Share with all parents and adult children living nearby

A substantial share of adults has all of their parents and adult children living nearby, as shown in Panel B of Table 1. Among individuals who have at least one living parent, 41.7% have all parents either coresident or living close to them, and among individuals who have at least one adult child, 38.6% have all adult children coresident or close to them. Among those with a living parent or adult child, 35.5% have all parents and adult children within 30 miles. But, among three-generation families, this fraction is much lower at 21.2%.

The contrast in estimates of proximity to the nearest relative (Table 1, Panel A) versus all relatives (Table 1, Panel B) suggests a more nuanced pattern of spatial proximity than has been depicted by the common approach of examining just the nearest kin. Although most adults live with or close to a parent or adult child, a much smaller percentage have all of their kin nearby. The contrast between nearest relative and having all relatives spatially concentrated is greatest for three-generation families; among adults who have both a parent and adult child alive, 85.9% have at least one relative living with them or close to them, but just 21.2% have all such relatives within this distance.

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIATION IN PROXIMITY

Table 2 reports differences in proximity by years of schooling, race, and partnership status of

the focal person. Panel A reports the distance to the nearest relative of a given type, and Panel B reports the share of adults with all relatives of a given type living at each distance. Differences across sociodemographic subgroups that are statistically different from each other are denoted by asterisks.

Table 2 here.

Several broad themes emerge from the tabulations in Table 2. There are large differences in family proximity by education. Adults with a college degree or more are significantly less likely to be close or coresident with at least one parent (54.6% vs. 71.5%) and less likely to be close or coresident with at least one adult child (66.1% vs. 79.3%). There is a correspondingly much higher prevalence of living over 500 miles away from all parents (adult children) for college-educated adults.

A standard approach for measuring disparities is the absolute difference relative to a baseline proportion. With respect to education, this would be the difference in the proportion coresident or close among adults with <16 years of schooling and the proportion coresident or close among adults with ≥ 16 years, divided by the latter. Figure 1 shows the percent differences between education subgroups for having the nearest relative and all relatives coresident or close. Education differences are much larger for full-family spatial clustering than for nearest relative. For parents (adult children), less-educated adults are 31% (20%) more likely to live with or close to their nearest parent (adult child) and 54% (45%) more likely to live with or close to all of their parents (adult children). Estimates of educational disparities for individuals in families with three adult generations are especially sensitive to measuring close proximity to the nearest versus all relatives: 14% for nearest versus 132% for all relatives coresident or close.

Figure 1 here.

There are also large race differences in proximity to kin. Relative to non-Hispanic Whites, non-Hispanic Blacks are more likely to coreside (8.4% vs. 4.8%) and more likely to live close to a parent (68.1% vs. 61.5%). Non-Hispanic Blacks also are much more likely to live with adult children, but no more likely to live close (Table 2, Panel A). Having all relatives coreside is rare for both non-Hispanic Blacks and non-Hispanic Whites, but 56.0% (54.6%) of non-Hispanic Blacks have all their parents (all their adult children) coresident or close (Table 2, Panel B). Disparities by race in living close or coresident are much larger when comparing proximity by all versus nearest relative, as shown in Figure 2. For distance to adult children, the former is nearly five times greater, 61.9% versus 12.9%.

Figure 2 here.

Relative to partnered adults, unpartnered adults are four times more likely to live with a parent (13.9% vs. 3.1%), but less likely to live close to (51.0% vs. 62.9%) and more likely to live very far away from their nearest parent (11.8% vs. 8.3%, Table 2, Panel A). Unpartnered adults are much more likely than partnered adults to have all of their parents living nearby (57.0% vs. 36.3%). This is consistent with married people having more parents (because they have in-laws), and having parents and parents-in-law who may not live near each other. Figure 3 shows that differences by marital status are much larger for all versus nearest relative.

Figure 3 here.

Table 3 highlights a generational difference in proximity for individuals living in non-metropolitan areas. Adults in non-metro areas are more likely to have their parents, but less likely to have their adult children coresident or close (Table 3). Only about one-quarter (28.9%) of adults living in a non-metro area have all of their adult children coresident or close but over 40% of those in a metro area are this close to all of their children. Figure 4 indicates that as for

the other socioedemographic characteristics, the contrast by metropolitan status also is larger for all versus nearest relative.

Figure 4 here.

There are large differences in proximity by Census Region of residence. Table 4 shows that adults in the Northeast are more likely to have at least one parent or all parents living with or close to them, compared to adults in the South and the West. This observation also holds for having at least one adult child or all children coresiding or living in close proximity. For example, 52.1% of adults in the Northeast live near all of their parents compared to only 33.9% in the West. Similarly, 44.7% of adults in the Northeast live near all of their adult children compared to only 36.8% in the South. As presented in Figure 5, the difference in coresident or close proximity to relatives between the Northeast and the West is larger for all versus nearest relative, especially among adults in families with three generations of adults (132.0% vs. 5.7%).

Table 4 and Figure 5 here.

CONCLUSION

The portrait of intergenerational spatial proximity that emerges defies simple characterization. On the one hand, three quarters of adults with a living parent or adult child have at least one such relative living within 30 miles; 13.2% live with a parent or adult child, and an additional 61.6% have their nearest parent or adult child living within 30 miles (but not coresident). A substantial minority of adults, however, have no relatives nearby; 6.8% of adults have their nearest such relative farther than 500 miles away in the United States. The percentage having at least one family member nearby is especially high for adults in families with three generations of adults (85.9%). About one third of adults (35.5%) have *all* their adult biological children, adult stepchildren, biological/adoptive parents, and parents-in-law living within 30

miles.

There also are large sociodemographic differences in proximity to kin. Among adults who have a parent alive, the share living within 30 miles is much higher for those with less than versus at least 16 years of schooling (71.5% vs. 54.6%), for non-Hispanic Blacks than non-Hispanic Whites (76.5% vs. 66.3%), and for those living in the Northeast and Midwest than the South or West (73.7% and 71.0% vs. 63.7% vs. 58.8%). Differences by partnership status and metropolitan status are more nuanced. Unpartnered adults are much more likely than partnered adults to live with a parent (13.9% vs. 3.1%) but also more likely to live very far away (11.8% vs. 8.3%). Adults living in metropolitan areas are more likely than adults in non-metropolitan areas to live within 30 miles of an adult child (79.5% vs. 68.7%), less likely to live near a parent (63.9% vs. 71.2%), and equally likely to live near either an adult child or parent (74.5% vs. 75.9%).

Sociodemographic differences in spatial proximity are almost always many times larger when measured by full-family clustering (i.e., all kin living close by) than by nearest relative. The much higher rates of full-family spatial clustering among non-Hispanic Blacks, those with less than 16 years of schooling, and those in the Northeast and Midwest can be an important asset, with a greater share of one's network more readily available to support each other because of close proximity. At the same time, geographic clustering may limit a family's ability to help each other when dealing with hardships caused by negative shocks to the local community because they all experienced the same environment.

Future studies can build on this brief report in several dimensions. First, while parents and adult children are typically the relatives with the most active networks, other family members, such as siblings, grandparents, and step relationships from prior marriages, may also be

important. Location data are not available for all of these relatives in the PSID but should be considered for future data collection in the PSID and other surveys. Second, the 2013 PSID sample does not fully represent the roughly 7% of the adult U.S. population in 2013 that immigrated to the United States after the 1997 PSID added a sample of immigrants who arrived after the PSID began in 1968 (Flood et al., 2018). The PSID added in 2017 a sample of immigrants who arrived after 1997, and collecting the location of relatives for this sample would allow a more complete description of family networks than is currently possible. Third, collecting address (i.e., city and state) of each relative instead of distance or travel time, which is what most other surveys have done, has the advantage of supporting estimates of full-family clustering. But respondents often only know the city and state and not the street address of their relatives, the primary reason that PSID respondents were not asked to provide street addresses in the Rosters and Transfers Module. As a result, residential location is not as precise for large cities as for smaller geographic units. Fourth, many adults do not have certain types of relatives (28% without a living parent and 56% without an adult child), and this varies substantially by socioeconomic status. Incorporating information about the existence of certain types of relatives into studies of spatial proximity of kin will provide a more complete picture of disparity in family availability.

Finally, the unique data described in this report lay the groundwork for investigations of how proximity to all family members or to family members in several adult generations both reflects and contributes to family solidarity and material exchanges among family members. Family scholars know little about how having all offspring nearby affects the division of responsibility for caring for aging parents or how parents allocate help among their offspring, including help with childcare. These questions are particularly relevant for the growing number of adults, the

“sandwich generation,” who have both aging parents and adult children who require care or financial support. Moreover, although there is a long-standing literature examining the support that family members give to each other in times of financial need, there is still little research on how family members who are all in close proximity cope with common experiences, such as the same poor labor or housing markets. The latter is particularly salient, as we have shown that sociodemographic and geographic differences in family proximity are especially large when measured by full-family clustering. Future research should determine the causes and consequences of living near all relatives.

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Table 1. Distance to nearest and all relatives by type of relative

Panel A. Distance to nearest relative

| | Distance to nearest parent among adults who have a living parent | Distance to nearest adult child among adults with an adult child | Distance to nearest parent or adult child among adults who: | |
|------------------------|--|--|---|---|
| | | | have a living parent <u>or</u> adult child | have a living parent <u>and</u> adult child |
| Unweighted N | 9709 | 4867 | 12001 | 2575 |
| Coresident, % | 5.9 | 19.1 | 13.2 | 22.4 |
| Close, % | 59.8 | 57.1 | 61.6 | 63.5 |
| Coresident or Close, % | 65.7 | 76.2 | 74.8 | 85.9 |
| Very Far, % | 9.2 | 6.6 | 6.8 | 2.8 |

Panel B. Share of adults who have all relatives within a given distance

| | % of adults who have all parents within a given distance | % of adults who have all adult children within a given | % of adults who have all parents and adult | |
|------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| | | | have a living parent <u>or</u> adult child | have a living parent <u>and</u> adult child |
| Unweighted N | 9286 | 4536 | 11197 | 2398 |
| Coresident, % | 3.2 | 4.7 | 2.8 | |
| Coresident or Close, % | 41.7 | 38.6 | 35.5 | 21.2 |
| Very Far, % | 9.2 | 6.6 | 6.8 | 2.6 |

Notes: Nearest distance is based on the sample of PSID heads and spouses 25 and older who have at least one relative of the given type with non-missing distance values. Percent with all relatives within a distance is based on the sample of PSID heads and spouses 25 and older for whom all relatives of the given type have non-missing distance values. "Parents" include own and spouse's biological/adoptive parents. "Adult children" include adult biological/adopted and step children. Close = less than 30 miles but not coresident; Very far = at least 500 miles and in the United States. Weighted using core/immigrant cross-sectional individual weight with adjustment for recent immigrants. Shaded cells have a cell count less than 10 and cannot be reported.

Table 2. Distance to nearest and all relatives, by sociodemographic characteristics

Panel A. Distance to nearest relative

| | Distance to nearest parent among adults who have a living parent | | Distance to nearest adult child among adults with an adult child | | Distance to nearest parent or adult child among adults who: | | | |
|------------------------|--|-----------|--|-----------|---|-----------|---|-----------|
| | <16 | ≥16 | <16 | ≥16 | have a living parent <u>or</u> adult child | | have a living parent <u>and</u> adult child | |
| by Education | | | | | | | | |
| Unweighted N | 6450 | 3259 | 3697 | 1170 | 8207 | 3794 | 1940 | 635 |
| Coresident, % | 6.9 | 4.0*** | 20.6 | 14.4*** | 15.5 | 8.2*** | 24.0 | 17.5** |
| Close, % | 64.6 | 50.6*** | 58.7 | 51.7*** | 65.0 | 54.3*** | 64.6 | 60.1 |
| Coresident or Close, % | 71.5 | 54.6*** | 79.3 | 66.1*** | 80.5 | 62.5*** | 88.6 | 77.6*** |
| Very Far, % | 6.1 | 15.1*** | 5.4 | 10.4*** | 4.5 | 11.7*** | 1.6 | 6.5*** |
| by Race | NH-Black | NH-White | NH-Black | NH-White | NH-Black | NH-White | NH-Black | NH-White |
| Unweighted N | 2924 | 5593 | 1528 | 2833 | 3658 | 6928 | 794 | 1498 |
| Coresident, % | 8.4 | 4.8*** | 27.7 | 15*** | 19.3 | 10.8*** | 28.1 | 17.3*** |
| Close, % | 68.1 | 61.5*** | 55.5 | 58.7 | 62.3 | 63.7 | 63.4 | 67.5 |
| Coresident or Close, % | 76.5 | 66.3*** | 83.2 | 73.7*** | 81.6 | 74.5*** | 91.5 | 84.8** |
| Very Far, % | 6.1 | 10.1** | 4.1 | 7.1* | 4.1 | 7.2** | | 2.4 |
| by Partnership status | Unpartnered | Partnered | Unpartnered | Partnered | Unpartnered | Partnered | Unpartnered | Partnered |
| Unweighted N | 2591 | 7118 | 1368 | 3499 | 3501 | 8500 | 458 | 2117 |
| Coresident, % | 13.9 | 3.1*** | 22.4 | 17.8** | 19.2 | 10.6*** | 31.3 | 20.8*** |
| Close, % | 51.0 | 62.9*** | 58.4 | 56.5 | 54.5 | 64.7*** | 58.3 | 64.5 |
| Coresident or Close, % | 64.9 | 66.0 | 80.8 | 74.3*** | 73.7 | 75.3 | 89.6 | 85.3 |
| Very Far, % | 11.8 | 8.3*** | 5.5 | 7.1 | 0.1 | 6.1** | | 2.9 |

Panel B. Share of adults who have all relatives within a given distance

| | % of adults who have all parents within a given distance among those with a living parent | | % of adults who have all adult children within a given distance among those with an adult child | | % of adults who have all parents and adult children within a given distance among those who: | | | |
|------------------------|---|-----------|---|-----------|--|-----------|---|-----------|
| | <16 | ≥16 | <16 | ≥16 | have a living parent <u>or</u> adult child | | have a living parent <u>and</u> adult child | |
| by Education | | | | | | | | |
| Unweighted N | 6125 | 3161 | 3407 | 1129 | 7545 | 3652 | 1790 | 608 |
| Coresident, % | 3.9 | 2.0*** | 4.9 | 3.8 | 3.2 | 1.9** | | |
| Coresident or Close, % | 47.5 | 30.9*** | 41.8 | 28.8*** | 39.9 | 26.5*** | 24.7 | 10.7*** |
| Very Far, % | 6.1 | 15.0*** | 0.1 | 10.0*** | 4.4 | 11.6*** | 1.5 | 5.9*** |
| by Race, % | NH-Black | NH-White | NH-Black | NH-White | NH-Black | NH-White | NH-Black | NH-White |
| Unweighted N | 2798 | 5364 | 1412 | 2897 | 3385 | 6533 | 734 | 1425 |
| Coresident, % | 5.3 | 3.0*** | 6.7 | 2.9*** | 5.1 | 2.1*** | | |
| Coresident or Close, % | 56.0 | 42.5*** | 54.6 | 33.7*** | 50.9 | 33.7*** | 42.9 | 18.9*** |
| Very Far, % | 6.1 | 10.2** | 4.5 | 6.9 | 4.2 | 7.2** | | 2.4 |
| by Partnership status | Unpartnered | Partnered | Unpartnered | Partnered | Unpartnered | Partnered | Unpartnered | Partnered |
| Unweighted N | 2520 | 6766 | 1284 | 3252 | 3335 | 7862 | 435 | 1963 |
| Coresident, % | 10.6 | 0.6*** | 5.4 | 4.4 | 7.5 | 0.7*** | | |
| Coresident or Close, % | 57.0 | 36.3*** | 46.6 | 35.2*** | 49.8 | 29.3*** | 35.5 | 18.4*** |
| Very Far, % | 11.7 | 8.4*** | 5.4 | 7.0 | 8.2 | 6.1** | | 2.7 |

Note: Nearest distance is based on the sample of PSID heads and spouses 25 and older who have at least one relative of the given type with non-missing distance values. Percent with all relatives within a distance is based on the sample of PSID heads and spouses for whom all relatives of the given type have non-missing distance values. "Parents" include own and spouse's biological/adoptive parents. "Adult children" include adult biological/adopted and step children. Close = less than 30 miles but not coresident; Very far = at least 500 miles and in the United States. Weighted using core/immigrant cross-sectional individual weight with adjustment for recent immigrants. Shaded cells have a cell count less than 10 and cannot be reported. * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 3. Distance to nearest and all relatives, by metropolitan status

Panel A. Distance to nearest relative

| by Metro status | Distance to nearest parent among adults who have a living parent | | Distance to nearest adult child among adults with an adult child | | Distance to nearest parent or adult child among adults who: | | | |
|------------------------|--|-----------|--|-----------|---|-----------|---|-----------|
| | Metro | non-Metro | Metro | non-Metro | have a living parent <u>or</u> adult child | | have a living parent <u>and</u> adult child | |
| | | | | | Metro | non-Metro | Metro | non-Metro |
| Unweighted N | 7340 | 2367 | 3433 | 1430 | 8971 | 3024 | 1802 | 773 |
| Coresident, % | 6.0 | 5.3 | 20.7 | 15.4*** | 13.4 | 12.4 | 24.4 | 18.1** |
| Close, % | 57.9 | 65.9*** | 58.8 | 53.3** | 61.1 | 63.5 | 61.4 | 68.2** |
| Coresident or Close, % | 63.9 | 71.2*** | 79.5 | 68.7*** | 74.5 | 75.9 | 85.8 | 86.3 |
| Very Far, % | 10.3 | 5.9*** | 7.2 | 5.4 | 0.1 | 4.9 | 3.5 | |

Panel B. Share (%) of adults who have all relatives within a given distance

| by Metro status | % of adults who have all parents within a given distance among those with a living parent | | % of adults who have all adult children within a given distance among those with an adult child | | % of adults who have all parents and adult children within a given distance among those who: | | | |
|------------------------|---|-----------|---|-----------|--|-----------|---|-----------|
| | Metro | non-Metro | Metro | non-Metro | have a living parent <u>or</u> adult child | | have a living parent <u>and</u> adult child | |
| | | | | | Metro | non-Metro | Metro | non-Metro |
| Unweighted N | 7024 | 2262 | 3223 | 1311 | 8407 | 2789 | 1683 | 715 |
| Coresident, % | 3.3 | 3.0 | 5.6 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 2.0 | | |
| Coresident or Close, % | 39.8 | 47.8*** | 42.8 | 28.9*** | 36.2 | 33.5* | 21.8 | 19.9 |
| Very Far, % | 10.2 | 6.0*** | 7.2 | 5.1* | 7.4 | 4.9*** | 3.2 | |

Notes: Nearest distance is based on the sample of PSID heads and spouses 25 and older who have at least one relative of the given type with non-missing distance values. Percent with all relatives within a distance is based on the sample of PSID heads and spouses for whom all relatives of the given type have non-missing distance values. "Parents" include own and spouse's biological/adoptive parents. "Adult children" include adult biological/adopted and step children. Close = less than 30 miles but not coresident; Very far = at least 500 miles and in the United States. Weighted using core/immigrant cross-sectional individual weight with adjustment for recent immigrants. Shaded cells have a cell count less than 10 and cannot be reported. * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 4. Distance to nearest and all relatives, by region

Panel A. Distance to nearest relative

| by Region | Distance to nearest parent among adults who have a living parent | | | | Distance to nearest adult child among adults with an adult child | | | | Distance to nearest parent or adult child among adults who: | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|--|---------|---------|---------|--|---------|---------|---------|---|---------|---------|---------|---|---------|--------|------|
| | | | | | | | | | have a living parent <u>or</u> adult child | | | | have a living parent <u>and</u> adult child | | | |
| | Northeast (ref) | Midwest | South | West | Northeast (ref) | Midwest | South | West | Northeast (ref) | Midwest | South | West | Northeast (ref) | Midwest | South | West |
| Unweighted N | 1255 | 2449 | 4097 | 1884 | 646 | 1197 | 2134 | 873 | 1569 | 2997 | 5133 | 2268 | 332 | 649 | 1098 | 489 |
| Coresident, % | 5.2 | 5.4 | 6.1 | 6.3 | 23.2 | 15.2*** | 17.9* | 21.6 | 14.2 | 11.3* | 13.1 | 14.0 | 27.5 | 18.6** | 20.7* | 25.8 |
| Close, % | 68.5 | 65.6 | 57.6*** | 52.5*** | 61.1 | 62.7 | 54.1** | 54.1* | 66.3 | 67.6 | 59.5*** | 56.7*** | 63.0 | 67.9 | 63.1 | 59.8 |
| Coresident or Close, % | 73.7 | 71.0 | 63.7*** | 58.8*** | 84.3 | 77.9** | 72.0*** | 75.7*** | 80.5 | 78.9 | 72.6*** | 70.7*** | 90.5 | 86.5 | 83.8** | 85.6 |
| Very Far, % | 5.2 | 5.1 | 10.9*** | 12.5*** | 4.4 | 6.3 | 7.4* | 7.1* | 4.1 | 3.8 | 7.8*** | 9.3*** | | 2.2 | 3.5 | 3.1 |

Panel B. Share of adults who have all relatives within a given distance

| by Region | % of adults who have all parents within a given distance among those with a living parent | | | | % of adults who have all adult children within a given distance among those with an adult child | | | | % of adults who have all parents and adult children within a given distance among those who: | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---------|---------|---------|---|---------|--------|-------|--|---------|---------|---------|---|---------|---------|---------|
| | | | | | | | | | have a living parent <u>or</u> adult child | | | | have a living parent <u>and</u> adult child | | | |
| | Northeast (ref) | Midwest | South | West | Northeast (ref) | Midwest | South | West | Northeast (ref) | Midwest | South | West | Northeast (ref) | Midwest | South | West |
| Unweighted N | 1203 | 2346 | 3909 | 1808 | 607 | 1129 | 1975 | 810 | 1471 | 2821 | 4760 | 2118 | 316 | 622 | 1001 | 452 |
| Coresident, % | 3.3 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 6.7 | 2.6*** | 5.2 | 3.9* | 3.0 | 2.2 | 3.1 | 2.4 | | | | |
| Coresident or Close, % | 52.1 | 46.7* | 39.4*** | 33.9*** | 44.7 | 38.3* | 36.8** | 37.2* | 44.2 | 37.8*** | 32.9*** | 31.2*** | 32.7 | 22.3** | 20.1*** | 14.1*** |
| Very Far, % | 5.1 | 5.1 | 11.1*** | 12.4*** | 4.0 | 6.6* | 7.1* | 7.2* | 4.0 | 3.9*** | 7.9*** | 9.2*** | | 2.3 | 3.0 | 2.9 |

Notes: Nearest distance is based on the sample of PSID heads and spouses 25 and older who have at least one relative of the given type with non-missing distance values. Percent with all relatives within a distance is based on the sample of PSID heads and spouses for whom all relatives of the given type have non-missing distance values. "Parents" include own and spouse's biological/adoptive parents. "Adult children" includes adult biological/adopted and step children. Close = less than 30 miles but not coresident; Very far = at least 500 miles and in the US. Weighted using core/immigrant cross-sectional individual weight with adjustment for recent immigrants. Shaded cells have a cell count less than 10 and cannot be reported. * P<0.05, ** P<0.01, *** P<0.001

Figure 1. Difference in Prevalence of Coresident or Close, by Education
 (<16 years minus ≥16 years)/≥16 years

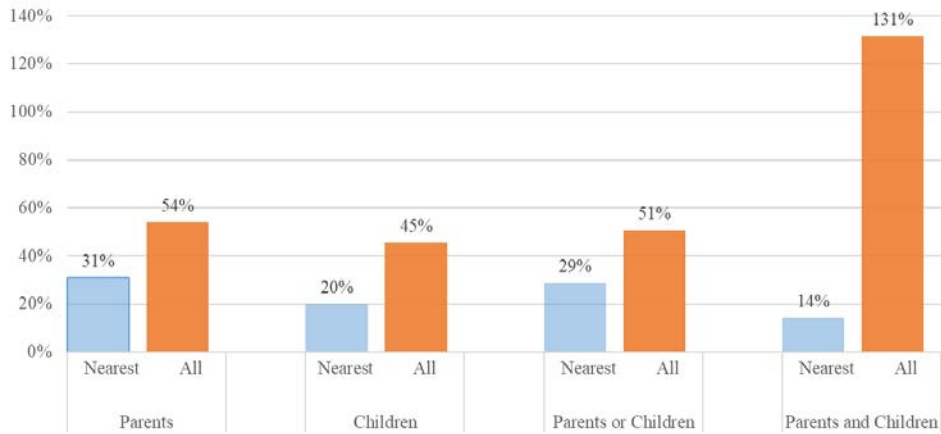


Figure 2. Difference in Prevalence of Coresident or Close, by Race
 (nonHispanic Black minus nonHispanic White)/nonHispanic White

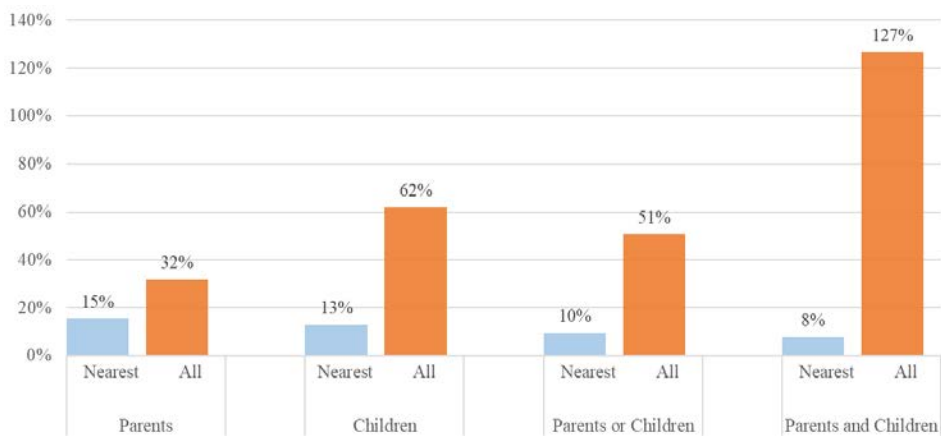


Figure 3. Difference in Prevalence of Coresident or Close, by Marital Status
 (Unpartnered minus Partnered)/Partnered

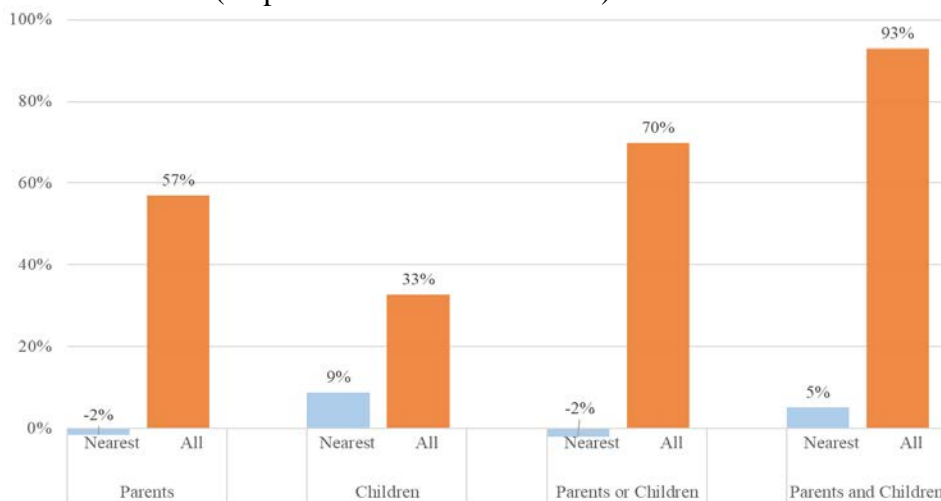


Figure 4. Difference in Prevalence of Coresident or Close, by Metropolitan Status
 (Metro minus nonMetro)/(nonMetro)

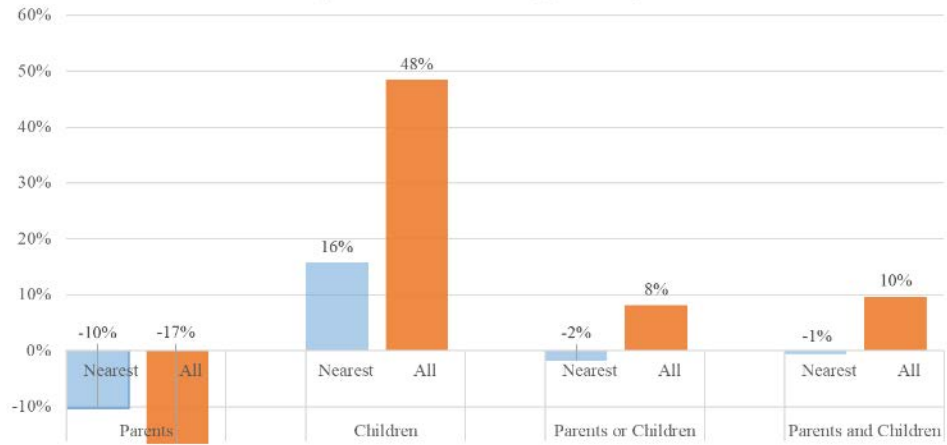


Figure 5. Difference in Prevalence of Coresident or Close, by Region
 (Northeast minus West)/(West)

