FERTILITY IN INTERRACIAL COHABITATION

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Short abstract

Interracial couples cohabit at higher rates than same-race couples, which is frequently attributed to lower barriers to interracial cohabitation relative to intermarriage. This begs the question of whether the social significance of cohabitation differs between interracial and same-race couples. Building on other work that has used the fertility behavior of cohabiting couples as a tool to indirectly infer the significance of cohabitation for particular groups, we assess the social significance of interracial cohabitation by comparing the odds of pregnancy, unintended pregnancy, and legitimation following a non-marital pregnancy of women in interracial and same-race cohabitations. We use 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth data. Preliminary analyses revealed that the fertility behavior of White women with Black cohabiting partners mirrored closely that of Black women in same-race cohabitations. The fertility behavior of White women with Hispanic partners fell in between those of White and Hispanic women in same-race cohabitations.

(147 words)

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Introduction

The United States has experienced an unprecedented rise in the number of interracial unions over the past three decades. The number of interracial co-residential unions quadrupled from less than 3 percent of all co-residential unions in 1980 to over 15 percent of all co-residential unions in 2010. These changes partly reflect the fact that attitudes towards interracial unions have become much more accepting. Over 80 percent of American adults agreed with the statement that it is alright for Whites and Blacks to date each other in 2010, compared with less than half of adults in 1987 (Wang et al. 2010).

Although attitudes towards interracial unions have become more favorable over time, racial differences continue to be one of the most formidable barriers to marriage (Kalmijn 1998; Schwartz 2013). Interracial couples cohabit at higher rates than same-race couples, which is frequently attributed to lower barriers to interracial cohabitation relative to intermarriage (Fu 2008; Kreider 2000). This potential need for interracial couples to choose cohabitation over marriage begs the question of whether cohabitation plays a different role for interracial couples than it does for same-race couples. Specifically, are interracial couples more likely to treat cohabitation as "trial marriages" to test their compatibility before attempting to overcome the challenges and barriers to interracial marriage? Are interracial couples more likely than same-race couples to treat cohabitation as a "marriage-like" institution which offers them the opportunity to circumvent family opposition while still enjoying many of the benefits of married life? Addressing these questions can showcase the implications of the challenges of crossing racial and ethnic boundaries for marriage.

The answers to these questions are largely unknown because most past studies focus on transitions into or out of interracial cohabitation (Qian and Cobas 2007). Although the fertility behavior of cohabiting couples is frequently used as a tool to indirectly infer the significance of cohabitation for some groups (e.g., Choi and Seltzer 2009; Manning 2001, 2015), there is very little work on the fertility behavior of interracial couples. The two noteworthy exceptions to this pattern focused on the fertility behavior differentials between women in interracial and same-race cohabitations (Fu 2008; Lichter and Qian 2018). To the best of our knowledge, little is known about the intendedness of pregnancies and the legitimation behavior (i.e., legitimating a pregnancy conceived during cohabitation through marriage) of women in interracial cohabitations.

To address these questions, we will use data from the 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) and compare the fertility behavior, fertility intentions, and legitimation behavior of women in interracial and same-race cohabitations. Specifically, we will first document fertility differentials between women in interracial and same-race cohabitations. We will then document variations in the risk of having an unwanted or mistimed pregnancy between women in interracial and same-race cohabitations. Third, we will examine the legitimation behavior of women in interracial cohabitations relative to the legitimation behavior of women in same-race cohabitations. If interracial cohabitation is a "trial marriage", then interracial couples will be less likely than same-race couples to become pregnant within the context of cohabitation, to have an intended pregnancy, and to remain in cohabitation following a pregnancy. If interracial cohabitation is a "substitute to marriage", interracial couples will be more likely than

same-race couples to become pregnant within the context of cohabitation, to have an intended pregnancy, and to remain in cohabitation following a pregnancy.

The proposed analyses will contribute to the intermarriage literature in three main ways. First, they will expand our understanding of racial and ethnic heterogeneity in both fertility and union formation patterns by documenting variations in the fertility behavior, fertility intentions, and legitimation behavior of interracial cohabiting couples based on their joint race/ethnicity. Second, we will examine the fertility intentions of interracial couples in addition to their fertility levels and legitimation behavior, which is important because of the potential implications of intendedness for the well-being of mixed-race individuals. Mixed-race children are more likely than single-race individuals to be born within the context of cohabitation (Goldstein and Hartnett 2006). Unintended childbearing is associated with an array of negative outcomes for children, including poor health, cognitive impairment, behavioral problems, and poor school performance (Brown Eisenberg,1995; Hummer, Hack, & Raley, 2004). If women in interracial cohabitations are more likely than those in same-race cohabitations to have an unwanted pregnancy, then multiracial individuals may be more vulnerable to health problems and socioeconomic disadvantage. Finally, insights from this study may speak to mixed-race children's risk for family instability. "Trial marriages" dissolve faster than "substitutes to marriage" (Casper and Bianchi 2001; Choi and Seltzer 2009; Perelli-Harris 2014). If disproportionately high shares of mixed-race children are born to cohabiting parents who view their unions as "trial marriages" at the time of the marriage, then their risk for family instability will be greater than single-race children. Family instability during childhood is associated with poorer educational, health, and adjustment outcomes (Bzosteck & Beck, 2011; Cavanagh & Huston, 2008; Fomby & Bosick, 2013).

Hypotheses

We consider three competing hypotheses.

- *Hypothesis 1*: Cohabitation does not take on a special meaning for interracial couples.
    - Their fertility rates, unwanted/mistimed pregnancy rates, and marriage rates following a pregnancy will be the average rates of the racial groups represented by each partner
- *Hypothesis 2*: If cohabitation is a "trial marriage" for interracial couples to test their compatibility before trying to overcome opposition from kin and friends, then
    - Their fertility rates will be lower
    - Their unwanted/mistimed pregnancy and marriage rates following a pregnancy will be higher
- *Hypothesis 3*: If cohabitation is a "substitute for marriage" for interracial couples to enjoy benefits of married life without having to deal with family opposition, then
    - Their fertility rates will be higher
    - Their unwanted/mistimed pregnancy and marriage rates following a pregnancy will be lower

Data

The data for this paper comes from the 2006–2015 NSFG, which is a repeated cross-sectional survey about the family life, marriage, cohabitation, and fertility behavior of US adults

between the ages of 15 and 44. The female and respondent file included information about the cohabiting behavior of 23,579 women. NSFG data are well suited for the present analysis for several reasons. First, NSFG collected detailed cohabitation and marital histories for each respondent, including the starting date, end date, and outcome of cohabitation. Second, it asked respondents to report their own race/ethnicity as well as that of their first husbands, current cohabiting partners, and first former cohabiting partners. Third, it collected detailed pregnancy histories, including the date, outcome, and intendedness of each pregnancy at conception. Finally, the NSFG oversampled Hispanics and NH Blacks, which permitted adequate samples of Hispanic and NH Black women in interracial unions.

Sample

Our analyses of fertility behavior rely on a sample of first co-residential unions formed by NH White, NH Black, and Hispanic women. We focus on first co-residential unions because partner selection behavior differs considerably in first and subsequent order unions (Choi and Tienda 2017). We also excluded unions involving NH others because it was unclear whether co-residential unions between two NH other spouses were intermarriages or endogamous unions. We excluded cohabitations formed by NH Black female - NH White male couples, Hispanic female - NH White male couples, and Hispanic female- NH Black male couples due to sample size constraints.[1] We also excluded multiracial women and women married to multiracial spouses. We limited our sample to women with complete information about the timing of cohabitation, marriage, and pregnancy, and sociodemographic characteristics of interest. Finally, following the convention in the literature (Choi & Seltzer, 2009; Raley, 2001), we assumed that the risks of forming a first union and becoming pregnant began at age 15 and excluded those who reported younger ages at marriage or pregnancy. Our final analytic sample consists of 9,998 first unions for women.

Measures

Dependent variables.

Risk of pregnancy is a binary measure ascertaining whether the respondent became pregnant during the duration-month of the first union in observation. In supplementary analyses, we will also consider the risk of live birth.

Risk of having an unintended pregnancy. The NSFG asked respondents whether each reported pregnancy was unwanted, came too soon, came at the right time, or was overdue or whether the respondent felt indifferent about the timing of pregnancy. We distinguished among unwanted, mistimed, and intended births. A pregnancy was unwanted if the respondent reported that the pregnancy was unwanted. A pregnancy was mistimed if the respondent reported that the pregnancy came too soon.

[1] We do not combine White female – Black male and Black female – White male unions because prior work has shown that the fertility behavior of White female- Black male couples differs significantly from those of Black female- White male couples (Choi and Goldberg 2018).

Risk of transitioning into marriage following a pregnancy is a binary measure ascertaining whether the respondent transitioned into marriage during the duration-month between conception and 12 months following childbirth.

Independent variables.

Couple's joint race and ethnicity. We classified female respondents into one of the following three categories: NH White ("White"), NH Black ("Black"), and Hispanic. Male partners' race and ethnicity was constructed in an analogous fashion. Using this information, we cross-classified female and male's race/ethnicity and obtain five categories: (1) same-race Whites (WW), (2) unions formed by White women and Black men (WB), (3) unions formed by White women and Hispanic men (WH), (4) same-race Blacks (BB), and same-race Hispanics (HH).

Control variables.

We measured the respondents' sociodemographic background with the following time-fixed variables: *educational attainment of respondent's mother* (less than high school, high school graduate, some college, bachelor's degree or higher, missing), *respondent's nativity status* (U.S. born vs. foreign born), *respondent's childhood family structure at age 14* (lived with two biological or adoptive parents vs. other living arrangement), *respondent's religion while growing up* (none, Catholic, Protestant, other), *respondent's completed education* (<12,12, 13–15, 16+ years), and *respondent had a child prior to the union* (yes, no).

We also considered a variety of time-fixed union characteristics that included the following: *respondent's age when they started living with the first co-residential partner* (15–19, 20–24, 25–29, 30–34, 35–44), *year of first union* (1979-1989, 1990-1999, 2000-2010–2015), *whether partner was married before* (yes, no), *whether partner had a child from a prior union* (yes, no), and *age difference between the male and female partner* (wife was older than the husband, husband was 0–1 years older, husband was 2–4years older, and husband was 5+ years older than the wife).[2] All models also include *union duration*, which was computed by subtracting the century month of the start date of the union from the century month in observation.[3]

Analytical Strategy

Our analysis is comprised of three parts. We begin by documenting variations in the odds of becoming pregnant within the first 5 years[4] of cohabiting with their first partner by couple's joint race/ethnicity. In the discrete-time survival models, the risk of becoming pregnant

[2] We did not include the husband's completed education because this information was only available for current husbands and male cohabiting partners in the NSFG.
[3] Our survival models did not include respondent's age because the respondent's age at union formation and union duration (both included in our models) are perfectly predictive of the respondent's age.
[4] Our conclusions changed little after year 5 because most cohabiting couples either dissolve their union or have a child within 5 years of cohabitation. In subsequent drafts, we will show the results for year 5 in the main text and years 3, 7, and 10 in the supplementary analyses.

started on the month when the respondent started living with their co-residential partner and ended on the month a child was born, transitioned out of cohabitation via marriage or dissolution, five years elapsed since the beginning of the union, interview month, or when the respondent turned 45, whichever came first. The clock in these models was duration-months of the union. Statistical tests revealed that the baseline hazards were proportional by couple's joint race or ethnicity; thus, we did not include interaction terms between couple's joint race or ethnicity and union duration in our models. The 9,998 first cohabitations in our sample contributed a total of 528,771 duration-months.

In the second part of our analysis, we employed multinomial logistic regression methods to predict the competing risk of having a mistimed pregnancy, an unwanted pregnancy, and an intended pregnancy (base outcome). The unit of analysis in these models was all pregnancies during cohabitation (N=5,932). We will also run consistency checks using births and live births as the unit of analysis.

In the third part of the analysis, we restricted our analysis to live births and predicted the competing odds of marrying their cohabiting partner by the time of childbirth, marrying their cohabiting partner after childbirth but within 12 months of the child's birth, and remaining in the cohabitation after 12 months following childbirth. In these models, we assumed that conception occurred 7 months prior to the date of birth (N=5,787).

All analyses were weighted using annual sample weights, adjusted for the pooling of NSFG data across multiple years.

Preliminary results

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 describes time invariant characteristics of the sampled respondents. In the patterns noted in this section, we refer only to differences between groups that are statistically significant at the $p<.05$ level. A comparison of the sociodemographic characteristics of cohabiting women in endogamous unions confirms what is widely known in the literature on racial inequality (Hummer & Hamilton, 2010). White women were the most socioeconomically advantaged. Black women were least likely to have been living with two biological parents at age 14. Hispanic women were most likely to have been born outside the United States, had the lowest levels of education, and were least likely to have cohabited with their husbands prior to marriage.

Table 1 goes here.

The socioeconomic characteristics of interracial couples were typically the average traits of same-race couples who belong to the female or male partner's group. White women cohabiting with Hispanic men completed less schooling than White women in same-race unions, but more schooling than Hispanic women in same-race unions. For example, 26% of White women with Hispanic male partners were college graduates, as compared with 38% of White women and 6% of Hispanic women in same-race unions. White women with Black partners were less likely than White women in same-race unions, but more likely then Black women in same-

race unions, to grow up in two-parent families. Similarly, women in interracial unions were more likely than White women in same-race unions and less likely than Black or Hispanic women in same-race unions to have had a child prior to their first cohabitation. Two exceptions to this general pattern are noteworthy. First, White women with Black partners completed fewer years of schooling relative to White and Black women in same-race unions. For example, 23% of White women with Black partners completed fewer than 12 years of schooling, as compared with 10% of White and 16% of Black women in same-race unions. Second, White women with Hispanic partners were substantially less likely than White and Hispanic women in same-race unions to grow up in two-parent families: 56% of White women with Hispanic partners versus 63% of women in same-race White and Hispanic unions.

The most striking differences are observed for variations in age differentials between partners. White women in interracial unions were more likely than their counterparts in same-race unions to live with partners who were much older. For example, 32% of White women with Black partners had a partner who was five or more years older, compared to 20% of White and 25% of Black women in same-race union.

Union context of first co-residential partnership

Figure 1 presents the share of first co-residential unions that were non-marital cohabitations. Black women in endogamous unions were more likely than Hispanic and White women in endogamous unions to cohabit with their first co-residential partner. Women in interracial unions cohabited with their first co-residential partners at higher rates relative to women in same-race unions. Ninety percent of WB women cohabited with their first co-residential partners, compared with 69% of WW women and 80% of BB women. Eighty percent of WH women cohabited with their first co-residential partner, as compared with 69% of WW children and 64% of HH couples.

Figure 1 goes here.

Pregnancies in cohabitation

Table 2 presents the results from discrete-time logistic regression models predicting the odds that cohabiting women will become pregnant in the duration-month in observation. Higher levels of maternal and respondent education were associated with lower odds of becoming pregnant within the context of cohabitation, as was older age at cohabitation. Respondents who were reared in "other" family structures had higher odds of becoming pregnant in a cohabiting union, as did women whose partner had child in a prior union. Net of the controls, BB couples were more likely than WW couples to become pregnant within the context of cohabitation. Their odds of pregnancy were 2.1 times the corresponding odds for WW couples. The same was also true for HH couples. Their odds of pregnancy were 2.6 times the corresponding odds for WW children.

Table 2 goes here.

WB couples were more likely than WW couples to become pregnant within the context of cohabitation. Their odds of pregnancy were 2.4 times the corresponding odds for WW

couples. WB-BB differences were not statistically significant. Unlike WB couples, WH couples were less likely than HH couples, but more likely than WW couples, to become pregnant within the context of cohabitation. The odds that WH couples become pregnant was 1.5 times the corresponding odds for WW couples. This compares to HH children's odds of pregnancy, which were 2.6 times those of WW couples.

Pregnancy intentions

Table 3 presents results from multinomial logistic regression models predicting the competing risk of having an unwanted, a mistimed, or an intended pregnancy (base outcome). Older age at cohabitation, having lived with a partner for longer periods of time, and having a substantially older partner were associated with higher odds of having a mistimed pregnancy. Socio-demographic characteristics explained little of the group differences in the odds of having a mistimed birth. BB and HH couples were more likely than WW couples to have a mistimed pregnancy: they had 45% and 59% higher odds than WW couples, respectively. WB couples were more likely than WW couples to have a mistimed pregnancy. Their odds of having a mistimed pregnancy were 65% higher than the corresponding odds for WW couples. As with risk of pregnancy, WB-BB differences in the odds of a mistimed pregnancy were not statistically significant. Differences between WH and WW couples were also not significant.

Table 3 goes here.

We now turn our attention to unwanted pregnancies. Having a mother with higher levels of education, being an immigrant, growing up in two parent families, and having completed more years of schooling were associated with lower odds of having an unwanted pregnancy. By contrast, growing up in step father families and having lived with the cohabiting partner for longer periods of time were associated with higher odds of having an unwanted pregnancy. The odds that BB couples had an unwanted pregnancy were 2.3 times those of WW couples. HH couples had 95 percent higher odds of having an unwanted pregnancy relative to WW couples. Interracial couples' odds of having an unwanted pregnancy was not significantly different from those of WW couples, net of the controls.

Legitimation behavior

Table 4 presents results from the logistic regression models predicting the odds that women will legitimate their pregnancy conceived during cohabitation by marrying their partners within 1 year of the child's birth. Higher levels of completed education among respondents were associated with higher odds of legitimation. By contrast, having a male partner with a child from a previous union and cohabiting with a partner for long periods of time were associated with lower odds of legitimation. BB couples had lower odds of legitimation relative to WW couples. Their odds of marrying their male partner within 1 year of child birth were 73% lower than those of WW couples. The same was also true of HH couples: they had 63% lower odds of legitimation than WW couples. WB couples' odds of legitimation fell in between those of WW and BB couples: WB couple's odds of legitimation were 53% lower than those of BB couples. Similar patterns were observed for WH couples.

Table 4 goes here.

Preliminary discussion

Our preliminary results showed that the fertility behavior, fertility intentions, and legitimation behavior of White women with Black cohabiting partners mirrored closely those of BB couples. Their odds of pregnancy and their odds of mistimed pregnancy were not significantly different from those of BB couples, but were higher than those of WW couples. This is consistent with findings by Choi and Goldberg (2018) that interracial married couples' risk of unintended pregnancy was closer to that of same-race couples from the husband's racial or ethnic group than the corresponding risk for same-race couples from the wife's group. The only exception to this pattern was the legitimation behavior of WB couples: their marriage rate in response to a pregnancy was higher than that of WW couples, but lower than that of BB couples.

The fertility behavior, fertility intentions, and legitimation behavior of White women with Hispanic cohabiting partners fell in between those of WW and HH couples. Their odds of pregnancy were higher than those of WW couples, but lower than those of HH couples. Their odds of mistimed pregnancy were not significantly different from those of WW couples. Their odds of marriage in response to pregnancy were lower than those of WW couples, but higher than those of HH couples.

Next steps

We understand that the 2015-2017 NSFG data will be released soon. The availability of these additional data will mean that we can include in our analyses some of the groups (i.e., minority women cohabiting with White male partners) that were excluded from this analysis due to sample size constraints. The inclusion of these interracial couples will allow us to determine whether we can generalize the patterns observed for WH and WB couples to other interracial pairings. For example, we will be able to see whether patterns for Black women with White cohabiting partners (BW couples) are similar to those of WB couples, or are closer to WW couples as might be expected if husbands' race/ethnicity is more predictive of fertility and union formation behavior than wives' race/ethnicity (Choi and Goldberg 2018; Goldstein and Harknett 2006).

In addition, we will compare the fertility behavior and intentions of interracial couples in cohabitation and marriage. A solid understanding of fertility differentials between women in interracial marriages and cohabitations should further solidify our understanding about the social significance of marriage and barriers to entry. We are confident that we can accomplish of all these analyses by April 2019.

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Table 1. Sample characteristics

	Same-race Whites	White fem - Black male	Same-race Blacks	Same-race Whites	White fem-Hisp male	Same-race Hisp
Characteristics of female partners	5,083	303	2,179	5,083	414	2,019
% Foreign-born	3.8	2.7	5.1	3.8	2.1	54.1
Mother's degree						
Less than high school	11.9	16.5	25.0	11.9	13.6	66.6
HS graduate	40.1	35.5	36.9	40.1	38.5	16.9
Some college	26.6	32.2	23.7	26.6	26.6	10.2
College graduate or more	21.4	15.9	14.4	21.4	21.3	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Family structure at 14						
Two bio parents	62.8	48.8	41.0	62.8	55.7	62.9
Bio mother, Step father	2.6	1.4	2.8	2.6	3.3	1.8
Single mother	1.3	0.7	1.0	1.3	2.1	0.9
Other	33.3	49.1	55.3	33.3	38.9	34.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Education						
Less than high school	9.8	23.2	16.3	9.8	15.5	41.1
HS graduate	18.4	18.4	25.7	18.4	18.6	26.4
Some college	33.9	41.0	40.0	33.9	40.4	24.3
BA or more	37.9	17.4	18.0	37.9	25.5	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Parenthood before union						
% Had child prior to cohabitation	7.6	17.2	36.4	7.6	10.1	16.2
Religion raised						
None	14.5	17.5	5.6	14.5	21.2	4.5
Catholic	29.0	17.7	7.6	29.0	27.2	77.1
Protestant	50.5	59.7	83.4	50.5	44.1	15.8
Other	5.9	5.1	3.4	5.9	7.5	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Partners had previous union	14.0	36.3	41.2	14.0	23.6	19.6
Partner's fertility before union						
Did not have children	87.6	81.3	86.7	87.6	87.7	89.2
Had a child	12.3	16.5	13.2	12.3	12.3	10.8
Missing	0.1	2.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age difference between spouses						
Female partner is older	9.8	10.3	11.6	9.8	11.1	12.7
Male>Female: <3 years	51.4	40.9	44.7	51.4	41.3	45.0
Male>Female: 3-4 years	14.5	11.6	14.5	14.5	16.4	16.6
Male > Female: 5+ years	19.6	31.5	25.4	19.6	25.0	21.8
Missing	4.8	5.7	3.8	4.8	6.3	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth

Notes: Analyses are weighted. Counts are not weighted.

Table 2. Discrete-time logistic regression models predicting the odds of becoming pregnant

	eβ		β/se
Couple's race/ethnicity (WW)			
White female-Black male	2.17	***	4.40
Same-race Blacks	1.94	***	6.93
White female-Hisp male	1.48	*	2.47
Same-race Hispanics	2.15	***	7.66
Duration in years	0.96	**	-2.69
Mother's degree (LT HS)			
HS graduate	0.79	**	-2.61
Some college	0.86		-1.46
BA or more	0.76	*	-2.38
Respondent's nativity (US-born)			
Foreign-born	0.96		-0.41
Religion raised (None)			
Catholic	1.04		0.4
Protestant	1.04		0.41
Other	1.27		1.35
Family structure (2 bio parents)			
Step father; Bio father	1.01		0.08
Single mother	1.14		0.48
Other	1.16	*	2.29
Education (LT HS)			
HS graduate	0.85	+	-1.83
Some college	0.68	***	-4.14
BA or more	0.25	***	-10.95
Age at cohabitation (20-24)			
<20	1.61	***	6.40
25-29	0.46	***	-5.78
30+	0.48	**	-2.85
Male partner had children from prior union (None)			
Had children	1.18		1.83
Male partner was married before (Was not)			
Was married	1.19		1.44
Spousal age differentials (Female partner is older)			
Male > Female : <2 years	0.74	**	-2.61
Male > Female : 2-4 years	0.69	**	-2.81
Male> Female: 5+ years	0.65	**	-3.34
Missing	0.49	***	-3.57
Intercept	0.45	***	-5.00

Source: 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth
Notes: Analyses are weighted. Counts are not weighted.

Table 3. Fertility intentions by couple's joint race/ethnicity

	Mistimed vs. Intended			Unwanted vs. Intended		
	e^{β}		β/e	e^{β}		β/e
Couple's race/ethnicity (WW)						
White female-Black male	1.65	*	2.10	1.17		0.54
Same-race Blacks	1.45	**	2.74	2.33	***	5.57
White female-Hisp male	0.68		-1.55	1.45		1.44
Same-race Hispanics	1.59	**	3.07	1.95	**	3.41
Mother's degree (LT HS)						
HS graduate	1.10		0.77	0.68	*	-2.55
Some college	1.01		0.04	0.88		-0.72
BA or more	0.86		-0.87	0.65	*	-2.17
Respondent's nativity (US-born)						
Foreign-born	1.02		0.13	0.36	***	-5.02
Religion raised (None)						
Catholic	0.88		-0.74	0.56	**	-2.74
Protestant	0.86		-0.88	0.65	*	-2.31
Other	0.62		-1.66	0.40	**	-2.92
Family structure (Biology)						
Step father; Bio father	1.13		0.39	3.12	**	3.13
Single mother	1.77		1.78	1.72		1.37
Other	1.05		0.51	1.64	***	4.26
Respondent's education (LT HS)						
HS graduate	0.85		-1.35	0.71	*	-2.30
Some college	0.73	*	-2.52	0.76		-1.91
BA or more	0.47	***	-4.08	0.54	*	-2.37
Age at cohabitation (20-24)						
<20	0.62	***	-4.29	0.84		-1.30
25-29	2.21	***	4.04	2.37	***	3.65
30+	2.26	*	2.39	1.78		1.41
Male partner had children (Did not)	1.04		0.34	1.05		0.38
Male partner's marital history (Wasn't)						
Was married before	1.18		1.09	0.95		-0.27
Spousal age difference (Female partner is older)						
Male > Female : <2 years	1.24		1.46	1.28		1.44
Male > Female : 2-4 years	1.18		0.98	1.17		0.75
Male> Female: 5+ years	1.47	*	2.32	0.97		-0.16
Duration	1.18	***	6.45	1.20	***	6.50
Intercept	0.46	**	-3.24	0.38	***	-3.58

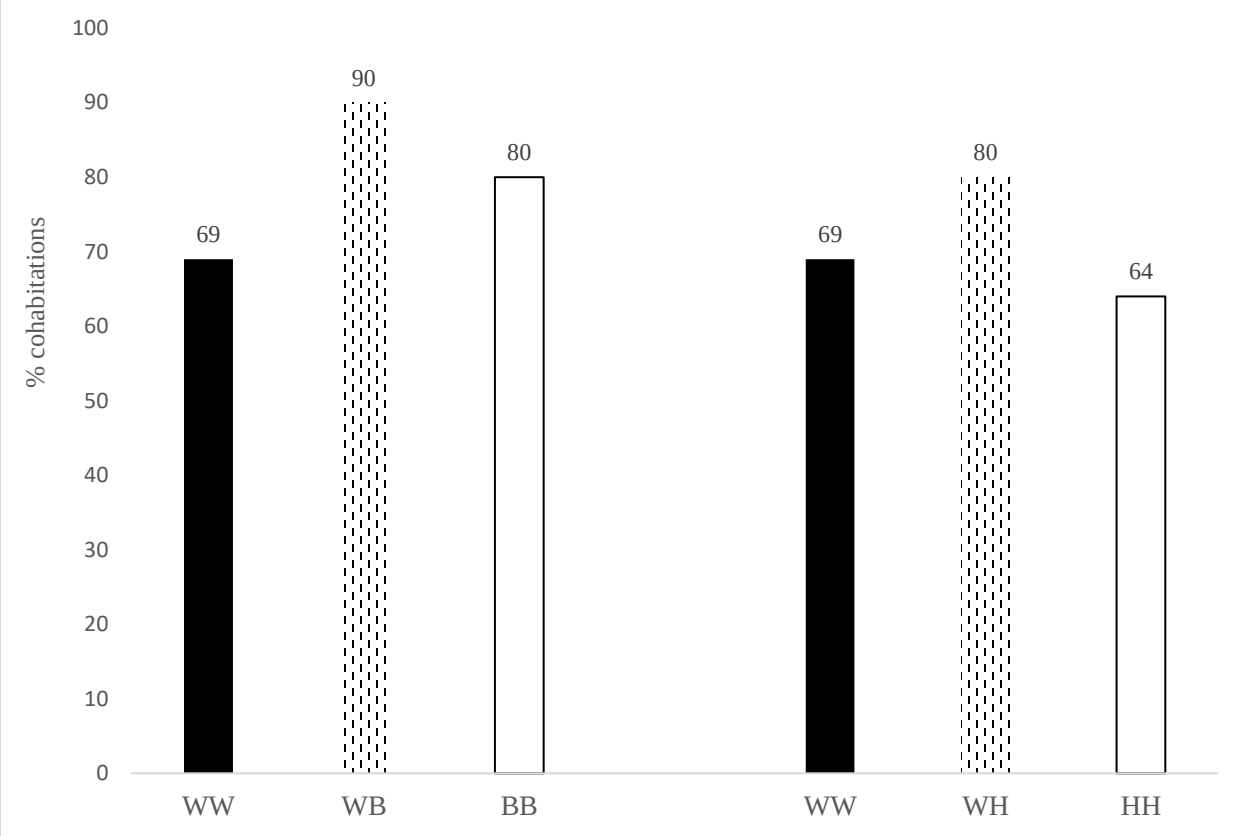
Source: 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth
Notes: Analyses are weighted. Counts are not weighted.

Table 4. Odd of Marrying their Partner within a Year of Child's Birth by Couple's Joint Race/Ethnicity

	eβ		β/se
Couple's race/ethnicity (WW)			
White female-Black male	0.47	*	-2.25
Same-race Blacks	0.27	***	-8.94
White female-Hisp male	0.61		-1.92
Same-race Hispanics	0.37	***	-5.81
Mother's degree (LT HS)			
HS graduate	0.83		-1.37
Some college	0.71	*	-2.10
BA or more	0.92		-0.46
Respondent's nativity (US-born)			
Foreign-born	0.99		-0.08
Religion raised (None)			
Catholic	1.37		1.81
Protestant	1.21		1.18
Other	1.58		1.68
Family structure (Biology)			
Step father; Bio father	0.96		-0.12
Single mother	0.96		-0.10
Other	0.78	*	-2.25
Education (LT HS)			
HS graduate	1.57	**	3.23
Some college	1.95	***	4.85
BA or more	3.19	***	5.85
Age at cohabitation (<20)			
20-24	0.99		-0.07
25-29	1.23		1.03
30+	1.03		0.06
Male partner had children from prior union (None)			
Had children	0.69	**	-2.72
Male partner was married before (Was not)			
Was married	1.12		0.70
Spousal age differentials (Female partner is older)			
Male > Female : <2 years	1.38		1.81
Male > Female : 2-4 years	1.09		0.42
Male> Female: 5+ years	1.43		1.80
Missing	1.94	*	2.48
Duration in years	0.94	***	-4.13
Intercept	0.36	***	-3.94

Source: 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth
Notes: Analyses are weighted. Counts are not weighted.

Figure 1. Percent of First Co-Residential Unions That are Non-Marital Cohabitations, by Couple's Joint Race/Ethnicity



Source: 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth

Notes: Analyses are weighted. Counts are not weighted.

WW stands for same-race White unions.

WB stands for unions involving a White woman and a Black male partner.

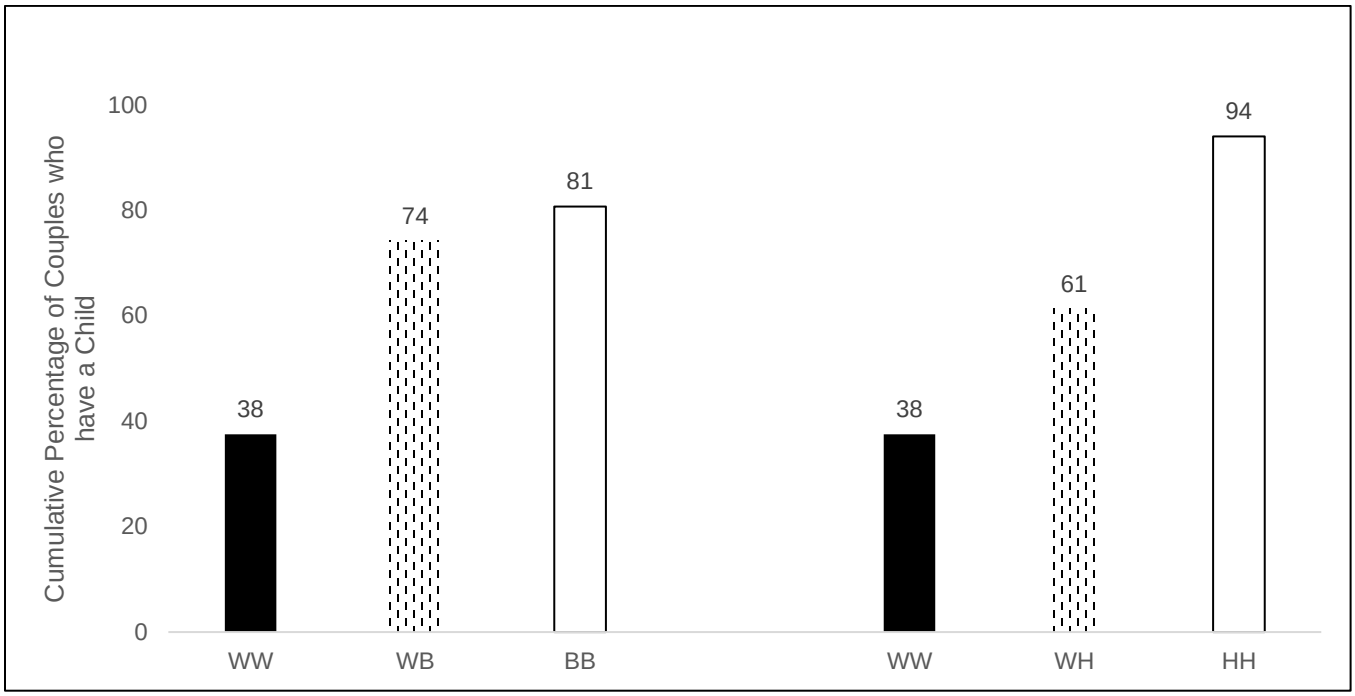
BB stands for same-race Black unions.

WH stands for unions involving a White woman and a Hispanic male partner.

HH stands for same-race Hispanic unions.

Appendix

Figure A1. Cumulative Percentage of Women who have at least one Child within the First 5 years of Cohabitation by Couple's Joint Race/Ethnicity



Source: 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth

Notes: Analyses are weighted.

WW stands for same-race White unions.

WB stands for unions involving White female- Black male partners.

BB stands for same-race Black unions.

WH stands for unions involving White female – Hispanic partners.

HH stands for unions involving same-race Hispanic unions.

Figure A2. Percent of Unwanted Pregnancies by Couple's Joint Race/Ethnicity

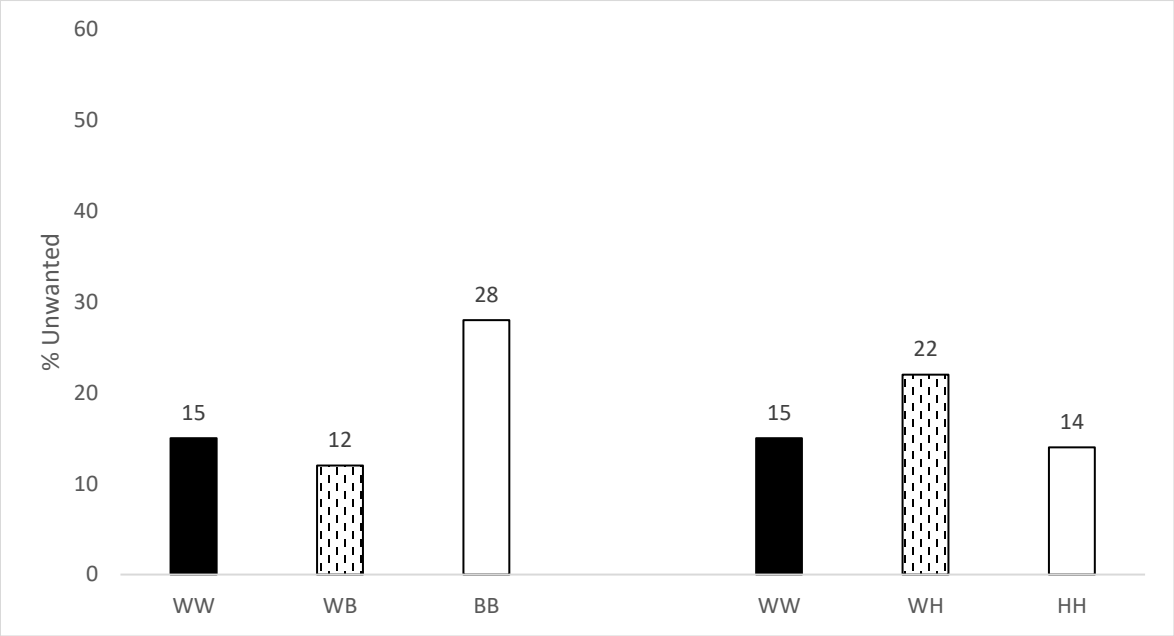
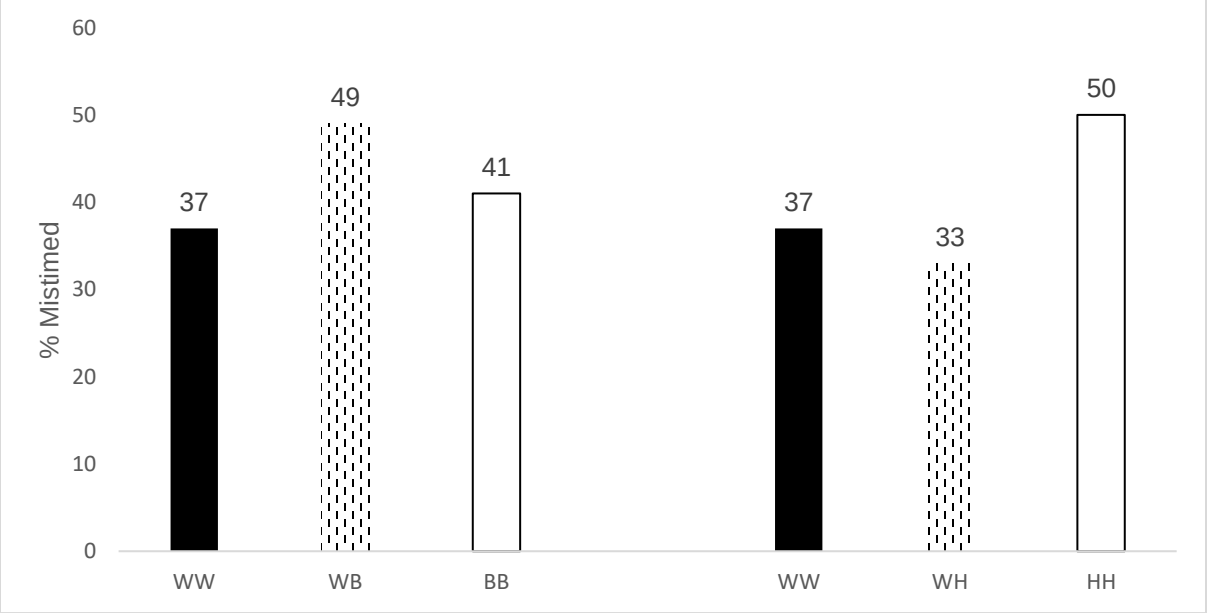
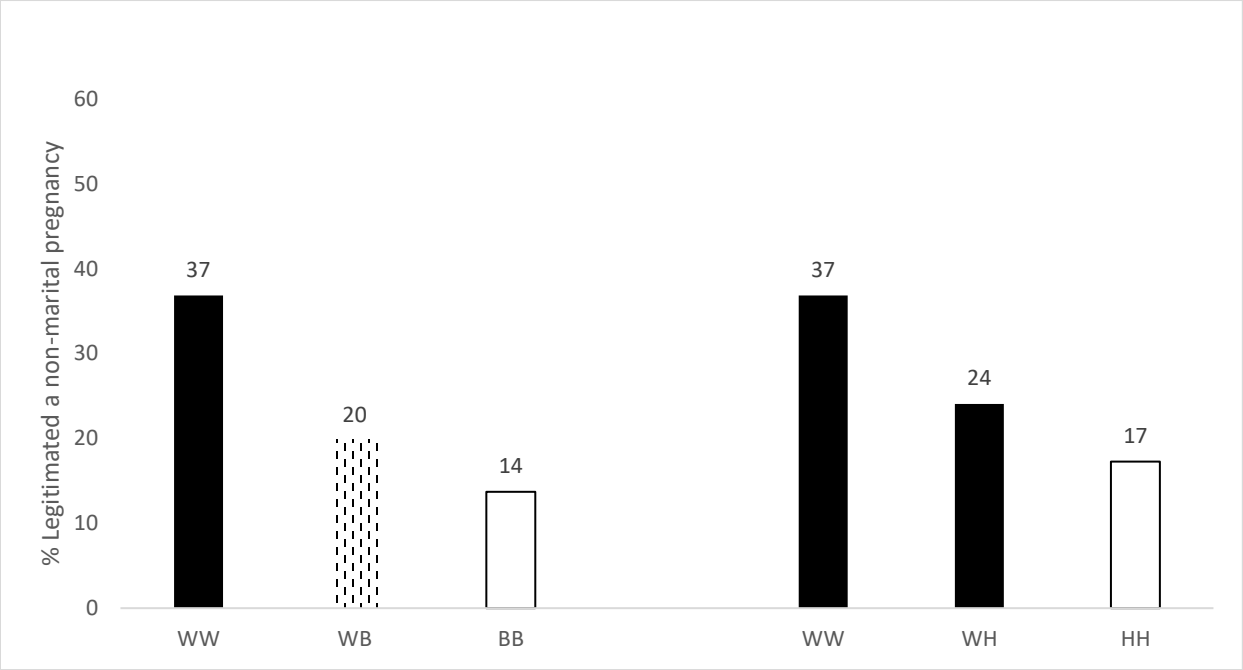


Figure A3. Percent of Mistimed Pregnancies by Couple's Joint Race/Ethnicity



Source: 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth
Notes: Analyses are weighted.

Figure A4. Legitimation Behavior by Couple's Joint Race/Ethnicity



Source: 2006-2015 National Survey of Family Growth
Notes: Analyses are weighted.