ncfr catalyzing research, theory and practice
Journal of Marriage and Family

Zhenchao Qian *Brown University*
Daniel T. Lichter *Cornell University**

Racial Pairings and Fertility: Do Interracial Couples Have Fewer Children?

Objective: *Our overall goal is largely descriptive—to compare recent fertility patterns between racially endogamous and exogamous couples in the United States. Evidence of lower fertility among exogamous or interracial couples arguably provides indirect evidence of social distance and cultural and economic integration.*
Background: *The growth of interracial marriage and cohabitation has fueled the rise in biracial or mixed-race children. Fertility rates are uneven among racial and ethnic groups, seemingly rooted in stigma and cultural differences (e.g., fertility norms). Whether fertility is different among interracial couples is unclear: Fertility rates that largely conform to the population of racially endogamous White couples provide evidence of social integration whereas differential fertility may reveal gender dynamics in fertility decision-making, including power relationships that depend on the race of male and female partners.*
Method: *We pool data from the 2008 to 2017* American Community Survey *to compare past-year fertility patterns among endogamously and interracially married and cohabiting couples.*
Results: *Fertility is generally lower among racially exogamous than endogamous unions, especially among Asian American-White couples. Fertility among American Indian-White couples is much closer to patterns of White couples than of American Indian couples. Fertility among other interracial couples nevertheless varies by the race of male partners. That is, fertility of the Black male/White female and the Hispanic male/White female couples is similar to patterns found among endogamous Black and Hispanic couples, respectively. The White male/Black female and the White male/Hispanic female couples follow the fertility patterns of White couples.*
Conclusion: *In general, the fertility levels of interracial couples are intermediate between those of endogamous White couples and their endogamous Black, Hispanic, or American Indian counterparts, but vary significantly by the race-gender mix of partners.*

Much of the literature on U.S. fertility seemingly was at a theoretical standstill in the aftermath of the baby boom and historic fertility declines in the 1960s and early 1970s. Indeed, the total fertility rate (TFR) declined from 3.65 in 1960 to 1.74 in 1976, but then stabilized at or slightly below replacement levels until 2007, before declining again in the wake of the Great Recession (Martin et al., 2019). In 2018, the United States had its lowest TFR (1.73) in

Department of Sociology, Brown University, Maxcy Hall, Box 1916, 108 George Street, Providence, RI 02912 (zhenchao_qian@brown.edu)

*Departments of Policy Analysis and Management and Sociology, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

Key Words: assortative mating, cohabitation, fertility, intermarriage, marriage.

nearly 40 years, and, despite continuing population growth, the number of babies born (3.8 million) was at a 32-year low. Recent declines in fertility—in both rates and numbers—are rooted in America's rapidly changing population composition, including increasing singlehood and nonmarital cohabitation, accelerated urbanization and rural decline, and growing income inequality (Guzzo & Hayford, 2020; Lundberg et al., 2016). Fertility declines also presumably reflect shifts in childbearing among some previously high-fertility populations, including Hispanics (e.g., fertility declines among Mexican immigrants), unmarried teens and young adults (i.e., declining nonmarital fertility), and low-educated working-class couples.

The paradox is that overall declines in fertility over the past decade stand in sharp contrast to unprecedented increases in the population of mixed-race infants—the so-called biracial baby boom (Root, 1996). The 2010 census, for example, revealed that more than 7% of the 3.5 million children were of two or more races and that non-Hispanic White newborns represented, for the first time ever, a minority share of all births (Jones & Bullock, 2012). To be sure, the surge of biracial infants and children is a direct result of increases in the number and share of interracial couples in the United States. About 16% of newly married couples are interracial or interethnic (Livingston, 2017). Yet, we know surprisingly little about the fertility behavior of interracial couples overall or about differential fertility among interracial couples with different mixes of partners (e.g., Black-White as compared with Hispanic-White). It also is unclear whether White-Non-White couples have more or fewer children than their endogamously-married counterparts. The children born to interracial couples have fueled the growth of America's multiracial populations, altered the trajectory of America's ethnoracial makeup, and blurred ethnoracial boundaries (Alba, 2020; Frey, 2014; Liebler, 2016). Perhaps ironically, the rising share of interracial couples may have reinforced recent declines in fertility rates.

In this paper, we pool data from the 2008 to 2017 *American Community Survey* (ACS) to explore fertility patterns among heterosexual couples who married in the past 5 years as well as heterosexual couples cohabiting at the time of the survey. Same-sex couples are not included due to data limitations (e.g., small *n*'s and data suppression). Our overall goal is largely descriptive—to compare recent fertility patterns between racially endogamous and exogamous couples in the United States. Fertility among exogamous or interracial couples that conforms to the mainstream provides evidence of blurring ethnoracial boundaries. On the one hand, rising rates of interracial marriage presumably reflect reduced social distance and increased social integration among racial and ethnic groups (Alba & Nee, 2003; Lichter et al., 2015; Qian & Lichter, 2007). On the other hand, successfully navigating today's shifting racial boundaries requires negotiation between partners (Osuji, 2019), which may affect childbearing decisions, especially if partners are located unequally in America's racial hierarchy or if their biracial children are likely to be stigmatized.

We address two additional but related objectives. First, we examine fertility differentials across couples representing different racial pairings (e.g., Black-White vs. Hispanic-White couples). We argue that fertility rates that largely conform to rates of racially endogamous White couples provide evidence of declining social distance or even cultural assimilation (e.g., Lichter, 2013; Waters & Pinceau, 2016). Second, our analysis highlights how gender-racial partnering among interracial couples is associated with fertility patterns. Evidence of similar fertility among women in a mixed-race and same-race unions suggests gender equity in fertility decision-making across endogamous and exogamous unions. Alternatively, if the race of male (or female) partners (i.e., Black male/White female vs. White male/Black female) is instead associated with fertility levels resembling their racially endogamous counterparts, fertility decision-making power is seemingly distributed unequally between male and female partners.

Background

Racial Differences in Fertility

The U.S. total fertility rate, although declining, remains among the highest of Western post-industrial countries. In much of Europe, especially in Southern and Eastern European countries, fertility levels are well below replacement (e.g., below 1.5 births per woman) (Adsera, 2011; Billari & Kohler, 2004). The high rates of U.S. fertility are exceptional in

comparison, reflecting in large part the growth of racially-diverse immigrants of reproductive age coming from high-fertility countries (e.g., Mexico or other parts of Latin America). Birth registration data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reveal that the TFR of 1.73 in 2018 hides substantial racial and ethnic variation (Martin et al., 2019). Indeed, the TFR of the non-Hispanic White population is only 1.64, virtually identical to the rate among American Indians (1.65) but slightly higher than the TFR of Asian Americans (1.52). For Blacks, the TFR is higher at 1.79, but still well below the replacement level. Among Hispanics, the TFR plummeted over the past decade, to 1.96 in 2018. The total fertility rate among Hispanics fell by 31% from 2006 to 2017 (Alvira-Hammond, 2019).

These recent estimates of racial differentials are increasingly suspect in an era of growing interracial marriage. The CDC did not report biracial or mixed-race births until 2016, identifying the race or ethnicity of newborn infants based on the reported race and ethnicity of mothers only. Although registration data now include information about fathers' race/ethnicity, the CDC does not report fertility rates by racial pairings of both parents (Qian & Shen, 2020). However, such estimates are now available from nationally representative data on past-year fertility for marital and cohabiting unions identified in the *American Community Survey*. We ask: Do interracial couples, on average, have fewer children? If so, why?

Fertility in Racially Endogamous and Exogamous Unions

The usual assumption is that interracial unions have depressed fertility (Choi & Goldberg, 2018; Fu, 2008). Although societal acceptance of interracial marriages has increased over the past several decades, crossing racial barriers in marriage still often generates opposition from parents, relatives, and friends. Disapproval is expressed unevenly across racial pairings, depending on the stigma associated with each kind of marriage (Herman & Campbell, 2012). Interracial couples, for example, are unlikely to receive the same levels of social support given to endogamous couples. Children of interracial couples face adjustment difficulties as they grow up with—or without—acceptance from relatives, friends, and social networks (Childs, 2005; Root, 2001, 2003). Cheng and Powell (2007) claim that to compensate, interracial couples make more educational investments in their biracial children. The parents from biracial families provide their children more resources, such as home computers or private school education, than their racially endogamous counterparts. Interracial couples nevertheless are less likely to develop strong social network ties and mobilize external resources than racially endogamous couples (Cheng & Powell, 2007). The financial and emotional costs of childbearing may affect the fertility decisions of interracial couples (Fu, 2008). Indeed, interracial couples are often concerned that their mixed-race children will be stigmatized, never fully accepted by family or friends on either side of the racial divide, and therefore will require greater parental commitments of time and energy (Romano, 2003; Root, 2001). Interracial couples may therefore have fewer children than they desire; childbearing will likely be depressed in comparison to racially endogamous couples. Our first hypothesis is that fertility is lower among interracial couples than among their endogamous counterparts.

Interracial cohabitation (as a share of all cohabiting unions) is more common today than interracial marriage (as a share of all marriages)(Choi & Goldberg, 2020). Yet, studies of childbearing among interracial cohabiting couples are uncommon, even though fertility among cohabiting couples is on the rise overall (Guzzo & Hayford, 2020; Lichter et al., 2016). In fact, nearly 60% of all U.S. nonmarital births now occur in cohabiting unions (Lichter et al., 2014); these births account for roughly 22% of all first births today, up from 12.4% in 2002 (Copen et al., 2013; Martinez et al., 2012). These figures may be biased if some cohabiting couples marry after becoming pregnant but before childbirth (Choi & Goldberg, 2020; Lichter et al., 2006; Sassler et al., 2018) or if cohabiting couples break up before birth (Lichter et al., 2006).

These complex underlying patterns of fertility decision-making make it difficult to forecast fertility rates among interracial cohabiting couples. As a baseline, we start with the premise that fertility among interracial cohabitating couples will be lower than fertility among their endogamous cohabiting and interracially married counterparts. Interracial couples are less likely than endogamous couples to transition from cohabitation to marriage, which suggests

that interracial couples may be less committed to their relationships or that they acknowledge the challenges of mixed-race families in American society (Blackwell & Lichter, 2000; Kao et al., 2019). It is also the case that cohabitation, especially interracial cohabitation, is highly selective of more egalitarian partners with less traditional gender roles (Sassler & Miller, 2011). If so, fertility is expected to be lower among interracial cohabiting couples than among endogamous couples—their cohabiting or married counterparts.

The Racial Mix of Interracial Couples and Differential Fertility

A large demographic literature typically conceptualizes majority-minority marriages as a step in the assimilation process (Gordon, 1964), although such formulations seem increasingly anachronistic (Qian et al., 2018; Waters & Pinceau, 2016). Non-White minorities who married Whites presumably have adopted the cultural patterns (e.g., language, education, and residence) and have become more culturally integrated into mainstream American society (Gordon, 1964; Park & Burgess, 1969). Fertility among interracial couples should therefore be more similar to endogamous White couples than to their endogamous Hispanic, Black, American Indian, and Asian American counterparts.

Of course, America's immigrant populations have diverse national origins, racial and ethnic backgrounds, and economic resources. Cultural and economic assimilation is therefore highly segmented (Van Hook & Glick, 2020). Moreover, Alba and Nee (2003) have challenged classical straight-line assimilation theory and rejected the usual assumption that assimilation is a one-way process of immigrants and minorities adopting the cultural, social, and economic patterns of America's White middle-class mainstream majority. Indeed, the use of "majority" and "minority" itself risks implying a hierarchal relationship between unequal racial and ethnic groups (Buggs et al., 2020). The idea of a White American "mainstream" has now become more contentious than ever. While this assumption may have applied to White ethnic immigrants at the turn of the 20th century, it seems much less applicable today in America's racially diverse society. Still, immigrants and racial minorities invariably seek and achieve better lives—and integration—through schooling and upward mobility. Greater exposure and new opportunities for social interaction with native-born Whites may lead to intimate relationships and marriages that cross racial lines (Qian & Lichter, 2011). For Whites, intermarriage with minorities suggests an openness or acceptance to racial and cultural diversity, providing evidence of a two-way integration process between majority and minority populations (Alba & Nee, 2003). As a two-way integration process, interracial couples may or may not adopt or conform to the fertility behavior of Whites. The racial pairing presumably matters to the extent each partner brings different interpersonal resources to the marriage market, where they are located vis-à-vis Whites in America's racial hierarchy, and whether they face either racial antipathy or acceptance.

A recent study by Choi and Goldberg (2018) illustrates this general point. They used data from the 2002 annual file and 2006–2015 continuous file of the *National Survey of Family Growth* to compare pregnancies of interracial couples with pregnancies of racially endogamous couples. They found that Black-White couples—but only those involving White women—had a rate of pregnancy that was 77% higher than racially endogamous White couples, a result that could not be explained by socioeconomic disparities or other couple-level factors. Black-White couples involving Black women had significantly lower pregnancy rates than Black-White couples involving White women (see appendix table A11 in Choi & Goldberg, 2018). Long-lasting racial discrimination and prejudice against Blacks may indicate strong opposition to intermarriage between Blacks and Whites. Perhaps paradoxically, however, Black-White unions may have overcome serious challenges to their relationships, becoming more committed and resilient and achieving higher fertility in the process (Fu, 2008). This is speculation that requires empirical study.

For other interracial couples, Choi and Goldberg (2018) reported pregnancy rates that were more similar to those of endogamous White couples than to endogamous Black or Hispanic couples. Hispanic-White marriages may consist of Hispanic partners who themselves often identify as White and therefore are likely to have fertility patterns similar to endogamous White couples (Qian & Cobas, 2004). These results, although focused on pregnancies rather than

births (which is our focus), seemingly suggest that intermarriage and fertility are markers of cultural assimilation, reflecting diverse racial realities and hierarchy (Van Hook & Glick, 2020). To the extent that racial stigma is high (e.g., in the case of Black-White marriages, which are comparatively rare vis-à-vis American Indian-White, Asian American-White, and Hispanic-White marriages), we hypothesize that fertility rates will be more closely associated with the fertility levels of the stigmatized non-White populations than with the White population. This stands in contrast with the alternative hypothesis that interracial fertility between non-Hispanic Whites and non-Whites may lay intermediate between the fertility rates of the two populations.

Gender and Fertility in Interracial Couples

Much of the research on fertility differentials focuses on women rather than taking into consideration the fertility desires of both partners (Nitsche & Hayford, 2020). Women's fertility results from her intentions and decisions to engage in sexual activity, use contraception, or bring the pregnancy to term (Morgan & Taylor, 2006). Women's partners also matter although it is often the case that partners typically share similar childbearing goals or aspirations (Thomson et al., 1990). Among partners who disagree, fertility rates usually fall midway between couples who agreed on having larger families and couples who agreed on having smaller families (Thomson et al., 1990). Fertility decision-making is a matter of compromise, reflecting the desires of both partners (Ray et al., 2020).

For interracial unions, observed racial differences in fertility suggest that partners may have different fertility desires from those in endogamous marriages. It is unclear, however, whether the fertility behavior of interracial couples should fall midway between the average fertility levels of each race represented in the union. For example, if intermarriage with Whites is selective of racial or cultural groups that have assimilated or who are similar to Whites on other characteristics associated with fertility, such as education, then interracial couples are likely to conform to the fertility levels of Whites. It also is possible that interracial unions are selective of economically-advantaged male and/or female partners. If so, fertility may well fall below average along the usual socioeconomic fertility gradient (Dribe et al., 2017).

Childbearing patterns may also reflect the fertility preferences or the racial backgrounds of one partner over the other. Indeed, marriage is a highly gendered institution that reflects cultural attitudes and norms supporting traditional gender relations or, in some cases, patriarchy (Bittman et al., 2003; Sayer et al., 2011). Traditional gender roles mean that women may have difficulty realizing their own fertility aspirations if they are different from their male partner's desires. For interracial couples with White partners, a gender perspective also suggests that fertility levels may vary by race of the male partner. Non-White women may adopt the fertility patterns of Whites while White women may follow the patterns of their Black, American Indian, Asian American, or Hispanic spouses. Selection into intermarriage also may play a role. For example, Asian American and Hispanic women in endogamous unions may be subject to traditional gender ideologies, including heightened pressure to have more children (Espiritu, 1997; Landale & Oropesa, 2007). One reason for out-marriage may in fact be to break away from traditional cultural or patriarchal norms (Mishra, 2018; Vasquez-Tokos, 2017). Among Black women, historically high labor force participation rates also suggest less adherence to traditional gender roles, even when married to a White man. Their gender and motherhood ideology may instead emphasize economic self-sufficiency and financial independence from men—any man, regardless of race (Collins, 2009; Florian, 2017). Fertility rates among interracially married American Indians are also lower than among endogamous American Indians (Eschbach, 1995). Our baseline hypothesis is that fertility rates among White male/non-White female couples will be more similar to those of endogamous White couples than their endogamous Black, Hispanic, American Indian, or Asian American counterparts.

Increasingly, men and women with more education or earnings potential are more likely today than in the past to marry rather than cohabit or to transition from cohabitation to marriage before childbearing (Ishizuka, 2018; Lichter et al., 2016), even as women are increasingly likely to "marry down" (Qian, 2018). This suggests less patriarchy and greater decision-making power among women in today's egalitarian unions. However, a recent

study of fertility intentions among couples with at least one child revealed that male partners more strongly influenced subsequent fertility than did female partners (Ray et al., 2020). Traditional gender roles still matter and, in fact, may be stronger among racially disadvantaged families, especially if women occupy a subservient economic role. For interracial couples, this also suggests that non-White males may exert more influence on fertility than their White female partners. We hypothesize that fertility rates among non-White male/White female couples will thus be more similar to those of the endogamous non-White couples than to endogamous White couples.

Other Factors Affecting Fertility

Our empirical approach also accounts for other variables that matter in fertility decision-making among endogamous and exogamous couples. Here, women's reproductive ages range from ages 15 to 50, which capture cohabitation and marital timing and other life course events, including schooling and labor force participation (Seltzer, 2019). Another important consideration is marital order. Men and women in their first marriage are much more likely to have children than those in remarriage. Similarly, the number of older children living in the household is likely to shape recent fertility. Nativity status also plays a role in two ways: foreign-born couples are more likely to have higher fertility rates than native-born couples and in cases of mixed-nativity, native partners may have more fertility decision-making power than their foreign-born partners (Parrado & Morgan, 2008). Educational pairings of partners are also expected to affect fertility (Yang & Morgan, 2003). Highly-educated couples typically have lower fertility than their less educated counterparts (Yang & Morgan, 2003). We expect that more educated partners will have more fertility decision power than less educated partners.

In addition to the aforementioned individual and couple attributes, national and neighborhood context also influences fertility behavior (Browning & Burrington, 2006; South & Crowder, 2010), just as it shapes patterns of union formation, including whether couples are racially endogamous or exogamous (Campbell & Martin, 2016; Qian et al., 2018). For example, following national trends over the past decade, interracial fertility rates are likely to have declined even as interracial coupling has increased. A large international literature of the fertility transition also reveals that reproductive values and behavioral norms (e.g., contraceptive use) often diffuse from high-SES populations (e.g., high income or education) to other populations, even in cohabiting unions (Casterline, 2001; Vitali et al., 2015). Normative constraints on fertility, however, are less likely to be observed in racially- and economically-diverse neighborhoods and communities—those with greater shares of mixed-income, minority, multiracial, and foreign-born populations. Non-White or interracial couples in diverse rather than predominately White neighborhoods are less likely to conform to White fertility patterns.

Current Study and Hypotheses

Our study uses nationally representative couple data from the *American Community Survey* to study past-year fertility. We ask whether interracial couples, on average, have fewer children than their endogamous counterparts. To summarize, we consider four baseline hypotheses.

- Fertility is lower among interracial couples than among their endogamous counterparts.
- Fertility is lower among cohabiting than among married interracial couples.
- Fertility rates among interracial couples vary by race and gender of partners (i.e., by the extent of stigmatization or economic marginalization). Specifically,
    - Fertility rates among non-White male/White female couples are, on average, more similar to those of the endogamous non-White couples than to those of endogamous White couples.
    - However, fertility rates among White male/non-White female couples are more similar to rates among endogamous White couples than to those of endogamous American Indian, Asian American, Black, or Hispanic couples.

Method

Data and Measurement

We use data from the *American Community Survey* (ACS), which samples about 3 million households annually. Because interracial

fertility and interracial relationships are relatively rare, we pool data from the 2008–2017 annual files of the ACS to increase sample size. The ACS includes census-like information on marital status and year of marriage, and asks whether women aged 15–50 had a birth in the past 12 months, which we use as a measure of recent fertility. We limit the sample to the heterosexual couples who married in the past 5 years. By considering only recently married couples, we reduce selection biases associated with differences across couples in marital duration and instability, which is observed disproportionately among mixed-race couples (Zhang & Van Hook, 2009). Because only women aged 15 to 50 were asked the question about the past-year fertility, we select only couples that include female partners in this age range.

Our analyses also consider currently cohabiting couples (defined by whether the household includes an "unmarried partner" of the householder). The ACS provides no information about when cohabiting unions started, which means that we are unable to restrict cohabiting couples formed in the past 5 years. This suggests the need for a cautious interpretation when making fertility comparisons between married and cohabiting couples. Fortunately, the overwhelming share of cohabiting unions lasts less than 5 years (Bumpass & Lu, 2000), with most of them ending in dissolution rather than marriage (Lichter et al., 2006).

For our purposes, we link individual records of each co-residential married or cohabiting partner into a couple record. The racial and ethnic identity of each partner is defined in Directive 15 by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Following these guidelines, we first distinguish Hispanics (of any race) from non-Hispanics. Non-Hispanics are classified as White, Black, Asian American, American Indian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islanders (NHPI). The number of recent interracial marriages is insufficient in the ACS to conduct separate analyses of the NHPI population, which mostly includes the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, and Samoa. Because Whites represent a statistical majority of the total U.S. and adult populations, we sometimes refer to the other racial and ethnic groups, when combined, as either the (statistical) minority or as non-Whites (i.e., as racial groups other than non-Hispanic White). Couples are then classified into the following categories: (a) both White, (b) both Black, (c) both American Indian, (d) both Asian American, (e) both Hispanic, (f) White male/Black female, (g) Black male/White female, (h) White male/American Indian female, (i) American Indian male/White female, (j) White male/Asian American female, (k) Asian American male/White female, (l) White male/Hispanic female, (m) Hispanic male/White female, and (n) minority male/minority female (i.e., partners identify with different non-White groups). We distinguish whether the non-White spouse or partner is male or female among non-White-White intermarried couples to explore whether gender of the non-White spouse or partner is linked to variation in recent fertility.

Our empirical strategy yields 910,001 couples that satisfy our selection criteria. Of these couples, 652,321 married in the past 5 years and 257,680 are cohabiting at the time of survey. Because our couple-level data are at the household level, we apply household weights to adjust percentages and means in the descriptive statistics. Tables A1 and A2 provide descriptive statistics on the sample. Nearly 15% of all couples are in interracial marriages, of which the overwhelming majority—nearly 90%—involve Whites. Gender asymmetries in interracial unions are especially large among Blacks and Asian Americans. Most Black-White unions involve Black men and White women whereas Asian American-White couples are selective of Asian American women and White men. These patterns contrast with Hispanic-White and American Indian-White pairings, which exhibit little gender asymmetry. As expected (Choi & Goldberg, 2020), the percent of interracial couples was lower among married than among cohabiting unions (14.2% vs. 17.2%).

Multivariate Analyses

We apply logistic regression models to predict odds ratios of whether married and cohabiting couples had a child in the past year. Unobserved heterogeneity may confound odds ratios (Mood, 2009), but does not affect average marginal effects (AME) when comparing coefficients across logistic regression models. We therefore also present AME—the average effects of variables on the probability of past-year childbearing across all observations (Mood, 2009). Our main independent variable

is the racial pairing or mix of the couple. We introduce robust standard errors to correct for potential dependence of those living in the same Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs).

We control for a number of variables which may influence the relationship between racial pairing and past-year fertility. (Descriptive statistics are provided in Tables A1 and A2.) For example, compared with other couples, Hispanic women have children at comparatively young ages. We consider the following age groups: 15–19, 20–24, 25–29, 30–34, 35–39, and 40–50. Immigrants are more likely to have children than their native-born counterparts (Lichter et al., 2012; Parrado & Morgan, 2008), so we classify couples' nativity combination into both native-born; native-born male and foreign-born female; foreign-born male and native-born female; and both foreign-born. Educational attainment of both men and women influences interracial pairing as well as fertility (Musick et al., 2009; Qian & Lichter, 2011). Educational pairings of partners include: Neither with completed college; both with completed college; the female with some college or less and male with completed college; and the male with some college or less and female with completed college. Because fertility varies by union type (marriage or cohabitation) and marital order (first- or re-marriage) (Guzzo & Hayford, 2020), we classify couples into five distinct groups: (a) cohabiting, (b) both first married, (c) first married male and remarried female, (d) remarried male and first married female, and (e) both remarried. We also break down the 10 years of ACS data into two periods, 2008–2011 and 2012–2017, to capture the period effects of the Great Recession on fertility (Schneider, 2015).

Where racial and ethnic minorities live affects opportunities for interracial relationships and socioeconomic mobility. To explore how local conditions may influence couples' fertility behavior, we use several measures of racial composition and socioeconomic status. PUMAs contain at least 100,000 residents. A geographical area greater than 200,000 residents is usually divided into as many PUMAs of 100,000 or more residents as possible. PUMAs reflect local area residential conditions, which may be relevant to respondents' fertility behavior (Guzzo & Hayford, 2020; Su, 2019). We derive PUMA-level measures based on combined samples from several years, specifically pooled samples of 2008–2011 and 2012–2017. U.S. Census Bureau redraws PUMA boundaries every 10 years; PUMA boundaries for 2008–2011 were based on the 2000 census whereas boundaries used for 2012–2017 came from the 2010 census. For each PUMA, we calculate percent of racial and ethnic minorities (Blacks, American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanics combined), percent of multiracial individuals, percent of foreign born, percent of those with completed college education, and median household income. These measures are mean-centered and logged because the distributions across neighborhoods are highly skewed (an empirical fact reflective of racial and economic segregation across neighborhoods).

Results

Fertility among Endogamous and Exogamous Couples

Our first objective is to ascertain whether exogamous couples have lower past-year fertility than endogamous couples. As a baseline, data in Table 1 show that racially endogamous married couples accounted for the overwhelming share—67.4%—of all births. The percentage rose to 85.4% when cohabiting couples were added. Nearly 9 out of 10 births were born to racially endogamous couples.

Overall, 13.8% of couples reported having a birth in the past 12 months (Table 1, bottom row). Consistent with our hypothesis, the percentages were substantially lower among cohabiting than married couples (9.8% vs. 15.6%). Moreover, past-year fertility was slightly lower, as expected, in exogamous unions than in endogamous unions, both for cohabiting and married couples. The highest fertility was experienced among same-race married couples (15.6%) and the lowest among different-race cohabiting couples (9.7%). Still, the difference between endogamous and exogamous couples was similar by union status (marriage or cohabitation). For married couples, fertility among exogamous couples was 3.2% lower than among endogamous couples. The differences are relatively small but confirm our hypothesis of lower fertility among exogamous couples.

The Racial and Gender Mix: Fertility Differentials

Fertility differentials between racially endogamous and exogamous couples are likely to

Table 1. *Births in the Past Year by Racial/Ethnic Endogamy or Exogamy among Married and Cohabiting Couples, 2008–2017*

	Number	Percent	Births in the past year	Percent of births	Percent of births by union type
Married couples in which women are 15–50 years old, married 0–4 years ago					
Racially endogamous	559,796	59.6	88,230	67.4	15.6
Racially exogamous	92,525	9.9	14,005	10.9	15.1
Subtotal	652,321	69.5	102,235	78.3	15.6
Cohabiting couples in which women are 15–50 years old, cohabiting at time of survey					
Racially endogamous	213,613	25.3	20,013	18.0	9.9
Racially exogamous	44,067	5.2	4,048	3.7	9.7
Subtotal	257,680	30.5	24,061	21.7	9.8
Total	910,001	100.0	126,296	100.0	13.8

Note. Percentages are weighted and number and birth counts are not weighted.

obfuscate substantial heterogeneity across different types of interracial couples. In Table 2, we report past-year fertility among married and cohabiting couples, disaggregated by ethnoracial background of each male and female partner. We consider only interracial unions that involve partners who are White, Black, Asian American, Hispanic (of any race), and American Indian. The 5×5 cross-tabulation reported in Table 2 provides the percentages for each racial pairing—25 different combinations overall. The cells on the main diagonal highlight the percentage of racially endogamous couples with children born in the previous year. The off-diagonal cells show the percentage of interracial unions with children born in the past year. To illustrate, these data show that 3,894 Black-White married couples involved a Black female and White male, compared with 8,288 involving a Black male and White female. Almost 70% of Black-White marriages in the sample involved a Black male and White female. White male/American Indian female couples (3,840) were about equal to American Indian male/White female couples (3,845). As expected, these contrast with White-Asian American marriages, which are over-representative of White men and Asian American women.

The diagonal data in Table 2 reveal racial differentials in fertility among endogamous couples, both married (upper panel) and cohabiting (lower panel). The percentage of married couples having a birth over the past 12 months ranged from a low of 14.0% among Black couples to a high of 16.8% among Asian American and Hispanic couples. For each racially endogamous pairing, cohabiting couples were less likely than married couples to report a birth in the past year. Racial differences, however, were large. Among Whites, fertility among cohabiting couples was only 7.8%, only about half the percentage observed among married couples. Cohabitation-marriage fertility differences were much smaller for Blacks (12.6 vs. 14.0) and Hispanics (14.0 vs. 16.8).

These data also indicate substantial variation in fertility across different racial-gender pairings (Table 2, off-diagonal cells). Of these racial pairings, fertility was lowest among White husband/Asian American wife couples (12.7%), a figure lower than among White wife/Asian American husband couples (14.9%). Both pairings have lower fertility than endogamous Asian American couples (16.8%). In each case, non-White husband/White wife couples had a higher percentage of past-year fertility compared to non-White wife/White husband couples. In other words, White/non-White couples had a higher percentage of past-year fertility if the non-White spouse was male rather than female. This descriptive finding is consistent with our hypotheses.

The results among minority-minority couples are mixed. There is no evidence that minority-minority couples had lower past-year fertility. In fact, a larger percentage of Black-Other minority and American Indian-Other minority married couples had a child in the past year than did their racially endogamous counterparts. Most Asian American-Other minority and Hispanic-Other minority couples had lower percentages than their respective endogamous couples, but mostly

Table 2. *Percent of Births in the Past Year by Men's and Women's Race/Ethnicity among Married and Cohabiting Couples, 2008–2017*

	Women's race/ethnicity				
Men's race/ethnicity	White	Black	American Indian	Asian American	Hispanic
Married couples in which women are 15–50 years old, married 0–4 years ago					
White (%)	15.5	12.8	15.4	12.7	14.7
	(413,721)	(3,894)	(3,840)	(13,930)	(22,087)
Black (%)	15.5	14.0	21.4	15.6	15.1
	(8,288)	(37,297)	(251)	(823)	(3,050)
American Indian (%)	15.5	16.0	16.7	16.5	14.0
	(3,845)	(100)	(2,789)	(172)	(546)
Asian American (%)	14.9	14.0	18.2	16.8	16.9
	(5,676)	(208)	(107)	(32,290)	(1,237)
Hispanic (%)	16.9	17.9	18.6	15.8	16.8
	(20,568)	(1,333)	(646)	(1,924)	(73,699)
Cohabiting couples in which women are 15–50 years old, cohabiting at time of survey					
White (%)	7.8	8.0	9.7	3.7	8.0
	(142,948)	(1,953)	(1,716)	(4,376)	(8,786)
Black (%)	12.2	12.6	16.3	10.8	14.2
	(6,329)	(21,208)	(223)	(439)	(2,326)
American Indian (%)	11.2	17.2	13.9	6.2	11.2
	(1,605)	(61)	(2,797)	(62)	(319)
Asian American (%)	4.4	8.4	11.4	7.3	9.1
	(2,498)	(101)	(67)	(4,662)	(623)
Hispanic (%)	10.8	15.8	15.5	8.8	14.0
	(10,259)	(938)	(462)	(924)	(41,998)

Note. Percentages are weighted and sample sizes in parentheses are not weighted.

higher than their peers who married Whites. Fertility rates were lower for each type of racial pairing involving cohabiting couples, but much lower among couples involving Whites or Asian Americans. For example, past-year fertility rates were 12.7% and 14.9%, respectively, among White husband/Asian American wife couples and Asian American husband/White wife couples. They were only 3.7% and 4.4%, respectively, among their cohabiting counterparts. In summary, these descriptive results suggest that fertility is suppressed in White male/non-White female marriages whereas intermarried Blacks have higher levels of fertility than their endogamous counterparts.

Multivariate Results of Fertility

Fertility among all couples. Racially endogamous and exogamous unions are likely to be very different in their sociodemographic makeup across racial pairings. Specifically, the bivariate findings reported in Table 2 may be the result of many different confounding factors rather than of factors (e.g., stigma or gender power relations) inherent to each racial pairing. To address this issue, Table 3 includes results from a series of logistic regression models predicting the odds of having a child in the past year. We start by asking whether exogamous couples are less likely than endogamous couples to have had children in the past year. Model 1 confirms that the odds of having a child in the past year are 7% lower compared to endogamous couples, consistent with estimates in Table 1.

As a next step, Model 2 distinguishes patterns of fertility among five types of endogamous couples by race/ethnicity and nine types of exogamous couples (eight White-non-White pairings plus one minority-minority pairing). Minority-minority couples are treated as a single category, recognizing that sample sizes for some minority combinations are sparse and that the large majority of exogamous unions involve White partners. These analyses indicate that the odds of having a birth in the past year were 17%, 20%, and 22% higher among

Table 3. *Results from Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Having a Child in the Past Year among Married and Cohabiting Women, 2008–2017*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Racially endogamous				
Endogamous (Reference)				
Exogamous	0.93***			
Racial/ethnic pairing				
White couples (Reference)				
Black couples		0.97*	1.21***	1.32***
American Indian couples		1.17***	1.56***	1.57***
Asian American couples		1.20***	0.98	1.02
Hispanic couples		1.22***	1.22***	1.28***
White man Black woman couples		0.87***	0.93	0.98
Black man White woman couples		1.06*	1.21***	1.27***
White man American Indian woman couples		0.97	1.04	1.06
American Indian man White woman couples		1.00	1.05	1.07
White man Asian American woman couples		0.75***	0.81***	0.84***
Asian American man White woman couples		0.89***	0.89****	0.93*
White man Hispanic woman couples		0.91***	0.93***	0.97
Hispanic man White woman couples		1.10***	1.10***	1.15***
Minority-minority couples		1.11***	1.21***	1.29***
Female partners' age group				
15–19 (Reference)				
20–24			0.75***	0.75***
25–29			0.63***	0.63***
30–34			0.68***	0.70***
35–39			0.50***	0.52***
40–50			0.10***	0.10***
Couples' nativity				
Both native-born (Reference)				
Native-born man and foreign-born woman			0.94***	0.97*
Foreign-born man and native-born woman			0.99	1.02
Both foreign-born			1.15***	1.20***
Couples' educational attainment				
Both no completed college (Reference)				
Woman with some college or less and man with completed college			0.85***	0.88***
Man with some college or less and woman with completed college			0.81***	0.83***
Both completed college			0.74***	0.81***
Cohabitation or marital order				
Cohabiting (Reference)				
Both first married			2.30***	2.26***
First married man and remarried woman			2.44***	2.39***
Remarried man and first married woman			2.21***	2.16***
Both remarried			1.43***	1.39***
Number of older children living in the household			0.87***	0.86***
Time period				
2008–2011 (Reference)				
2012–2017			0.94***	0.93***
PUMA level characteristics				
ln (percent minorities) mean centered				0.96***
ln (percent multiracials) mean centered				0.99
ln (percent foreign born) mean centered				0.98**
ln (median household income) mean centered				1.47***
ln (percent completed college) mean centered				0.70***
Constant	0.16***	0.16***	0.20***	0.19***
Log-Likelihood Ratio	64	949	30,645	31,930
N		910,001		

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, and ***$p < .001$.

endogamous American Indian, Asian American, and Hispanic couples, respectively, than the reference group (i.e., White-White couples). The odds of past-year fertility are significantly lower—but only 3% lower—among endogamous Black couples than among endogamous White couples. The low fertility rates reported earlier (Table 2) among married endogamous Black couples, along with higher rates among their cohabiting counterparts, seem to bring overall fertility among all Black and all White co-residential unions into general alignment.

Patterns of fertility by racial pairing are considerably more idiosyncratic, but support our hypotheses that the gender and race of non-White partners matter. On the one hand, non-White women who formed unions with White men, for example, generally had lower odds of past-year fertility than did endogamous White couples. Among non-White women with White partners (married or cohabiting), the odds of past-year fertility were 13% lower for Blacks, 25% lower for Asian Americans, and 9% lower for Hispanics than for their White-White counterparts. On the other hand, among non-White men with White partners, the odds of past-year fertility were 6% higher for Blacks, 11% lower for Asian Americans, and 10% higher for Hispanics. The odds of past-year fertility among American Indian-White couples, regardless of race/gender mix of partners, were not statistically different from endogamous White couples.

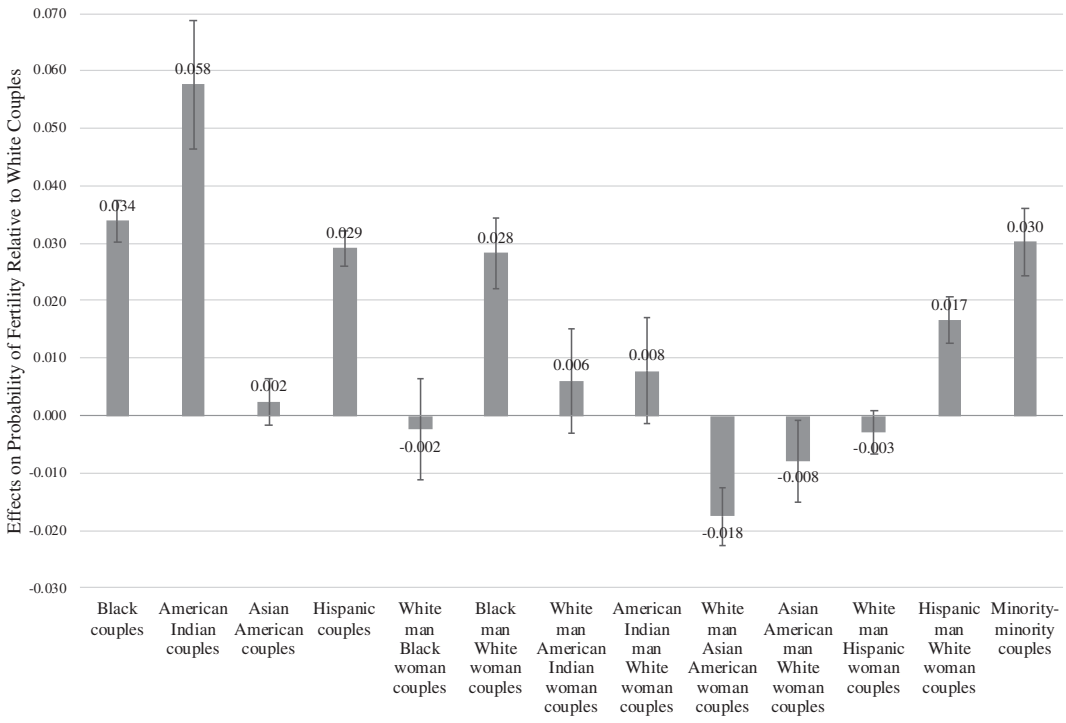
In Model 3 (Table 3), we control for social and demographic characteristics, including female age group, couples' pairing by nativity, education, union status and marital order, and time period. These results show that endogamous minority couples had greater odds of past-year fertility than endogamous White couples. The odds of past-year fertility also increased with controls among Black endogamous couples (from .97 to 1.21) and American Indian couples (from 1.17 to 1.56). The disadvantaged demographic and social profiles of Blacks and American Indians clearly have the effect of suppressing observed fertility differences from White-White couples. For Asian American couples, the odds of past-year fertility were not significantly different from the reference group (White-White couples), once other variables were included in the models.

The inclusion of PUMA characteristics in Model 4 (Table 3) generally reveals little overall effect on our substantive conclusions regarding fertility. Perhaps the most notable changes were found among Black endogamous couples and Black-White couples. With PUMA-level controls, the odds of past-year fertility among Black-Black couples increased from 1.21 to 1.32 between Models 3 and 4. Moreover, the odds of fertility among Black male/White female couples were 21% greater than among White-White couples (Model 3), rising to 27% greater when PUMA controls are introduced in Model 4. In contrast, the odds of fertility among White male/Black female couples were statistically similar to those of endogamous White couples, both in Models 3 and 4. The results confirm our central findings: Endogamous minority couples or interracially married couples are as likely—and sometimes more likely—to have births in the past year than endogamous White couples.

Changes in odds ratio across models may be confounded by changes in unobserved heterogeneity unrelated to the variables in logistic regression models whereas changes in average marginal effects (AMEs), the average of predicted probabilities of all individuals with observed values of the variables in these models, would be unaffected (Mood, 2009). Table A3 replicates Table 3 with results of AMEs. The substantive results remain the same. Figure 1 presents average marginal effects of racial/ethnic pairing on fertility in the past year (including confidence intervals) based on Model 4 in Table A3. These results clearly reveal the larger marginal effects among Black (.034), American Indian (.058), and Hispanic (.029) endogamous couples vis-à-vis White endogamous couples. They also highlight significantly higher past-year fertility among Black-White (.028) and Hispanic-White (.017) couples, closer to the AMEs of their Black and Hispanic endogamous counterparts, but only when Black or Hispanic partners are male. In contrast, AMEs of American Indian-White couples and White endogamous couples were not statistically different. For Asian American-White couples, AMEs were one or two percentage points lower than those of either Asian American or White endogamous couples. These results confirm the bivariate patterns observed in Table 2 and the results in Table 3.

Other predictors of fertility. Model 3 (Table 3) includes the individual and couple control

Figure 1. Average Marginal Effects of Racial/Ethnic Pairing on Fertility in the Past Year Based on Model 4 Table 3.



variables. They mostly operate in expected directions. For example, age of the female partner, as expected, was associated with a lower likelihood of past-year fertility, consistent with declines in fecundity with age. Women in the reference group, ages 15–19, had the highest odds of past-year fertility, which may reflect traditional gender or pro-family values among the small share of young women forming unions as teenagers. Women aged 40 to 50 at the time of survey were least likely to bear a child in the past year (i.e., 90% lower in odds than teenage women). Whether couples are native- or foreign-born also influenced past-year fertility. As an indicator of cultural assimilation, the odds of fertility among the foreign-born who formed unions with native-born partners were similar to the odds among native-born endogamous couples. This substantive point is reinforced by observed fertility among foreign-born couples, whose odds of fertility were 15% greater than among native-born couples. Lower fertility suggests greater integration among the foreign-born who formed unions with native-born partners.

Fertility is also strongly associated with educational attainment (and presumably economic well-being). For couples with only one college-educated partner the odds of past-year fertility were at least 15% lower than for couples in which neither partner had completed college. Indeed, the odds of fertility among couples in which both had completed college were 26% lower than those in which neither partner had completed college. This finding clearly highlights the negative relationship between educational attainment and fertility.

Model 3 also includes union status and marital order, distinguishing whether a pairing represents a cohabitation or marriage, and, whether the union is a first marriage or remarriage for either or both partners. The results confirm that married couples are far more likely than cohabiting couples to have borne a child in the past year. For couples in which both were in first marriages, the odds of past-year fertility were 1.3 times greater than for cohabiting couples.

Interestingly, when the husband was in a first marriage but married to a wife who had been married previously, the odds of fertility were highest, possibly reflective of men's aspirations for biological children of their own. This once again seems to demonstrate men's influence on fertility. Not surprisingly, the odds of past-year fertility were much lower among remarried partners than other married couples, even when age and the number of previous children living in the household were controlled. Number of previous children living in the household is associated with a 13% reduction in past year fertility.

Consistent with official reports of past-decade declines in fertility, the multivariate results reveal declining rates of fertility in recent years than in the earlier years of the ACS (i.e., a decline in odds by 6%). A clear substantive point is that declines in fertility are not due to shifting population composition of America's married and cohabiting couples—at least not the demographic controls considered here.

Finally, Model 4 addresses questions about whether fertility levels depend on local demographic and economic context. Local conditions are likely to be associated with the kinds of racial pairings in local "marriage markets," and by extension, with fertility levels. The results also clearly indicate that past-year fertility is conditional on local-area conditions. For example, a 1% increase in percentage of minorities reduced the odds of past-year fertility by 4%. The percentage foreign born was associated with a 2% lower odds of past-year fertility. The median income and percentage of people with completed college were strongly associated with past-year fertility. A 1% increase in median household income, for example, was associated with a 47% increase in the odds of past-year fertility. In contrast, a 1% increase in the local-area percentage of college-educated residents was associated with lower odds (30% lower) of past-year fertility. Previous research suggests that economically affluent areas provide a safe haven for young couples starting and raising families. However, areas with high concentrations of college graduates may be attractive places—those with abundant cultural and education amenities (e.g., such as college towns with large numbers of single people)—but may have low fertility rates quite independent of median income.

Fertility among interracial couples. As a robustness check, we undergo some additional multivariate analyses limited to interracial couples with White partners, who may be male or female. In Table 4, we consider Asian American-White, Black-White, American Indian-White, and Hispanic-White couples. In these analyses, we include a dummy variable indicating whether the minority partner is male (or female, the reference category). These additional analyses summarize the findings on fertility variation across different racial pairings distinguished by gender of the minority partner. These supplemental analyses have the advantage of accounting for differences in the demographic and locational context of interracial partners, which may exert different opportunities and constraints on fertility vis-à-vis all couples (see Table 3).

As a starting point, we estimated simple models that included three dummy variables that indicated the specific racial pairing, with Asian American-White couples serving as the reference (Model 1). These results reveal significantly higher odds of past-year fertility among Black-White (1.27), American Indian-White (1.25), and Hispanic-White (1.27) couples than among Asian American-White couples. The odds of past-year fertility were at least 25% higher among other non-White-White couples than among Asian American-White couples. As in Table 3, these results highlight the exceptionally low fertility among Asian American-White couples. The positive effect of male minority partners on fertility among interracial couples is revealed in these supplemental analyses (Model 2, Table 4). Interracial couples that include a male minority partner have odds of past-year fertility 22% higher than those that include a female minority partner. These results highlight the potentially large role in fertility decision-making among male partners. They also suggest that minority women who have "assimilated"—by virtue of marriage or cohabitation with Whites (Qian & Lichter, 2011)—have lower fertility rates than White women who form interracial unions with minority men.

Whether this reflects selection into different kinds of interracial unions is addressed with additional models in Table 4. Model 3, for example, includes dummies for racial pairings and other couple-level covariates. The results show that the variation in fertility among racial

Table 4. *Results from Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Having a Child in the Past Year among Interracial Couples In Which One Partner is White, 2008–2017*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Racial/ethnic pairing				
Asian American-White couples (Reference)				
Black-White couples	1.27***		1.25***	1.25***
American Indian-White couples	1.25***		1.19***	1.16***
Hispanic-White couples	1.27***		1.17***	1.16***
Minority spouse is male		1.22***	1.17***	1.17***
Female partners' age group				
15–19 (Reference)				
20–24			0.70***	0.71***
25–29			0.55***	0.56***
30–34			0.60***	0.61***
35–39			0.53***	0.54***
40–50			0.13***	0.13***
Couples' nativity				
Both native-born (Reference)				
Native-born man and foreign-born woman			0.97	0.98
Foreign-born man and native-born woman			1.01	1.03
Both foreign-born			1.01	1.06
Couples' educational attainment				
Both no completed college (Reference)				
Woman with some college or less and man with completed college			0.81***	0.85***
Man with some college or less and woman with completed college			0.77***	0.80***
Both completed college			0.76***	0.83***
Cohabitation or marital order				
Cohabiting (Reference)				
Both first married			2.43***	2.37***
First married man and remarried woman			2.43***	2.37***
Remarried man and first married woman			2.29***	2.22***
Both remarried			1.57***	1.51***
Number of older children living in the household			0.93***	0.91***
Time period				
2008–2011 (Reference)				
2012–2017			0.91***	0.90***
PUMA level characteristics				
ln (percent minorities) mean centered				0.98
ln (percent multiracials) mean centered				0.98
ln (percent foreign born) mean centered				0.98
ln (median household income) mean centered				1.68***
ln (percent completed college) mean centered				0.64***
Constant	0.12***	0.13***	0.17***	0.18***
Log-Likelihood Ratio	118	132	3,701	3,906
N		119,650		

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, and ***$p < .001$.

pairings is only slightly attenuated (compared to Model 1) but remains statistically significant at the .001 level. Fertility among Asian American-White couples is the lowest among the interracial couples considered here.

The answer to whether race of the male partner matters is revealed by significant and positive effects in the models that control for couple characteristics (Model 3) and place context (Model 4). Average marginal effects for the

full model (Model 4) are presented in Table A4. Again, selection does not seem to fully explain the higher fertility in interracial unions that involve minority men and White women. If Black or other minority men, for example, were in unions with White women with typically high rates of fertility (such as less educated, younger, or foreign-born women), the expectation would be that controlling for these factors would greatly reduce or even eliminate the pattern of higher fertility among interracial couples with minority male partners. This was not the case in our findings.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our goal has been to document patterns of fertility among married and cohabiting interracial couples. This is an important but neglected issue, especially as overall U.S. fertility rates continue to decline and the pace of racial and ethnic diversity has accelerated over the past decade. For the first time ever, the majority of all U.S. newborn babies are now identified as racial and ethnic minorities rather than non-Hispanic White. The biracial baby boom represents an important but understudied dimension of America's ongoing racial transformation and underlies America's demographic march towards a majority-minority society. Growth in the number of biracial children is rooted in the extraordinary rise in interracial unions over the past half-century (Qian & Lichter, 2011; Lichter & Qian, 2018). Childbearing among interracial couples signals yet another significant dimension of social integration and racial acceptance in American society. Yet, studies of fertility among interracial couples—both married and cohabiting—are in short supply.

Unfortunately, official government tabulations based on the CDC's birth registration system reports racial differentials in fertility based on the mothers' racial classifications. The approach assumes, quite wrongly, that male partners necessarily share mothers' racial backgrounds (Qian & Shen, 2020). As we have shown in this study, recent fertility data from the *American Community Survey* on different racial pairings suggest that official estimates may seriously misrepresent racial differentials in fertility to the extent that interracial marital and cohabiting couples are increasing—and increasingly having children. The implications for interracial relations and integration are significant: Interracial marriage connects two persons with different racial backgrounds, family and kinship networks, friendship groups, and cultural communities. As we have argued here, interracial couples may face opposition and uncertainty, which is expressed unevenly in the fertility of couples with different racial and gender pairings due to different levels or stigma and acceptance in American society.

Our study provided the basis for three general conclusions, each with important implications for racial relations in America's increasingly diverse society. First, past-year fertility rates among interracial couples were, on average, significantly lower than among racially endogamous couples. This is especially evident among married couples rather than among cohabiting unions, which had depressed rates of past-year fertility. Rising cohabitation, especially among interracial couples, clearly places downward pressure on fertility rates nationally. Low fertility rates among interracial cohabiting couples also suggest that interracial couples may choose cohabitation rather than marriage as a response to stigma. With continuing increases in interracial cohabitation (Sassler & Lichter, 2020), there is little likelihood that today's unprecedented low fertility rates are likely to rebound anytime soon. Choi and Goldberg (2020) claim that fertility patterns among interracial couples have cultural meanings; acceptance of interracial couples promotes commitment and transitions to a marriage and provides a more stable context for childbearing.

Second, fertility across endogamous and exogamous racial pairings was highly uneven, seemingly reflecting the stigma attached to different racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Black-White vs. Asian American-White couples) or, perhaps, underlying cultural differences (e.g., fertility norms) across racial pairings (e.g., American Indian-White fertility). Our study showed that the process of fertility decision-making among interracial couples was mostly symmetrical (except in the case of Asian American-White unions), with past-year fertility among interracial couples occupying a middle ground between their respective endogamous counterparts. The fertility preferences of both partners matter. This is important because most demographic models of assimilation emphasize the unidirectional influences of White partners on non-White partners, which found little empirical support in our data. Moreover, fertility differentials across racial pairings could not be

reduced to underlying social and economic characteristics of each partner. Instead, there seems to be a cultural component involved, one where fertility could be viewed as an indirect indicator of social integration for Blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and American Indians.

Third, our results highlighted the need for more nuanced research, especially qualitative studies, on the gender dynamics of fertility decision-making across different racial pairings. How are fertility decisions negotiated, especially when partners with different racial backgrounds bring different cultural scripts and fertility expectations to their relationships? Indeed, we found higher levels of fertility among interracial couples that involved White women and their Black or Hispanic male partners than those that involved White men. American Indian-White unions were an exception to this pattern. These findings seem to support the results, based on pregnancies, reported by Choi and Goldberg (2018), and similarly highlight variation in gender dynamics across different racial pairings. Like other studies, gender dynamics clearly matter differently across different racial pairings (Sassler & Miller, 2017; Vasquez-Tokos, 2017). What is unclear are the underlying interpersonal processes, including fertility preferences, power relationships, and gender roles, that give rise to these fertility differences. More generally, our study reinforces the need in conventional demographic studies of fertility to bring men into the equation (e.g., Brinton et al., 2018). And, based on our findings, this may be especially the case in interracial couples.

Our paper has several limitations. With the ACS, we were unable to consider fertility that results from other kinds of romantic or intimate relationships, including casual sexual relationships, same-sex married and cohabiting couples, or older unmarried women who hope to become mothers through assisted reproductive technologies (see Qian & Shen, 2020). In addition, due to data and reporting limitations, we included couples who were cohabiting at the time of survey, but compared their fertility to couples who married in the past 5 years. This longer window of observation for cohabiting couples may lead to upward bias in fertility. Fertility nevertheless would be underestimated if cohabiting couples, especially interracial cohabiting couples, are more likely to end the relationship through marriage or disruption than are their married counterparts. Choi and Goldberg (2020), in fact, suggest that Black-White cohabitation often substitutes for marriage and provides an alternative context for childbearing. Finally, our fertility measure is based on whether the couple had a child in the previous year. The ACS does not provide information about whether other children living in the household were those of the couple or from previous relationships, but the latter seems unlikely for the large majority of couples.

In the end, our paper provides a theoretical and empirical baseline for additional research on changing patterns of fertility among interracial couples of all kinds. We have focused here on observed fertility—the end-product of a negotiation process among co-residential partners which is mostly hidden from view. Most previous studies of interracial union formation have focused on its determinants rather than its consequences. Fertility, as a consequence of interracial marriage and cohabitation, may signal a new inflection point, one marked by growing racial integration and declines in social distance among America's racially diverse populations. Indeed, the rise in childbearing among interracial couples comes with a new blurring of racial boundaries and the color line. Diversity is taking on new forms—a kind of "super diversity" expressed in the fertility of interracial couples of all kinds. For the progeny of mixed-race unions, this raises new questions about acceptance or rejection, and ultimately about social integration in a society where racial lines remain "bright" and difficult to change.

Note

A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, Denver, Colorado, April 28, 2018. This paper was supported in part by center grants from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NIH) to Brown University (P2C HD041020) and Cornell University.

References

Adsera, A. (2011). Where are the babies? Labor market conditions and fertility in Europe. *European Journal of Population*, *27*(1), 1–32. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-010-9222-x

Alba, R. (2020). *The great demographic illusion: Majority, minority, and the expanding American mainstream*. Princeton University Press.

Alba, R. D., & Nee, V. (2003). *Remaking the American mainstream: Assimilation and contemporary immigration*. Harvard University Press.

Alvira-Hammond, M. (2019). *Hispanic women are helping drive the recent decline in the U.S. fertility rate*. National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families.

Billari, F. C., & Kohler, H.-P. (2004). Patterns of low and lowest-low fertility in Europe. *Population Studies*, *58*(2), 161–176. https://doi.org/10.1080/0032472042000213695

Bittman, M., England, P., Sayer, L. C., Folbre, N., & Matheson, G. (2003). When does gender trump money? Bargaining and time in household work. *American Journal of Sociology*, *109*(1), 186–214. https://doi.org/10.1086/378341

Blackwell, D. L., & Lichter, D. T. (2000). Mate selection among married and cohabiting couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, *21*(3), 275–302. https://doi.org/10.1177/019251300021003001

Brinton, M. C., Bueno, X., O'láh, L., & Hellum, M. (2018). Postindustrial fertility ideals, intentions, and gender inequality: A comparative qualitative analysis. *Population and Development Review*, *44*(2), 281–309. https://doi.org/10.1111/padr.12128

Browning, C. R., & Burrington, L. A. (2006). Racial differences in sexual and fertility attitudes in an urban setting. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *68*(1), 236–251. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00244.x

Buggs, S. G., Claytor, C. P., García, S. J., Imoagene, O., Keith, V. M., Khoshneviss, H., … Roth, W. D. (2020). Systemic anti-black racism must be dismantled: Statement by the American Sociological Association section on racial and ethnic minorities. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *6*(3), 289–291. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649220941019

Bumpass, L. L., & Lu, H.-H. (2000). Trends in cohabitation and implications for children's family contexts. *Population Studies*, *54*(1), 29–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/713779060

Campbell, M. E., & Martin, M. A. (2016). Race, immigration, and exogamy among the native-born: Variation across communities. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *2*(2), 142–161. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649215598786

Casterline, J. B. (2001). Diffusion processes and fertility transition: Introduction. In J. B. Casterline (Ed.), *Diffusion processes and fertility transition: Selected perspectives* (pp. 1–38). National Academies Press.

Cheng, S., & Powell, B. (2007). Under and beyond constraints: Resource allocation to young children from biracial families. *American Journal of Sociology*, *112*(4), 1044–1094. https://doi.org/10.1086/508793

Childs, E. C. (2005). *Navigating interracial borders: Black-white couples and their social worlds*. Rutgers University Press.

Choi, K. H., & Goldberg, R. (2018). Fertility behavior of interracial couples. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *80*(4), 871–887. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12483

Choi, K. H., & Goldberg, R. E. (2020). The social significance of interracial cohabitation: Inferences based on fertility behavior. *Demography*, *57*(5), 1727–1751. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-020-00904-5

Collins, P. (2009). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Routledge.

Copen, C. E., Daniels, K., & Mosher, W. D. (2013). First premarital cohabitation in the United States: 2006–2010 national survey of family growth. *Natl Health Stat Report*, *64*, 1–15.

Dribe, M., Breschi, M., Gagnon, A., Gauvreau, D., Hanson, H. A., Maloney, T. N., … Vézina, H. (2017). Socio-economic status and fertility decline: Insights from historical transitions in Europe and North America. *Population Studies*, *71*(1), 3–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/00324728.2016.1253857

Eschbach, K. (1995). The enduring and vanishing American Indian: American Indian population growth and intermarriage in 1990. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *18*, 89–108. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1995.9993855

Espiritu, Y. L. (1997). *Asian American women and men*. Sage Publications.

Florian, S. M. (2017). Motherhood and employment among whites, Hispanics, and blacks: A life course approach. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *80*(1), 134–149. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12448

Frey, W. H. (2014). *Diversity explosion: How new racial demographics are remaking America*. Brookings Institution Press.

Fu, V. K. (2008). Interracial-interethnic unions and fertility in the United States. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *70*(3), 783–795. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00521.x

Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life*. Oxford University Press.

Guzzo, K. B., & Hayford, S. R. (2020). Pathways to parenthood in social and family contexts: Decade in review, 2020. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *82*(1), 117–144. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12618

Herman, M. R., & Campbell, M. E. (2012). I wouldn't, but you can: Attitudes toward interracial relationships. *Social Science Research*, *41*(2), 343–358. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2011.11.007

Ishizuka, P. (2018). The economic foundations of cohabiting couples' union transitions. *Demography*, *55*(2), 535–557. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-018-0651-1

Jones, N., & Bullock, J. (2012). *The two or more races population: 2010*. U.S. Census Bureau.

Kao, G., Joyner, K., & Balistreri, K. S. (2019). *The company we keep: Interracial friendships and*

romantic relationships from adolescence to adulthood. Russell Sage Foundation.

Landale, N. S., & Oropesa, R. S. (2007). Hispanic families: Stability and change. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *33*, 381–405. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131655

Lichter, D. T. (2013). Integration or fragmentation? Racial diversity and the American future. *Demography*, *50*(2), 359–391. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-013-0197-1

Lichter, D. T., Johnson, K. M., Turner, R. N., & Churilla, A. (2012). Hispanic assimilation and fertility in new destinations. *International Migration Review*, *46*(4), 767–791. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12000

Lichter, D. T., Michelmore, K., Turner, R. N., & Sassler, S. (2016). Pathways to a stable union? Pregnancy and childbearing among cohabiting and married couples. *Population Research and Policy Review*, *35*(3), 377–399. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11113-016-9392-2

Lichter, D. T., Qian, Z., & Mellott, L. M. (2006). Marriage or dissolution? Union transitions among poor cohabiting women. *Demography*, *43*(2), 223–240. https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.2006.0016

Lichter, D. T., Qian, Z., & Tumin, D. (2015). Whom do immigrants marry? Emerging patterns of intermarriage and integration in the United States. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *662*(1), 57–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716215594614

Lichter, D. T., Sassler, S., & Turner, R. N. (2014). Cohabitation, post-conception unions, and the rise in nonmarital fertility. *Social Science Research*, *47*, 134–147. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.04.002

Lichter, D. T., & Qian, Z.(2018). Boundary blurring? Racial identification among the children of interracial couples. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *677*(1), 81–94. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716218760507.

Liebler, C. A. (2016). On the boundaries of race: Identification of mixed-heritage children in the United States, 1960 to 2010. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *2*(4), 548–568. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F2332649216632546

Livingston, G. (2017). *The rise of multiracial and multiethnic babies in the U.S*. Pew Research Center.

Lundberg, S., Pollak, R. A., & Stearns, J. E. (2016). Family inequality: Diverging patterns in marriage, cohabitation, and childbearing. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *30*(2), 79–102. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.30.2.79

Martin, J. A., Hamilton, B. E., Osterman, M. J. K., & Driscoll, A. K. (2019). *Births: Final data for 2018* (Vol. 68). National Vital Statistics Report.

Martinez, G., Daniels, K., & Chandra, A. (2012). Fertility of men and women aged 15–44 years in the United States: National Survey of Family Growth, 2006–2010. *Natl Health Stat Report*, *51*, 1–28.

Mishra, N. (2018). Asian Americans: Eurogamy by Asian women. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *62*(14), 1988–2006. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218810740

Mood, C. (2009). Logistic regression: Why we cannot do what we think we can do, and what we can do about it. *European Sociological Review*, *26*(1), 67–82. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcp006

Morgan, S. P., & Taylor, M. G. (2006). Low fertility at the turn of the twentieth-first century. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *32*, 375–400. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.31.041304.122220

Musick, K., England, P., Edgington, S., & Kangas, N. (2009). Education differences in intended and unintended fertility. *Social Forces*, *88*(2), 543–572. https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.0.0278

Nitsche, N., & Hayford, S. R. (2020). Preferences, partners, and parenthood: Linking early fertility desires, marriage timing, and achieved fertility. *Demography*, *57*, 1975–2001. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-020-00927-y

Osuji, C. K. (2019). *Boundaries of love: Interracial marriage and the meaning of race*. NYU Press.

Park, R. E., & Burgess, E. W. (1969). *Introduction to the science of sociology. 1921 reprint*. University of Chicago Press.

Parrado, E. A., & Morgan, S. P. (2008). Intergenerational fertility among Hispanic women: New evidence of immigrant assimilation. *Demography*, *45*, 651–671. https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.0.0023

Qian, Y. (2018). Educational assortative mating and income dynamics in couples: A longitudinal dyadic perspective. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *80*(3), 607–621. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12470

Qian, Z., & Cobas, J. A. (2004). Latinos' mate selection: Variations by national origin, race, and nativity. *Social Science Research*, *33*(2), 225–247. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089X(03)00055-3

Qian, Z., & Lichter, D. T. (2007). Social boundaries and marital assimilation: Interpreting trends in racial and ethnic intermarriage. *American Sociological Review*, *72*(1), 68–94. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240707200104

Qian, Z., & Lichter, D. T. (2011). Changing patterns of interracial marriage in a multiracial society. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *73*(5), 1065–1084. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2011.00866.x

Qian, Z., Lichter, D. T., & Tumin, D. (2018). Divergent pathways to assimilation? Local marriage markets and intermarriage among U.S. Hispanics. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *80*(1), 271–288. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12423

Qian, Z., & Shen, Y. (2020). Context of interracial childbearing in the United States. In R. Schoen

(Ed.), *Analyzing contemporary fertility* (pp. 65–87). Springer.

Ray, C. M., Harcey, S. R., McQuillan, J., & Greil, A. L. (2020). Mutual influence? Gender, partner pregnancy desires, fertility intentions, and birth outcomes in U.S. heterosexual couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, *41*(11), 2090–2111. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0192513X20906540

Romano, R. C. (2003). *Race mixing: Black-white marriage in postwar America*. Harvard University Press.

Root, M. P. P. (1996). *The multiracial experience: Racial borders as the new frontier*. Sage.

Root, M. P. P. (2001). *Love's revolution: Interracial marriage*. Temple University Press.

Root, M. P. P. (2003). Five mixed-race identities: From relic to revolution. In L. I. Winters & H. L. DeBose (Eds.), *New faces in a changing America: Multiracial identity in the 21st century*. Sage Publications.

Sassler, S., & Lichter, D. T. (2020). Cohabitation and marriage: Complexity and diversity in union formation patterns. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *82*(1), 35–61. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12617

Sassler, S., Michelmore, K., & Qian, Z. (2018). Transitions from sexual relationships into cohabitation and beyond. *Demography*, *55*(2), 511–534. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-018-0649-8

Sassler, S., & Miller, A. J. (2011). Waiting to be asked: Gender, power, and relationship progression among cohabiting couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, *32*(4), 482–506. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0192513X10391045

Sassler, S., & Miller, A. J. (2017). *Cohabitation nation: Gender, class, and the remaking of relationships*. University of California Press.

Sayer, L. C., England, P., Allison, P. D., & Kangas, N. (2011). She left, he left: How employment and satisfaction affect women's and men's decision to leave marriages. *American Journal of Sociology*, *116*(6), 1982–2018. https://doi.org/10.1086/658173

Schneider, D. (2015). The great recession, fertility, and uncertainty: Evidence from the United States. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *77*(5), 1144–1156. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12212

Seltzer, J. A. (2019). Family change and changing family demography. *Demography*, *56*, 406–426. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-019-00766-6

South, S. J., & Crowder, K. (2010). Neighborhood poverty and nonmarital fertility: Spatial and temporal dimensions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *72*(1), 89–104. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00685.x

Su, J. H. (2019). Local employment conditions and unintended pregnancy. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *81*(2), 380–396. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12546

Thomson, E., McDonald, E., & Bumpass, L. L. (1990). Fertility desires and fertility: Hers, his, and theirs. *Demography*, *27*(4), 579–588. https://doi.org/10.2307/2061571

Van Hook, J., & Glick, J. E. (2020). Spanning borders, cultures, and generations: A decade of research on immigrant families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *82*(1), 224–243. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12621

Vasquez-Tokos, J. (2017). *Marriage vows and racial choices*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Vitali, A., Aassve, A., & Lappegård, T. (2015). Diffusion of childbearing within cohabitation. *Demography*, *52*(2), 355–377. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-015-0380-7

Waters, M. C., & Pineau, M. G. (Eds.). (2016). *The integration of immigrants into American society*. National Academy of Sciences.

Yang, Y., & Morgan, S. P. (2003). How big are educational and racial fertility differentials in the U.S.? *Social Biology*, *50*, 167–187.

Zhang, Y., & Van Hook, J. (2009). Marital dissolution among interracial couples. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *71*(1), 95–107. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00582.x

Appendix

Table A1. *Descriptive Statistics by Racial Pairing and Union Type among Married and Cohabiting Couples, 2008–2017*

Racial/ethnic pairing	Total	Percent of total	Age		Percent college or more		Percent foreign born		Percent first married	
			Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Married couples in which women are 15–50 years old, married 0–4 years ago										
White couples	413,721	59.2	33.9	31.4	36.6	44.0	5.7	5.7	73.2	73.9
Black couples	37,297	7.4	36.8	33.8	21.8	29.6	20.0	18.3	71.0	77.8
American Indian couples	2,789	0.3	34.2	31.9	9.5	13.2	2.3	1.7	73.3	73.6
Asian American couples	32,290	5.2	33.9	30.6	68.1	68.2	81.5	80.0	88.2	90.8
Hispanic couples	73,699	13.7	33.1	30.6	11.0	14.3	64.5	59.8	82.0	82.4
White husband-Black wife couples	3,894	0.6	35.1	32.2	34.6	38.0	9.2	18.1	71.6	77.9
Black husband-White wife couples	8,288	1.4	34.9	31.9	25.5	33.2	13.3	6.8	73.3	74.4
White husband-American Indian wife couples	3,840	0.6	34.4	32.1	21.8	26.5	2.9	1.8	64.3	64.3
American Indian husband-White wife couples	3,845	0.5	34.3	31.5	20.6	29.2	1.3	3.1	65.3	66.6
White husband-Asian American wife couples	13,930	2.0	38.1	33.4	57.2	64.0	9.5	64.1	70.7	80.0
Asian American husband-White wife couples	5,676	0.8	33.6	31.2	63.8	63.6	44.4	9.1	84.7	83.7
White husband-Hispanic wife couples	22,087	3.4	34.4	31.7	36.0	37.7	7.5	28.8	73.2	74.5
Hispanic husband-White wife couples	20,568	3.2	33.0	30.8	28.1	39.4	29.1	7.2	76.8	76.5
Minority-minority couples	10,397	1.7	34.4	31.7	29.2	35.7	22.8	31.5	75.7	78.4
Total	652,321	100.0	34.1	31.5	33.4	39.7	20.3	20.4	75.1	76.6
Cohabiting couples in which women are 15–50 years old, cohabiting at time of survey										
White couples	142,948	51.0	29.5	27.5	28.7	35.6	3.0	2.8		
Black couples	21,208	10.7	32.7	30.5	9.4	15.6	8.0	7.3		
American Indian couples	2,797	0.6	31.9	29.8	4.2	7.1	0.4	0.4		
Asian American couples	4,662	1.7	31.8	29.8	46.1	47.9	62.8	62.5		
Hispanic couples	41,998	18.8	32.4	30.5	5.2	7.4	65.8	62.3		
White man-Black woman couples	1,953	0.8	29.9	27.9	22.5	27.1	5.3	8.2		
Black man-White woman couples	6,329	2.7	31.3	28.7	15.3	22.5	5.3	2.7		
White man-American Indian woman couples	1,716	0.6	29.0	27.1	17.2	19.1	2.2	1.4		
American Indian man-White woman couples	1,605	0.6	29.5	27.3	14.9	20.8	1.1	2.0		
White man-Asian American woman couples	4,376	1.5	30.6	28.9	55.4	63.2	7.8	38.5		
Asian American man-White woman couples	2,498	0.9	30.6	28.4	54.0	55.8	35.4	5.4		
White man-Hispanic woman couples	8,786	3.3	29.4	27.6	28.4	31.7	4.2	14.5		
Hispanic man-White woman couples	10,259	4.0	29.6	27.5	20.1	28.9	19.9	3.3		
Minority-minority couples	6,545	2.8	30.4	28.3	18.4	23.6	14.5	17.1		
Total	257,680	100.0	30.5	28.5	21.8	27.4	17.8	16.9		

Note. Percentages are weighted and total counts are not weighted.

Table A2. *PUMA-Level Neighborhood Characteristics by Racial/Ethnic Pairing among Married and Cohabiting Couples, 2008–2017*

Racial/Ethnic Pairing	Median household income	% College or more	% Foreign born	% Married	% White	% Black	% American Indian	% Asian American	% Multi-racial	% Hispanic
Married couples in which women are 15–50 years old, married 0–4 years ago										
White couples	69,197	31.3	9.4	53.4	76.4	8.0	0.7	3.7	2.0	8.9
Black couples	61,999	29.4	13.8	46.5	51.8	28.7	0.4	4.2	2.0	12.5
American Indian couples	54,887	21.9	6.5	51.4	62.5	5.5	15.6	2.0	3.6	10.5
Asian American couples	84,334	41.5	24.5	51.2	54.3	8.5	0.4	16.1	2.9	17.2
Hispanic couples	63,856	27.8	23.2	49.1	45.4	10.0	0.6	6.4	1.9	35.3
White husband-Black wife couples	69,921	33.3	12.9	50.6	66.9	12.8	0.5	5.2	2.4	11.9
Black husband-White wife couples	67,546	31.2	11.2	51.0	68.9	12.8	0.6	4.3	2.4	10.7
White husband-American Indian wife couples	63,045	27.5	8.2	53.5	72.9	6.5	3.7	3.2	3.6	9.7
American Indian husband-White wife couples	62,536	27.2	8.3	53.4	72.8	6.9	3.5	3.3	3.6	9.7
White husband-Asian American wife couples	81,138	40.2	17.0	51.2	64.9	8.1	0.6	9.3	2.9	13.7
Asian American husband-White wife couples	80,222	40.0	16.2	51.1	65.9	8.7	0.5	8.4	2.7	13.4
White husband-Hispanic wife couples	72,708	33.6	15.7	52.1	63.1	7.8	0.8	5.9	2.3	19.6
Hispanic husband-White wife couples	71,199	32.6	14.8	52.0	64.6	8.2	0.8	5.6	2.3	18.2
Minority-minority couples	70,385	32.3	18.9	49.5	53.7	12.7	0.9	8.1	2.7	21.3
Total	69,125	31.5	13.2	51.9	67.4	10.0	0.7	5.1	2.1	14.3
Cohabiting couples in which women are 15–50 years old, cohabiting at time of survey										
White couples	69,052	32.5	9.8	51.4	76.5	7.7	0.7	3.9	2.1	8.9
Black couples	57,148	27.6	12.5	43.8	49.9	31.8	0.4	3.7	1.9	12.0
American Indian couples	54,638	21.9	6.5	50.1	59.0	3.4	20.4	2.0	3.0	11.9
Asian American couples	78,680	38.9	24.1	48.2	51.5	8.2	0.5	16.9	3.5	18.6
Hispanic couples	62,069	27.0	24.1	47.4	43.9	10.6	0.7	6.6	1.9	35.9
White man-Black woman couples	67,482	33.1	12.2	48.6	67.7	12.9	0.6	4.8	2.4	11.3
Black man-White woman couples	64,763	30.6	10.6	49.4	70.2	12.8	0.5	4.0	2.2	9.9
White man-American Indian woman couples	65,030	29.4	8.8	51.7	74.4	6.1	3.2	3.5	3.2	9.2
American Indian man-White woman couples	63,865	29.0	8.7	52.0	74.9	5.8	3.0	3.5	3.2	9.3
White man-Asian American woman couples	81,734	43.4	18.3	47.8	63.7	8.4	0.5	10.0	2.9	13.9
Asian American man-White woman couples	79,154	41.7	16.5	48.7	66.0	8.6	0.6	8.6	2.8	13.0
White man-Hispanic woman couples	71,601	34.5	15.9	50.0	63.5	7.6	0.8	6.4	2.4	18.9
Hispanic man-White woman couples	69,532	32.9	15.3	49.9	64.3	8.1	0.8	5.6	2.3	18.6
Minority-minority couples	67,094	31.5	19.1	47.4	53.4	12.9	1.1	7.7	2.6	21.9
Total	66,692	31.2	13.9	49.4	64.9	11.1	0.8	5.0	2.1	15.7

Note. Income and percentages are weighted.

Table A3. *Results from Logistic Regression Predicting Average Marginal Effects of Having a Child in the Past Year among Married and Cohabiting Women, 2008–2017*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Racially endogamous				
Endogamous (Reference)				
Exogamous	−0.0083***			
Racial/ethnic pairing				
White couples (Reference)				
Black couples		−0.0030*	0.0226***	0.0339***
American Indian couples		0.0189***	0.0573***	0.0576***
Asian American couples		0.0223***	−0.0018	0.0024
Hispanic couples		0.0252***	0.0234***	0.0291***
White man Black woman couples		−0.0153***	−0.0081	−0.0024
Black man White woman couples		0.0066*	0.0228***	0.0282***
White man American Indian woman couples		−0.0031	0.0043	0.0060
American Indian man White woman couples		0.0002	0.0057	0.0077
White man Asian American woman couples		−0.0304***	−0.0217***	−0.0175***
Asian American man White woman couples		−0.0131***	−0.0127****	−0.0079*
White man Hispanic woman couples		−0.0105***	−0.0081***	−0.0029
Hispanic man White woman couples		0.0119***	0.0114***	0.0166***
Minority-minority couples		0.0127***	0.0223***	0.0302***
Female partners' age group				
15–19 (Reference)				
20–24			−0.0451***	−0.0436***
25–29			−0.0683***	−0.0661***
30–34			−0.0569***	−0.0533***
35–39			−0.0938***	−0.0903***
40–50			−0.1911***	−0.1884***
Couples' nativity				
Both native-born (Reference)				
Native-born man and foreign-born woman			−0.0067***	−0.0037*
Foreign-born man and native-born woman			−0.0015	0.0020
Both foreign-born			0.0164***	0.0215***
Couples' educational attainment				
Both no completed college (Reference)				
Woman with some college or less and man with completed college			−0.0196***	−0.0143***
Man with some college or less and woman with completed college			−0.0242***	−0.0207***
Both completed college			−0.0336***	−0.0240***
Cohabitation or marital order				
Cohabiting (Reference)				
Both first married			0.0861***	0.0845***
First married man and remarried woman			0.0942***	0.0921***
Remarried man and first married woman			0.0809***	0.0787***
Both remarried			0.0311***	0.0285***
Number of older children living in the household			−0.0160***	−0.0177***
Time period				
2008–2011 (Reference)				
2012–2017			−0.0070***	−0.0077***
PUMA level characteristics				
ln (percent minorities) mean centered				−0.0048***
ln (percent multiracials) mean centered				−0.0011
ln (percent foreign born) mean centered				−0.0020**
ln (median household income) mean centered				0.0444***
ln (percent completed college) mean centered				−0.0411***
Log-likelihood ratio	64	949	30,645	31,930
N		910,001		

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, and ***$p < .001$.

Table A4. *Results from Logistic Regression Predicting Average Marginal Effects of Having a Child in the Past Year among Interracial Couples In Which One Partner is White, 2008–2017*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Racial/ethnic pairing				
Asian American-White couples (Reference)				
Black-White couples	0.0254***		0.0236***	0.0240***
American Indian-White couples	0.0236***		0.0180***	0.0153***
Hispanic-White couples	0.0258***		0.0166***	0.0160***
Minority spouse is male		0.0224***	0.0170***	0.0167***
Female partners' age group				
15–19 (Reference)				
20–24			−0.0539***	−0.0517***
25–29			−0.0837***	−0.0811***
30–34			−0.0736***	−0.0698***
35–39			−0.0888***	−0.0851***
40–50			−0.1826***	−0.1798***
Couples' nativity				
Both native-born (Reference)				
Native-born man and foreign-born woman			−0.0039	−0.0027
Foreign-born man and native-born woman			0.0014	0.0035
Both foreign-born			0.0015	0.0070
Couples' educational attainment				
Both no completed college (Reference)				
Woman with some college or less and man with completed college			−0.0233***	−0.0184***
Man with some college or less and woman with completed college			−0.0279***	−0.0244 **
Both completed college			−0.0294***	−0.0208***
Cohabitation or marital order				
Cohabiting (Reference)				
Both first married			0.0882***	0.0861***
First married man and remarried woman			0.0881***	0.0856***
Remarried man and first married woman			0.0804***	0.0772***
Both remarried			0.0377***	0.0346***
Number of older children living in the household			−0.0085***	−0.0104***
Time period				
2008–2011 (Reference)				
2012–2017			−0.0103***	−0.0116***
PUMA level characteristics				
ln (percent minorities) mean centered				−0.0022
ln (percent multiracials) mean centered				−0.0026
ln (percent foreign born) mean centered				−0.0021
ln (median household income) mean centered				0.0567***
ln (percent completed college) mean centered				−0.0481***
Log-likelihood ratio	118	132	3,701	3,906
N			119,650	

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, and ***$p < .001$.