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FERTILITY DIFFERENTIALS ACROSS RACE-ETHNICITY AND GENERATIONAL STATUS: INCORPORATING NON-HISPANIC IMMIGRANTS

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Abstract

Research on nativity and generational differences in U.S. fertility has largely focused on Hispanics, but rising immigration from other regions warrants greater attention to non-Hispanic immigrant fertility. Using data on women aged 18–24 and 40–44 from six waves of the June Fertility Supplement of the Current Population Survey (2000–2010), we assess quantum and timing variation in fertility by examining (1) whether race-ethnic groups exhibit similar differences in completed fertility within generational status; (2) whether intergenerational patterns in completed fertility are similar across race-ethnicity; (3) whether variation in the proportion of young adults with children mirrors variation in completed fertility; and (4) whether tempo patterns in completed fertility are reflected in age at last birth. Analyses stratified by both race and generational status suggest that foreign-born Mexican women aged 40–44 have uniquely high completed fertility compared to other immigrant groups and subsequent generations and that race-ethnic differences in fertility are stronger than generational differences. Race-ethnic and generational patterns among entry into motherhood among young women are similar to completed fertility, with the exception of young Asian and black women, and patterns of age at last birth among older women suggest that differences in fertility are attributable primarily to timing factors.

Keywords: fertility, immigration, race-ethnicity

Because fertility among Hispanics is higher than among non-Hispanics, largely due to the behavior of Hispanic immigrants and Mexican immigrants in particular (Jonsson and Rendall 2004; Parrado 2011), research on race-ethnic differentials in fertility in the United States tends to focus on the Hispanic population. While understandable, this is a major oversight given rising rates of immigration to the United States from other parts of the world (Pew Hispanic Center 2013; Pew Research Center 2012). Though we know a great deal about the role of nativity, generational status, and assimilation processes in fertility among Hispanic women (e.g., Bean et al. 2000; Frank and Heuveline 2005; McDonald et al. 2009; Parrado 2011; Parrado and Morgan 2008), more research is needed comparing these processes to the behavior of non-Hispanic immigrant groups, as the immigration and fertility of both Hispanic *and* non-Hispanic immigrants are expected to contribute to radical changes to the demographic composition of the United States (Humes et al. 2011; Passel and Cohn 2008).

This study uses data from six waves of the June Fertility Supplement of the Current Population Survey to address these oversights, focusing on three research questions. First, we ask whether there are race-ethnic differences in completed fertility within the same generation after accounting for compositional factors. That is, the question remains to what extent the observed higher fertility of first-generation Mexican women is due to their immigrant status itself (and thus we would expect higher fertility for immigrants across race and nationality) or to something unique about Mexican immigrant women. Second, we examine generational fertility differentials within race-ethnic groups, net of compositional factors, to examine whether intergenerational shifts in fertility patterns are experienced similarly across groups. Intergenerational declines in fertility are well-documented among Hispanics (Parrado and Morgan 2008), but it is unclear whether other groups exhibit the same patterns. Third, we assess whether quantum differences in

completed fertility are mirrored in tempo differences in the tempo of childrearing, by examining patterns of entry into parenthood among women aged 18–24 and age at last birth among women 40-44.

Race-ethnicity and nativity in the U.S.

The rapid growth of the Latin American-origin population over the past few decades has important implications for the demographic composition of the U.S. (Tienda and Mitchell 2006). Recent releases from the Census indicate that the Hispanic population has grown by nearly 43% since 2000, to 50.5 million people, comprising 16% of the U.S. population and surpassing blacks as the largest minority group (U.S. Census Bureau 2011). Latin Americans comprise the largest proportion of the foreign-born in the U.S., accounting for more than half of the foreign-born population as of 2010, and Mexicans figure as the largest immigrant group among all nationalities, accounting for nearly 30% of the foreign-born population (Grieco et al. 2012). Compared to non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics in the U.S. are a young population with nearly 30% under the age of 15, compared to just 17% of non-Hispanic whites (U.S. Census Bureau 2011); thus, a large share of this population is or will soon be of childbearing age. Latin American-origin groups, however, are not the only groups immigrating to and having children in the United States. Between 2000 and 2010, those who identified themselves as Asian experienced the fastest rate of growth of any race-ethnic group (Humes et al. 2011). Moreover, Asian immigrants recently surpassed Hispanic immigrants as the largest group—nearly 40%—of new immigrants to the U.S (Pew Research Center 2012), and there is evidence that immigration from Latin America has declined in recent years (Passel and Cohn 2010). Over 28% of the foreign-born population in the United States is from Asian countries, nearly 13% comes from European countries, and four percent comes from Africa and other regions (Grieco and Trevelyan 2010).

Fertility in minority groups

From descriptive information, we know that there is wide variation by race-ethnicity. In 2011, the total fertility rate (TFR) of Hispanic-origin women was above replacement level at 2.24, while the TFR of non-Hispanic white and black women were 1.77 and 1.92, respectively, and the TFR of Asian women was 1.71 (Martin et al. 2013). Even within the umbrella category of Hispanic, the TFR varied substantially, ranging from 1.43 among Cuban women to 2.14 among Mexican women to 2.85 among those from Central and South America (Martin et al. 2013). The fertility of members of minority groups has long been an interest to both demographers and social scientists, in part because such behaviors are seen as an indicator of the degree to which minority groups are integrated into mainstream society. Goldscheider and Uhlenberg (1969) presented three explanations for understanding the mechanisms driving such fertility differentials that are remain influential. First, there is the "characteristics approach," which suggests that the differences are due not to minority status per se but rather to underlying socioeconomic characteristics related to fertility. Second, there is a cultural explanation that attributes higher fertility to specific cultural norms and ideologies among minorities (often based on religious teachings) that are pronatalist and/or prohibit contraception and abortion. Both the characteristics and cultural explanations suggest that assimilation into the mainstream (a process usually occurring across generations) would result in declining fertility across generations until levels match the majority group, as socioeconomic differentials lessen through increased participation in mainstream economic and employment avenues, and minorities adopt of broader cultural values (Blau 1992). Goldscheider and Uhlenberg also offered a third explanation wherein minority groups consciously limit fertility to overcome barriers to social and economic

integration. In this scenario, assimilation would potentially raise fertility until groups feel completely integrated.

In general, assimilation research supports the notion that fertility declines across subsequent generations. Parrado and Morgan (2008), for instance, found evidence that although Hispanic immigrants (especially Mexicans) have higher completed fertility than whites, fertility declined substantially across generations among Hispanics, converging with that of whites. Not all research, however, finds evidence supporting intergenerational assimilation. Bean et al. (2000) urge restraint in confirming assimilation theory: while it is supported in terms of duration in the United States and between the first and second generations, the authors found that third-generation Mexican American women have higher current fertility than both non-Hispanic whites and second-generation Mexican American women, a pattern similar to other studies (Carter 2000; Frank and Heuveline 2005). Lindstrom and Saucedo (2002) find support for selection among temporary and permanent migrants based on fertility preferences, with permanent residents experiencing a stronger negative effect on fertility with time in the U.S. Generation status matters, then, but may work differently across race-ethnic groups. It is possible that there is a pattern of segmented assimilation whereby some immigrant groups see decreased fertility in accordance with the dominant culture, while other groups experience downward assimilation into oppositional or persistently disadvantaged minority populations (Portes and Zhou 1993), resulting in higher fertility.

Further, the role of non-Hispanic immigrant fertility in overall fertility levels, and the applicability of assimilation theory to immigrants' fertility behavior as a whole, remains to be seen. The vast majority of research done on *immigrant* fertility has almost exclusively focused on *Hispanic* immigrants (e.g., Ford 1990; Forste and Tienda 1996; Hill and Johnson 2004; Kahn

1988), though this literature sometimes analyzed Hispanic subgroups. This focus is neither arbitrary nor impractical: in recent decades the largest immigrant group in the United States has been Hispanics, and there are often constraints in available fertility data for other minority and immigrant groups that make it difficult to study their fertility behavior (Forste and Tienda 1996). The limited literature that does examine other ethnic and immigrant groups, alone or as they compare to immigrants from Latin American sending countries, has found differences in contributions to U.S. fertility, though this research is quite dated (e.g., Bachu and O'Connell 1984; Blau 1992; Kahn 1988). Bachu and O'Connell (1984), using 1983 CPS data, found that immigrant women from European countries have lower fertility than women from Asian countries but nearly identical to South American women and higher than Cuban women. There is some indication that assimilation patterns hold more strongly for European than Hispanic immigrants, in part due to temporary or circular migrant flows from Latin American countries (Ford 1990). Kahn (1988) found, when comparing immigrants from a range of countries, that immigrants overall adapt destination-country fertility norms but that Asian groups appear to adopt lower fertility norms more quickly than other groups. Early work suggested that Chinese immigrants increase their fertility through immigration to the U.S. as they exit stricter fertility policies (Hwang and Saenz 1997), though other research now suggests that lower fertility among the Chinese is now largely due to lower desired family sizes (Cai 2010; Merli and Smith 2002). Thus, there is a clear need for more comparative research across immigrant groups.

Compositional correlates of fertility

Although the "characteristics approach" (Goldscheider and Uhlenberg 1969) focuses on differences between minority groups and the majority group, there is also substantial diversity among minorities and immigrants. According to a recent report by the Pew Hispanic Center

(2013), Mexican immigrants are substantially less likely to have a high school degree than other groups, while Asian immigrants had the highest proportions with a college degree or higher. The report also details large differences in union status and living arrangements. Thus, it is possible that any fertility differences across immigrant groups may be partially due to compositional factors. Spatial factors are also associated with fertility behaviors (Lesthaeghe and Niedert 2006; Lichter et al. 2012; Preston and Hartnett 2010). Geographic regions in the U.S.—the receiving context for immigrants—have different concentrations of race-ethnic groups, and there appear to be regional differences in fertility among immigrants, as proximity to or isolation from one's own race-ethnic or immigrant group influences the extent to which immigrants and their families are incorporated into mainstream U.S. culture (Haller et al. 2011; Xie and Gough 2011). Similar processes may explain why rural fertility is higher than urban fertility, especially among Hispanics (Lichter et al. 2012).

In sum, then, it is unclear how the fertility of other immigrant groups compares to either native-born Americans or foreign-born Hispanics—i.e., whether other groups share similar generational differences in fertility, or whether there are patterns unique to Hispanics or other race-ethnic groups. That is, are there differences across race-ethnic groups within generational status, and do Mexicans always exhibit higher fertility than other groups, net of compositional differences? If not, this suggests that the higher fertility of Mexican immigrants is not a Mexican (or Hispanic) phenomenon but an *immigrant* phenomenon. Similarly, do all race-ethnic groups exhibit similar declines in completed fertility across generations, net of compositional differences? We suggest that the best way to examine fertility differences across race-ethnic groups and across generations is to focus on completed fertility rather than the TFR. Using the TFR to document race-ethnic fertility differentials, especially given wide nativity differences

across groups, has been heavily criticized (Parrado 2011). If immigrants have a different age profile as a whole and/or exhibit differences in fertility timing relative to the native-born population, the TFR— a hypothetical number based on age-specific fertility rates— will overestimate actual fertility. Parrado and Flippen (2012) demonstrated this further by showing that for all age groups, immigrant fertility peaked in the period following arrival and quickly dissipated thereafter; thus, fertility estimates including women who have recently arrived in the U.S. may overestimate women's lifetime fertility. This suggests that migration and family behaviors should not be treated as independent processes, and that using alternative fertility indicators such as children ever born, or other indicators of timing (i.e., proportion of young adults with a child or age at last birth), may be more appropriate for documenting fertility differentials.

Quantum versus tempo factors

Completed fertility, while a more accurate indicator of fertility behavior across groups with differences in age structure than the TFR (Parrado 2011), does have some flaws. First, completed fertility does not tell us about the timing of fertility over the life course. Much of the change in overall U.S. fertility over the last several decades can be attributed to changes in timing (Preston and Hartnett 2010). Specifically, completed fertility may mask important differences in the timing of births: for example, it is possible that some groups both start *and* end childbearing earlier than other groups. If the timing of fertility varies widely across groups, even when completed fertility is fairly similar, this suggests that assimilation and acculturation is not occurring equally. Differences in timing can exacerbate socioeconomic disadvantage among minorities, as childbearing is both selective of the more disadvantaged and consequential for both child and parental well-being (Hofferth and Reid 2002; Pogarsky et al. 2006; Turley 2003;

Umberson et al. 2010). Additionally, completed fertility reflects past experiences, providing little information about the fertility behaviors of more recent cohorts (Parrado and Flippen 2012). As such, it cannot provide information about the fertility behaviors of those who have years of potential childbearing yet to experience. As such, we argue that it is important to consider indicators of tempo and therefore conduct additional analyses of the proportion of young women with at least one birth and of age at last birth among older women.

Data and Method

This study uses six waves of the Current Population Survey (CPS) June Fertility Supplement, from 2000 to 2010. The CPS is a monthly survey of a nationally representative sample of American households conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. For the 2000–2004 surveys, sampling used 1990 Census information; the 2006–2010 sampling used the 2000 Census. While CPS households are repeatedly surveyed over multiple months, the June Fertility Supplement is taken biennially, and thus the pooled sample analyzed here consists of repeated cross-sections rather than panel data. The unique advantage of the CPS data is that it is the only data source which contains sufficiently large sample sizes of race-ethnic minorities by nativity. Because we have three complementary analyses of completed fertility, early fertility, and age at last birth, we have three analytical samples: women aged 40–44 (N=31,080), women aged 18–24 (N=34,620), and mothers aged 40–44 (N = 25,224).

Measures

To examine fertility differentials we use three dependent variables. First, we analyze the number of children among women aged 40–44 as an approximate measure of completed fertility, a quantum indicator. The CPS data does not contain a complete birth history, but it does contain information on the number of children; for women 40 to 44, we retain this as a continuous

variable. Census estimates show just over 100 births per 1,000 women aged 40–44, substantially lower than the rates for younger age groups (ranging from 400 to 1,200 per 1,000 women), and very few births to older women (with births to women aged 45–54 at just 7 per 1,000) (U.S. Census Bureau 2011). As such, for simplicity we refer to our estimates for women 40–44 as completed fertility given the small prevalence of women who bear children at 45 or older. The next two measures assess different components of fertility timing. The first tempo measure is the proportion of women aged 18–24 who have any children. This is a dichotomous indicator derived from the same continuous measure of number of children used above and serves as a rough proxy for early entrance into motherhood. Unfortunately, the CPS does not contain age or date of first birth, but it does contain age at most recent birth. We use the age at most recent birth among mothers aged 40-44 as a second measure of tempo to approximate the completion of childbearing.

Our measure of race-ethnicity is derived from questions of race and Hispanic origin, resulting in five categories: non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, Mexican, other Hispanic, and Asian. Although there were too few cases to further disaggregate within the other Hispanic group or the Asian group, a key advantage of the CPS is that it includes sufficient data to identify nativity and a degree of generational status as well. Respondents provide their country of birth; those reporting anything other than the 50 United States are considered foreign born (including those born in places such as Puerto Rico and Guam). Respondents also report both their mother's and father's country of birth. Using this information, we created three generational groups for women aged 40–44: foreign-born (FB in tables and figures), children of foreign-born parents (CFB), and children of native-born parents (CNB). The first two groups correspond with the traditional generational terms of "first generation" and "second generation." However, the last

group, children of native-born, is a more heterogeneous group, including both those who could be categorized as "third generation" (i.e., grandchildren of immigrants) and those whose ancestors have been in the U.S. for several generations. For Hispanics and Asians, the children of the native-born category may translate more often into third generation, but for non-Hispanic whites and blacks, this is less likely to be the case.

Among the 18–24, for whom we have larger cell sizes, we are able to further disaggregate the foreign-born by approximate age at arrival. Research on immigrant groups has frequently advocated such a distinction, as individuals who are technically foreign-born but arrived in the United States during childhood may have distinct characteristics and behaviors compared to both those who immigrated at older ages and their native-born counterparts (Rumbaut 2004). We therefore distinguish between foreign-born women who arrive prior to age 12 and those who arrive at age 12 or later, a boundary consistent with other studies (Rumbaut 2004); we use the terms "foreign-born, early arrival" (FB, EA) and "foreign-born, late arrival," (FB, LA) respectively. Age of arrival is calculated from the survey year, the respondent's age, and her reported year of arrival in the U.S. It is important to note, however, that the estimate is approximate: data do not provide an exact year of arrival but rather an interval. After 1980 the intervals are only two years, but prior to that most are 5 years; thus we had to assign a year within the interval. For all respondents, we use the survey year and the respondent's age to check for a minimum year possible within an interval. For example, in the 2000 survey, if a respondent is 22 years old, she was born in approximately 1978. If she reported coming to the U.S. in the 1975–1979 interval, we can reasonably exclude 1975–1977 as possible values. In the event that a respondent reports an interval for which all years are possible, the midpoint is assigned. Fortunately, the 18–24 group was born, at the very earliest, around 1976, so the majority of

foreign-born women reported one of the two-year intervals and therefore the 12-year cutoff should be relatively close to their actual year of arrival. For analyses on the foreign-born subsamples (described in the analytical strategy, below), we also include duration of residence in the U.S., calculated from the respondent's age at the time of survey minus their approximate age at arrival.

As controls for compositional factors, we include level of education, family income, union and residential status, and geographic region. Education refers to respondents' reported highest level of education completed, categorized into 4 groups (less than high school, high school or GED, some college, or college or higher). Among the 18–24 group, since the youngest could potentially still be enrolled in high school and therefore categorically different from those who have not graduated high school because they dropped out, we further distinguish between "less than high school, currently enrolled," and those not enrolled using respondent reports of whether they are currently attending school and what level (high school or college). Family income is an ordered categorical variable ranging from 1 ("less than $5000) to 14 ("75,000 or more"). All survey years used have the same categories, with the exception of two additional intervals over $75,000 from 2004 on. These last categories were collapsed so that the variable categories are consistent across waves. We treat this variable as a continuous variable in analyses and use the multiple imputation procedures in Stata 13 to deal with missing data (13% of the 40–44 sample, and 12% of the 18–24 sample). Our union status measure draws from the respondents' reported marital status, resulting in four categories (married, widowed/divorced/separated, cohabiting, or never married/other unmarried relationship situation). For the 18–24 sample, union status is further distinguished using information about the household family structure (given that many young adults have not yet left the parental home), so that respondents

are categorized as married, unmarried, unmarried living with family, or cohabiting. Geographic region refers to Census-defined regions of the Midwest, South, Northeast, and West.[1] Urbanicity refers to whether respondents are living in a metropolitan area, suburbs, a nonmetropolitan area, or "other" ("not identified" or "unidentified" in the CPS codebook). We also include survey year as a categorical control variable in all analyses, and age as a control in the analysis of fertility among young women, specified both as a continuous and a quadratric measure. Preliminary analyses showed that most women in the survey ages 40–44 had their last child around age 30 and thus there was little variation in age requiring a more dynamic specification. The descriptive characteristics of the analytical samples of women 40–44 and 18–24 by race-ethnicity and generation are in the Appendix, showing that there are indeed compositional differences across generations and race-ethnic groups.

Analytic strategy

We first present a number of descriptive figures for completed fertility, fertility among young women, and age at last birth by race-ethnicity and generational status. We then present three sets of multivariate analyses. First, we analyze completed fertility among women 40–44; because the dependent variable is skewed, we use Poisson regression. Second, we analyze the likelihood of being a mother among women aged 18–24, using logistic regression where the dependent variable is a dichotomous indicator of whether the respondent had a child or not. Third, we analyze the age at last birth among mothers aged 40–44, using OLS regression. For each set of analyses, we present two different groups of models. The first group of multivariate analyses predicts the fertility behavior across race-ethnicity within generational status. We use Mexican

[1] Midwest (formerly North Central) includes Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; Northeast includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont; South includes Alabama, Arkansas, the District of Columbia, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia; West includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, New Mexico, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

women as the reference group, as literature highlights Mexican fertility as particularly high. That is, we run regressions separately by generation to isolate whether non-Mexican groups exhibit the same behavior as Mexicans within each generation. The second set of analyses predicts fertility behavior across generational status within race-ethnic groups, using foreign-born women as the reference group to most clearly approximate chronological generational change.

Results

Descriptive Results

Figure 1 presents completed fertility estimates for women 40–44 across race-ethnicity, within generational status. Foreign-born (FB) women have more children than both the children of the foreign-born (CFB) and children of the native-born (CNB), at 2.14 children versus 1.80 and 1.85 children, respectively. Note that race-ethnic differences are much smaller among both groups of native-born women—particularly women with native-born parents—than among foreign-born women. Among foreign-born women, Mexican women's fertility is significantly different ($p<.05$) from all other race-ethnic groups; all groups' fertility differs significantly from non-Hispanic white women except for Asian women, and all groups differ significantly from black women except for other Hispanics. Among the children of the foreign-born, the major difference is between Mexican and non-Hispanic white women, with some difference between Mexican and other Hispanics as well but to a smaller degree. Estimates for Asian and black women born to foreign parents should be taken with caution given very small cell sizes. Among children of native-born parents, Mexican women have significantly higher completed fertility than every group except other Hispanic women (the latter difference being marginally significant at $p=.056$), but the magnitude of the difference between Mexicans and other women is substantially

smaller than for the foreign-born. Completed fertility among black women is significantly higher than among non-Hispanic white women, although this difference is not substantively large.

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Next, Figure 2 shows unadjusted weighted mean completed fertility for the full 40–44 group by generational status within race-ethnic group. Consistent with prior research, it appears that much of the higher fertility among Mexicans is actually driven by the fertility of the foreign-born. All groups exhibit a decline in completed fertility between the foreign-born and the children of the foreign-born, but the decline is particularly large among Mexicans. However, Mexicans are the only group that does not exhibit a significant increase in completed fertility between the children of the foreign-born and the children of the native-born.

[FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 3 shows the unadjusted weighted percent of women ages 18–24 who have had any children, by race-ethnicity within generational status. Note that the data follow a pattern similar as the mean completed fertility among the older group (Figure 1). Differences are largest for the foreign-born late arrivals (FB, LA), and the fertility of Mexican-origin women again stands out in the first three generational groups. In the last group, children of the native-born, a larger proportion of both black and Mexican women are already parents. The lowest proportions of young women who have children are Asian women among the foreign-born late-arrivals and women the foreign-born parents, while non-Hispanic white women have the lowest proportion among the foreign-born early arrivals (FB, EA) and the children of the native-born.

[FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 4 shows the unadjusted weighted percent of women ages 18–24 with any children by generational status, within race-ethnic group. This information dovetails with other work

finding declines across early generations but increases in the third generation for most race-ethnic groups. For Mexican, other Hispanic, non-Hispanic white, and black women, the proportion who had a child among those aged 18–24 is highest among the foreign-born late arrivals. The foreign-born early arrivals exhibit a much lower proportion (the difference is especially large among Mexicans), and the proportion is lowest among the children of the foreign-born. The exception to this pattern is Asians, who actually exhibit a higher proportion who have had children among the foreign-born early arrivals than among either the foreign-born later arrivals or the children of foreign-born parents. All groups, however, demonstrate an increase in the proportion of young women who are mothers for the children of the native-born.

[FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Finally, in Figures 5 and 6 we present similar descriptive figures of age at last birth for the subsample of 40–44-year-old mothers (*N*=25,244). Asian women display the highest age at last birth overall in Figure 5. However, although the CPS fertility data do not provide age at first birth, reconciling Figure 6 with completed fertility among older women and the proportion of young women with children suggests that the higher fertility of foreign-born women is related to childbearing further into adulthood, while women with native-born parents may begin a bit later and stop earlier. We look more closely at factors at play in age at last birth in the multivariate results.

[FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE]

[FIGURE 6 ABOUT HERE]

Multivariate results

Because compositional differences may contribute to differences across race-ethnicity and generation, we turn to multivariate analyses. First, we focus on completed fertility among women

aged 40–44. Table 1 shows multivariate Poisson regression models for the 40–44 sample, running models stratified by generational status and controlling for race-ethnicity (as well as socioeconomic and demographic factors); these models address whether there are race-ethnic differences in completed fertility within a particular generation. We are especially interested in whether Mexicans immigrants have higher fertility than other groups, using this group as the reference category. For the foreign-born, Mexicans do indeed have higher fertility than all other groups, except blacks, and the pattern is the same for the children of the foreign-born. Among the children of the native-born, however, only non-Hispanic whites have significantly lower fertility than Mexican-origin women. Accounting for differences in socioeconomic and demographic factors thus does little to explain the bivariate associations seen in the descriptive figures, though they are often significant in their own right, particularly for predicting fertility among the children of the native-born. In analyses not shown, where the omitted category is non-Hispanic white, other Hispanic and black women also have significantly higher completed fertility among the foreign-born, with differences between blacks and other Hispanics relative to whites disappearing among the children of the foreign-born before re-emerging among the children of the native-born.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

We turn next to models stratified by race-ethnicity and controlling for generational status to test whether all groups experience declines across generations, net of compositional factors, using foreign-born women as the omitted category, shown in Table 2. In the presence of controls for socioeconomic and demographic factors, women born to immigrant parents do not differ significantly from foreign-born women in their completed fertility in any race-ethnic group, although this should be interpreted with caution for black and Asian women as this generation

group has small cell sizes. Mexican women are the only group for which the children of native-born parents differ significantly from the foreign-born net of covariates, having significantly fewer children. In nested models not presented here, both the children of the native-born and the children of the foreign-born have significantly lower fertility than foreign-born women among Mexicans, but education reduces the fertility of women with foreign parents to nonsignificance and nearly halves the size of the coefficient for the children of the native-born.

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

We now examine whether patterns of completed fertility are mirrored in the timing of childbearing, looking first at early entry into motherhood. Table 3 presents logistic regression models predicting the odds of having any children among young women, with race-ethnicity as the primary predictor and stratified by generational status. These models reveal similar patterns to those in the corresponding models in Table 1. Non-Hispanic white women are the only race-ethnic group that have consistently lower odds of having had a child compared to Mexican women across all four generational groups, although the difference between whites and Mexicans diminishes across generations. All race-ethnic groups have significantly lower odds of having had a child compared to Mexican women among late-arriving foreign-born, with the largest difference among Asian women (OR = 0.16), but among the early-arriving foreign-born, only non-Hispanic whites are different. Among the children of the foreign-born, Asian and white women have significantly lower odds of childbearing compared to Mexican women; unlike the models predicting the number of children among older women, though, other Hispanic young women are not significantly different than Mexican-origin women. Finally, as seen in Table 1, compositional and geographic characteristics are more predictive of parenthood among young women with native-born parents than among immigrants or those with foreign-born parents.

When the reference category is non-Hispanic white (not shown), all other groups, particularly Mexicans, have significantly higher odds of having any children among both foreign-born groups. Among women with immigrant parents, Asian women no longer differ significantly relative to white women (though this difference just misses significance, at p=.06). Among native-born women with native-born parents, all groups again have significantly higher odds of any fertility than white women, and in fact the odds for Asian women are the second highest.

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Turning to models stratified by race-ethnicity and controlling for generational status, we see that, similar to the models for completed fertility in Table 2, few generational differences emerge within race-ethnic groups (Table 4). However, distinct from the patterns observed in the previous models is a significant role of generational status among young Asian women. Subsequent generational groups of Asian women have higher odds of having any children by ages 18–24, with the children of native-born parents having the highest odds (OR = 4.23) compared to foreign-born late arrivals. Unlike the earlier model, young Mexican women do not exhibit any significant differences across generations in the likelihood of having a child. Among black women, those born in the U.S. with native-born parents also have significantly higher odds of having a child by age 24 compared to foreign-born late arrivals.

Finally, we examine age at last birth, again first presenting a model stratified by generational status, shown in Table 5. Recall that these analyses include only mothers. Unlike the earlier two sets of analyses, there is less variation across race-ethnic groups in age at last birth. Foreign-born non-Hispanic whites and other Hispanic women do have their last child at a younger age than Mexican immigrants, but Asian and black women do not differ in their age at last birth compared to Mexicans. Among the children of the foreign-born, there are no

differences in age at last birth. Among the children of the native-born, only black women are significantly different (and younger) than Mexican women in age at last birth. As with earlier models, though, compositional factors and region are more predictive of fertility among the children of the native born. Table 6 shows the model stratified by race-ethnicity. Here, we see that both Mexican and black women with native-born parents have their last birth significantly earlier than their foreign-born counterparts, but there are no differences across generations for other Hispanics, whites, or Asians. As with the above analyses, particularly those predicting early parenthood, compositional factors are more predictive for whites and blacks.

[TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE]

[TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE]

Discussion

This study addresses several gaps in the literature. Fertility research in the United States tends to focus on the Hispanic population, as the group's high fertility, particularly among immigrants, is believed to drive much of U.S. fertility. We know less, however, about the fertility of non-Hispanic immigrants, a serious omission given that non-Hispanics account for nearly half of the foreign-born population and that Asians recently surpassed Hispanics as the largest group of new immigrants (Pew Research Center 2012). It is therefore vital to understand whether other immigrant groups exhibit similar fertility patterns, which would suggest continued population growth and fertility levels slightly above replacement-level, or if Hispanic, particularly Mexican, immigrant fertility is uniquely high and thus a compositional shift away from Mexican-origin immigrant groups to groups from other areas would have different implications for overall population growth. We also build upon recent research citing the importance of using completed fertility as a dependent variable when assessing nativity differences in fertility, given the age

structure of immigrant populations and the effect that migration may have on family behaviors like childbearing (Parrado 2011; Parrado and Flippen 2012; Parrado and Morgan 2008). Finally, we assess race-ethnic variation within generational status, as well as generational variation within race-ethnic group, to obtain a more nuanced portrait of race-ethnic-nativity variation in fertility, and examine the extent to which completed fertility may be reflected in fertility timing behaviors at younger ages.

With respect to our first question, we do find differences across different race-ethnic groups within generational statuses groups, with the association strongest for the foreign-born. We were particularly interested in whether the higher fertility among Mexican-born women is something unique to Mexicans or is more of a facet of immigrant status, net of compositional factors. Our results suggest that there is indeed something unique about the fertility of Mexican-born women in the United States. Compared to other race-ethnic groups, foreign-born Mexican women exhibit higher overall completed fertility, are more likely to have entered parenthood early if they arrived after age 12, and end their childbearing later (though this latter is only true relative to non-Hispanic whites and other Hispanics). By the next generation—native-born children of immigrant parents—differences are no longer as stark across all the fertility measures, indicating a degree of assimilation. Differences in completed fertility between Mexicans and other groups change only slightly between the first two generations. Yet among those who immigrated as young children as well as those born in the U.S. to immigrant parents, differences between Mexicans, other Hispanics, and blacks are no longer significant, and the differences between Asians and non-Hispanic whites are attenuated. Further, there are few differences in age at last birth among the children of the native-born. We take this as evidence that the unique factors boosting fertility among Mexicans quickly diminishes by the next

generation, as exposure to American society—and American fertility norms—occurs. By the last generational group (an admittedly more diverse group in terms of its distance from the migration experience), Mexicans' fertility differs only from whites in terms of completed fertility and the odds of early parenting, with no differences in age at last birth. It seems that by the third generation or later, simply being a member of a minority group is predictive of fertility, a pattern supported by additional models not shown using non-Hispanic whites as the reference group.

We do not find evidence that all race-ethnic groups experience the same intergenerational patterns of fertility. Only Mexicans experience declines in completed fertility across generations, accompanied by an earlier end to childbearing, and the difference is only significant for those whose parents were born in the United States. The odds of early parenthood do not change across generation for Mexicans, suggesting that part of the decline, then, in completed fertility may be that Mexican-origin women may continue to have children at younger ages but cease childbearing at earlier ages across generations. Interestingly, among Asian women, we see that subsequent generations are more likely to have a child at young ages, though they are no more likely to have more children overall or to stop childbearing at a different age across generations. This may reflect greater exposure to sexual activity in the U.S. relative to sending countries, along with a greater acceptance of nonmarital childbearing.

Limitations

This study has some limitations. We emphasize that while this study elucidates differences across generational statuses in the same age group, it cannot capture generational change per se (Parrado and Morgan 2008). For this more years of data are necessary to capture cohorts approximating women, their mothers, and their grandmothers. Similarly, it is important to note that similarities and especially differences between the 40–44 group and the 18–24 group should

be treated with caution, as the processes at play may have changed in their two-decade gap. Our generational categories are not perfect—the CNB category, specifically, is broader than just the third generation. Black and white non-Hispanics in particular are likely to have ancestry in the U.S. dating back several generations. Furthermore, our findings regarding generational differences in fertility should be taken with caution with respect to 40–44-year-old black and Asian women due to small cell sizes. This study does not capture all of the many ethnicities contained in the various racial groups—myriad ethnic backgrounds fall under the categories included here, and this might be especially problematic for the Asian category. Our compositional measures are, by necessity due to data limitations, quite basic; more detailed measures of socioeconomic status (e.g., expenses, home ownership, employment status) would enhance future research. This study also lacks these kinds of compositional factors as they relate to immigrants' sending country.

Conclusion

We find evidence of both quantum and tempo differences in fertility across race-ethnicity as well as generational status, though race-ethnic differences emerge as the more salient factor net of compositional factors. This finding highlights the importance of structural factors related particularly to race-ethnic minority status in the U.S., as opposed to more cultural factors related to nativity and assimilation. Adding nuance to this perspective, however, is that socioeconomic and demographic compositional factors are more salient in fertility differentials among women with native-born parents—that is, the U.S. structural context is less predictive of fertility differences for those women with closer proximity to the migration experience. This could lend support to a cultural component not observed, or indicative of the importance of sending country structural factors for immigrant women and their daughters.

Overall, our findings suggest that there is something unique about the childbearing behaviors of Mexican immigrant women, relative to both Mexican women of later generations and immigrant women from other sending countries. As such, to the extent that immigration from Mexico is declining and immigration from other regions is rising, the implications of the fertility behaviors of immigrant women and subsequent generations may differ from current projections. Immigrants from Asia, Europe, and other Latin American countries have substantially lower completed fertility than Mexican immigrant women, although immigrants from Latin America overall (including Mexico) and Africa do have higher fertility than non-Hispanic white immigrants. Still, our results are consistent with Parrado's (2011) contention that the role of Hispanic fertility is likely overstated in projections of population growth, especially given that Mexicans experience a substantial fertility decline across generations. However, we acknowledge that conclusions about the role of immigrant fertility behavior needs to be careful in distinguishing whether Mexican immigration is declining in absolute numbers or merely whether the proportion of immigrants who are of Mexican origin is shifting. The former scenario is particularly problematic for fertility and population projections—Parrado's (2011) work convincingly demonstrated that projections based on the TFR are overstated due to the unique age profile of the Mexican immigrant population, and our work suggests that if other regions are becoming more reflective of the immigrant population in the United States as Mexican immigration declines, a shifting immigrant profile to groups with lower completed fertility could substantially reduce the future population relative to current projections. Thus, our work joins the chorus advocating for increased attention to the growth in immigration from—and the shifting consequences of—countries and regions other than Mexico.

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Fig. 1
Unadjusted Weighted Mean Number of Children by Race/Ethnicity within Generational Status, ages 40–44 (N = 31,080)

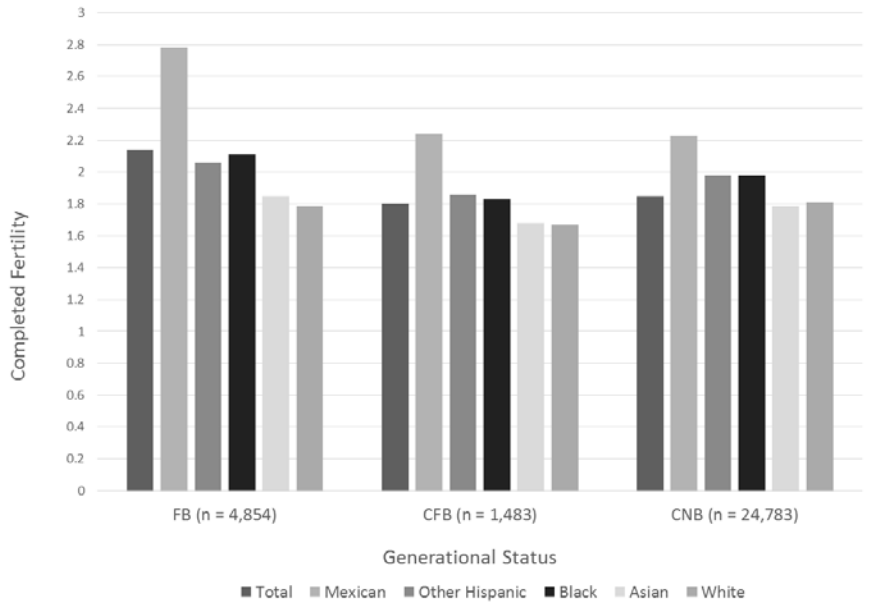

Fig. 2
Unadjusted Weighted Mean Number of Children by Generational Status within Race-Ethnic Group, ages 40–44 (N = 31,080)

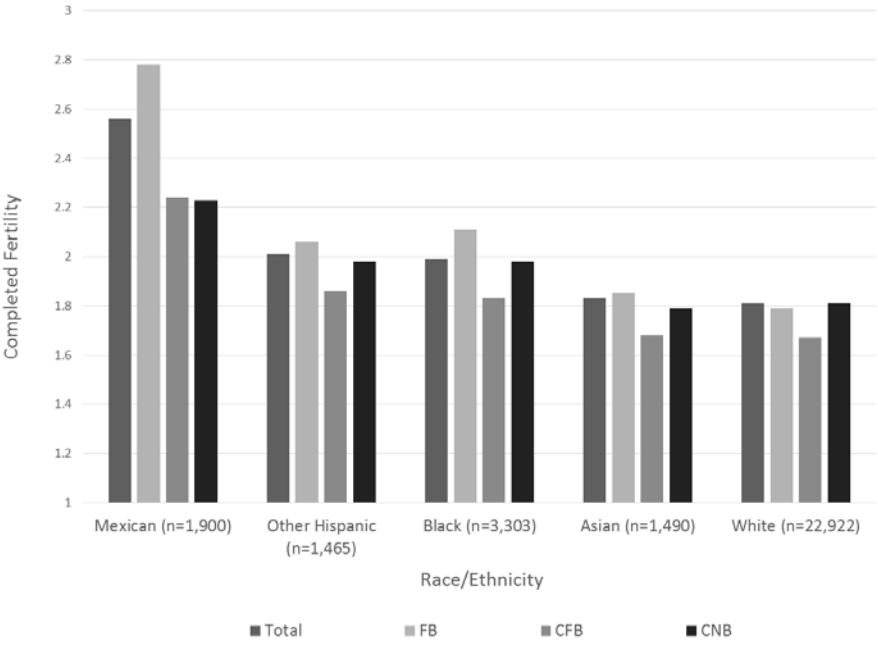

Fig. 3
Unadjusted Weighted Percent with Any Children by Race/Ethnicity within Generational Status (N = 34,620)

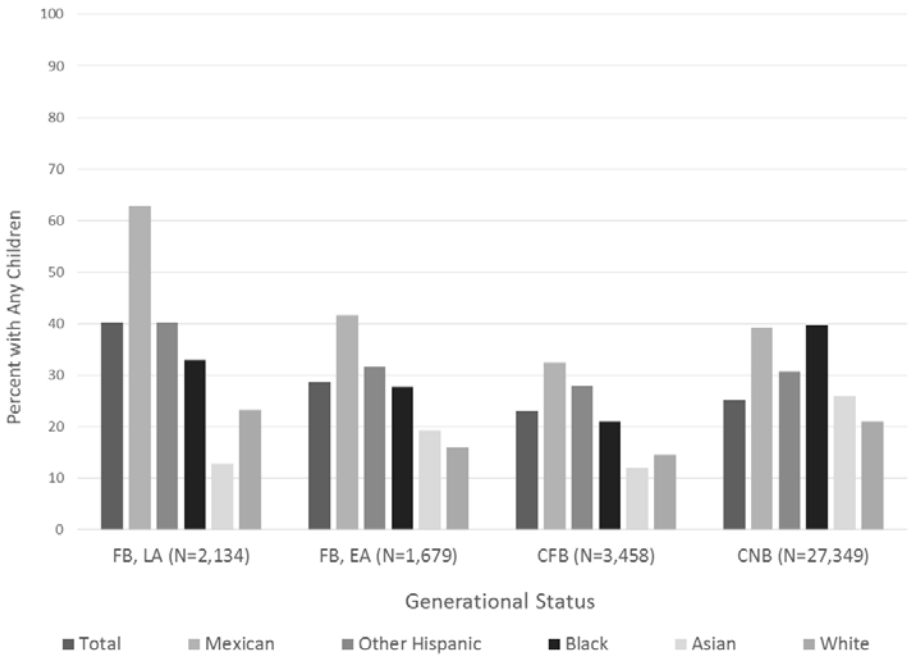

Fig. 4
Unadjusted Weighted Percent with Any Children by Generational Status within Race-Ethnic Group (N = 34,620)

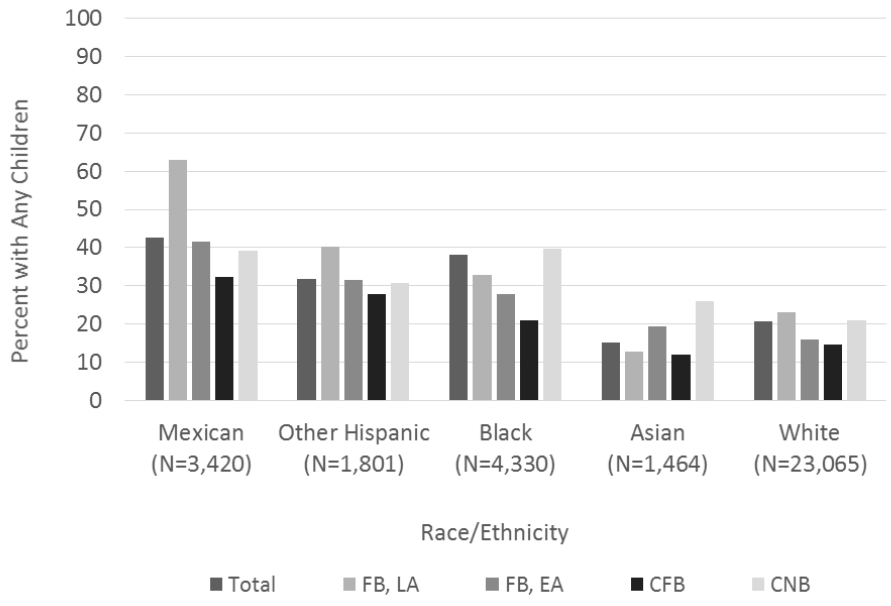

Fig. 5
Unadjusted Weighted Mean Age at Last Birth by Race/Ethnicity within Generation Group, ages 40–44 (*N*=25,224)

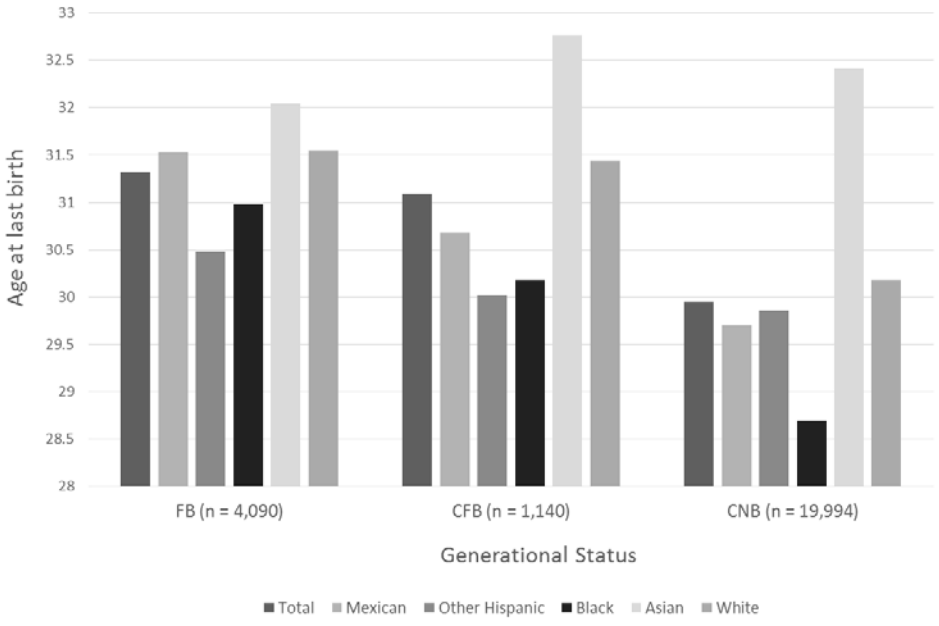

Fig. 6
Unadjusted Weighted Mean Age at Last Birth by Generational Status within Race-Ethnic Group, ages 40–44 (*N*=25,224)

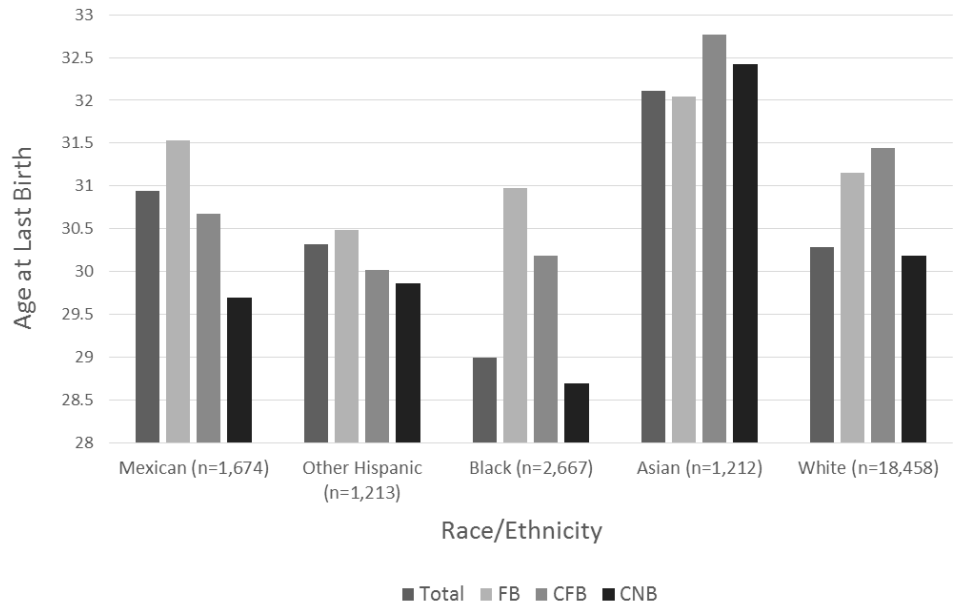

Table 1 Poisson regressions predicting number of children ever born, stratified by generation, for women aged 40–44

	FB		CFB		CNB	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Intercept	-0.62 **	(0.19)	-1.11 ***	(0.31)	-0.58 ***	(0.09)
Race/ethnicity (ref=Mexican)						
Other Hispanic	-0.17 ***	(0.03)	-0.18 *	(0.07)	-0.06	(0.06)
Black	-0.07	(0.05)	-0.02	(0.16)	-0.01	(0.03)
Asian	-0.21 ***	(0.04)	-0.18 *	(0.09)	-0.11 †	(0.07)
White	-0.24 ***	(0.03)	-0.24 ***	(0.06)	-0.15 ***	(0.03)
Duration of residence	0.00 **	(0.00)	— —	—	— —	—
SES						
Education (ref=HS/GED)						
Less than HS	0.22 ***	(0.03)	0.26 **	(0.08)	0.19 ***	(0.02)
College or more	-0.13 ***	(0.03)	-0.08 †	(0.05)	-0.08 ***	(0.01)
Family income	-0.01	(0.00)	-0.03 **	(0.01)	-0.01 ***	(0.00)
Demographic						
Union status (ref=never married)						
Married	1.60 ***	(0.18)	2.51 ***	(0.29)	1.61 ***	(0.08)
Widowed/div/sep	0.99 ***	(0.20)	1.95 ***	(0.31)	1.07 ***	(0.08)
Cohabiting	1.53 ***	(0.18)	2.22 ***	(0.29)	1.49 ***	(0.08)
Region (ref=Midwest)						
Northeast	-0.05	(0.04)	-0.11	(0.07)	-0.07 ***	(0.01)
South	-0.08 *	(0.04)	-0.19 **	(0.07)	-0.08 ***	(0.01)
West	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.17 *	(0.07)	-0.03 *	(0.02)
Urbanicity (ref=Suburbs)						
Metropolitan	0.00	(0.02)	-0.13 *	(0.05)	-0.06 ***	(0.02)
Non-metropolitan	0.00	(0.04)	0.04	(0.07)	0.03 *	(0.01)
Other non-metro	0.07 †	(0.04)	0.03	(0.06)	0.02	(0.01)
Survey year (ref=2000)						
2002	-0.02	(0.04)	0.04	(0.08)	0.02	(0.02)
2004	-0.02	(0.04)	-0.01	(0.08)	0.01	(0.02)
2006	-0.08 *	(0.03)	0.01	(0.08)	0.01	(0.02)
2008	-0.04	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.07)	0.01	(0.02)
2010	-0.03	(0.03)	0.02	(0.08)	0.02	(0.02)

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Total *N* =31,080; FB *n* =4,854; CFB *n* =1,483; CNB *n* =24,743.

Table 2 Poisson regressions predicting number of children ever born, stratified by race/ethnicity, for women aged 40–44

	Mexican		Other Hisp		Black		Asian		White	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Intercept	-0.57 †	(0.32)	-0.40	(0.30)	0.14	(0.13)	-1.39 **	(0.45)	-1.28 ***	(0.10)
Generational Status (ref=FB)										
Foreign-born parents	-0.07	(0.05)	-0.03	(0.05)	-0.04	(0.15)	0.02	(0.07)	-0.01	(0.04)
Native-born parents	-0.10 **	(0.04)	0.01	(0.06)	-0.06	(0.04)	0.08	(0.07)	0.01	(0.02)
SES										
Education (ref=HS)										
Less than HS	0.17 ***	(0.03)	0.18 ***	(0.05)	0.23 ***	(0.05)	0.33 ***	(0.09)	0.17 ***	(0.02)
College or more	-0.21 ***	(0.06)	-0.18 ***	(0.05)	-0.09 *	(0.04)	-0.14 **	(0.04)	-0.07 ***	(0.01)
Family income	-0.01 †	(0.00)	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.02 ***	(0.00)	0.00	(0.01)	-0.01 ***	(0.00)
Demographic										
Union status (ref=never married)										
Married	1.65 ***	(0.31)	1.42 ***	(0.27)	0.91 ***	(0.12)	2.23 ***	(0.44)	2.11 ***	(0.10)
Widowed/div/sep	1.19 ***	(0.32)	0.90 **	(0.29)	0.40 **	(0.13)	1.70 **	(0.50)	1.56 ***	(0.10)
Cohabiting	1.59 ***	(0.31)	1.39 ***	(0.27)	0.83 ***	(0.11)	1.99 ***	(0.45)	1.98 ***	(0.10)
Region (ref=Midwest)										
Northeast	-0.08	(0.15)	-0.17 *	(0.08)	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.07)	-0.06 ***	(0.01)
South	-0.03	(0.05)	-0.21 *	(0.08)	0.03	(0.04)	-0.10	(0.07)	-0.10 ***	(0.01)
West	0.04	(0.05)	-0.12	(0.08)	-0.02	(0.06)	-0.08	(0.07)	-0.04 *	(0.01)
Urbanicity (ref=Suburbs)										
Metropolitan	-0.03	(0.03)	0.05	(0.04)	0.01	(0.04)	-0.05	(0.04)	-0.09 ***	(0.02)
Non-metropolitan	0.01	(0.05)	0.03	(0.08)	-0.04	(0.05)	-0.11	(0.09)	0.04 **	(0.01)
Other non-metro	0.06	(0.04)	0.19 *	(0.06)	-0.03	(0.05)	0.11	(0.09)	0.02	(0.01)
Survey year (ref=2000)										
2002	0.04	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.06)	0.00	(0.05)	0.09	(0.08)	0.02	(0.02)
2004	-0.06	(0.05)	-0.04	(0.06)	-0.01	(0.05)	0.03	(0.08)	0.01	(0.02)
2006	-0.07	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.07)	0.01	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.07)	0.00	(0.02)
2008	-0.13 *	(0.05)	-0.04	(0.07)	0.05	(0.05)	0.02	(0.07)	0.02	(0.02)
2010	-0.01	(0.05)	-0.20 **	(0.06)	0.03	(0.05)	0.00	(0.07)	0.02	(0.02)

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Total *N* =31,080; Mexican *n* =1,900; Other Hispanic *n* =1,465; Black *n* =3,303; Asian *n* =1,490; White *n* =22,922.

Table 3 Logistic regressions predicting any children, stratified by generation, for women aged 18–24

	FB, LA		FB, EA		CFB		CNB	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Intercept	0.00 *	(0.00)	0.00 *	(0.00)	0.00 *	(0.00)	0.00 ***	(0.00)
Race (ref=Mexican)								
Other Hispanic	0.52 ***	(0.09)	0.74	(0.16)	0.78 †	(0.12)	0.79	(0.13)
Black	0.59 *	(0.14)	0.85	(0.23)	0.64 †	(0.15)	0.88	(0.09)
Asian	0.16 ***	(0.03)	0.63 †	(0.15)	0.48 ***	(0.09)	0.93	(0.26)
White	0.31 ***	(0.06)	0.38 ***	(0.09)	0.42 ***	(0.06)	0.51 ***	(0.05)
SES								
Education (ref=HS)								
Less than HS (enrolled)	0.81	(0.27)	1.24	(0.55)	1.17	(0.31)	0.94	(0.13)
Less than HS (not enrolled)	2.17 ***	(0.31)	2.72 ***	(0.52)	1.79 ***	(0.28)	2.52 ***	(0.15)
College or more	0.44 **	(0.11)	0.42 **	(0.12)	0.18 ***	(0.04)	0.19 ***	(0.02)
Family income	0.95 *	(0.02)	0.96 †	(0.02)	0.94 ***	(0.02)	0.93 ***	(0.01)
Demographic								
Union status (ref=unmarried, alone)								
Married	6.39 ***	(1.21)	4.10 ***	(0.93)	7.29 ***	(1.36)	8.80 ***	(0.57)
Unmarried, living with famiy	0.60 †	(0.16)	0.27 ***	(0.07)	0.35 ***	(0.07)	0.64 ***	(0.05)
Cohabiting	1.78 **	(0.35)	0.95	(0.20)	1.62 **	(0.27)	4.31 ***	(0.25)
Region (ref=Midwest)								
Northeast	1.10	(0.23)	1.49	(0.37)	1.12	(0.22)	0.89 †	(0.06)
South	1.08	(0.20)	0.81	(0.18)	0.94	(0.17)	1.05	(0.05)
West	1.00	(0.19)	1.11	(0.24)	0.97	(0.16)	0.87 *	(0.05)
Urbanicity (ref=Suburbs)								
Metropolitan	1.13	(0.15)	0.80	(0.13)	0.82	(0.10)	0.85 **	(0.05)
Non-metropolitan	1.03	(0.30)	1.44	(0.41)	0.91	(0.20)	1.12 *	(0.06)
Other non-metro	0.79	(0.17)	1.69 *	(0.44)	1.05	(0.17)	0.95	(0.05)
Age	7.13 *	(6.58)	5.29 †	(4.94)	3.52 †	(2.38)	6.52 ***	(1.69)
Age^2	0.96 †	(0.02)	0.97	(0.02)	0.98	(0.02)	0.96 ***	(0.01)
Survey year (ref=2000)								
2002	0.75	(0.15)	1.17	(0.32)	0.90	(0.17)	0.90 †	(0.06)
2004	0.78	(0.16)	1.13	(0.32)	0.86	(0.16)	0.81 **	(0.05)
2006	0.87	(0.17)	0.76	(0.22)	0.77	(0.15)	0.78 ***	(0.05)
2008	1.18	(0.24)	1.29	(0.35)	0.73 †	(0.14)	0.80 **	(0.05)
2010	1.01	(0.23)	1.11	(0.30)	0.69 *	(0.12)	0.77 ***	(0.05)

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Total *N* =34,620; FB, LA *n* =2,134; FB, EA *n* =1,679; CFB *n* =3,458; CNB *n* =27,349.

Table 4 Logistic regressions predicting any children, stratified by race/ethnicity, for women aged 18–24

	Mexican		Other Hisp		Black		Asian		White	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Intercept	0.00 **	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00 ***	(0.00)	0.00 †	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Generational Status (ref=FB, LA)										
Foreign-born, EA	0.97	(0.15)	1.21	(0.27)	1.19	(0.38)	3.57 ***	(0.98)	1.21	(0.30)
Foreign-born parents	0.85	(0.12)	1.17	(0.22)	0.96	(0.29)	2.16 **	(0.55)	1.06	(0.22)
Native-born parents	0.97	(0.13)	1.30	(0.26)	1.78 **	(0.39)	4.23 ***	(1.44)	1.30	(0.23)
SES										
Education (ref=HS)										
Less than HS (enrolled)	0.98	(0.25)	1.08	(0.36)	0.83	(0.18)	0.81	(0.45)	1.09	(0.19)
Less than HS (not enrolled)	2.04 ***	(0.23)	2.70 ***	(0.45)	1.74 ***	(0.20)	1.96 *	(0.64)	2.82 ***	(0.20)
College or more	0.31 ***	(0.08)	0.35 **	(0.12)	0.41 ***	(0.08)	0.36 ***	(0.09)	0.16 ***	(0.02)
Family income	0.94 ***	(0.01)	0.94 **	(0.02)	0.91 ***	(0.01)	0.96	(0.03)	0.94 ***	(0.01)
Demographic										
Union status (ref=unmarried, alone)										
Married	4.30 ***	(0.64)	6.02 ***	(1.41)	9.54 ***	(1.83)	10.22 ***	(3.29)	9.43 ***	(0.68)
Unmarried, living with famiy	0.21 ***	(0.04)	0.42 **	(0.12)	0.94	(0.17)	0.70	(0.27)	0.62 ***	(0.06)
Cohabiting	1.30 †	(0.18)	1.85 **	(0.39)	3.53 ***	(0.43)	2.05 *	(0.64)	4.54 ***	(0.31)
Region (ref=Midwest)										
Northeast	0.57	(0.20)	1.27	(0.31)	1.02	(0.14)	1.39	(0.41)	0.89 †	(0.06)
South	0.92	(0.13)	0.98	(0.25)	0.99	(0.10)	0.85	(0.29)	1.11 †	(0.06)
West	0.97	(0.14)	1.33	(0.34)	0.87	(0.15)	1.12	(0.29)	0.82 **	(0.05)
Urbanicity (ref=Suburbs)										
Metropolitan	0.98	(0.11)	0.98	(0.14)	0.98	(0.09)	0.58 **	(0.12)	0.81 **	(0.05)
Non-metropolitan	1.02	(0.17)	1.92 *	(0.57)	1.11	(0.16)	1.47	(0.44)	1.11	(0.06)
Other non-metro	1.25	(0.18)	1.59 *	(0.36)	0.94	(0.13)	0.78	(0.25)	0.93	(0.06)
Age	3.99 *	(2.37)	1.61	(1.40)	9.32 ***	(4.86)	6.36	(8.35)	6.13 ***	(1.84)
Age^2	0.97 †	(0.01)	0.99	(0.02)	0.96 ***	(0.01)	0.96	(0.03)	0.97 ***	(0.01)
Survey year (ref=2000)										
2002	0.78	(0.14)	0.79	(0.19)	0.75 *	(0.10)	0.88	(0.26)	1.01	(0.08)
2004	0.89	(0.15)	0.77	(0.17)	0.64 **	(0.09)	1.00	(0.33)	0.86 †	(0.07)
2006	0.70 *	(0.11)	0.70	(0.16)	0.64 **	(0.09)	0.62	(0.20)	0.89	(0.07)
2008	0.84	(0.13)	1.07	(0.24)	0.68 **	(0.09)	0.78	(0.25)	0.87 †	(0.07)
2010	0.80	(0.13)	0.87	(0.19)	0.60 ***	(0.08)	0.81	(0.24)	0.85 *	(0.07)

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Total *N* =34,620; Mexican *n* =3,420; Other Hispanic *n* =1,801; Black *n* =4,330; Asian *n* =1,464; White *n* =23,605.

Table 5 Linear regressions of age at last birth, stratified by generation, for women aged 40–44

	FB		CFB		CNB	
	b	(SE)	*b*	(SE)	*b*	(SE)
Intercept	28.39 ***	(1.46)	24.13 ***	(2.14)	27.22 ***	(0.54)
Race/ethnicity (ref=Mexican)						
Other Hispanic	-0.98 **	(0.31)	-1.20 †	(0.68)	-0.35	(0.56)
Black	-0.50	(0.46)	-1.11	(1.50)	-1.01 **	(0.32)
Asian	-0.26	(0.31)	-0.08	(0.87)	1.19 †	(0.71)
White	-0.73 *	(0.32)	-0.71	(0.62)	-0.32	(0.29)
Duration of residence	-0.02 *	(0.01)	—	—	—	—
SES						
Education (ref=HS)						
Less than HS	0.25	(0.26)	-0.34	(0.79)	-1.18 ***	(0.19)
College or more	1.71 ***	(0.24)	3.53 ***	(0.39)	2.95 ***	(0.10)
Family income	-0.03	(0.03)	0.06	(0.08)	0.00	(0.02)
Demographic						
Union status (ref=never married)						
Married	3.85 **	(1.35)	7.07 ***	(1.90)	2.88 ***	(0.42)
Widowed/div/sep	0.05	(1.52)	4.30 *	(2.05)	-1.44 **	(0.45)
Cohabiting	2.58 †	(1.35)	6.56 **	(1.89)	2.12 ***	(0.42)
Region (ref=Midwest)						
Northeast	-0.18	(0.35)	-0.11	(0.54)	0.73 ***	(0.13)
South	-0.04	(0.33)	-1.01 †	(0.58)	-0.39 ***	(0.11)
West	0.12	(0.32)	-0.06	(0.57)	0.33 *	(0.13)
Urbanicity (ref=Suburbs)						
Metropolitan	-0.06	(0.22)	-0.03	(0.43)	0.08	(0.13)
Non-metropolitan	-0.69 †	(0.40)	-1.45 *	(0.69)	-1.06 ***	(0.12)
Other non-metro	0.07	(0.36)	-0.58	(0.58)	-0.57 ***	(0.12)
Survey year (ref=2000)						
2002	0.14	(0.34)	-0.40	(0.65)	0.37 *	(0.14)
2004	0.62 †	(0.34)	-0.29	(0.63)	0.27 †	(0.15)
2006	0.12	(0.34)	-1.32 *	(0.64)	0.29 †	(0.15)
2008	-0.06	(0.34)	-1.07 †	(0.62)	0.20	(0.15)
2010	0.30	(0.34)	-0.18	(0.63)	0.58 ***	(0.16)

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Total *N* =25,224; FB *n* =4,090; CFB *n* =1,140; CNB *n* =19,994.

Table 6 Linear regressions of age at last birth, stratified by race/ethnicity, for women aged 40–44

	Mexican		Other Hispanic		Black		Asian		White	
	b	(SE)	*b*	(SE)	*b*	(SE)	*b*	(SE)	*b*	(SE)
Intercept	32.31 ***	(1.92)	26.11 ***	(2.53)	26.82 ***	(0.89)	32.45 ***	(3.14)	27.04 ***	(0.61)
Generational Status (ref=FB)										
Foreign-born parents	-0.75	(0.56)	-0.35	(0.47)	-1.16	(1.40)	0.47	(0.67)	0.18	(0.29)
Native-born parents	-1.68 ***	(0.38)	-0.28	(0.56)	-1.61 ***	(0.43)	0.64	(0.69)	-0.18	(0.21)
SES										
Education (ref=HS)										
Less than HS	-0.38	(0.33)	0.56	(0.50)	0.02	(0.41)	0.02	(0.74)	-1.47 ***	(0.20)
College or more	1.25 *	(0.52)	1.70 ***	(0.46)	2.27 ***	(0.35)	1.75 ***	(0.40)	2.99 ***	(0.10)
Family income	-0.09 †	(0.05)	0.01	(0.07)	-0.03	(0.04)	0.00	(0.07)	0.01	(0.02)
Demographic										
Union status (ref=never married)										
Married	-0.36	(1.80)	4.50 *	(2.14)	3.87 ***	(0.63)	-1.09	(2.97)	2.92 ***	(0.54)
Widowed/div/sep	-3.51 †	(2.03)	0.25	(2.34)	-1.66 *	(0.81)	-5.40	(3.31)	-1.08 †	(0.57)
Cohabiting	-1.28	(1.81)	3.47	(2.15)	3.05 ***	(0.61)	-3.99	(3.02)	2.16 ***	(0.55)
Region (ref=Midwest)										
Northeast	1.09	(1.09)	-0.37	(0.81)	-0.01	(0.44)	-0.64	(0.63)	0.66 ***	(0.12)
South	0.04	(0.52)	-0.80	(0.79)	-0.19	(0.35)	0.11	(0.61)	-0.54 ***	(0.11)
West	0.60	(0.48)	-0.13	(0.81)	-0.27	(0.55)	0.33	(0.57)	0.26 *	(0.13)
Urbanicity (ref=Suburbs)										
Metropolitan	0.37	(0.33)	-0.16	(0.44)	-0.19	(0.30)	0.16	(0.39)	0.11	(0.14)
Non-metropolitan	-0.21	(0.52)	-1.83 *	(0.72)	0.15	(0.43)	-0.38	(0.81)	-1.22 ***	(0.12)
Other non-metro	-0.05	(0.49)	-0.59	(0.61)	-0.92 *	(0.46)	-0.31	(0.76)	-0.50 ***	(0.12)
Survey year (ref=2000)										
2002	0.67	(0.54)	0.71	(0.61)	0.93 *	(0.41)	-0.19	(0.63)	0.18	(0.15)
2004	0.42	(0.54)	0.99	(0.64)	0.94 *	(0.43)	0.87	(0.66)	0.11	(0.15)
2006	0.44	(0.50)	0.56	(0.66)	0.72	(0.44)	-0.53	(0.58)	0.09	(0.15)
2008	-0.25	(0.53)	-0.08	(0.66)	0.42	(0.45)	0.17	(0.62)	0.08	(0.15)
2010	0.15	(0.50)	0.08	(0.68)	1.18 **	(0.45)	0.60	(0.61)	0.45 **	(0.16)

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Total *N* =25,224; Mexican *n* =1,674; Other Hispanic *n* =1,213; Black *n* =2,667; Asian *n* =1,212; White *n* =18,458.

Appendix

Table 7 Weighted descriptive characteristics of women ages 40–44

		Mexican			Other Hispanic			Black			Asian			White		
Characteristics	Total	FB	CFB	CNB	FB	CFB	CNB	FB	CFB	CNB	FB	CFB	CNB	FB	CFB	CNB
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mean duration of residence	—	19.34	—	—	19.55	—	—	17.93	—	—	16.74	—	—	21.89	—	—
SES																
Education																
Less than high school	10.52	59.45	17.07	21.51	27.72	12.17	8.35	13.52	3.10	12.90	9.42	5.60	2.15	7.75	2.71	5.72
High School/GED	59.68	33.41	66.99	66.17	50.60	58.66	69.73	58.96	47.05	67.87	40.83	36.27	59.55	48.54	51.06	62.71
College +	29.80	7.14	15.94	12.32	21.68	29.17	21.92	27.52	49.85	19.24	49.75	58.13	38.30	43.71	46.23	31.57
Family income	10.85	8.66	10.43	9.68	9.19	10.24	10.41	9.85	9.05	8.69	11.37	12.39	11.94	11.41	12.08	11.45
Demographic																
Union status																
Married	66.90	70.98	60.65	61.92	62.15	57.42	56.79	59.08	35.76	38.86	82.26	71.01	69.87	76.42	68.19	71.01
Wid/div/sep	6.28	3.49	5.64	5.36	4.58	7.81	9.07	2.59	9.22	6.39	3.19	6.76	1.39	5.65	7.16	6.87
Cohab	20.02	22.83	27.86	27.43	28.85	28.50	28.51	30.06	40.11	43.51	10.53	12.21	16.12	12.81	15.38	15.53
Never married	6.80	2.70	5.85	5.29	4.41	6.27	5.63	8.27	14.91	11.25	4.02	10.02	12.62	5.12	9.27	6.58
Region																
Northeast	19.37	3.24	0.27	0.37	35.12	45.28	17.05	43.63	51.40	13.28	20.68	21.15	5.68	29.04	32.04	19.51
South	36.28	29.04	41.89	47.23	39.57	32.67	32.05	38.13	26.06	59.12	22.80	12.51	13.59	28.17	20.82	34.47
West	22.23	58.73	52.14	44.21	20.76	15.54	41.05	12.66	15.39	8.40	46.08	60.01	77.18	26.41	27.92	18.44
Midwest	22.12	8.99	5.70	8.18	4.55	6.51	9.84	5.58	7.15	19.20	10.43	6.32	3.54	16.38	19.22	27.58
Urbanicity																
Metropolitan	24.07	43.73	38.73	31.92	41.35	38.61	27.78	48.03	53.32	42.58	40.07	39.10	27.37	30.93	26.39	15.20
Non-metropolitan	15.55	7.35	7.20	11.05	2.37	4.69	12.80	2.23	6.18	11.68	2.64	1.90	10.11	6.59	7.59	20.27
Other non-metro	14.35	10.98	17.55	16.33	6.75	10.15	13.59	4.04	5.03	11.68	7.20	4.15	6.39	10.47	11.31	16.72
Suburbs	46.03	37.94	36.52	40.69	49.52	46.55	45.84	45.70	35.47	34.07	50.09	54.85	56.12	52.02	54.71	47.81
Weighted % of Age Group	100.00	25.74	16.26	2.81	19.80	17.98	0.90	8.67	3.05	14.77	24.31	6.31	0.57	21.47	56.40	80.96
Unweighted N	**31,080**	**1,152**	**201**	**547**	**996**	**239**	**230**	**369**	**34**	**2,900**	**1,179**	**97**	**214**	**1,158**	**912**	**20,852**

Table 8 Weighted descriptive characteristics of women ages 18–24

		Mexican				Other Hispanic				Black				Asian				White			
Characteristics	Total	FB, LA	FB, EA	CFB	CNB	FB, LA	FB, EA	CFB	CNB	FB, LA	FB, EA	CFB	CNB	FB, LA	FB, EA	CFB	CNB	FB, LA	FB, EA	CFB	CNB
	%	%	%		%	%	%		%	%	%		%	%	%		%	%	%		%
Mean duration of residence	—	5.00	—	—	—	5.20	—	—	—	5.02	—	—	—	4.35	—	—	—	4.71	—	—	—
SES																					
Education																					
Less than HS, enrolled	4.54	3.14	7.63	6.21	5.21	4.45	7.71	7.90	5.85	12.76	3.73	9.42	5.18	5.02	5.53	5.34	2.03	2.41	4.45	5.06	3.87
Less than HS, not enrolled	13.78	59.69	32.94	19.53	20.65	34.74	19.57	14.20	15.02	17.71	7.51	5.92	16.28	6.86	4.79	7.39	5.85	8.96	7.89	8.41	10.48
High School/GED	70.49	35.22	57.27	69.30	69.29	54.97	66.56	70.35	71.75	62.52	81.91	72.75	73.13	56.92	71.59	68.11	70.09	68.48	70.69	72.50	72.57
College or more	11.18	1.94	2.16	4.96	4.84	5.83	6.16	7.55	7.39	7.01	6.86	11.91	5.40	31.20	18.08	19.17	22.03	20.15	16.97	14.03	13.08
Family income	9.50	7.50	8.55	8.74	8.88	8.43	9.26	8.99	9.23	8.04	8.40	9.07	7.44	8.81	9.93	10.78	9.56	9.69	10.54	10.51	10.13
Demographic																					
Union status																					
Married	16.00	52.96	30.14	19.65	20.29	33.11	17.91	12.77	10.89	17.09	9.40	6.69	6.67	28.40	10.60	6.69	11.09	34.21	13.90	11.24	15.67
Unmarried, lives with family	20.47	9.11	11.14	10.18	18.31	14.09	12.27	11.50	18.88	15.65	17.46	16.15	16.81	26.23	16.88	17.41	28.35	28.20	21.15	20.38	23.40
Unmarried	34.19	13.08	33.89	38.46	28.05	18.48	28.36	33.17	27.78	20.88	30.43	27.60	18.85	24.20	47.03	49.83	32.84	19.83	45.23	46.79	38.42
Cohabiting	29.34	24.85	24.84	31.71	33.35	34.32	41.46	42.55	42.45	46.38	42.72	49.56	57.67	21.17	25.49	26.07	27.72	17.76	19.73	21.59	22.51
Region																					
Northeast	18.01	5.14	2.77	1.27	1.14	39.66	29.33	44.16	29.93	41.92	32.56	46.99	12.52	25.67	21.95	18.19	5.02	25.94	23.43	29.61	18.78
South	35.88	34.58	30.26	30.45	43.29	43.44	44.71	30.28	26.86	40.17	52.63	35.96	58.96	21.25	21.63	18.67	9.36	28.76	29.56	24.18	32.85
West	22.99	48.91	55.88	60.13	46.33	10.48	20.75	20.38	33.36	6.68	7.24	11.98	7.65	37.76	42.74	50.58	74.94	24.99	28.08	29.29	18.98
Midwest	23.12	11.36	11.10	8.14	9.24	6.42	5.21	5.18	9.84	11.23	7.57	5.07	20.87	15.31	13.68	12.57	10.68	20.30	18.93	16.92	29.39
Urbanicity																					
Metropolitan	28.86	42.14	45.89	41.68	38.83	42.24	40.90	44.79	38.04	44.45	42.02	48.14	47.78	55.76	50.34	43.38	36.02	41.39	31.35	31.36	18.60
Non-metropolitan	15.46	8.80	9.07	5.44	11.01	4.03	3.49	1.63	9.45	1.35	3.21	2.21	11.85	2.89	1.88	2.60	11.35	4.86	7.70	6.35	20.79
Other non-metro	15.16	10.73	11.39	14.29	14.70	6.60	7.63	8.60	13.31	6.31	5.25	8.62	12.19	7.77	10.96	7.25	7.77	9.13	13.25	15.53	17.67
Suburbs	40.52	38.33	33.65	38.58	35.46	47.12	47.97	44.99	39.20	47.89	49.52	41.03	28.17	33.58	36.81	46.76	44.86	44.61	47.70	46.77	42.94
Weighted % of Age Group	100.00	22.57	15.25	32.92	29.25	21.98	15.73	39.69	22.59	4.27	3.43	4.55	87.75	30.20	23.08	37.61	9.11	1.59	1.87	4.66	91.88
Unweighted N	**34,620**	**787**	**525**	**1,087**	**1,021**	**401**	**292**	**656**	**452**	**198**	**140**	**191**	**3,801**	**415**	**325**	**513**	**211**	**333**	**397**	**1,011**	**21,864**