COULD WE LEVEL THE PLAYING FIELD?

SOME (VERY) SPECULATIVE REMARKS ON NONMARITAL FERTILITY

Plenary: The Rise of Nonmarital Fertility

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August 2015

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- (very) speculative remarks
- almost no data/empirical results
- behavioral processes underlying nonmarital fertility
- nonmarital fertility as trickier—involves (at least) two processes: marriage and fertility
- will argue that long acting reversible contraceptives (LARCs) have the potential to level the playing field

PROCESSES UNDERLYING PREMARITAL FIRST BIRTHS

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Why we care: high (highest) rates of poverty among these mothers and their children

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Why we care: high (highest) rates of poverty among these mothers and their children

Idea: Women begin life in an origin state in which they are never-married and childless; then the study of premarital first births will necessarily involve (at least) the following:

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PROCESSES (cont)

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Marriage process



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Marriage process

 at age t, some never-married and childless women will enter a first marriage, while others will remain never-married

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Fertility process

PROCESSES (cont)

Marriage process

 at age t, some never-married and childless women will enter a first marriage, while others will remain never-married

Fertility process

 at age t, some never-married and childless women will have a first birth, while others will remain childless

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TWO THEMES IN THE LITERATURE

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TWO THEMES IN THE LITERATURE

Barriers to marriage

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 Wilson (1987): growing dearth of marriageable black males due to structural economic change

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 Edin and Kefalas (2005): bar for marriage has increased for both advantaged and disadvantaged groups

TWO THEMES IN THE LITERATURE

Barriers to marriage

- Wilson (1987): growing dearth of marriageable black males due to structural economic change
- Edin and Kefalas (2005): bar for marriage has increased for both advantaged and disadvantaged groups
- Cherlin (2014): second gilded age implies growing income and wealth inequality but also growing gap in who marries

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TWO THEMES (cont)

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Fertility and its proximate determinants



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► sex while never-married → pregnancy → how a pregnancy is resolved → premarital first birth

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 England (2015): contraceptive behavior as important

TWO THEMES (cont)

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- (older demographic literature)

TWO THEMES (cont)

Fertility and its proximate determinants

▶ sex while never-married \rightarrow pregnancy \rightarrow how a pregnancy is resolved \rightarrow premarital first birth

- England (2015): contraceptive behavior as important
- (older demographic literature)
- Sawhill (2014): "drifting into sex and parenthood without marriage"

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SOME STYLIZED "FACTS"

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Premarital sex

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 among never-married, more than 9 of 10 are sexually active

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SOME STYLIZED "FACTS"

Premarital sex

- among never-married, more than 9 of 10 are sexually active
- small differences in age at first intercourse (after background controls) between advantaged and disadvantaged groups

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SOME STYLIZED "FACTS" (cont)

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Relationships

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Contraception and premarital first births

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 premarital first births now occur in the late teens and early 20s

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Relationships

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Contraception and premarital first births

- premarital first births now occur in the late teens and early 20s
- vast majority of premarital first births are "unplanned"

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WORKING HYPOTHESES

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 advantaged groups put considerable effort into avoiding a birth until they decide to start trying

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Working hypotheses from above

- advantaged groups put considerable effort into avoiding a birth until they decide to start trying
- less advantaged population as contracepting less effectively (yet another way in which the US differs from Europe)
- fairly good evidence, both quantitative and qualitative, consistent with the above

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THREE QUESTIONS

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Why is it that some contracept effectively and others do not?

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Could we level the playing field?

THREE QUESTIONS

- Why is it that some contracept effectively and others do not?
- Could we level the playing field?
- And if we could, what might be some consequences?

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CONTRACEPTIVE FAILURE RATES (CDC)

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Contraceptive Unintended pregnancies method per 1000 women

Implant	0.5	
IUD	2 to 8	
Pill	90	
Condom	180	
Withdrawal	220	
Rhythm	240	

LARC TRENDS

NCHS (Branum et al. 2015)



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NCHS (Branum et al. 2015)

NSFG survey	15-24	25-34	35-44
2002	0.6%	2.9	1.1
2006–10	2.3	5.3	3.8
2011–13	5.0	11.1	5.3

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TAKE-AWAY

LARCs are highly effective

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- LARCs are highly effective
- LARC use still low, particularly in most relevant age groups

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THOUGHT EXPERIMENT

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Randomly assign young women from disadvantaged groups to a treatment group (info about LARCs) vs. a control group (no info about LARC)

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Potential to level the playing field

NON-EXPERIMENTAL EVIDENCE FROM ST. LOUIS AND COLORADO

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Temporarily funded initiatives providing free access to LARCs

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NON-EXPERIMENTAL EVIDENCE FROM ST. LOUIS AND COLORADO

Temporarily funded initiatives providing free access to LARCs

- neither had random assignment to treatment vs. control
- trends in Colorado as a potentially serious confound
- still, suggestive evidence of declines in teen, unplanned, and nonmarital births
- in St. Louis, no increase in STI's, considerable satisfaction (and continuation rates) for IUDs

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CHURNING IN THE SCHOOLING TO WORK TRANSITION

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CHURNING IN THE SCHOOLING TO WORK TRANSITION

Story by labor economists re churning in the schooling to work transition

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- employers seek attributes, not all of which are knowable at time of hire
- mismatches lead to labor market churning
- churning declines with time as workers find better matches

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COULD RELATIONSHIPS BE AT LEAST AS COMPLICATED AS JOBS?



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Relevant issues:

- early ages at a premarital first birth
- majority of these births are unplanned
- many nonmarital births occur within in relationships that turn out to be "fragile"
- plausible that a higher bar for marriage implies a higher bar for relationships
- McLanahan and Beck (2010): characteristics of the guy she is with gets better over time

(VERY) SPECULATIVE "WHAT IF LARCs"

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(VERY) SPECULATIVE "WHAT IF LARCs"

 H1: could let young women churn to a better relationship

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(VERY) SPECULATIVE "WHAT IF LARCs"

- H1: could let young women churn to a better relationship
- H2: should reduce unplanned pregnancies, abortions, multi-partner fertility; delay age at a first birth

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- H2: should reduce unplanned pregnancies, abortions, multi-partner fertility; delay age at a first birth
- H3: could improve her work (and possibly educational) outcomes
- ► H4: might even lead to more marriages

Bottom line: potential to yield better outcomes for her, him, and the (planned) kid

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

Potential for LARCs to level the playing field

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 LARCs could let young women from disadvantaged circumstances "churn" to a better relationship

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Potential for LARCs to level the playing field

- LARCs could let young women from disadvantaged circumstances "churn" to a better relationship
- should reduce unplanned pregnancies and births
- potential for better outcomes for her, him, and (a planned) kid
- these are nevertheless disadvantaged populations, so LARCs can't and won't solve all problems

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CONCLUSION (cont)

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CONCLUSION (cont)

Processes underlying nonmarital fertility

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CONCLUSION (cont)

Processes underlying nonmarital fertility

- "sex" as part of the process leading to nonmarital fertility
- barriers to marriage are almost certainly part of the problem
- but the literature sometimes takes the birth as a given
- sensible to ponder both the "sex" and "marriage" parts of nonmarital fertility

THANK YOU