that the effect has increased over time (0.5 for the earlier cohort and 0.4 for the later one).

Our third model shows, however, that nonmarital childbearing cannot fully explain marriage differences between blacks and whites. Black women still have significantly lower odds of marrying than white women (0.5) even when we control for nonmarital childbearing. However, nonmarital childbearing appears to explain completely the difference in the odds of marriage between Hispanics and whites (i.e., the odds ratio for Hispanics loses significance in this model).

The final model includes the interaction between race and nonmarital childbearing, to estimate whether the effects of nonmarital childbearing differ significantly by race and ethnicity. The results show that the effects of nonmarital childbearing are stronger for blacks and Hispanics than for whites (i.e., the odds ratios reflecting the interaction effects are below 1.0). The negative effects of a nonmarital birth on the likelihood of marriage have increased over time for whites; they have decreased for Hispanics; and they have not changed significantly for blacks. Thus, the racial difference in the effect of a nonmarital birth remains, but has generally become weaker over time. The implication is that nonmarital childbearing has had a growing negative effect on marriage among white women, and this change has been relatively greater than that for black women.

**Life-Table Estimates of Marriage**

The probabilities of marriage, or cumulative proportions of women ever married by specific ages (Table 2, page 289), for each racial and ethnic group suggest that nonmarital childbearing is associated with reduced rates of marriage, a finding that is consistent with the data in Table 1. Among whites, for example, women who had a nonmarital birth are significantly less likely to be married by age 40 (82%) than are women who conceived out of wedlock but did not give birth (85%) or who had no nonmarital birth (89%). However, selection may partly account for the lower marriage rates among women who gave birth out of wedlock, since the difference between those with a nonmarital birth and those with a nonmarital conception is relatively small.

Whereas the cumulative proportion ever married by age 40 among whites who had a nonmarital birth as a teenager was the same as that among women who avoided a nonmarital birth (89%), only 70% of women who had a nonmarital birth when they were 20 or older married by age 40. Teenage unwed mothers may simply have more time than older ones to find a spouse.

Among Hispanic women, only 62% of those who gave birth out of wedlock had ever married by age 40, compared with 93% of women who avoided nonmarital childbearing. The cumulative proportion ever marrying by age 40 among Hispanic women who miscarried or aborted a nonmarital pregnancy was 82%. Clearly, unmeasured factors cannot explain the large difference between the marriage trajectories of unwed mothers and women who had no nonmarital birth; the presence of the child or stigma surrounding a nonmarital birth appears to be a major impediment to marriage among Hispanics. Those who avoid nonmarital childbearing have a significantly higher risk of marriage than other women at almost all ages. However, Hispanic women who give birth outside of marriage are significantly less likely to marry by age 40 than are similar white women (62% vs. 82%; p≤.01—not shown).

Our estimates for black women are consistent with findings from previous research, which has shown that overall, lower proportions of black women than of other racial groups ever marry. Only 59% of black women who had a nonmarital birth married by age 40, compared with 76% of black women who avoided a nonmarital birth. Among those who lost or terminated a nonmarital pregnancy, 66% married by age 40. Thus, although nonmarital childbearing reduces the likelihood of marriage among black women, their overall low rates of marriage—even among childless women—suggest that other factors, such as cultural attitudes and values or the shortage of economically attractive men, also play a large role.

Teenage unwed mothers are more likely than older unwed mothers to wed by midlife. Because the teenage mothers in our sample have had more time, on average, to marry than the older mothers, it is important to compare these two groups by their time to marriage following the birth event, rather than by the time since age 14. Figure 1 shows the trajectory of first marriages among unwed moth-