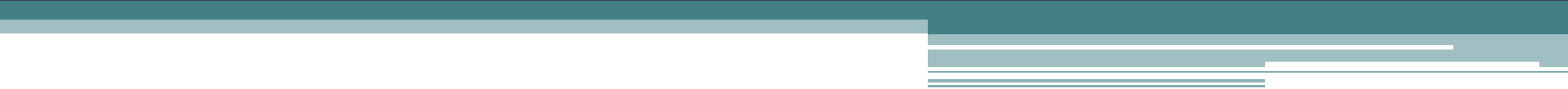


Family Change, Poverty and Inequality



Marcy Carlson, Professor of Sociology

June 5, 2013

Teaching Poverty 101 Workshop

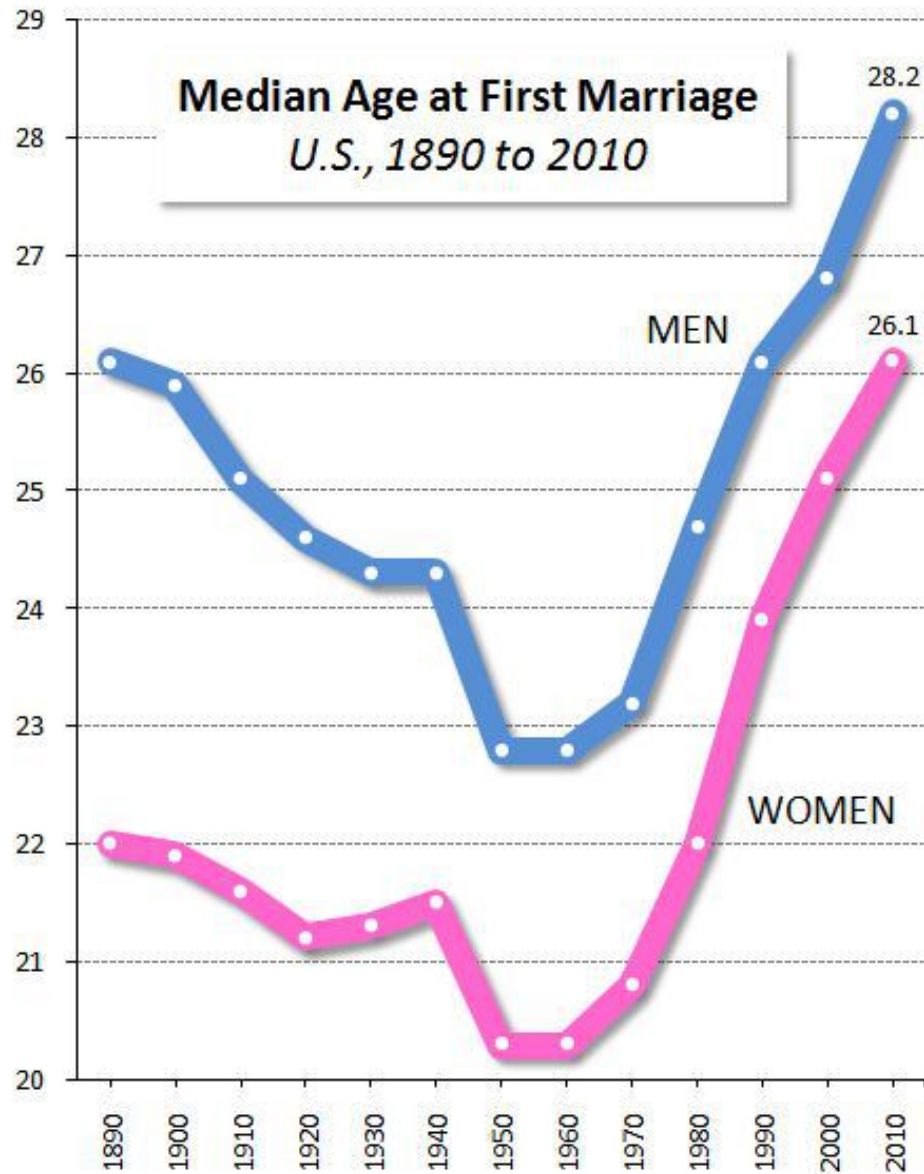
Institute for Research on Poverty, UW-Madison

Key Family Topics Related to Poverty/Inequality

- 1) Major changes in U.S. family demography in recent decades
- 2) Growing differences by socioeconomic status (SES) in family patterns
- 3) Family behaviors/trends influence poverty and inequality
 - Individual level
 - Aggregate level
- 4) Families' role in the intergenerational transmission of (dis)advantage

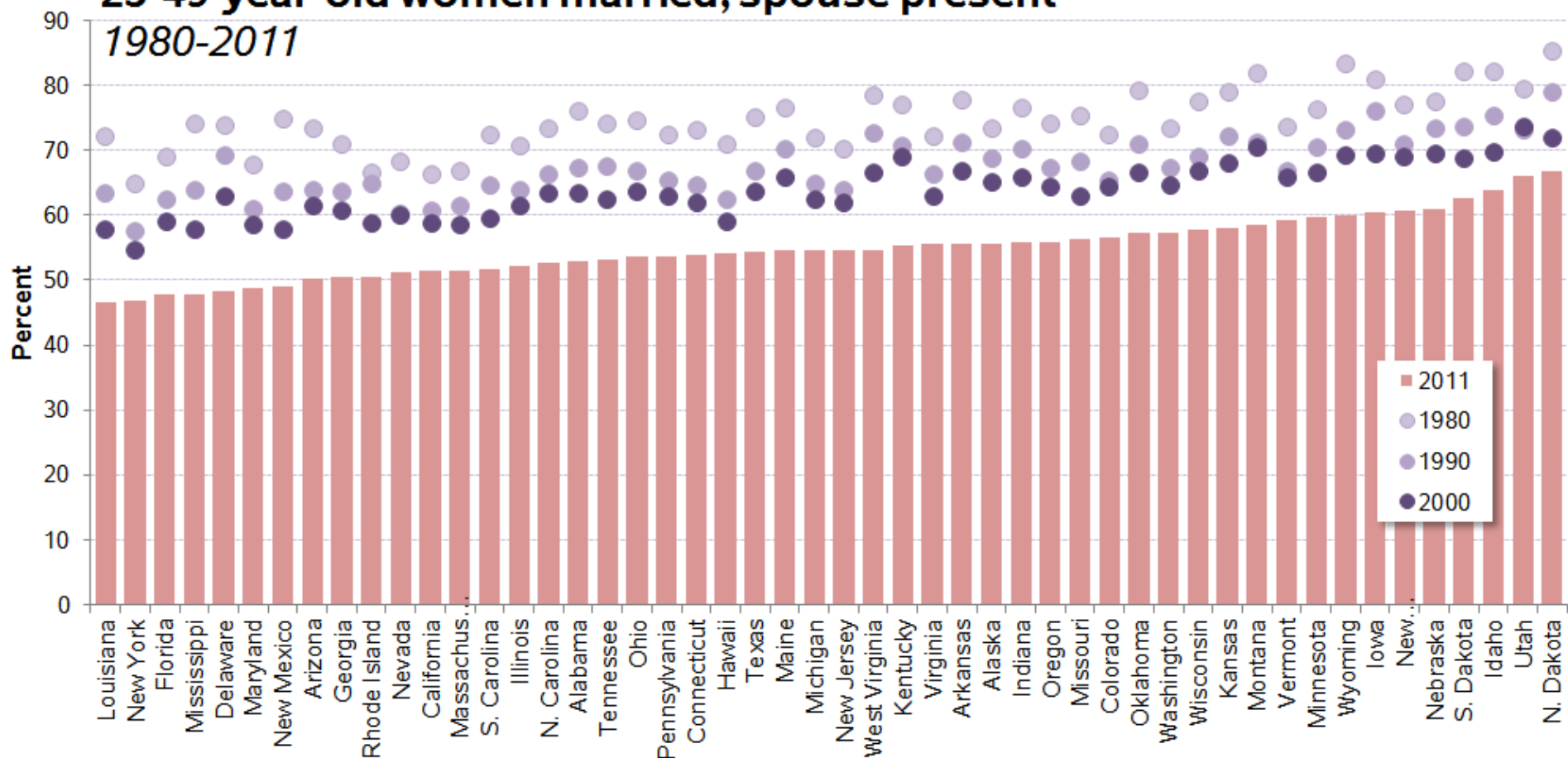
1) Major Changes in U.S. Family Demography

- **Marriage and cohabitation**
- **Divorce**
- **Nonmarital childbearing**
- **Single motherhood**
- **Growing instability and complexity**



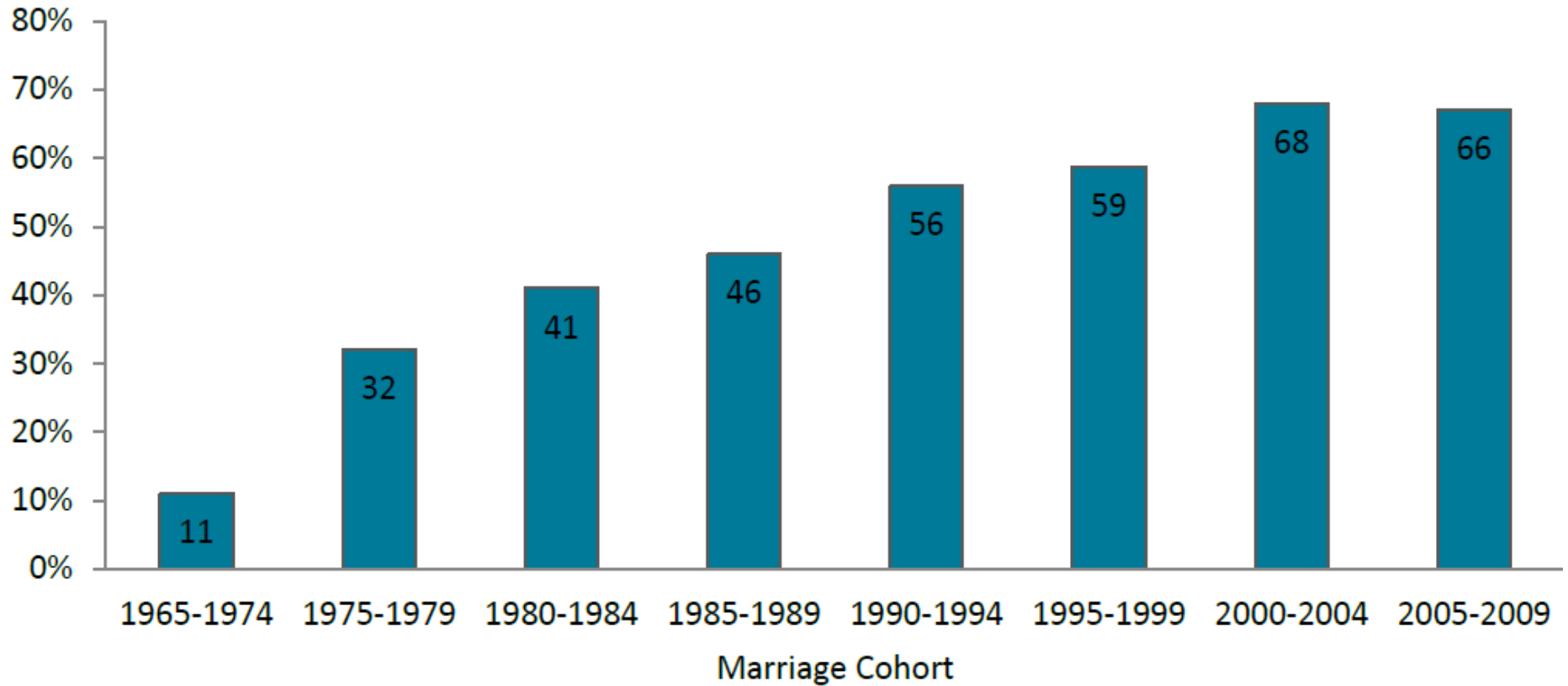
Source: Cohen tabulation of U.S. Census data

25-49 year-old women married, spouse present 1980-2011



Source: Cohen tabulation of U.S. Census data from IPUMS

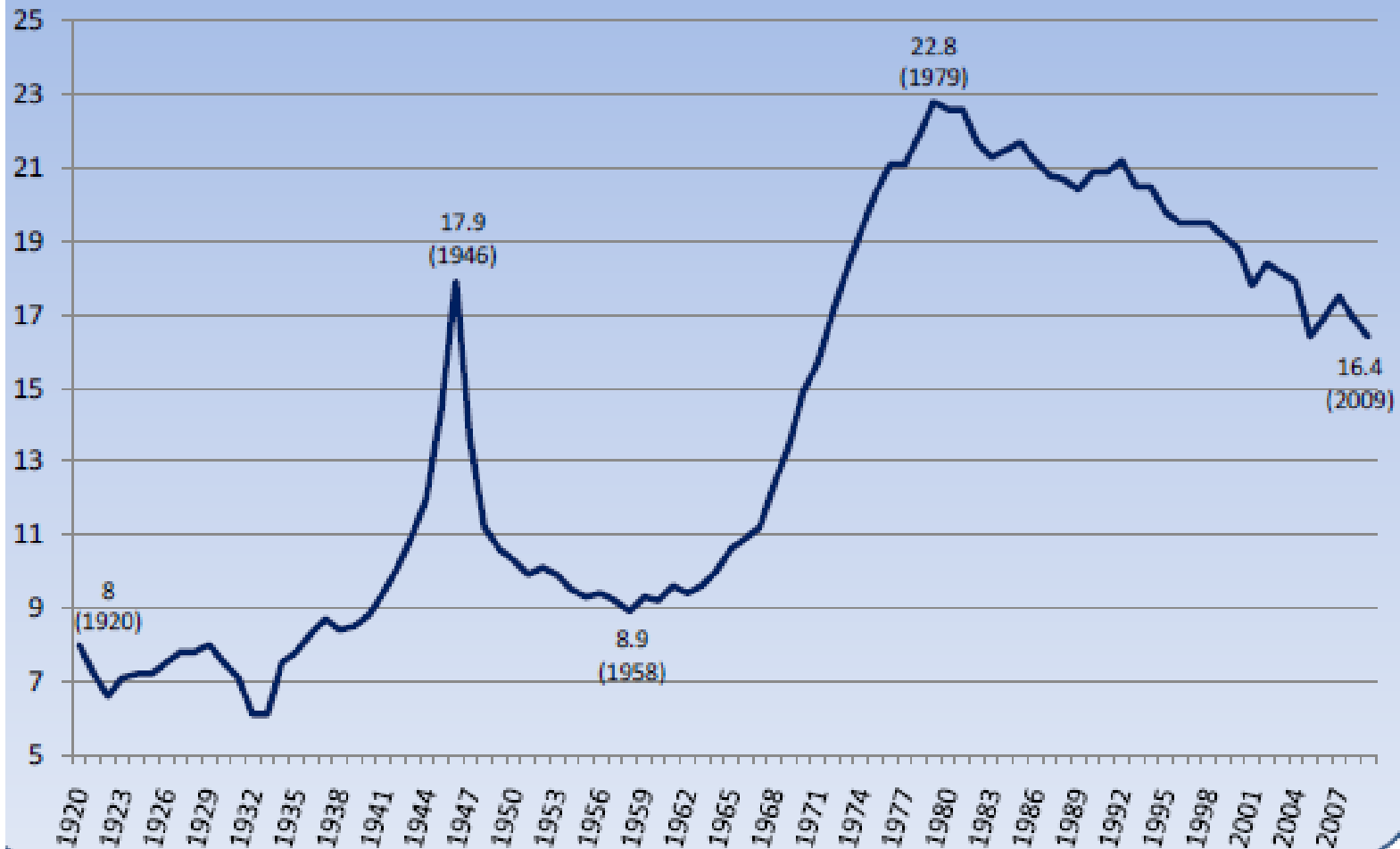
Figure 2. Two Decades of Trends in Percentage of Women (19-44) Cohabiting Prior to First Marriage



Sources: Bumpass and Sweet, 1989; Bumpass and Lu, 2000; Kennedy and Bumpass, 2008

(from National Center for Family and Marriage Research)

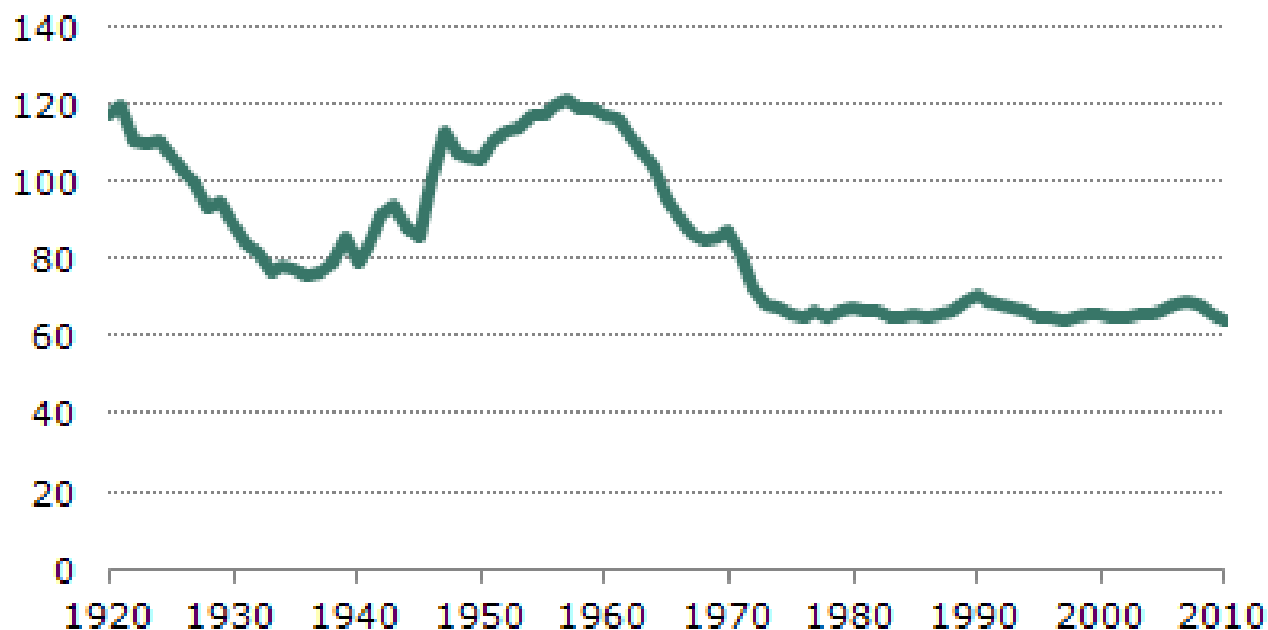
Divorces per 1,000 Married Women Age 15 Or Older



Sources: Statistical Abstract and UVA 'State of Our Unions' report

Birth Rates, 1920-2010

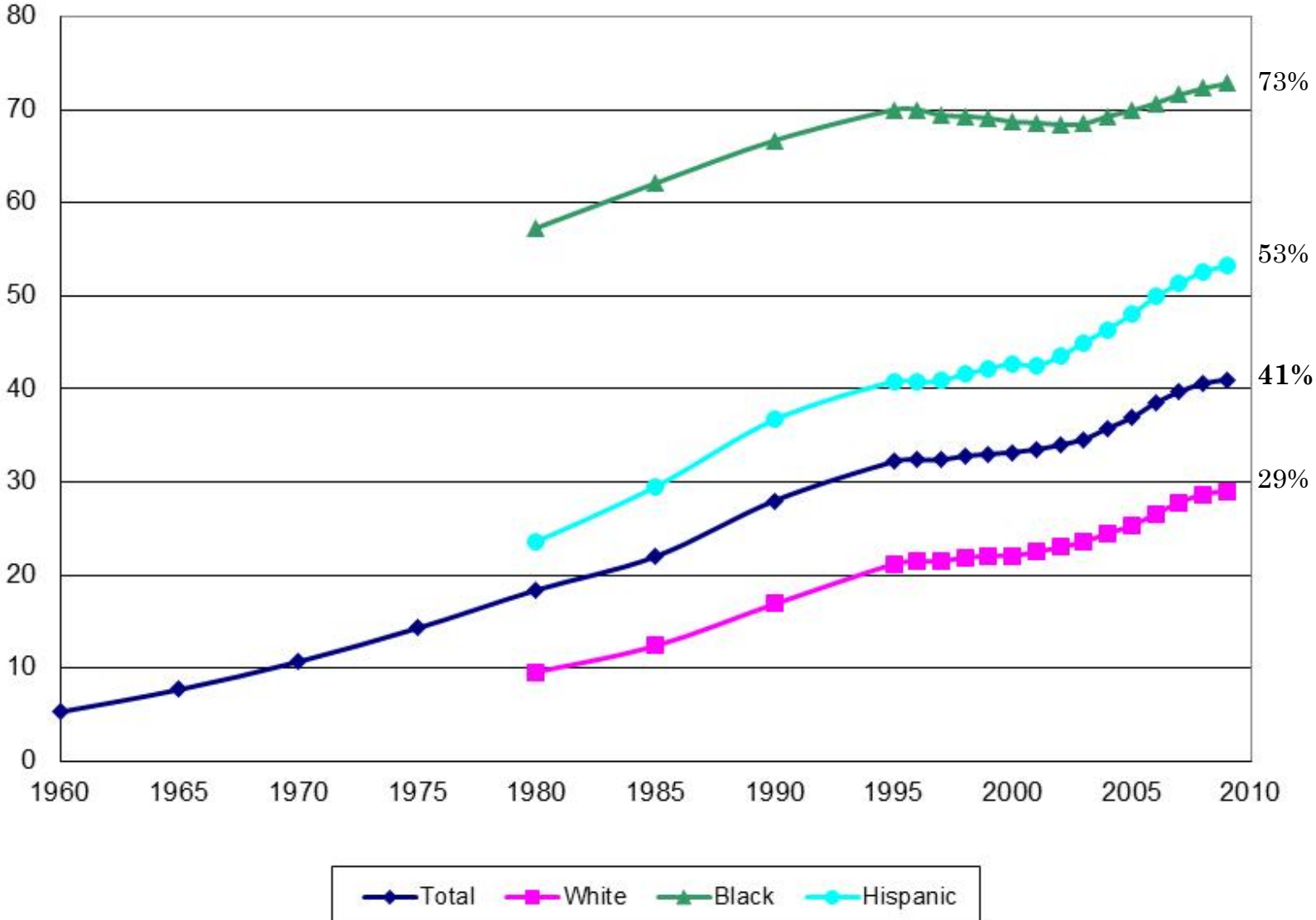
Births per 1,000 women ages 15-44



Source: Statistics calculated using data obtained from the National Center for Health Statistics and Heuser (1976), available [here](#)

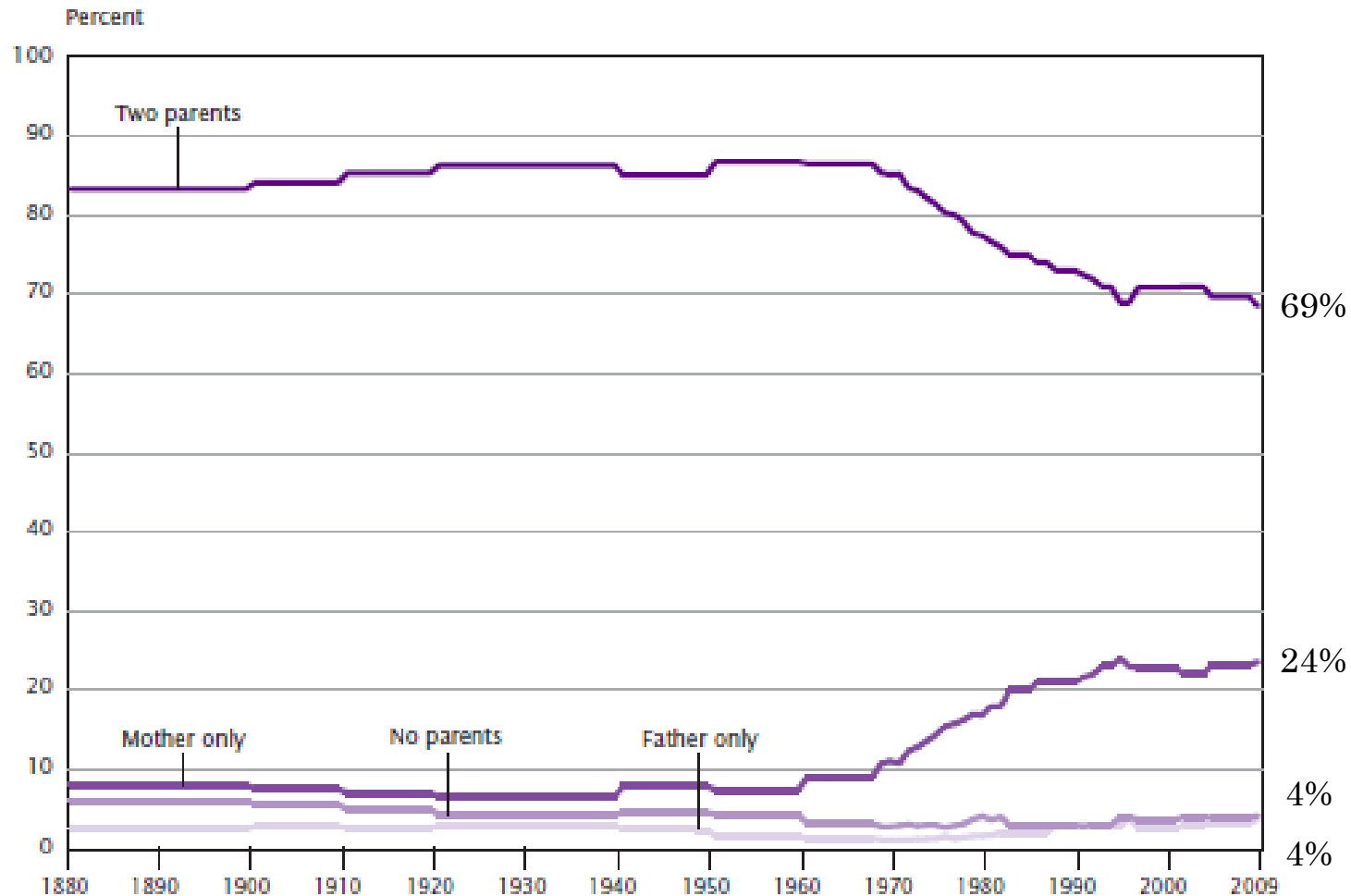
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Unmarried Births as a Percent of All U.S. Births



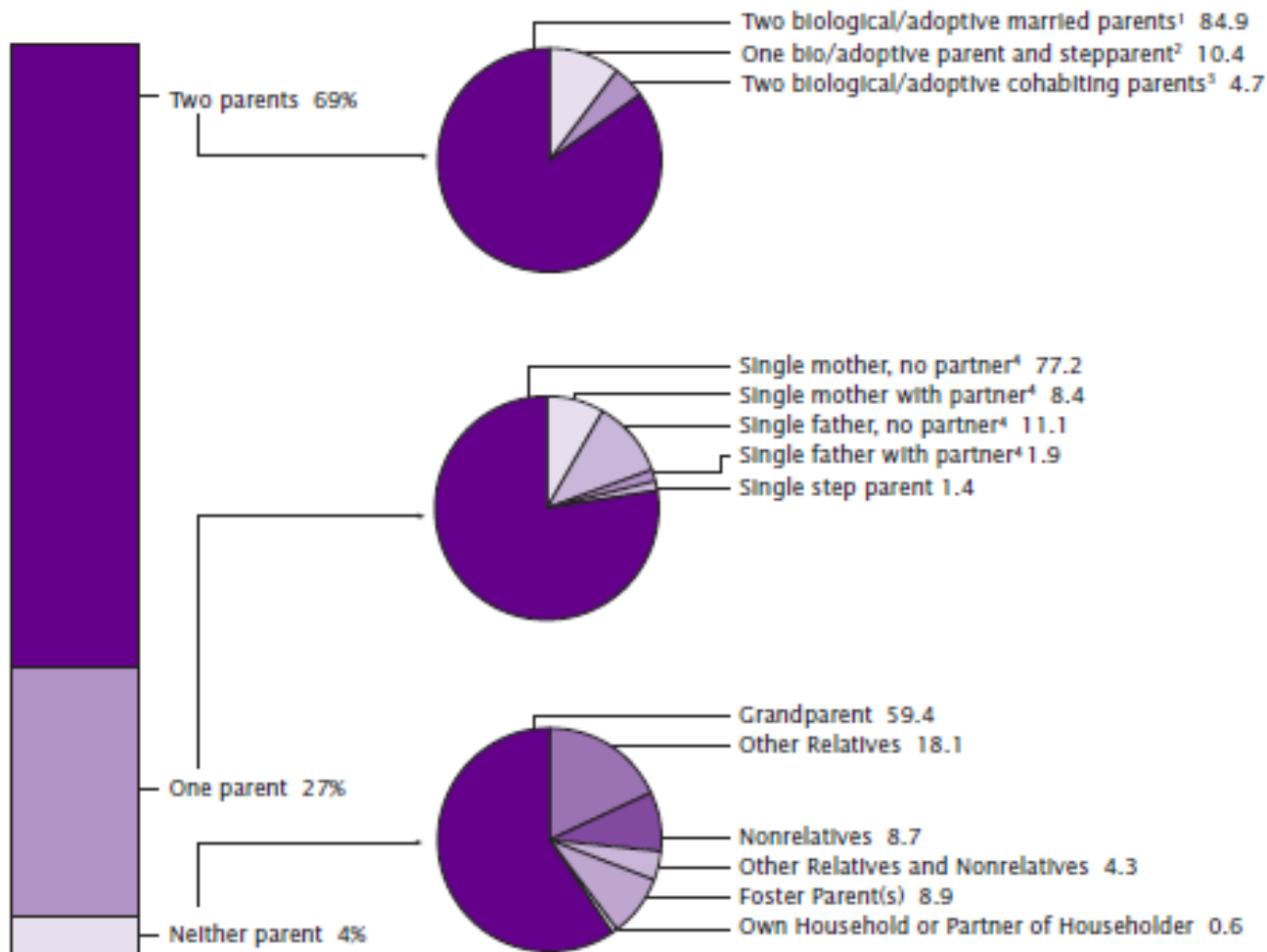
Source: National Center for Health Statistics

Figure 1.
Historical Living Arrangements of Children: Selected Years, 1880 to 2009



Source: 1880-1940: Integrated Public-Use Microdata Series: Version 2.0 1 percent microdata files made available by the Historical Census Projects. For 1880-1940, children in group quarters are included (1 percent or less of all children). For more information, see <<http://usa.ipums.org/usa/design.shtml>>; 1970-1990: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey (CPS), Annual Social and Economic Supplement 1970, 1975, 1980, and 1990. For more information about CPS, see <<http://www.census.gov/aprd/techdoc/cps/cps-main.html>>; 1996-2009: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), 1996, 1996, 2001, 2004, and 2008 Panels, Wave 2 Topical Module. For information on sampling and nonsampling error, see <www.census.gov/sipp/source.html>.

Figure 6.
Percentage of Children Aged 0-17 Living in Various Family Arrangements: 2009



¹ Child points to two parents, who are married to each other—either two biological, two adoptive, or one biological and one adoptive.
² Child points to two parents, either married or cohabiting—one is a biological or adoptive parent, one is a stepparent, or both are stepparents.
³ Child points to two parents, who are not married to each other—either two biological, two adoptive, or one biological and one adoptive.
⁴ Child points to one parent, biological or adoptive.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), 2008 Panel, Wave 2 Topical Module. For information on sampling and nonsampling error, see <[www.census.gov/sipp/sourcecat/S&A08_W1toW3\(S&A-12\).pdf](http://www.census.gov/sipp/sourcecat/S&A08_W1toW3(S&A-12).pdf)>.

Family Instability and Complexity

- Decoupling of marriage and childbearing, as individuals have and rear children outside of marriage
- Greater instability in unions and families (more transitions)
- Greater complexity with more and different types of actors (i.e., step/social parents, half-siblings, etc.)

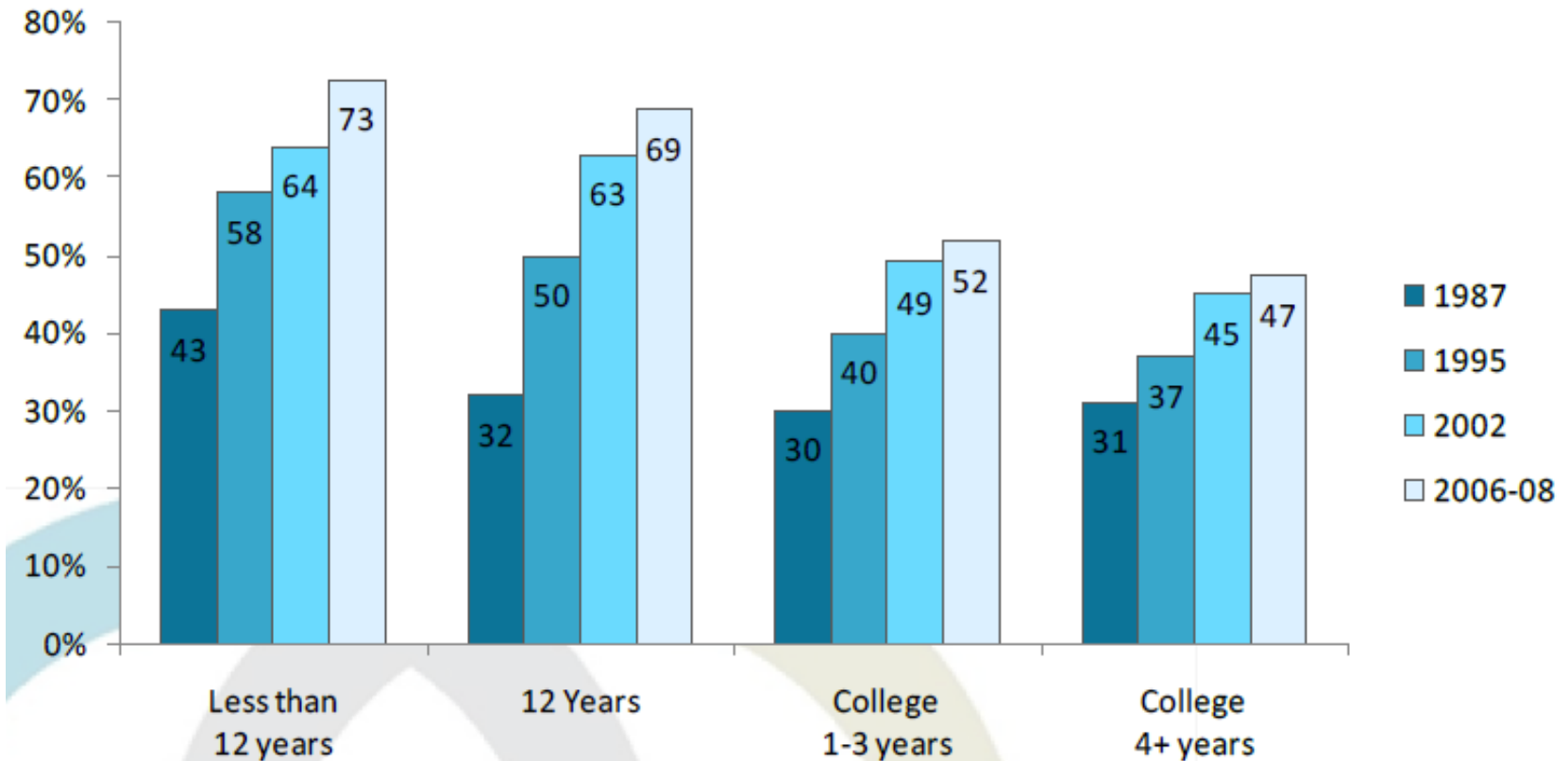
Estimates of U.S. Prevalence of Multi-Partnered Fertility

Data	Sample	Author(s)	Estimate
1980 CPS	Children < 18 living w/ their mother	Bumpass 1984	18.7%
Baltimore teen mothers	Low-income teen mothers giving birth 1960s (n=221)	Furstenberg & King 1999 (unpublished)	53.4%
Fragile Families Study	Mothers w/ urban nonmarital birth	Mincy 2002 (unpublished)	36.0%
	Fathers w/ urban nonmarital birth		36.0%
Welfare mothers	WI mothers receiving TANF 1997-98	Meyer, Cancian & Cook 2005	30.0%
	Matched to fathers w/ CSE records		50.0%
Fragile Families Study	Mothers with urban birth 1998-2000	Carlson & Furstenberg 2006	22.7%
	Mothers w/ urban nonmarital birth		36.9%
	Fathers with urban birth		24.7%
	Fathers w/ urban nonmarital birth		42.1%
2002 NSFG	Men ages 15-44	Guzzo & Furstenberg 2007a	7.9%
	Fathers ages 15-44		17.0%
AddHealth, 2001-2002	Women ages 19-25	Guzzo & Furstenberg 2007b	3.2%
	Mothers 19-25 w/ nonmarital first birth		13.5%

2) Growing Differences by SES in Family Patterns

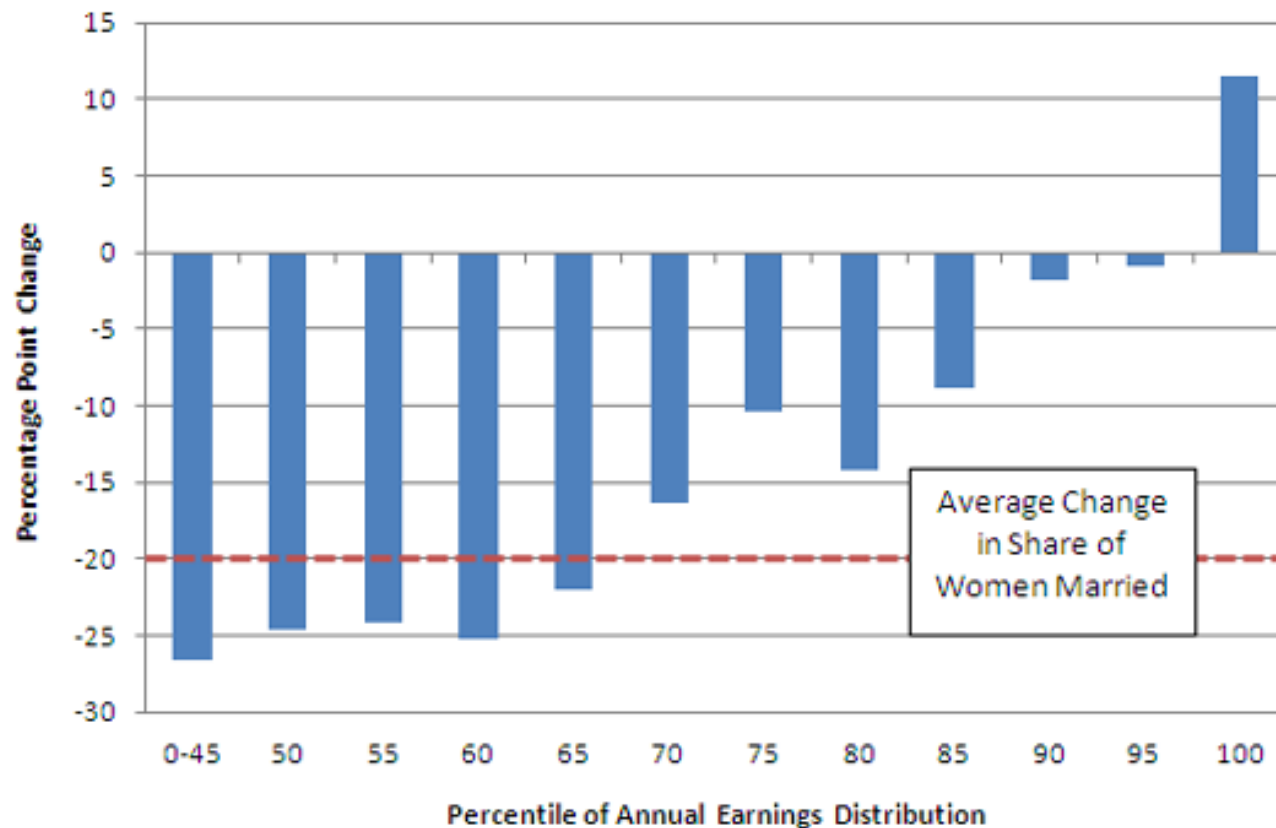
- **Union formation and dissolution**
- **Fertility**
- **Family structure**
- **Parental behaviors and investments**

Figure 5: Two Decades of Trends by Education in the Percentage of Women (19-44) Ever Cohabited



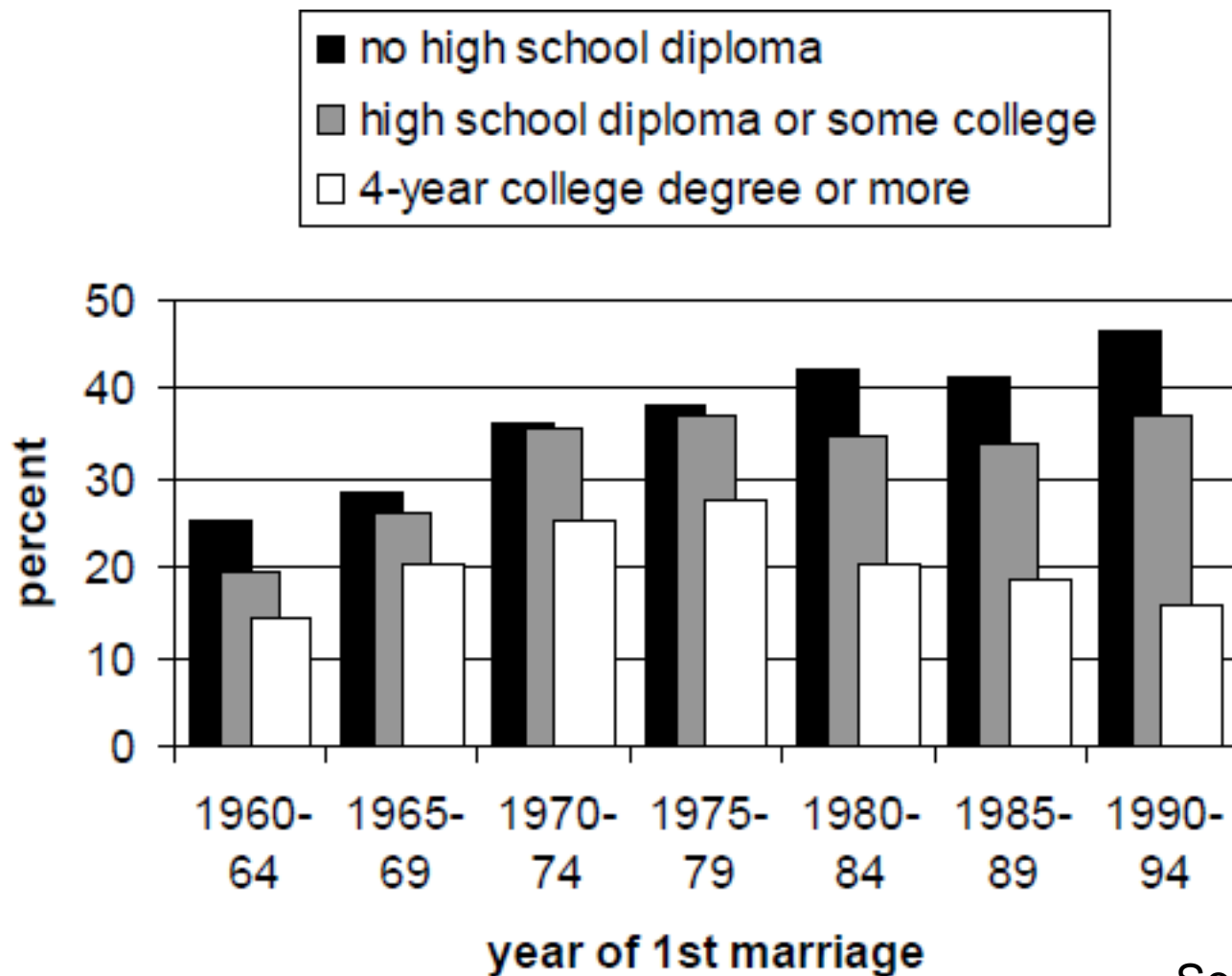
Sources: 1987 NSFH data, Bumpass and Sweet, 1989; 1995 NSFG data, Bumpass and Lu, 2000; 2002 NSFG data, Kennedy and Bumpass, 2008; 2006-2008 NSFG data, NCFMR analyses.

Change in Share of Women Married, By Earnings 1970-2011



Sample includes non-institutionalized women, ages 30-50. The first income category on the x-axis includes all women with no earnings in 1970. Source: IPUMS-CPS 1971, 2011.

Divorce within 10 Years of First Marriage



Source: Martin 2006

Percentage of births occurring outside of marriage
1990-2009, among adult women

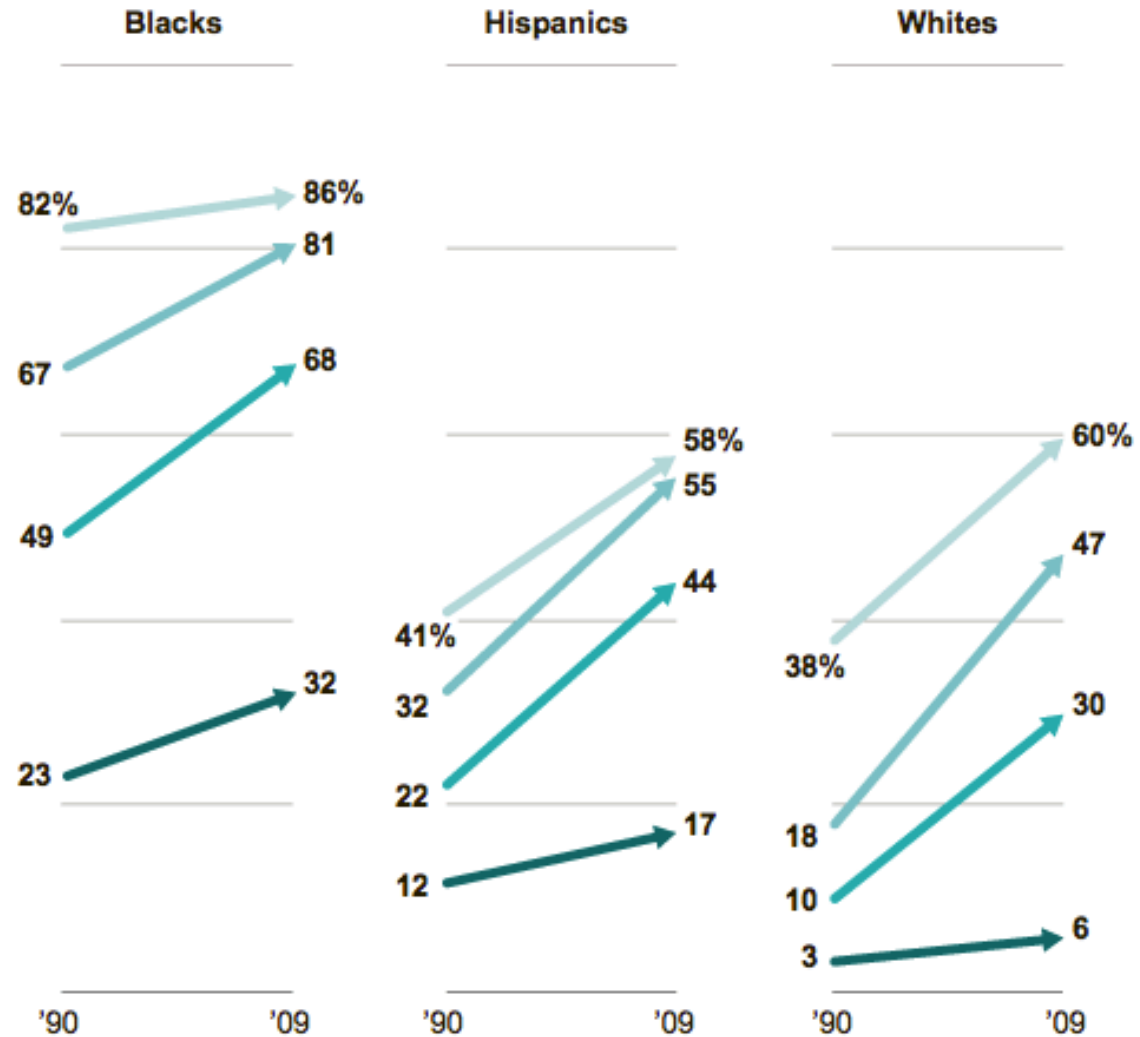
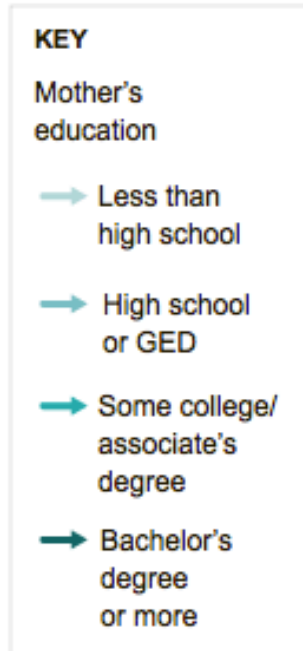


Table 1: Observed Completed Fertility by Education

	All	< High School	High School	Some College	College	Ratio of < High School to College
Whites						
Intended births	1.36	1.38	1.36	1.35	1.34	1.03
Mistimed births	.42	.56	.55	.43	.23	2.39
Unwanted births	.08	.13	.10	.07	.04	3.30
Total births	1.85	2.06	2.01	1.86	1.61	1.28
N	2,029	123	819	490	597	
Blacks						
Intended births	.94	1.27	.96	.86	.85	1.49
Mistimed births	.83	1.15	.93	.78	.48	2.39
Unwanted births	.40	.84	.41	.39	.14	6.24
Total births	2.18	3.26	2.30	2.04	1.47	2.22
N	1,197	116	504	391	186	

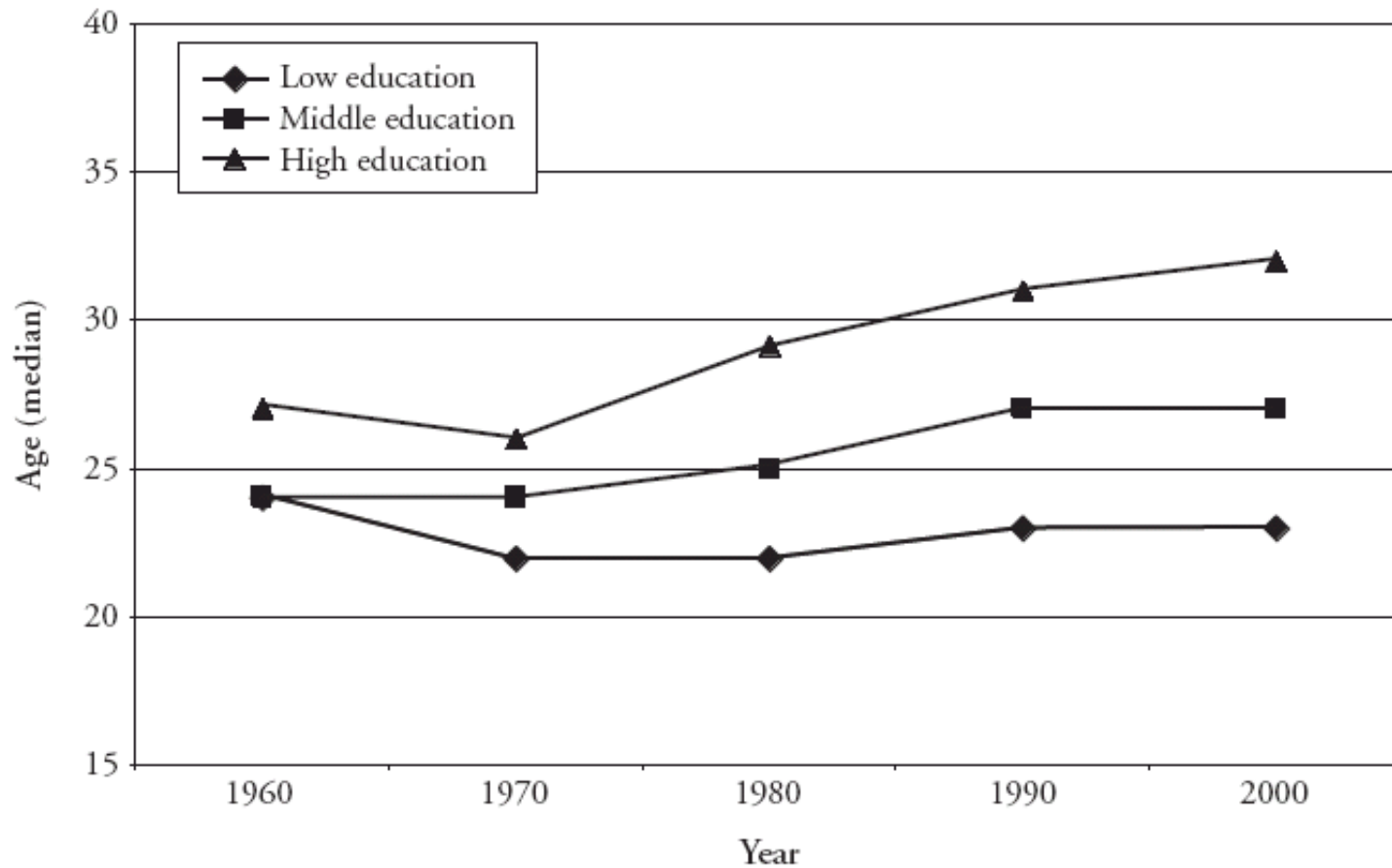
Source: Musick et al. 2010

McLanahan (2004):

“Diverging Destinies: How Children Fare Under the Second Demographic Transition”

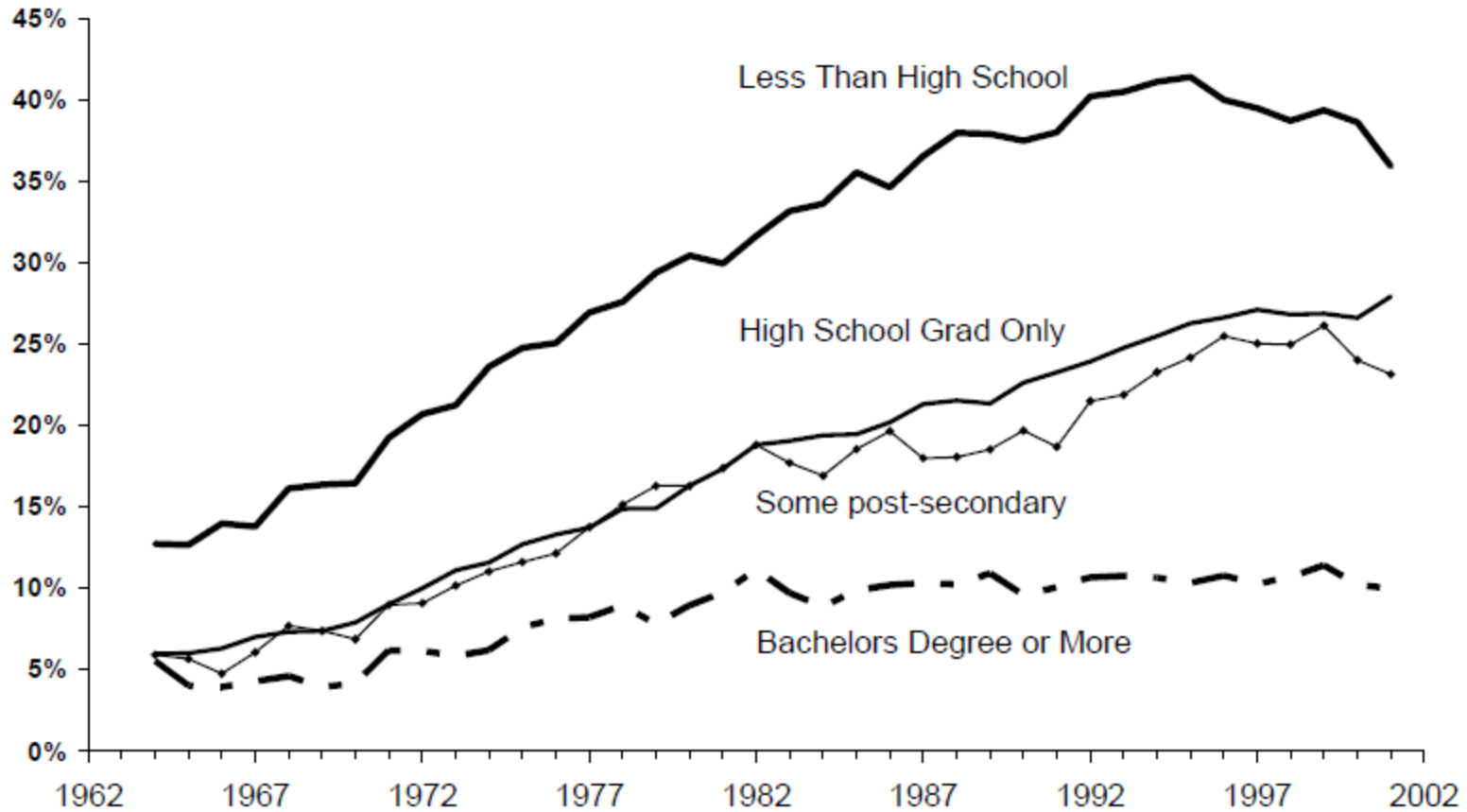
- **Presidential address at demography annual meetings**
- **‘Diverging destinies’ – one of first papers to directly consider demographic/family patterns as linked to rise in inequality for children**
- **Observed growing gap in demographic behavior by education**

Figure 1. Trends in Mothers' Median Age, 1960 to 2000



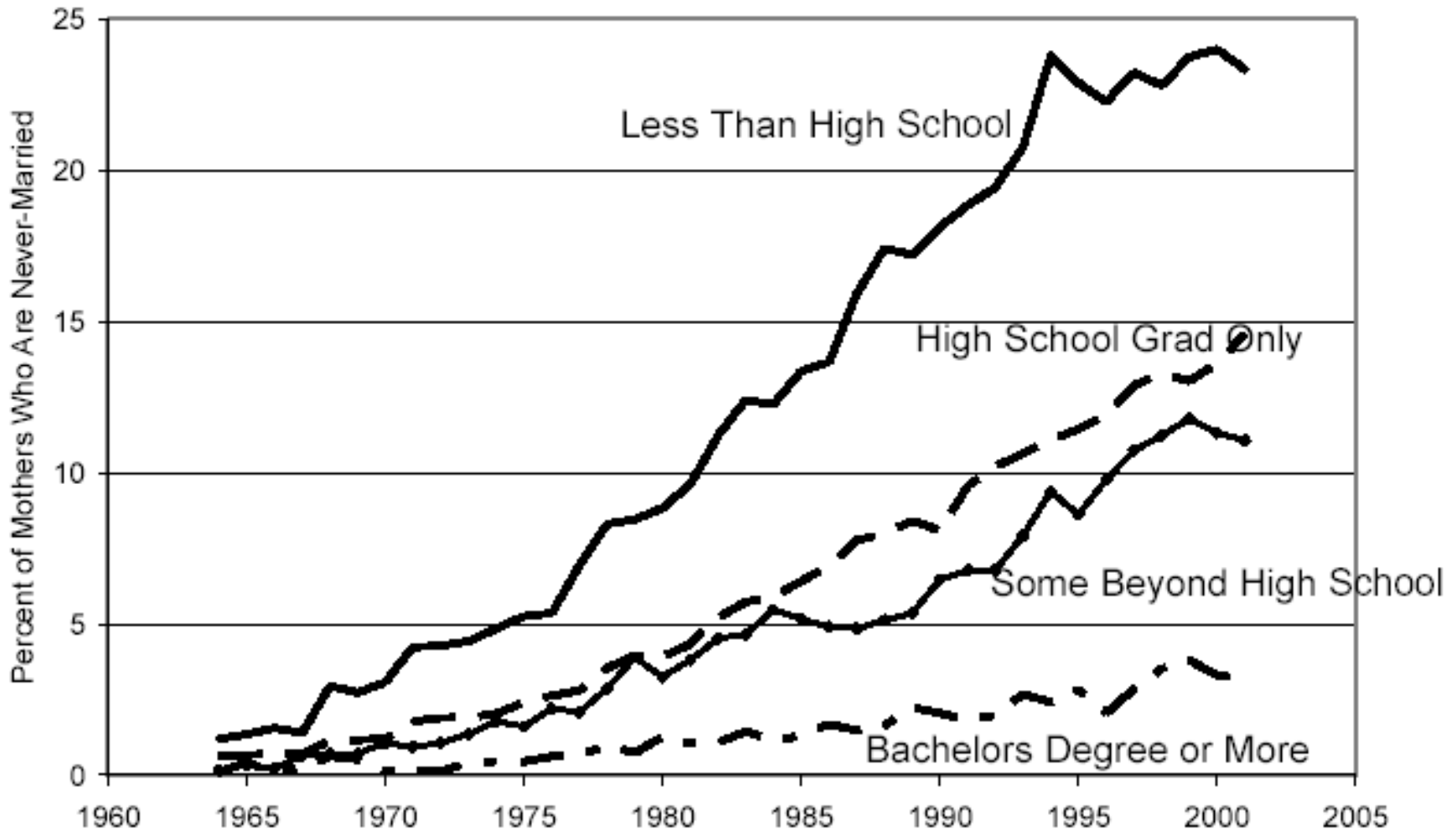
Note: Low education includes mothers in the bottom education quartile, middle education includes mothers in the middle two education quartiles, and high education includes mothers in the top education quartile.

Percent of Children in Single Mother Homes by Education of Mother



Source: Ellwood & Jencks 2004

Percent of Mothers Who are Never Married by Level of Education



Source: Ellwood & Jencks 2004

3) Family Behaviors Influence Poverty and Economic Well-Being

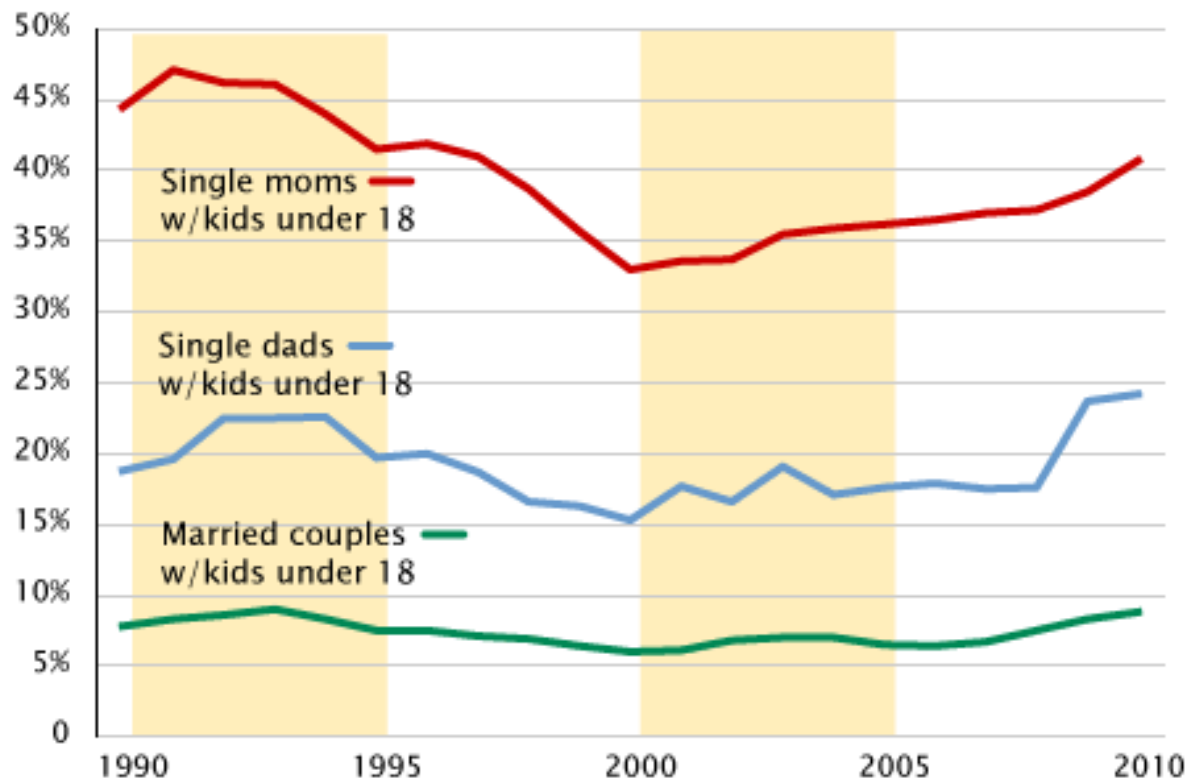
At the Individual Level

- **Early/teen childbearing disrupts socioeconomic attainment** (Fletcher & Wolfe 2009)
- **Divorce diminishes both men's and women's economic well-being** (Amato 2000; McManus & DiPrete 2001)
- **Marriage increases (men's) economic well-being** (Ahituv and Lerman 2007), and **marital fatherhood increases men's wages** (Killewald 2012)
- **Single-parent families much more likely to be poor**

The economic toll of single parenthood

The poverty rate for single moms and dads is much higher than for married couples. The chart shows families with children under 18 whose incomes fall below the poverty level.

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL



SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

3) Family Behaviors Influence Poverty and Inequality (cont.)

At the Aggregate Level

- Studies in 1990s of how growth in SPFs can explain rise in inequality (Burtless 1999; Gottschalk & Danziger 1993; Lerman 1996, etc.)
- Martin 2006: Changes in FS can explain 41% of the increase in inequality, 1976-2000
- McLanahan & Percheski 2008: “...family structure has become an important mechanism for the reproduction of class, race, and gender inequalities.”
- Cancian & Reed 2009: All else equal, FS changes have increased poverty, but “complex set of interrelated factors.”

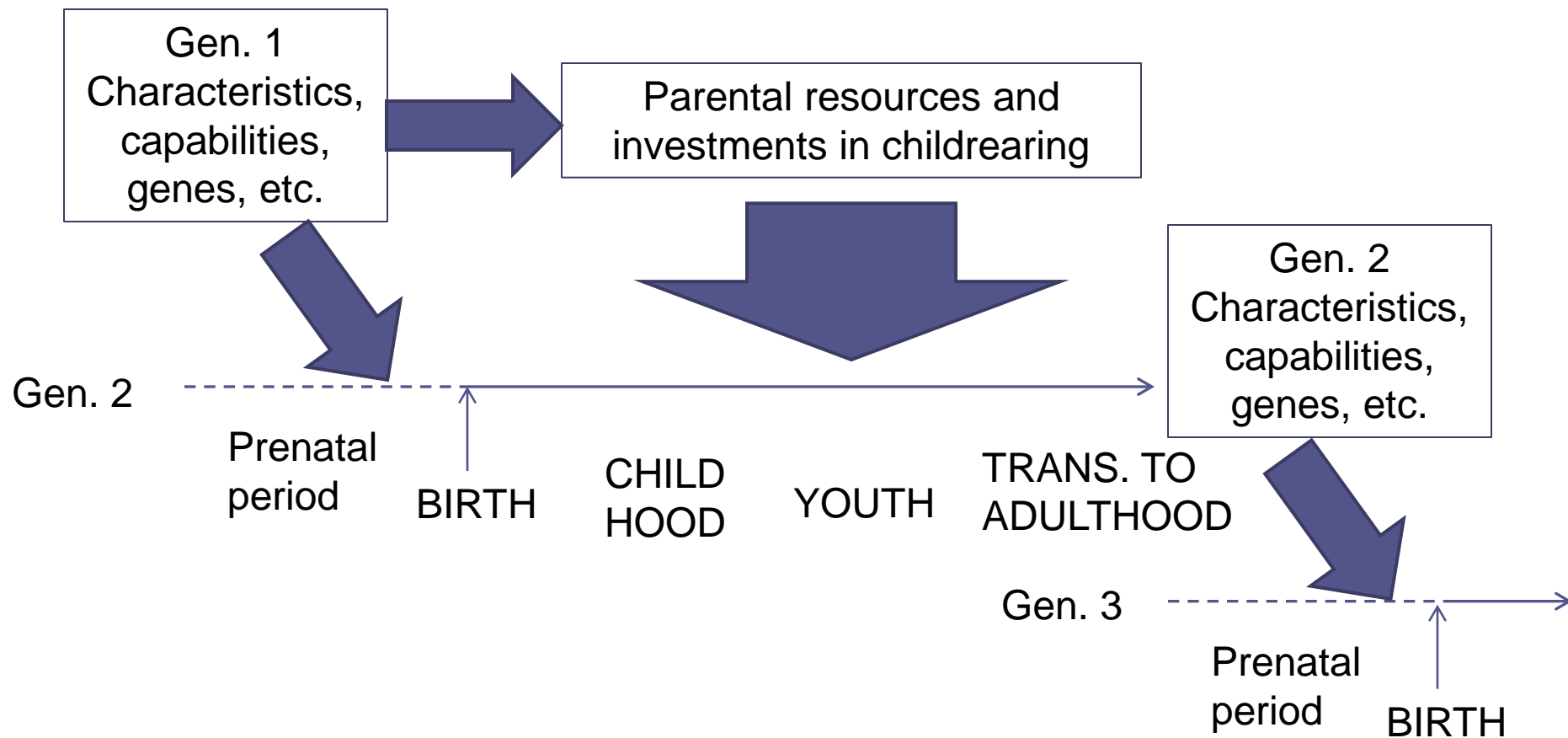
4) Families' Role in the Intergenerational Transmission of (Dis)Advantage

- **Family as a fundamental social institution:**
 - Primary responsibility for care and socialization of children (mostly private in U.S.)
- **Families/parents provide:**
 - Economic and material resources (quantity/quality)
 - Parental engagement, role modeling, monitoring, emotional support, etc.
 - Connections to communities, neighborhoods, schools, etc.

4) Families' Role in the Intergenerational Transmission of (Dis)Advantage

- **Inequality starts early/young:**
 - Heckman (2006): “...families and not schools are the major sources of inequality in student performance.” (p. 1901)
- **Differential parental investment throughout childhood and early adulthood (see Ermisch, Jäntti & Smeeding 2012)**

Simple Model: Intergenerational Transmission



Suggested Readings

Family Demography

- Andrew J. Cherlin. 2010. "Demographic Trends in the United States: A Review of Research in the 2000s." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 72: 1-17
- Cancian, Maria, Daniel R. Meyer, and Steven T. Cook. 2011. "The Evolution of Family Complexity from the Perspective of Nonmarital Children." *Demography* 48:957-982
- Good summaries but are quickly dated: family textbooks (e.g., Casper & Bianchi 2001; Cherlin 2012)
- Various newspaper articles to bring current issues into class
- Keep up with websites w/ current data/trends:
 - National Center for Marriage and Family Research
 - Population Reference Bureau
 - Child Trends
 - Census Bureau
 - Pew Social and Demographic Trends

Suggested Readings (cont.)

Family Patterns by Socioeconomic Status

- Edin, Kathryn and Maria Kefalas. 2011. *Promises I Can Keep: Why Poor Women Put Motherhood before Marriage*
- Martin, Steven P. 2006. "Trends in Marital Dissolution by Women's Education in the United States." *Demographic Research* 15:537-560
- McLanahan, Sara. 2004. "Diverging Destinies: How Children Fare Under the Second Demographic Transition." *Demography* 41(4): 607-627
- Musick, Kelly, Paula England, Sarah Edgington and Nicole Kangas. 2010. "Education Differences in Intended and Unintended Fertility." *Social Forces* 88(2):543-572.
- Carlson, Marcia J. and Paula England, editors. 2011. *Social Class and Changing Families in an Unequal America*. Stanford Press.
- PBS Frontline: "Let's Get Married" (2002)

Suggested Readings (cont.)

Family Behaviors and Poverty – Individual

[a few examples, as there are many articles out there!]

- Ahituv, Avner and Robert I. Lerman. 2007. "How do Marital Status, Work Effort, and Wage Rates Interact?" *Demography* 44:623-647
- Fletcher, Jason M. and Barbara L. Wolfe. 2009. "Education and Labor Market Consequences of Teenage Childbearing: Evidence Using the Timing of Pregnancy Outcomes and Community Fixed Effects." *Journal of Human Resources* 44:303-325
- McManus, Patricia A. and Thomas A. DiPrete. 2001. "Losers and Winners: The Financial Consequences of Separation and Divorce for Men." *American Sociological Review* 66:246-268

Suggested Readings (cont.)

Family Behaviors/Trends and Poverty – Aggregate

- Cancian, Maria and Deborah Reed. 2009. "Family Structure, Childbearing, and Parental Employment: Implications for the Level and Trend in Poverty." in *Changing Poverty, Changing Policies*, edited by M. Cancian and S. Danziger. New York: Russell Sage
- Martin, Molly A. 2006. "Family Structure and Income Inequality in Families with Children, 1976 to 2000." *Demography* 43:421-445
- McLanahan, Sara and Christine Percheski. 2008. "Family Structure and the Reproduction of Inequalities." *Annual Review of Sociology* 34:257-276

Suggested Readings (cont.)

Families and the intergenerational transmission of (dis)advantage

- Ermisch, John, Markus Jäntti & Timothy M. Smeeding. 2012. *From Parents to Children: The Intergenerational Transmission of Advantage*. New York: Russell Sage
- Kalil, Ariel, Rebecca Ryan, and Michael Corey. 2012. "Diverging Destinies: Maternal Education and the Developmental Gradient in Time With Children." *Demography* 49:1361-1383
- Lareau, Annette. 2003. *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Moore, Wes. 2011. *The Other Wes Moore: One Name, Two Fates*. New York: Spiegel & Grau

Good Luck!

- Please feel free to be in touch if I can be helpful:

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