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Research Article

Stability and outcome of interracial cohabitation before and after transitions to marriage

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Abstract

BACKGROUND
Barriers to intermarriage are more formidable than barriers to interracial cohabitation. Relative to same-race couples, a higher share of interracial couples cohabits with their nonmarital partners. This raises the question: Does the social significance of cohabitation differ for interracial and same-race couples?

OBJECTIVE
We compared the stability and outcome of first cohabitations prior to any marriage and the association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marriage by couples' joint race/ethnicity.

METHODS
Using data from the 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), we estimated discrete-time event history models to predict differences in the stability of cohabitations and subsequent marriages by couples' joint race/ethnicity.

RESULTS
The stability and outcomes of White–Black cohabitations were similar to those of same-race Black cohabitations, whereas the stability of White–Hispanic cohabitations fell in between those of their same-race White and Hispanic counterparts. Premarital cohabitation was generally positively associated with higher odds of marital dissolution, but it was negatively associated with the odds of marital dissolution for White–Black couples.

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CONTRIBUTION

Considerable heterogeneity exists in the social significance of interracial cohabitation. The challenges of crossing racial barriers in union formation may contribute to distinct union trajectories for interracial couples.

1. Introduction

Over the past five decades, the United States has experienced unprecedented growth in the prevalence of interracial unions. Between 1967 and 2015, the share of all heterosexual marriages involving partners of different races rose threefold – from 3% to 10% (Livingston and Brown 2017). Increasing numbers of interracial marriages are a sign of diminishing social distance across racial/ethnic groups and more favorable attitudes toward interracial unions (Batson, Qian, and Lichter 2006; Qian and Lichter 2007).

Despite this growth, racial/ethnic barriers continue to be one of the most formidable obstacles to marriage (Campbell and Martin 2016). Interracial couples continue to report family opposition, ostracism from friends, and discrimination for having violated enduring norms favoring endogamy (Parker et al. 2015). Family opposition tends to be stronger for interracial marriage than for interracial cohabitation (Herman and Campbell 2012; Parker et al. 2015). These barriers may explain why interracial couples cohabit at higher rates than same-race couples (Batson et al. 2006; Kreider 2000). Roughly 20% of all US cohabitations involved partners of a different race/ethnicity in 2015 (Livingston and Brown 2017), nearly double the comparable share of all US marriages.

The added barriers to intermarriage may generate differences in the social role cohabitation plays in the family life of interracial couples, which have implications for the stability and outcome of their unions. For some interracial couples, cohabitation may serve as a substitute to marriage in which couples can carry out married life without having to deal with opposition. Alternatively, interracial couples may view living together as a way to test whether their bond is strong enough to withstand the challenges associated with intermarriages. Due to the legacy of anti-miscegenation laws and the especially salient Black/non-Black divide, White–Black couples may experience more opposition than White–Hispanic couples (Kroeger and Williams 2011; Yancey 2007). White–Black couples may thus be more likely than White–Hispanic couples to treat cohabitation as a substitute to marriage or a compatibility test before marrying.

Due to limited availability of data with enough interracial cohabiting couples, studies on these unions are rare (for exceptions, see Blackwell and Lichter [2004] on union formation, and Choi and Goldberg [2020] on fertility). Instead, prior work has focused on differences in union stability by female partners' race/ethnicity (Choi and

Seltzer 2009; Phillips and Sweeney 2005) or between interracial and same-race marriages (Bramlett and Mosher 2002; Jones 2010; Zhang and Van Hook 2009). Thus, we know surprisingly little about the stability and outcomes of interracial cohabitation. Relative to their single-race peers, higher shares of multiracial children grow up in cohabitation (Kreider 2000; Choi and Goldberg 2021). If interracial cohabitations are more unstable than intermarriages and same-race cohabitations, then rising numbers of multiracial children may imply an increasing prevalence of children who experience family instability.

To address this gap in the literature, we pooled data from the 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) to examine the stability and outcomes of interracial cohabitations before and after they transitioned to first marriage. To do so, we first documented variations in the stability and outcome of cohabitation by couples' joint race/ethnicity.[4] Next, we compared the association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability by couples' joint race/ethnicity. Finally, we investigated variation among interracial unions by comparing the stability and outcomes of White–Black and White–Hispanic cohabitations.

These analyses contribute to the literatures on cohabitation and partner selection in several important ways. First, we expand our understanding of the relative stability of interracial unions by examining the stability and outcome of interracial cohabitations. Prior work on the stability of interracial unions has focused primarily on marriages (Bramlett and Mosher 2002; Bratter and King 2008; Jones 2010; Zhang and Van Hook 2009). Second, our study offers a much-needed update on the relative stability of interracial unions. To our knowledge, the most recent studies on the stability of interracial marriages use data from the 1990–2001 Survey of Income and Project Participation (Zhang and Van Hook 2009) or the 2002 NSFG (Bramlett and Mosher 2002; Bratter and King 2008; Jones 2010). Finally, our study adds to the body of work uncovering heterogeneity in the social significance of cohabitation (Manning and Cohen 2012; Phillips and Sweeney 2005; Tach and Halpern-Meekin 2009). Examining the stability and outcomes of interracial cohabitations can offer demographic clues about the different social roles played by cohabitation in the family lives of interracial and same-race couples and their children.

[4] In these analyses, premarital cohabitation includes those who never transitioned to marriage either because they remained in the cohabitation or they separated from their partners.

2. Background

2.1 Racial/ethnic differences in the stability and outcome of cohabitations

Although cohabitations are generally short-lived (Lamidi, Manning, and Brown 2019; Seltzer 2004), their stability and outcome vary by the female partner's race/ethnicity. Non-Hispanic (NH) White women are more likely than NH Black and Hispanic women to transition from cohabitation to marriage, NH Blacks are more likely to separate from their cohabiting partners, and Hispanics are more likely to remain in their cohabiting unions (Bramlett and Mosher 2002). This suggests that cohabitation is a trial marriage or a stage in the courtship process for NH Whites, a substitute to marriage for NH Blacks, and an alternative to legal marriage for Hispanics (Choi and Seltzer 2009).

Racial/ethnic disparities in the stability of cohabitating unions are frequently attributed to socioeconomic inequalities across groups. Due to structural inequalities in the labor market, NH Blacks have difficulty securing year-round, full-time employment (Oppenheimer 2003). The resulting financial strain may be one reason why NH Black cohabiters are less likely to transition into marriage (Choi and Seltzer 2009; Oppenheimer 2003). Economic disadvantages may also preclude NH Black partners from making joint investments, thereby lowering barriers to separation and rendering their cohabiting unions more vulnerable to dissolution (Levinger 1976; Lau 2012).

Cultural differences may be another reason for racial/ethnic variation in the stability of cohabiting unions. Although the social significance of cohabitation has been changing in Latin America in recent decades as it undergoes the second demographic transition (Esteve, Garcia-Roman, and Lesthaeghe 2012), some Hispanic immigrants may come from communities in which cohabitations continue to serve as surrogate legal marriages and may assign the same significance after migrating to the United States (Castro Martin 2002; Landale and Oropesa 2007). Assigning such significance to cohabitation likely increases partners' willingness to make joint investments or have planned pregnancies within cohabitation, which can act as a barrier to the union's dissolution.

Prior work on racial/ethnic disparities in union stability has not examined how the stability of interracial cohabitation compares to marriages. Disapproval of interracial marriages is generally stronger than that of interracial cohabitations (Blackwell and Lichter 2004; Herman and Campbell 2012). Therefore, for some interracial couples, cohabitation may be a substitute to marriage where they can carry out 'married life' without the added challenges of intermarriage. For others, these barriers may create a greater need to live with their partner and test their compatibility before marrying. Interracial cohabitations, then, can serve as a trial marriage, which can be used to rule out unions with a higher risk of marital disruption.

2.2 Racial/ethnic differences in the stability of marriages

Racial/ethnic disparities in divorce rates are well documented (Raley and Sweeney 2007). The age-specific divorce rates of NH Black women are generally higher than for NH White and Hispanic women (Raley and Sweeney 2007). Interracial couples' risk of marital disruption tends to be similar to that of the more divorce-prone group (Kalmijn, de Graaf, and Janssen 2005; Zhang and Van Hook 2009). For example, Zhang and Van Hook (2009) find that the risk of marital disruption for White–Black couples was similar to that of same-race Black couples.

Two theoretical frameworks guide our understanding of stability differences between interracial and same-race marriages. The homogamy perspective predicts that interracial couples are more likely than same-race couples to divorce. Partners in interracial unions have dissimilar worldviews, resulting in greater misunderstandings and more conflict (Kalmijn 1998; Zhang and Van Hook 2009). They also receive less social support from family and friends (Bratter and Eschbach 2005; Zhang and Van Hook 2009). These stressors heighten their risk of marital disruption (Bratter and Eschbach 2005; Zhang and Van Hook 2009). Due to the salience of the Black/non-Black divide, disapproval toward White–Black pairings tends to be more pronounced than that against White–Hispanic pairings (Lee and Bean 2007; Yancey 2007; Wang 2012). White–Black marriages are likely more unstable than White–Hispanic marriages.

The ethnic convergence perspective predicts that the stability and outcomes of interracial marriages likely fall between those of their same-race counterparts (Jones 1996). This 'in-between' pattern is partially the product of the midway socioeconomic status of interracial couples. Marriages bring together members of two distinct ethnic/racial groups with varying socioeconomic resources (Choi and Goldberg 2021; Kalmijn 1998). Interracial couples will be more disadvantaged than same-race couples in the more advantaged group and more advantaged than same-race couples in the disadvantaged group. This in-between pattern may also reflect the interplay of the family norms of the ethnic/racial groups involved.

Prior work has rarely compared the stability of interracial and same-race cohabitations; therefore, whether these findings can be generalized to interracial cohabitation is largely unknown. On the one hand, a recent study suggests that the fertility behavior of White–Black cohabiting couples is like that of their same-race Black counterparts, whereas the behavior of White–Hispanic couples in cohabitation falls in between those of their same-race White and Hispanic counterparts (Choi and Goldberg 2020). On the other hand, extra barriers to interracial marriages may shape interracial couples' selectivity into cohabitation relative to marriage, alter the social significance of cohabitation, and affect selectivity out of cohabitation, generating vast differences between interracial cohabitations and marriages.

2.3 Differences in the association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability by couples' joint race/ethnicity

Premarital cohabitation has traditionally been associated with higher marital instability (Musick and Michelemore 2018; Rosenfeld and Roesler 2019; Teachman and Polonko 1990). There is, however, considerable heterogeneity in this relationship. Phillips and Sweeney (2005) show that premarital cohabitation destabilized marriages among NH Whites but not among NH Blacks or Mexican Americans. Recent work shows that the positive association between premarital cohabitation and marital disruption has largely disappeared as cohabitation has become the norm in the United States (Kuperberg 2014; Manning and Cohen 2012; Reinhold 2010). Musick and Michelemore (2018) find that premarital cohabitation destabilized marriages in most countries but lowered the risk of dissolution in France.

Two interrelated explanations have been proposed to account for the positive association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability. The first centers on selection. Due to the perceived economic prerequisites to marriage, people who cohabit before marriage have slightly lower levels of education or income than those who directly transition into marriage (Smock 2000). Premarital cohabitation also tends to select people who are slightly less traditional, less religious, more approving of divorce, and more gender egalitarian (Clarkberg, Stolzenberg, and Waite 1995; Smock 2000), all of which may increase couples' risk of marital dissolution. The second explanation focuses on couples' experiences in cohabitation prior to marriage. Unlike their married peers, cohabiting couples do not face legal barriers to exit. The ease with which people can end cohabitation may create the belief that coresidential unions are meant to be temporary and can be dissolved without much difficulty (Axinn and Thornton 1992; Cherlin 1992). Such views will reduce couples' willingness to pool resources together and make relationship-specific investments even after they transition into marriage (Seltzer 2004; Smock 2000). The absence of joint investments may reduce the salience of barriers to exit and destabilize marriages. Of the two explanations, more empirical support has been available for selection as the causal explanation (Booth and Johnson 1988; Kulu and Boyle 2010; Lillard, Brien, and Waite 1995). Nonetheless, some researchers acknowledge that the lack of support for the causal explanation may be the product of steep data requirements to test such explanations (Smock 2000).

To date, prior work has not examined how the association between premarital cohabitation and marital instability differs between interracial and same-race marriages. Based on the abovementioned explanations, three predictions are possible. First, stability differences by premarital cohabitation may be smaller among interracial couples than among same-race couples. Formidable barriers to intermarriage, particularly among White–Black couples, may mean that even people who would otherwise pass the

'marriage bar' may not be able to pass the 'intermarriage bar.' Interracial couples who cohabited may be a less negatively selected group than their same-race counterparts.

Second, premarital cohabitation may have a stabilizing impact on interracial marriages. For interracial couples for whom cohabitation serves as a substitute to marriage, higher shares of interracial couples will remain in cohabitation. The subset of couples who are willing to transition from cohabitation to marriage may be a select group with unusually pro-nuptial attitudes, or they may have recently experienced life events (e.g., pregnancy and need for insurance, having joint investments) that would benefit from legal barriers to exit. For couples for whom cohabitation serves as trial marriages, disapproval toward interracial unions means that cohabitation will rule out larger shares of interracial relative to same-race couples, which means that interracial couples who transitioned from cohabitation to marriage are a select group with a lower risk of union disruption.

Third, premarital cohabitation may be more destabilizing for interracial couples relative to same-race marriages. Interracial couples in trial marriages may be less willing to pool their income or make joint investments due to the stressors associated with the formation of interracial unions. These behaviors may continue even after they transition into marriage, heightening their risk of marital disruption.

2.4 Current study and hypotheses

Based on the foregoing discussion, we derived the following hypotheses.

- *Hypothesis 1:* Among same-race cohabiting couples, Whites will be most likely to transition to marriage, Blacks will be most likely to separate, and Hispanics will be most likely to remain in cohabitation.
- *Hypothesis 2:* Among same-race married couples, premarital cohabitation will be positively correlated with subsequent marital disruption for Whites but not for Blacks or Hispanics.
- *Hypothesis 3A:* White–Black cohabiting couples will transition to marriage at lower rates than same-race Whites but similar rates to that of same-race Blacks.
- *Hypothesis 3B:* White–Black cohabiting couples will separate at higher rates than same-race Whites but similar rates to that of same-race Blacks.
- *Hypothesis 3C:* For White–Black married couples, the association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability will be weaker than that of same-race Whites but similar to that of same-race Blacks.

- *Hypothesis 4A:* White–Hispanic cohabiting couples will transition to marriage at lower rates than same-race Whites but at higher rates than that of same-race Hispanics.
- *Hypothesis 4B:* White–Hispanic cohabiting couples will separate at lower rates than same-race Whites but at higher rates than that of same-race Hispanics.
- *Hypothesis 4C:* For White–Hispanic married couples, the association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability will be weaker than that of same-race Whites but stronger than that of same-race Hispanics.

3. Data and methods

3.1 Data

We pooled data from the 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), a nationally representative, repeated cross-sectional survey that gathered information about the union formation of US adults (UDHHS 2018). These data included marriage and cohabitation histories for 42,917 women and 34,398 men between the ages of 15 and 50. We relied only on the female respondents' records due to differences in the collection of cohabitation histories for female and male respondents, and the male records did not include sufficient numbers of interracial cohabitation to disaggregate by couple's joint race/ethnicity.

The NSFG data are well suited for the present analyses. First, the NSFG collected detailed union histories, including their start and end dates of cohabitations and marriages. Second, the NSFG collected information about the racial/ethnic backgrounds of respondents and their first partners, allowing us to distinguish women in interracial and same-race unions. Finally, the NSFG oversampled NH Black and Hispanic respondents and thus includes relatively large numbers of NH Black and Hispanic women in intermarriages.

3.2 Sample

Our sample consists of first heterosexual unions formed by NH White, NH Black, and Hispanic women. We focused on first unions because pooled NSFG data consistently identified the race of the first cohabiting partners and first husbands. We examined unions involving different-gender couples because the NSFG does not collect data on same-gender couples (UDHHS 2018). We excluded unions involving a NH other-race spouse because it was unclear whether unions involving two NH other-race partners were same-

race or interracial unions. We excluded interracial unions involving NH Black and Hispanic partners because we had very few cases and could not obtain reliable estimates. We also restricted our sample to cases without missing data on key covariates. Once we applied all these restrictions, it yielded a sample comprised of 25,171 first unions. For analyses of the outcomes of first cohabitations, we further restricted our sample to the 18,275 first premarital cohabitations. For our analyses of the relationship between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability, we restricted our sample to 17,265 first marriages.

Past studies have focused on recent marriages to account for the NSFG's upper age limit and the possibility that earlier marriages may be biased toward marriages formed by younger women (Manning, Smock, and Kuperberg 2021; Phillips and Sweeney 2005). Due to sample size constraints (i.e., smaller numbers of NH White–NH Black couples), we were unable to apply the same restriction in the main text, but we ran supplementary analyses that restricted our sample to unions formed within ten years of the interview date (see Appendix Tables A-2 and A-3). Starting in 2015, the NSFG expanded its sampling frame to include women between the ages of 45 and 50. We also ran supplementary models that excluded respondents between the ages of 45 and 50 at the time of the interview (see Appendix Tables A-4 and A-5). Estimates from these analyses were generally consistent with those presented in the main text. The only exception was that the positive association between premarital cohabitation and marital dissolution largely disappeared for same-race NH White, same-race Hispanic, and White–Hispanic couples when we restricted our analyses to women in recent marriage cohorts (see Appendix Tables A-6 and A-7). These analyses yielded results largely similar to those by Manning and colleagues (2021). We elected to use the most inclusive sample to maximize the number of interracial couples in our study.

3.3 Measures

3.3.1 Dependent variables

Our study relied on two dependent variables. Outcome of first cohabitation is a time-varying indicator distinguishing cohabiting partners who transitioned to marriage, separated, or remained in their first cohabitation (base outcome) during the duration-year in observation.

Marital disruption is a time-varying measure indicating whether women separated from their first husbands during the duration-year in observation.

3.3.2 Key independent variables

Couples' joint race/ethnicity is a time-invariant measure obtained from the female respondents' marriage and cohabitation histories. To construct this variable, we classified all respondents and their partners into three categories: (1) NH White, (2) NH Black, and (3) Hispanic. For simplicity, we referred to NH Whites as 'Whites' and NH Blacks as 'Blacks.' We cross-classified respondents' and first partners' race/ethnicity to generate five groups: same-race White, same-race Black, same-race Hispanic, White–Black, and White–Hispanic couples.

Premarital cohabitation is a time-invariant measure indicating whether or not women lived with their first husbands prior to marriage.

3.3.3 Other factors affecting union stability and outcome

Our models also accounted for several important correlates of the stability of cohabiting unions (Manning and Cohen 2012; Phillips and Sweeney 2005; Schwartz 2013). These included respondent's nativity (foreign-born, US-born), religion raised (none, Catholic, Protestant, non-Christian, missing), mother's education (less than high school, high school graduates, some college, college graduates, missing), family structure at age 14 (two biological parents, stepfather families, single-parent families, other), respondent's highest level of education (less than high school, high school graduate, some college, college graduates), and whether respondent was pregnant prior to the union (yes, no).

Relationship histories and union characteristics are also important correlates of union disruption (Guzzo 2008; Raley and Sweeney 2020). We included the following time-invariant controls: male partner's marital history (previously married versus not), male partner's fertility history (had a child from a previous relationship versus not), age differential between spouses (wife is older, husband is at most two years older, husband is three to five years older, husband is six or more years older, missing), had concrete plans to marry or were married (yes, no), and year when the union was formed (before 1990, 1990–1999, 2000–2009, 2010–2019). We also included a time-varying covariate measuring whether a child was born during the union (yes, no). For our analyses of cohabiting unions' outcome, we also included respondent's age at cohabitation (15–19, 20–24, 25–29, 30–50) and a time-varying covariate capturing the duration of the cohabitation. For the analyses of marital instability, we included respondent's age of marriage (15–19, 20–24, 25–29, 30–50) and marital duration. As a robustness check, we considered alternate operationalizations of several covariates, including several specifications of age of coresidence and union duration. Our results were robust. Age in

the duration-year of observation is not included in our models because age at union formation (or marriage) and duration perfectly predict age.

3.4 Analytical strategy

Our paper examined the relative stability of interracial and same-race cohabitations before and after transitions into first marriage. In the first part, we documented variations in cohabiting couples' competing risk of transitioning into marriage, separating, or remaining in cohabitation by couples' joint race/ethnicity. To do so, we organized our data into 72,426 duration-year files. Exposure began in the year of union formation and ended when the couple either transitioned into marriage, separated, or at the date of the NSFG interview, whichever came first. Duration-years was the clock in our analyses because the publicly available 2015–2017 and 2017–2019 NSFG did not report months in their cohabitation and marriage histories. We estimated discrete-time multinomial logistic regression models predicting the competing risk of transitioning from cohabitation to marriage, separating from their partners, and remaining in cohabitation (base outcome). We chose discrete-time models instead of Cox regression models because duration-years were too far apart to be modeled continuously. This model accounted for temporal dependence by including union duration. We accounted for nonproportionality in the baseline hazards by interacting duration and couples' joint race/ethnicity.

To facilitate comparisons across groups, we used coefficients from our regression models and population means to compute the predicted probabilities of each outcome (transition into marriage, separation, and remaining in cohabitation) for each duration-year. These probabilities are conditional on union survival until the year of observation, and, thus, we multiplied the yearly conditional probability of marriage by their survival probabilities and added them to estimate the cumulative probability of marriage (or of separation or remaining in cohabitation) for each duration-year. Formally, these steps can be represented by

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n=3} m_{i-1} + (1 - m - d)_{i-1} \times m_i \quad (1),$$

where m_i is the probability of marriage in the duration-year i and d_i is the probability of dissolution in duration-year i. We calculated analogous cumulative probabilities for separation and remaining in cohabitation. We then graphed the cumulative probability of marriage, separation, and remaining in cohabitation for the mean duration of first premarital cohabitations in our sample (i.e., three years). A similar approach was used by

Musick and Michelemore (2018) to study cross-national differences in the relative stability of cohabitations.

In the second part, we examined the relative stability of interracial cohabitations following transitions into first marriage. We organized our sample of first marriages into 121,042 duration-year records. We then estimated discrete-time logistic regression models comparing the association between premarital cohabitation and the risk of marital disruption by couples' joint race/ethnicity. We accounted for temporal dependence by including marital duration. We did not include an interaction between marital duration and couples' joint race/ethnicity because statistical tests revealed that the baseline hazards were proportional. Using the coefficients from our model and population means, we computed the cumulative probability of separation within six years of union formation (i.e., mean duration of first marriages in our sample), which can be represented by

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n=6} d_{i-1} + (1 - d)_{i-1} \times d_i \quad (2),$$

where d_i is the probability of separation during the duration-year in observation. We graphed the cumulative proportion of separation for the mean duration of first marriages in our sample.

Across all analyses, we adjusted for the complex sampling design of the NSFG by using their final fully adjusted weights and stratifying the analysis by survey using Stata's *svy* commands. We chose same-race Whites as our reference category because they were the same-race peers that White–Black and White–Hispanic interracial couples had in common. However, in our interpretations, we paid attention to differences between interracial couples and their same-race minority peers and compared White–Black and White–Hispanic interracial couples. All analyses were replicated using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 (NLSY97). These results, reported in Appendix Tables A-8 and A-9, were remarkably similar to the NSFG results presented in the main text.

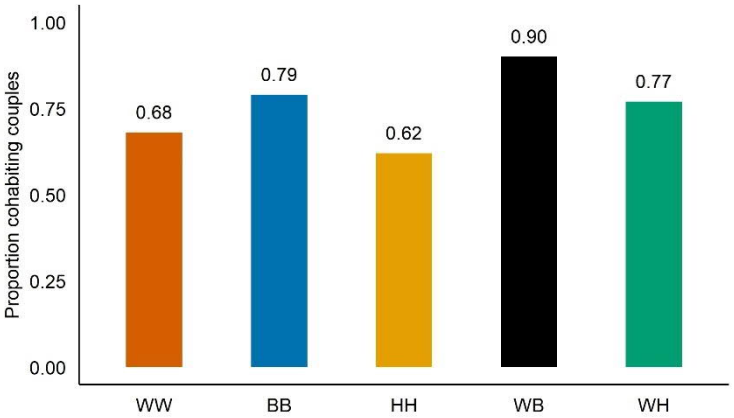
4. Results

4.1 First union type by couples' joint race/ethnicity

Figure 1 documents variation in the proportion of women who chose cohabitation as their first coresidential union by couples' joint race/ethnicity. Among same-race couples, the probability of choosing cohabitation as the first coresidential union was highest among Blacks and lowest among Hispanics: 79% of same-race Black couples chose cohabitation over marriage as compared with 68% of same-race White and 62% of same-race Hispanic

couples. In line with prior work (Blackwell and Lichter 2004; Kreider 2000), the probability of choosing cohabitation as the first coresidential union was higher among interracial couples than among their same-race counterparts. For example, 90% of White–Black couples chose cohabitation compared to 68% of same-race White and 79% of same-race Black couples.

Figure 1: Proportion of women who choose cohabitation over marriage as their first union by couples' joint race/ethnicity



Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted. 25,171 first coresidential unions. WW denotes same-race White couples. BB denotes same-race Black couples. HH denotes same-race Hispanic couples. WB denotes White–Black couples. WH denotes White–Hispanic couples. Bars denote 95% confidence intervals around proportions.

4.2 Partner traits by couples' joint race/ethnicity and first union type

Table 1 summarizes the traits of cohabiting couples by their joint race/ethnicity. Our comparison of same-race couples closely mirrored prior findings about racial/ethnic disparities (Hummer and Hamilton 2010). White women in same-race cohabitations were more socioeconomically advantaged than Black and Hispanic women in same-race cohabitations. Relative to other same-race couples, a higher share of White women in same-race cohabitations had graduated from college. A lower share of Black women in same-race cohabitations grew up in two-parent families. A higher share of Hispanic women in same-race cohabitations started living with their partners during their teens. Relative to their White and Hispanic counterparts, higher shares of Black women in

same-race cohabitations had a child prior to their first coresidential unions and lived with partners who had a child from a prior union.

Table 1: Characteristics of cohabiting couples

	WW	BB	HH	WB	WH
	8,899	3,854	3,460	628	1,434
% Foreign-born	4	6	53	5	9
Family structure					
Two parents	64	41	63	55	59
Stepfamily	15	15	11	17	14
Single parent	15	32	16	17	20
Other	6	13	9	11	8
Education					
Less than HS	10	15	38	17	12
HS graduate	18	27	26	20	16
Some college	33	40	25	41	43
College graduate	39	18	11	21	29
Religion raised					
None	14	6	4	16	16
Catholic	29	7	77	20	42
Protestant	50	83	16	58	36
Other	6	4	2	6	6
Age of union formation					
15–19	39	34	53	45	46
20–24	42	44	32	34	37
25–29	14	15	12	15	14
30–34	5	7	3	6	3
% Child prior to union	5	29	11	12	6
% Male: kid	14	42	20	33	19
% Male: married before	13	13	12	17	13
% No plans	58	54	52	64	59
Year of union					
Before 1990	13	12	12	8	12
1990–1999	36	33	34	35	30
2000–2009	37	40	41	41	39
2010–2019	13	16	13	15	18
Age differentials					
Female older	12	12	12	13	12
Male older: 0–1 years	26	23	20	19	24
Male older: 2–5 years	31	26	27	25	29
Male older: 6+ years	15	17	14	21	18
Missing	16	21	26	21	17

Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Table displays weighted percentages. Frequencies are not weighted. 18,275 first premarital cohabitations.

The socioeconomic traits of those in interracial cohabitations fell in between those of their peers in same-race cohabitations. For example, 21% of women in White–Black cohabitations were college graduates compared to 39% of White and 18% of Black women in same-race cohabitations. Similarly, the share of women in White–Black cohabitations who grew up in two-parent households was lower than the corresponding share for same-race White cohabitations but higher than that of same-race Black cohabitations. There are exceptions to this general pattern. First, relative to their same-race peers, a higher share of women in White–Black cohabitations did not graduate from high school: 17% of women in White–Black versus 10% of White and 15% of Black women in same-race cohabitations. Second, a higher share of White–Black couples started living with their cohabiting partner during their teens (45%) than White (39%) or Black (34%) women in same-race cohabitations. Third, a higher share of women in White–Black couples had partnered with men who were previously married (17%) than White and Black women in same-race unions (13%). Finally, relative to their same-race peers, higher shares of interracial couples started to cohabit without any concrete plans to marry: 64% of White–Black versus 58% of same-race White and 54% of same-race Black couples.

4.3 Outcomes of first cohabitations by couples' joint race/ethnicity

Table 2 presents the results from discrete-time multinomial logistic regression models predicting the competing risks of transitioning into marriage, separating from their partners, and remaining in cohabitation (base outcome).[5] We begin by describing the results for transitions into marriage. Living in a single-parent family, having a child prior to the cohabitation, partnering with a male partner with a child from a prior union, and not having concrete plans to marry at the onset of their union were associated with lower odds of transitioning into marriage. By contrast, higher levels of education, being older at the time of cohabitation, having a child together, and having an older male partner were associated with higher odds of transitioning into marriage.

[5] We present the full models in the main text. Appendix Table A-10 includes results from a baseline model, which includes couple's joint race/ethnicity, duration, and the interaction between the two. Adjusting for controls explained little of the differences in the outcome of cohabiting unions by couples' joint race/ethnicity.

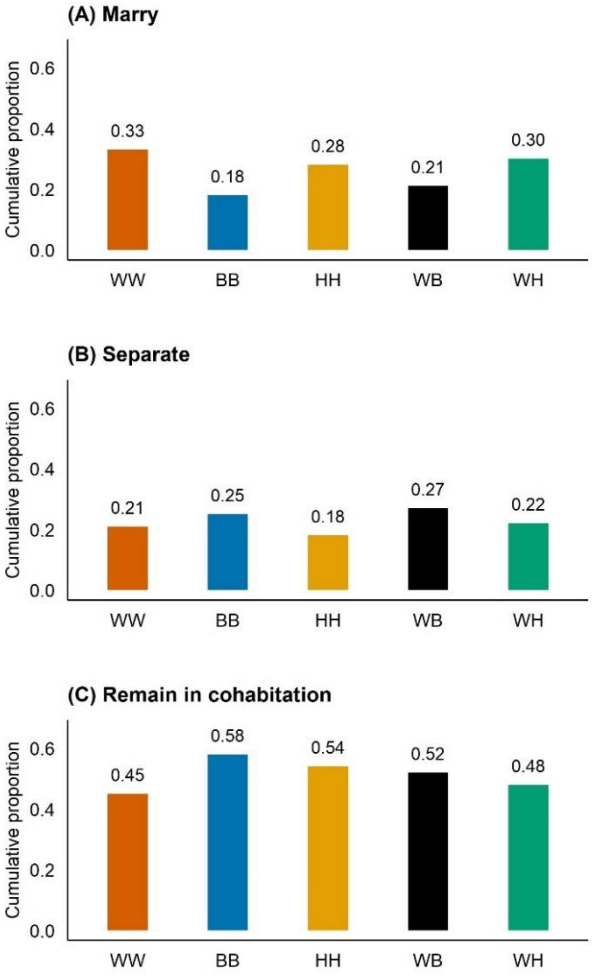
Table 2: Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression model predicting outcome of first cohabitation (base outcome: remain in cohabitation)

	Married			Separated		
	exp(β)	95% CI		exp(β)	95% CI	
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black (BB)	0.48	0.41	0.55	1.01	0.88	1.15
Same-race Hispanic (HH)	0.88	0.75	1.03	0.80	0.67	0.95
White–Black (WB)	0.59	0.43	0.81	1.28	0.99	1.65
White–Hispanic (WH)	0.89	0.75	1.06	0.94	0.78	1.12
Duration	1.14	1.12	1.17	1.12	1.09	1.14
Couple's race*duration						
BB*duration	0.93	0.89	0.96	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*duration	0.85	0.82	0.89	0.95	0.91	0.98
WB*duration	0.92	0.85	0.99	0.94	0.88	0.99
WH* duration	0.97	0.92	1.03	1.06	1.01	1.11
Foreign-born (US-born)	1.04	0.91	1.19	0.74	0.63	0.87
Family (two)						
Stepfamily	0.99	0.89	1.11	1.14	1.02	1.26
Single family	0.86	0.77	0.95	1.03	0.93	1.13
Other	0.94	0.81	1.09	1.03	0.91	1.17
Education (< HS)						
HS graduate	1.27	1.11	1.44	0.99	0.88	1.11
Some college	1.40	1.24	1.59	1.19	1.07	1.33
College graduates	1.71	1.50	1.96	1.09	0.95	1.25
Age at union (15–19)						
20–24	1.48	1.36	1.62	0.80	0.73	0.87
25–29	2.02	1.79	2.28	0.56	0.49	0.65
30–50	2.35	1.95	2.82	0.49	0.40	0.60
Fem: child before (not)	0.89	0.78	1.03	0.98	0.87	1.10
Male: child before (not)	0.78	0.70	0.88	1.12	1.01	1.24
Male: prior marriage (not)	1.05	0.92	1.19	0.81	0.71	0.92
Age differences (female older)						
Male>Fem: 0–1 years	1.03	0.91	1.16	0.87	0.76	0.99
Male>Fem: 2–5 years	1.28	1.15	1.44	0.93	0.82	1.06
Male>Fem: 6+ years	1.20	1.05	1.37	0.99	0.85	1.15
Had a child together (not)	1.62	1.47	1.78	1.07	0.97	1.17
No plans to wed (plans)	0.43	0.40	0.46	1.36	1.26	1.48
Intercept	0.16	0.13	0.20	0.07	0.06	0.09

Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: 72,426 duration-years obtained from 18,275 first cohabitations. Analyses are weighted and stratified by survey year. Model also includes mother's degree, religion raised, and year of cohabitation.

To facilitate the comparison across groups, Figure 2 illustrates the cumulative probabilities of (a) transitioning into marriage, (b) separating, and (c) remaining in cohabitation within three years of cohabitation by couples' joint race/ethnicity. As shown in panel A, among same-race couples, Whites had the highest and Blacks had the lowest probabilities of transitioning from cohabitation to marriage. Interracial couples' probability of transitioning into marriage was slightly higher than that of their same-race minority peers with the lower probability of transitioning into marriage. White–Black couples (21%) were slightly more likely than same-race Blacks (18%) to marry their cohabiting partners. Similarly, White–Hispanic couples (30%) were also slightly more likely than same-race Hispanic couples (28%) to transition to marriage. White–Black cohabiting couples (21%) were less likely to transition into marriage than White–Hispanic couples (30%).

Figure 2: Predicted cumulative proportion of cohabiting couples who marry, separate, or remain in their first cohabitation within three years by couples' joint race/ethnicity



Sources: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Predicted probabilities of separation are derived from Table 2 for 18,275 first premarital cohabitations contributing 72,426 duration-years, allowing union duration to vary by duration-year and setting all values at population mean. We show the cumulative separation probabilities within three years because that's the mean duration of first premarital cohabitation in our sample. Appendix Table A9 presents the cumulative predicted probabilities of marital disruption up to ten years. WW: Same-race White couples, BB: same-race Black couples, HH: same-race Hispanic couples, WB: White–Black couples, WH: White–Hispanic couples.

We now turn our attention to cohabiting couples' probability of separation. As Table 2 indicates, being foreign-born, older age at cohabitation, and partnering with a man who was previously married were associated with lower odds of separation, whereas growing up in stepfamilies and not having concrete plans to marry were associated with higher odds of separation. Panel B in Figure 2 presents the cumulative predicted probabilities of separation within three years of cohabitation.[6] Among same-race couples, Blacks had the highest and Hispanics had the lowest probabilities of separation: 25% of Black versus 21% of White and 18% of Hispanic same-race couples. Interracial couples' probability of separation was slightly higher than that of their same-race counterparts: 27% of White–Black couples had separated from their first cohabiting partner within three years compared to 21% of same-race White and 25% of same-race Black couples. Similarly, 22% of White–Hispanic couples had separated during the same period, which contrasted with 21% of same-race White and 18% of same-race Hispanic couples. White–Black couples (27%) were more likely to separate than White–Hispanic couples (22%).

Interracial couples' probability of remaining in cohabitation fell in between those of their same-race counterparts. For example, as illustrated in panel C of Figure 2, 52% of White–Black couples continued to live with their first cohabiting partners after three years of cohabitation compared to 45% of same-race White and 58% of same-race Black couples.

4.4 Union stability by couples' joint race/ethnicity and first union type

Table 3 presents the results from discrete-time logistic regression models predicting the odds of marital disruption.[7] Being foreign-born, growing up in two-parent families, graduating from college, marrying at an older age, having a husband who is older, and having a child together during marriage were associated with lower odds of marital disruption. For example, having a child together during marriage was associated with 20% lower odds of marital disruption. By contrast, marrying a man with a child from a previous union was associated with 49% higher odds of marital disruption.

[6] We present the cumulative predicted separation probabilities within three years of cohabitation because that is the average duration in our sample. Appendix Table A-11 presents the results for up to ten years.

[7] We present the full models in the main text. Appendix Table A-12 includes results from a baseline model, which includes couples' joint race/ethnicity, premarital cohabitation, an interaction between the two, and duration. Adjusting for controls does not meaningfully change the core results.

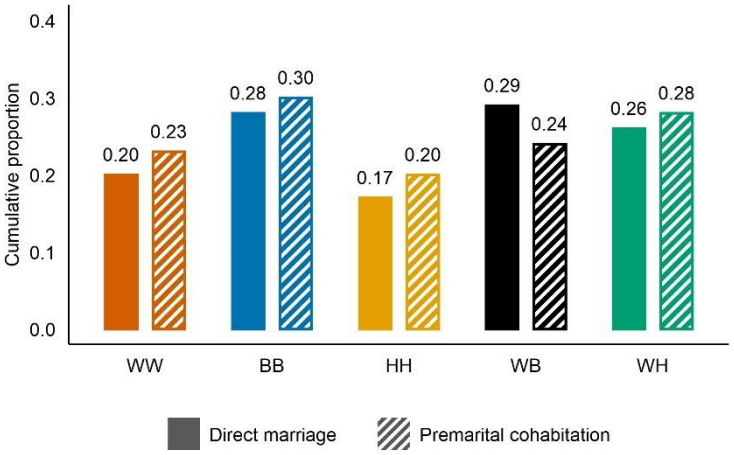
Table 3: Discrete-time logistic regression model predicting dissolution of first marriage

	exp(β)	95% CI	
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black (BB)	1.51	1.25	1.83
Same-race Hispanic (HH)	0.84	0.67	1.03
White–Black (WB)	1.54	0.89	2.66
White–Hispanic (WH)	1.35	1.05	1.74
Direct marriage (premar)	1.17	1.04	1.32
Couple * direct marriage			
Same-race Black*direct	0.92	0.73	1.16
Same-race Hisp*direct	1.01	0.81	1.26
White–Black*direct	0.71	0.37	1.37
White–Hisp*direct	0.94	0.69	1.28
Duration	1.01	1.00	1.03
Mother's degree (< HS)			
HS graduate	1.11	0.98	1.24
Some college	1.18	1.04	1.35
College graduates	1.22	1.05	1.41
Foreign-born (US-born)	0.83	0.72	0.96
Family (two)			
Stepfamily	1.66	1.47	1.87
Single family	1.26	1.09	1.44
Other	1.68	1.45	1.95
Education (< HS)			
HS graduate	1.12	0.98	1.29
Some college	1.16	1.02	1.32
College graduates	0.74	0.63	0.86
Age at marriage (15–19)			
20–24	0.60	0.54	0.66
25–29	0.38	0.32	0.45
30–50	0.28	0.23	0.33
Wife: child before (not)	1.49	1.30	1.70
Husb: child before (not)	1.49	1.31	1.70
Husb: prior marriage (not)	1.06	0.92	1.24
Age diff (female older)			
Male>Fem: 0–1 years	0.77	0.66	0.90
Male>Fem: 2–5 years	0.70	0.60	0.82
Male>Fem: 6+ years	0.78	0.66	0.92
Had a child within union	0.80	0.73	0.87
Intercept	0.09	0.07	0.12

Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: 121,042 duration-years obtained from 17,265 first marriages. Analyses are weighted. Model also includes religion raised, year of union formation, a missing flag for mother's degree, and a missing flag for age differentials between spouses.

Figure 3 presents the cumulative separation probabilities by couples' joint race/ethnicity and premarital cohabitation experience.[8] Among same-race couples, Blacks had the highest and Hispanics had the lowest probabilities of marital dissolution. White–Hispanic couples' probabilities of marital disruption were much higher than those of their same-race counterparts. For example, 28% of White–Hispanic couples who cohabited prior to marriage dissolved their unions compared with 23% of same-race White and 20% of same-race Hispanic peers. By contrast, White–Black couples in direct marriages were similarly likely to dissolve their marriages as their same-race Black counterparts: 29% of White–Black and 28% of same-race Black couples. White–Black couples who cohabited prior to marriage, however, were less likely to separate than their same-race Black counterparts: 24% of White–Black versus 30% of same-race Black couples.

Figure 3: Cumulative proportion of experiencing marital dissolution within six years by couple's joint race/ethnicity



Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Predicted probabilities of separation are derived from Table 4 for 17,265 first marriages contributing 121,673 duration-years, allowing marital duration to vary by year, varying first union type, and setting all values at population mean. We show the results for the six-year mark because that's the mean duration of first marriages. Appendix Table A-11 presents the cumulative predicted probabilities of marital disruption up to ten years. WW: Same-race White couples, BB: same-race Black couples, HH: same-race Hispanic couples, WB: White–Black couples, WH: White–Hispanic couples.

[8] We present the cumulative predicted separation probabilities within six years of cohabitation because that is the average duration of marriages in our sample. Appendix Table A-13 presents the results for up to ten years.

For most groups, premarital cohabitation was associated with a higher probability of separation. Among same-race White and Hispanic couples, for instance, the probability of separation was roughly 15% higher among those who cohabited prior to marriage than among those who did not ($100 \times \frac{23-20}{20} = 15$; $100 \times \frac{20-17}{17} \approx 15$, respectively). Among same-race Black and White–Hispanic couples, the probability of separation was roughly 7% higher among those who cohabited prior to marriage than among those who did not ($100 \times \frac{30-28}{28} = 7$; $100 \times \frac{28-26}{26} \approx 7$). However, among White–Black couples, the probability of separation was roughly 17% lower among White–Black couples who cohabited prior to marriage than among those in direct marriages ($100 \times (\frac{24-29}{29} - 1) = -17$).

5. Discussion

Due to the formidable barriers to intermarriage, interracial couples cohabit at higher rates than same-race couples (Blackwell and Lichter 2004; Campbell and Martin 2016; Kreider 2000). Interracial couples' higher cohabitation rates raise the question, Do interracial cohabitations take on a different social significance than same-race cohabitations? Conceivably, interracial cohabitations may be substitutes to marriages – settings wherein interracial couples carry out a pseudo-married life less subject to societal disapproval. Alternatively, interracial couples may have a greater need to enter into trial marriages where they can test their compatibility before they transition to marriage. Although the social significance of interracial cohabitations has important implications for the stability of mixed-race families and the family environments of multiracial children, studies on the stability of interracial cohabitations are rare. To fill this gap in the literature, we documented variations in the stability and outcome of cohabitations and the association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability by couples' joint race/ethnicity. Our study yielded several noteworthy findings.

First, we found that interracial couples were less likely than same-race couples to view marriage as a part of their union trajectories. They were more likely than same-race couples to choose cohabitation over marriage as their first coresidential unions. They were also less likely than same-race couples to have concrete plans to marry at the onset of cohabitation. These findings support claims that racial differences continue to be one of the most formidable barriers to marriages and that barriers may be more formidable for longer and more committed relationships (marriages versus cohabitation) (Blackwell and Lichter 2004; Herman and Campbell 2012). They also highlight the importance of studying the stability of interracial cohabitation specifically.

Second, our findings showed that same-race White couples were more likely than other same-race couples to transition from cohabitation to marriage, same-race Blacks were more likely to separate from their cohabiting partners, and same-race Hispanics were more likely to remain in cohabitation. These findings are consistent with Hypothesis 1 and prior findings about racial/ethnic disparities in the outcome of cohabitations (Choi and Seltzer 2009; Raley and Sweeney 2007). In line with Hypotheses 3A and 3B, the outcomes of White–Black cohabitations were overall similar to those of same-race Black couples. Their probabilities of transitioning into marriage or of separating were only slightly higher than that of same-race Black couples. In line with Hypotheses 4A and 4B, the outcomes of White–Hispanic cohabitations fell in between those of their same-race counterparts. Their probability of marriage was higher than that of same-race Hispanics but lower than that of same-race Whites. Their probability of separation was similar to that of same-race Whites. Based on these patterns, we infer that White–Black cohabitations may act as substitutes to marriage and that White–Hispanic cohabitations take on a meaning between trial marriage and substitute to marriage. These findings are consistent with conclusions by Choi and Goldberg (2020), who examine fertility within the context of interracial cohabitation.

Third, for most groups, premarital cohabitation tended to be positively associated with subsequent marital instability – a pattern that is commonly attributed to the fact that (a) those who cohabit prior to marriage are more socioeconomically disadvantaged than their peers who transitioned directly to marriage and (b) those who cohabited prior to marriage are more likely to forgo behaviors, such as pooling resources or making joint investments, that stabilize the marriage (Smock 2000). This finding is consistent with studies examining earlier marriage cohorts (Kamp Dush, Cohan, and Amato 2004; Smock 2000; Rhoades, Stanley, and Markman 2009) but inconsistent with those examining more recent marriage cohorts (Manning and Cohen 2012; Manning, Smock, and Kuperberg 2021). To ensure that we had adequate numbers of interracial couples, we pooled data from several waves of the NSFG, and our samples included a sizable number of respondents who belong to earlier marriage cohorts. In supplementary analyses, we restricted our sample to a more recent cohort of women. Like Manning and colleagues (2012, 2021), we found that the association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability largely disappeared (Appendix Table A-7).

Fourth, our findings illustrated that the association between premarital cohabitation and the risk of marital disruption varied by couples' joint race/ethnicity. The association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability was stronger for same-race Whites and same-race Hispanics and weaker among same-race Black couples. This may reflect differential selectivity into same-race Black cohabitations. Specifically, a higher share of same-race Black couples cohabit; thus, cohabitation may be less negatively selective for same-race Blacks than for same-race Whites and Hispanics. The

results for same-race White and Black couples were consistent with findings by Phillips and Sweeney (2005) and Hypothesis 2, but the results for same-race Hispanics were not. This disparity likely emerges because our study examines all Hispanics instead of just Mexican Americans. Selectivity into and the social significance of cohabitation vary across Latin American countries (Esteve, Lesthaeghe, and Lopez-Gay 2012). Our study also observes cohabiting behavior for a later cohort of women than Phillips and Sweeney (2005), who use the 1995 NSFG. Latin America underwent the second demographic transition after the 1990s, and the significance of cohabitation has changed significantly over time. The share of 'old' cohabitations, which serve as a substitute to legal marriages, has decreased in Latin America (Esteve, Lesthaeghe, and Lopez-Garcia 2012).

Fifth, the association between premarital cohabitation and marital instability also varied between White–Black and White–Hispanic couples. Deviating from the general pattern and Hypothesis 3C, White–Black couples who cohabited before marriage had lower separation probabilities than White–Black couples in direct marriages. This likely reflects the fact that, for White–Black couples, cohabitation serves as a substitute to marriage. The subset of White–Black couples who transition from cohabitation to marriage may be a select group with a lower risk of marital disruption. They may be unusually pro-nuptial, have kin with favorable attitudes toward intermarriage, or have long-term joint investments. By contrast, and in line with the general pattern, White–Hispanic couples who cohabited prior to marriage are more likely than their counterparts who transitioned directly into marriage to separate. Nonetheless, the positive association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability for White–Hispanic couples is weaker than for same-race White and Hispanic couples. A weaker association may emerge because White–Hispanic couples may also experience disapproval toward their union for having crossed ethnic barriers to marry. As such, the winnowing process may be more pronounced for White–Hispanic couples than for their same-race White and Hispanic couples. White–Hispanic couples may be a less negatively selected group than the same-race White and Hispanic peers, which explains why the association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital instability is weaker for White–Hispanic couples than for same-race White and Hispanic couples.

Like all prior work, our study has a few limitations. First, we did not have sufficiently large numbers of direct marriages involving White–Black partners to disaggregate the marriages according to the gender and race of each spouse (e.g., White wife–Black husband versus Black wife–White husband couplings). Prior work has shown that the behavior and outcomes of interracial couples varied according to the gender and race of the spouse (Choi and Goldberg 2018; Qian and Lichter 2021). Similarly, we considered restricting our analyses to marriages within ten years of the date of interview, but we could not do so because of small sample sizes. Instead, we ran several supplementary analyses and found our results to be consistent in terms of the direction

and size of our coefficients. Given the robustness of our results, we opted for the most inclusive sample.

Second, we restricted our study to first premarital cohabitations and first marriages. Given that the median age of first marriages is in the late 20s in recent years, a large share of individuals may not marry their first cohabiting partner (Payne 2021). A younger age at marriage is also associated with higher disruption rates (Lehrer 2008). Thus, we may understate transitions into marriage and overstate disruption rates. To test for this possibility, we ran our models restricting our analyses to those who started living with their partner or husband after they turned 25 years of age (see Appendix Tables A-14 and A-15). Results from these supplementary analyses, including the negative association between premarital cohabitation and marital disruption for White–Black couples, were robust. The only noteworthy exception is that the association between premarital cohabitation and marital disruption for all other groups largely disappears once we add this age restriction.

Third, prior work commonly attributes differences between interracial and same-race couples to attitudes about intermarriage (e.g., Choi and Goldberg 2018; Qian and Lichter 2021). Retrospective histories seldom collect attitudinal data due to recall bias; thus, we were unable to empirically test this explanation. Instead, we follow the long-standing tradition in demography of looking at behavioral patterns, inferring the social significance of cohabitation, and interpreting our findings based on prior work describing the behaviors of cohabiting couples who assign certain social significance to cohabitation. Future work should make efforts to consider differences in (a) partners' views about the viability of their union at the time of cohabitation and marriage and (b) the difficulties couples face as a result of their partner choices.

Finally, there was a routing error in marital dissolution questions in the 2002 NSFG, and many respondents were not asked questions about when and how their marriages ended. As a result, the 2002 NSFG included more imputed values than later waves with respect to when the marriage ended. There is no evidence that dissolution data were missing at higher rates for interracial marriages than for same-race marriages. Furthermore, many studies have productively used the 2002 NSFG to examine marital dissolution (e.g., Manning and Cohen 2012; Reinhold 2010; Schwartz and Han 2014). We included 2002 NSFG data to ensure that our sample included sufficient numbers of interracial couples. Nonetheless, robustness checks to using only the 2006–2019 NSFG obtained similar results, with the exception of statistical significance due to the relatively small number of interracial marriages.

Notwithstanding these limitations, our study offers valuable insights about the social significance of interracial cohabitations and the implications for the stability of interracial unions. Challenges of crossing racial boundaries appear to generate a greater need for White–Black interracial couples to cohabit prior to marriage. With relatively high

separation rates and low marriage rates, cohabitation eliminates larger shares of White–Black couples. Yet once they transition from cohabitation to marriage, their union tends to be relatively stable – their marital disruption rates are only slightly higher than same-race White couples who cohabited prior to marriage and lower than White–Black couples who transitioned directly to marriage. By contrast, White–Hispanic couples are more likely than their same-race counterparts, but less likely than White–Black couples, to choose cohabitation. With relatively low separation rates and high marriage rates, cohabitation appears to eliminate smaller shares of White–Hispanic relative to White–Black couples. Partly because entry into marriage via cohabitation is a less selective process for White–Hispanic than White–Black couples, premarital cohabitation is associated with higher marital instability for White–Hispanic couples – albeit weaker than for their same-race White and Hispanic counterparts. The distinct salience of barriers to intermarriage may have created variation in the union trajectories of interracial couples.

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Appendix

Table A-1: Sample restrictions

	N
A. First union	
Women in 2002, 2006–2019 NSFG	42,917
Restrictions	
Never in a union	13,396
Not in five groups	3,765
End date earlier than the start date	12
Age of union <15	419
Missing key covariates	154
Total	25,171
B. First premarital cohabitation	
Women in 2002, 2006–2019 NSFG	42,917
Restrictions	
Did not cohabit prior to first marriage	21,489
Not in the five groups	2,733
End date earlier than the start date	19
Age of coresidence <15	354
Missing key covariates	47
Total	18,275
C. First marriage	
Women in 2002, 2006–2019 NSFG	42,917
Restrictions	
Never cohabited	23,100
Not in the five groups	2,410
End date earlier than the start date	66
Age of marriage <15	0
Missing key covariates	76
Total	17,265

Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Note: Numbers are not weighted.

Table A-2: Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression models predicting outcome of cohabitations, all first premarital cohabitations versus first premarital cohabitations formed within ten years of date of interview

	Married			Separated		
	exp(β)	95% CI		exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.48	0.41	0.55	1.01	0.88	1.15
Same-race Hispanic	0.88	0.75	1.03	0.80	0.67	0.95
White–Black	0.59	0.43	0.81	1.28	0.99	1.65
White–Hispanic	0.89	0.75	1.06	0.94	0.78	1.12
Duration	1.14	1.12	1.17	1.12	1.09	1.14
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.93	0.89	0.96	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*dur	0.85	0.82	0.89	0.95	0.91	0.98
White–Black*dur	0.92	0.85	0.99	0.94	0.88	0.99
White–Hisp*dur	0.97	0.92	1.03	1.06	1.01	1.11
First cohabitations formed within ten years of date of interview						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.55	0.43	0.70	0.93	0.77	1.12
Same-race Hispanic	1.01	0.79	1.27	0.85	0.66	1.09
White–Black	0.64	0.37	1.09	0.87	0.62	1.22
White–Hispanic	0.79	0.58	1.07	0.80	0.62	1.03
Duration	1.40	1.35	1.46	1.24	1.20	1.29
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.88	0.81	0.94	1.04	0.98	1.10
HH*dur	0.84	0.79	0.90	0.95	0.89	1.01
White–Black*dur	0.95	0.81	1.11	1.00	0.91	1.11
White–Hisp*dur	0.97	0.88	1.08	1.09	0.99	1.19

Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted and stratified by survey year. Results from main text are from Table 2 in the main text.

Table A-3: Discrete-time logistic regression model predicting marital instability, all first marriages versus all first marriages formed within ten years of date of interview

	exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.51	1.25	1.83
Same-race Hispanic	0.84	0.67	1.03
White–Black	1.54	0.89	2.66
White–Hispanic	1.35	1.05	1.74
Premarital (direct)	1.17	1.04	1.32
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.92	0.73	1.16
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.01	0.81	1.26
White–Black*premar	0.71	0.37	1.37
White–Hisp*premar	0.94	0.69	1.28
Marriages Formed within Ten Years of Interview			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	2.14	1.52	3.01
Same-race Hispanic	1.00	0.70	1.43
White–Black	4.44	2.37	8.33
White–Hispanic	1.15	0.77	1.72
Premarital (direct)	1.22	1.00	1.48
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.87	0.59	1.29
Same-race Hisp*premar	0.96	0.67	1.39
White–Black*premar	0.28	0.12	0.66
White–Hisp*premar	1.13	0.70	1.82

Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted and stratified by survey year. Results from main text are from Table 4 in the main text.

Table A-4: Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression models predicting outcome of first cohabitation, all versus age restrictions (15–44)

	Married vs. Remain			Separated vs. Remain		
	exp(β)	95% CI		exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.48	0.41	0.55	1.01	0.88	1.15
Same-race Hispanic	0.88	0.75	1.03	0.80	0.67	0.95
White–Black	0.59	0.43	0.81	1.28	0.99	1.65
White–Hispanic	0.89	0.75	1.06	0.94	0.78	1.12
Duration	1.14	1.12	1.17	1.12	1.09	1.14
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.93	0.89	0.96	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*dur	0.85	0.82	0.89	0.95	0.91	0.98
White–Black*dur	0.92	0.85	0.99	0.94	0.88	0.99
White–Hisp*dur	0.97	0.92	1.03	1.06	1.01	1.11
Age: 15–44						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.49	0.42	0.57	1.01	0.89	1.16
Same-race Hispanic	0.92	0.79	1.08	0.82	0.68	0.97
White–Black	0.58	0.42	0.81	1.28	0.98	1.66
White–Hispanic	0.95	0.79	1.14	0.97	0.81	1.16
Duration	1.16	1.14	1.18	1.13	1.10	1.15
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.92	0.89	0.96	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*dur	0.85	0.82	0.88	0.94	0.90	0.98
White–Black*dur	0.91	0.84	0.99	0.93	0.87	0.99
White–Hisp*dur	0.95	0.90	1.01	1.04	0.99	1.10

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted and stratified by survey year.
Results from main text are from Table 2 in the main text.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-5: Discrete-time logistic regression models predicting odds of marital disruption, all versus age restrictions (15–44)

	exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.51	1.25	1.83
Same-race Hispanic	0.84	0.67	1.03
White–Black	1.54	0.89	2.66
White–Hispanic	1.35	1.05	1.74
Premarital (direct)	1.17	1.04	1.32
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.92	0.73	1.16
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.01	0.81	1.26
White–Black*premar	0.71	0.37	1.37
White–Hisp*premar	0.94	0.69	1.28
Age: 15–44			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.49	1.21	1.82
Same-race Hispanic	0.85	0.68	1.07
White–Black	1.49	0.83	2.66
White–Hispanic	1.31	1.03	1.67
Premarital (direct)	1.17	1.03	1.33
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.98	0.78	1.25
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.00	0.79	1.25
White–Black*premar	0.79	0.40	1.59
White–Hisp*premar	1.00	0.74	1.36

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted and stratified by survey year. Results from main text are from Table 4 in the main text.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-6: Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression models predicting outcome of cohabitations, all versus recent cohabitations (after 2008)

	Married			Separated		
	exp(β)	95% CI		exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.48	0.41	0.55	1.01	0.88	1.15
Same-race Hispanic	0.88	0.75	1.03	0.80	0.67	0.95
White–Black	0.59	0.43	0.81	1.28	0.99	1.65
White–Hispanic	0.89	0.75	1.06	0.94	0.78	1.12
Duration	1.14	1.12	1.17	1.12	1.09	1.14
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.93	0.89	0.96	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*dur	0.85	0.82	0.89	0.95	0.91	0.98
White–Black*dur	0.92	0.85	0.99	0.94	0.88	0.99
White–Hisp*dur	0.97	0.92	1.03	1.06	1.01	1.11
Recent cohabitations: After 2008						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.44	0.30	0.64	1.23	0.92	1.64
Same-race Hispanic	0.78	0.54	1.12	1.05	0.75	1.48
White–Black	0.29	0.12	0.71	0.85	0.49	1.45
White–Hispanic	0.73	0.44	1.22	0.87	0.61	1.23
Duration	1.32	1.24	1.41	1.11	1.04	1.17
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.97	0.84	1.12	1.11	1.02	1.21
HH*dur	0.83	0.75	0.93	1.05	0.95	1.16
White–Black*dur	1.32	1.03	1.69	1.07	0.90	1.27
White–Hisp*dur	1.00	0.86	1.16	1.11	0.97	1.28

Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted and stratified by survey year. This is an abridged version of Table 2.

Table A-7: Discrete-time logistic regression model predicting marital instability, all versus recent marriages (after 2008)

	exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.51	1.25	1.83
Same-race Hispanic	0.84	0.67	1.03
White–Black	1.54	0.89	2.66
White–Hispanic	1.35	1.05	1.74
Premarital (direct)	1.17	1.04	1.32
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.92	0.73	1.16
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.01	0.81	1.26
White–Black*premar	0.71	0.37	1.37
White–Hisp*premar	0.94	0.69	1.28
Recent marriages: Formed in 2008 or Later			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.88	1.02	3.49
Same-race Hispanic	1.20	0.59	2.44
White–Black	6.27	2.42	16.25
White–Hispanic	0.52	0.22	1.22
Premarital (direct)	1.05	0.70	1.57
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	1.07	0.54	2.13
Same-race Hisp*premar	0.75	0.38	1.49
White–Black*premar	0.16	0.04	0.63
White–Hisp*premar	2.02	0.77	5.32

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted. Results for the main text are from Table 4.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

We chose 2008 based on Manning, Smock, and Kuperberg (2021), which shows that the association between premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital disruption has disappeared starting in 2008.

Table A-8: Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression models predicting outcome of first cohabitation, NSFG versus NLSY97

	Married vs. Remain			Separated vs. Remain		
	exp(β)	95% CI		exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.48	0.41	0.55	1.01	0.88	1.15
Same-race Hispanic	0.88	0.75	1.03	0.80	0.67	0.95
White–Black	0.59	0.43	0.81	1.28	0.99	1.65
White–Hispanic	0.89	0.75	1.06	0.94	0.78	1.12
Duration	1.14	1.12	1.17	1.12	1.09	1.14
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.93	0.89	0.96	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*dur	0.85	0.82	0.89	0.95	0.91	0.98
White–Black*dur	0.92	0.85	0.99	0.94	0.88	0.99
White–Hisp*dur	0.97	0.92	1.03	1.06	1.01	1.11
NLSY 97						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.59	0.51	0.69	2.51	2.01	3.12
Same-race Hispanic	0.85	0.71	1.03	1.17	0.85	1.62
White–Black	0.64	0.48	0.85	2.34	1.32	4.17
White–Hispanic	1.02	0.88	1.19	1.32	0.92	1.89
Duration	0.99	0.98	1.01	0.92	0.89	0.96
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	1.00	0.97	1.03	0.99	0.94	1.04
HH*dur	0.95	0.92	0.98	1.00	0.94	1.06
White–Black*dur	1.03	0.98	1.08	0.86	0.72	1.02
White–Hisp*dur	0.97	0.93	1.01	0.97	0.89	1.06

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth, and National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (1997). For the NLSY97, sample includes 4,685 first cohabitations contributing 19,905 duration-years.
Notes: Analyses are weighted and stratified by survey year. Results from main text are from Table 2 in the main text.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-9: Discrete-time logistic regression models predicting odds of marital disruption, NSFG versus NLSY97

	exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.51	1.25	1.83
Same-race Hispanic	0.84	0.67	1.03
White–Black	1.54	0.89	2.66
White–Hispanic	1.35	1.05	1.74
Premarital (direct)	1.17	1.04	1.32
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.92	0.73	1.16
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.01	0.81	1.26
White–Black*premar	0.71	0.37	1.37
White–Hisp*premar	0.94	0.69	1.28
NLSY97			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.35	1.06	1.71
Same-race Hispanic	0.98	0.75	1.30
White–Black	2.76	1.74	4.38
White–Hispanic	1.38	1.01	1.89
Premarital (direct)	1.31	1.12	1.54
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.88	0.64	1.21
Same-race Hisp*premar	0.93	0.65	1.34
White–Black*premar	0.40	0.25	0.65
White–Hisp*premar	0.73	0.49	1.08

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth, and National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (1997). For the NLSY97, sample includes 4,138 first marriages contributing 37,666 duration-years.
Notes: Results for the main text are from Table 4.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-10: Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression models predicting outcome of first cohabitation

	Married vs. Remain			Separated vs. Remain		
	exp(β)	95% CI		exp(β)	95% CI	
Baseline Model						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.45	0.40	0.51	0.97	0.86	1.09
Same-race Hispanic	0.66	0.58	0.75	0.61	0.52	0.70
White–Black	0.51	0.37	0.69	1.33	1.03	1.72
White–Hispanic	0.79	0.67	0.94	0.98	0.83	1.16
Duration	1.08	1.06	1.10	1.11	1.09	1.13
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.98	0.95	1.01	1.01	0.98	1.04
HH*dur	0.88	0.86	0.92	0.93	0.90	0.96
White–Black*dur	0.96	0.90	1.03	0.92	0.87	0.98
White–Hisp*dur	1.01	0.96	1.06	1.05	1.00	1.11
Full Model (Main Text)						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.48	0.41	0.55	1.01	0.88	1.15
Same-race Hispanic	0.88	0.75	1.03	0.80	0.67	0.95
White–Black	0.59	0.43	0.81	1.28	0.99	1.65
White–Hispanic	0.89	0.75	1.06	0.94	0.78	1.12
Duration	1.14	1.12	1.17	1.12	1.09	1.14
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.93	0.89	0.96	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*dur	0.85	0.82	0.89	0.95	0.91	0.98
White–Black*dur	0.92	0.85	0.99	0.94	0.88	0.99
White–Hisp*dur	0.97	0.92	1.03	1.06	1.01	1.11

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Results from main text are from Table 2 in the main text.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-11: Predicted probabilities of marrying, separating, and cohabiting prior to marriage by couple's joint race/ethnicity (ten years)

	WW	BB	HH	WB	WH
Year 1					
Remain in cohabitation	0.79	0.85	0.82	0.81	0.81
Marriage	0.13	0.07	0.12	0.08	0.12
Separation	0.08	0.09	0.07	0.11	0.08
Year 2					
Remain in cohabitation	0.61	0.70	0.66	0.66	0.63
Marriage	0.24	0.13	0.21	0.15	0.22
Separation	0.15	0.17	0.13	0.20	0.15
Year 3					
Remain in cohabitation	0.46	0.58	0.54	0.52	0.48
Marriage	0.33	0.18	0.28	0.21	0.30
Separation	0.21	0.25	0.18	0.27	0.21
Year 4					
Remain in cohabitation	0.34	0.46	0.44	0.42	0.36
Marriage	0.41	0.22	0.34	0.25	0.37
Separation	0.26	0.31	0.22	0.33	0.27
Year 5					
Remain in cohabitation	0.24	0.37	0.36	0.33	0.26
Marriage	0.46	0.25	0.38	0.29	0.42
Separation	0.30	0.38	0.26	0.38	0.32
Year 6					
Remain in cohabitation	0.17	0.29	0.30	0.26	0.19
Marriage	0.51	0.28	0.42	0.31	0.46
Separation	0.32	0.43	0.29	0.42	0.36
Year 7					
Remain in cohabitation	0.12	0.23	0.25	0.21	0.13
Marriage	0.54	0.30	0.44	0.34	0.49
Separation	0.34	0.47	0.31	0.46	0.39
Year 8					
Remain in cohabitation	0.08	0.17	0.20	0.16	0.09
Marriage	0.56	0.32	0.46	0.36	0.51
Separation	0.36	0.51	0.33	0.48	0.41
Year 9					
Remain in cohabitation	0.05	0.13	0.17	0.13	0.05
Marriage	0.58	0.33	0.48	0.37	0.52
Separation	0.37	0.54	0.35	0.50	0.42
Year 10					
Remain in cohabitation	0.03	0.10	0.14	0.10	0.03
Marriage	0.59	0.34	0.49	0.38	0.53
Separation	0.38	0.56	0.37	0.52	0.44

Notes: Predicted probabilities computed from coefficients from Table 2 and population means.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-12: Discrete-time logistic regression models predicting odds of marital disruption, baseline versus full model

	exp(β)	95% CI	
Baseline			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.70	1.42	2.04
Same-race Hispanic	0.81	0.69	0.95
White–Black	2.25	1.39	3.67
White–Hispanic	1.32	1.03	1.69
Premarital (direct)	1.11	0.99	1.24
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.96	0.77	1.20
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.11	0.89	1.38
White–Black*premar	0.56	0.31	1.03
White–Hisp*premar	1.04	0.77	1.41
Full Model (Main Text)			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.51	1.25	1.83
Same-race Hispanic	0.84	0.67	1.03
White–Black	1.54	0.89	2.66
White–Hispanic	1.35	1.05	1.74
Premarital (direct)	1.17	1.04	1.32
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.92	0.73	1.16
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.01	0.81	1.26
White–Black*premar	0.71	0.37	1.37
White–Hisp*premar	0.94	0.69	1.28

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted. Results for the main text are from Table 4.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-13: Predicted probabilities of separating by couple's joint race/ethnicity and premarital cohabitation (ten years)

	WW		BB		HH		WB		WH	
Duration	Direct	Premarital	Direct	Premarital	Direct	Premarital	Direct	Premarital	Direct	Premarital
1	0.028	0.032	0.041	0.044	0.023	0.027	0.042	0.035	0.037	0.041
2	0.059	0.069	0.087	0.093	0.050	0.058	0.089	0.074	0.079	0.086
3	0.093	0.107	0.135	0.145	0.079	0.092	0.139	0.116	0.123	0.134
4	0.128	0.147	0.184	0.197	0.109	0.127	0.190	0.159	0.169	0.183
5	0.164	0.188	0.233	0.249	0.139	0.162	0.240	0.202	0.214	0.232
6	**0.198**	**0.226**	**0.279**	**0.297**	**0.169**	**0.196**	**0.287**	**0.243**	**0.257**	**0.277**
7	0.229	0.261	0.321	0.340	0.196	0.227	0.329	0.280	0.296	0.319
8	0.257	0.292	0.357	0.378	0.221	0.254	0.366	0.312	0.330	0.355
9	0.281	0.318	0.386	0.409	0.241	0.277	0.396	0.340	0.358	0.384
10	0.299	0.339	0.410	0.434	0.258	0.296	0.420	0.362	0.381	0.408

Notes: Predicted probabilities computed from coefficients from Table 4 and population means.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-14: Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression models predicting outcome of first cohabitation, all versus women who transitioned into cohabitation after age 25

	Married vs. Remain			Separated vs. Remain		
	exp(β)	95% CI		exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.48	0.41	0.55	1.01	0.88	1.15
Same-race Hispanic	0.88	0.75	1.03	0.80	0.67	0.95
White–Black	0.59	0.43	0.81	1.28	0.99	1.65
White–Hispanic	0.89	0.75	1.06	0.94	0.78	1.12
Duration	1.14	1.12	1.17	1.12	1.09	1.14
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.93	0.89	0.96	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*dur	0.85	0.82	0.89	0.95	0.91	0.98
White–Black*dur	0.92	0.85	0.99	0.94	0.88	0.99
White–Hisp*dur	0.97	0.92	1.03	1.06	1.01	1.11
Cohabited after 25						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.54	0.39	0.76	1.41	0.94	2.12
Same-race Hispanic	0.65	0.44	0.96	1.77	0.99	3.16
White–Black	0.49	0.25	0.98	1.64	0.84	3.17
White–Hispanic	0.79	0.53	1.18	1.43	0.88	2.35
Duration	1.24	1.18	1.31	1.18	1.10	1.25
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.83	0.76	0.90	1.00	0.92	1.09
HH*dur	0.90	0.82	0.99	0.92	0.83	1.03
White–Black*dur	0.86	0.75	0.98	0.94	0.77	1.13
White–Hisp*dur	0.96	0.84	1.10	1.09	0.95	1.25

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted. Abridged Table 2.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-15: Discrete-time logistic regression models predicting the odds of marital disruption: 15–50 vs. 25–50

	exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.51	1.25	1.83
Same-race Hispanic	0.84	0.67	1.03
White–Black	1.54	0.89	2.66
White–Hispanic	1.35	1.05	1.74
Premarital (direct)	1.17	1.04	1.32
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.92	0.73	1.16
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.01	0.81	1.26
White–Black*premar	0.71	0.37	1.37
White–Hisp*premar	0.94	0.69	1.28
Age: 25–50			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.51	1.24	1.84
Same-race Hispanic	0.85	0.69	1.06
White–Black	1.55	0.89	2.71
White–Hispanic	1.36	1.04	1.76
Premarital (direct)	1.16	1.03	1.32
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.92	0.73	1.16
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.01	0.81	1.27
White–Black*premar	0.69	0.35	1.34
White–Hisp*premar	0.96	0.70	1.32

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted. Abridged Table 4.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-16: Discrete-time multinomial logistic regression models predicting outcome of first cohabitation, all versus husband also never married

	Married vs. Remain			Separated vs. Remain		
	exp(β)	95% CI		exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.48	0.41	0.55	1.01	0.88	1.15
Same-race Hispanic	0.88	0.75	1.03	0.80	0.67	0.95
White–Black	0.59	0.43	0.81	1.28	0.99	1.65
White–Hispanic	0.89	0.75	1.06	0.94	0.78	1.12
Duration	1.14	1.12	1.17	1.12	1.09	1.14
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.93	0.89	0.96	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*dur	0.85	0.82	0.89	0.95	0.91	0.98
White–Black*dur	0.92	0.85	0.99	0.94	0.88	0.99
White–Hisp*dur	0.97	0.92	1.03	1.06	1.01	1.11
Husband: Never Married						
Couple's joint race (WW)						
Same-race Black	0.51	0.43	0.60	1.00	0.87	1.15
Same-race Hispanic	0.96	0.81	1.14	0.78	0.65	0.94
White–Black	0.65	0.46	0.92	1.24	0.94	1.64
White–Hispanic	0.92	0.77	1.12	0.89	0.74	1.08
Duration	1.16	1.14	1.18	1.12	1.09	1.14
Couple*duration						
BB*dur	0.91	0.87	0.94	1.01	0.98	1.05
HH*dur	0.84	0.81	0.87	0.94	0.91	0.98
White–Black*dur	0.90	0.83	0.97	0.95	0.89	1.02
White–Hisp*dur	0.96	0.91	1.02	1.07	1.01	1.13

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted. Abridged Table 2.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-17: Discrete-time logistic regression models predicting odds of marital disruption, all versus husband are also in first marriage

	exp(β)	95% CI	
Main Text			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.51	1.25	1.83
Same-race Hispanic	0.84	0.67	1.03
White–Black	1.54	0.89	2.66
White–Hispanic	1.35	1.05	1.74
Premarital (direct)	1.17	1.04	1.32
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.92	0.73	1.16
Same-race Hisp*premar	1.01	0.81	1.26
White–Black*premar	0.71	0.37	1.37
White–Hisp*premar	0.94	0.69	1.28
Husband: Never Married			
Couple's joint race (WW)			
Same-race Black	1.55	1.27	1.91
Same-race Hispanic	0.82	0.66	1.03
White–Black	1.72	0.92	3.22
White–Hispanic	1.46	1.12	1.90
Premarital (direct)	1.21	1.06	1.38
Couple*premarital			
Same-race Black*premar	0.89	0.70	1.14
Same-race Hisp*premar	0.97	0.77	1.23
White–Black*premar	0.63	0.29	1.35
White–Hisp*premar	0.80	0.58	1.12

Source: 2002 and 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Analyses are weighted. Abridged Table 4.

- WW denotes White women in same-race marriages.
- BB denotes Black women in same-race marriages.
- HH denotes Hispanic women in same-race marriages.
- WB denotes women in White–Black marriages.
- WH denotes women in White–Hispanic marriages.

Table A-18: Sample characteristics by couples' joint race/ethnicity and premarital experience

	Premarital cohabitation					Direct marriage				
	WW	BB	HH	WB	WH	WW	BB	HH	WB	WH
	5,826	1,359	1,733	242	792	3,936	873	1,920	82	502
Mother's degree										
Less than HS	13	29	65	16	18	15	30	69	21	22
HS graduate	40	33	17	37	34	39	34	16	29	36
Some college	24	20	10	25	27	23	17	7	24	22
College graduate	21	15	6	20	19	22	17	6	18	19
Missing	2	3	3	1	2	1	2	1	8	1
% Foreign-born	4	8	56	6	14	6	27	69	17	21
Family structure										
Two parents	67	43	65	58	61	79	60	80	70	69
Stepfamily	15	14	11	15	12	8	8	5	12	11
Single parent	13	30	14	20	19	10	22	12	13	16
Other	6	12	10	6	8	3	9	4	4	5
Education										
Less than HS	9	13	38	13	12	6	8	37	18	8
HS graduate	17	24	25	16	16	18	23	24	9	16
Some college	33	38	26	46	42	30	35	24	36	32
College graduate	41	25	11	25	31	45	34	15	37	44
Religion raised										
None	13	3	4	15	14	5	1	2	3	6
Catholic	30	9	78	15	45	23	11	79	17	46
Protestant	52	84	16	62	35	60	79	14	67	41
Other	6	4	2	8	6	11	9	5	13	8
Age of marriage										
15–19	11	5	23	8	15	25	16	35	21	23
20–24	40	38	38	38	42	50	43	44	44	41
25–29	33	32	24	34	31	19	25	16	22	29
30–34	16	25	15	20	13	6	16	5	13	7
% Child prior to mar	6	17	14	14	7	4	21	7	6	7
% Husb: kid	16	42	20	38	18	7	27	12	26	8
% Husb: prev. mar.	17	19	12	24	17	9	14	9	16	8
Year of marriage										
Before 1990	10	11	10	3	11	29	23	21	25	14
1990–1999	36	31	32	31	31	37	34	44	18	39
2000–2009	40	42	42	47	41	27	36	26	45	37
2010–2019	14	16	16	20	17	7	7	8	13	10
Age differentials										
Wife is older	17	16	18	16	16	12	16	14	15	17
Husb older: 0–1 years	27	25	23	27	22	32	24	25	26	32
Husb older: 2–5 years	36	31	38	28	37	40	34	35	27	31
Husb older: 6+ years	19	25	19	26	23	14	22	22	25	17
Missing	1	3	2	3	2	2	5	3	8	4

Source: 2002, 2006–2019 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).
Notes: Sample includes 17,265 first marriages. Percentages are weighted; frequencies are not weighted.