

Parenting in interracial unions

Kate H. Choi
University of Western Ontario

Sara S. McLanahan
Center for Research on Child Wellbeing
Princeton University

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Short Abstract

Using data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, we examine differences in the parenting behaviour of parents in interracial and same-race unions. We find that parents in interracial unions have a harder time cooperating than parents in single-race unions, and that this difficulty is especially pronounced when the father lives apart from the child. Co-resident fathers of multiracial infants spend more time encouraging and engaging in activities with their children than co-resident fathers of single-race children, but the opposite pattern holds for non-resident fathers. Finally, we find that differences in parenting behaviours are due in part to differences in parents' socioeconomic status, family complexity, and the availability of social support from extended kin.

(115 words)

Extended Abstract

Introduction

Since anti-miscegenation laws were declared unconstitutional in 1967, the number of intermarriages has increased dramatically in the United States. In 2010, 15 percent of new marriages involved partners from distinct racial and ethnic groups, as compared with 7 percent in 1980 (Wang 2012). There has also been an unprecedented rise in the number of children resulting from these unions. The number of multiracial infants increased fivefold to 4.2 million over the past three decades (Census 2010). These changes have been met with great enthusiasm by researchers who view the rise of intermarriage and multiracial children as a sign of the declining barriers to social interaction across race/ethnic groups and as a key step in reducing racial and ethnic distinctions in future generations (Alba 2009; Qian and Lichter 2007).

Despite enthusiasm over the rise in interracial unions, mate selection behavior continues to be governed by enduring norms favoring racial endogamy; and the choice to form unions across racial and ethnic lines is often accompanied by severe challenges arising from a variety of interpersonal and contextual factors (Kalmijn 1998; Hohmann-Marriott and Amato 2008; Schwartz 2013). Interracial couples, therefore, often have difficulty making the transition into marriage, tend to have poorer quality unions, and experience union disruption at higher rates than do same race couples (Bratter and King 2008; Kreider 2000; Zhang and Van Hook 2009). Because interracial unions increasingly include children, the higher dissolution rates and higher levels of parental conflict in these relationships raise concerns over the family contexts in which multiracial children are being raised. Yet although we know that multiracial children are more likely than their peers to be exposed to multiple family transitions (Goldstein and Harknett 2006), we know relatively little about other aspects of these children's family contexts. *Are multiracial children more likely to experience parental conflict than children with same race parents? Are fathers in interracial unions less likely to engage in positive parenting practices than fathers in same race unions? Are non-resident fathers less involved in their children's lives?*

To address these questions, we use data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study to describe variation in parenting practices among parents in interracial and same race-unions. We focus on three dimensions of parenting behavior: (1) parents' ability to co-operate in co-parenting their child; (2) fathers' provision of emotional support to their children; and (3) fathers' investment of time in children. Using maternal reports, we first document variations in parent's ability to work together to raise their child and levels of father involvement among parents in interracial and same race unions. Next, we assess whether these patterns differ according to parent's current relationship status (i.e., married, cohabiting, and in a non-residential union). And finally, we examine the extent to which differences in parents' socioeconomic status, relationship histories, availability of social support from extended kin and attitudes about family life can explain variation in parental relationships and parenting practices.

Our analysis extends previous research in several important ways. First, to the best of our knowledge, our study is the first to compare the parenting practices of parents in interracial and same-race unions. Examining parenting behavior is important because disproportionately high

shares of multiracial infants experience family instability; therefore, the key to their wellbeing may be in the ability of their parents to assuage the negative effects of family instability through positive parenting behavior. Second, we are able to observe the relationship quality of parents who are living apart as well as the parenting practices of fathers who no longer live with their child. To date, our understanding of about the wellbeing of multiracial infants has been based on families in which the parents live together (Hohmann and Amato 2008). Finally, we make efforts to identify the mechanisms giving rise to differences in the parenting practices of parents in multiracial and single-race unions.

Our study includes children born to non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic mothers and fathers. For presentational purposes, we refer to children whose parents are from distinct racial or ethnic backgrounds as *multiracial children* and children whose parents belong to the same race/ethnic group as *single race children*. The same rule is used to describe parent's relationship: *interracial* versus *same race* unions.

Background

Interracial unions are typically of poorer quality and dissolve at higher rates than do same race unions (Bratter & King, 2008; Kreider, 2000; Zhang & Van Hook, 2009). Four explanations have been proposed to explain these differences. These explanations focus on (1) socioeconomic disparities; (2) differences in the availability of social support from kin; (3) variations in the complexity of partners' relationship histories; and (4) partners' adherence to similar values. Given the strong positive correlation between relationship quality and parenting practices (Carlson and McLanahan 2004), these explanations may also explain differences in parenting practices among parents in interracial and same race unions. In this section, we provide a brief description of these explanations and apply these explanations to parenting practices.

Socioeconomic disparities. Socioeconomic disparities between mixed and same race couples have been identified as a possible mechanism for explaining differences in relationship quality and dissolution rates between same race and interracial unions. On the one hand, people who intermarry may have characteristics that make them less attractive on the marriage market and thus push them to broaden their pool of potential mates (Lewis and Oppenheimer 2000; Choi & Mare 2012). In this case, we might expect parents of multiracial infants to be more socioeconomically disadvantaged than their peers. On the other hand, colleges and universities provide propitious settings for interracial unions because they tend to bring together young men and women who are heterogeneous in terms of ascribed characteristics (Mare 1991; Kalmijn 1998). If college educated couples are more likely to intermarry than less educated couples, we might expect these families to be socioeconomically advantaged relative to their mono-racial peers, resulting in more advantageous family contexts for multiracial children.

Social support from extended kin. Although social acceptance of interracial unions has increased in recent years, parents in interracial unions may still experience rejection from kin because their union violates enduring norms about whom people should marry (Killian 2001; Bratter and King 2008; Wang 2012). Opposition from family members and extended kin may adversely affect parents' relationship quality by reducing emotional, monetary, and instrumental support (Bratter and King 2008; Killian 2001). Lower levels of relationship quality and less support from extended kin are expected to have deleterious consequences for the psychological

and physical wellbeing of parents, which, in turn, may heighten the risk of negative parenting or reduce a father's willingness to spend time with his children.

Complex Relationship History. Researchers have argued that because they are more likely to adhere to non-traditional values, men and women who partner with members from distinct racial and ethnic backgrounds are also more likely to divorce and to have children with multiple partners (Kalmijn 1998; Schwartz 2013; Hohmann-Marriott and Amato 2008). Having children with different partners, in turn, creates competing demands on the time and resources of parents making it harder for them to invest in a specific child (Martin and Bumpass 1989; Teachman 2003).

Non-shared values. Finally, prior research has shown that couples who uphold similar values about life and share an understanding about fundamental organizing principles will have higher quality relationships than their counterparts who hold different outlooks about life (Jalovaara 2003). The probability of having a similar outlook towards life is typically lower for individuals who come from distinct racial and ethnic backgrounds. The dissimilarity may lead to poorer relationship quality, higher levels of multiple-partner fertility and lower quality parenting (Carlson and McLanahan 2006).

DATA AND METHODS

Data

The Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFS) is a longitudinal birth cohort study following 4,898 children born in large US cities between 1998 and 2000, including 3,712 children born to unwed mothers and 1,186 children born to married mothers (Reichman et al. 2001). Between the spring of 1998 and the fall of 2000, parents were interviewed in 75 hospitals shortly after the cohort baby was born. Follow-up interviews with both parents were conducted with both parents when the cohort child was 1, 3, 5, and 9 years of age. During these interviews, both mothers and fathers were asked to provide information about their relationship status and relationship quality, parenting behavior, children's family contexts, availability of social support from extended kin, and child outcomes. We rely primarily on data collected from mothers at age 3.

FFS is ideally suited for the present analysis because of several reasons. First, the study collected data on the race/ethnic characteristics of both parents, which allow us to distinguish multiracial children from their single race counterparts. Second, to the best of our knowledge, it is the only dataset to ask detailed measures of the parenting behavior and relationship quality of parents, regardless of their relationship status at the interview date. Third, FFS also collected detailed accounts of children's family context by asking questions about mother's and father's relationship status, their fertility behavior, and socioeconomic circumstances at each wave. Finally, it is one of the few datasets to ask questions about the availability of social support from extended kin and the identity of the extended kin who provided the social support.

Sample

Our sample consists of multiracial and single race children born to non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic mothers. We further restricted our sample as follows. First, we exclude children with missing data on father's parenting behaviors. Second, we limit our analysis to children with non-missing data about biological parent's relationship status because father's access to children and willingness to be involved in a child's life will likely differ depending on parents' relationship status (Berger et al. 2008). Finally, we restrict our analysis to children who were part of the city sample of FFS to ensure that our analysis are representative of differences in parenting practices between fathers of multi- and single race children living in large US cities.

These restrictions yield an analytical sample consisting of 3,094 cohort children. Of these, 2,764 children are single race and 330 children are multiracial.

Measurement

Dependent variables

We capture parenting behavior using three scales: the co-parenting quality, father encouragement, and father involvement scales.

The **co-parenting scale** measures how well parents work together to raise the cohort child. This scale is constructed using mother's responses to the following six statement: (1) Father acts like the father you want for your child; (2) Mother can trust father to take good care of (child); (3) Father respects the schedules and rules that the mother makes for child; (4) Father supports you in the way mother wants to raise the child; (5) Mother and father talk about problems that come up with raising child; and (6) Mother can count on father for help when she needs someone to look after the child for a few hours. Response choices for each question are *never/rarely*, *sometimes*, and *always*. Using the information available in these questions and principal component factor analysis, we construct a scale ranging from 1 to 3 ($\alpha=0.93$). Once constructed, we standardize this scale so that the coefficients in our regression models capture the number of standard deviations of this scale resulting from a 1 unit change in the explanatory variables. Higher scores denote ease sharing parenting responsibilities with the other parent.

Father encouragement scale measures the frequency with which fathers hug, tells the child that they love them, and showing signs of physical affection. Response choices for each question are 0 (never) to 7 (everyday/week). We construct this scale using the information available in these questions and principal component factor analysis ($\alpha=0.82$). Once constructed, this scale is standardized. Higher scores denote greater involvement.

Father-child activity scale measures the frequency with which fathers participate in six activities: singing, reading a book, telling stories, playing inside with toys, and playing outside in the yard with child. Response choices range from 0 (never) to 7 (everyday/week). We construct this scale using the information available in these questions and principal component factor analysis ($\alpha=0.88$). Once constructed, we also standardize this scale. Higher scores denote greater involvement.

These variables are constructed using information obtained from mother's report of father's involvement (rather than father's reports about their own involvement) to ensure that we have a large enough sample of multiracial children in each of the three categories of parent's relationship status because mothers are interviewed at higher rates than fathers. Similar scales have been used in prior studies by Carlson and colleagues (2008) and Berger and colleagues (2008).

Independent variables

Our paper has two independent variables.

Multiracial heritage is a dichotomous variable distinguishing children who were born to parents who belong to distinct racial and ethnic groups ("multiracial") from those whose parents belong to the same racial and ethnic groups ("same race"). Children born to non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic mothers and fathers are represented in our study.

Parent's relationship status at age 3 is a categorical variable distinguishing between children whose biological parents are married, cohabiting, or not residing together.¹

Most children whose biological parents are not in co-residential unions (92%) have non-residential fathers. For simplicity, we refer to *children who do not live in two biological parent households* as "children with non-residential fathers".

Mediators and control variables

We capture **mother's socioeconomic circumstances** using four variables: *mother's education* (<12, 12, 13-15, 16+), *father's education* (<12, 12, 13-15, 16+, and missing), and *father's employment status* (unemployed, employed, and missing).

We rely on four measures to capture **parent's relationship history** and **social support from extended kin** *mother has had a child with a man other than the father* (yes, no), *whether the father has had a child with a man other than the mother* (yes, no), *frequency of contact with maternal grandparents* (yearly, monthly, and weekly); and *frequency of contact with paternal grandparents* (yearly, monthly, and weekly).

Our models also include several demographic controls identified by prior work as important determinants of parenting behavior: *child's gender* (male versus female), *birth order* (first born, higher order), *each parent's race/ethnicity* (Hispanic, NH White, NH Black), *each parent's age* (<20, 20-34, 35+), and *each parent's nativity status* (foreign versus US-born).

¹ We conducted consistency checks using a measure of parent's relationship status at birth. It yields virtually the same result.

Analytical strategy

Our analysis is comprised of two parts. In the first part, we describe differences in the distribution of parent's relationship status between multiracial and single race children. Second, we compare the parenting practices for multiracial and single race children, disaggregated by parent's relationship status. Third, we assess how the socioeconomic circumstances and family context of multiracial children differ from those of single race children.

In the second part, we employ four additive ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models to assess the extent to which parent's socioeconomic circumstances, parent's relationship history, and social support from extended kin account for variations in the parenting practices of parents of multiracial and single race children. Model 1 includes multiracial heritage, each parent's race/ethnicity, and demographic controls. Model 2 adds an interaction term for the association between multiracial heritage and parent's relationship status. Model 3 adds parent's socioeconomic circumstances, namely mother's and father's education and employment status. And Model 4, our full model, adds measures of parent's relationship history and availability of social support from extended kin. We run each of these models for all three dependent variables.

In supplementary analyses, we also included interaction terms for multiracial heritage and parent's race/ethnicity. Surprisingly, these interaction terms were not statistically significant and BIC statistics showed that the addition of these interaction terms did not improve model fit. This finding suggests that although parents' ability to cooperate and fathers' involvement with their child differ for multiracial and single race children, the association between multiracial heritage and parenting practices does not vary by mother's or father's race/ethnicity.

Preliminary results

Disparities in parent's relationship status by multiracial heritage

Table 1 documents the distribution of parent's relationship status, disaggregated by multiracial heritage and mother's race/ethnicity. Multiracial children are less likely to be reared in two biological parent households than single race children. At age 3, 36 percent of the biological parents of multiracial children are living apart, as compared with 16 percent of the biological parents of single race children. In-depth analysis of parent's relationship status reveals that multiracial children are less likely than single race children to be reared within the context of marriage. Less than half of the biological parents of multiracial children were married to each other, as compared with 60 percent of single race children. These results are consistent with previous studies which show that interracial unions are more unstable than same race unions (Schwartz 2013; Zhang and Van Hook 2009). The disproportionately high share of multiracial children with non-residential fathers highlights the importance of including this subpopulation in analyses comparing the family contexts of multiracial and single race children.

Table 1 goes here.

Group differences in ability to co-parent and levels of father involvement

We compare the parenting practices of parents' of multiracial and single race children. We begin by discussing the results from the co-parenting scale. As shown in Table 2, parents of multiracial children have greater difficulty co-parenting than parents of single race children. For example, the average co-parenting score is 0.47 for married parents of multiracial children as compared with 0.59 for married parents of single race children. This result is consistent with past findings showing that interracial unions tend to be more conflictive than same race unions (Zhang and Van Hook 2009). The only exception to this pattern can be seen among children of cohabiting parents. Cohabiting mothers of multiracial children report higher co-parenting scores than do their counterparts with single race children: 0.70 versus 0.48.

Table 2 goes here.

We also compare the levels of father involvement for multiracial and single race children. Married and cohabiting fathers of multiracial children encourage their children more and spend more time with their children than do their counterparts with single race children. For example, the average engagement score is 0.41 for married parents of multiracial children, as compared with 0.30 for married parents of single race children. The opposite pattern, however, holds for children who live apart from their fathers. Fathers of multiracial children in these households have lower levels of involvement than their counterparts with single race children. For example, the average activity score is -0.82 for non-residential fathers of multiracial children as compared with -0.62 for non-residential fathers of single race children. Coupled with our earlier results, these findings suggest an overall vulnerability among multiracial children whose parents live apart.

Group differences in parent's socioeconomic circumstances and availability of support from extended kin

Table 3 presents the distribution of parent's socioeconomic circumstances, parent's relationship history, and social support from extended kin, disaggregated by multiracial heritage and parent's relationship status.

Table 3 goes here.

We begin by establishing group differences in socioeconomic resources. Consistent with prior work, we find that married parents are the most socioeconomically advantaged, followed in the order of cohabiting parents, and parents who are living apart. Our results also show that married parents of multiracial children are more socioeconomically advantaged than their counterparts with single race children across all socioeconomic dimensions. For example, 40 percent of married mothers of multiracial children are college graduates, as compared with 18 percent of married mothers of single race children. By contrast, the patterns of socioeconomic variation are seemingly more complex for unmarried parents. Among unmarried parents, the distribution of schooling follows a bimodal pattern, with lower shares of parents of multiracial children present in the highest and lowest education categories. Among cohabiting parents, employment rates are higher for parents of multiracial relative to single race children. The opposite, however, is true for parents who live apart. This finding suggests that parents of multiracial children in co-

residential unions may be a positively selected group; whereas, parents of multiracial children who live apart may be a negatively selected group.

We now turn our attention to variations in parent's relationship history according to the child's multiracial heritage. Not surprisingly, levels of multi-partner fertility are lowest among married parents and highest among non-residential parents. Contrary to expectations, mothers of multiracial children are less likely than mothers of single race children to have children with partners other than child's father. For example, 21 percent of cohabiting mothers of multiracial children had children with men other than the child's father, as compared with 44 percent of cohabiting mothers of single race children. The opposite, however, is true for fathers. For example, 65 percent of cohabiting fathers of multiracial children had children with women other than the biological mother, as compared with 35 percent of cohabiting fathers of single race children.

Next, we compare multiracial children's frequency of contact with maternal and paternal grandparents with those of single race children. Among those who reside in two biological parent households, multiracial children have more frequent contact with paternal grandparents and less frequent contact with maternal grandparents than single race children. Among those who reside with cohabiting parents, 66 percent of multiracial children see their paternal grandparents at least once a month, as compared with 56 percent of single race children. This contrasts with 61 and 70 percent for contact with maternal grandparents. The opposite pattern, however, holds for children whose parents live apart. This finding is consistent with the view that the support provided by paternal grandparents is very sensitive to the fathers' living arrangements. Maternal grandparents of multiracial children provide less support when the parents are living together and more support when they are living apart.

Multivariate results

In this section, we examine the extent to which parent's socioeconomic circumstances, parent's relationship history, and social support from extended kin explain differences in parent's ability to work together to raise children and differences in father's parenting. To avoid redundancy, we provide a detailed description of the results predicting co-parenting practices and then illustrate how the results for father's encouragement and warmth differ from those for co-parenting practices.

Co-parenting practices

Table 4 presents the results from OLS regression models predicting parent's ability to cooperate in raising their child. Model 1 includes multiracial heritage, parent's relationship status, mother's race, father's race, and demographic controls. Consistent with our descriptive results, parents of multiracial children express greater difficulty co-parenting than the parents of single race children, scoring 0.28 standard deviations lower in the co-parenting scale. Our results also show that Blacks mothers are more likely to report having greater difficulty co-parenting with the child's father than non-Black mothers.

Table 4 goes here.

Model 2 adds the interaction between *multiracial heritage* and *parent's relationship status*. Unmarried parents express greater difficulty sharing parenting responsibilities than their married counterparts, with the demarcating difference observed between resident and non-resident parents. Cohabiting and non-resident parents score 0.1 and 1.1 standard deviations lower in the co-parenting scale than married parents, respectively. This finding is not surprising given the different commitment levels associated with each relationship status. In-depth comparison of co-parenting scores between parents of multiracial and single race children reveal that cohabiting parents of multiracial children have an easier time sharing parenting responsibilities than cohabiting parents of single race children. They score 0.27 standard deviations higher than do cohabiting parents of single race children. Non-resident parents of multiracial children express greater difficulty sharing parent responsibilities than their counterparts with single race children. They score 0.27 standard deviations lower than do non-resident parents of single race children.

Model 3 adds *parent's socioeconomic circumstances* into the existing model. We find that mothers report less difficulty sharing parenting responsibilities with fathers who are employed and have higher levels of education. Mothers who have higher levels of education and who are employed report having greater difficulties sharing parenting responsibilities with the baby's father, which may speak to their higher expectation. We also found that socioeconomic disadvantage explains a quarter of the greater difficulty that parents in non-residential unions exhibit when sharing parenting responsibility relative to married parents: $[100*(1.13-0.85)/1.13=25]$. Socioeconomic advantage accounts for 15 percent of the greater ease that cohabiting parents of multiracial parents have in sharing parenting responsibilities relative to cohabiting parents of single race parents: $[100*(0.27-0.23)/0.27=15]$.

Model 4 adds *parent's relationship history* and *social support from kin* to Model 3. Results from this model shows that parents who have children with more than one partner have greater difficulty sharing parenting responsibilities. Mothers whose children have weekly contact with paternal parent have an easier time sharing their parenting responsibilities but the opposite is true for mothers whose children have weekly contact with maternal parents. This finding is consistent with past findings showing that maternal grandparents usually increase their social support in the absence of support from the baby's father or paternal grandparents (Gee and Rhodes 2003).

Parent's relationship history and social support from grandparents explain differences in married and cohabiting parent's ability to share parenting responsibilities. In fact, net of these controls, there are no significant differences in married and cohabiting parent's ability to share their parenting responsibilities. These differences also partially explain why non-resident parents have a harder time sharing their parenting responsibilities relative to married parents. The addition of these controls explains approximately 10 percent of the co-parenting score between non-resident and married parents $[100*(0.85-0.79)/0.85=10]$. Finally, net of these covariates, co-parenting score gap between non-resident parents of multiracial and single race children is reduced by 15 percent. This finding suggests that non-resident parents of multiracial children have greater difficulty sharing their parenting responsibilities with the other parent than their counterparts with single race children because they need to coordinate their parenting responsibilities with multiple partners and they receive less support from paternal grandparents.

We obtain similar results when we examine disparities in levels of father involvement. We find that married fathers spend the most time with their children, encouraging and engaging in activities with them. In contrast, non-resident fathers spend the least amount of time with their children. Among those with non-resident fathers, multiracial children are particularly vulnerable to lower levels of father's involvement.

Summary and next steps

The purpose of this study is to compare the parenting practices of parents of multiracial and single race children and to ascertain the mechanism that give rise to differences in parenting practices between the parents of multiracial and single race children. Preliminary results yield several noteworthy findings.

First, parents of multiracial children have a harder time co-parenting than parents of single race children, with non-resident parents have an especially hard time sharing their responsibility as parents. Cohabiting parents of multiracial children are an exception to this pattern.

Second, resident fathers of multiracial infants spend more time encouraging and engaging in activities with their child than resident fathers of single race children; whereas, non-resident fathers of multiracial children spend less time encouraging and engaging in activities with their children than their counterparts with single race children. Coupled with our earlier result, this finding highlights the fact that multiracial children from single parent families are especially vulnerable to negative parenting and low levels of father involvement.

Third, socioeconomic disadvantage, fathers' complex relationship histories, and limited support from extended kin partially explain why parents of multiracial children have a harder time co-parenting and are less involved in children's lives. Nonetheless, even after the addition of these controls, a considerable portion of differences between parents of multiracial and single race children, especially among those who live apart, remains.

Between now and PAA, we intend to pursue four additional analyses to strengthen our understanding of group differences in parenting practices. First, our current analysis relies on mother reports about father involvement and ability of parents to co-parent together. It is possible that some of the observed differences arise because mothers of multiracial and single race children have distinct expectations about levels of father involvement and understanding about the role of fathers in the lives of children. Therefore, we will explore this possibility using the rich attitudinal data available in the FFS and include measures, such as mother's adherence to traditional values about family life and mothers' attitudes about the father role. It is also possible that parents of multiracial union may have a more contentious relationship than the parents of single race unions. The lower co-parenting scores may reflect mother's overall dissatisfaction with the child's biological father. The lower levels of involvement of non-resident fathers of multiracial children may be the product of more strenuous maternal gatekeeping by mothers of multiracial children. We will make efforts to ascertain the extent to which relationship quality between parents and maternal gatekeeping is confounding our results. Second, we will make greater efforts to ascertain the role of selectivity in giving rise to differences in parent's ability to

co-parent or intensity of father involvement using propensity score matching. Third, we will make efforts to ascertain whether our findings hold for other measures of father's involvement, including monetary contributions. Finally, we perform consistency checks using father reports to see whether our results hold once we use father's reports about parenting practices.

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TABLE

TABLE 1. Distribution of parent's relationship status at age 3 by multiracial heritage and mother's race/ethnicity

Parent's marital status at age 3	Single race				Multiracial			
	White	Black	Hisp	Total	White	Black	Hisp	Total
Married parents	90	30	63	60	62	29	45	48
Cohabited parents	4	25	21	17	11	14	25	16
Non-residential parents	6	45	16	23	27	57	30	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	618	1,362	784	2,764	139	67	124	330

Source: Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study: Baseline and Year 3 data

Notes: Analyses are weighted using city weights.

Table 2. Mean standardized scores on several dimensions of father's involvement by multiracial heritage and parent's relationship status

Parenting scale at age 3	Single race		Multiracial	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Co-parenting scale : Parents ability to co-parent				
Married	0.59	0.40	0.47	0.65
Cohabit	0.48	0.49	0.70	0.36
Non-residential	-0.54	1.13	-1.02	1.15
Total	0.32	0.80	-0.04	1.12
Activity scale: Activities performed with child				
Married	0.30	0.95	0.41	0.92
Cohabit	0.20	0.94	0.48	0.88
Non-residential	-0.62	0.79	-0.82	0.42
Total	0.08	0.99	-0.03	0.97
Encouragement scale: Encourage child				
Married	0.43	0.43	0.47	0.37
Cohabit	0.46	0.59	0.54	0.34
Non-residential	-0.89	1.07	-1.26	0.75
Total	0.14	0.86	-0.15	0.99

Source: Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study: Baseline and Year 3 data

Notes: Analyses are weighted using city weights. SD stands for standard deviations.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics

	Single				Multiracial			
	<u>Mar</u> 1,067	<u>Cohab</u> 686	<u>Non</u> 1,011	<u>All</u> 2764	<u>Mar</u> 120	<u>Cohab</u> 74	<u>Non</u> 136	<u>All</u> 330
Mother's education								
LT HS	24	43	39	31	7	32	31	20
HS	26	36	38	31	21	55	47	36
Some college	18	20	20	19	40	13	16	27
BA	32	1	3	20	32	0	6	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mother's employment								
% employed	52	46	60	53	57	64	45	54
Father's education								
LT HS	21	37	29	25	7	29	27	18
HS	21	37	34	27	27	57	35	35
Some college	22	20	10	19	31	12	14	22
BA	33	1	10	22	34	0	1	17
Missing	4	5	17	7	0	3	23	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Father's employment								
Unemployed	10	24	31	17	7	13	41	21
Employed	89	76	53	79	93	87	44	74
Missing	0	0	16	4	0	0	15	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mother's expectations about father's role								
Standardized scale	0.14	0.11	0.09	0.13	-0.27	-0.02	-0.27	-0.23
Mother had child with man other than father								
% who had child	13	44	49	26	20	21	36	26
Father had child with man other than mother								
% who had child	12	35	40	22	22	65	56	41
Frequency of contact with maternal grandparents								
Once a year or less	30	23	16	25	39	17	3	23
Monthly	25	26	19	24	19	47	16	22
Weekly or more frequently	45	51	65	51	42	36	81	55
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Frequency of contact with paternal grandparents								
Once a year or less	44	23	24	36	34	14	35	31
Monthly	31	45	46	37	40	56	56	49
Weekly or more frequently	25	33	30	28	26	30	9	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study: Baseline and Year 3 data

Notes: Analyses are weighted using city weights

Table 4. OLS regression predicting standardized scores from co-parenting scale

	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>		<u>Model 4</u>	
	Dem. Controls		M1+Marital		M2+SES		M3+Family	
	β	β/se	β	β/se	β	β/se	β	β/se
Children's race (Single)								
Multiracial	-0.28	-5.28	-0.10	-1.54	-0.09	-1.49	-0.05	-0.88
Parent's relationship (Married)								
Cohabiting parents			-0.11	-2.78	-0.10	-2.75	-0.05	-1.49
Non-residential parents			-1.13	-29.79	-0.85	-22.45	-0.79	-21.13
Multiracial*Parent's relationship								
Multiracial*Cohab			0.27	2.22	0.23	2.06	0.22	2.01
Multiracial*Nonresident			-0.27	-2.84	-0.25	-2.78	-0.19	-2.23
Mother's race (White)								
Black	-0.38	-4.44	-0.01	-0.09	-0.03	-0.39	0.00	-0.07
Hispanic	-0.08	-1.12	0.01	0.23	0.02	0.35	0.01	0.14
Father's race (White)								
Black	0.16	1.80	0.15	1.94	0.16	2.25	0.16	2.38
Hispanic	-0.08	-1.06	-0.07	-1.13	-0.07	-1.27	-0.07	-1.22
Mother's education (LT HS)								
HS graduate					-0.03	-0.87	-0.03	-0.93
Some college					-0.10	-2.41	-0.11	-2.67
BA+					-0.11	-2.11	-0.11	-2.16
Mother's employment (Unemployed)								
Employed					-0.10	-4.22	-0.07	-2.98
Father's education (LT HS)								
HS graduate					0.08	2.27	0.09	2.58
Some college					0.08	2.16	0.06	1.52
BA+					0.11	2.26	0.06	1.30
Missing					-0.32	-6.49	-0.27	-5.59
Father's employment (Unemployed)								
Employed					0.21	6.57	0.19	6.15
Missing					-1.02	-15.47	-0.96	-14.79
Had child with another man (Did not)								
Had child							-0.10	-3.29
Had child with another woman (Did not)								
Had child							-0.08	-2.69
Frequency of contact with maternal grandparents (Yearly)								
Monthly							-0.03	-0.80
Weekly							-0.08	-2.83
Frequency of contact with paternal grandparents (Yearly)								
Monthly							-0.22	-7.87
Weekly							0.10	3.47
Intercept								
Intercept	-0.06	-0.72	0.44	6.08	0.34	4.52	0.37	4.68

Source: Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study: Baseline and Year 3 data

Notes: Analyses are weighted using city weights. Children's race refers to their multiracial heritage: multiracial versus same race.

Table 5. OLS regression predicting standardized scores from father's activity scale

	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>		<u>Model 4</u>	
	Dem. Controls		M1+ Marital status		M2+SES		M3+Family	
	β	β /se	β	β /se	β	β /se	β	β /se
Children's multiracial heritage (Single)								
Multiracial	-0.12	-1.97	0.05	0.60	0.06	0.69	0.09	1.10
Parent's relationship (Married)								
Cohabiting parents			-0.07	-1.47	-0.02	-0.33	0.04	0.78
Non-residential parents			-0.96	-19.76	-0.87	-16.63	-0.82	-15.63
Multiracial*Parent's relationship								
Multiracial*Cohab			0.16	1.01	0.17	1.11	0.18	1.18
Multiracial*Nonresident			-0.24	-1.97	-0.20	-1.63	-0.20	-1.69
Mother's race (White)								
Black	-0.21	-2.14	0.10	1.04	0.14	1.45	0.16	1.72
Hispanic	-0.03	-0.41	0.05	0.60	0.07	0.85	0.06	0.78
Father's race (White)								
Black	-0.13	-1.32	-0.14	-1.47	-0.14	-1.46	-0.12	-1.22
Hispanic	-0.34	-3.95	-0.34	-4.23	-0.30	-3.81	-0.29	-3.63
Mother's education (LT HS)								
HS graduate					-0.12	-2.71	-0.12	-2.76
Some college					-0.12	-2.23	-0.14	-2.53
BA+					-0.08	-1.14	-0.10	-1.39
Mother's employment (Unemployed)								
Employed					0.07	2.08	0.06	1.74
Father's education (LT HS)								
HS graduate					-0.07	-1.49	-0.06	-1.33
Some college					0.10	1.80	0.07	1.32
BA+					0.25	3.86	0.19	2.89
Father's employment (Unemployed)								
Employed					-0.01	-0.27	-0.04	-0.81
Had child with another man (Did not)								
Had child							-0.11	-2.55
Had child with another woman (Did not)								
Had child							-0.15	-3.39
Frequency of contact with maternal grandparents (Yearly)								
Monthly							0.09	1.82
Weekly							0.14	3.32
Frequency of contact with paternal grandparents (Yearly)								
Monthly							-0.21	-5.36
Weekly							-0.01	-0.26
Intercept	-0.06	-0.72	0.44	6.08	0.54	5.15	0.48	4.30

Source: Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study: Baseline and Year 3 data

Notes: Analyses are weighted using city weights

Table 6. OLS regression predicting standardized scores from father's encouragement and affection

	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>		<u>Model 4</u>	
	Dem. Controls		M1+ Marital status		M2+SES		M3+Family	
	β	β /se	β	β /se	β	β /se	β	β /se
Children's multiracial heritage (Single)								
Multiracial	-0.28	-4.93	0.03	0.52	0.03	0.54	0.06	0.96
Parent's relationship (Married)								
Cohabiting parents			-0.07	-1.96	-0.05	-1.49	0.00	-0.05
Non-residential parents			-1.41	-39.43	-1.25	-33.35	-1.20	-32.08
Multiracial*Parent's relationship								
Multiracial*Cohab			-0.02	-0.21	-0.06	-0.50	-0.07	-0.66
Multiracial*Nonresident			-0.37	-4.12	-0.36	-4.10	-0.32	-3.68
Mother's race (White)								
Black	-0.43	-4.83	0.01	0.18	-0.01	-0.13	0.01	0.11
Hispanic	-0.11	-1.49	0.01	0.24	0.01	0.21	0.00	-0.04
Father's race (White)								
Black	0.13	1.42	0.13	1.83	0.14	1.95	0.16	2.28
Hispanic	0.04	0.59	0.03	0.57	0.05	0.92	0.06	1.14
Mother's education (LT HS)								
HS graduate					0.01	0.39	0.00	-0.09
Some college					-0.07	-1.77	-0.08	-2.17
BA+					0.02	0.38	0.00	-0.01
Mother's employment (Unemployed)								
Employed					0.06	2.52	0.07	2.82
Father's education (LT HS)								
HS graduate					0.02	0.63	0.03	1.00
Some college					0.01	0.33	-0.01	-0.20
BA+					0.03	0.67	-0.01	-0.24
Father's employment (Unemployed)								
Employed					0.04	1.24	0.02	0.68
Had child with another man (Did not)								
Had child							-0.17	-5.47
Had child with another woman (Did not)								
Had child							-0.04	-1.17
Frequency of contact with maternal grandparents (Yearly)								
Monthly							-0.03	-0.91
Weekly							-0.01	-0.37
Frequency of contact with paternal grandparents (Yearly)								
Monthly							-0.17	-6.29
Weekly							0.12	4.06
Intercept								
Intercept	0.01	0.08	0.62	9.01	0.58	7.74	0.56	7.16

Source: Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study: Baseline and Year 3 data

Notes: Analyses are weighted using city weights