GENERATION UNBOUND

Drifting into Sex and Parenthood without Marriage

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Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution November 20, 2014

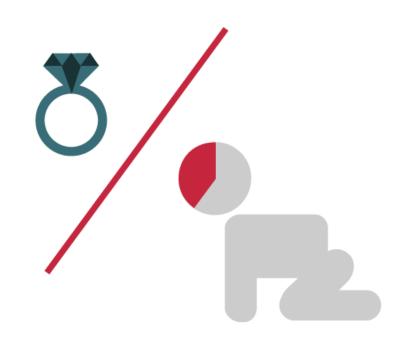


Outline

- What's happening
- Why it's happening
- Why it matters
- What to do

A Large Proportion of Births Occur Outside of Marriage

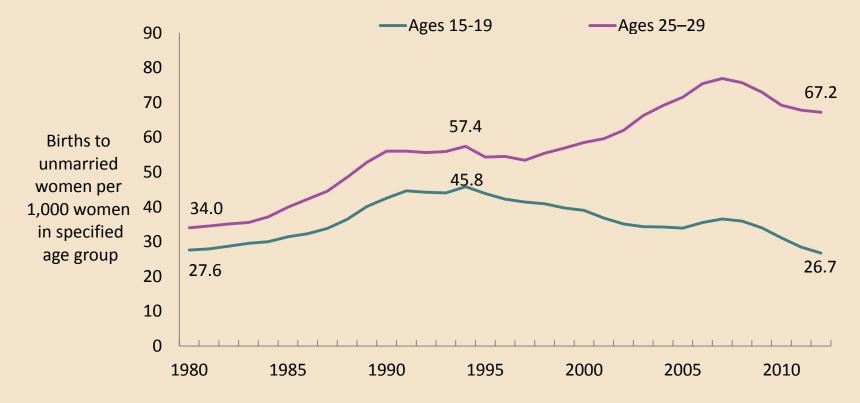
OVER 40% OF ALL CHILDREN ARE BORN OUTSIDE OF MARRIAGE



Source: "Births to Unmarred Women" Child Trends Data Bank. (July 2014).

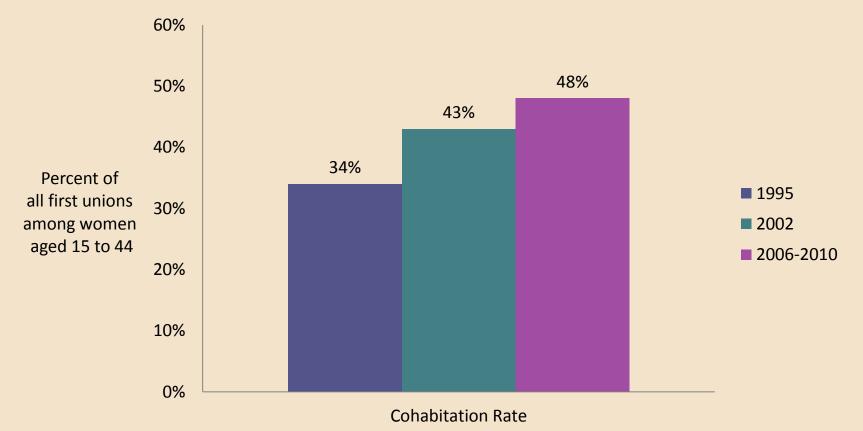
Is Unwed Childbearing Going to be the⁴ New Normal?

The problem of unmarried births has shifted up the age range. Though teenage births have been on the decline since the 1990s, births to unmarried 20-somethings remain high.



Source: US Census Bureau. Table FAM2.A Births to unmarried women: Birth rates for unmarried women by age of mother, 1980–2012.

Cohabitation is Increasingly Common



Source: Copen, Casey E.., Kimberly Daniels, and William D. Mosher. 2013. "First Premarital Cohabitation in the United States: 2006–2010 National Survey of Family Growth". 64. National Health Statistics Reports. Washington DC: U.S. Deaprtment of Health and Human Services. http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhsr/nhsr064.pdf.

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Cohabitation: The New Marriage-Lite?

Increasingly Common but Unstable

Percent of Parents Separated by the Time Their Child is Age 5 Married 20 Cohabitating 48 10 20 30 50 0 40 60

Source: "Parents' Relationship Status Five Years After a Non-Marital Birth." 2007. Fragile Families Research Brief 39. Princeton University. http://www.fragilefamilies.princeton.edu/briefs/ResearchBrief39.pdf

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What is Driving the Change in Family Structure?

Improving Opportunities for Women

Declining Economic Prospects for Men

Contraception and Abortion

Changing Social Norms

Why it Matters

- Children fare better in stable two-parent family; child poverty rates are much higher in single-parent families
- Married adults are happier, healthier, and longerlived
- Family breakdown: a new class divide, leading to less social mobility
- Costs to society



Chicken and Egg

Does poverty \rightarrow family breakdown

OR

Does family breakdown \rightarrow poverty?



9

Costs to Society

The typical single parent family receives around \$6000 in government benefits per year.¹

The SNAP program alone cost about \$80 billion in 2013 and reduced child poverty by 3 percentage points.²

The growth of single parenthood since 1970 has increased child poverty by 5 percentage points.³

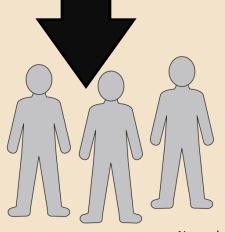
- 1. Post-tax, post-transfer income includes earned income, child support, social insurance, means-tested cash benefits, food stamps, housing benefits, EITC, and other tax/stimulus payments; Tabulations by Richard Bavier, based on U.S. Census Bureau March Current Population Survey.
- 2. Total expenditures = \$ 79.9 billion; Expenditures on Single Parent Families = \$44 billion; "Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Participation and Costs" (Sept 5, 2014) http://www.fns.usda.gov/sites/default/files/pd/SNAPsummary.pdf.
- 3. Found using a shift share analysis: Shift-share Poverty rate = (Single Parent Child Poverty 2012)* (Proportion of Children in SPF 1970) + (Married Parent Child Poverty 2012)* (Proportion of Children in SPF 1970); then adjusted for selection using ratio from Thomas and Sawhill (2002).

Can Social Policy Keep Pace with 11 Increased Need?

Entering poverty (result of family breakdown)

POVERTY

Leaving poverty (due to social programs)



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Traditionalists vs. Village Builders¹²

The truth is, the greatest tool to lift children and families from poverty. . . isn't a government spending program. It's called marriage. **99**





Children are not rugged individualists. . . All of us, whether we acknowledge it or not, are responsible for deciding whether our children are raised in a nation that doesn't just espouse family values but values families and children.

Changing Drifters into Planners

Changing the Default from Childbearing by Chance to Childbearing by Choice

What is Drifting?

- Doing something impulsively or without intention
- "Thinking fast," not "thinking slow" (Kahneman)



Percent of young women agreeing with the following statement: "It doesn't matter whether you use birth control or not; when it's your time to get pregnant it will happen."

Planners vs. Drifters





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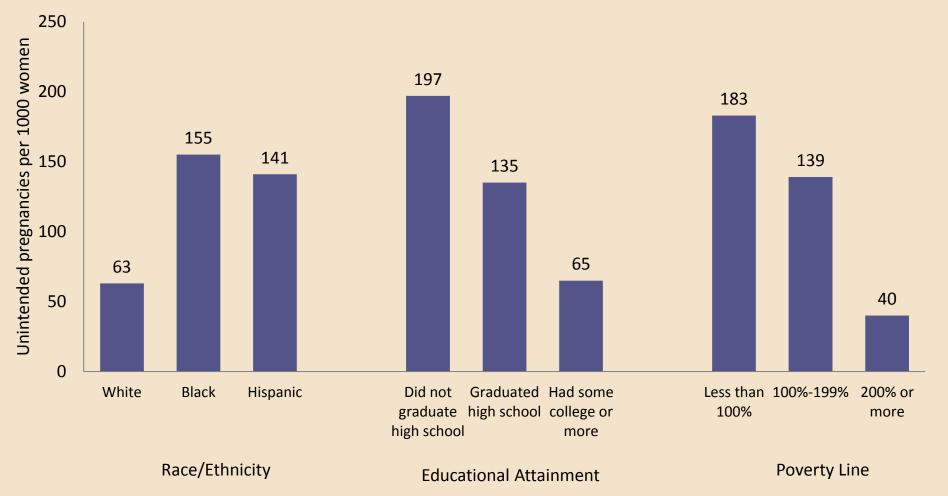
Drifting into Parenthood is Common

60% OF BIRTHS TO SINGLE WOMEN UNDER 30 ARE UNPLANNED

Source: Zolna, Mia, and Laura Duberstein Lindberg. Unintended pregnancy: Incidence and outcomes among young adult unmarried women in the United States, 2001 and 2008. Alan Guttmacher Institute, 2012.

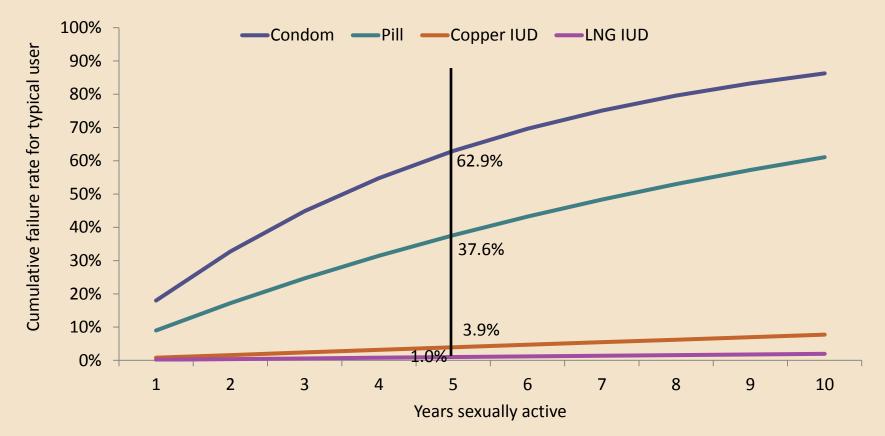
60%

Less Advantaged Women Have ¹⁷ Highest Rates of Drifting



Source: Karpilow, Quentin, Jennifer Manlove, Isabel Sawhill, and Adam Thomas. "The Role of Contraception in Preventing Abortion, Nonmarital Childbearing, and Child Poverty." Paper presented at APPAM, November 2013.

IUDs Are Much More Effective Than Other ¹⁸ Forms of Birth Control



How we got these numbers: Data is from Trussell (2011). The probability that a person doesn't pregnant at all over a given period of time is equal to the success rate of her contraceptive method raised to the power of the number of years she is using that method. We then subtract this multi year "success rate" from 100% to get the failure rate (graphed above). This assumes that there is an equal chance of not getting pregnant in every year of condom use and that successful users and failed users (where success is not getting pregnant during a year using birth control) have the same rate. The assumption is reasonable given that figures we use are the figure for a "typical" user of some type of contraceptive.

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Changing the Default: Evidence

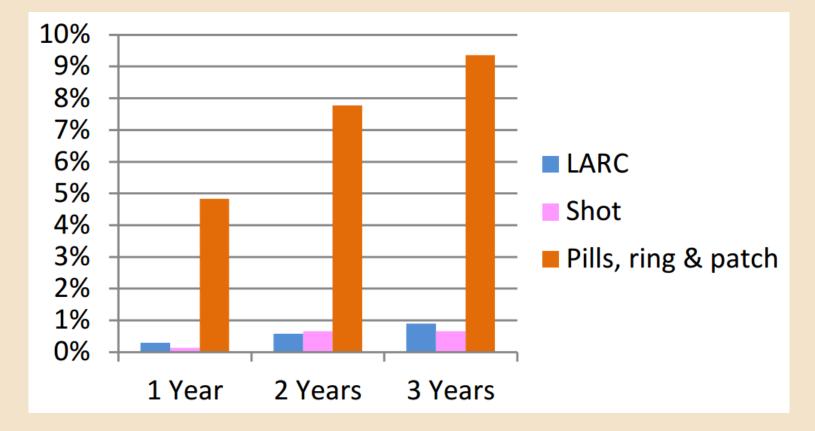
St. Louis: The CHOICE Project

Colorado Family Planning Initiative

Iowa Initiative to Reduce Unintended Pregnancies

St. Louis: The CHOICE Project²⁰

Women using LARCs or shots had lowest unintended pregnancy rates after 1, 2, and 3 years.



Source: http://www.choiceproject.wustl.edu/~/media/Files/ChoiceProject/Study-Findings-20120917.ashx.

Colorado Family Planning Initiative

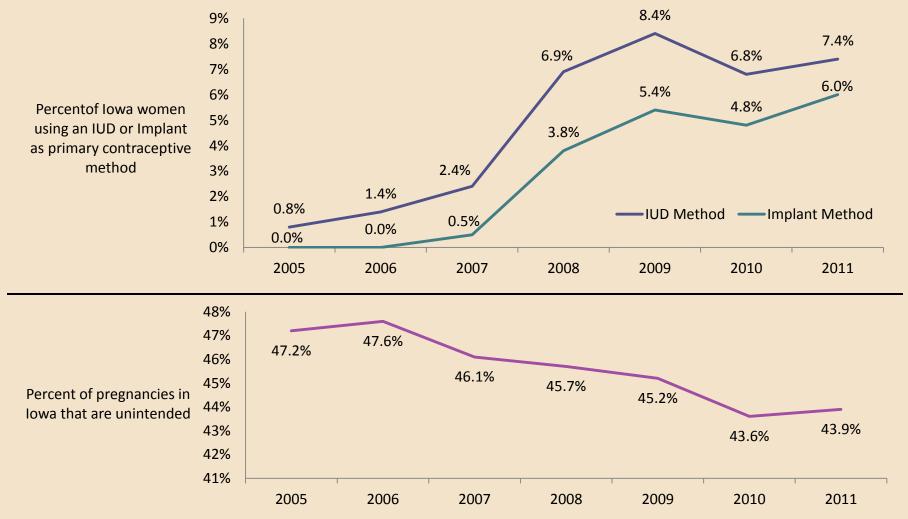
Expanding access to LARCs caused a

27 percent decline

in births to unmarried disadvantaged women who are younger than 25 between 2009 and 2011.

Source: Ricketts, Sue, Greta Klingler, and Renee Schwalberg. "Game Change in Colorado: Widespread Use Of Long-Acting Reversible Contraceptives and Rapid Decline in Births Among Young, Low-Income Women." *Perspectives on sexual and reproductive health* (2014).

Iowa Initiative to Reduce Unintended ²² Pregnancies



Source: http://www.training-source.org/sites/default/files/comm_value_public_health/II%20Press%20Kit%20One%20Pager%20FINAL.pdf.

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5 Inconvenient Truths About ²³ Sex and Parenthood

- Likelihood of pregnancy using a condom alone for 5 years is 63%. Use the pill – or even better – an IUD.
- 2. An early unplanned birth affects a child's success later in life.
- 3. Cohabitation is **NOT** a substitute for marriage.
- 4. Later marriages are more stable than early ones, so waiting is a good idea.
- Children are expensive expect to spend about \$500,000 to \$1 million per child.

What Government Needs to Do²⁴

Create more opportunity:

- Evidence-based programs (SGM)
- More career and technical education
- Raise minimum wage; expand EITC

Empower women to have children when and with whom they want:

- ACA
- Health care providers
- Social marketing campaign

What Individuals Need to Do

<u>Old social norm</u>: Don't have children outside of marriage

<u>New social norm</u>: Don't have children until you and your partner are ready to be parents