A non-negligible number of women are spending some proportion of the life course in a post-marital state - that is, having experienced the dissolution of a first marriage by divorce, separation or widowhood. This is evidenced by the relatively high divorce rate in the United States, with about half of first marriages ending in dissolution (Raley and Bumpass 1993). However, women's relationship careers and childbearing intentions do not cease once their marriages have ended. Indeed, over half of divorcees cohabit and one-fifth of previously married women give birth during their cohabiting unions after their first marriage has ended (Brown 2000a). Thus, many women go on to form postmarital cohabiting unions and bear children within these unions.

While the popular misconception of unwed mothers tends to characterize them as young, romantically unattached, and never married, their actual demographic profile is quite different. The majority of nonmarital births (77.3%) occur to women older than 20 years of age (Martin et al. 2009; Ahlburg and DeVita 1992); unwed mothers tend to be cohabiting with their partner at the time of their child's birth (Bumpass and Lu 2000); and almost one third of nonmarital births are to women who have experienced a divorce or separation (Bumpass and McLanahan 1989). In light of these trends, this study examines the factors that promote and deter nonmarital fertility intentions among currently cohabiting women after their first marriage has dissolved. This study also compares cohabiting women's fertility intentions with remarried women in an attempt to understand the meaning of cohabitation, childbearing and remarriage after a first marriage has ended.

The vast majority of research on fertility in the U.S and Europe has concentrated on the actual behaviors of women in remarriage, and has not examined fertility intentions

or postmarital cohabiting unions. Such work typically examines the effects of prior biological/step children on women's postmarital fertility behavior, in some cases, reporting a link between respondent's early fertility history and their childbearing behaviors after a first marriage has ended, but findings are mixed. Some studies suggest that previous children have no effect on women's postmarital fertility behaviors (Griffith et al. 1985; Vikat et al. 1999), thus women may bear children within new marriages to confirm or strengthen their current relationship. Individuals may desire to have a shared biological child with their partner, despite the existence of biological/step children from the past. On the other hand, some studies report that previous children decrease the likelihood of subsequent child birth within remarriage (Wineberg 1990; Toulemon 1997; Buber and Prskawetz 2000), supporting the assertion that the main purpose of having a child is to serve the desires of an individual to become a biological parent, not to validate a second marriage. While this past work aids scholars in understanding fertility levels within high-order marriages, it does little to further our understanding of if and how postmarital cohabitation fits into the (re)marriage process. Thus this study will examine the fertility intentions of cohabiting, as well as remarried women, while accounting for the premarital conception and fertility history of the couple.

Compared to the prior work on childbearing among remarried women, the extant literature on postmarital fertility among cohabitors is relatively sparse. Furthermore, the majority of this research has been limited in scope to actual fertility behaviors (Loomis and Landale, 1994; Brown 2000a; Jefferies, Berrington and Diamond 2000; Kalmijn and Gelissen 2006). Although fertility intentions themselves were not the focus of the aforementioned studies, their results do aid in the discussion of postmarital fertility

intentions. Findings in the U.S and the Netherlands are consistent: repartnering after a first marital dissolution significantly increases the odds of a postmarital birth (Brown 2000a; Kalmijn and Gelissen 2006). In the U.S, the majority of postmarital fertility occurs well after a first marriage has ended, strongly suggesting that the fathers of these children are women's postmarital partners, not their ex-husbands (Brown 2000a). Furthermore, cohabiting White women have significantly reduced odds of giving birth while cohabiting than White remarried women; the odds of having a child among Black women are similar whether they are cohabiting or remarried (Loomis and Landale, 1994). These findings are consistent with research in Great Britain; almost half of previously married cohabiting women had at least one birth following their first marital dissolution, but were less likely to bear children than remarried women (Jefferies et al. 2000). This evidence suggests that among previously married adults, cohabitation may be increasingly considered an *acceptable* context for childbearing, but still does not hold the same social meaning or standard as remarriage does, as the *preferred* context for childbearing.

One main reason to study fertility intentions, in addition to actual fertility behaviors, among previously married women is that fertility intentions shed light on the process leading to postmarital childbearing. Indeed, a woman's intention to have a child is highly associated with the probability of her actually giving birth (Schoen et al 1999). By investigating fertility intentions among the previously married, researchers can speak directly to central theoretical queries regarding the meaning, and the acceptability, of childbearing after a first marriage has dissolved (outside of context of remarriage). There is a vast literature addressing the role served by cohabitation in family formation,

suggesting that it is a precursor to marriage (Brown 2000b; Manning and Smock 2002), an alternative to singlehood (Raley 2001; Sassler 2004; Rindfuss and VandenHeuvel 1990), or an alternative form of marriage (Casper and Bianchi 2002; Riche 1988; Schoen 1989). Although this past work has given scholars insight on the heterogeneity of cohabiting relationships, it has typically concentrated on never married adults, attempting to place cohabitation into the life course by focusing on the time-period when young adults date/court one another until they first marry. By examining fertility intentions among previously married women, scholars can gain a broader knowledge of how and where cohabitation fits into the (re)marriage process, fielding questions regarding whether cohabitation is an acceptable forum for childbearing, not unlike marriage, or typically viewed as childless state, thus a step toward (re)marriage.

There is a vast literature examining fertility intentions (Quesnel-Vallee and Morgan 2003; Morgan 1981; Schoen and Tufis 2003; Hagewen and Morgan 2005; Morgan 1982), but relatively few consider prior fertility of both members of the couple (Stewart 2002; Thomson 1997; Thomson, McDonald and Bumpass 1990; Morgan 1985). Stewart (2002) examined the effects of step children on both cohabiting and married couple's fertility intentions and found that individuals take their partner's children into account when they are deciding whether to have a child in their current union. Furthermore, among both cohabiting and married couples with step children, intentions to have a child remain high until each partner has had a child of their own, suggesting the high symbolic importance attached to having one's own biological offspring. Thus, it is important to account for the fertility behavior of both partners.

Prior work indicates that cohabiting women have lower fertility intentions than married women (Bachrach 1987; Stewart 2002). Stewart (2002) did not specifically distinguish previously married and never married women. Only one prior study has specifically just examined the fertility intentions of previously married, cohabiting women (Bachrach 1987). The author found that cohabitation contributes to an increased risk of pregnancy by increasing the frequency of sexual intercourse. Furthermore, the results suggest that the effect of cohabitation on fertility intentions may depend in part on the cohabitors' history of formal marriage. Never-married cohabiting women were characterized by high levels of contraceptive use and lower proportions expecting a birth within the next five years, findings that lend credence to the hypothesis that cohabitation is normally a childless context for never married women. On the other hand, previously married cohabitating women practiced contraception less uniformly and appeared more likely seek pregnancy or expect a birth in the near future. Thus, previously married cohabiting women may view cohabitation as an acceptable forum for childbearing. However, this study examined data collected in 1982, over two decades ago, and fails to compare previously married cohabitors to their remarried counterparts.

This current investigation attempts to fill this gap in the extant literature by predicting and comparing the fertility intentions of previously married women based on their current postmarital union status. Based on previous research findings suggesting that the fertility levels of previously married cohabitors are lower than those of remarried women, I expect to find a similar pattern for women's fertility intentions. First, I predict that previously married cohabiting women may have lower fertility intentions that remarried women. Second, I contend that this may not be the case for all subgroups of

previously married women. Specifically, I expect to find racial/ethnic and socioeconomic differentials, as well as differences in fertility intentions based on prior children from previous relationships. Third, I expect to find that premarital cohabitation and/or premarital conception is a moderating variable in the relationship between current postmarital union status and postmarital fertility intentions. Women who have serially premaritally cohabited and/or have conceived a child before their first marriage may have higher fertility intentions within their postmarital cohabiting unions than those who did not have a similar premarital family formation history, thus continuing their established patterns of nonmarital family formation. One the other hand, women who have serially premaritally cohabited or have conceived a child before their first marriage may have chosen to change these pre-established behaviors, thus lowering their intentions of having a child outside the context of remarriage. I argue that premarital family formation may matter more for currently cohabiting women or women who cohabited before their higher-order marriage than remarried women because remarried women have chosen to reenter the institution of marriage, thus discontinuing any nonmarital family formation intentions or behaviors.

DATA AND METHODS

Sample

I restricted the sample to women whose first marriages ended in divorce or annulment (n=1,232), separation (n= 260), or widowhood (n=58). The sample is further restricted to women who are in a union, cohabiting (n= 204) or married (n=504), at the time of interview. The sample is also limited to couples who are able to have children, or who not surgically sterile, at time of interview. The final sample consists of 114 currently

cohabiting women and 225 currently married women, who have experienced a first marriage dissolution (Final N = 339).

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in these analyses is whether a woman intends to have a/nother child at the time of the interview. This measure of childbearing intentions is based on the question, "Do you and your current husband or cohabiting partner intend to have (a/nother) baby at some time? Intend refers to what you and your husband/cohabiting partner are actually going to try to do." Response categories include "Yes" or "No". Female respondents were then asked, "Of course, sometimes things do not work out exactly as we intend them to, or something makes us change our minds. In your case, how sure are you that you and current husband or cohabiting partner will (not) have (a/nother) baby? Response categories to this question include, "Very Sure", "Somewhat sure", and "Not at all sure". Responses to these two questions are combined and scored from 1 (very sure - do not intend to have a child) to 6 (very sure - intend to have a child). The NSFG does not offer an indicator of the time frame in which female respondents intend to have a/nother child.

Independent Variables

The central independent variable of interest is union status at the time of interview. This variable is recoded to include women, who are currently postmaritally cohabiting at the time of the interview. The variable is also recoded to include women who are currently married, in a higher-order marriage, at the time of the interview. If a woman is cohabiting at the time of the interview, she is coded as *cohabiting* (n= 113). If a woman is married at the time of the interview, and she cohabited with her current

husband before the couple's marriage, she is coded as *cohabitation then remarried* (n=152). If a woman is married at the time of the interview, and she did not cohabit with her current husband before the couple's marriage, she is coded as *remarried* (n=74).

Control Variables

Also included in the models are three groups of covariates: life course variables, respondent's social background variables, and partner's social background variables. The life course variables include seven measures: How the respondent's first marriage ended, respondent's number of premarital cohabitations, respondent's number of premarital non-cohabiting sex partners, whether a respondent had a premarital conception, respondent's age at the start of her current postmarital union (cohabitation and marriage), duration of her current union, and the couple's fertility history.

How a respondent's first marriage dissolved includes three response categories (1 = "divorced/annulled", 2 = "separated", and 3 = "widowed"). A measure of the number of premarital cohabitations a female respondent entered into before her first marriage distinguishes between zero cohabitations (no premarital cohabitation experience), one cohabitation (premarital single-instance cohabitation), and two or more cohabitations (premarital serial cohabitation). The number of premarital non-cohabiting sex partners a woman had prior to first marriage was created by subtracting the number of sex partners before first marriage from the number of cohabiting partners before first marriage. Whether a woman conceived a child before her first marriage is measured as a dichotomous variable (1 = premarital conception and 0 = no premarital conception). For cohabiting women, the respondent's age at current postmarital union is captured by measuring their age at the start of her cohabiting union. For remarried women, who

cohabited prior to their current marriage, age is measured at the start of their cohabitation with their current husbands. For remarried women, who did not cohabit with their current husbands, age is measured at the start of their current marriage. Age at current postmarital union is measured in years, left as a continuous variable, and squared to test for a non-linear relationship with the fertility intentions. Duration of the current union measures the number of months from the start date of the current union to the date of interview. For remarried women, who cohabited with their current marital partner, the duration variable will also measure the number of months they were cohabiting with their current husband. I account for the birth parity of the couple in terms of both stepchildren and children from the current postmarital union (shared children). Stepchildren are defined broadly to include either spouses or partners biological or adopted children from a previous relationship, who could reside with the couple or in another household. I used the respondent's reports of stepchildren and limited the analyses to stepchildren under age 18. Thus, the couple's fertility history is captured by four response categories: No children, respondent has biological/adopted children from a previous relationship, partner has biological/adopted children from a previous relationship, and both the respondent and partner have biological children together in their current union. Stepchildren who were adopted by their stepparents are considered shared children, rather than stepchildren, because after adoption stepparents become legally responsible for their stepchildren.

Four covariates measuring the respondent's social background characteristics are included in the analyses: race/ethnicity and nativity status, respondent's education, childhood family structure, and religious service attendance at time of interview. Women's race/ethnicity is recoded into five response categories: White, African-

American, native-born Hispanic, foreign-born Hispanic, and other. Respondent's education is measured by four categories: less than H.S degree, earned H.S degree, less than college degree, and college degree or higher. Family type during childhood is measured as a binary response variable, with respondents falling into one of two categories: grew up in an intact (two-parent) household during childhood, or "other" household. Religious service attendance, serving as a proxy for religiosity, has five response categories and is treated as a continuous variable. The response categories are as follows: never attends religious services; attends less than once a month; attends 1-3 times per month; attends once a week; attends more than once a week.

Four partner social background characteristics that may affect the relationship between postmarital union status and fertility intentions are included as controls: partner's age at start of the couple's current postmarital union, race/ethnicity, educational attainment, and marital history. Partner's age at current postmarital union, race/ethnicity and educational attainment have coding and response categories similar to the respondents (see above). Whether the partner has been previously married is a dichotomous response variable (1 = previously married and 0 = never married).

Analytic Method

The analytic method used in this current investigation is ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. This method is appropriate for the examination of a continuous dependent variable. Zero-order OLS regression analysis is conducted for each independent variable. Multivariate OLS regression analysis is conducted and three nested models are estimated. The first model includes postmarital union status at time of interview and all life course control measures. The second model includes postmarital

union status, life course control measures, and respondent's social background covariates. The full model includes postmarital union status, life course control measures, respondent's social background covariates, and partner's social background covariates.