Are Pregnant Women Happier? Racial Differences in the Relationsip Between Pregnancy and Life Satisfaction

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Abstract: This paper uses data from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) to study the relationship between pregnancy and life satisfaction for women of childbearing age. The results show strong differences by race. Pregnancy has the strongest positive correlation with happiness for Whites, a smaller but still statistically significant positive correlation for Hispanics, and no relationship for Blacks. The results cannot be explained by differences in other demographics such age, income, education, or marital status. Within each racial group, the results hold across different categories for all these characteristics. There is evidence that racial differences in the effects of pregnancy on emotional and social support from others can partly explain this result.

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I. Introduction

There is a growing literature in economics addressing the factors that influence happiness: being healthy, being obese, or having a fulfilling job, for example. Spurred on by earlier research such as Oswald (1997) and Easterlin (2001) which relate happiness to incomes and economic performance, recent studies have sought to measure the impact of life events such as marriage, divorce, winning the lottery, or losing a job on overall life satisfaction (Lucas et al. 2003; Gardner and Oswald 2006, 2007) as new data has become available. We extend the literature by focusing on the relation between pregnancy and life satisfaction while paying particular attention to the impact of race on this association.

Our paper departs from the recent and growing literature on the impact of having children on happiness by focusing on the anticipatory event of pregnancy. In a survey of studies on happiness, Blanchflower (2008) summarizes prior econometric findings and reports that well-being is lower among families with children. Angeles (2009) argues that having children cannot be expected to have the same effect on families with different structures or individual characteristics. Indeed, he finds that children increase happiness for married couple families and, for them, happiness increases with the number of children. Widowers are also happier with children in the home. The more popular negative or neutral effects of having children hold for people who are single, separated, or living together but not married. These results, however, do not speak to the effect of pregnancy on happiness.

One reason that pregnancy might be positively related to happiness, in spite of the fact having children does not necessarily lead to increased life satisfaction is due to the "focusing illusion". This theory predicts that when people consider one particular aspect of their lives, they will overestimate its impact on their well-being. Evidence of the focusing illusion has been

found in the anticipation of marriage (Lucas et al. 2003), moving to a sunnier location (Schkade and Kahneman 1998), and increasing income (Kahneman et al. 2006). Powdthavee (2009, 2010) discusses the focusing illusion with respect to having children, while Clark et al. (2008) find that men and women report higher levels of life satisfaction the year before and the year after having a first child. Although pregnancy and happiness would seem to be positively correlated for many women, for others the relationship may go in the other direction. Pregnancy and happiness may be negatively related if the pregnancy is an unintended one.

For this paper, we use survey data from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS), an annual survey conducted by the Center for Disease Control in the United States, to study happiness among women of childbearing age. We find that pregnancy is associated with increased happiness for White and Hispanic women but has little or no effect for Black women. This race differential in the marginal effect of pregnancy is in addition to a general decrease in happiness for Black women independent of being pregnant. These results hold at all income, education, and age categories. They are not sensitive to marital status and are not due to differences in reported general health. We provide some possible interpretations in the conclusion.

While relatively little research directly focuses on the impact of pregnancy on women's happiness, there is significant work on a number of psychological effects of pregnancy on both mothers and their children. Most studies focus on negative measures of well-being such as depression and anxiety. Other research seeks to explain the effect of such anxiety on child outcomes such as low-birth weight, pre-term births, and infant mortality.

A women's emotional well-being is predictive of pregnancy risk and negative birth outcomes (Copper et al., 1996; Orr and Miller et al., 1996; Sable and Wilkinson, 2000). Blake

et al. (2007) report that unhappy women are more likely than happy women to smoke, drink, use illicit drugs, and experience partner violence during pregnancy. Parental attitudes such as not wanting a pregnancy has been shown to have negative effects on birth weight (Keeley et al., 2004) but ambiguous effects on infant mortality (Hummer et al., 1995).[1] Sable and Libbus (2000), in a study of women with unintended pregnancies, find that nearly half of the mothers to be somewhat or very happy about the pregnancy.

Perhaps the largest body of relevant research addresses the occurrence, causes, and effects of postpartum depression. Miller (2002) reports that between 10 and 20 percent of women suffer from some degree of postpartum depression, affecting mothers with varying severity and durations. Rich-Edwards et al. (2006) conduct a prospective study of pregnancy outcomes for 2,128 pregnant women in the Boston area. They find that 8 percent of the sample suffered postpartum depression. However, 9 percent suffered mid-pregnancy depression and 31 percent of those with antenatal depressive symptoms, defined as having an Edinburgh postpartum depressive symptoms scale greater than 12, also suffered from postpartum depression.[2] They find a greater likelihood of depressive symptoms to be associated with financial hardship, lack of a partner, and young maternal age. Breitkopf et al. (2006) observe a sample of low income women including pregnant, post-pregnant and non-pregnant women and actually find lower anxiety levels among postpartum mothers relative to both pregnant and non-pregnant women. They find no difference in anxiety between pregnant and non-pregnant women. Interestingly for this study, they find anxiety measures to be lower for Latinas and Blacks, relative to White women.

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[1] See Santelli et al. (2009) for a discussion of the debate about measuring intendedness and the controversy over using retrospective data.

[2] The 10-question Edinburgh Postnatal Depression Scale (EPDS) identifies patients at risk for "perinatal" depression.

Orr, Blackmore, and Prince (2002) find associations between antenatal depression and the probability of pre-term births for black women, but relatively few studies pursue the theme of racial differences in the occurrence of antenatal depression. Orr et al. (2006) find greater risk of antenatal depressive symptoms among Black relative to White pregnant women, though they do not compare their findings to a non-pregnant sample. They find Black pregnant women to be 1.5 times more likely to suffer either mild or severe levels of depression than Whites. In contrast, Williams, Gonzales et al. (2007) find lower levels of risk of depression during pregnancy for Black women than for White women. Canady et al. (2008) use data on 2,731 women in the Pregnancy Outcomes and Community Health Survey to study the role of race, socioeconomic status, and reported measures of discrimination on antenatal depression. They posit that it is the degree of discrimination encountered rather than race that influences the onset of depression. While their results show a positive association between several measures of race discrimination and depression, the results lose their statistical significance in a model with a full vector of socioeconomic characteristics. However, they do find higher rates of discrimination for women who are less educated, unmarried and not living with a partner, enrolled in Medicaid, and those who report gender or socioeconomic (but not including racial) discrimination.

The above literature finds conflicting results regarding the occurrence of anxiety and depression during pregnancy and the impact of race on depression during pregnancy. In an effort to explain negative birth outcomes by race, another branch of research explores the racial differences in the sources of stress experienced during pregnancy. Such stresses include higher poverty rates for Black and Hispanic women, racism and discrimination, the lack of emotional support, and the lack of prenatal and general medical care (Jackson, 2007). Data from the 2004-2007 Oklahoma Pregnancy Risk Assessment Monitoring System (PRAMS) show that in the 12

months prior to delivering a child, Black are women more likely to be homeless, lose a job, or experience relationship problems. In the subsequent analysis of low birth weight, however, the only statistically significant factors affecting low birth weights for Black women are: living in an urban area, having had a previous low birth weight baby, and the number of medical complications during pregnancy. Coefficients on the stressors and social support variables were not statistically significant in predicting low birth weight outcomes, though they did increase the likelihood of both smoking and drinking during pregnancy.

The Los Angeles Mommy and Baby Survey (LAMBS, 2007), which samples 726 new mothers, asks detailed questions about the father's involvement and emotional support during pregnancy and delivery. Relative to white, African American husbands and partners were less likely provide financial support, help with chores, put their name on the birth certificate or help with childrearing. While Hispanic partners were not more likely than African American partners to put their name on the birth certificate, they did provide more support in the other categories.

II. Data and Empirical Analysis

Our data is taken from several waves of the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS), a nationally representative survey conducted by the U.S. Center for Disease Control (CDC). The BRFSS is the world's largest on-going telephone health survey, with several hundred thousand respondents each year. The survey has been conducted annually since its inception in 1984; our analysis uses the most recent five waves of the survey (2005-2009). The BRFSS collects information on health risk behaviors, preventive health practices, and health care access primarily related to chronic disease and injury. Beginning in 2005, the survey started asking the following question about subjective well-being: "Overall, how satisfied are you with

your life?" Respondents are able to answer one of the following: Very Satisfied, Satisfied, Dissatisfied, or Very Dissatisfied. Some recent research on subjective well-being has utilized the answers to these questions in the BRFSS (Oswald and Wu 2010; Blanchflower 2009).

Importantly, for our purposes, the survey also asks the following question, "To your knowledge, are you now pregnant?" The survey does not contain any additional information about the pregnancy such as how far along the pregnancy is, or how much difficulty a woman has had during this pregnancy. However, the survey does contain demographic variables such as age, income, educational attainment, and employment and marital status. This allows us to account for the fact that the correlation between pregnancy and overall well-being may vary according to these characteristics.

Because of our focus on the relationship between pregnancy and life satisfaction, we restrict our sample to women between the ages of 18 and 45 with non-missing information. The remaining sample contains 367,339 respondents. To give an overall sense of the data, we present means and standard deviations for the entire sample in columns 1-2 of Table 1. Mean life satisfaction is 3.38 (based on a 1-4 scale, where 4 represents "Very satisfied" and 1 represents "Very dissatisfied." Slightly over half the sample has a household income below $50,000, while more than a quarter has over $75,000 in annual income. African Americans and Hispanics each comprise about 11 percent of the sample, while 3 percent of the sample are Asians and 2 percent of the sample are Native Americans. A little over a third of the individuals have a college degree, while nearly 60 percent are married. For this age group of women, 4 percent report being currently pregnant. Columns 3-4, 5-6, and 7-8 show the summary statistics for Whites, Black and Hispanics, respectively. Overall, the samples of Blacks and Hispanics have lower levels of income, education, and life satisfaction. The percentage of Hispanics that

are currently married is a bit lower than Whites (53 percent and 65 percent, respectively), while the percentage of Blacks that are married is only 28 percent.

III. The Relationship Between Pregnancy and Life Satisfaction

Table 2 displays the main regressions for the paper, where overall life satisfaction is the dependent variable. Column 1 shows results for a regression using the entire sample of women between the ages of 18-45 in the five most recent waves of the BRFSS. Consistent with much of the literature on the economics of happiness, we find that life satisfaction is positively related to income, education, being married, and being employed. The data also shows the broadly confirmed U-shape relationship between life satisfaction and age. There also exist differences in life satisfaction by race even after controlling for other characteristics. Hispanic and Native American women report higher average happiness than Whites, while the coefficients for Blacks, Asians, and those indicating their race as "Other" are all negative and significant.

We are particularly interested in the relationship between pregnancy and happiness. Column 1 shows that in the overall sample, we find that being pregnant is associated with increased average life satisfaction of approximately 0.1 points on a 1-4 scale. The magnitude of this is almost as large as the effect of being employed (relative to being unemployed) and more than half of the size of the effect of being married on life satisfaction. The coefficient is significant at the 1 percent level.

When we look at the relationship between pregnancy and happiness by race, we find that the results are not consistent across all racial categories. In column 2, we look separate interaction terms between pregnancy and six different racial groups (Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans, and others). The results show that the magnitude of the relationship

between being pregnant and life satisfaction is greatest for whites: the coefficient of 0.12 is slightly larger than the coefficient in column 1. For Hispanics, pregnancy is also positively and significantly related to happiness, though the coefficient is a bit smaller (0.07). However, none of the interaction terms for the other four race groups are statistically different from zero. We are cautious about placing too much emphasis on the results for Asians, Native Americans, and those categorized as "Other" because the sample sizes are quite small. These three groups comprise 3 percent, 2 percent, and 1 percent of the sample, respectively, and for the remainder of our analysis, we limit our sample to all Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. On the other hand, there are a large number of Blacks in our sample, yet pregnancy does not have any noticeable effect on happiness for this group. In fact, the coefficient on the interaction between Black and pregnant is negative, though not statistically distinguishable from zero. In columns 3-5, we conduct separate analyses for each of these racial groups, allowing the effects of all other variables to vary by race, and find the same results – pregnancy increases happiness for White and Hispanic women, but not for Black women.

What might account for the difference in these effects? There are a number of possible reasons why the effect of pregnancy on well-being may be vary across different groups of the population. Those who are in lower income groups may be less able to afford an additional child, and it may be the correlation between race and income that is driving this result as reported by Rich-Edwards (2006). To check on this possibility, we re-estimate the regressions for those in different income categories. Table 3 shows the results of these regressions. Column 1 uses the entire sample of Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics and interacts eight income categories with the indicator variable for being pregnant (but does not distinguish racial groups). It is striking to see that each of the eight coefficients is positive and statistically significant, and none is

distinguishable from one another. Note that the coefficients for the two lowest income categories (0.107 and 0.103 are nearly identical to the coefficients for the two highest income categories (0.113 and 0.101). In Columns 2-4, we replicate the analysis for three separate income categories, those with family incomes less than 25K, those with incomes between 25-50K and those with incomes over 50K. Once again, pregnancy is positively associated with happiness for White and Hispanic women in each of the income categories, but is not correlated with happiness of Black women for any income group. Even for Blacks with household income greater than 50K, the effect is not statistically different from zero; in fact, the point estimate is negative (-0.0331). The results for other covariates such as age, education, and marital and employment status are similar to those in Table 2.

Tables 2 and 3 show that there are strong racial differences in the effects of pregnancy on happiness and these differences cannot be explained by family income. What other possibilities might explain these results? Data from a number of different sources show that Black women tend to have children at earlier ages than Whites and Hispanics[3]. In the BRFSS sample studied here, we also see this to be the case. The average age of Black women that are pregnant is 27.7, while the average ages of White and Hispanic pregnant women are 29.8 and 28.7, respectively. Perhaps those that become pregnant at earlier ages are less equipped to handle the stressors of pregnancy and parenthood. In Table 4, we pursue this idea by running separate regressions for four age categories: women under 25, women between 25 and 30, women between 30 and 35, and women over 35. After controlling for the same demographic characteristics as in the earlier tables, we continue to observe positive correlations between pregnancy and life satisfaction for

[3] In 2006, the average age of mother for first birth was 22.7 years for black mothers, compared to 26.0 and 23.1 for White and Hispanic mothers, respectively (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National vital Statistics Report, Volume 57, Number 7, January 2009).

White and Hispanic women, but not for Blacks. For Whites, each of the coefficients is statistically significant at the 1% level; for Hispanic women, the standard errors on the pregnancy coefficients are a bit higher for those between ages 30 and 35 and those over 35. However, pregnancy does not increase life satisfaction for Black women in any of the age categories.

Our results cannot be explained by differences in income, nor can they be explained by differences in age of pregnancy. It may be the case that differences in educational attainment of pregnant women and/or racial differences in marital status explain the different effects of pregnancy on life satisfaction. In Table 5, we split the sample by educational attainment (columns 1-3) and marital status (columns 4-5). Once again, the results are consistent across all columns of the table: pregnancy makes White and Hispanic women happier, but does not have a demonstrable effect on the happiness of Black women.

Taken together, the results of Tables 2-5 show that there are true racial differences in the relationship between pregnancy and happiness that cannot be explained by other demographic factors. Earlier, we discussed research that finds evidence of differences in the effects of pregnancy on various physical and mental health outcomes for women of different races. In Table 6, we look to see how measures of general physical and emotional health are affected by pregnancy and whether there are racial disparities. In column 1, the dependent variable is a self-reported measure of general health status, where the answers range on a scale from 1-5, with 5 indicating “excellent” health and 1 indicating “poor” health. The positive coefficients indicate that pregnant women feel better about their overall physical health than otherwise similar women who are not pregnant. We see that the effects of pregnancy on general physical health are roughly the same between Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics, with no statistical difference between

any of the three interaction terms. In fact, the coefficient for Blacks is slightly larger than the coefficient for Whites and Blacks. In column 2, the dependent variable is the answer to the following survey question, "Now thinking about your physical health, which includes physical illness and injury, for how many days during the past 30 days was your physical health not good?" Here, we see that the coefficients for *preg_white* and *preg_black* are not statistically significant, though the *preg_hisp coefficient* is negative and significant at the 1 percent level. Hispanic women who are become have fewer days in the last month where physical health was not good than non-pregnant Hispanic women.

In columns 3 and 4, we turn to measures of mental and emotional health. The dependent variable in Column 3 is the answer to the following question, "Now thinking about your mental health, which includes stress, depression, and problems with emotions, for how many days during the past 30 days was your mental health not good?" The results show a stark contrast in the effects of pregnancy between racial groups. For Whites and Hispanics, pregnancy is associated with significantly fewer days of poor mental health over the course of the past month. However, for Blacks, there is no effect of pregnancy on the number of poor mental health days. In column 4, we analyze the answer to a question that asks, "How often do you get the social and emotional support that you need?" The possible answers include "Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Usually, and Always". Now, we see an even greater racial disparity in the effects of pregnancy on this variable. For Whites and Hispanics, pregnancy increases the degree to which women feel they get social and emotional support from others. However, pregnant Black women report much *lower* levels of social and emotional support than Black women who are not pregnant. This coefficient is statistically significant at the 1 percent level.

To test the robustness of this finding, we repeat the analysis of column 4 of Table 6 for different subsamples of the data. The results (shown in Table 7) are qualitatively similar: for White and Hispanic women, pregnancy increases the level of perceived social and emotional support, while for Black women, pregnancy is negatively associated with this variable (though the coefficients for Blacks are not always precisely estimated).

IV. Conclusion

Using the largest sample size used to date to study the issue, we find a differential impact of pregnancy on the happiness of White, Hispanic and Black women. Further, we demonstrate that the racial differences in impacts are not explained by income levels, age, education, or marital status. In other results not shown here, we also dismiss health insurance status, access to medical care, and the number of children already in the household as explanations for the observed differences by race. So why does there fail to be a happiness effect of pregnancy only for black women? One plausible explanation supported by our findings concerns the impact of pregnancy on the level of social and emotional support received during pregnancy. White and Hispanic women report increased levels of emotional support during pregnancy, but pregnant Black women experience lower levels of emotional and social support relative to other Black women. This result holds across different categories of marital status. Black women, regardless of whether they are married or not, experience lower levels of support during pregnancy, while the analogous correlation is positive for White and Hispanic women regardless of marital status.

Existing research lends support to this explanation. For example, the Los Angeles Mommy and Baby Survey (LAMBS, 2007), asked new mothers questions about the father's involvement and emotional support during pregnancy and delivery. Relative to Whites, Black

husbands and partners were less likely provide financial support, help with chores, put their name on the birth certificate, or help with childrearing. While Hispanic partners were not more likely than African American partners to put their name on the birth certificate, they did provide more support in the other categories.

Our analysis here, based on a very large sample of both pregnant and non-pregnant women, shows strong results that are consistent with other related literature and robust to dividing the sample along many dimensions. Nonetheless, a few caveats are worth mentioning. The BRFSS does not give much detail about a women's pregnancy. In particular, we do not have any information on the intendedness of the pregnancy. It is possible that Blacks have a higher rate of unwanted pregnancies even after controlling for other demographic characteristics, though we do not know of much research on this topic. Another piece of information that we do not know from the data is whether or not the pregnancy will eventually be terminated. It is well known that abortion rates for Blacks are several times higher than that for Whites and Hispanics (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2009). Perhaps the negative effects of pregnancy on the support from others for Black women can partially explain these relatively high rates of abortion. Future work may be able to uncover the reasons for these relationships.

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Table 1: Summary Statistics

	All		Whites		Blacks		Hispanics	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev
Life Sat (1-5)	3.38	0.62	3.42	0.62	3.22	0.65	3.31	0.60
Inc<10K	0.05	0.23	0.04	0.18	0.12	0.32	0.11	0.30
10K<=Inc<15K	0.05	0.21	0.03	0.18	0.08	0.27	0.10	0.30
15K<=Inc<20K	0.07	0.26	0.05	0.22	0.13	0.33	0.15	0.36
20K<=Inc<25K	0.09	0.28	0.07	0.26	0.13	0.33	0.15	0.36
25K<=Inc<35K	0.12	0.32	0.11	0.31	0.16	0.36	0.14	0.35
35K<=Inc<50K	0.16	0.37	0.17	0.37	0.15	0.36	0.13	0.33
50K<=Inc<75K	0.19	0.39	0.21	0.41	0.12	0.32	0.10	0.30
Inc>=75K	0.28	0.45	0.33	0.47	0.12	0.32	0.12	0.33
Age	34.66	7.29	35.11	7.19	33.82	7.45	33.08	7.29
Black	0.11	0.31	…	…	…	…	…	…
Asian	0.03	0.16	…	…	…	…	…	…
Hispanic	0.11	0.31	…	…	…	…	…	…
Native Am.	0.02	0.14	…	…	…	…	…	…
Other Race	0.01	0.08	…	…	…	…	…	…
Some HS	0.06	0.24	0.04	0.20	0.09	0.28	0.15	0.36
HS	0.25	0.44	0.24	0.43	0.33	0.47	0.30	0.46
Some College	0.29	0.45	0.30	0.46	0.31	0.46	0.22	0.42
College	0.37	0.48	0.41	0.49	0.26	0.44	0.18	0.38
Married	0.59	0.49	0.65	0.48	0.28	0.45	0.53	0.50
Self Employed	0.07	0.26	0.08	0.27	0.04	0.21	0.06	0.23
Unemployed	0.06	0.24	0.05	0.21	0.11	0.32	0.09	0.28
Homemaker	0.16	0.37	0.17	0.37	0.05	0.23	0.26	0.44
Student	0.05	0.22	0.05	0.21	0.07	0.26	0.05	0.22
Pregnant	0.04	0.19	0.04	0.19	0.03	0.18	0.05	0.21
Observations	367,339		264,195		37,393			

Notes: Data taken from the 2005-2009 waves of the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS). Sample is all women between the ages of 18-45.

Table 2: Pregnancy and Life Satisfaction By Race

VARIABLES	(1) All lsatisfy	(2) All lsatisfy	(3) Whites lsatisfy	(4) Blacks lsatisfy	(5) Hispanics lsatisfy
inc2	0.0467***	0.0466***	0.0590***	0.0390**	0.0364**
	(0.00659)	(0.00659)	(0.00905)	(0.0159)	(0.0142)
inc3	0.109***	0.109***	0.132***	0.0999***	0.0771***
	(0.00599)	(0.00598)	(0.00824)	(0.0142)	(0.0132)
inc4	0.164***	0.163***	0.203***	0.166***	0.102***
	(0.00576)	(0.00576)	(0.00774)	(0.0143)	(0.0132)
inc5	0.224***	0.224***	0.273***	0.201***	0.135***
	(0.00560)	(0.00560)	(0.00742)	(0.0140)	(0.0137)
inc6	0.289***	0.288***	0.339***	0.257***	0.197***
	(0.00550)	(0.00550)	(0.00720)	(0.0146)	(0.0144)
inc7	0.356***	0.356***	0.405***	0.305***	0.259***
	(0.00557)	(0.00557)	(0.00722)	(0.0158)	(0.0155)
inc8	0.452***	0.452***	0.500***	0.395***	0.339***
	(0.00559)	(0.00559)	(0.00723)	(0.0166)	(0.0156)
Age	-0.0298***	-0.0300***	-0.0354***	-0.0298***	-0.0163***
	(0.00142)	(0.00142)	(0.00167)	(0.00450)	(0.00414)
Agesq	0.000353***	0.000356***	0.000423***	0.000413***	0.000182***
	(2.10e-05)	(2.10e-05)	(2.45e-05)	(6.71e-05)	(6.25e-05)
Black	-0.0130***	-0.00854**	…	…	…
	(0.00350)	(0.00356)			
Asian	-0.0689***	-0.0647***	…	…	…
	(0.00665)	(0.00682)			
Hisp	0.0352***	0.0372***	…	…	…
	(0.00365)	(0.00373)			
nativeam	0.0363***	0.0387***	…	…	…
	(0.00756)	(0.00772)			
Other	-0.0714***	-0.0668***	…	…	…
	(0.0128)	(0.0131)			
somehs	-0.0315***	-0.0315***	0.0192	0.0834*	-0.00807
	(0.00886)	(0.00886)	(0.0170)	(0.0438)	(0.0122)
Hs	0.0245***	0.0244***	0.0932***	0.168***	0.00339
	(0.00812)	(0.00812)	(0.0161)	(0.0426)	(0.0110)
somecoll	0.0294***	0.0293***	0.107***	0.122***	0.0182
	(0.00818)	(0.00818)	(0.0161)	(0.0427)	(0.0119)
Coll	0.111***	0.110***	0.189***	0.201***	0.0981***
	(0.00826)	(0.00826)	(0.0161)	(0.0430)	(0.0130)
married	0.173***	0.173***	0.188***	0.0931***	0.143***
	(0.00251)	(0.00251)	(0.00292)	(0.00838)	(0.00722)
self_emp	0.0648***	0.0648***	0.0677***	0.0393**	0.0733***
	(0.00403)	(0.00403)	(0.00443)	(0.0167)	(0.0138)

unemp	-0.142***	-0.142***	-0.171***	-0.123***	-0.0845***
	(0.00463)	(0.00463)	(0.00592)	(0.0118)	(0.0119)
homemaker	0.0731***	0.0730***	0.0748***	0.0637***	0.0600***
	(0.00297)	(0.00297)	(0.00332)	(0.0155)	(0.00830)
student	0.0494***	0.0495***	0.0697***	0.0448***	-0.0205
	(0.00525)	(0.00525)	(0.00632)	(0.0149)	(0.0159)
preg_white	…	0.120***	…	…	…
		(0.00631)			
preg_black	…	-0.0136	…	…	…
		(0.0175)			
preg_asian	…	0.0312	…	…	…
		(0.0299)			
preg_hisp	…	0.0713***	…	…	…
		(0.0152)			
preg_native	…	0.0572	…	…	…
		(0.0369)			
preg_other	…	0.00743	…	…	…
		(0.0636)			
preg_dum	0.0970***	…	0.111***	0.00643	0.0774***
	(0.00540)		(0.00624)	(0.0192)	(0.0153)
Constant	3.505***	3.508***	3.484***	3.378***	3.369***
	(0.0252)	(0.0252)	(0.0323)	(0.0853)	(0.0687)
Observations	324,123	324,123	240,832	33,950	33,209
R-squared	0.129	0.129	0.138	0.069	0.078

Notes: Indicator variables for month and year of survey included in all regressions. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%,*Significant at 10%,

Table 3: Pregnancy and Life Satisfaction By Income

VARIABLES	(1) All lsatisfy	(2) Inc<25K lsatisfy	(3) 25K<=Inc<50K lsatisfy	(4) Inc>=50K Lsatisfy
inc2	0.0478***	…	…	…
	(0.00694)			
inc3	0.111***	…	…	…
	(0.00631)			
inc4	0.166***	…	…	…
	(0.00607)			
inc5	0.225***	…	…	…
	(0.00589)			
inc6	0.292***	…	…	…
	(0.00578)			
inc7	0.359***	…	…	…
	(0.00584)			
inc8	0.456***	…	…	…
	(0.00585)			
age	-0.0301***	-0.0309***	-0.0327***	-0.0241***
	(0.00147)	(0.00293)	(0.00277)	(0.00233)
agesq	0.000357***	0.000326***	0.000408***	0.000301***
	(2.16e-05)	(4.46e-05)	(4.10e-05)	(3.33e-05)
black	-0.0113***	0.0503***	-0.0282***	-0.0820***
	(0.00351)	(0.00647)	(0.00628)	(0.00624)
hisp	0.0357***	0.0984***	0.000679	-0.0209***
	(0.00366)	(0.00669)	(0.00685)	(0.00648)
somehs	-0.0344***	-0.0128	-0.0302	0.0146
	(0.00902)	(0.0121)	(0.0208)	(0.0337)
hs	0.0192**	0.0513***	0.0656***	0.0837***
	(0.00825)	(0.0113)	(0.0189)	(0.0312)
somecoll	0.0246***	0.0367***	0.0827***	0.111***
	(0.00832)	(0.0117)	(0.0189)	(0.0311)
coll	0.108***	0.144***	0.165***	0.199***
	(0.00840)	(0.0129)	(0.0190)	(0.0310)
married	0.174***	0.190***	0.168***	0.194***
	(0.00257)	(0.00570)	(0.00435)	(0.00385)
self_emp	0.0672***	0.119***	0.0708***	0.0464***
	(0.00411)	(0.0107)	(0.00791)	(0.00518)
unemp	-0.145***	-0.146***	-0.164***	-0.184***
	(0.00479)	(0.00736)	(0.00972)	(0.00998)
homemaker	0.0756***	0.0896***	0.0850***	0.0565***
	(0.00304)	(0.00737)	(0.00593)	(0.00391)
student	0.0521***	0.0945***	0.0153	0.0291***
	(0.00545)	(0.00949)	(0.0103)	(0.00956)

preg_income1	0.107***	…	…	…
	(0.0244)			
preg_income2	0.103***	…	…	…
	(0.0267)			
preg_income3	0.0785***	…	…	…
	(0.0212)			
preg_income4	0.110***	…	…	…
	(0.0184)			
preg_income5	0.105***	…	…	…
	(0.0169)			
preg_income6	0.0804***	…	…	…
	(0.0138)			
preg_income7	0.113***	…	…	…
	(0.0124)			
preg_income8	0.101***	…	…	…
	(0.0101)			
preg_white		0.138***	0.115***	0.117***
		(0.0180)	(0.0123)	(0.00769)
preg_black		-0.0442	0.00487	-0.0331
		(0.0276)	(0.0338)	(0.0353)
preg_hisp		0.0519**	0.0592*	0.0922***
		(0.0232)	(0.0305)	(0.0319)
Constant	3.511***	3.613***	3.754***	3.697***
	(0.0259)	(0.0485)	(0.0494)	(0.0501)
Observations	307,991	76,821	85,394	145,776
R-squared	0.131	0.053	0.044	0.039

Notes: Indicator variables for month and year of survey included in all regressions. Standard errors are in parentheses. “All” indicates all Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%,*Significant at 10%,

Table 4: Pregnancy and Life Satisfaction By Age

VARIABLES	(1) Age<25 lsatisfy	(2) 25<=Age<30 lsatisfy	(3) 30<=Age<35 lsatisfy	(4) Age>=35 Lsatisfy
inc2	-0.0169	0.0455***	0.0553***	0.0769***
	(0.0163)	(0.0159)	(0.0158)	(0.0100)
inc3	0.0153	0.0831***	0.112***	0.159***
	(0.0146)	(0.0144)	(0.0144)	(0.00914)
inc4	0.0636***	0.118***	0.171***	0.226***
	(0.0141)	(0.0139)	(0.0139)	(0.00881)
inc5	0.0987***	0.172***	0.205***	0.304***
	(0.0142)	(0.0136)	(0.0135)	(0.00850)
inc6	0.149***	0.227***	0.288***	0.371***
	(0.0144)	(0.0136)	(0.0134)	(0.00827)
inc7	0.198***	0.278***	0.358***	0.446***
	(0.0152)	(0.0140)	(0.0136)	(0.00833)
inc8	0.210***	0.358***	0.454***	0.554***
	(0.0150)	(0.0145)	(0.0137)	(0.00837)
age	-0.0374	-0.0707	-0.125	-0.0341***
	(0.0433)	(0.0860)	(0.0872)	(0.0128)
agesq	0.000391	0.00107	0.00179	0.000396**
	(0.00102)	(0.00159)	(0.00136)	(0.000159)
black	-0.0553***	-0.0393***	-0.0359***	0.0227***
	(0.0109)	(0.00876)	(0.00775)	(0.00493)
hisp	-0.0255**	0.0176**	0.0359***	0.0596***
	(0.0106)	(0.00888)	(0.00795)	(0.00537)
somehs	-0.0334	-0.0646***	-0.0376**	-0.0149
	(0.0292)	(0.0215)	(0.0191)	(0.0128)
hs	0.0408	0.0140	0.00187	0.0209*
	(0.0280)	(0.0199)	(0.0173)	(0.0115)
somecoll	0.103***	0.0275	0.00345	0.0118
	(0.0283)	(0.0201)	(0.0174)	(0.0116)
coll	0.228***	0.142***	0.0968***	0.0792***
	(0.0293)	(0.0204)	(0.0176)	(0.0117)
married	0.168***	0.183***	0.172***	0.162***
	(0.00894)	(0.00630)	(0.00583)	(0.00353)
self_emp	0.0513**	0.0827***	0.0664***	0.0677***
	(0.0205)	(0.0124)	(0.00930)	(0.00511)
unemp	-0.122***	-0.134***	-0.130***	-0.150***
	(0.0129)	(0.0115)	(0.0110)	(0.00678)
homemaker	0.0744***	0.0819***	0.0829***	0.0731***
	(0.0122)	(0.00750)	(0.00619)	(0.00418)
student	0.0663***	0.0244**	0.0306**	0.0567***
	(0.00919)	(0.0117)	(0.0134)	(0.0118)

preg_white	0.0805***	0.119***	0.130***	0.120***
	(0.0165)	(0.0109)	(0.0110)	(0.0138)
preg_black	-0.0366	0.000787	0.0550	-0.0238
	(0.0321)	(0.0312)	(0.0373)	(0.0418)
preg_hisp	0.0904***	0.122***	0.0480*	0.0427
	(0.0322)	(0.0266)	(0.0291)	(0.0347)
Constant	3.728***	4.130***	5.084***	3.549***
	(0.459)	(1.161)	(1.394)	(0.255)
Observations	28,317	45,033	60,785	173,856
R-squared	0.078	0.132	0.144	0.137

Notes: Indicator variables for month and year of survey included in all regressions. Sample includes Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%,*Significant at 10%,

Table 5: Pregnancy and Life Satisfaction By Education and Marital Status

VARIABLES	(1) <HS Grad lsatisfy	(2) HS Grad lsatisfy	(3) >HS Grad lsatisfy	(4) Married lsatisfy	(5) Not Married lsatisfy
inc2	0.0698***	0.0498***	0.0400***	0.0350**	0.0503***
	(0.0154)	(0.0115)	(0.0109)	(0.0148)	(0.00819)
inc3	0.111***	0.117***	0.112***	0.0755***	0.120***
	(0.0143)	(0.0104)	(0.00987)	(0.0130)	(0.00759)
inc4	0.158***	0.174***	0.180***	0.119***	0.186***
	(0.0149)	(0.0101)	(0.00922)	(0.0122)	(0.00749)
inc5	0.185***	0.228***	0.256***	0.183***	0.244***
	(0.0164)	(0.0100)	(0.00874)	(0.0119)	(0.00743)
inc6	0.251***	0.293***	0.330***	0.252***	0.308***
	(0.0190)	(0.0101)	(0.00846)	(0.0116)	(0.00756)
inc7	0.347***	0.361***	0.403***	0.320***	0.369***
	(0.0230)	(0.0106)	(0.00844)	(0.0116)	(0.00808)
inc8	0.427***	0.443***	0.514***	0.420***	0.439***
	(0.0263)	(0.0110)	(0.00838)	(0.0116)	(0.00834)
age	-0.0139***	-0.0265***	-0.0336***	-0.0261***	-0.0316***
	(0.00530)	(0.00273)	(0.00189)	(0.00225)	(0.00218)
agesq	0.000131	0.000322***	0.000398***	0.000303***	0.000379***
	(8.06e-05)	(4.10e-05)	(2.75e-05)	(3.21e-05)	(3.30e-05)
black	0.0359**	0.0494***	-0.0409***	-0.0830***	0.0334***
	(0.0145)	(0.00687)	(0.00436)	(0.00587)	(0.00472)
hisp	0.126***	0.0390***	0.00716	0.00774	0.0777***
	(0.0102)	(0.00702)	(0.00503)	(0.00480)	(0.00596)
somehs	…	…	…	-0.0265**	-0.0498***
				(0.0119)	(0.0140)
hs	…	…	…	0.0313***	-0.000262
				(0.0107)	(0.0132)
somecoll	…	…	…	0.0392***	0.00263
				(0.0107)	(0.0133)
coll	…	…	…	0.119***	0.0908***
				(0.0108)	(0.0135)
self_emp	0.0982***	0.0754***	0.0613***	0.0572***	0.0868***
	(0.0200)	(0.00893)	(0.00472)	(0.00465)	(0.00811)
unemp	-0.0855***	-0.131***	-0.173***	-0.131***	-0.154***
	(0.0141)	(0.00852)	(0.00659)	(0.00711)	(0.00674)
homemaker	0.0901***	0.0712***	0.0731***	0.0762***	0.0514***
	(0.0110)	(0.00621)	(0.00370)	(0.00315)	(0.00832)
student	0.0779***	0.0216	0.0526***	-0.00612	0.0814***
	(0.0260)	(0.0132)	(0.00613)	(0.00900)	(0.00731)
preg_white	0.126***	0.112***	0.126***	0.121***	0.0959***
	(0.0367)	(0.0155)	(0.00693)	(0.00658)	(0.0165)

preg_black	0.000147	0.00518	-0.0290	-0.00913	-0.0109
	(0.0607)	(0.0313)	(0.0228)	(0.0294)	(0.0228)
preg_hisp	0.0844***	0.0692**	0.0661***	0.0857***	0.0598**
	(0.0310)	(0.0289)	(0.0235)	(0.0186)	(0.0259)
married	0.154***	0.179***	0.167***	…	…
	(0.0101)	(0.00542)	(0.00305)		
Constant	3.170***	3.427***	3.628***	3.645***	3.535***
	(0.0856)	(0.0453)	(0.0325)	(0.0411)	(0.0378)
Observations	22,034	75,300	210,657	186,010	121,981
R-squared	0.074	0.099	0.119	0.071	0.078

Notes: Indicator variables for month and year of survey included in all regressions. Sample includes all Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%,*Significant at 10%,

Table 6: Pregnancy and Measures of Physical and Mental Health

VARIABLES	(1) All physhlth	(2) All genhlth	(3) All menthlth	(4) All emtsuprt
inc2	-1.382***	0.112***	-1.035***	0.0646***
	(0.0748)	(0.0104)	(0.0907)	(0.0106)
inc3	-2.548***	0.236***	-2.281***	0.177***
	(0.0680)	(0.00941)	(0.0823)	(0.00968)
inc4	-3.287***	0.355***	-3.070***	0.280***
	(0.0655)	(0.00907)	(0.0794)	(0.00932)
inc5	-4.058***	0.514***	-3.950***	0.361***
	(0.0637)	(0.00882)	(0.0772)	(0.00906)
inc6	-4.559***	0.646***	-4.476***	0.450***
	(0.0626)	(0.00867)	(0.0759)	(0.00890)
inc7	-4.961***	0.757***	-4.963***	0.498***
	(0.0634)	(0.00878)	(0.0768)	(0.00900)
inc8	-5.375***	0.922***	-5.449***	0.549***
	(0.0636)	(0.00881)	(0.0771)	(0.00904)
age	0.130***	-0.0219***	0.256***	-0.0497***
	(0.0161)	(0.00224)	(0.0196)	(0.00229)
agesq	-0.000553**	0.000123***	-0.00324***	0.000576***
	(0.000238)	(3.30e-05)	(0.000288)	(3.37e-05)
black	-1.032***	-0.0502***	-1.353***	-0.0661***
	(0.0390)	(0.00542)	(0.0473)	(0.00557)
hisp	-0.960***	-0.139***	-1.825***	-0.0746***
	(0.0409)	(0.00569)	(0.0496)	(0.00585)
somehs	0.761***	0.130***	1.903***	0.0960***
	(0.0982)	(0.0136)	(0.119)	(0.0142)
hs	-0.108	0.356***	0.764***	0.271***
	(0.0897)	(0.0124)	(0.109)	(0.0130)
somecoll	-0.0556	0.444***	0.828***	0.303***
	(0.0905)	(0.0125)	(0.110)	(0.0131)
coll	-0.723***	0.642***	-0.259**	0.354***
	(0.0915)	(0.0127)	(0.111)	(0.0132)
married	-0.127***	0.0158***	-0.941***	0.168***
	(0.0284)	(0.00396)	(0.0345)	(0.00403)
self_emp	-0.595***	0.179***	-0.522***	0.0197***
	(0.0454)	(0.00632)	(0.0551)	(0.00644)
unemp	0.536***	-0.0661***	1.594***	-0.117***
	(0.0528)	(0.00733)	(0.0640)	(0.00750)
homemaker	-0.374***	0.107***	-0.538***	0.0253***
	(0.0337)	(0.00468)	(0.0408)	(0.00476)
student	-0.456***	0.108***	-0.0295	0.0761***
	(0.0603)	(0.00839)	(0.0731)	(0.00853)

preg_white	0.0312	0.122***	-1.139***	0.110***
	(0.0704)	(0.00977)	(0.0852)	(0.00988)
preg_black	-0.224	0.160***	-0.293	-0.0605**
	(0.192)	(0.0267)	(0.232)	(0.0274)
preg_hisp	-0.516***	0.0979***	-1.292***	0.141***
	(0.167)	(0.0232)	(0.203)	(0.0238)
Constant	4.085***	3.256***	4.001***	4.401***
	(0.285)	(0.0396)	(0.345)	(0.0405)
Observations	317,873	319,545	317,494	308,183
R-squared	0.061	0.167	0.065	0.078

Notes: Indicator variables for month and year of survey included in all regressions. “All” indicates all Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%,*Significant at 10%,

Table 7: Pregnancy and Emotional/Social Support

VARIABLES	(1) Married emtsuprt	(2) Not Married emtsuprt	(3) Inc<25K emtsuprt	(4) Inc>=25K emtsuprt
inc2	0.0609***	0.0606***	…	…
	(0.0223)	(0.0134)		
inc3	0.142***	0.174***	…	…
	(0.0196)	(0.0124)		
inc4	0.230***	0.278***	…	…
	(0.0184)	(0.0122)		
inc5	0.306***	0.362***	…	…
	(0.0179)	(0.0121)		
inc6	0.393***	0.453***	…	…
	(0.0175)	(0.0123)		
inc7	0.446***	0.502***	…	…
	(0.0174)	(0.0132)		
inc8	0.505***	0.543***	…	…
	(0.0174)	(0.0136)		
age	-0.0465***	-0.0461***	-0.0524***	-0.0470***
	(0.00338)	(0.00355)	(0.00513)	(0.00256)
agesq	0.000543***	0.000507***	0.000583***	0.000564***
	(4.83e-05)	(5.39e-05)	(7.80e-05)	(3.72e-05)
black	-0.0587***	-0.0708***	-0.107***	-0.0656***
	(0.00884)	(0.00772)	(0.0113)	(0.00642)
hisp	-0.0520***	-0.110***	-0.110***	-0.0813***
	(0.00724)	(0.00975)	(0.0117)	(0.00684)
somehs	0.0770***	0.154***	0.118***	0.0888***
	(0.0180)	(0.0230)	(0.0212)	(0.0252)
hs	0.219***	0.351***	0.310***	0.280***
	(0.0161)	(0.0215)	(0.0198)	(0.0230)
somecoll	0.233***	0.407***	0.370***	0.317***
	(0.0162)	(0.0217)	(0.0205)	(0.0229)
coll	0.267***	0.490***	0.471***	0.391***
	(0.0163)	(0.0221)	(0.0227)	(0.0229)
self_emp	0.00956	0.0422***	0.0526***	0.00900
	(0.00699)	(0.0132)	(0.0186)	(0.00641)
unemp	-0.114***	-0.108***	-0.119***	-0.156***
	(0.0107)	(0.0110)	(0.0129)	(0.0101)
homemaker	0.0144***	0.0718***	0.0981***	-0.00574
	(0.00474)	(0.0136)	(0.0129)	(0.00482)
student	0.00461	0.107***	0.114***	0.0276***
	(0.0136)	(0.0120)	(0.0166)	(0.0102)
preg_white	0.121***	0.125***	0.157***	0.104***
	(0.00990)	(0.0270)	(0.0315)	(0.00963)

preg_black	-0.0788*	-0.0509	-0.0429	-0.0882**
	(0.0443)	(0.0372)	(0.0485)	(0.0354)
preg_hisp	0.115***	0.175***	0.177***	0.0839***
	(0.0279)	(0.0424)	(0.0407)	(0.0321)
married	…	…	0.252***	0.192***
			(0.00997)	(0.00404)
Constant	4.610***	4.271***	4.562***	4.768***
	(0.0619)	(0.0618)	(0.0848)	(0.0487)
Observations	186,006	122,177	76,972	231,211
R-squared	0.036	0.071	0.038	0.025

Notes: Indicator variables for month and year of survey included in all regressions. Sample includes all Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Standard errors are in parentheses. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%,*Significant at 10%,