Family Structure and Anti-Poverty Policy

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The Charge

This session will highlight marked changes in family structure over the last 30 years and the relationship to poverty, policymaking and responsiveness.

- How might local and federal policies respond to these documented changes?
- What do we know and what are the implications?

For children, growing diversity in family living arrangements

% of children living with ...



Note: Based on children under 18. Data regarding cohabitation are not available for 1960 and 1980; in those years, children with cohabiting parents are included in "one parent." For 2014, the total share of children living with two married parents is 62% after rounding. Figures do not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 1960 and 1980 decennial census and 2014 American Community Survey (IPUMS)

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What are these changes?

The two-parent household in decline





Note: Based on children under 18. From 1990-2014, a child living with cohabiting parents is counted as living with two parents. Prior to 1990 cohabiting parents are included in "one parent."

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 1960-2000 Decennial Census and 2010 and 2014 American Community Survey (IPUMS)

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% of children younger than 18 living with ...



Note: Children who are not living with any parents are not shown. Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2017 Current Population Survey March Supplement (IPUMS).

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Poverty Rates of Households with Children under 18



**1960 and 1970 married rates are for all families Author's calculations from U.S. Census data

Poverty Rates for Single Mothers with Minor Children, by Race/Ethnicity



Author's calculations from U.S. Census data

Family Structure and Child Outcomes

Compared to children growing up with both biological parents, children growing up with a single parent are:

- More likely to drop out of school;
- Less likely to be employed as adults;
- More likely to be teen moms (girls).

(McLanahan and Sandefur, 1994)

What Should We Do?

- Encourage formation of two parent households?
- Discourage single people from having children?
- Support the family/children?

Taking a Step Back

Underlying issues

- Whose responsibility is a child?
- What role has policy played in shaping trends?
- How did slavery and past and ongoing institutionalized racism contribute to these "changes"?
- Is policy responsive, or is it used to privilege a certain type of family, maintain inequality, and a uphold a racial hierarchy?

English Poor Laws

 Colonial officials demarcated between "deserving" and "undeserving" mothers based upon willingness to work and how well they followed the "family ethic"

Abramovitz, 1988

 Settlement laws could leave husbandless white women without a place to claim assistance

Social Security Act

- Aid to Dependent Children
 - Widows and their children
- Exclusion of agricultural and domestic workers
 - One mechanism through which wealth accumulation is stalled
 - GI Bill
 - Lending and housing discrimination

Slavery, Sharecropping, and the Great Migration

- No legal marriage for slaves
- Separation of families for sales
- Reconstitution of families during Reconstruction
- Sharecropping creates a system of economic hardship
- Great Migration does not bring promised economic opportunity

Might economic opportunity matter?

- Fragile Families research and Promises I Can Keep
 - Single parents value marriage
 - Want economic stability before entering into it
- Why not postpone childbearing?
 - Lack of meaningful economic opportunities?

More Recent Policy

- Healthy Marriage Initiative (HMI)
- Responsible Fatherhood programs
- Child support
- Earned Income Tax Credit

HMI and Responsible Fatherhood

- Focus on giving couples/fathers tools they need to engage in positive relationships
- HHS-funded HMI evaluations:
 - Some improvement in relationship quality for some couples (more economically secure; already married)
 - No increases in marriage
- HHS-funded Responsible Fatherhood evaluations:
 - Increases in self-reported nurturing and engagement with child
 - Increased duration of employment (2.07 consecutive quarters vs 1.97 in 1st year)
 - No impact on co-parenting

Child Support

- Must cooperate in order to receive other public benefits
- Complex family structures and low earnings of many non-custodial parents makes collection difficult
- Just over half of custodial mothers have a child support order
- Fewer than half of those receive payment (a quarter receive nothing)

Earned Income Tax Credit

- Large anti-poverty effects: 3.3 million children lifted out of poverty
- Does not penalize single (custodial) parents
- Only available to those with earnings

Other Family Types

- LGBTQIA households
- Grandparent households
- Multi-generation households
- Mixed status families

What's the goal?

- Supporting children regardless of family type?
- Promoting and rewarding a certain family type?

Possibilities

- Universal Child Allowance
- Baby bonds
- Meaningful economic opportunity
 - Free college
 - Federal jobs guarantee