Reconsidering Marital Exchange: A Comparison of First Marriage and Remarriage Patterns in the United States

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ABSTRACT

Divorce and subsequent remarriage have become an important part of American family life in recent decades. However, there are significant gender differences in the likelihood and formation of remarriage. In first marriage, both men's and women's socioeconomic status is positively associated with first marriage formation—a move away from traditional marriage where men's, but not women's, economic status was important in the marriage market. However, empirical work focusing on the claim that first marriage and remarriage formation are similar is lacking. In this paper I analyze the individual characteristics associated with the likelihood of remarriage for men and women. The results show remarriage patterns consistent with traditional marriages where economic status has a positive effect on remarriage for men, but not for women. For women, family background, race/ethnicity, age and parental status are associated with remarriage. The results call for additional analyses which directly compare first marriage and remarriage.

Divorce and subsequent remarriage are common in American family life, but studies on remarriage are mostly on children's experiences in stepfamilies and the psychological and economic benefits of marrying again (Cherlin 1978; Cherlin and Furstenberg 1994; Coleman et al. 2000). Studies on remarriage formation are limited. It is well known that women are less likely to remarry after divorce than men (Bumpass et al. 1990; South 1991; Coleman et al. 2000; DeGraaf and Kalmijn 2003; Wu and Schimmele 2005). By all accounts, the gap is large—the number of men who remarry after divorce is about 25% higher than it is for women (Centers for Disease Control 2002). At older ages, the gap between men's and women's remarriage rates grows-- divorced men over age 40 are at least twice as likely to remarry as divorced women over 40 (U.S. Census Bureau 2008). While gender differences in remarriage are well documented, little is known about why such a large gender gap exists in post-divorce union formation (but see Sweeney 1997; DeGraaf and Kalmijn 2003; Wu and Schimmele 2005).

Past research has suggested that socioeconomic status (e.g., Sweeney 1997; DeGraaf and Kalmijn 2003; Wu and Schimmele 2005) and first marriage ties (e.g., Bumpass et al. 1990; Wilson and Clarke 1992; Bennett et al. 1995; Goldscheider and Sassler 2006; Ono 2006) affect the likelihood of remarriage. However, how these factors affect men and women differently in remarriage is unknown. Socioeconomic status may impact men and women differently in the remarriage market. If remarriage is traditional, men should be evaluated on their economic potential while women should be assessed on non-economic criteria (Becker 1981). First marriage ties are also an aspect of marriage formation which makes remarriage distinctive from union formation among the never-married. Children are a particularly important first marriage tie, and tend to be cared for more by women than men after divorce (Goldschreider and Sassler 2006). A third and often overlooked aspect of marriage, time in the marriage market, may also help explain why men remarry at much higher rates than women. Namely, gender differences in potential partner pool size may lead time to have a more negative impact on women, who draw from smaller pools, than it will on men, who draw from larger pools. In this chapter, I consider how these three factors contribute to the gender gap in remarriage.

The Current Study and Research Hypotheses
Socioeconomic Status
Studies of remarriage have highlighted the importance of socioeconomic attributes for remarriage formation (e.g., Koo and Suchindran 1980; Bumpass et al. 1990; Smock 1990; Sweeney 1997; Lampard and Peggs 1999; Gelissen 2004). Socioeconomic measures, such as income, labor force status, and educational attainment, often predict entry into remarriage because they indicate potential financial security, resources available to children, consumption patterns, and overall standard of living (Lewis and Oppenheimer 2000; Goldstein and Kenney 2001; Sweeney 2002). As such, individuals with high socioeconomic status tend to be attractive partners in the remarriage market (England and Farkas 1986; Oppenheimer 1988). In contemporary first marriage, both men and women are evaluated on their achieved and future socioeconomic status (Sweeney 2002). This represents a considerable shift from the past where men were evaluated on economic criteria and women were evaluated on non-economic criteria such as religion, family background, and physical attractiveness (Becker 1981). This shift resulted from important economic and cultural shifts in recent decades: greater income growth for women than men (Wetzel 1995), greater uncertainty for men in the labor market

(Oppenheimer et al. 1997), higher consumption levels (Bumpass 1990), and a liberalization of attitudes toward gender roles in the family (Thornton 1989; Barich and Beiley 1996). The circumstances surrounding first marriage formation, however, are very different from those in remarriage. In first marriage, economic instability and difficulty evaluating long-term labor market position may lead both men and women to prefer partners with the best socioeconomic prospects. However, because men and women are older when they remarry, there is less uncertainty in economic status because occupational and income trajectories are more established (Oppenheimer et al. 1997). Furthermore, divorce is can affect economic well-being. Men often experience an increase in per-capita and discretionary income after divorce while the majority of women experience a decline in economic well-being (Smock 1994; Peterson 1996; Sweeney 1997; Smock et al. 1999). As a result, socioeconomic status may affect the remarriage prospects of men and women differently.

Economic status is typically linked to men's marriage prospects because they are often viewed as the primary provider for a family (e.g., Arensberg and Kimball 1968; Easterlin 1978, 1987; Becker 1981; Watkins 1984). Thus, men are evaluated on their ability to support a household at a "minimally acceptable standard" (Easterlin 1978; Oppenheimer et al. 1997). These expectations are just as strong for divorced men who are trying to remarry as they are for men marrying for the first time (Sweeney 1997). Therefore, whether traditional or contemporary in nature, men's socioeconomic status should be positively associated with the likelihood of remarriage.

An increase in men's post-divorce economic well-being can affect the remarriage prospects of women. High status divorced men may be attractive potential partners for younger women who place a strong emphasis on a potential partner's economic status (DeGraaf and Vermeulen 1997; Oppenheimer et al. 1997). This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5, but the overall effect on the remarriage prospects for divorced women can be negative because divorced men desire younger, never-married women (South 1991). Men's higher status after divorce can also mean that women's economic status is unimportant for remarriage . In this scenario, men are capable of providing for a family, net of any contribution women can make. Women, as suggested by Becker (1981), would be evaluated on more traditional criteria such as age, physical attractiveness, and race/ethnicity. As a result, socioeconomic status may have no effect on women's remarriage formation.

Current economic status. Socioeconomic status can refer to both current status and long-term prospects. Current economic status often refers to income (e.g., Oppenheimer et al. 1997; Clarkberg 1999; Sweeney 2002) or labor force status (Goldscheider and Waite 1986; Oppenheimer et al. 1997) observed at the time of marriage. In first marriage, the effect of current economic status is interpreted as the value attached to the ability for a couple to live at an acceptable standard of living at the time of marriage (Easterlin 1978). Current economic status plays a role in first marriage, but the strength of the effect can grow with age (Kalmijn 1994). When men and women are young and marrying for the first time, both partners expect that their standard of living will improve as one or both of them gain career stability and meet their earnings potential more established in their career and reach more of their earnings potential (Xie et al. 2003). However, because men and women are older when they remarry, they should have

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established careers and incomes . Therefore, current economic status may play an important role in the remarriage market. Indeed, Sweeney (1997) suggests that measures of current economic status, such as income, may be the single most important predictors of remarriage. For men, income is a sufficient measure of current economic status because it taps overall economic well-being (Oppenheimer et al. 1997). For men, income has a positive effect on remarriage in most studies (e.g., Wolf and MacDonald 1979; Glick 1980; Glick and Lin 1987). Yet some studies show no effect on income on men's remarriage formation (see DeGraaf and Kalmijn 2003 for a review). These mixed results may be due to methodological problems including measurement issues and significant missing data (DeGraaf and Kalmijn 2003). In addition, the majority of these studies use European and Canadian data, where marriage and remarriage may significantly differ from union formation in the United States (e.g., Hueveline and Timberlake 2004). For example, cohabitation rates after divorce, which vary across socioeconomic status, are much higher in Canada than in the United States (Wu and Schimmele 2005). As a result, income should have a significant and positive effect on remarriage for divorced men.

Income is a poor measure of current socioeconomic status for women because it includes child support payments, alimony, and welfare benefits which are the direct result of divorce. Instead, labor force participation can measure current economic status for women because it represents a commitment to economically supporting a family (Oppenheimer et al. 1997). Regular, full-time, year-round employment indicates a higher level of labor force commitment and should have a stronger association with remarriage formationthan part-time employment or remaining out of the labor force (Oppenheimer 1988). Notably, full-time employment is less universal among divorced women than it is among divorced men[1]. While men tend to be employed while married and maintain their employment through divorce, but a significant portion of divorced women do not work full-time prior to divorce[2]. As a result, marriage dissolution is often a catalyst for women to either work outside the home for the first time or to reenter the labor force.

Full-time employment may negatively affect remarriage for women because it makes marriage economically unnecessary (Becker et al. 1977; Mott and Moore 1983; DeGraaf and Kalmijn 2003) or because women who work are less attractive marriage partners (Becker 1981). However, some studies find that labor force participation has no effect on the likelihood of women remarrying (Sweeney 1997). Employment status may not be associated with remarriage for women if they are evaluated on traditional criteria (Becker 1981). A final line of research suggests that any influence labor force participation has on the propensity to remarry is not due to economic concerns. Instead, DeGraaf and Kalmijn (2003) show that employed women tend to use the workplace as a local marriage market to meet potential spouses. In review, there are several conflicting arguments about how women's labor force participation may affect remarriage. However, if remarriages are traditional unions, working should have no affect on the likelihood of remarriage for women.

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[1] In the NLSY79 sample of divorced men and women, approximately 85% of men and 78% of women are working full-time in any given year, on average.
[2] In the NLSY79, about 70% of men and less than 50% of women were employed full-time in the year prior to divorce

Long-term economic status. Educational attainment, as a measure of socioeconomic status, is less susceptible to yearly fluctuations than income or labor force status (Oppenheimer et al. 1997). Instead, educational attainment is a measure of long-term economic potential which influences social, cultural, and material lifestyle (Oppenheimer 2003). In first marriage, educational attainment is positively associated with marriage (Kalmijn 1998) because men and women use education as a proxy for future economic status (England and Farkas 1986; Mare 1991; Qian 1998; Schwartz and Mare 2005). In remarriage, education may not be a strong predictor of socioeconomic status because men and women are more economically established at later ages. Instead, educational attainment can serve as an assurance of long-term economic stability and recovery in the face of temporary unemployment or economic setbacks (Sweeney 1997). Education is a also salient in remarriage because the correlation between educational attainment and income is high (Fernandez et al. 2005), is the strongest predictor of career stability (Oppenheimer 2003), and indicates high social standing/status (Blau 1977). Educational attainment should be positively associated with remarriage for men. Like income, education can lead to more economic stability and higher levels of financial well-being (Jyman et al. 1975; Easterlin 1978; Jencks et al. 1979; Oppenheimer 1997; Oppenheimer 2003). College educated men are also less subject to economic fluctuations and labor market changes than less educated men, providing highly educated men with a higher and more sustainable standard of living (Ashenfelter and Ham 1979). As a result, women tend to be highly attracted to well-educated men, particularly college graduates (Schwartz and Mare 2005; Shafer and Qian forthcoming).

What influence educational attainment has on women's remarriage prospects is ambiguous. In contemporary first marriage, highly educated women are more likely to marry than their less educated counterparts (e.g., Lichter et al. 1992; Oppenheimer et al. 1995; Oppenheimer and Lew 1995; Rose 2004) because men are attracted to women who can make financial contributions to the household (Kalmijn 1998; Raley and Bratter 2004). However, in remarriage men may have a preference for traditional matches with less-educated women who are committed to domestic labor (South 1991). This may be due to lower economic need among divorced men with high post-divorce status (Peterson 1996), because divorcees have more traditional marriage preferences than never-married men (Bartling and Broussard 1999), the need for a spouse to take care of children (Goldscheider and Sassler 2006), market availabilities (Gelissen 2004), or a combination of these factors. This perspective suggests that highly-educated women are penalized in the remarriage market. An alternative view suggests that educational attainment neither benefits nor hurts women in the remarriage market because they are evaluated on criteria such as physical attractiveness, age, and parental status (Becker 1981; Bumpass et al. 1990; Wu and Schimmele 2005; Goldschreider and Sassler 2006; England and Mclintock 2008). However, both perspectives argue that the relationship between educational attainment and remarriage should not be positive for women. An assertion backed by previous work which shows either a negative effect or no effect of education on remarriage for women (Mott and Moore 1983; Duncan and Hoffman 1985; Teachman and Heckert 1985; Bumpass et al. 1990; Chiswick and Lehrer 1990; Smock 1990; Sweeney 1997; Gelissen 2004; Wu and Schimmele 2005).

In summary, the hypotheses for socioeconomic status are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Both current economic status and long-term economic status are attractive attributes for men in the remarriage market. As a result, income and educational attainment shouldd be positively related to remarriage for men.

Hypothesis 2: For women, the relationship between economic status (both current and long-term) and remarriage is unclear. If full-time, year-round employed and highly educated women are economically independent or men are less attracted to them, there should be a negative association between economic status and remarriage. On the other hand, there may be no statistically significant relationship between economic status and remarriage if women are evaluated on non-economic characteristics.

First Marriage Ties

A unique aspect of remarriage is that remarriage takes place within the context of a failed, highly-committed prior relationship. Often, divorcees maintain links to previous spouses after divorce. These links often result from shared investments with an ex-spouse such as caring and providing for the well-being of a child (Ono 2006). Divorced couples often maintain legally appointed ties through shared custody or visitation rights. More informally, divorced men and women with children share parenting responsibilities after divorce (Coleman et al. 2000). These ties, specifically with regard to children, can add complexity to new relationships for divorcees. Stepfamilies are a non-institutionalized aspect of American family life that lacks clear rules or behavioral norms (Cherlin 1978). The presence of a stepparent can lead to greater levels of conflict because of parenting issues, behavioral problems in children, and emotional problems related to divorce (Cooksey and Fondell; Coleman et al. 2000; Yeung et al. 2000). In total, children can have a negative effect on the likelihood of remarriage.

In considering the effect of children on remarriage, it is important to differentiate between co-residential and non-residential children. Co-residential children can have stronger effects on repartnering than non-residential children because new partners will be more engaged in "active parenting." The problems related to stepparenting should be stronger in families where a child is a resident, not a visitor. The strength of ties to a previous relationship may vary according to gender. Mothers with co-residential children are more likely to maintain ties to a non-custodial father through financial means such as child support, generating a visitation schedule, and arranging co-parenting situations. Previous studies show no association between being a father of a non-residential child and remarriage (Stewart et al. 2001; Goldscheider and Sassler 2006; Bernhardt and Goldscheider 2002). The presence of co-residential children, however, shows stronger effects, though the results still remain mixed (Teachman and Heckert 1985; Koo et al. 1986; Chiswick and Lehrer 1990; DeGraaf and Kalmijn 2003; Wu and Schimmele 2005; Goldscheider and Sassler 2006). Thus, the presence of a co-residential child, rather than whether a divorcee is a parent, tends to influence remarriage.

Previous studies on how co-residential children influence remarriage patterns among divorced fathers have generated mixed results (Clarkberg et al. 1995; Nock 1998; Stewart et al. 2001; Stewart et al. 2003; Goldscheider and Sassler 2006). Some research shows that co-residential children are less of a liability in the remarriage market for men than women. Others

show that children have no effect on the remarriage prospects of men, while additional studies suggest a positive relationship.. One reason for the variation in results is that the measurement of co-residential children is measured differently across studies. Regardless, it appears that the presence of children will impact women more than men. Women are much more likely than men to become the primary caregiver to children after divorce (e.g. Teachman and Heckert 1985; Ono 2005; Goldscheider and Sassler 2006). Co-residential children should have a strong, negative effect on the propensity to remarry for divorced mothers. The potential consequences of and stigma attached to becoming a stepparent hurt women more in the remarriage market than men because they are more likely to care for children. The reason is clear. Attitudinal data shows that men are reluctant to take on parental responsibilities and, thus, less willing than women to marry a partner with a child (Goldscheider and Kaufman 2006). Divorced mothers may also have difficulty in forming a marriage because their time to search for a new partner is limited by their parental responsibilities (Glenn 2002). Therefore, despite increased desire and need for marriage, divorced mothers should be less likely to remarry than divorced women without co-residential children.

In summary, the hypotheses regarding first marriage ties are:

Hypothesis 3: First marriage ties, as measured by the presence of co-residential children, play no role in remarriage for men.

Hypothesis 4: The presence of co-residential children should decrease the likelihood of remarriage for divorced women.

Time in the Remarriage Market

As men and women spend more time searching for a partner after divorce, the odds of remarriage should decline because the available partner pool shrinks with time. The prospects of remarriage are poorer than the prospects of first marriage from the start because the majority of similarly-aged men and women are currently married at the time of divorce (Vera et al. 1985; England and Farkas 1986). This difference, however, can be compounded by time spent searching for a spouse. Therefore, time in the remarriage market should have a strong negative effect on the likelihood of remarriage. With time, potential partners marry out of the partner pool (Lewis and Oppenheimer 2000) and divorcees grow older, making them less attractive potential partners (England and Mclintock 2008)[3]. Finally, many men and women, while searching for a new marriage partner may form temporary unions, such as cohabitation which can reduce the chances of remarriage for men and women (Wu and Schimmele 2005).

Though the effects of time in the remarriage market should be negative for both men and women, the odds of remarriage should drop more precipitously for women. Men are not constrained to only marrying similarly-aged spouses, like women. It is common for men to marry women younger than themselves (Raley and Bratter 2004). For women, who have a more limited partner pool available to them after divorce, conducting long searches can mean no marriage. In a limited partner pool, the opportunity to marry can decline quickly because there are few potential partners who continue to marry out with time (Oppenheimer 1988). Women's

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[3] An alternative perspective suggests that older divorcees are a select group that does not want to be married. However, South (1993) shows that there is no statistically significant difference between the previously-married and never-married in the desire to marry. In other words, it appears as if the desire to remain unmarried is no greater among divorcees than the never-married.

age at divorce can have a strong effect on the likelihood of remarriage (Bumpass et al. 1990). Men's preference for younger women means that older divorced women are unlikely to remarry. Therefore, the hypothesis for the effect of time is as follows:

Hypothesis 5: The likelihood of remarriage should decline with additional years since separation or divorce. However, the odds of remarriage will decline more sharply for women than for men.

Other Factors Associated with Remarriage

    <u>Social background</u>. Several other characteristics are associated with remarriage. First, divorce may be an incentive to invest in accumulating human capital through formal schooling, job training, or seeking out a new career--especially for women (Holden and Smock 1991; Smock et al. 1999). Such investments may reduce the likelihood of remarriage as divorcees try to attain higher economic status. Second, racial/ethnic minorities are less likely to remarry than whites because divorced minorities face very limited marriage markets (Bumpass et al. 1990). Black women are particularly disadvantaged by black men's high incarceration, unemployment, and mortality rates (Lichter 1990). Third, family background may affect remarriage behavior. Family structure can be transmitted intergenerationally (Teachman 2002). Parent's marital status is highly correlated with an individual's marital status. Men and women who have stepparents may be more likely to remarry than men and women who grew up with a single parent or with two married parents. These individuals may have more positive attitudes about remarriage and forming stepfamilies than men and women who grew up with a single parent or with two biological parents. Fourth, the composition of the partner pool can vary across locations, with some locations being more advantageous for divorcees than others. Men and women living in urban areas may be more likely to remarry because cities tend to be highly populated, have a higher concentration of potential spouses, and have more balanced sex ratios than rural areas (Lichter 1990; Lichter et al. 1995; Lewis and Oppenheimer 2000). There may also be regional differences in remarriage because of differences in population, partner pool composition, and economic structure in different parts of the country (U.S. Census Bureau 2007).

    <u>First marriage experiences.</u> Divorcees bring with them the experiences of first marriage which can influence their likelihood of remarrying. The duration of first marriage has been linked to the propensity to remarry (Bumpass et al. 1990). Those with longer first marriages are more "marriage oriented" and more likely to remarry (Becker et al. 1977). In terms of gender differences, duration of first marriage may serve as a proxy for a more gendered division of labor in the home (Bianchi et al. 2000). Therefore, duration of first marriage may affect women more strongly, especially if they have invested more time in their home production skills. These skills can be transferred easily to a new marriage. Furthermore, men and women who have spent more of their adult lives married may find it difficult to adapt to single life compared to those who experienced shorter first marriages (Sweet 1973). In addition, cohabitation experience prior to first marriage may matter as well. They are part of a selective group that are associated with greater risks of divorce (Wolfinger 1999). Several hypotheses have been forwarded to explain this phenomenon including the notion that cohabitation changes marriage expectations because cohabitors are less committed to relationships (Smock 2000). If so, they may be a group who are less likely to remarry than those who did not cohabit prior to their first marriage.

Data and Methods

      I use data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1979 cohort (NLSY79), a panel survey of 12,686 men and women interviewed annually from 1979 through 1994 and then biannually from 1994 on. My sample is made up of divorced men and women from the 1979-2006 waves of the NLSY79. The sample consists of 2,471 respondents: 1,179 men and 1,292 women. The sample is in event-history format with 19,278 total person-years: 8,780 person-years for men and 10,498 person-years for women.

      The dependent variable measures the duration to remarriage and the likelihood of remarriage. There are four key variables in the analysis: (1) the duration variable which measures in the remarriage market; (2) current economic status, measured by income for men and labor force status for women; (3) long-term economic status, measured by educational attainment; and (4) the presence of first marriage ties, measured by the presence of co-residential children. Control variables include: current age, school enrollment status, race/ethnicity, family socioeconomic status (mother's education), respondent's family structure at age 14, respondent's religious background, respondent's residential location (urban/rural, south/non-south), duration of first marriage, and if the respondent cohabited prior to first marriage.

      The analyses are conducted using a discrete-time logistic regression model which allows me to identify the year of remarriage while including both time-varying and time-constant variables. The sample is separated by gender and I run the models separately for men and women.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

      The means and standard deviations of the key independent and control variables are presented in Table 1. The information for the remarried are taken in the year they remarried and the information for the unmarried are at the time of their censoring, either through data attrition or the end of the data in 2006. 657 men and 686 women experienced remarriage, while 522 men and 606 women did not remarry at the time of censoring.

      On average, men and women remarry in about 5-6 years, but men remarry about 6 months earlier. Individuals who do not remarry spend about 11 years in the remarriage market, with men spending slightly less time in the remarriage market than women. The average age of remarriage is 33.9 for men and 32.7 for women. Unmarried men and women are censored at about 44 years of age.

      I now turn to the findings by current socioeconomic characteristics, measured by log of income for men and full-time, year-round employment for women. A significant and substantial income difference is evident between remarried and unmarried men. Remarried men have 9.014 logged income units (an unlogged mean of about $46,400 in 2006 dollars) while unmarried men have a mean logged income of 7.911 (an unlogged mean of about $34,225 in 2006 dollars). Unmarried women are more likely to be full-time, year-round employed (85%) than remarried

women (77%). This difference may be caused by economic necessity on part of unmarried women rather than a bias against employed women in the remarriage market.

Educational attainment serves as a measure of long-term economic standing. Highly educated men are most likely to remarry while men without a high school degree were least likely. This suggests that educational attainment is strongly linked to remarriage for men. For women, however, the differences across outcomes by educational attainment are not statistically significant. Overall, women are much more likely than men to have co-residential children— about 78% of women have a co-residential child from their divorce, while about 19% of men report having a co-residential child. This number may seem abnormally high for men, but it is likely that when custody is shared, men report a co-residential child (Center for Human Resources Research 2005). While there is no statistical difference in children from divorce between remarried and unmarried men, remarried women are slightly less likely to have co-residential children in their home versus unmarried women (56.5% versus 62.4%, respectively). Other factors also are associated with remarriage. Whites are much more likely to remarry than Blacks or Hispanics. The race/ethnicity effect appears stronger for women than for men. Remarriage differs significantly by family structure at age 14 for both men and women. Men who grew up with a stepparent are more likely to remarry than to not. Women growing up with a single-parent are more likely to remain unmarried than remarry and women from two-parent households have a higher likelihood of remarriage. Residential location also affects remarriage, with men and women living in urban areas and living in the south more likely to remarry. Finally, turning to first marriage characteristics, it appears that men and women who were married for longer durations are less likely to remarry. However this pattern is potentially misleading because age and time in the remarriage market are uncontrolled. Individuals who cohabited prior to divorce are less likely to remarry than those who did not. The results here suggest that little gender gap in remarriage.

Multivariate Analysis

I now turn to the discrete time logistic models predicting the likelihood of remarriage versus non-marriage following a divorce. Table 2 presents the odds ratios of the likelihood of remarriage on the independent variables for both men and women, respectively. Because the likelihood of remarriage increases and then declines with time after separation or divorce I include years since dissolution and its quadratic form in the models. The effect of time on remarriage is shown in Figure 1. This effect is curvilinear, increasing to an apex at about 7 years since separation/divorce and then decreasing over time. The effect of time is similar for both men and women. However, the decline in the odds of remarriage is less steep for women than it is for men--suggesting that a longer tenure in the remarriage market is less detrimental for women, despite their lower overall odds of remarrying. Additionally, individuals who divorce at older ages are less likely to remarry. A one year increase in age is associated with 6.3% reduction for men and 5.6% reduction for women in the odds of remarriage.

Current socioeconomic status. Many scholars have argued that income should be strongly linked to an increased likelihood of remarriage for men (e.g. Sweeney 1997), and the results support this hypothesis. A one-unit increase in the log of income increases the odds of remarriage by 3.2%. For women, full-time, year-round employment was introduced as the

measure of current socioeconomic status. The results show that labor force status is not significantly associated with the likelihood of remarriage for women. Clearly, divorced men may be evaluated on socioeconomic criteria, but not divorced women.

        Long-term socioeconomic status. The effect of long-term socioeconomic status on remarriage is similar to the effect of current socioeconomic status. There is a strong positive effect of educational attainment on the odds of remarriage for men, but no effect of education for women. Among men, those with less than a high school diploma have 35.3% lower odds of remarriage than men with a high school diploma. Male college graduates have 32.3% higher odds of remarriage than their high school educated counterparts.

        First marriage ties. First marriage ties, as measured by the presence of co-residential children from first marriage, affect remarriage for women, but not men. For men, the effect of children on remarriage is positive, but insignificant. For women, the effect of children is significantly negative. The presence of a co-residential child or children from divorce decreases the odds of remarriage by 14.1% compared to women without children from a divorce.

        Other factors. Several other individual characteristics are associated with the odds of remarriage. School enrollment is associated with a decrease in the likelihood of remarriage for women, but not for men. Women who are enrolled in school have 26.4% lower odds of remarriage than women not in school, in any given year. This suggests that human capital investment on the part of women is associated with a lower likelihood of remarriage. Race/ethnicity also influences remarriage. Both Black men and women are less likely to remarry than White men and women. Black men have 30% lower odds of remarriage and Black women have 47.6% lower odds of remarriage than their respective White counterparts. There is no statistically significant difference between Hispanics and Whites. Thus, like first marriage, Blacks are disadvantaged in the marriage market—especially Black females.

        Family background matters for women, but not men. Women whose mother graduated from high school have 18.5% higher odds of remarriage than women whose mother did not graduate from high school. In addition, women who grew up in a two-parent household or a household with a stepparent are more likely to remarry than women from a single-parent household. Women from two-parent households have 36.7% higher odds of remarriage and women from a household with a stepparent have 39.1% higher odds of remarriage, respectively. These findings suggest inter-generational transmissions in union formation (Teachman 2002).

        Finally, residential location also plays a role in remarriage for women. Women living in the south have more than 30% greater odds of remarriage than women living elsewhere. Duration of first marriage is associated with a higher likelihood of remarriage for men. One additional year of first marriage is associated with a 3.8% increase in the odds of remarriage among men. The corresponding figure for women is not statistically significant. Thus, men who are married for longer periods of time may be more marriage-oriented than divorced women (Becker et al. 1977).

Summary. The with regard to the hypotheses are as follows: (1) current economic status is associated with a higher likelihood of remarriage among men; (2) there is no relationship between current economic status and remarriage for women, suggesting that women are evaluated on non-economic criteria; (3) long-term economic prospects, as measured by educational attainment, are positively associated with remarriage for men; (4) educational attainment is not associated with remarriage for women; (5) the presence of co-residential children from divorce has no affect on remarriage for men; (6) women who have co-residential children from divorce are less likely to remarry than women without children; (7) the effect of time on remarriage is similar for men and women—the odds of remarriage increase over time, but this effect is curvilinear, and the odds begin to decline after 7 years in the remarriage market for both sexes.

Discussion

The gender gap in remarriage is large and significant. This gap is important given the negative personal effects of divorce (e.g., Coleman et al. 2000) and stratifying effects of divorce (e.g., Peterson 1996). Rresearch on remarriage has been lacking. Typically, studies on remarriage have focused on one set of characteristics (e.g., Sweeney 1997), one specific measure like having children (e.g., Goldscheider and Sassler 2006) or on one sex (e.g., Bumpass et al. 1990). The few comprehensive studies of remarriage have primarily used data from Europe (e.g., DeGraaf and Kalmijn 2003) or Canada (e.g., Wu and Schimmele 2005). Thus, a comprehensive study of remarriage patterns by gender in the United States and potential explanations for the gender gap have been missing from the study of remarriage. This chapter addresses this gap by focusing on gender differences in remarriage and offers explanations for the gender gap in remarriage using nationally representative data from the United States.

Three attributes were addressed as potential sources for gender differences in remarriage. First, socioeconomic status can be a source of the gender gap, especially if remarriage is more traditional than first marriage. In contemporary marriage formation, both men's and women's socioeconomic status increases the likelihood of marriage (Sweeney 2002). Whereas, in traditional marriage formation, economic attributes are significantly associated with entry into marriage for men, but not women (Becker 1981). The evidence suggests that remarriage follows a traditional union formation pattern. In my analyses, both current and long-term socioeconomic status positively affects the likelihood of remarriage for men, indicating that men are evaluated as potential marriage partners on the basis of economic status in remarriage. For women, these effects are not significant. Instead, characteristics such as race/ethnicity and social background were associated with the likelihood of remarriage for women. These attributes were highlighted by Becker (1981) as important characteristics in traditional marriage markets.

One non-traditional attribute women are assessed on in the remarriage market is the strength of first marriage ties. Having co-residential children from first marriage was used as a proxy for first marriage ties. The presence of co-residential children is a good measure because ex-spouses are often involved in co-custodial arrangements or visitation rights and in co-parenting (Coleman et al. 2000; Goldscheider and Sassler 2006). Often, caring for a child means that the custodial parent receives financial support from their ex-spouse in the form of child support (DeGraaf and Kalmijn 2003). Having a co-residential child from divorce significantly

decreases the odds of remarriage for women. In fact, women with children are about 14% less likely to remarry than women without children. No such effect exists for men. Therefore, the presence of co-residential children may block women from seeking out a remarriage. This is particularly important, given that divorced women with children are much more likely to be poor following dissolution than women without kids (Peterson 1996). It appears, then, that the women to whom marriage may be most important are the least likely to marry after divorce.

A third potential reason for the gender gap in remarriage is that the timing to remarriage differs by sex. However, the results do not support this hypothesis. Instead, the results show that time in the remarriage market has very similar effects on the likelihood of remarriage for men and women. The effect of time on remarriage is curvilinear, as noted by the quadratic function in the regression models. On average, the likelihood of remarriage increases for men and women until they are in the remarriage market for 7 years, and then begins to decrease. Therefore, time does have a significant impact on the remarriage prospects for men and women—but does not account for gender differences in remarriage.

This analysis represents a good starting point for understanding the remarriage patterns. Yet, an analysis of what predicts entry into remarriage provides an incomplete picture of these patterns. Additional investigation is required into how traditional marriages are in remarriage— future analysis will use a two-stage model to focus on potential differences between first marriages and remarriages. The proposed revisions are as follows: First, I will focus on the factors correlated with entry into first marriage for individuals who eventually divorce and those who do not divorce. By assessing the impact of individual characteristics on the likelihood of first marriage, I address potential selectivity in marriage patterns among divorcees when compared to those who do not divorce. The second stage of my future analyses is to focus on the factors associated with entry into remarriage following a divorce. If remarriage is like traditional first marriage, as expected under Becker's exchange theory, then socioeconomic status should positively affect the remarriage prospects of men and not of women. For women, the likelihood of remarriage should be influenced by age, parental status, and other characteristics (Becker 1981). However, if remarriage is more like contemporary first marriage, socioeconomic status should increase the likelihood of remarriage for both men and women (England and Farkas 1986; Oppenheimer 1988).

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Key Independent and Control Variables by Remarriage Outcomes for Men and Women

	Remarried Men (n= 657)		Not Remarried Men (n= 522)		Remarried Women (n= 686)		Not Remarried Women (n= 606)	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Time								
Years since dissolution [†]	5.189	3.531	10.655	5.884 *	5.682	3.710	11.330	6.038 *
Age [†]	33.869	5.647	43.870	3.528 *	32.745	6.036	43.865	3.350 *
Current Socioeconomic Status								
Log of income [†]	9.014	3.841	7.911	5.461 *	---	---	---	---
Full-time employed, lagged [†]	---	---	---	---	0.771	---	0.847	--- *
Long-term Socioeconomic Status								
Less than high school [†]	0.137	---	0.157	--- *	0.099	---	0.071	---
High school graduate [†]	0.726	---	0.715	---	0.755	---	0.736	---
College graduate or more [†]	0.137	---	0.128	--- *	0.146	---	0.193	---
First Marriage Ties								
Any co-residential children from divorce [†]	0.185	---	0.189	---	0.565	---	0.624	--- *
Control Variables								
Currently enrolled in school	0.030	---	0.013	---	0.057	---	0.018	---
Race and ethnicity								
non-Hispanic white [†]	0.600	---	0.458	--- *	0.628	---	0.449	--- *
non-Hispanic black	0.244	---	0.341	--- *	0.198	---	0.351	--- *
Hispanic [†]	0.157	---	0.201	---	0.173	---	0.200	---
Socioeconomic background, age 14								
Mother less than high school graduate	0.390	---	0.423	---	0.397	---	0.446	--- *
Mother high school graduate	0.428	---	0.402	---	0.455	---	0.376	--- *
Mother college graduate	0.145	---	0.136	---	0.131	---	0.152	---
Family structure, age 14								
Single parent home	0.158	---	0.186	---	0.130	---	0.206	--- *
Two-parent household [†]	0.661	---	0.649	---	0.710	---	0.622	--- *
Stepparent present	0.125	---	0.084	--- *	0.101	---	0.094	---
Other family structure	0.056	---	0.080	--- *	0.060	---	0.078	---
Religious background, age 14								
Catholic	0.314	---	0.351	---	0.324	---	0.342	---
Conservative Protestant	0.359	---	0.347	---	0.334	---	0.361	---
non-Catholic, non-Conservative Protestant	0.327	---	0.303	---	0.343	---	0.297	---
Urban residence [†]	0.753	---	0.720	---	0.761	---	0.751	--- *
Southern residence [†]	0.451	---	0.412	---	0.443	---	0.431	---
First Marriage Characteristics								
Duration of first marriage [†]	6.875	4.804	8.584	5.436	6.602	4.763	9.556	6.021 *
Cohabited prior to first marriage	0.062	---	0.140	--- *	0.070	---	0.114	--- *

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1979 cohort (NLSY 79)

Note: [†] Indicates a statistically significant gender difference at the p<.05 level; * Indicates a statistically significant difference between marital outcomes within gender at the p<.05 level

Table 2: Discrete-time Logistic Regression Results for Remarriage, by Sex

	Men	Women
Time		
Duration since divorce	1.233 ***	1.280 ***
Duration since divorce-squared	0.986 ***	0.984 ***
Age	0.936 ***	0.955 ***
Current socioeconomic status		
Log of income	1.032 **	
Full-time, year-round employed		0.924
Long-term socioeconomic status		
Less than high school	0.647 **	0.887
College degree or more	1.323 *	1.026
First marriage ties		
Co-residential child/children	1.098	0.859 *
Currently enrolled in school	1.059	0.734 *
(ref: not currently enrolled)		
Race/ethnicity (ref: non-Hispanic White)		
non-Hispanic Black	0.700 **	0.524 ***
Hispanic	0.817	0.821
Socioeconomic background, age 14		
(ref: mother without high school diploma)		
Mother high school educated	1.019	1.185 *
Mother college educated	1.013	0.893
Family structure, age 14		
(ref: single-parent present)		
Two parents present	0.868	1.367 *
Stepparent present	1.213	1.391 *
Other family structure	0.730	1.182
Religious background, age 14		
(ref: other religion)		
Catholic	0.982	0.915
Conservative Protestant	1.075	0.995
Urban	0.882	0.902
South	1.136	1.306 **
First marriage characteristics		
Duration of first marriage	1.038 **	1.005
Cohabited prior to first marriage	0.768	0.778
(ref: did not cohabit prior to first marriage)		
N, respondents	1,179	1,292
N, person-years	8,780	10,498
-2 Log likelihood	176.17	228.63
Psuedo R-squared	0.037	0.045

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1979 cohort
***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05

Figure 1: Log odds of Remarriage for Men and Women by Years since Separation/Divorce