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Abstract

Parents' age at first marriage may be associated with their offspring's marital timing desires and the timing of their own first unions. Understanding the determinants of marital timing is critical because it has implications for marital functioning and divorce; an earlier age at marriage is associated with increased risk of divorce. We examine the intergenerational transmission of marital timing desires and age at first marriage in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 cohort and 1979 Child and Young Adult cohort (biological offspring of the 1979 cohort). Analyses showed that maternal age at marriage is associated with offspring desires for age at marriage, but interacts with an indicator of maternal marriage end, such that a maternal marriage end attenuates the association between maternal marital timing and offspring desired age for marriage. Additionally, maternal marriage age is significantly associated with the transition into marriage for offspring, but only marginally associated with the timing of transition into cohabitation. Finally, offspring desires for marriage timing are not associated with the timing of transition to marriage once offspring have entered a cohabiting union, but maternal marriage age is, suggesting that the association between maternal marriage age and offspring timing of marriage is replicated through pathways other than only formulation and enactment of marital timing desires.

The Intergenerational Transmission of Marital Expectations and Age at First Marriage: Evidence from Mothers and Children in the NLSY79 and NLSY79 Young Adults

Marriage is increasingly delayed in the lives of many American individuals (Payne, 2015). However, some individuals still choose to marry at younger ages, sometimes so young that they place themselves at risk of relationship dissolution (Lehrer, 2008). Understanding what might encourage one to marry at younger ages is informative to premarital education and marriage intervention work. As desires for younger marriage can be used to predict early marriage, understanding driving forces behind desires might be especially informative in identifying those at risk for young marriage and preparing them for success whenever they choose to wed. And as marriage is certainly not the only, and often not the first, serious relationship status many young people may engage in (Manning, Brown, & Payne, 2014), understanding the predictors of cohabitation timing are also useful in preparing youth for healthy, fulfilling relationships.

We used data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 cohort and the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 Child and Young Adult cohort – the biological offspring of the women of the 1979 cohort – to examine intergenerational transmission of the age of entry into first union, both directly and through desires for union timing. We examine how other context and personal characteristics of the youth, such as witnessing their mother's divorce, might alter the association between mothers' behaviors and offspring desires.

Marriage among Youth

Age at marriage is a strong predictor of the success of that union (Lehrer, 2008). Those that marry at young ages, particularly in their teenage years, are more prone to divorce than those who marry at older ages (Bramlett & Mosher, 2001). This association has been explained in a

variety of reasons, ranging from immaturity or limited knowledge and skills to perform expected marital roles when one marries at a young age, to the larger pool of alternative partners available for those who are still young when leaving a first marriage (Lehrer, 2008).

The association between timing and success of marriage has played out in research for many years, while median first marriage age had increased in recent decades and has now reached a historical high (Payne, 2015) at 29.2 for men and 27.5 for women in 2013. However, even with this unprecedented rise in the age at first marriage, some young adults still tie the knot much earlier than the average. And even for those who postpone the actual exchange of vows, many youth are still entering unions, cohabitations in this case, at similar ages to those in the past (Manning, et al., 2014). This has been considered as one reason for the "premarital cohabitation" effect observed in both recent and earlier cohorts—those couples who cohabit first but later go on to marry experience more instability and dissolution than do those that transition straight to marriage without a period of living together unwed, though the association appears to have weakened or disappeared for some more recent marriages (Kamp Dush, Cohan, & Amato, 2003; Manning & Cohen, 2013). Perhaps, as Kuperberg (2014) posits, those who cohabit before marriage started living together at young ages, and for the same reasons that young marriages are unstable, these marriages that results from early cohabiting unions might still carry the risks conferred by the young age at which the union was initially formed.

With these risks in mind, and with the burgeoning opportunities present for single young adults, why do some individuals still form unions of either type at young ages? One excellent predictor of age at marriage is, perhaps unsurprisingly, desires or expectations for young marriage while still in adolescence and young adulthood (Modell, 1980; Willoughby, 2012). Therefore, to understand why some individuals marry or cohabit for the first time at "risky" ages,

we might seek to understand what drives such desires. Desires for age at marriage are predicted by a variety of personal and contextual characteristics. For instance, race may play a role for both cultural reasons and structural limitations that may be imposed on those of minority racial status (Cherlin, 1998; Crissey, 2005).

Other individuals may formulate their desires for marriage based on the experiences they have as adolescents and young adults. Those who are dating a partner or who are already cohabitating may be anxious to transition to marriage, particularly among women (Huang, Smock, Manning, & Bergstrom-Lynch, 2011). Crissey (2005) found some association between relationship status and marital timing desires, though the association did not explain away racial differences. And even those who are cohabitating and who desire to marry soon may still be cognizant of factors, such as financial or employment concerns, that might limit their ability to marry when they would like to (Gibson-Davis, Edin, & McLanahan, 2005).

Family of origin experiences may also play a salient role in shaping the marital timing desires of youth. Prior work has suggested that family structure may be readily associated with the marital hopes and plans of youth, with step-families, single parents, and non-parental households all placing a unique twist on the marital plans of young adults (Michael & Tuma, 1985; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1989). However, it may go beyond simply what family experiences individuals have had and how that shapes their own desires, but young adults may also seek to replicate when their parents formed unions and families. As these experiences of parents may not necessarily have been a positive experience, however, it is also possible that youth may try to learn from their parents' "mistakes" and form a path different than their parents did. While very little work has attempted to associate age at first marriage with that of parents, no prior work has examined how desires for union timing might be associated with the timing in

which parents entered a first union. While the behaviors of both parents are conceptually important considerations for the development of marital timing desires, because of data limitations, this study focuses only on mothers' marital histories and association with children's desires and outcomes.

If desires for age at first marriage may be formulated based on experiencing in previous generations, it would not be the first family pattern to be observed to be transmitted from parent to offspring. Indeed, there is a robust literature examining the intergenerational transmission of divorce (Amato, 1996). The consistent finding, that children of divorce are more likely than those from two-parent married families to see their own marriage dissolve, has been suggested to take place through a number of potential pathways of transmission. For one, children of divorce may experience financial strain from their parent's transition out of marriage, which then plays a role in their later union experiences through the pathway of low economic resources; not all work has supported this hypothesis, however (Wolfinger, 2000).

More evidence instead points to a theory of learning, either that children learn poor relationship and conflict management skills from their divorcing parents which they then replicate in their own relationships (to little success), or that they learn an attitude towards marriage and commitment that means that they are more likely to see divorce as a viable alternative to staying in a marriage that is experiencing turmoil or stress (Amato & DeBoer, 2001). Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1969) shows how parental actions may drive the actions of children through modeling that children witness and that shapes their later actions and behaviors. The Linked Lives tenant of Life Course Theory (Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003) would also suggest that those who are related would share similar experiences, both because of

their environmental experiences that they may both have and direct relations to each other though which they may model or replicate behaviors.

While many children may not witness their mother's first marriage first hand or at an age when the timing means anything to them, children or adolescents may hear about the details of their mother's marriage through family stories, either from mothers or other relatives. Parents may also formulate ideas about "best age of marriage" based partly on their own experiences, and may communicate their desires for their offspring's age at marriage to them (Willoughby, Carroll, Vitas, & Hill, 2011). If child's mother had a good experience in that marriage, that child may be especially desirous of replicating that behavior in their own life. On the other hand, if their mother ended that relationship, the child may take that as a sign that his or her mother married at an inappropriate age and may wish to marry at a different age instead. Thus, this study will test the following two hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1: Offspring's desired age at marriage will be positively associated with maternal marriage age.
- Hypothesis 2: The association between maternal marriage age and offspring's desired age at marriage will be weaker or non-existent for offspring whose mothers ended their first marriage.

Because 75% of first unions experienced by current young adult generations are predicted to be cohabiting relationships rather than marriages (Manning et al., 2014), we will test the association between mother's age at first marriage and the actual age at first union, both cohabitation and marriage, of offspring, controlling for desires. Little work has made this connection before, and because of the many factors that might prevent individuals from actually meeting their desires for marital timing exactly as planned (Carlson, 2012), we expect that

and offspring marital age desires.

mother's behaviors and timing will only be mildly associated with children's actual union timing, and the association may only be through desires.

- Hypothesis 3: Maternal marriage age will be only moderately associated with offspring's timing of first marriage net of offspring desires for first union age and basic demographic controls.
- into first cohabitation, net of offspring marital age desires and basic demographic controls. Finally, as many first marriages in the current generation began with a cohabitation (Manning & Cohen, 2012) and then transition to wedlock with the same partner, we will examine the rate at which offspring transition into marriage from cohabitation according to maternal marital age

Hypothesis 4: Maternal marriage age will be moderately associated with offspring's entrance

• Hypothesis 5: Maternal marriage age will be associated with the hazard of transition into first marriage from cohabitation for offspring, as will offspring desire for age at first marriage.

Method

Data were from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 cohort and the 1979 Child and Young Adult cohort (NSLY79 and NLSY79CYA, respectively). The original NLSY79 survey began with a nationally-representative sample of 12,868 youth in the United States in 1979 and followed them yearly until 1994, and then biennially after that. The NLSY79CYA survey includes the children (*N* = 11,512) born to the women of the NSLY1979 sample, assessed biennially once the children were identified, often starting in young childhood or infancy and continuing through 2012. In 1994, 1996, and 1998, the NLSY79CYA adolescent participants who were not yet married were asked about their own expectations for future unions and their desired timing of marriage. Youth who qualified for the questions all three years may

have given different desires for each year, but this study will focus only on the first desired age stated for both cohabitation and marriage.

Dependent Variables. Youth who were not married were asked "What age would you like to get married?" To be given the question about marriage, youth could not already have had definitive plans for marriage (if they were currently dating or cohabitating) and had to answer "yes" to "Do you think you will ever marry?" The answers were given on a continuous scale, ranging from 16-80. Offspring age at first marriage or cohabitation was calculated using birth month and year and month and year of the event.

Independent Variable. Mothers' age of first marriage was calculated using birth month and year and reported month and year of first marriage.

Additional Variables.

Mother Marital Status. To test the hypothesis that children would be less willing to replicate their mother's age at marriage if that first marriage had dissolved, an indicator was calculated using interview dates and the end date of mothers' first marriage to determine if the youth were interviewed about their own marriage expectations after their mothers had experienced at least one marriage end; if the mother had never ended her first marriage, this indicator was 0.

Youth Relationship Status. Youth could report having a current serious boy/girlfriend (data was only collected on heterosexual relationships) or cohabitating with a partner to whom they were unmarried. However, because of the small number of respondents who were cohabitating (< 1%) at the time they stated marital desires in 1994-98, both relationship statuses were combined into a single measure of partnership. Single (not dating or cohabitating) was the reference category.

Controls. Additional youth-level variables were race (Black or Hispanic, with "neither" as reference), gender (1 = male), and age when asked about marital timing desires.

Analytic Sample

For all analysis, cases were list-wise deleted if they were missing data on control or explanatory variables. To test hypotheses 1 and 2, youth had to have valid data on expected marital age and mothers had to have been married before the youth's interview and not missing first marriage age, retaining 1917 youth and 1295 mothers. Additionally, because we desired to test the possibility that mothers modeled marital timing to their children, mothers had to have been married at the time the children were asked. To test hypothesis 3 and 4, offspring had to have either cohabitation or marriage age or a valid last interview date if they remained unmarried, marital age desires, and mothers were again required to have valid marriage age data. This left an analytic sample of 1534 offspring to test for marital age (1132 mothers) and 1654 offspring to test for cohabitation age (1191 mothers). Finally, to test hypothesis 5, children had to have cohabited as their first union, have valid marriage date or last interview data, have desires data, and have mother's marriage age data, leaving 1212 offspring (920 mothers).

Analytic Plan

Due to the continuous nature of the outcomes of interest – desired and observed age at specific unions – we chose to model these associations first through Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression. However, because OLS regression assumes independence of observations and multiple children of the same mother are included in the dataset, we adjusted standard errors using the "cluster" option in Stata12. Without clustering, standard errors would be artificially deflated, inflating the *t* statistic and leading to an increase in the probability of Type I error, or the risk of detecting effects that do not exist but are overblown because of data characteristics.

To test hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, we used Cox-proportional hazard models to model the timing of transition to first union or from cohabitation to first marriage (marriage only, cohabitation only, and cohabitation to marriage were tested in separate models) among offspring with variable mother marriage dates. This method, also called survival analysis, models the "hazard" or risk of entering a union type over the time periods observed and among those who have not already transitioned. We used the Averaged Likelihood method of handling ties for cases who transitions to union status within the same month.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for the sample used to test Hypothesis 1 and 2 are shown in Table 1. On average, offspring desired to marry at age 24.82 years old, ranging from 16 to 45 years old. Mothers had married on average at age 20.68, ranging from less than 14 to 37 years old. At the time that offspring stated their desires, 40% had experienced the end of their mother's first marriage. Offspring were approximately evenly split between genders, 33% of offspring were Black and 25% of offspring were Hispanic, according to their mother's racial categorization from the original NLSY1979. Offspring were on average 16 years old when asked about their desired marital timing, and 34% reported a romantic partner.

Descriptive statistics for the sample used to test Hypothesis 3, 4, and 5 are also shown in Table 1. About 43% of the available sample married during the time of the survey, while 82% entered a cohabitating relationship. Of those who cohabitated before first marriage, 54% went on to marry during the period of observation. Average age of entrance to marriage was about 24 years old for both the sample used to test Hypothesis 3 (entrance to marriage by all) and 5

(entrance to marriage after cohabitation). Average age of cohabitation was about three years earlier, 21 years old.

OLS Regression

Hypothesis 1 and 2. We regressed offspring's desired marriage age on mother's marital age in a step-wise fashion. First, the model only included mother's age at marriage. In the second step, we tested an interaction between mother's marriage age and mother's marriage status. In the third step, we included basic demographic control variables: age, race, and gender of youth. In the last step, we entered an indicator of youth's partnership status. Mother marital age and the interaction between mother marital age and mother marital status remained significant after the inclusion of the additional variables. In the final model, the constant of desired marital age was 18.5 years old. For those whose mothers were still in her first marriage, each additional year older their mothers were when married was significantly associated with a desire to marry 0.12 years later (se = 0.03, p < 0.001). However, for those whose mothers had ended her first marriage, the association was actually negative, such that offspring desired to marry at older ages when mothers had married younger and vice-versa, as show in Figure 1.

Event History Analysis

Hypothesis 3, 4, and 5. We used a proportional Cox hazard model to examine the association between maternal marriage age and hazard of first union entrance in this sample, and results from these models are displayed in Table 3. The models control for gender and race of offspring. Results show that each additional year of maternal age was associated with a 4% decrease in hazard of first marriage, and this was highly significant (p < 0.001). Marital age desires were also highly predictive of hazard of first marriage, such that each additional later desired year of marriage was associated with 3% reduction in hazard (p = 0.003). Regarding

hazard of entering a cohabitating relationship, maternal marital age was only marginally negatively significantly association with the hazard of first cohabitation (p = 0.050), while higher desired marital age was associated with a 2% decreased hazard of first cohabitation entrance (p = 0.002). Finally, for the hazard of first marriage after first cohabitation, maternal marriage age was significantly and negatively associated with hazard of first marriage, such that a year greater maternal marriage age was associated with a 4% decreased hazard of marriage (p < 0.001), but timing desires were not associated with hazard of transition to marriage (p = 0.212).

Discussion

We found that there is an intergenerational transmission of desired marital age according to maternal marriage age, and further, that mothers' marital behaviors predicted their offspring's marital behaviors. Our results suggest that the family formation attitudes and behaviors that are transmitted across generations go beyond the usual factors that family scholars consider, such as divorce, cohabitation, and premarital childbearing (Amato, 1996; Amato & DeBoer, 2001, Axinn & Thornton, 1993; Barber, 2000). We found that maternal marriage age was significantly and positively associated with offspring's desired age of marriage, but only in the cases where mothers were still in this first marriage. Thus, we found support for Hypotheses 1 and 2 and believe that desires for marriage age may indeed be formulated, at least in part, based on maternal experiences that a child may have witnessed or learned about through other pathways, as suggested by Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1969).

We found that maternal marriage age was significantly associated with a decreased hazard of both first marriage for the full available sample and for those who cohabitated first, though the association between hazard of cohabitation and maternal marriage age was only moderate in significance. Personal desires for marriage timing were significantly associated with

hazard for entrance into both marriage and cohabitation separately, but for those who cohabitated first, the transition into marriage was not associated with marital timing desires. Perhaps those who were cohabitating with a partner had less control or power in persuading for marriage according to their desired time, as has been suggested in qualitative work by Huang et al. (2011) and Sassler and Miller (2011). In these cases, women especially might be "waiting to be asked" and have little say over transitioning to marriage at the time they originally thought they would. However, as there was still an association between maternal marriage age and the hazard of transitioning from cohabitation to marriage, there may be other ways, beyond simply shaping desires, that maternal age at marriage is associated with the behavior of offspring. For instance, as economic and family structure could potentially shape timing of marriage (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1989; McLaughlin & Lichter, 1997; Michael & Tuma, 1985), if both mothers and offspring shared these circumstances at similar points in development, both may marry at similar times independent or in spite of their desires for marriage at a given time. This finding is more suggesting of the tenant of linked lives in Life Course Theory (Elder, Johnson, and Crosnoe, 2003).

Limitations

While the original sample of mothers in the NSLY79 was nationally representative, the sample of children was not, especially when only the adolescents of 94-98 are considered. To have children who are old enough to be considered adolescents in 1994, the mothers had to have begun forming families earlier in the life course than most. Thus, the children and mothers included in the samples for these analyses might be substantially different than the national sample on many characteristics related to early family formation, such as race and socioeconomic status.

These analysis are incomplete. A number of additional variables need to be included and controlled for in these statistical models to have confidence in the associations shown here.

These models will be improved before the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America in April, 2015.

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Table 1
Descriptive Statistics

	Sample 1				Sample 2			Sample 3				Sample 4			
	Mea	n			Mean				Mean				Mean		
Variable	6 (SD) Ra	inge	%	(SD)	Rai	nge	%	(SD)	Rar	nge	%	(SD)	Ra	nge
N		1917			1534			1654				1212			
Desired Marital Age	24.8 (3.82		45		24.99 (4.15)	16	80		24.99 (3.95)	16	60		24.94 (4.20)	16	80
Mother's Marriage	(3.02	.) 10	73		(4.13)	10	00		(3.73)	10	00		(4.20)	10	00
Ended 4	0														
Married				43								54			
Actual Marriage Age					24.37		36.6						24.43		
					(3.64)	16.33	7						(3.63)	16.33	36.67
Cohabited								82							
Actual Cohabitation Ag	e								21.28	14.00	36.4		21.11	0.22	26.42
				40				40	(3.42)	14.08	2	4 -	(3.41)	8.33	36.42
	9			49				49				46			
Black 3	3			35				36				35			
Hispanic 2	5			42				23				22			
	16.1														
Age When Asked	(1.47)	13.67	23.67												
Partner Status 3	4														
Mother's Marriage Age	20.6 (4.03		37.08		21.67 (5.91)	13.58	49.4 2		21.67 (5.87)	13.58	49.4 2		21.54 (5.93)	13.58	49.42
Number of	1.48	}			1.36				1.39				1.32		
Children in Sample	(0.70)) 1	6		(0.61)	1	5		(0.64)	1	5		(0.59)	1	5

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Table 2

Results from Step-wise OLS Regression Models (*N* = 1917), Clustering-adjusted Robust Standard Errors Reported (1295 Clusters)

	Model 1		Model	2	Model 3		Model 4		
Variable	b se	p	b s	e p	b se	p	b	se	p
Maternal Marriage Age	0.12 *** 0.03	< 0.001	0.16 *** 0.	0.00 < 0.00	1 0.12 *** 0.03	< 0.001	0.12 ***	0.03	< 0.001
Maternal Marriage Ended			3.16 ** 1.	13 0.00	5 3.06 ** 1.09	0.005	3.08 **	1.07	0.004
Maternal Age*Ended			-0.15 ** 0.	0.00	8 -0.14 ** 0.05	0.008	-0.14 **	0.05	0.008
Male					0.64 *** 0.17	< 0.001	0.53 **	0.17	0.002
Black					1.34 *** 0.22	< 0.001	1.34 ***	0.22	< 0.001
Hispanic					0.51 * 0.23	0.024	0.50 *	0.22	0.024
Age					0.08 0.06	0.212	0.21 **	0.06	0.001
Partner Status							-1.44 ***	* 0.19	< 0.001
Constant	22.33 *** 0.54	< 0.001	21.39 *** 0.	64 < 0.00	1 20.21 *** 1.23	3 < 0.001	18.54 ***	* 1.20	< 0.001
F	21.49 ***		9.47 ***		11.20 ***		18.96 ***	k	
\mathbb{R}^2	0.02		0.02		0.05		0.08		
BIC	10564.20	1	0469.80		10542.10	1	10491.10		

^{*}p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001

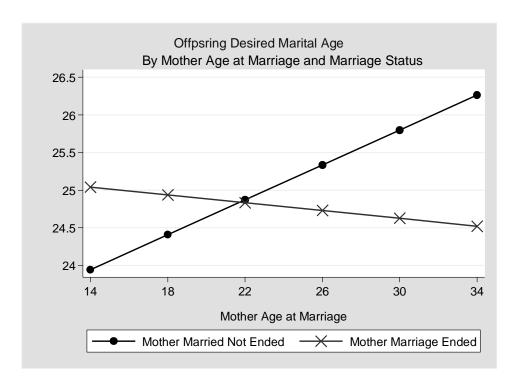


Figure 1: Interaction of Mother's Age and Marriage and Mother's Marriage Ended Status

Table 3

Cox Proportional Hazard Model Predicting Hazard of 3 Union Entrances

	Marri	age		Cohabi	tation		Marriage after Cohabitation			
	Hazard Ratio	SE p		Hazard Ratio	SE p		Hazard Ratio	SE	p	
Maternal Marriage Age	0.96	0.01	0.000	0.99	0.01	0.050	0.96	0.01	0.000	
Desired Marital Age	0.97	0.01	0.003	0.98	0.01	0.002	0.99	0.01	0.212	
Male	0.66	0.05	0.000	0.72	0.04	0.000	0.86	0.07	0.053	
Black	0.46	0.05	0.000	0.75	0.05	0.000	0.51	0.05	0.000	
Hispanic	0.49	0.05	0.000	0.86	0.06	0.029	0.51	0.05	0.000	
N	1534			1654			1212			
\perp LR χ^2	202.28		0.000	81.07	0.00		131.33	0.00		