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Fertility Timing Within Marriage: Are Changing Contexts Associated with Changing Dynamics?

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between marriage and fertility in the U.S. has changed drastically since the 20th Century baby boom as fertility rates have become increasingly delinked from marriage. This study seeks to fill a gap in the literature on marriage and fertility by providing information regarding how the timing of marital fertility has changed during the past forty years. Using data from the 1969-2005 waves of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, we use a variety of survival analysis methods to follow the fertility behavior of new marriages to determine whether changes have occurred in the timing of births within marriage. Preliminary results show that childbearing has increasingly been delayed within marriage since the late-1960s, but only among marriages in which no children from before the marriage reside. In addition, rates of childlessness among couples with no previous children nearly doubled between the 1969-1973 and 1984-1988 marriage cohorts. The implications of these changes for our understanding of the institution of marriage and future research directions are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

* All analyses reported in this paper are preliminary. Do not cite without author permission. Please direct correspondence Tara L.Becker, tbecker@ssc.wisc.edu.

The relationship between marriage and fertility in the U.S. has changed drastically since the 20th Century Baby Boom as fertility rates have become increasingly delinked from marriage. The emergence of non-marital childbearing as an increasingly accepted form of fertility is unprecedented (Pagnini and Rindfuss 1993). At the same time, the characteristics of those who marry are changing. While the vast majority of individuals in the United States will marry in their lifetime, marriage increasingly selects on demographic characteristics such as age, educational attainment, and race, with older, better educated whites becoming increasingly more likely to marry over time (Goldstein and Kenney 2001), all factors that are associated with lower fertility rates. Though marital fertility has not declined overall, a growing proportion of marriages never produce children (Bachu 1999).

Marriage and parenthood have been normatively, if not quantifiably, tied together over past decades in Western societies. Wu found that only 1 in 10 women born in the U.S. in the 1920s had child outside of marriage (2008). Even high levels of childless marriages can be traced to external causes such as war and economic depression as far back as the 1800s in the U.S. (Hagestad 2007). Considering these socio-demographic changes in family and fertility, has the meaning and purpose of marriage changed too? Do couples marry specifically to begin childbearing or "legitimate" existing children? Many researchers have focused on increases in nonmarital fertility or marital childlessness in order to inform population level changes in the meanings of marriage and childbearing. We argue, however, that these patterns must be examined together and in conjunction with marital fertility timing in order to achieve a broader understanding of the changing meaning of marriage in the U.S. Therefore, we propose to work within a framework

stating that there are at least three components of change in fertility that can provide evidence that marriage and childbearing are delinked, with one process or life-course event becoming less conditional on the other:

1. Increases in nonmarital childbearing
2. Increases in the proportions of couples that remain childlessness within marriage
3. Delays in childbearing within marriage

A joint consideration of these patterns will provide a more complete understanding of how the meaning of marriage has changed in the U.S. over time. Nonmarital childbearing and childlessness in the later 20th Century and 21st Century have received much attention from researchers; however, we find a scarcity of research on historical changes in delayed onset of childbearing *within* the context of marriage. We expect that there have been changes in the timing of fertility within marriage over this same period, but there is little empirical evidence of these changes. Evidence of increases in delayed childbearing within marriage may contribute to the argument set forth by research on nonmarital fertility and childlessness that marriage has become increasingly delinked from fertility (Pagnini and Rindfuss 1993). However, if time to first birth remains unchanged or decreases over this same period, this may point to heterogeneity in the meaning of marriage between those who conduct childbearing within marriage and those who experience nonmarital fertility or marital childlessness.

In this paper, we aim to review the contribution of increases in nonmarital fertility to changes in marital fertility, and we estimate historical changes in childlessness and timing of first births within marriage. We use data from the Panel Study of Income

Dynamics 1969-2005 to estimate changes in the timing of fertility within marriage. We also estimate differentials in marital fertility timing by individual and couple characteristics to shed light on the effect of changing selection into marriage on marital fertility over the period.

BACKGROUND

Marriage and the Changing Context of Fertility

The U.S. population experienced a dramatic drop in the proportion of births occurring within marriages vs. outside marriages in the last four decades. The percentage of all U.S. births that were marital births decreased from about 90 percent to two-thirds from 1960 to 2000 (Ventura & Bachrach 2000). Gray and colleagues (2006) have demonstrated that this shift in the context of fertility in the U.S. has been driven by changes in women's marital behavior rather than in women's fertility preferences themselves.

Most non-marital births occur to women in their 20s and 30s and not to the adolescent mothers who have been the subject of so much media attention (Musick 2002). There was an increase in age at first birth for these unmarried mothers in the early 1990s. Despite this upward shift, however, 2 out of 3 non-marital births occur to relatively young women under age 25 and half of these occur to teens (Wu, Bumpass, & Musick 2001). Teens are the most likely age group in the population to experience a non-marital birth; however, this is probably due to the increasing divergence in the proportion of births to married teens versus unmarried teens (Wu, Bumpass, & Musick 2001; Kaye 2001). "Shotgun" weddings have decreased over the last few decades with expecting parents choosing not to marry. The increase in cohabitation has played an important role in

fading out this phenomenon (Ermisch 2001). It is possible that this decrease in shotgun weddings and increase in cohabitation could have a historical effect on the timing of first births within marriage, especially in the early months of marriage.

When one takes cohabitation into account, one sees that there is not so much an increase in children born to one-parent families, but an increase in the proportion of children who are born to 2-parent cohabiting families. According to Bumpass & Lu (2000), the increase in U.S. non-marital fertility is "completely" associated with cohabiting 2-parent families. That is, the increase in non-marital births is almost entirely due to an increase in non-marital births where the child's parents are cohabiting. The U.S. may be moving towards a "European model" of non-marital fertility in which most non-marital births occur within 2 parent families. European countries with high levels of cohabitation (Scandinavia and France) also have high non-marital fertility rates, and vice versa. There are a few exceptions to this rule, i.e., Great Britain, which has high levels of non-marital fertility relative to the prevalence of cohabitation (Kiernan 2001).

Not only are non-marital family formation processes on the rise, but women who have a non-marital birth tend to continue their fertility within the same family form in which they started their fertility. Never married women are at a higher risk of non-marital fertility than are women who are separated or divorced. Never married women also are more likely to have higher order births outside of wedlock than within marriage, and women who had a first birth in a cohabiting union are more likely to experience higher order fertility within a cohabiting union than within marriage (Wu, Bumpass, & Musick 2001).

Childlessness within Marriage

Childlessness within marriage in the U.S. is hardly a new phenomenon (Morgan 1991). Childlessness occurred at relatively high proportions for 19th Century birth cohorts in the U.S. (15-25% childless), with marital childlessness being the driving factor (Rowland 2007). Low levels of childlessness (< 10% overall population) occurred during the post-World War II Baby Boom, but childlessness increased again after this period (Rowland 2007). High socio-economic status seems historically to be a consistent predictor of marital childlessness (Morgan 1991).

Marital childlessness among both older and more recent cohorts seems to be largely the result of a series of postponements of life course events and strongly linked to fertility timing within marriage (Morgan 1991). For example, childlessness is positively linked with increased age at marriage, and delayed childbearing can often lead to both voluntary and involuntary childlessness (Heaton et al. 1999; Dykstra and Hagestad 2007; Hagestad 2007; Rowland 2007). Period effects of war and economic hardship have also played a role in the delay of marital childbearing that has subsequently lead to childlessness (Morgan 1991; Hagestad 2007).

Despite these increases, childlessness is not seen as normative or particularly desirable in the U.S., though many individuals have "neutral" attitudes about childlessness (Koropeckyj-Cox and Pendell 2007). A study of women nearing the end of their childbearing years in the National Survey of Family Growth show that only a small proportion of women within this age group are voluntarily childless, and this group has not grown monotonically from 1982-2002 (Abma and Martinez 2006).[1] Women's

[1] Data from the PSID do not allow us to distinguish between voluntary and involuntary childlessness.

childbearing expectations seemed to be tied heavily to marriage expectations. This finding is consistent with other U.S. studies that find that, despite the historic growth in nonmarital childbearing and cohabitation, marriage continues to be a very strong predictor of childbearing (Heaton et al. 1999). In addition to marriage timing, our study will estimate patterns and differences in childlessness for marriage cohorts in the United States from 1968 to 2005.

Fertility Timing within Marriage

With fertility in the U.S. steadily becoming more independent from marriage at the aggregate level over the past four decades, how has fertility behavior changed *within* marriage? Whether or not the U.S. is inevitably moving towards a "European Model" of family formation, we expect that fertility timing within marriage has changed as a response to the growing number of non-marital births and the increased selection of individuals with certain characteristics into marriage.

Several studies have charted the changes in fertility timing within marriage during the 20th Century using the multiple clocks (period-cohort-individual time) model to disaggregate these changes (Rindfuss, Morgan, and Swicegood 1984). From the 1930s to the 1970s, time to first birth dipped so that the nadir of marriage duration to first birth occurred among the 1955-1959 marriage cohort (Rindfuss, Morgan, and Swicegood 1984; Teachman and Polonko 1985). However, cohort changes were only statistically significant for whites (Teachman and Polonko 1985). Also, over this period, the odds of having a first birth among married couples decreased with marital duration for both blacks and whites. Teachman and Polonko suggest that this finding could be due to selection

based on fecundity and successful contraception use but also could be part of a growing number of couples who choose to remain childless.

Family transitions such as divorce and cohabitation that have become more prevalent in the past few decades have also been analyzed with respect to fertility timing within marriage. Marital disruption, jointly modeled with conception/birth, is negatively associated with the hazard of marital childbearing, especially for women with at least one child (Lillard and Waite 1993). Marital instability inhibits childbearing because the cost of divorce increases with children, and couples who are unstable are reluctant to bring more children into the relationship. Manning's (1995) analysis of the influence of cohabitation on fertility shows that marital first birth timing for cohabitors is no different for non-cohabitors as long as a non-marital birth did not occur during the cohabitation. Whether a woman cohabits only has a significant association with timing of first birth in the first eight months of marriage. Cohabiting duration is more important for timing of first birth within marriage than whether or not a woman cohabited (Manning 1995).

Unfortunately, there are no descriptive papers that track long-term changes in the timing of marital births from the mid-1970s forward. We view this as a major omission in the demographic literature considering the changing context of fertility and the changing selection into marriage in the U.S. over the past four decades. We hope to fill in this gap using longitudinal data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics from 1969 to 2005. We believe that this information can shed light on the role of marriage in the U.S. and how this role has changed as family formation practices have undergone such a dramatic shift.

DATA AND SAMPLE SELECTION

The data used in this study is from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), a longitudinal survey of a representative sample of U.S. individuals and the households in which they reside, conducted by the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research, at the University of Michigan (Hill 1992). In 1968, approximately 4,800 U.S. households were interviewed. The survey was conducted annually between 1968 and 1997 and biannually thereafter. The PSID tracks all members of original 1968 sample households, even if they no longer coreside, and also follows the children of original sample members born after the initial 1968 interview and their coresidents when they leave the original 1968 interview households. The original focus of the survey was the dynamics of poverty; therefore, the 1968 sample contained both a nationally representative sample of 2,930 households and an additional sample of 1,872 low-income households.

The PSID is ideally suited for the purpose of following couples longitudinally and monitoring historical changes in families since the late-1960s. The more than three decades of data span the period during which changes in family formation behaviors changed rapidly. In addition, the PSID's method of following children of the original sample members as they form their own households allows the sample to be continually replenished with young families, allowing it to remain representative of the nation's non-immigrant population over time (Hill 1992). Unfortunately this practice also means that the sample underrepresents new immigrant populations who entered the United States after 1968.

The sample used in this preliminary paper consists of all new marriages that were formed after the original 1968 interview and prior to the 1993 interview[2] in which the wife was under age 45 at the time of marriage and the first year of marriage could be identified[3]. These couples are followed forward over time using data from the 1969-1997 interviews. In future versions of this paper we plan to follow couples through 2005 and include all new marriages that occurred prior to the 1999 interview. The sample restrictions leave us with 5,647 new marriages.

The preliminary analyses presented in this chapter are conducted separately by year of marriage. Year of marriage is coded as the first interview year in which a couple is reported as married. Because only a small number of new marriages occur in each wave, the sample is grouped into 5 five-year marriage cohort groups. Weighted and unweighted sample descriptive statistics for each marriage cohort group can be found in Table 1. Over time, new marriages have become increasingly likely to include one or both partner's children from prior to the marriage. In the 1969-1973 marriage cohorts, children present in the household at the time of the marriage in 19% of these new marriages. By the 1989-1993 cohort, this had risen to one-third. The mean age at marriage rose from 25.0 years for men and 22.5 years for women in the 1969-1973 cohorts to 30.5 years for men and 28.0 years for women in the 1974-1978. The higher age at marriage in this sample compared to the mean age at first marriage is due to the fact that this sample includes both first and higher order marriages. In later drafts of this paper we will take into account marriage

[2] The current version of this paper is restricted to data from the 1969-1997 waves of the PSID. In the final draft of the paper, we will include data from the 1999-2005 biannual waves of the PSID and will include all marriages formed prior to the 1999 interview.

[3] There are 59 marriages that were dropped from the analysis because the first year of marriage could not be identified. This is because in early waves of the PSID, the PSID does not distinguish between marriage and long-term cohabitation. Retrospective marriage histories and other relationship information provided by the PSID were used to assign year of marriage for most couples in these waves; however marital status during this period could not be resolved for these 59 couples.

order for the purpose of determining whether the timing of births within marriage differs between first and higher order marriages.

METHODS

In this paper, we use life table methods to measure the time from the marriage until the couple's first birth within the marriage. We compare the proportions of couples that have had a first birth at each year of the marriage across the five cohorts. We then examine whether changes in rates of childlessness explain any differences in the time to first marital birth that we observe. To evaluate whether rates of childlessness have increased, we construct a measure of the predicted proportions of couples that remain married and childless at increasing marital durations. We then restrict our focus to those couples who experience a marital birth in order to determine whether the timing of first marital births has changed over time among those who experience a birth.

To calculate the life table estimates, in brief, we begin by calculating transition rates between no birth and first birth by dividing the number of births in a given year by the number of couples who were at risk of having a birth. These transition rates are then transformed into transition probabilities according to methods described in Preston, Heuveline, and Guillot (2001). These transition probabilities are then used to calculate the proportion of couples that will experience a birth in a given year. More detailed information on how these life tables are constructed can be found in Preston, Heuveline, and Guillot (2001). Differences across groups are tested using the log rank test.

Changes in the timing of the first birth within a marriage could be affected by changes in marital dissolution rates, which increased significantly during the period of observation. For this reason, we explicitly measure marital dissolution by treating it as a

competing risk for having a first birth, allowing us to measure the effect of marital dissolution on the timing of the first birth (Lillard and Waite 1993)[4].

The life tables presented in this paper are descriptive in nature. They are meant to provide a descriptive analysis of the overall timing of first birth within marriage in the hopes of providing a more complete understanding of how fertility has become delinked from marriage. These analyses are restricted to the 1969-1997 interviews. In future drafts, we will extend these analyses to include the 1999-2005 biannual interview data.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Because couples who already have children are less likely to experience a first birth, increases in nonmarital childbearing and divorce rates over this period could have had an impact on the likelihood that these couples experience a birth. For this reason, we conducted the analyses separately by the presence of other children in the household. First, we examine the overall percentages of couples who experienced a first birth at each year of marriage. Figure 1 shows these percentages for couples who did not have any children living in their household at the time of the marriage, while Figure 2 shows them for couples who had at least one child living in the household at the time of the marriage. The differences between these two groups are statistically significant in every marriage cohort ($p < 0.0001$). These percentages are influenced by both rates of childlessness and delays in childbearing.

Figure 1 shows that couples who married in the 1969-1973 cohorts were more likely to have experienced a birth than the other cohort groups at each year of marriage.

[4] We also constructed life tables in which dissolution was treated as a censoring event. The results were substantively similar.

The differences across the five cohorts during the first nine years of marriage[5] are statistically significant ($p < 0.0001$). The proportions of couples that had experienced a birth are lower in later cohorts, but these declines are not consistent across the five cohorts. The 1974-1978 cohorts experienced lower birth rates in the early years of marriage than the 1979-1983 cohorts; however after the sixth year of marriage, these couples "caught up" with and surpassed the subsequent cohorts. With the exception of the 1974-1978 cohort, the remaining cohorts show signs of declining birth rates over time, which supports the hypothesis that marriage has become more delinked from childbearing over time. These declines appear to slow over time, such that there is little difference between the 1983-1988 and 1989-1993 cohorts during the first four years of marriage. Larger differences across the five cohorts appear by the eighth year of marriage. These differences suggest that the likelihood of experiencing a first birth declines across the five cohort groups. This in turn provides evidence that rates of childlessness have increased steadily over time.

When we compare these results to those in Figure 2, we see that indeed, when children are present in the household at the time of the couple's marriage, the couple is far less likely to experience a "first" birth. In addition, there is no evidence of changes over time in the likelihood that these couples will experience a first birth ($p=0.3158$).

During the time period covered by our study, marital dissolution rates increased dramatically. The differences across the five marriage cohort groups were statistically significant regardless of the presence of children in the household (No children: $p=0.0146$;

[5] The log rank test requires each group to be followed for similar lengths of time. Because the final cohort, the 1989-1993 cohort could only be followed for up to 9 years, the log rank test was based on differences during this period. This represents a conservative test, because the differences across cohorts widen slightly in later years of marriage.

Child(ren) present: $p<0.0001$). Without taking into account change in rates of marital dissolution, we could see a larger increase in the proportion of couples who remain childless if more couples separated or divorced prior to experiencing a birth. The importance of measuring the effect of divorce is shown by comparing the results shown in Figures 1 and 3 and Figures 2 and 4. Figures 3 and 4 show the percent of couples who did not experience a marital dissolution that have experienced a first birth at each year of marriage for couples who did not have a child in the household at the time of the marriage and couples who had a child in the household, respectively. Because these figures eliminate those couples who experience marital dissolution prior to a first birth, they provide a measure of birth rates after dissolution has been taken into account.

These results are substantively similar to those in Figures 1 and 2. The difference between the 1969-1973 cohort group and the subsequent cohorts is smaller in Figure 3 than in Figure 1. This is because this initial cohort group experienced the lowest marital dissolution rates. The differences across the other four cohorts are slightly larger than those observed in Figure 1, but are largely similar in nature. In contrast, when we examine Figure 4, we see that taking into account marital dissolution rates leads us to see a narrowing of the differences across the five cohorts. The lack of differences across cohorts among couples who have children at the time of marriage means that these couples have not contributed to changes in the timing of "first" births. For this reason, we focus the remainder of our analyses on couples who have no children in the household at the time of the marriage.

The declines in the proportions of couples without children in the household that experience a first birth across the five cohorts could be due to two factors: increasing rates

of childlessness over time and/or changes in the timing of first birth. Figures 5 and 6 show the proportions of couples that remain childless in the 5th, 9th, and 14th years of marriage[6] as predicted from the cohort life tables. Figure 5 represents the proportions of couples that remained childless and married at each of these three years of marriage. Figure 6 represents the proportion of continuously married couples that remained childless at each of these years of marriage. The results shown in these two figures are substantively similar. The lower rates of childbearing among the 1974-1978 cohorts are evident at year 5 in both figures, but disappear by year 9. By the ninth year of marriage, there is a clear pattern: the proportion of couples that remain childless increases monotonically across the five cohorts. Between the 1969-1974 and 1989-1993 cohorts, the proportion of married couples that remained childless doubled from 12% to 24%. Though we cannot distinguish between voluntary and involuntary childlessness using the PSID, these results are consistent with previous research that has shown an increase in voluntary childlessness over time. This is also consistent with an increase in the delinking of marriage and childbearing. It suggests that a growing proportion of couples experience successful marriages that are not based on having children. This is consistent with an evolving view of marriage as fulfilling a purpose outside of childbearing and rearing.

How has the timing of first birth changed among couples who experience a first birth? In order to answer this question, we restrict our sample to couples who experience an event (i.e., first birth or marital dissolution) or whose observation is censored during the first ten years of marriage. We selected ten years of marriage in order to provide us with a sufficient length of time to observe the couple's fertility behavior in order to

[6] These years were selected because they represent the last years of marriage for which we have information on the 1984-1988 and 1989-1993 cohort groups when the 1969-1997 waves of the PSID are used. In the final draft, we will focus on years 5, 10, and 15.

identify those couples who are most likely to remain childless. An examination of Figures 1 and 3 confirms that fewer than 4% of births that we observe in any cohort occurred after the tenth year of marriage. We include couples who were censored or experienced marital dissolution during this period, because these couples were at risk of experiencing a birth during the period in which they were married and followed. Excluding these couples would introduce a selection bias into the sample. These restrictions mean that the 1989-1993 marriage cohorts could not be included in this analysis. They will be included in the final paper.

The results of this analysis are shown in Figure 7, which shows the percent of births that occurred in each of the first five years of marriage[7]. This figure shows a distinctive pattern across three of the four marriage cohort groups. Over time, the proportion of births that occur during the first years of marriage declines, such that between the 1969-1973 and 1984-1988 cohorts the proportion of births that occurred during the first two years of marriage declined from 46% to 36%. Only the 1974-1978 cohorts do not follow this trend. These couples are more likely to postpone their childbearing to later years of marriage than the 1979-1983 cohorts. The differences across the cohorts are statistically significant (p=0.0150).

DISCUSSION

A number of researchers have postulated that over time, the relationship between marriage and fertility has changed and become increasingly delinked (Cherlin 1992). These researchers have pointed to increasing rates of nonmarital childbearing as evidence that this has occurred. We agree that this change does in fact point to such a delinking;

[7] We show the first five years of marriage rather than all ten years, because the sample was restricted to those who were most likely to have a birth; therefore by definition, there is no difference in the proportions of births across the cohorts by the later marriage years.

however, we argue that a focus on nonmarital childbearing neglects the ways in which marriage has become delinked from childbearing among couples who marry. It is possible that though increasing proportions of the population do not see marriage as a necessary requirement for childbearing, those who do marry may continue to see the primary purpose of marriage as a setting for bearing and raising children. In fact, the differential selection of those who experience nonmarital childbearing out of marriage could lead to increasing selection of those who see marriage as a necessary requirement for childbearing into marriage. This could strengthen the relationship between marriage and childbearing among those who marry.

We propose that there are three components to the delinking of marriage and childbearing. The first, nonmarital childbearing, has been shown in previous research to have increased substantially over time. The second component is increasing childlessness, which suggests that couples derive important benefits from marriage that are not associated with childbearing. These couples weaken the link between marriage and childbearing, because they suggest that these couples do not see childbearing as an integral component of marriage. Though we cannot distinguish between voluntary and involuntary childlessness in this study, our results are consistent with previous research and show increasing rates of childless over subsequent marriage cohorts.

The final component of the delinking of marriage and childbearing is increasing delays in the time to first birth among those who marry. Because couples have become increasingly likely to delay marriage as cohabitation has increased, this suggests that couples are decreasingly likely to marry for the sole purpose of beginning childbearing. An increasing delay until first birth suggests a delinking of marriage and childbearing

among those who marry, which suggests that the purpose of marriage has begun to move away from bearing and raising children, even among those who marry. This component has not been addressed in previous research. Our results suggest that increasing delays have occurred among those who marry and have children. Between the 1969-1973 and 1984-1988 marriage cohorts, the expected number of years among those who experienced an event in the first ten years of marriage increased from 3.3 years to 3.7 years (not shown). Taken together our results suggest that the delinking between marriage and childbearing behavior has taken place across all three components of this relationship and suggest a broader societal movement away from linking marriage and childbearing in the United States than has been shown in previous research.

We do find an exception to these finding among the 1974-1978 cohorts, who experienced a sharper increase in the delay in first births than we would expect. In the final paper we will include additional marriage cohorts to determine whether the trends that we observe continue in later years, which would suggest that the 1974-1978 cohorts were an anomaly. The 1974-1978 cohorts married during a period of economic upheaval and recession and also just after the *Roe vs. Wade* Supreme Court decision legalized abortion. Perhaps these period events had a dampening effect on the fertility behavior of these couples.

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	Unweighted					Weighted				
	69-73	74-78	79-83	84-88	89-93	69-73	74-78	79-83	84-88	89-93
N	1123	1214	1223	1107	980					
Race										
Both White	60.1	56.4	58.6	58.5	59.4	81.2	82.2	80.9	80.4	77.1
Both Black	30.3	34.8	31.3	29.6	27.8	9.4	10.0	9.3	8.1	9.1
Other	9.4	8.7	9.9	11.8	12.9	9.3	7.9	9.6	11.5	13.9
One/Both Msg	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Other Children in HH	24.9	30.6	30.6	35.1	18.5	19.5	25.5	27.0	31.1	33.3
Education										
Husband										
< High School	28.0	24.2	20.8	17.9	16.7	22.0	18.5	16.2	14.9	15.5
High School	41.7	45.5	42.4	40.0	38.2	40.3	43.0	41.6	36.4	33.4
Some College	18.0	19.3	23.0	23.9	25.4	21.3	22.9	23.3	25.5	25.3
Bachelor's Degree	9.5	8.1	10.6	14.9	15.4	13.3	11.6	14.0	19.0	20.7
Graduate Degree	1.8	2.6	3.2	3.0	3.0	2.5	4.0	4.9	4.1	3.9
Missing	1.1	0.4	0.2	0.3	1.3	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.2	1.1
Wife										
< High School	28.2	23.2	17.2	16.0	14.8	22.6	17.7	14.5	13.4	12.6
High School	43.6	53.1	47.3	42.0	36.6	44.1	52.4	46.7	40.9	35.6
Some College	15.4	14.1	23.1	26.7	30.4	18.5	16.4	23.5	26.3	29.0
Bachelor's Degree	7.7	7.3	10.4	12.7	14.5	10.5	10.4	12.7	16.0	17.9
Graduate Degree	1.5	1.5	1.8	2.3	2.9	2.0	2.5	2.6	2.9	4.1
Missing	3.6	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.8	2.3	0.7	0.0	0.5	0.9
Age at Marriage										
Husband Mean:	25.0	26.1	26.9	28.8	30.6	25.0	26.4	27.5	29.2	30.5
Std Dev:	6.7	7.4	6.9	7.3	7.7	4.2	5.6	5.9	6.4	7.2
Wife Mean:	22.5	23.3	24.5	26.3	27.9	22.5	23.6	25.1	26.7	28.0
Std Dev:	5.4	5.6	5.6	6.1	6.5	3.4	4.2	4.8	5.5	6.2

Figure 1. Percent of Couples who Experienced a Birth: No Children in HH at Marriage

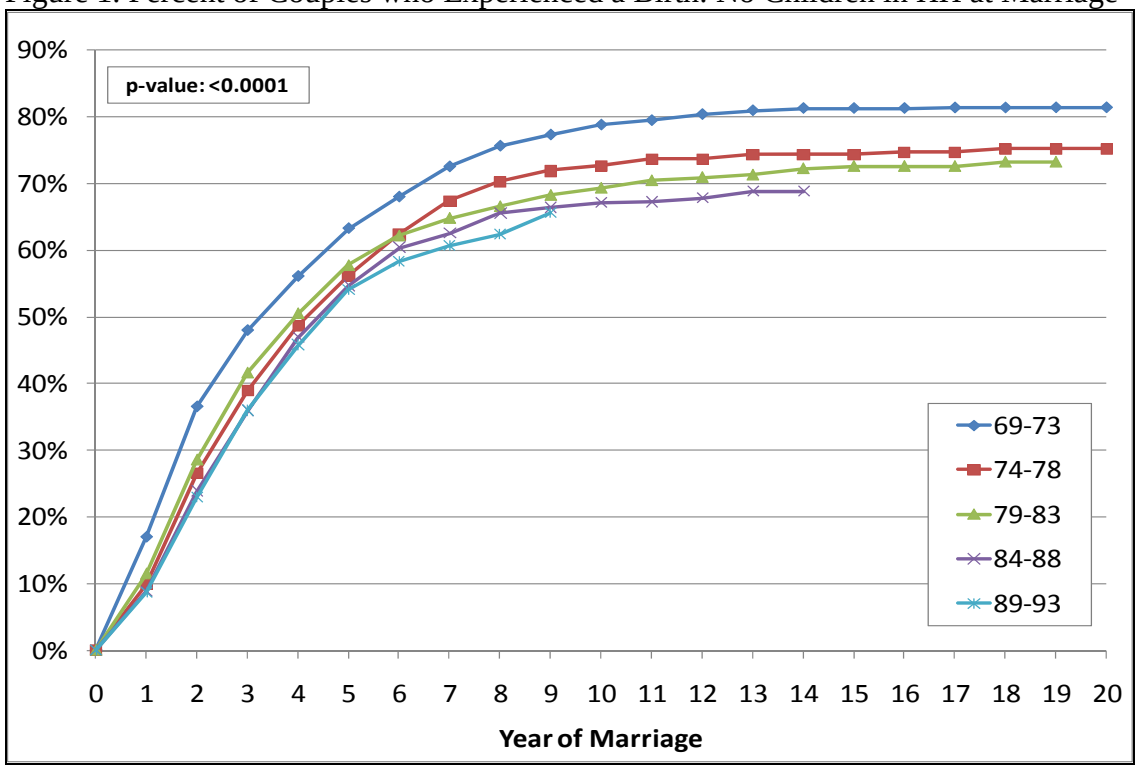


Figure 2. Percent of Couples who Experienced a Birth: Child(ren) in HH at Marriage

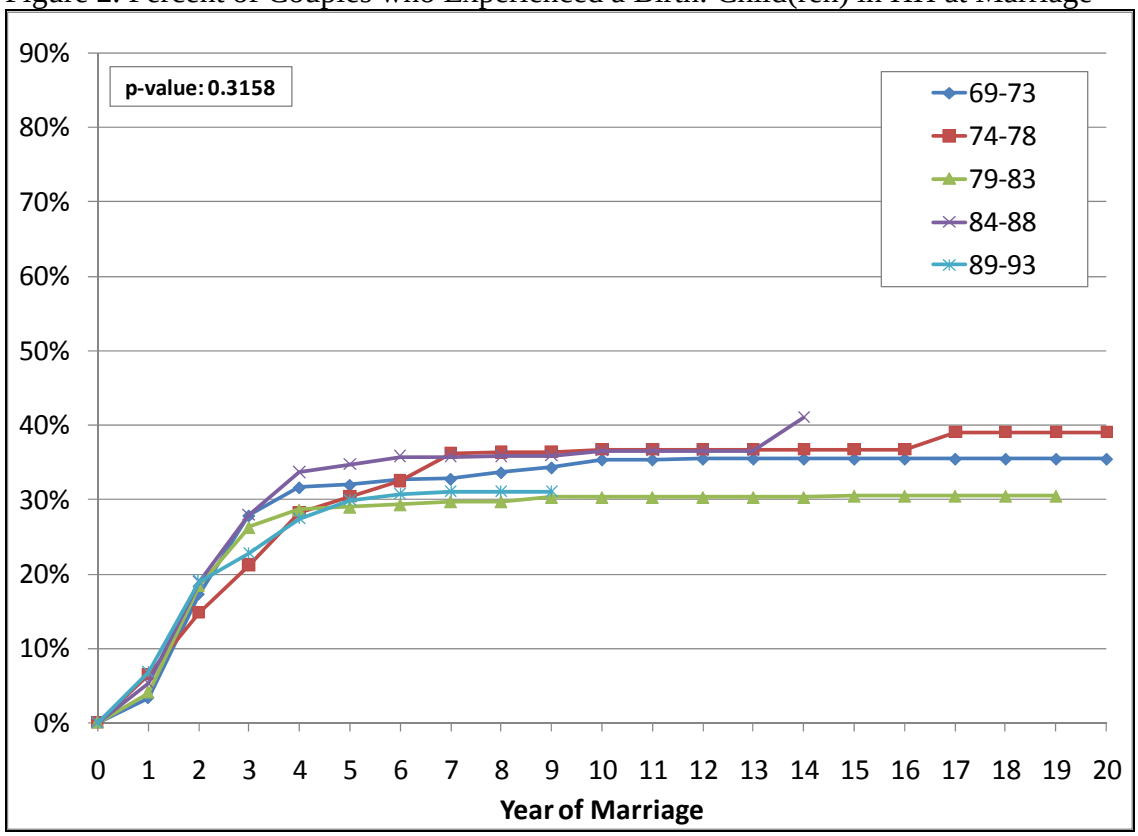


Figure 3: Percent Married who Have Experienced a Birth: No Children in HH at Marriage

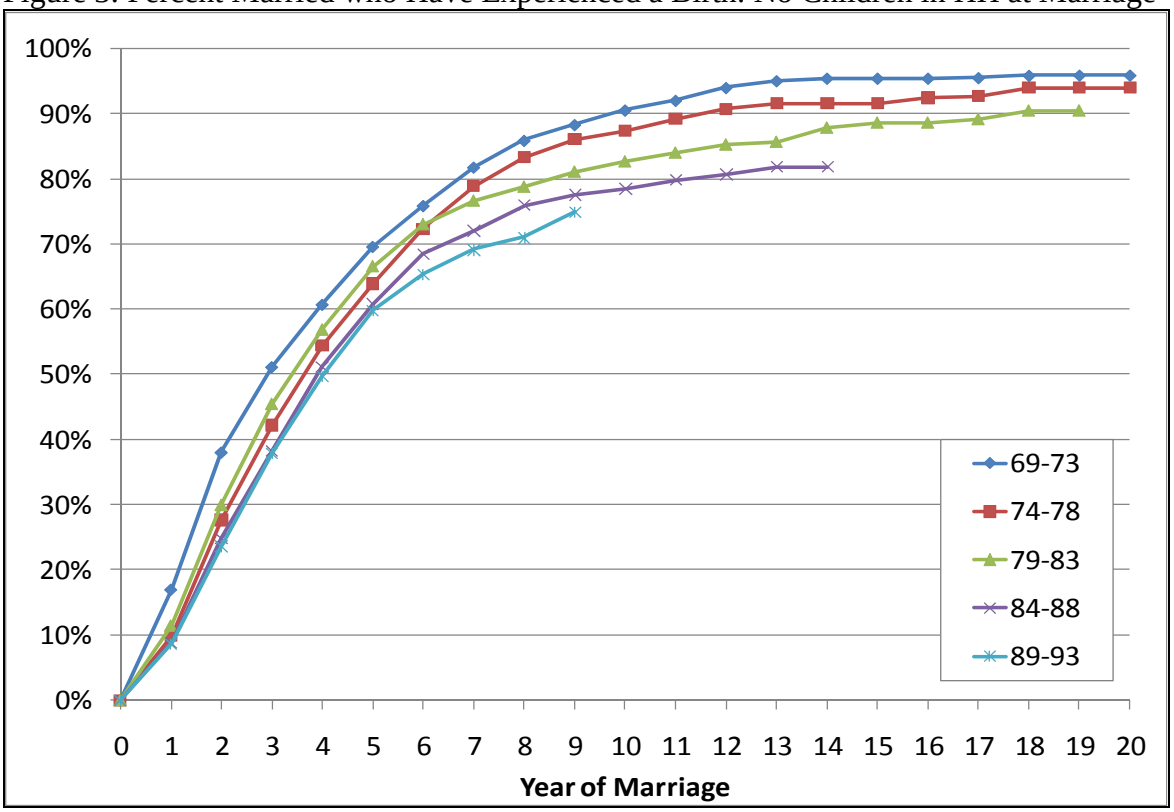


Figure 4: Percent Married who Have Experienced a Birth: Child(ren) in HH at Marriage

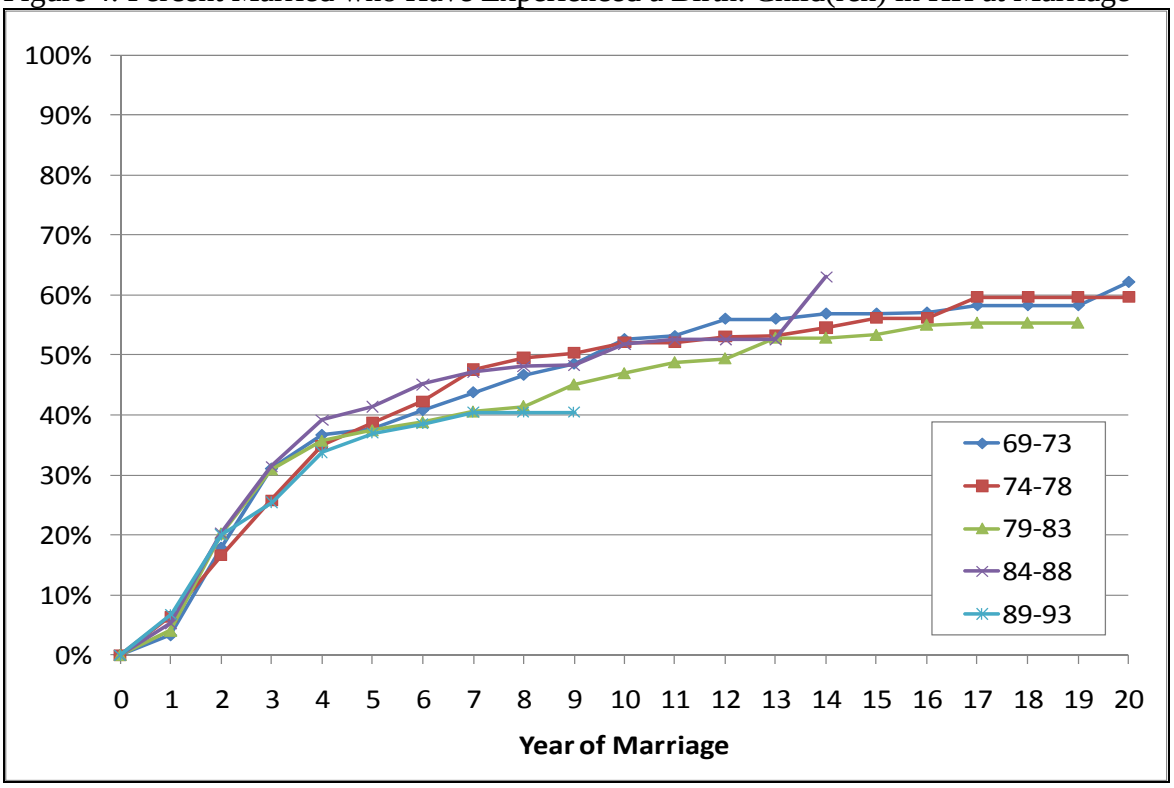


Figure 5: Percent of All Married Couples who Remain Married and Childless

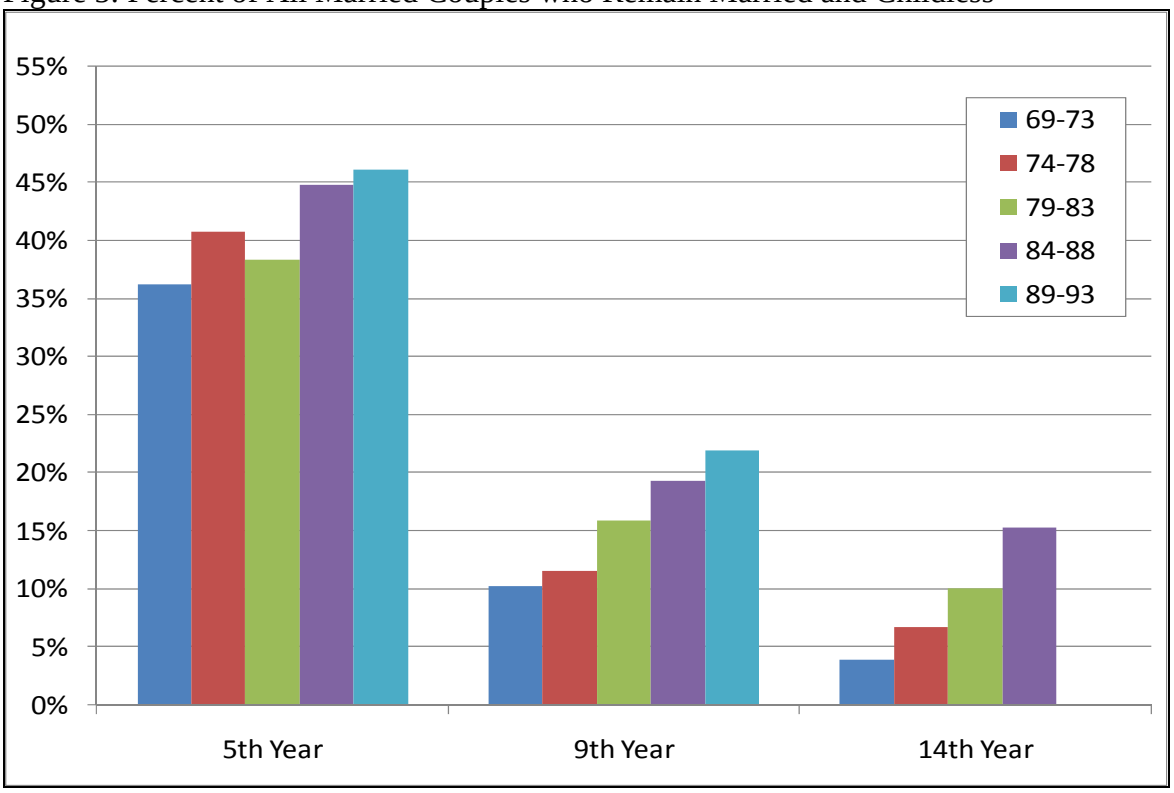


Figure 6: Percent of Continuously Married Couples who Remain Childless

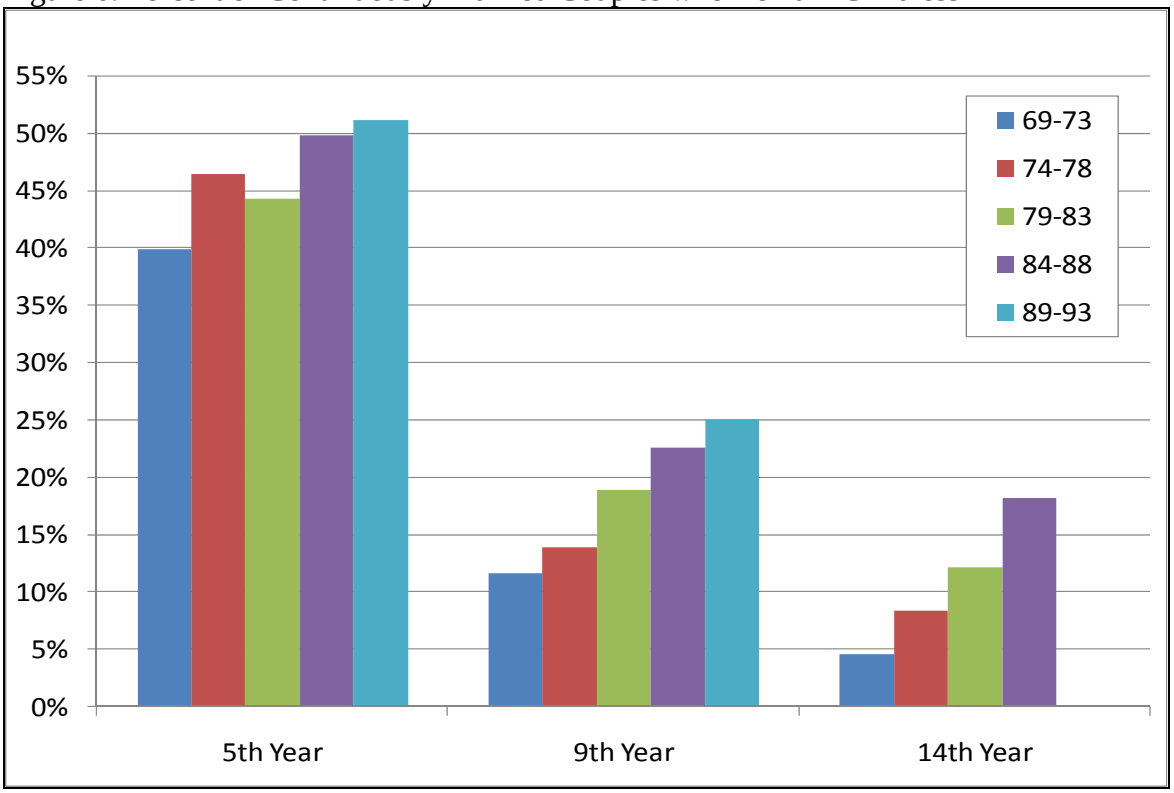
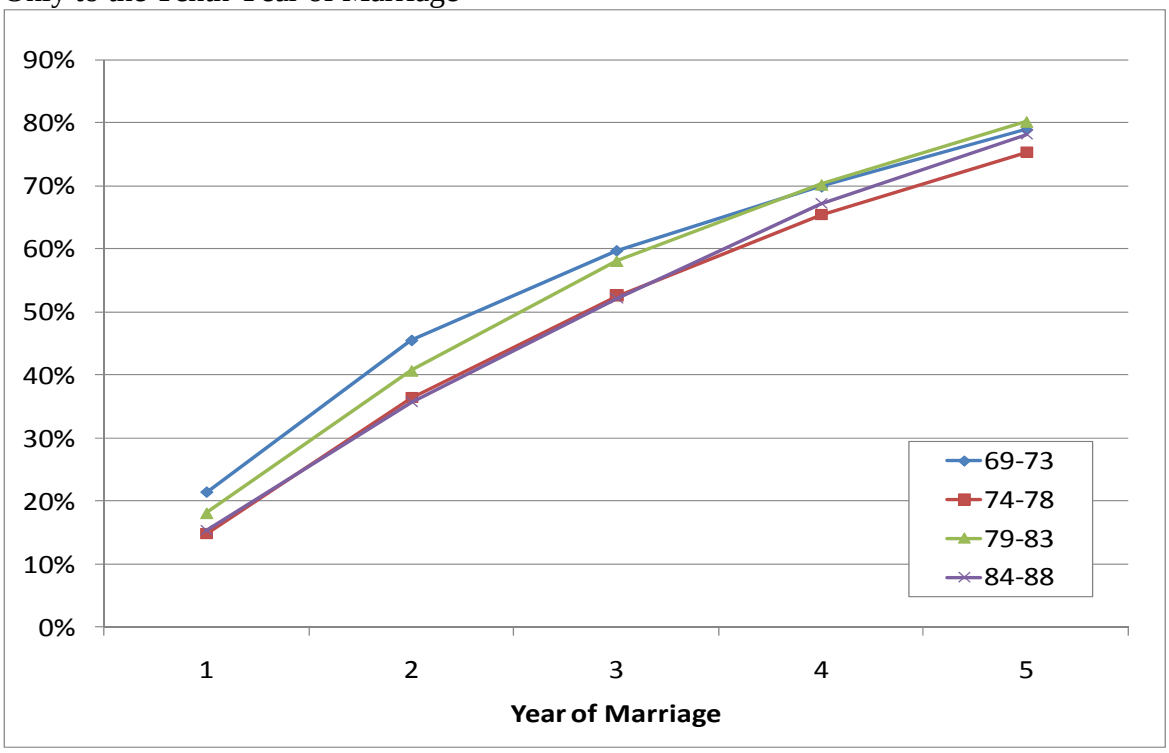


Figure 7: Percent of Births that Occur in First 5 Years of Marriage among those followed Only to the Tenth Year of Marriage



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