Ties that Bind: Children, Marital Status, and Time with Non-Residential Kin

Vincent Louis (Post-Doctoral Research Associate)
E-mail: vlouis@umn.edu

Sarah M. Flood (Research Associate)
E-mail: floo0017@umn.edu

Minnesota Population Center

University of Minnesota

225 – 19th Avenue South

Minneapolis, MN 55455

Abstract:

Increasing numbers of children born to cohabiting parents underscores the need for continued consideration of the place of cohabitation in the kinship system. We use data from the American Time Use Survey (2003 – 2007) to examine how the presence of children affects the time married and cohabiting individuals ages 25 to 59 (N=30,981) spend with non-residential family members. We find that the presence of children moderates the relationship between marital status and spending time with non-residential family members. Cohabiters with children are *more* likely than those married with children to interact with non-residential family members. The results demonstrate greater similarities of married and cohabiting couples *with* children than without children and underscore the complexity of relationships with non-residential family members.

Key words: time use, marital status, cohabitation, non-residential kin.

Running head: Ties that Bind: Time with Non-residential Kin

Direct correspondence to Vincent Louis at vlouis@umn.edu. This paper was prepared for presentation at the 2009 Population Association of American meetings in Detroit, Michigan.

The increase in cohabitation during the second half of the 20th century is one indicator of the deinstitutionalization of the family. The prevalence of cohabitation, coupled with uncertainty as to where it fits in the kinship system, signals its likely staying power and the extent of its institutionalization (Cherlin, 2005; Nock, 1995; Seltzer, 2000). While Nock (1995) referred to cohabitation as an "incomplete institution", its prevalence and acceptance as a type of relationship suggest that cohabitation is nearing institutionalization. Three differences distinguish marriage from cohabitation. First, marriage is a legally binding institution, recognized by the state as a formal union. Cohabiting unions, on the other hand, are based on mutual agreement between partners and lack official legal support. Second, marriage is the socially approved institution in which to rear children. Third, for many Americans, marriage is the normative family structure in American society (Smock, 2000). Despite the continued reverence and desire for marriage among Americans (Axinn & Thornton, 2000; Smock & Manning, 2004; Thornton, Axinn, & Xie, 2007), increases in cohabitation suggest it is a permanent feature of the family structure, thus requiring a better understanding of where it fits in the kinship system (Seltzer, 2000).

The fundamental similarity between marriage and cohabitation is co-residence and the romantic involvement of partners. Marriage establishes expectations about family obligations, which includes spending time with non-residential family members. Yet, the expectations for interaction between one's cohabiting partner and one's family are unclear. On the one hand, the relative instability of cohabiting unions compared to marital unions suggest that interaction between one's cohabiting partner and family members may be less frequent than those between one's spouse and family members. On the other hand, lasting cohabiting unions may become and

be perceived as more marriage-like, resulting in more frequent interaction between one's unmarried partner and family members.

Like marriage, cohabitation increasingly involves cohabiting partners raising children together (Kennedy & Bumpass, 2007; Manning, 2004; Seltzer, 2000; Smock, 2000). The demands and responsibilities associated with child-rearing transcend types of relationships (e.g. marital versus cohabiting unions) and may therefore reduce differences in how much married and cohabiting individuals interact with their family members. The lack of a shared understanding about how cohabiting partners and family members should interact may be less consequential when children are involved. The norms regarding social relations with nieces, nephews, grandchildren, and other family members likely transcend barriers to interaction that may exist for unmarried partners and their families in the absence of children. The central aim of this paper, then, is to understand if and how the presence of own children moderate the relationship between marital status and the time individuals spend with non-residential kin.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Family structure and household living arrangements have changed dramatically over the past 50 years, resulting in the "deinstitutionalization" of the family (Cherlin, 2004). Two aspects of family deinstitutionalization are the decline in marriage and rise in divorce along with the steep increase in the experience of cohabitation and the increase in the number of cohabiting couples in the second half of the 20th century (Bumpass & Lu, 2000; Bumpass, Sweet, & Cherlin, 1991; Casper & Cohen, 2000; Chandra et al., 2005; Fitch, Goeken, & Ruggles, 2005; Martin & Bumpass, 1989; Popenoe, 1993). The number of children living in a nuclear family household with married, heterosexual parents has also declined as the number of children born to

cohabiting couples has increased (Kennedy & Bumpass, 2007; Manning, 2004; Mincieli, Manlove, McGarrett, & Moore, 2007; Seltzer, 2000; Smock, 2000).

Two main theoretical explanations account for the emergence and rise of cohabitation. First, some scholars argue that cohabitation is rooted in changes in norms and values about individual behavior (Rindfuss & VandenHeuvel, 1990; see Smock, 2000 for a review). Over time American society has been less cohesive, which is manifested in the move toward individualized behavior and away from group behavior. Shifts in marriage from instrumental to companionate to individualized marriages have weakened the norms surrounding marriage (Cherlin, 2008). The second explanation for the rise in cohabitation is the industrialization of American society and the increase in female labor force participation (Smock, 2000). Women's participation in the paid labor force, for example, has increased the median age at which women marry (Fitch & Ruggles, 2000). Their labor force participation has also increased women's bargaining power within marriages and increased their independence, thus making them less reliant on men for financial support and less likely to marry out of financial need.

The increase in cohabitation reflects the changing norms and values of Americans, particularly their more liberal attitudes toward a constellation of behaviors, including premarital sex, childbearing and childrearing outside of marriage, divorce, and gender roles. Americans in the 1980s were less restrictive and more approving of cohabitation compared to the 1970s (Thornton, 1989), and many adolescents expect to cohabit (Manning, Longmore, & Giordano, 2007). As cohabitation becomes more ubiquitous, fewer people view cohabitation as deviant behavior (Seltzer, 2000). Yet, despite the growing acceptance of cohabitation as a legitimate family form, it remains an incomplete institution (Cherlin, 2008; Nock, 1995).

Coupled with a general uncertainty about how to act around cohabiting couples, particularly for family members, there is ambiguity about where it fits in the overall kinship system (Cherlin, 2004; Manning & Smock, 2005; Seltzer, 2004). Cohabitation lacks the legal recognition marriage affords as well as the normative standards and expectations (Nock 1995). Some scholars argue that cohabitation is a short-lived stage either leading to marriage or dissolution of the relationship even if the time spent cohabiting is increasing (Bumpass & Lu, 2000; Bumpass & Sweet, 1989; Lichter, Qian, & Mellott, 2006; Kennedy & Bumpass, 2007). Other scholars, however, argue that cohabitation is an alternative to being single and to being married, especially in some European countries where it is almost indistinguishable from marriage (Kiernan, 2002), and singlehood (Rindfuss & VandenHeuvel, 1990).

Social scientists continue to study the effects of marital and non-marital unions on a variety of outcomes like economic dependency (e.g. Bianchi, 1995; Coley, 2002) and psychological well-being (e.g. Coley, 2002). Yet, less attention has been paid to similarities and differences by marital status on social connections and contacts (but see Alwin, Converse, & Martin, 1985; Hogerbrugge & Dykstra, 2009). The frequency of contact (Hogerbrugge & Dykstra, 2009; Thoits 1995; Wellman & Wortley, 1990) and amount of time (Alwin, Converse, & Martin, 1985; Wellman & Wortley, 1990) individuals spend with non-residential family may provide insight into the level of acceptance of cohabiting relationships among family members. Previous research shows that cohabiting partners have lower levels of contact with their own and their partner's non-residential family members than married couples (Alwin, Converse, & Martin, 1985; Hogerbrugge & Dykstra, 2009).

Since Alwin and colleagues (1985) considered the relationship between living arrangements and contact with others, non-traditional families have become more widely

accepted and viable (Clarkberg, Stolzenberg, & Waite, 1995; Popenoe, 1993; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001), personal freedom and autonomy have become more highly valued (Popenoe, 1993; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001), and the majority of Americans live in metropolitan areas where diverse living arrangements are more commonly found (Fischer, 1982). Furthermore, research has documented many differences between cohabiting and married individuals regarding relationship quality (Brown & Booth, 1996), economic disadvantage ((Manning & Brown, 2006; Manning & Lichter, 1996), and attitudes about independence and time spent together (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Nock, 1995). On the one hand, differences between married and cohabiting individuals are well-documented, and, on the other hand, attitudes toward and expectations about both cohabitation and marriage have changed dramatically (Cherlin, 2004; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). These findings along with the prevalence and acceptance of cohabitation suggest the necessity of reexamining patterns of contact with non-residential kin. Based on previous research we expect that *cohabiting individuals will spend less time with non-residential kin than married individuals*.

Childbearing in cohabiting relationships is one change that increases the resemblance between cohabitation and marriage. No longer is marriage the only legal and moral environment in which to bear and rear children. Yet, current research surrounding children and marital unions focuses on the effect of cohabitation on children's well-being (Bumpass & Lu, 1999; Manning, 2006), showing, for example, compromises in children's well-being in families where parents have lower incomes and education, both of which are more common among partners in cohabiting relationships (Smock, 2000). A small body of research, however, has examined the effect of children on the stability of cohabiting relationships and on the transition from cohabitation to marriage (Manning, 2004; Steele, Kallis, Goldstein, & Joshi, 2005; Wu, 1995).

Children stabilize cohabiting relationships and, among whites, promote marriage (Manning, 2004).

Much research comparing marital and cohabiting unions examines differences in the quality and nature of relationships (e.g. Brines & Joyner, 1999; Smock, 2000; Thornton, Axinn, & Xie, 2007). Our work is extends recent work that considers the extent to which married and cohabiting couples are embedded in relationships with non-residential family members (Hogerbrugge & Dykstra, 2009). We delve more deeply into how children influence their parents' behavior in the spirit of research that considers the place of cohabitation in the kinship system (Cherlin, 2004; Manning & Smock, 2005; Seltzer, 2004). Previous research suggests that the introduction of children may have positive effects on the relationships between parents and grandparents (Eggebeen, 2005; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003). Having and rearing children together may signal a level of commitment to relationships to each other and their families regardless of their union type. We compare specifically married and cohabiting parents' interaction with non-residential family members such as the children's grandparents, aunts, and uncles to the patterns of contact of non-parents. We expect that *children will minimize any observed differences between married and cohabiting individuals in patterns of contact with non-residential family members*.

In addition to union type and the presence of children, a series of other factors may also influence time spent with non-residential kin. Americans living in cities in contrast to non-urban areas are more likely to be socially isolated (Fischer, 1982), which may be partially related to lower levels of contact with family members. Likewise, McPherson and his colleagues (2006) have shown that social integration is affected by race, age, marital status, education and gender.

Spending time with non-residential kin cultivates relationships that may be translated into social support if necessary, and may indicate the extent to which married and cohabiting partners are embedded in extended family life. We use time use data to focus on local ties (Wellman 1996) – that is, face to face interactions with non-residential family members. The goal of this paper, therefore, is to examine the likelihood and amount of time married and cohabiting individuals spend with family members who live outside their homes and whether the presence of children moderates the relationship between union type and time with family. This study uses the American time diary data to test for a moderating effect of the presence of children on the relationship between union type and non-residential family ties.

We begin with a description of our data, followed by a discussion of the factors that may affect whether, and how much time, individuals spend with non-residential kin. Finally, we discuss the results of several descriptive statistics and multivariate regression models, followed by a summary and discussion of the research presented in this paper.

METHOD

Data

We use integrated data from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) (Abraham, Flood, Sobek & Thorn, 2008). The ATUS is a time diary study of a nationally representative sample of Americans. Respondents in the ATUS reported the activities they engaged in over a 24-hour period from 4:00 a.m. of a specified day until 4:00 a.m. of the following day, as well as where, when, and with whom activities were done. Data are collected on each day of the week, and weekends are oversampled. We pool the five cross-sections of data that are currently available from 2003 to 2007.

ATUS sample members are invited to complete the survey following the end of their participation in the Current Population Survey (CPS). The CPS is a household survey of the civilian, noninstitutionalized population. One individual aged 15 or older per former CPS participating household was randomly selected to participate in the ATUS during the two to five months following their exit from the CPS. Overall response rates over 50% for each the five years (Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Census Bureau, 2009).

The 2003 to 2007 ATUS data captures the daily experiences of 72,919 Americans. Our interest in comparing patterns of social interaction with non-residential kin for individuals in married and cohabiting relationships results in a subsample of 30,981 respondents. We include only married and cohabiting respondents ages 25 to 59 because very few individuals outside of this age range have children under 18 in the household. Finally, we exclude respondents who reported their activities on holidays because these are days when individuals often gather with family more so than they do on typical days.

The majority of time use research indicates the amount of time spent doing a given activity or set of activities. But, the richness of the ATUS data extends beyond what people do and can give us insight into patterns of interaction. Like other time use research, our study examines differences in how people spend time, but we seek to capitalize on the depth of these data by going beyond the typical approach to time use research by examining *with whom people do things*.

Measures

We construct our dependent variables using the ATUS respondent's response to the question "who was with you? / Who accompanied you?" during an activity. Responses were

coded into one of several categories including specific codes for different types of household and non-household members. The time spent with others can theoretically range from no time (0 minutes) to an entire 24-hour period (1440 minutes). We create two dependent variables that capture whether the ATUS respondent spent any time with non-residential family members and, for those who did spend time with such persons, the amount of time spent. We focus specifically on non-residential kin (parents, own children, siblings, other family members). Using the "who" codes, we aggregate the time spent in activities in which a non-residential family member was present. In this paper, our concern is time spent with non-residential kin rather than activities done in the company of non-family members.

While the nature of these data allows us to assess the amount of time spent with others, they do not allow us to address the quality of these social interactions (a la Fischer 1982). Though we know how respondents are related to the persons with whom they spend time, the nature of the relationship between the respondents and parents, siblings, and other family members with whom they spend time is not measured. Nonetheless, we use the data to analyze contact with non-residential family members during the reporting day to assess differences and similarities in patterns of social interaction among individuals in cohabiting and married partner relationships and parents of children under 18 and others.

The key independent variables in our models examining the impact of marital status on time spent with non-residential kin are marital status (cohabiting vs. married) and the presence of a child under 18 in the home. Our measure of marital status is drawn from the ATUS respondent's report of all persons in the household at the time of the ATUS interview. If the respondent reported having a spouse or unmarried partner present in the home, we code him or her as being married or cohabiting, respectively. Our dummy indicator of having a child under

18 in the home was created by examining the ages and relationships of all persons in the home and coding the variable as "1" if the household member was younger than 18 and was the respondent's own household child or the spouse's or partner's own household child. We include the following control variables in our models: gender, metropolitan area, age, race, highest level of education, employment status, region, and weekday.

In our results, we first present the bivariate analyses, which provide us with a basic understanding about our data and the sub-sample of respondents we examine. Then we use multivariate statistics to capture the simultaneous effects of our independent and control variables on spending time with non-residential kin.

RESULTS

Table 1 describes the bivariate relationships between our independent and control variables, and our dependent variables, which indicate whether any time is spent with non-residential kin and how much. Roughly one quarter of our sample spends time on any given day with members of their family who reside outside of their household. Married people are slightly more likely than cohabiting individuals (25 and 21%, respectively) to spend time with their family members, consistent with our expectations. Time spent with non-residential kin is slightly higher for individuals living in homes without children present compared to homes with children (26% versus 23%). In addition, the time spent with non-residential family members is clearly greater for women compared to men (28 versus 20%, respectively). Individuals living in metropolitan areas are slightly less likely to see their non-residential family members on a given day than are those in less urban areas and weekend interaction is substantially more common than weekday time together as is the mean number of minutes spent together.

(Table 1: About Here)

Given our interests at the intersection of partner status and the presence of children, Figure 1 shows the mean number of minutes spent with non-residential family members by marital status for individuals with and without children. In terms of time spent with non-residential kin, the presence of children operates differently for individuals who are married and cohabiting. Cohabiting persons with children spend 475 minutes, on average, with non-residential kin and 464 minutes, on average, with non-residential kin when they do not have children. Levels are comparable for married persons, who spend 408 and 492 minutes with non-residential family members when they have and do not have children, respectively. The descriptive differences suggest differences in time spent with non-residential family member based on marital status and the presence of children in the home. We now turn to multivariate analyses to understand whether these descriptive differences remain after controlling for additional factors that may influence time spent with non-household family members.

(Figure 1: About Here)

Multivariate Analyses

Given our interest in understanding differences in who spends time with non-residential kin and the amount of time spent with them, we estimate two sets of models to examine patterns of contact and time spent with non-residential kin by our independent variables. The binary logistic regression models allow us to understand patterns of interaction with non-residential family members separate from the time spent with them, which we model using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Most people have non-residential kin with whom to spend time, but this is not necessarily a daily occurrence for everyone. Time together may be limited to non-work days or may only happen occasionally if family members, for example, live far away.

Table 2 presents the results of logistic regression models that predict spending any time with non-residential family members. Our first model includes our key independent variable, marital status, along with additional control variables, and our second model incorporates an indicator of the presence of children under 18 in the home. We find as expected that adults in cohabiting relationships are less likely to spend time with non-residential family members than are married individuals net of other factors (Models 1 and 2). The likelihood of spending time with non-residential family members net of other factors is slightly reduced for individuals with children under 18 (Model 2), though the coefficients are largely unchanged for marital status.

Model 3 considers the joint relationship between marital status and the presence of children. Our findings show that cohabiting individuals without children are one-third as likely as married individuals with children (reference category) to spend time with non-residential kin. Married persons without kids are 14 percent more likely than married persons with kids to spend time with non-household family members. In short, holding constant all other variables in the model, cohabiters without children are the least likely while married persons without children are the most likely to spend time with their non-residential kin. When children are present, cohabiters with children are not significantly different from married persons with children in the likelihood of interacting with non-residential family members.

In addition to our main findings regarding the effects of marital status and the presence of children, we discuss briefly the effects of our control variables on the likelihood of spending time with non-residential kind. We find a consistent effect of gender across all models in Table 2, showing that women are nearly one and a half times more likely than men to spend time with non-family members. We find that adults ages 25 – 29 have the highest odds of spending time with their non-residential family members compared to other aged adults in the sample. Both

living in a metropolitan area and working either part time or full time reduce the odds of spending time with family members.

(Table 2: About Here)

The second part of our analysis considers how much time individuals spend with their non-residential family members conditional upon spending any time (Table 3). That is, for those who had face to face contact with their non-residential family members, are their differences by marital status and the presence of children in the amount of time spent? Married and cohabiting individuals show no significant differences in the amount of time spent with non-residential kin holding constant other factors (Models 1 and 2). Yet, children reduce the amount of time spent with non-residential kin by 47 minutes, on average, holding all else constant (Model 2). Model 3 considers the interaction between marital status and the presence of children, and does show that cohabiting individuals without children and married individuals without children spend 33 and 50 minutes more, on average, with non-residential kin than married individuals with children net of other factors (Model 3). Differences between married and cohabiting individuals with children are not significant.

Table 3 also tells us how factors other than marital status and the presence of children are related to the time spent with non-residential kin. We find that women spend more time with their non-residential kin than men net of marital status, parental status, and the other demographic factors (Models 1 – 3). Employed individuals consistently spend less time with their non-residential family members than do those who are not working, and time spent with family members is substantially less on the weekdays versus the weekends by about 108 minutes, on average, holding all other factors constant.

(Table 3: About Here)

Discussion

The rise in cohabitation and the increasing number of children born to unmarried cohabiting couples has generated large amounts of research on the effects of cohabitation on children and has stimulated scholarly dialogue regarding the place of cohabitation in the kinship system. We take a slightly different angle by comparing family relationships of married and cohabiting people conditional upon the presence of children. We expected that the presence of children would decrease the differences between married and cohabiting couples to the extent that children both place similar constraints on parents in terms of time regardless of marital status and provide a set of normative guidelines regarding interaction between family members, which may be lacking for individuals in cohabiting relationships and their family members. We found that the presence of children did indeed moderate the relationship between marital status and the likelihood of spending time with non-residential family members and provided some insight into differences in the time spent with non-residential kin.

Married and cohabiting individuals display different patterns of involvement with non-residential family members dependent upon the presence of children. Married persons are more likely to spend time with their non-residential family members than cohabiting individuals, which is consistent with previous research (Hogerbrugge & Dykstra, 2009). Yet, our analyses provide further insight into the complexities surrounding marital status and interfamily relationships. We extend the work of Hogerbrugge and Dykstra (2009) by considering the effects of the interaction between marital status and the presence of children in the household on the likelihood and time spent with non-residential kin. We find similar patterns between married and cohabiting individuals with children and their likelihood of interacting with non-residential kin.

However, the effects of children depend on marital status such that cohabiting couples with children spend more time with non-residential kin than those without children, but the presence of children dampens the likelihood of spending time with non-residential kin for married individuals.

While there is more contact between married individuals and cohabiters with children and their non-residential family members compared to cohabiting individuals without children, the time spent with non-residential family members shows different patterns. Among those who spend time with non-residential family members, married individuals spend the most time and there are no significant differences among the other groups. Our findings show that the presence of children does not increase the time spent with non-residential kin; rather, married individuals with children spend significantly less time with non-residential family members than those without children.

Opposing norms may govern interfamily relationships to the extent that the presence of children produces different effects for relationships between married and cohabiting individuals and their families. The decreased likelihood of spending time with non-residential family members for married persons with children may be related to the establishment of a new family once a couple has children that in effect legitimates space between married couples and their family members. Yet the lack of differences in the time actually spent with non-residential kin for those who spend any time suggests similar amounts of time available for interaction with others over the course of a day, which for many includes substantial amounts of time dedicated to sleep and work. While it appears that children play a role in making cohabiting couples look more similar to their married counterparts, it is also clear that women compared to men are more likely to spend time with non-residential kin and spend more time when they do.

Time use data give us insight into patterns of social interaction but do not allow us to investigate why there are variations in the time people spend with others; previous theorizing, however, provides some explanations. It is commonly understood that having children changes the way individuals spend their time. People with children may spend less time with others simply because they only have a certain amount of non-work and non-sleep time during the day and they have different types of people to spend their time with. The current norms surrounding parenthood emphasize intensive parenting, which increasingly includes fathers (Coltrane 1996; Deutsch, 1999; Hays, 1996).

This study does not end the debate surrounding cohabitation as an incomplete institution. However, it does provide partial confirmation on the similarity of cohabitation to marriage for couples with children in the home under the age of 18 years. This is important, as much of the previous research focus on the impact of cohabitation on children. Part of the anxiety with cohabiting relationships is the effect on children. For instance, some scholars argue that the instability of cohabiting relationships negatively affects children. Our research shows that the presence of children may also have an impact on cohabiting relationships; that is, the presence of children is positively associated with greater contact with children's grandparents and other family members. In this capacity, children may strengthen the ties between cohabiting individuals and their family members by providing scripted ways of interacting with children that are lacking when children are absent.

In addition, it is possible to argue that the presence of children reduces the autonomy that characterizes cohabiting individuals. To this extent, children may also reduce the individualism among cohabiting partners. Finally, the presence of children also facilitates greater attention from non-residential kin to the cohabiting relationship – what Cherlin (2008) calls the "enforced

trust"–that is, the ability to call on family and friends to help enforce the agreements partners have made with one another (p. 231). In the case of cohabiting households with a child or children present, non-residential kin may initiate contact with cohabiting partners as a way to ensure the well-being of involved children. Thus, in this sense, cohabiting relationships with children present may parallel marriages in terms of the "enforced trusts" related to childrearing.

REFERENCES

Abraham, K. G., Flood, S. M., Sobek, M. & Thorn, B. (2008). American Time Use Survey Data Extract System: Version 1.0 [Machine-readable database]. Maryland Population Research Center, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, and Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Alwin, D. F., Converse, P. E. & Martin, S. S. (1985). "Living Arrangements and Social Integration." *Journal of Marriage and The Family*, Vol. 47 (2): 319-334.

Axinn, W. & Thornton, A. (2000). "The Transformation and the Meaning of Marriage." In *Ties that Bind: Perspectives on Marriage and Cohabitation*. Edited by Linda J. Waite, Christine Bachrach, Michelle Hindin, Elisabeth Thompson, Arland Thornton. New York: Aldine de Gruyer, Inc. p. 147 – 165.

Bianchi, S. (1995). "The changing economic roles of women and men. In *State of the Union: American in the 1990s.*" Edited by R. Farley, 1: 107-54. New York: Russell Sage.

Blumstein, P. & Schwartz, P. (1983). *American Couples: Money, Work, Sex*. New York: William Morrow & Co.

Brines, J. & Joyner, K. (1999). "The Ties That Bind: Principles Of Cohesion In Cohabitation and Marriage." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 64 (3): 333 – 355.

Brown, S.L. and Booth, A. (1996). "Cohabitation Versus Marriage: A Comparison of Relationship Quality." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 58: 668 – 678.

Bumpass, L. L. & Sweet, J. A. (1989). "National Estimates of Cohabitation." *Demography*, Vol. 26 (4): 615-625.

Bumpass, L. L. & Lu, H. (1999). "Trends in cohabitation and implications for children's family contexts in the U.S. CDE Work." Paper. No. 98 – 15. Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.

Bumpass, L. & Lu, H. (2000) "Trends in Cohabitation and Implications for Children's Family Contexts in the United States." *Population Studies*, Vol. 54 (1): 29-41.

Bumpass, L. L., Sweet J. A. & Cherlin, A. (1991). "The Role of Cohabitation in Declining Rates of Marriage." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 53 (4): 913 – 927.

Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Census Bureau. (2009). *American Time Use Survey User's Guide: Understanding ATUS 2003 to 2007*. Retrieved April 10, 2009 from http://www.bls.gov/tus/atususersguide.pdf.

Casper, L. M. & Cohen, P. N. (2000). "How Does POSSLQ Measure Up? Historical Estimates of Cohabitation." *Demography*, Vol. 37 (2): 237 – 245.

Chandra, A., Martinez, G. M., Mosher, W. D., Abma, J. C. and Jones, J. (2005). *Fertility, family planning, and reproductive health of U.S. women: Data from the 2002 National Survey of Family Growth*. Hyattsville: National Center for Health Statistics: 160 pp. (Vital and health statistics: series 23; 25).

Cherlin, A. J. (2004). "The Deinstitutionalization of American Marriage." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 66 (4): 848 – 861.

_____. (2005). "American Marriage in the Early Twenty-First Century." *The Future of Children*, Vol. 15 (2): 33 – 55. Accessed: Monday, December 17, 2007: http://www.futureofchildren.org/usr_doc/03_FOC_15-2_fall05_Cherlin.pdf.

_____. (2008). *Public and Private Families: An Introduction*. Fifth Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Clarkberg, M., Stolzenberg, R. M. & Waite, L. J. (1995). "Attitudes, Values, and Entrance into Cohabitational versus Marital Unions." *Social Forces*, Vol. 74 (2): 609 – 634.

Coley, R. L. (2002). "What Mothers Teach, What Daughters Learn: Gender Mistrust and Self-Sufficiency Among Low-Income Women." In *Just Living Together: Implications of Cohabitation on Families, Children, and Social Policy*, Editors Alan Booth and Ann C. Crouter. USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. p. 97 – 105.

Coltrane, S. (1996). *Family man: Fatherhood, house-work, and gender equity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Deutsch, F. M. (1999). *Halving It All: How Equally Shared Parenting Works*. Cambridge, MA**:** Harvard University Press.

Eggebeen, D. J. (2005). "Cohabitation and Exchanges of Support." *Social Forces*, Vol. 83 (3): 1097 – 1110.

Fitch, C., Goeken, R. & Ruggles, S. (2005). "The Rise of cohabitation in the United States New Historical Estimates" MPC working paper; accessed: Tuesday, March 3, 2009: http://www.pop.umn.edu/research/mpc-working-papers-series/2005%20working-paper-pdf-docs/cohabit_2005-03.pdf.

Fitch, C. & Ruggles, S. (2000). "Historical Trends in Marriage Formation: The United States 1850 – 1990. In *Ties that Bind: Perspectives on Marriage and Cohabitation*. Edited by Linda J. Waite, Christine Bachrach, Michelle Hindin, Elisabeth Thompson, Arland Thornton. New York: Aldine de Gruyer, Inc. p. 59 – 90.

Fischer, C. S. (1982). *To Dwell Among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City*. USA: University of Chicago Press.

_____. (1984). *The Urban Experience*. Second Edition. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Hays, S. (1996). *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hogerbrugge, M. &; Dykstra, P. A. (2009). "The Family Ties of Unmarried Cohabiting and Married Persons in the Netherlands." *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* Vol. 71 (February): 135 – 145.

Kennedy, S. & Bumpass, L. (2007). "Cohabitation and children's living arrangements: New estimates from the United States." *Demographic Research,* Vol. 19 (47): 1663 – 1692.

Kiernan, K. (2002). "Cohabitation in Western Europe: Trends, Issues, and Implications" In *Just Living Together: Implications of Cohabitation on Families, Children, and Social Policy,* Editors Alan Booth and Ann C. Crouter. USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. p. 3 – 32.

Lichter, D. T., Qian, Z & Mellott, L. M. (2006). "Marriage or Dissolution? Union Transitions among Poor Cohabiting Women." *Demography,* Vol. 43 (2): 223–40.

Manning, W. D. (2004). "Children and the Stability of Cohabiting Couples." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 66 (August 2004): 674–689.

_____. (2006). "Cohabitation and Child Well-Being." *Gender Issues,* Vol. 23 (3): 21 – 34.

Manning, W. D. & Smock, P. J. (2005). "Measuring and Modeling Cohabitation: New Perspectives From Qualitative Data." *Journal of Marriage and Family,* Vol. 67 (4): 989 – 1002.

Manning, W. D. & Daniel T. L. 1996. “Parental Cohabitation and Children’s Economic Well-Being.” *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* Vol. 58 (4): 998–1010.

Martin, T. C. & Bumpass, L. L. (1989). “Recent trends and differentials in marital disruption.” *Demography*, Vol. 26 (1): 37 – 51.

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., Brashears, M. E. (2006). “Social Isolation in America: Changes in Core Discussion Networks over Two Decades.” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 71 (3): 353 – 375.

Mincieli, L., Manlove, J., McGarrett, M., Moore, K. & Ryan, S. (2007). *The relationship context of births outside of marriage: The rise of cohabitation*. 4 pp. Washington: Child Trends. (Child trends research brief; 2007-13)

Nock, S. L. (1995). “A Comparison of Marriages and Cohabiting Relationships.” *Journal of Family Issues*, Vol. 16 (1): 53 – 76.

Nomaguchi, K. M. & Milkie, M. (2003). “Costs and Rewards of Children: The Effects of Becoming a Parent on Adults’ Lives.” *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 55 (May): 356 – 374.

Popenoe, D. (1993). “American Family Decline, 1960 – 1990: A Review and Appraisal.” *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 55 (3): 527 – 555.

Rindfuss, R. R. & VandenHeuvel, A. (1990). “Cohabitation: A Precursor to Marriage or an Alternative to Being Single?” *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 16 (4): 703 – 726.

Seltzer, J. A. (2000). “Families Formed outside of Marriage.” *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* Vol. 62 (4): 1247-1268.

Seltzer, J. A. (2004). Cohabitation in the United States and Britain: Demography, kinship, and the future." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 66 (4): 921 – 928.

Smock, P. J. (2000). "Cohabitation in the United States: An Appraisal of Research Themes, Findings and Implications." *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 26: 1 – 20.

Steele, F., Kallis, C., Goldstein, H. & Joshi, H. (2005). "The Relationship between Childbearing and Transitions from Marriage and Cohabitation in Britain," *Demography*, Vol. 42 (4): 647-673.

Thoits, P. A. (1995). "Stress, Coping, and Social Support Processes: Where Are We? What Next?" *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 35 (Extra Issue): 53 – 79.

Thornton, A. (1989). "Changing Attitudes toward Family Issues in the United States." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 51, No. 4, (Nov., 1989): 873-893.

Thornton, A. & Young-DeMarco, L. (2001). "Four Decades of Trends in Attitudes Toward Family Issues In the United States: The 1960s Through the 1990s." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 63 (): 1009 – 1037.

Thornton, A., Axinn, W. G. & Xie, Y. (2007). *Marriages and Cohabitation*. USA: The University of Chicago Press.

Wellman, B. & Wortley, S. (1990). "Brothers' Keepers: Situating Kinship Relations in Broader Networks of Social Support." *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 32 (3): 273 – 306.

Wellman, B. (1996). "Are personal communities local? A Dumptarian Reconsideration." *Social Network*, Vol. 18 (4): 347 – 354.

Wu, Z. (1995). "The Stability of Cohabitation Relationships: The Role of Children." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 57 (1): 231 – 236.

Table 1.

Demographic Variables and Time Spent with Non-Residential Family Members

Independent Variables	Non-Residential Family Members	
	% spending any time	Mean number of minutes for those who spend time
Marital Status		
Married	24.56	226.45
Cohabiting	20.67	231.64
Child Under 18 in Home		
Yes	23.18	206.47
No	25.75	249.99
Gender		
Female	28.33	238.92
Male	20.21	209.31
Age		
25-29	29.11	215.39
30-34	25.05	218.70
35-39	22.32	209.64
40-44	20.46	215.80
45-49	22.10	228.43
50-54	26.09	249.56
55-59	27.41	246.95
Race		
White	24.70	226.95
Black	23.95	210.98
Other	19.04	249.03
Metropolitan Area		
Yes	22.97	227.96
No	29.76	222.87
Level of Education		
Less than High School	24.71	239.62
High School	26.83	231.44
Associate's Degree	25.23	221.99
Bachelor's Degree	22.15	216.69
Professional Degree	19.40	230.43
Employment Status		
Full-time	22.07	212.40
Part-time	27.42	225.65
Not Working		
Diary Day		
Weekday	20.75	187.06
Weekend	33.36	289.50
Year		
2003	25.27	222.91
2004	24.61	223.17
2005	24.73	230.41
2006	24.20	230.57
2007	22.75	226.83

Table 2.

Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Spending Any Time with Non-Residential Kin for Married and Cohabiting Men and Women, Controlling for Background Variables

Independent Variables	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
	B		*SE B*	e^B	*B*		*SE B*	e^B	*B*		*SE B*	e^B
Cohabiting Relationship	-0.29	***	0.08	0.75	-0.31	***	0.08	0.73	--		--	--
Child under 18	--		--	--	-0.10	*	0.04	0.91	--		--	--
Cohabiting-Child under 18 Interaction												
Cohabiting, Kids	--		--	--	--		--	--	0.00		0.11	1.00
Cohabiting, No Kids	--		--	--	--		--	--	-0.40	***	0.11	0.67
Married, No Kids	--		--	--	--		--	--	0.13	**	0.05	1.14
Female	0.38	***	0.04	1.46	0.38	***	0.04	1.46	0.37	***	0.04	1.45
Age												
30-34	-0.21	**	0.07	0.81	-0.20	**	0.07	0.82	-0.20	**	0.07	0.82
35-39	-0.37	***	0.07	0.69	-0.36	***	0.07	0.70	-0.35	***	0.07	0.70
40-44	-0.49	***	0.07	0.61	-0.48	***	0.07	0.62	-0.48	***	0.07	0.62
45-49	-0.41	***	0.07	0.66	-0.43	***	0.07	0.65	-0.43	***	0.07	0.65
50-54	-0.18	*	0.07	0.84	-0.22	**	0.07	0.80	-0.22	**	0.07	0.80
55-59	-0.14		0.07	0.87	-0.20	*	0.08	0.82	-0.21	**	0.08	0.81
Race												
Black	-0.02		0.07	0.98	-0.01		0.07	0.99	-0.02		0.07	0.98
Other	-0.30	***	0.08	0.74	-0.30	***	0.08	0.74	-0.30	***	0.08	0.74
Metropolitan Area	-0.32	***	0.04	0.73	-0.32	***	0.04	0.73	-0.31	***	0.04	0.73
Level of Education												
High School	0.14		0.07	1.15	0.13		0.07	1.14	0.13		0.07	1.14
Associate's Degree	0.06		0.07	1.06	0.05		0.07	1.05	0.06		0.07	1.06
Bachelor's Degree	-0.08		0.07	0.92	-0.09		0.07	0.92	-0.08		0.07	0.93
Professional Degree	-0.21	**	0.08	0.81	-0.21	**	0.08	0.81	-0.20	*	0.08	0.82
Employment Status												
Full-time	-0.27	***	0.05	0.76	-0.28	***	0.05	0.75	-0.28	***	0.05	0.75
Part-time	-0.14	*	0.06	0.87	-0.14	*	0.06	0.87	-0.14	*	0.06	0.87
Diary Day												
Weekday	-0.67	***	0.03	0.51	-0.67	***	0.03	0.51	-0.67	***	0.03	0.51
Year												
2004	-0.04		0.05	0.97	-0.04		0.05	0.96	-0.03		0.05	0.97
2005	-0.03		0.05	0.97	-0.03		0.05	0.97	-0.03		0.05	0.97
2006	-0.05		0.05	0.95	-0.05		0.05	0.95	-0.05		0.05	0.96
2007	-0.15	**	0.05	0.86	-0.15	**	0.05	0.86	-0.14	**	0.05	0.87
Constant	-0.09		0.10		-0.01		0.10		-0.13		0.09	
Model Fit												
Observations	30981				30981				30981			
df	22				23				24			
F	40.8				39.9				38.59			

* P<=.05.
**P<=.01.
***P<=.001.

Table 3.

Summary of Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Time Spent with Non-Residential Kin

Independent Variables	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	*SE B*		*B*	*SE B*		*B*	*SE B*	
Cohabiting Relationship	13.83	12.25		4.55	12.54		--	--	
Child under 18	--	--		-46.86	7.60	***	--	--	
Cohabiting-Child under 18 Interaction									
Cohabiting, Kids	--	--		--	--		29.04	17.85	
Cohabiting, No Kids	--	--		--	--		32.81	16.43	*
Married, No Kids	--	--		--	--		50.24	7.84	***
Female	21.20	6.22	***	19.39	6.13	**	19.05	6.13	**
Age									
30-34	2.15	10.66		7.30	10.63		7.37	10.61	
35-39	-5.93	9.06		1.89	9.06		2.41	9.07	
40-44	-0.03	9.56		2.26	9.47		2.71	9.45	
45-49	13.42	9.84		1.82	10.01		1.41	9.99	
50-54	31.75	10.58	**	7.74	11.15		6.57	11.13	
55-59	27.89	10.31	**	-1.80	11.36		-3.34	11.34	
Race									
Black	-16.02	9.95		-15.39	9.85		-15.69	9.79	
Other	21.43	13.95		23.51	14.03		23.56	14.02	
Metropolitan Area	6.10	6.46		7.20	6.46		7.36	6.46	
Level of Education									
High School	-0.59	12.84		-2.69	12.65		-1.99	12.62	
Associate's Degree	-11.61	12.99		-12.30	12.71		-11.67	12.67	
Bachelor's Degree	-13.11	13.37		-13.25	13.05		-12.31	13.01	
Professional Degree	-4.49	14.75		-3.53	14.33		-2.68	14.30	
Employment Status									
Full-time	-52.02	8.00	***	-55.49	7.82	***	-55.38	7.81	***
Part-time	-39.82	8.86	***	-39.25	8.76	***	-38.94	8.75	***
Diary Day									
Weekday	-107.57	5.31	***	-108.68	5.26	***	-108.76	5.26	***
Year									
2004	-1.27	8.02		-2.12	7.93		-1.90	7.93	
2005	5.32	7.92		5.53	7.90		5.89	7.90	
2006	3.28	8.06		4.53	8.00		5.09	8.00	
2007	-1.53	7.95		-0.67	7.91		-0.43	7.91	
Constant	307.83	14.71	***	344.23	16.50	***	295.22	14.82	***
Model Fit									
Observations	8397			8397			8397		
df	22			23			24		
F	26.79			27.96			27.25		

* P<=.05.
**P<=.01.
***P<=.001.

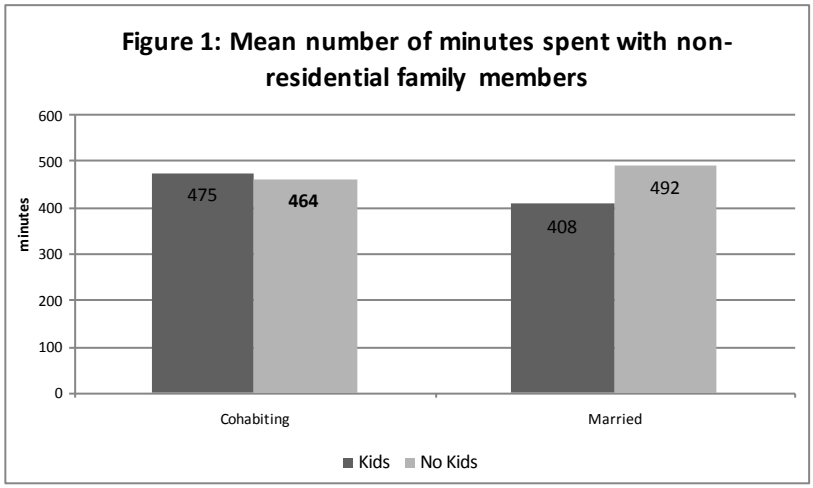
Figure 1: Mean number of minutes spent with non-residential family members
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
minutes
475
464
408
492
Cohabiting
Married
Kids
No Kids