



INSTITUTE *for*
RESEARCH *on*
POVERTY

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

The Changing Fortunes of American and Wisconsin Families, An Introduction to the Issues

for the Wisconsin Future of the Family Commission

January 27th, 2016

Tim Smeeding

Professor of Public Affairs and Economics

Issues Addressed : An Outline

A. History of the family – What is a family ? How the idea of family has evolved over time ?

B. The American family today – “diverging destinies” racial and ethnic differences in family structure and family/child mobility and other outcomes

C. The Wisconsin family today –Family composition and challenges in urban, rural and suburban settings , state and Milwaukee, and the WI Poverty Report

D. Policy issues for building strong families, increasing prosperity and possibly marriage ?

E. Conclusions and readings



A. History---

Patriarchy, Power, and Pay: The transformation of American Families, 1800-2015

PAA presidential address, 2015, courtesy
Steven Ruggles

William Snoddy and family, Pettis County, Missouri, ca 1860

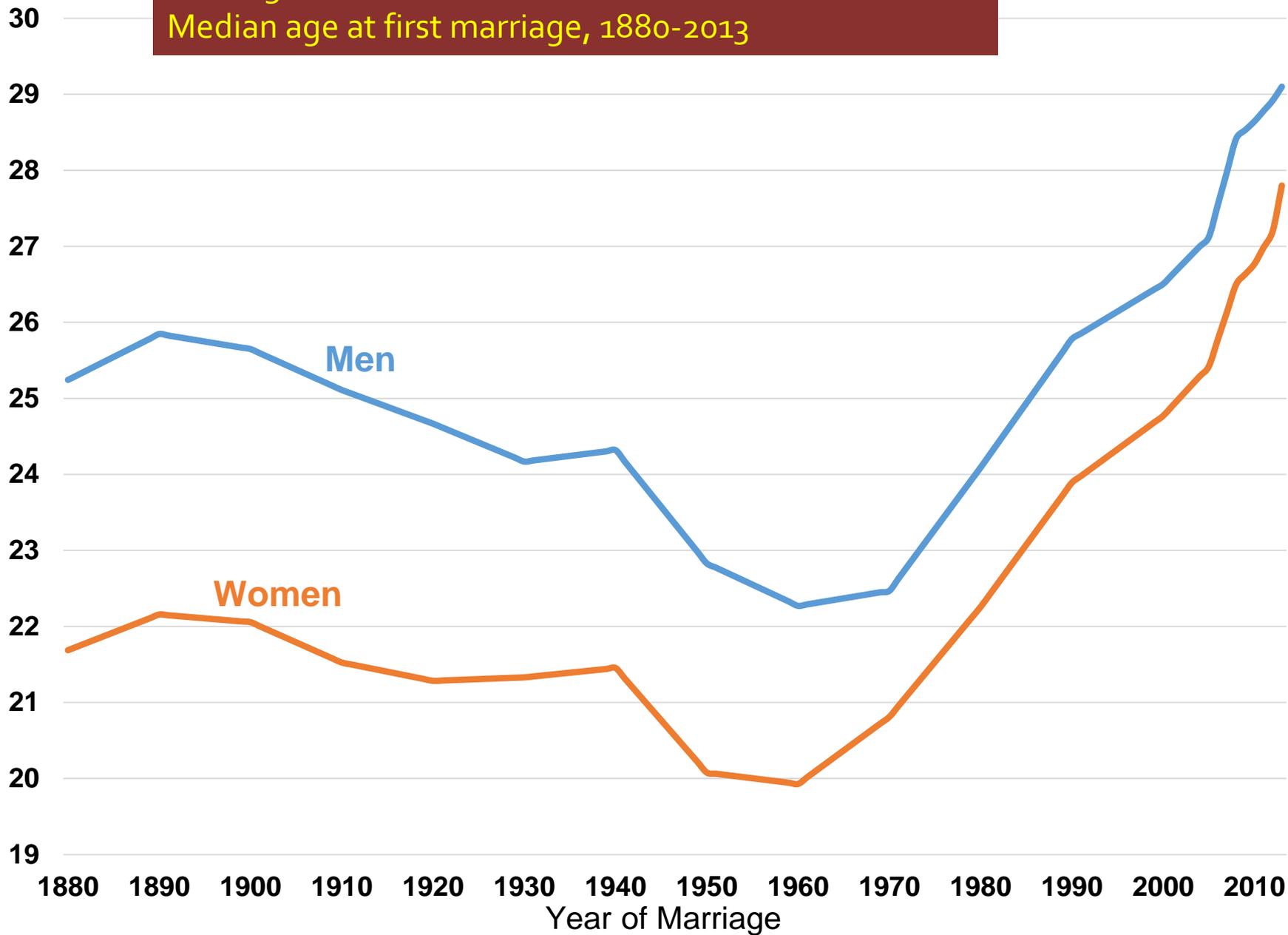
Undeniable long run demographic facts in the USA

- Decline of marriage and prosperity , for all but the college educated
- Rise in divorce for the undereducated and those that marry early
- Rise in out of wedlock births
- Decline in work and pay, especially for younger adults

These are the well documented “what's”

More difficult are the “why's”

Marriage Boom and Bust: Median age at first marriage, 1880-2013



Percent married with spouse present:
United States native men age 25-29, 1960-2013

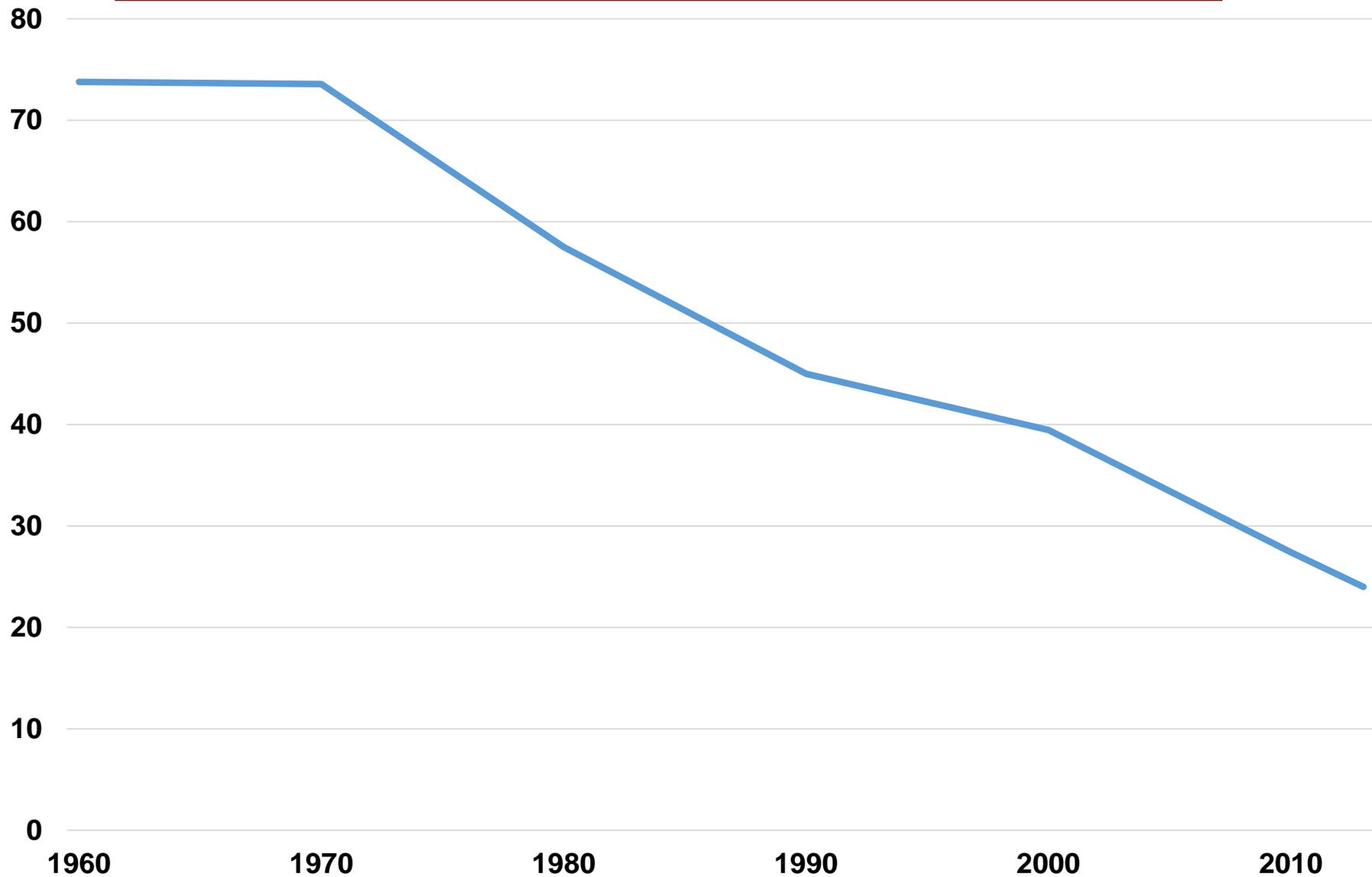
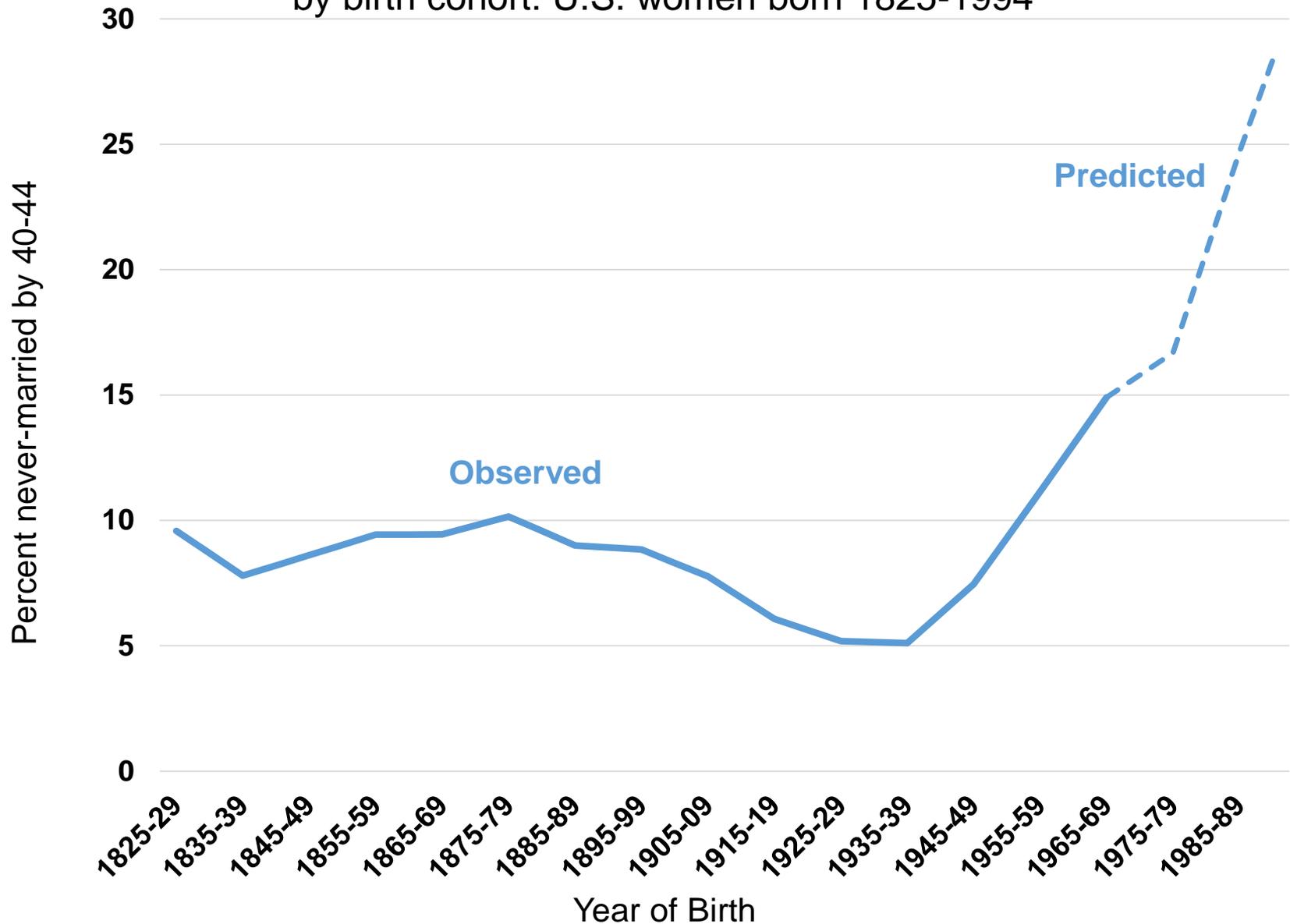
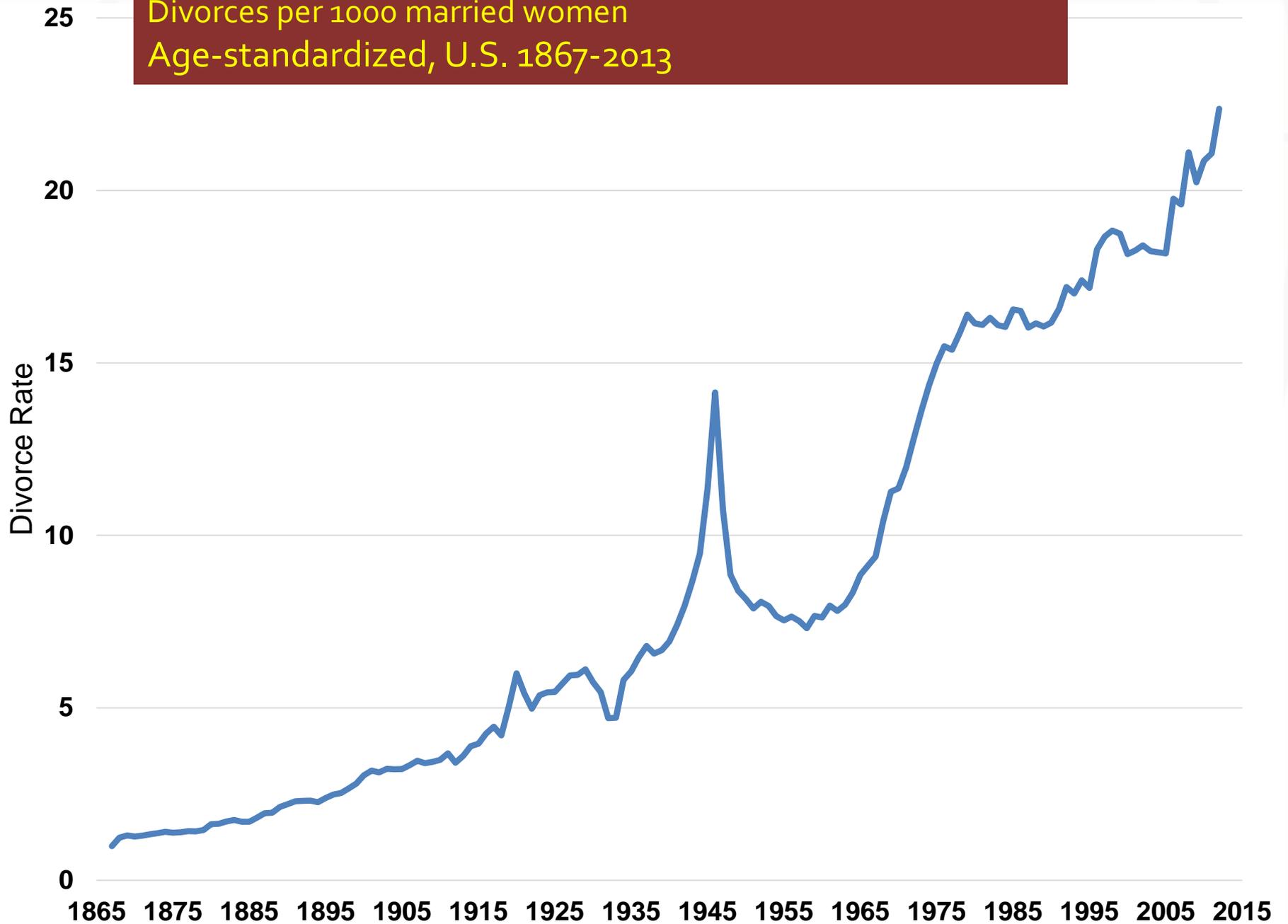


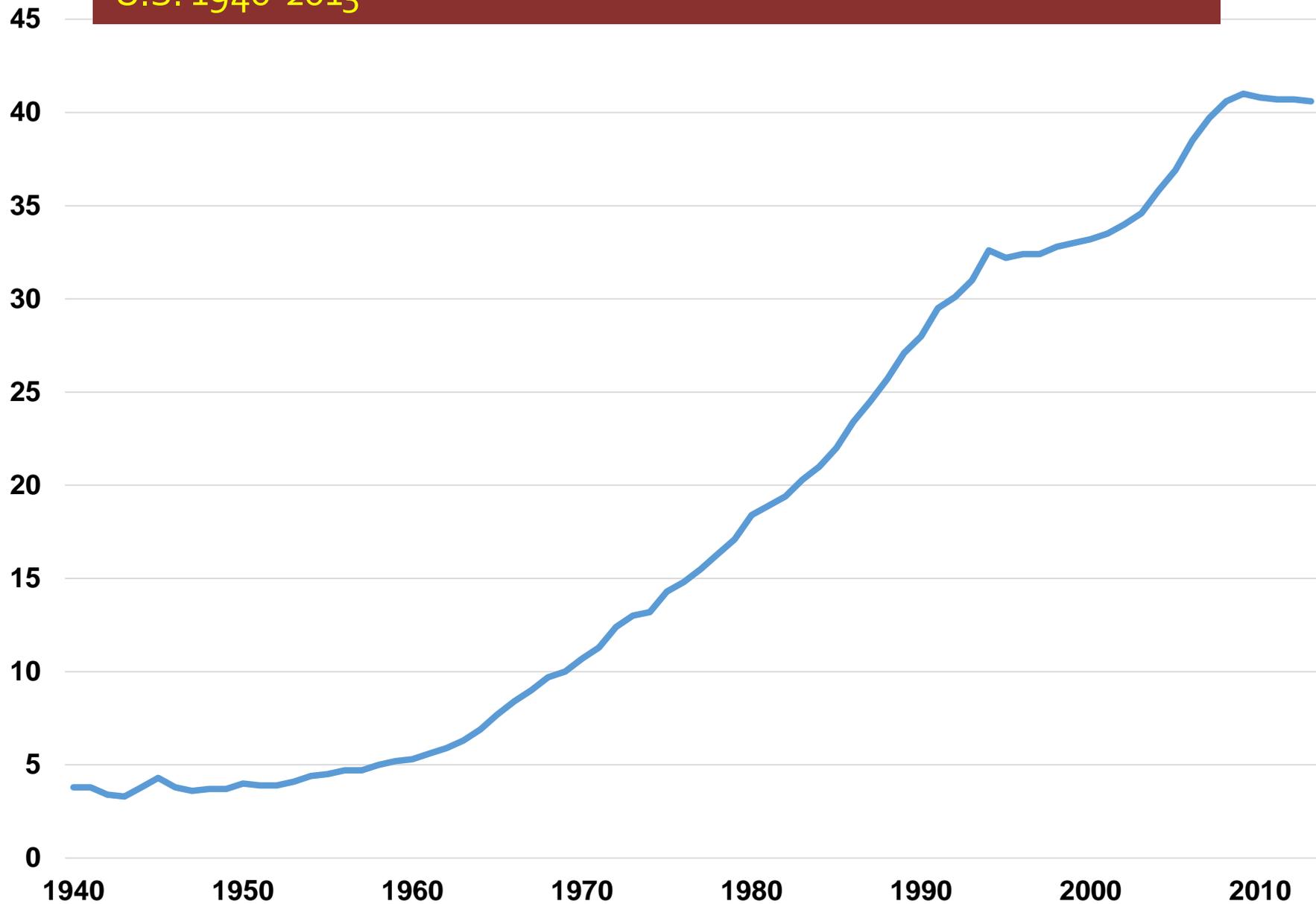
Figure 5. Percent of women never married by age 40-44 by birth cohort: U.S. women born 1825-1994



Divorces per 1000 married women
Age-standardized, U.S. 1867-2013



Percent of births to unmarried women:
U.S. 1940-2013



Why ? toward some answers

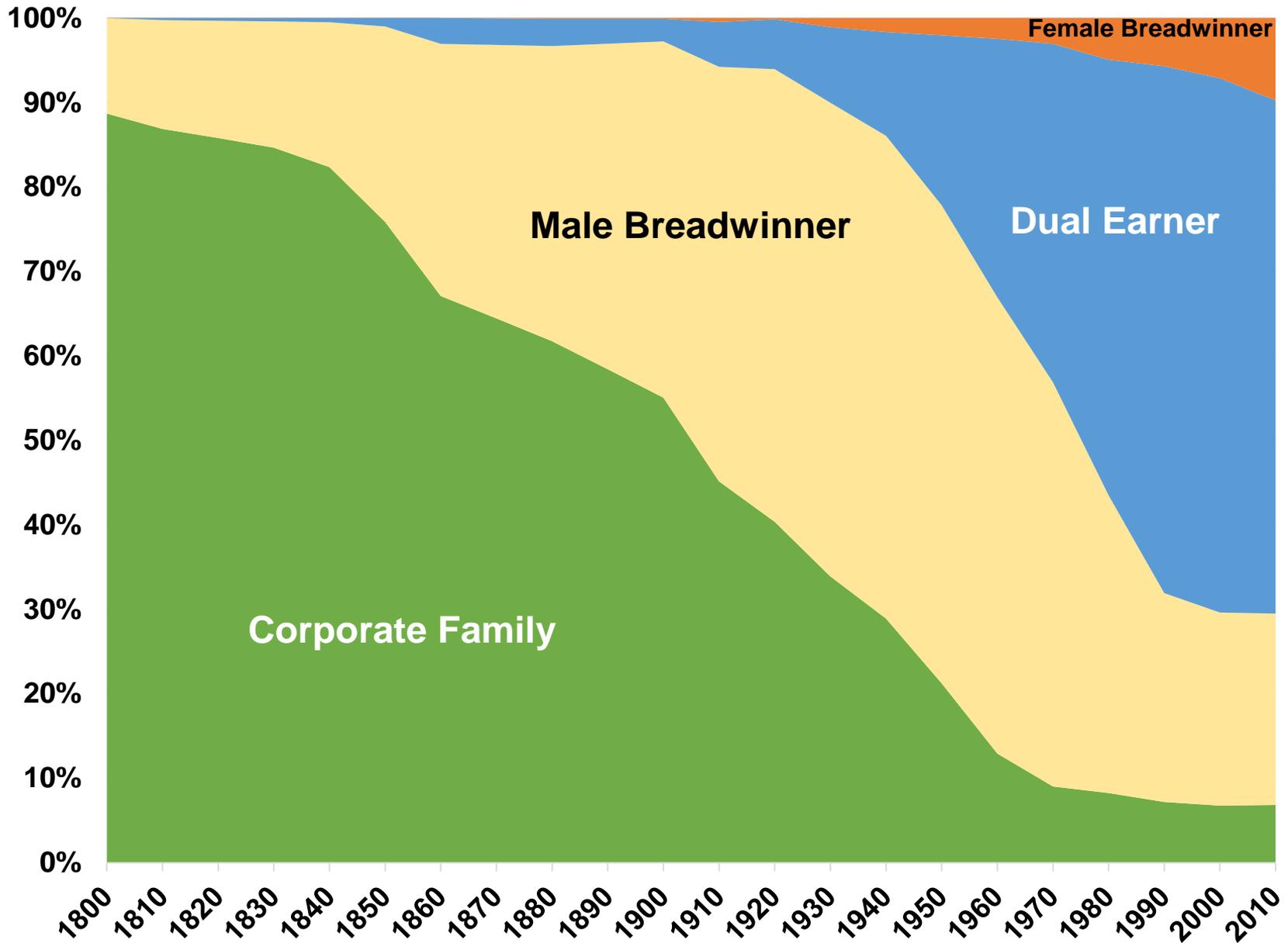
1. Transformation of the family economy, 1800-2000

- The rise of female wage labor and the decline of the corporate (agricultural) family & patriarchal authority, including the rise of the breadwinner family and marriage, as in 'Ozzie and Harriet" and "Father Knows Best" , 1940-1975

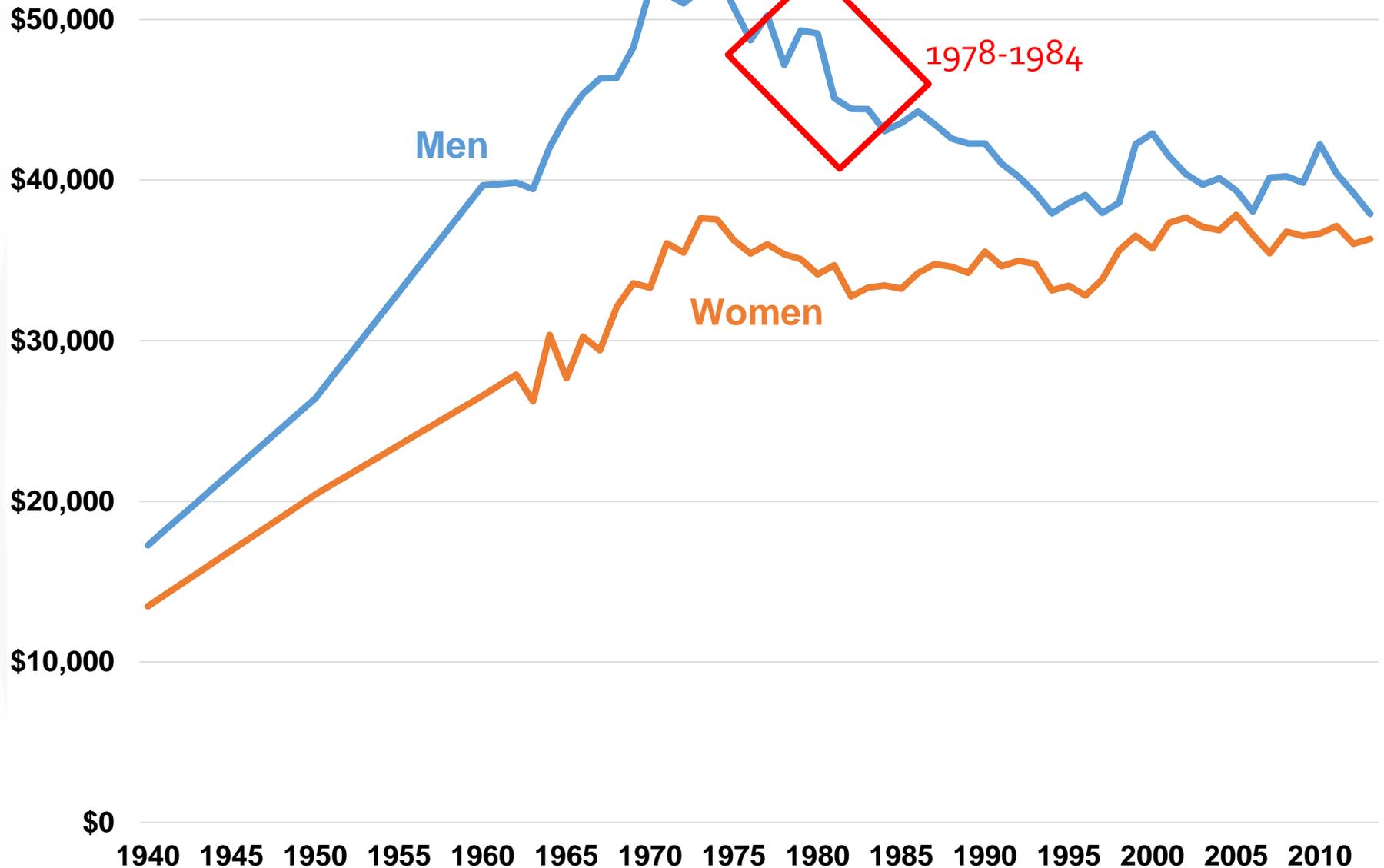
2. The decline of wage labor opportunities, marriage, and stability, especially for the unskilled 1975-2015

- Impact of declining relative income on marriage
- Youth opportunities decline
- The uncertain future of work and families

Family economies: these matter
U.S. couples age 18-64, 1800-2010 (percentages)

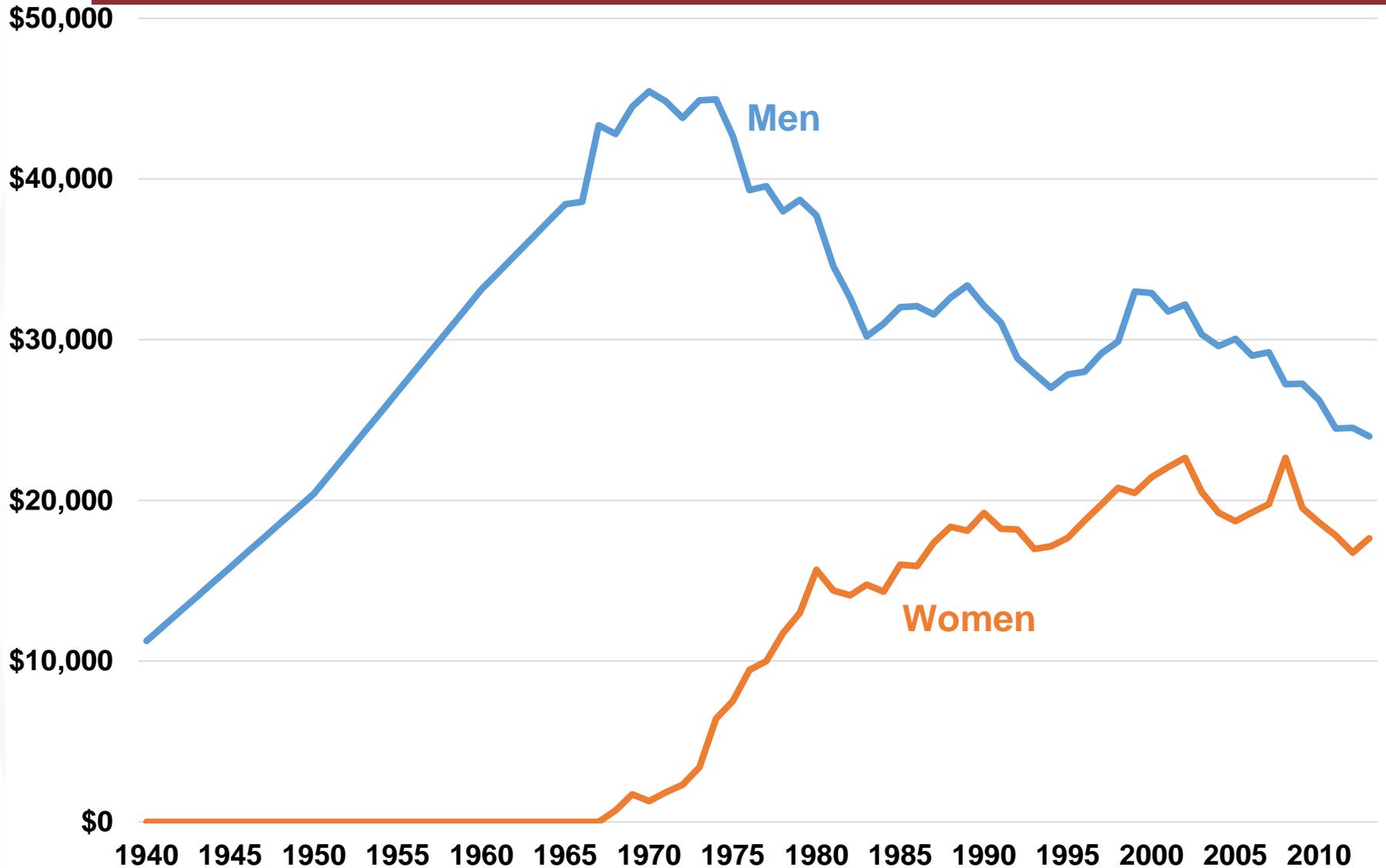


Median wages for full-time earners: United States men and women age 25-29, 1940-2013



Median wages of men and women age 25-29, 1940-2013

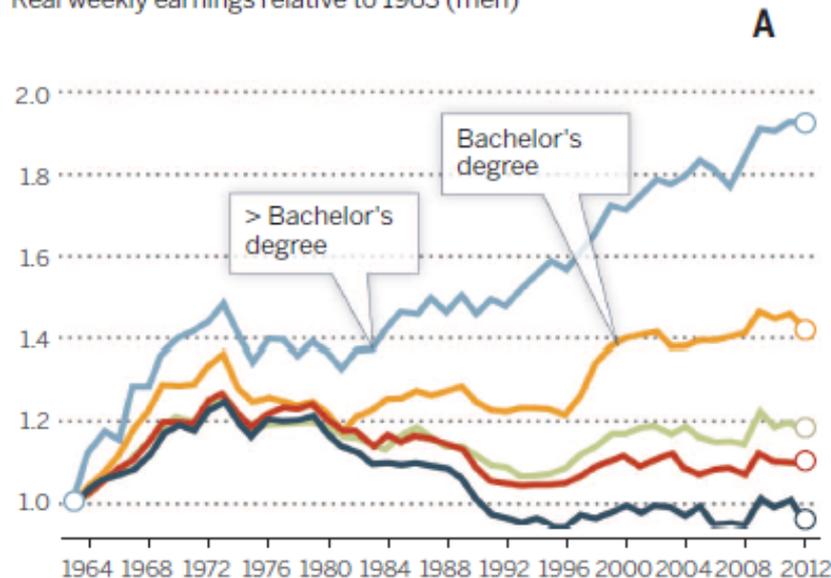
Entire population, including part-time workers & those not in the labor force



Wages have diverged markedly by education level, plus assortative mating

Changes in real wage levels of full-time U.S. workers by sex and education, 1963–2012

Real weekly earnings relative to 1963 (men)



Real weekly earnings relative to 1963 (women)

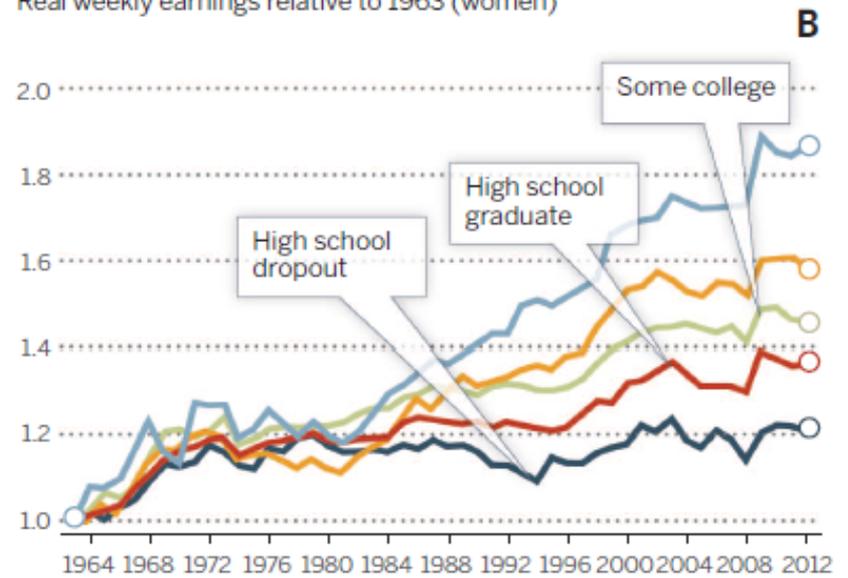
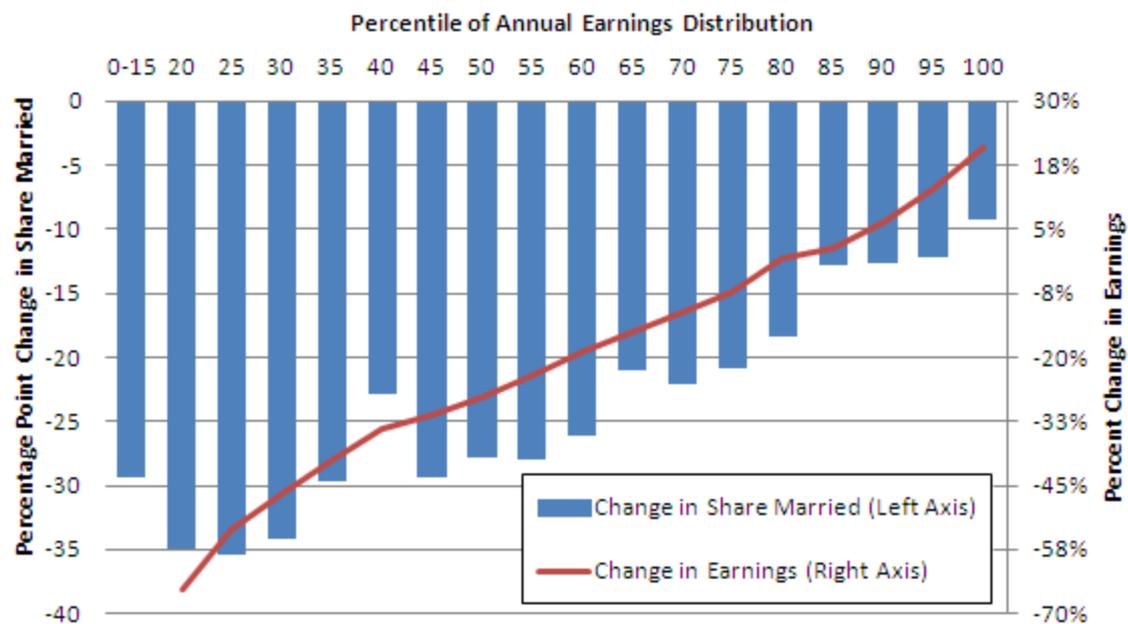


Fig. 6. Change in real wage levels of full-time workers by education, 1963–2012. (A) Male workers, (B) female workers. Data and sample construction are as in Fig. 3.

Autor, David H. 2014. "Skills, education, and the rise of earnings inequality among the 'other 99 percent'". *Science* 344(6186), pp. 843-851. Source is CPS

Change in Marriage and Earnings of Men 1970-2011



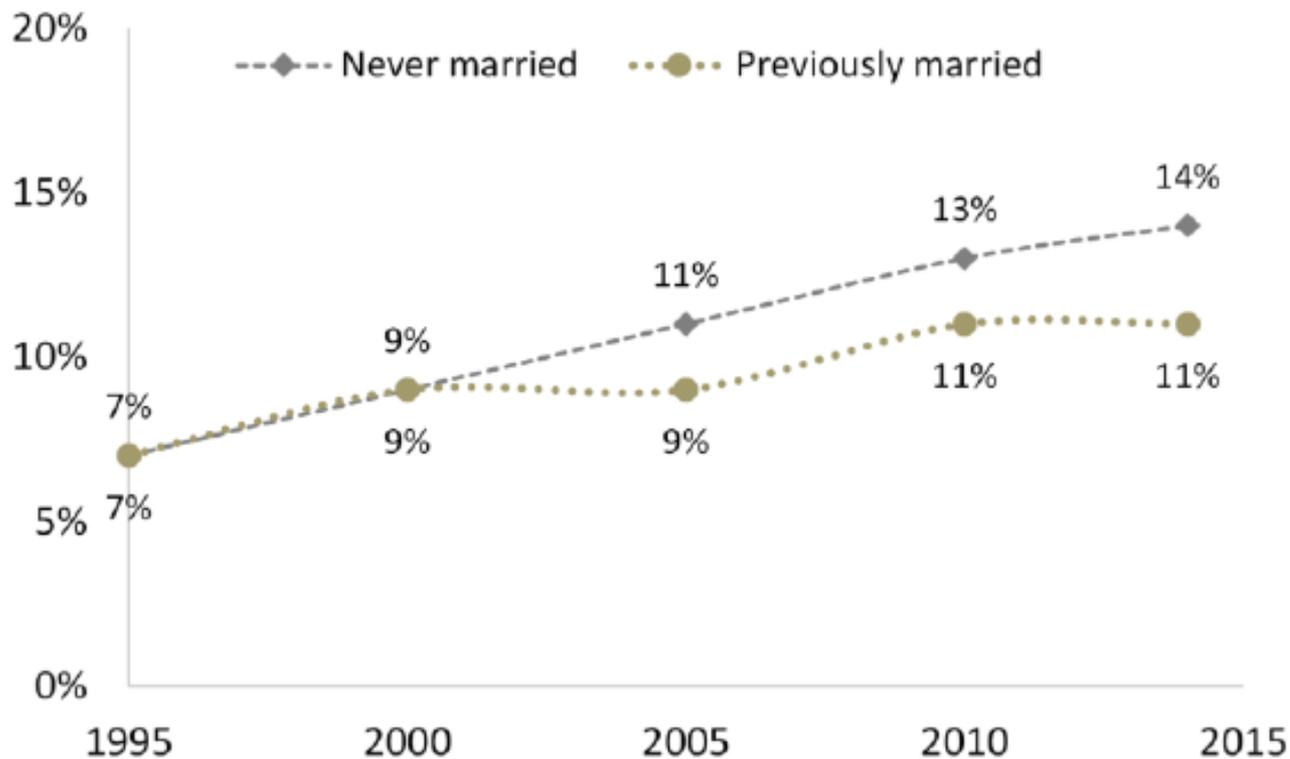
Sample includes non-institutionalized men, ages 30-50. The first income category on the x-axis includes all men with no earnings in 2010.

Source: IPUMS-CPS 1971,2011.

THE
HAMILTON
 PROJECT

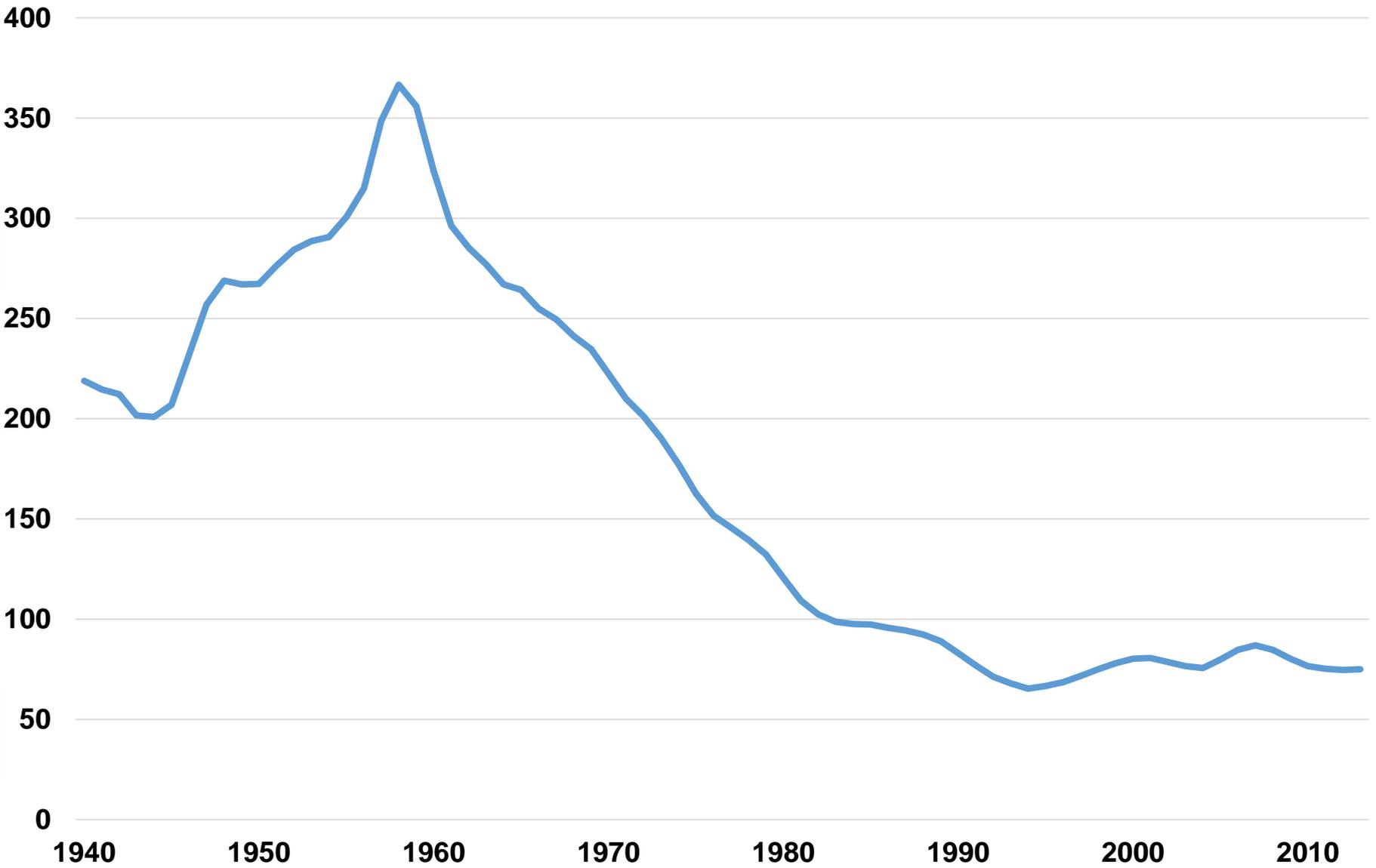
Rise in Cohabitation as a substitute for marriage and because of economic necessity

Figure 1. Trends in Cohabitation among Never Married and Previously Married Adults

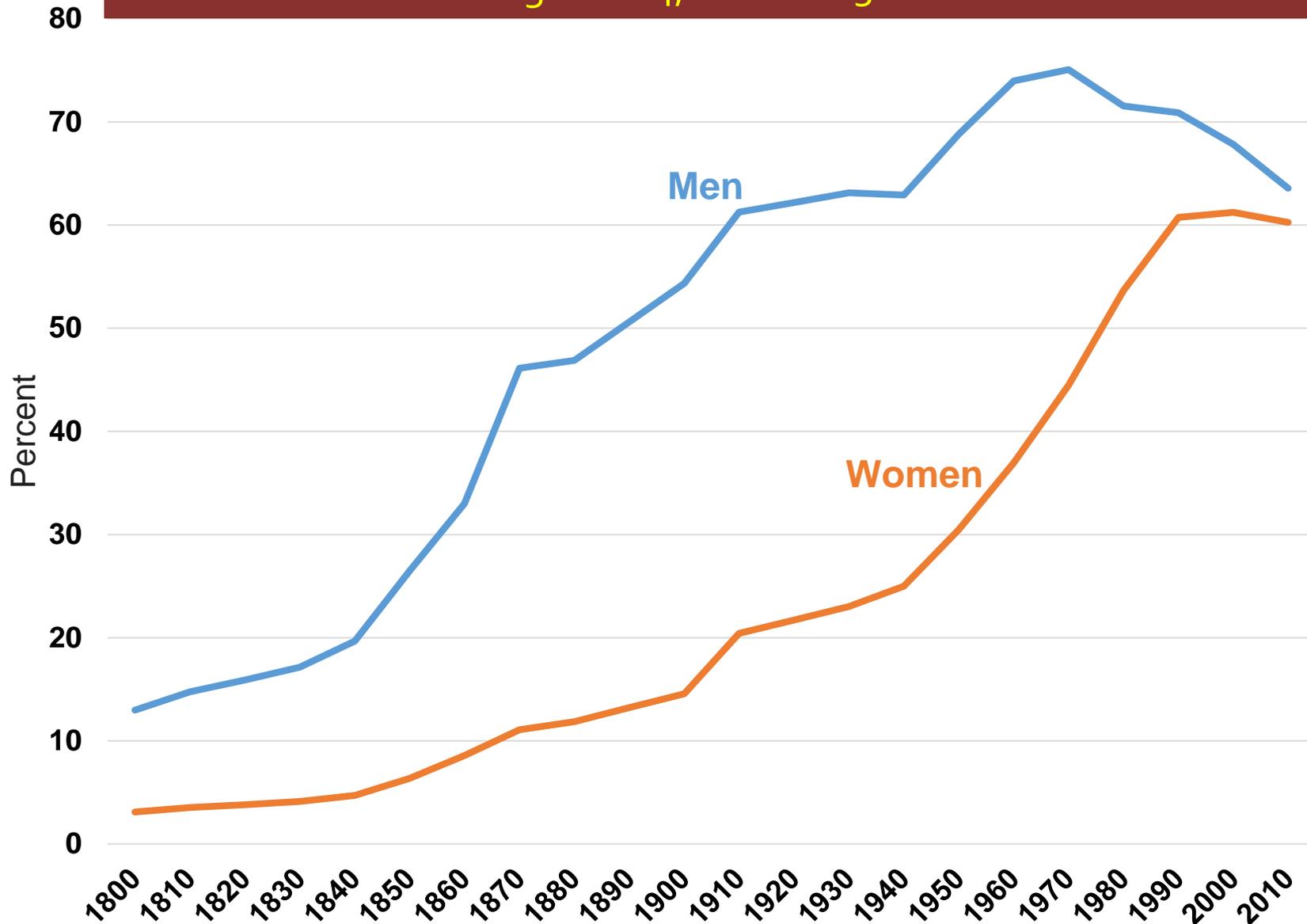


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, compiled by National Center for Family & Marriage Research, Bowling Green State University

FALLING LIVING STANDARDS--Median income as a % of median income in previous generation (25 years before): United States men age 25-29, 1940-2013



**DECLINE IN WORK --Percentage engaged in wage and salary work:
U.S. Men and women age 18-64, 1800-2013**



Bottom Lines

- As the economy declines for those in the prime marriageable ages, especially undereducated men of all races, and as women's wages rise, marriage declines, except for the college educated who marry later
- Increasingly more women give birth to children outside of marriage and in unstable situations
- The precipitous decline in the relative incomes of young men has grave implications for the future of marriage.

B. The American Family Today: Diverging Destinies

- 1. Having a baby—two ways**
- 2. So what ? —some facts that are disturbing**
- 3. So what for social and economic mobility --and other US trends ?**
- 4. Role of birth status and parenting in child development**

1. Having a child the “right way”

- Finish school
- Get a decent job
- Find a partner you can rely on (assortative mating)
- Make a plan (likely including marriage)
- **Have a baby**

And who are these ? : more educated; more likely to have a stable marriage (marriage as a commitment mechanism that supports high levels of investment in children); older; with better parenting skills ; smaller families; more income, benefits, assets ; more stability and more opportunities for their children

Compare: having a child the “wrong way”

- **Have a baby**
- **Don't finish school right away**
- **Don't have a decent job**
- **Don't have a partner you can rely on**
- **Never, ever, did you have a plan**

Who are they ? : less education (HS or less); younger, less skilled parents; far less marriage & more multi-partner fertility (or less stable marriages); larger families; lower earnings, incomes, benefits ; less economic stability and opportunities for their children

2. So What ? Some facts about children of younger moms and dads

- **More and more births not the 'right way'**
 - 48 percent of the 1960-64 cohort born to **mothers** with HS education or less and with very different birth patterns (younger, more kids)
 - Youngest **fathers** least well off ,least educated, ,least able to contribute to their children's and partners well-being ; most likely not to hold good jobs, or marry and most likely to have children out of wedlock with other mothers
 - And, young men are most ravaged by the Great Recession

Birth Patterns of Women And Men by Level of Education; Women in 1960–1964 Cohort Observed in 2004

Level of Education	Percent with First Birth by Age 25 ^a	Percent with First Birth by Age 40 ^a	Average Number of Children Born by Age 40	Median Age at First Birth ^b	
				Women	Men
Dropouts	78	86	2.6	19	22
HS Grads^c	64	83	1.9	21	23
Some College	49	81	1.8	23	24
College Graduate	20	74	1.6	28	29

Sources and notes:

a. Ellwood, Wilde and Batchelder, 2009, using the CPS

b. Berger and Langton, 2006-10

c. includes GEDs

Young Disadvantaged Men as Fathers

- How many men are fathers before age 30 ?
- What is their education status ?

According estimates(NLSY, NSFG) , 68-73 percent of “HS drop outs” and 63-64 percent of “HS only” men are fathers by age

- What do they earn (before the great recession) ?

Fatherhood from NSFG(2006)

Percent of Young Men Who are Fathers by Age

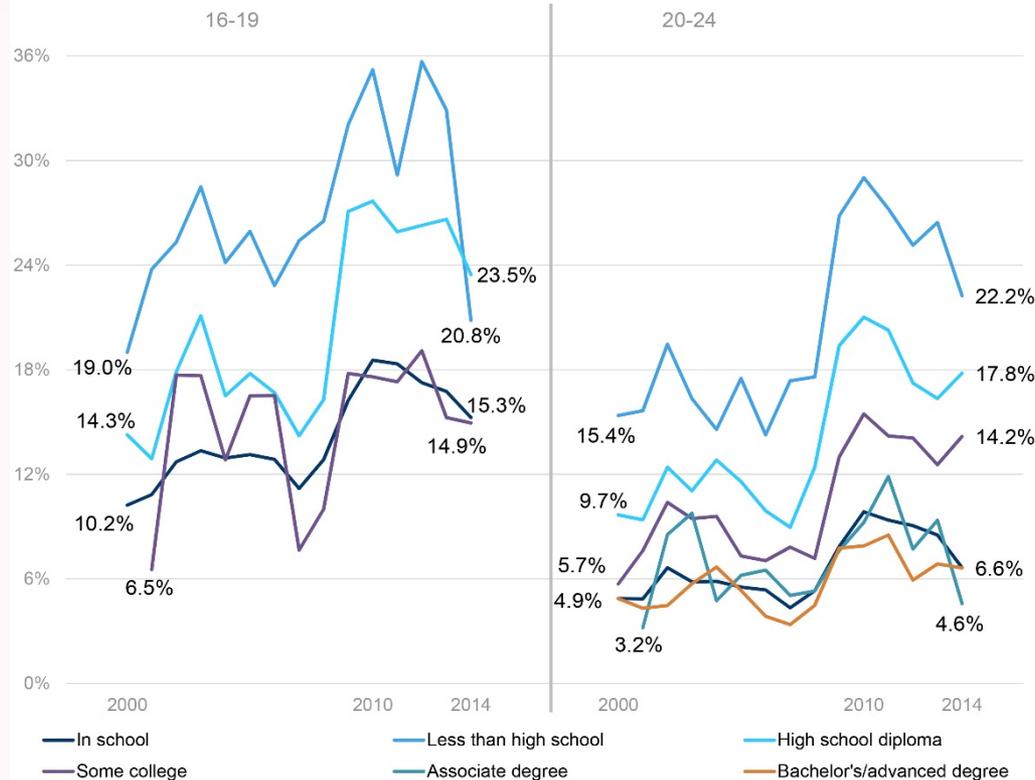
	By Age 22	By Age 30
All Men	21%	56%
Less than HS	38%	73%
High degree only	32%	64%
BA+	3%	38%

Fathers earning
less than \$20,000 per year 62%

(Source: Smeeding, Garfinkel and Mincy, 2011)

High unemployment still for least educated young people

Unemployment rate by age and educational attainment, 2000-2014



Source: Current Population Survey ASEC 2000-2014 accessed via www.IPUMS.org

2. Young Father, as Partner *and* Parent : Complicated and Unstable

- Marriage rates are down and very low for fathers under age 30 and without a post secondary degree (only about half of dads are living with the mother and all of their children by age 30)
- Complication #1— joblessness and low wages, structurally and cyclically
- Complication #2 multi partner fertility (MPF) outside marriage is high
- Complication #3 incarceration is high for lowly educated dads and kids of incarcerated dads
- Living arrangements : unstable
- Rough estimate of overlaps, must guess?

Total Kids with Poor Life Chances— almost half ?

Over a 'lifetime' (women and men up to age 40 in 2004), total number of kids (total fertility) in each *mother's* education grouping (similar education or less for fathers who are a few years older at birth of first child):

Dropouts	16 percent
HS only	32 percent (includes GED)
Some college	28 percent
BA+	24 percent

48 percent of all kids in the USA today come from parents with low educational backgrounds

49 percent of kids live in families with incomes below twice the poverty line (\$45,000-\$50,000 dollars in 2014),

(and poverty is not good for kids or for their upward mobility as adults—many sources)

3. US Intergenerational mobility : looking back and then forward

- What do you need to achieve a “good destiny” -- the American Dream ?
- Say the ‘American Dream’—picket fence and all— is being in a family 3 x poverty line about \$75,000 for 4 or \$60,000 for 3 – more or less making it to middle quintile or above ?
- Life course approach is way to analyze it – compare views of ingredients for IGM to hit this success mark with evidence of progress or regress
- But first consider what history is telling us about the topic –look back at mobility differences

Mobility differences : adult outcomes given a child begins in the bottom 20%

Table 1
The Distribution of Adult Outcomes (Income Quintile as an Adult) for Children Born into the Bottom Quintile

Characteristics	Percent in Each Adult Income Quintile*:			
	Bottom	Next	Middle	Top
Characteristics	20	20	20	40
Race:				
Black	51	27	12	10
(White)	(23)	(19)	(23)	(35)
Family Status of Mother:				
Never-married	50	24	13	14
Discontinuously married	32	24	20	24
(Continuously married)	(17)	(23)	(20)	(40)
Educational Status of Parent:				
Less than high school	54	26	13	6
High school degree and some college	30	24	18	26
(College graduate)	(16)	(17)	(26)	(41)

Source: Author's calculations based on the Brookings Institution Social Genome Model.

*Each row adds to 100 percent (except for rounding); under equal opportunity a full 20 percent of each group would be in each quintile

Five important forces which determine mobility and child development

Parents, and Family Structure early in life –‘diverging destinies hypothesis’ ; age and education of mom , stability of family; human and material resources available for kids

Money: economic status of families (and growing inequality) -- differences in human capital returns mean big differences in financial ability to raise the young & expend on development

Social Institutions – continuous access to high quality health care and early childcare and education can help--

Role of place – amplifys parenting and money differences

- And finally one other major factor : the changing racial and ethnic composition of children and families

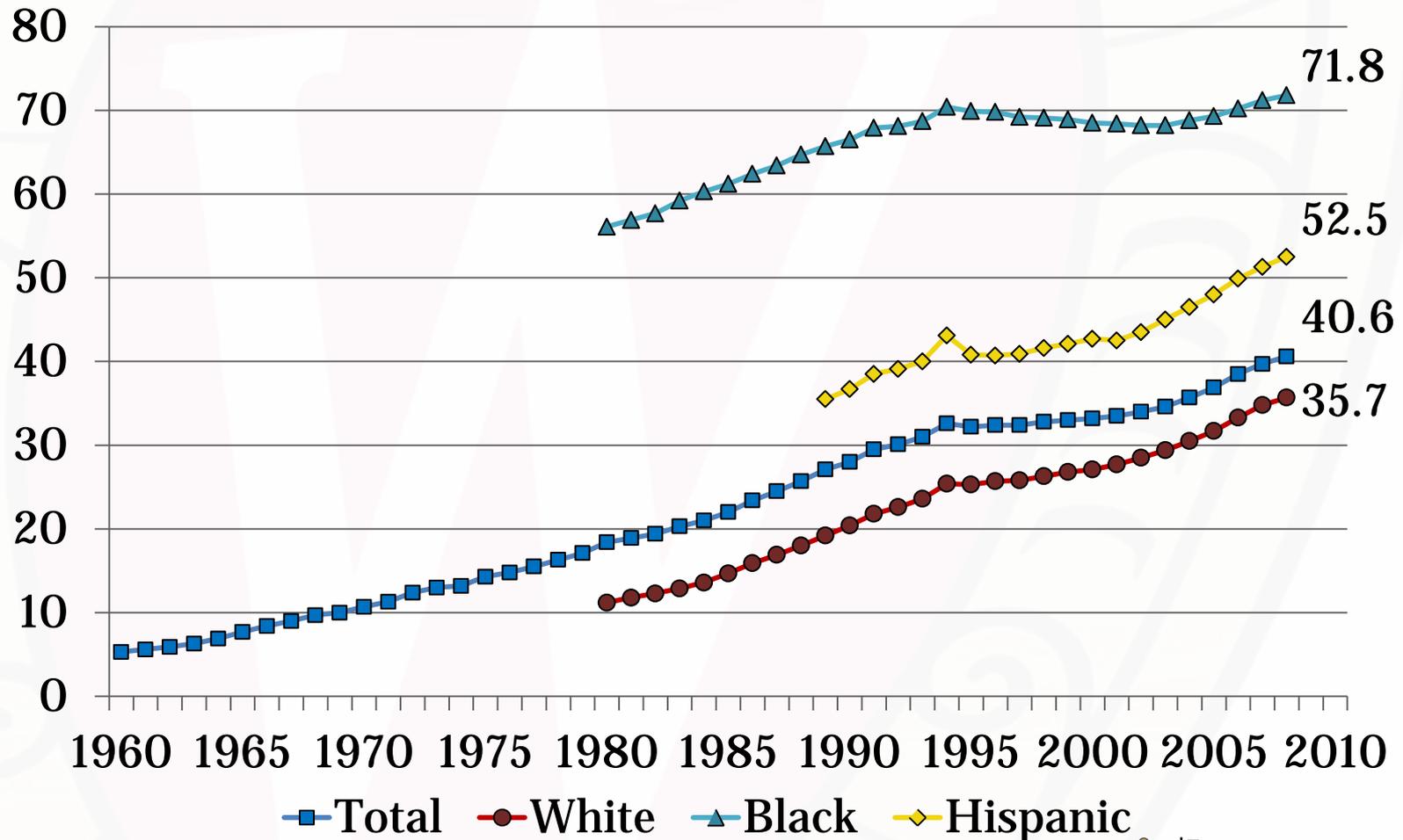
The first life-course step, birth situation and family stability for younger kids

- *Step 1: to get ahead, be born at normal birth weight to a non-poor, married mother with at least a HS diploma*

FACTS:

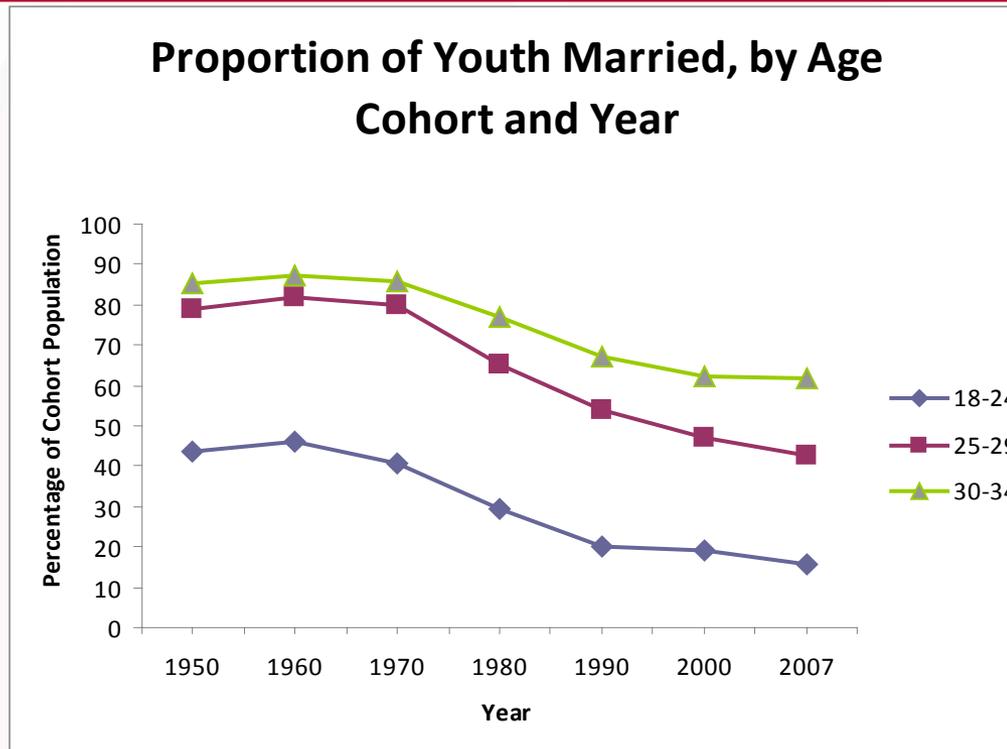
- 41 percent of US births are out of wedlock(vs. 11 percent in 1970) and half of all births to women under 30 are out of wedlock , and 60 percent of these births are unplanned
- Marriage rates are falling -*especially for whites* (Murray and Cherlin and Putnam, end slide) and family complexity is rising
- Childbearing is higher for youngest first birth, lowest ed. mothers, most of whom are poor or near poor and who have more kids per woman than average .
- In contrast well-educated parents have fewer children later (in marriage) under much better economic circumstances (McLanahan, 2004;et al, 2011)

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



Source: National Center for Health Statistics

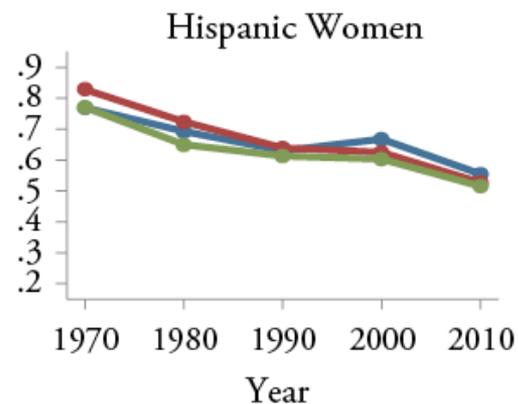
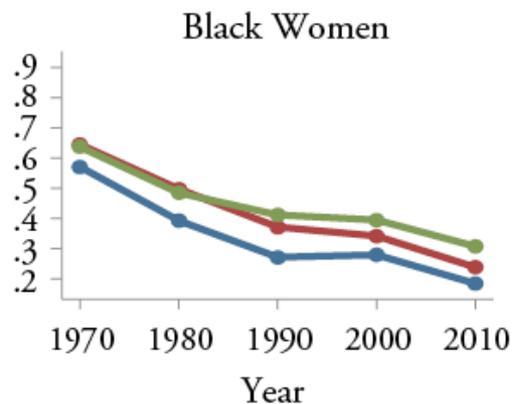
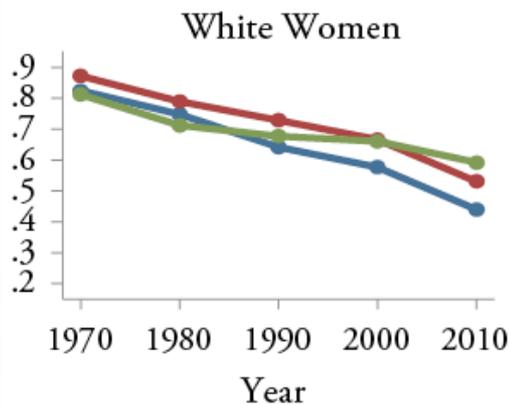
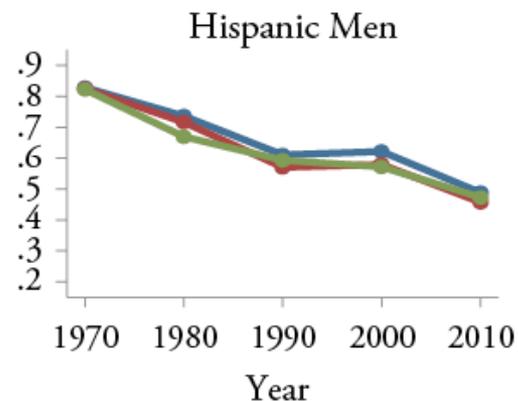
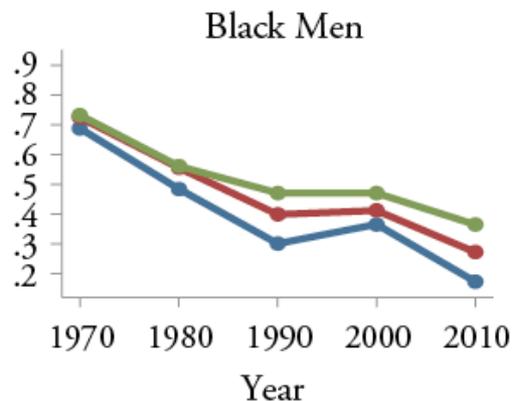
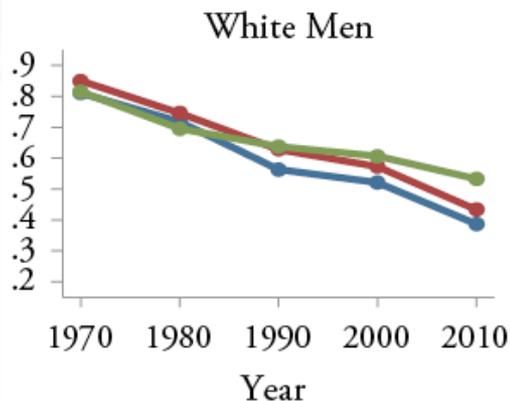
Decline in Marriage by Age



Bottom line: all falling and not too many married young, see also Cherlin, 2011 at

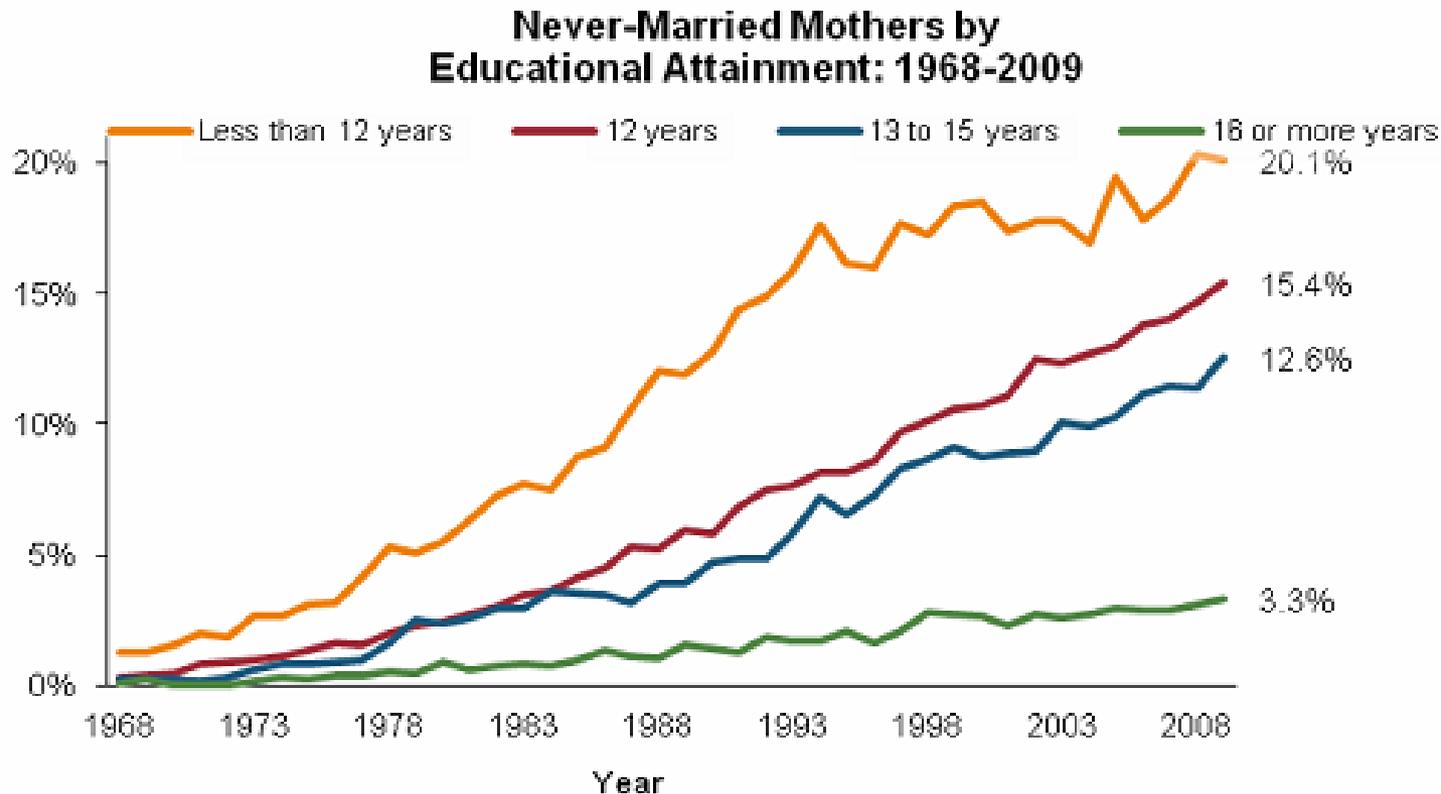
http://www.irp.wisc.edu/newsevents/seminars/Presentations/2010-2011/Cherlin_4-14-11.pdf

Marriage Rates of Young (25-29) Men and Women, By Race and Education

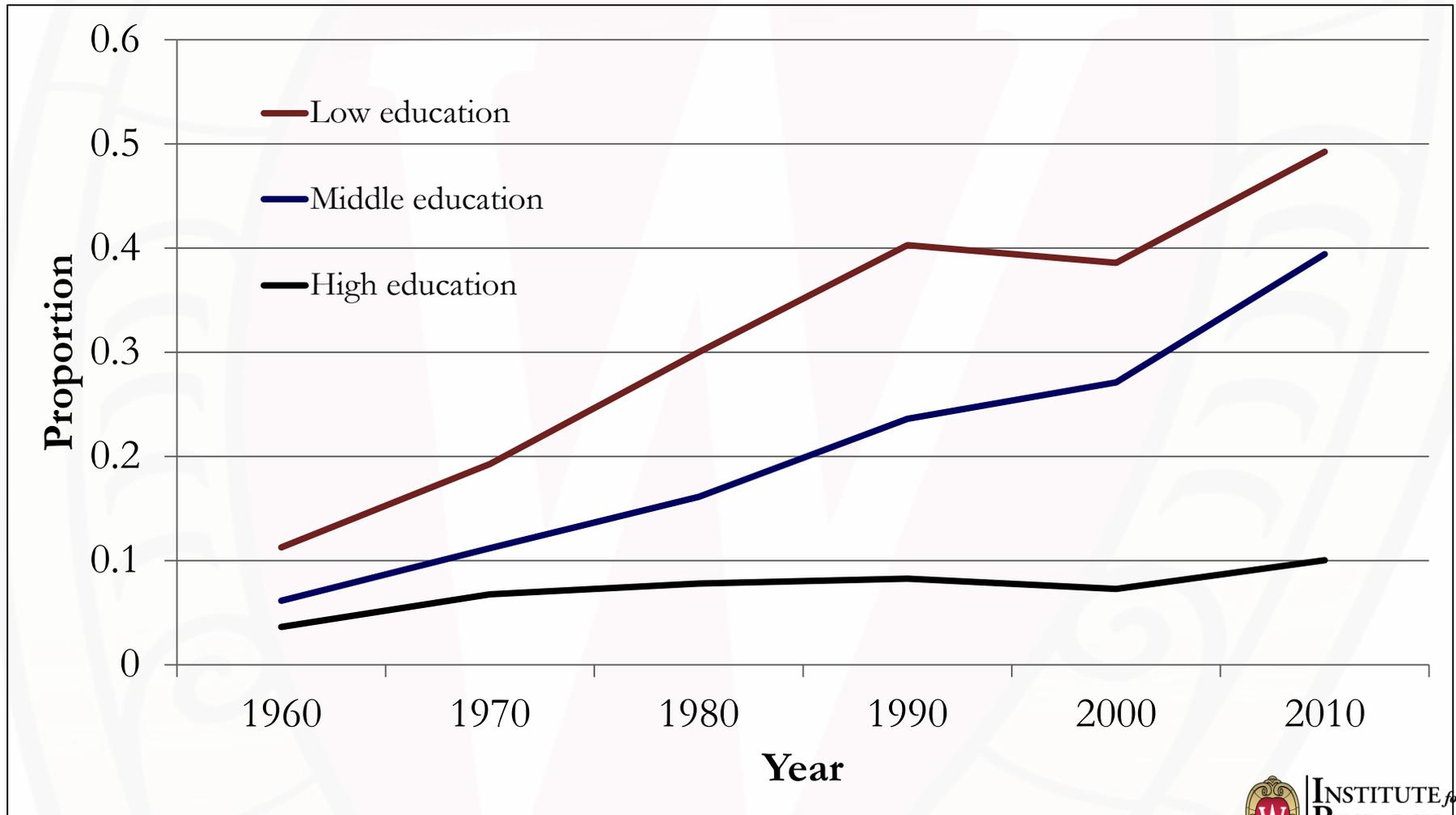


● Less Than H.S.
 ● High School
 ● More than H.S.

Never-Married Mothers by Education Attainment

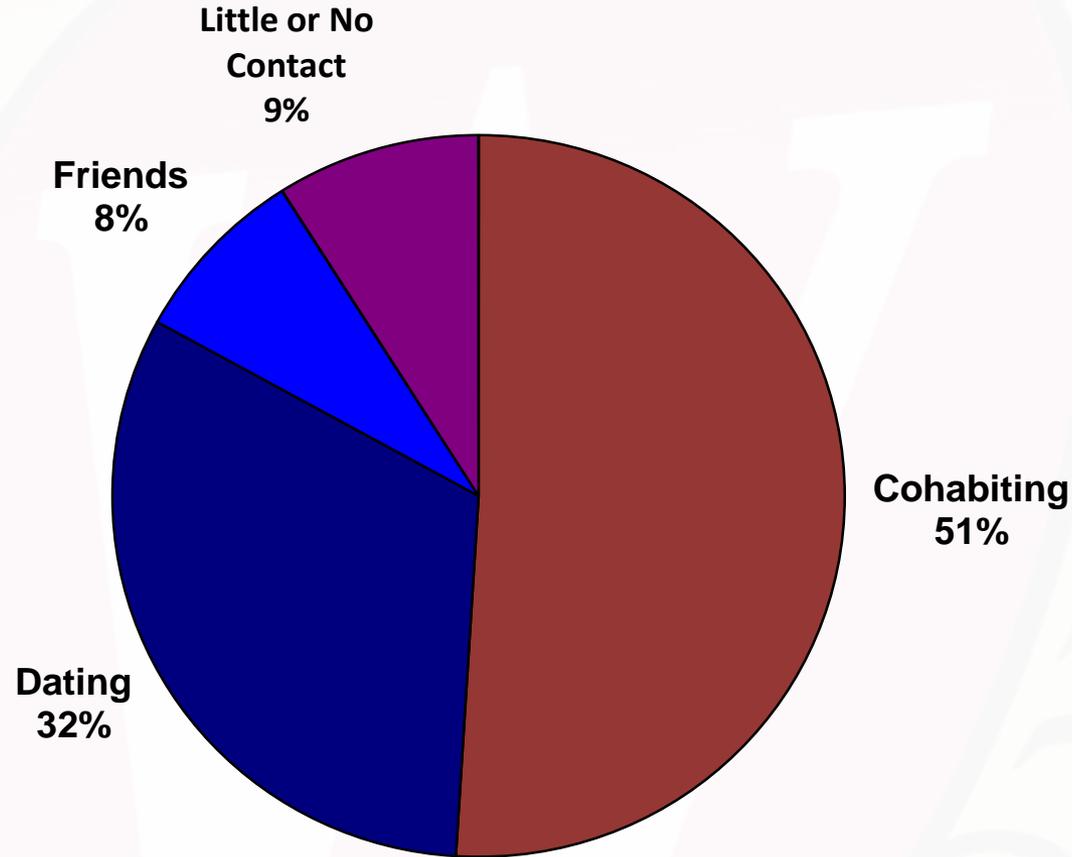


Unmarried Births by Mothers' Education



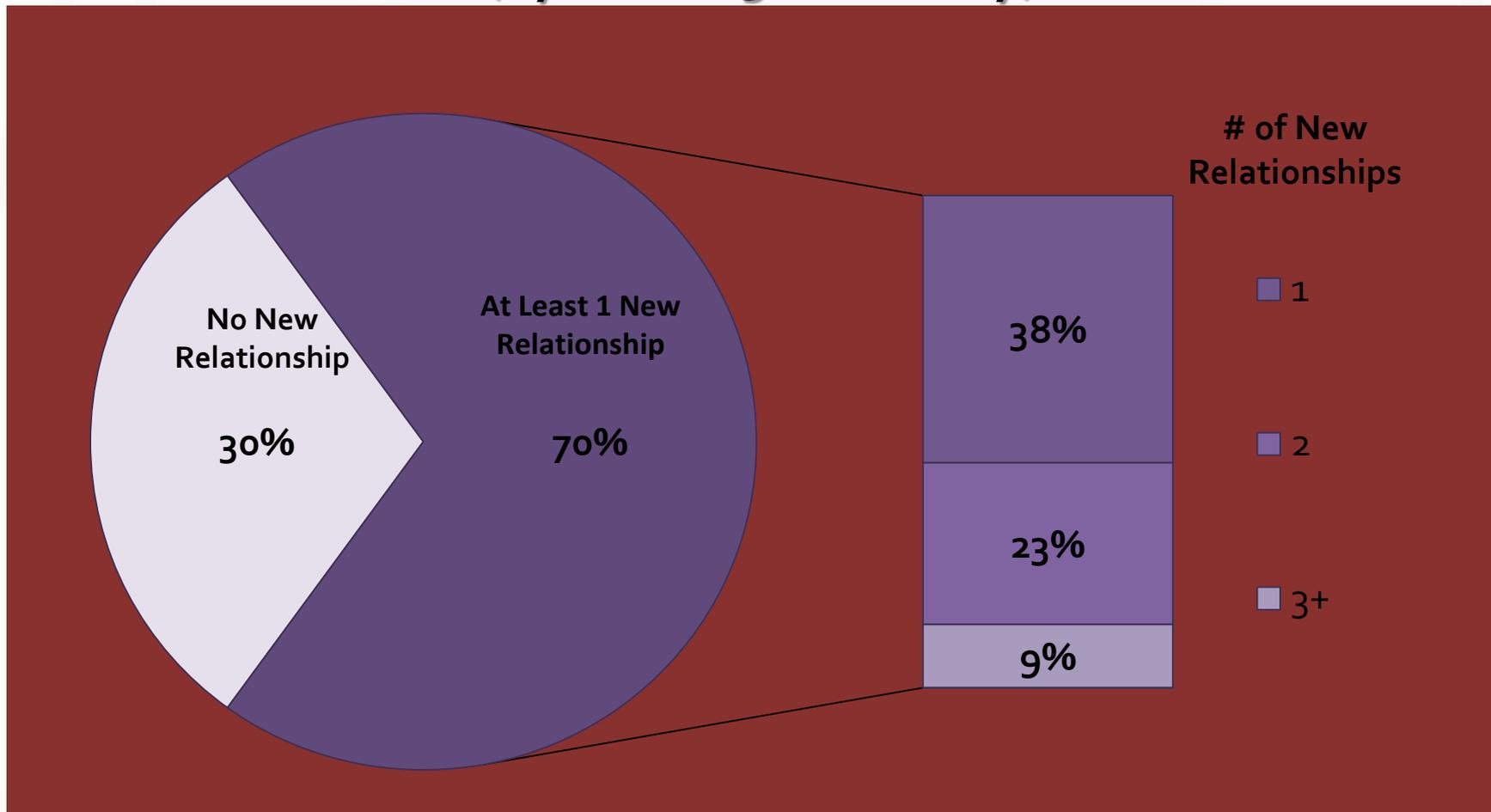
Source: IPUMS Census/ACS; McLanahan and Tach, 2012

Relationship Contexts at Non-marital Child's Birth



Only 1 in 5 non-marital children is born to a “single” mother.
The rest are born to “fragile families.”

Partnership Instability in Fragile Families (by Child's 5th Birthday)

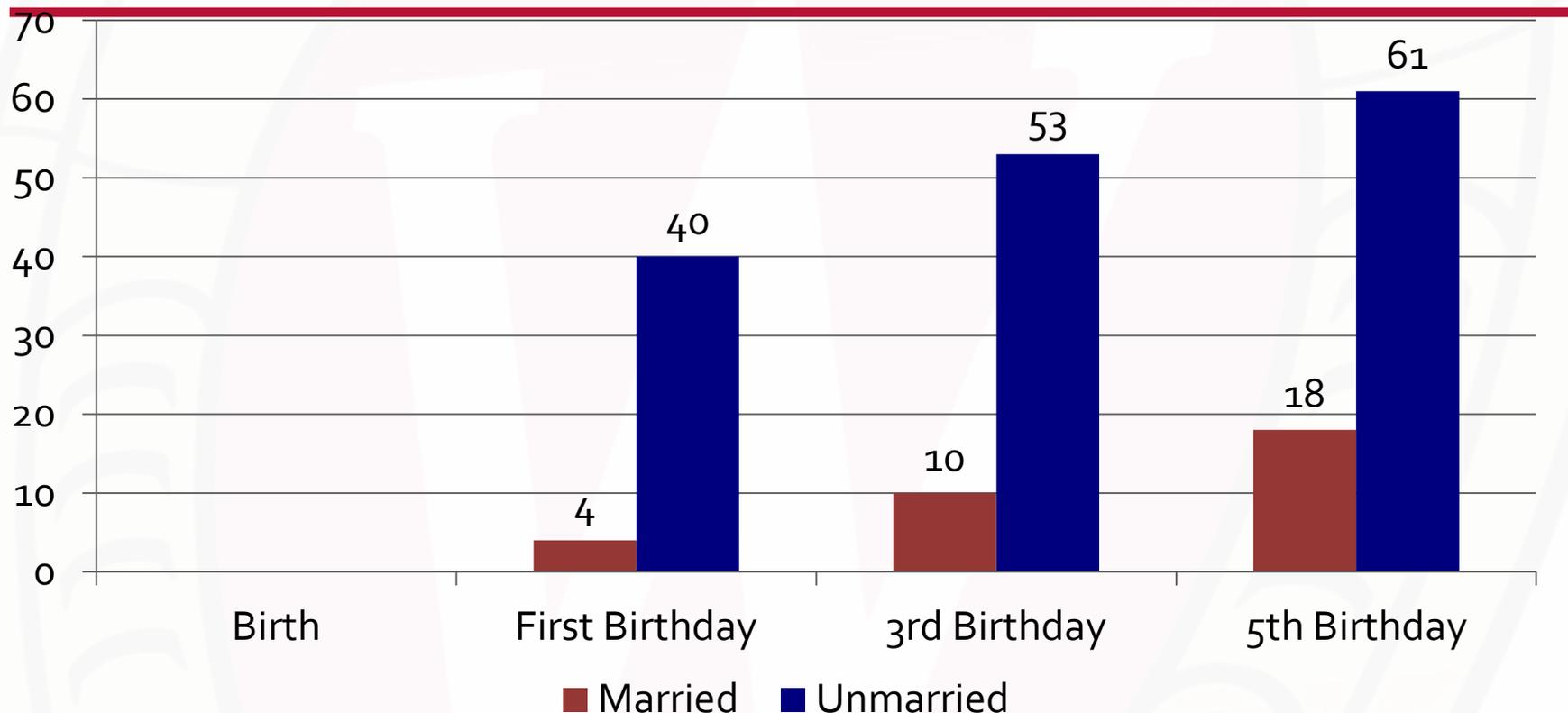


30% of ALL children spend time in a marital or non-marital stepfamily by age 18.

Source: Laura Tach's tabulations of Waves 1-4 of the Fragile Families & Child Wellbeing Survey.

Relationship Stability Following a Birth

% of couples who broke up by child's...

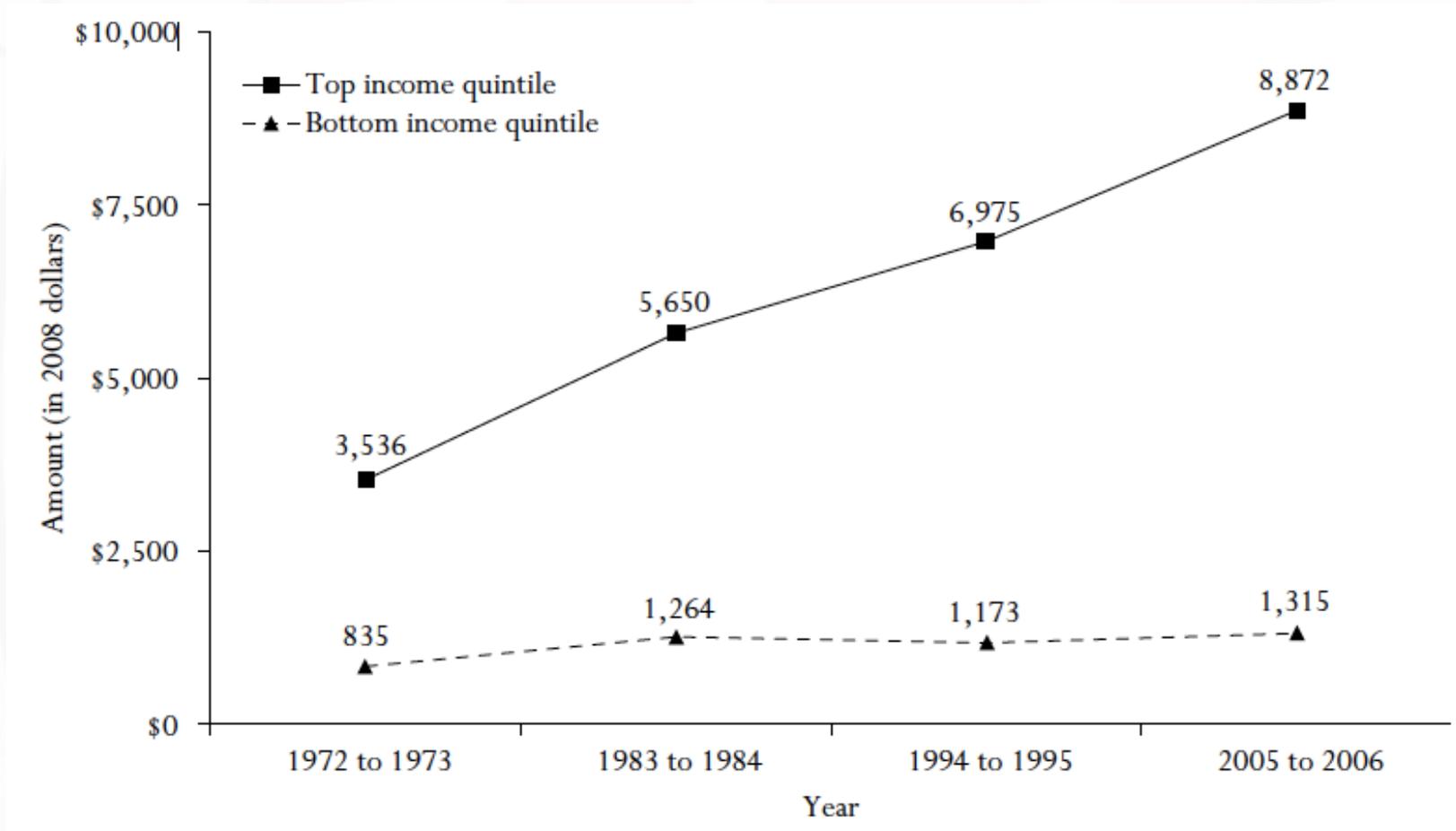


Nationally, 35% of marital children and 75% of cohabiters' children experience their parents' dissolution by age 15.

Also, parents' money and skills

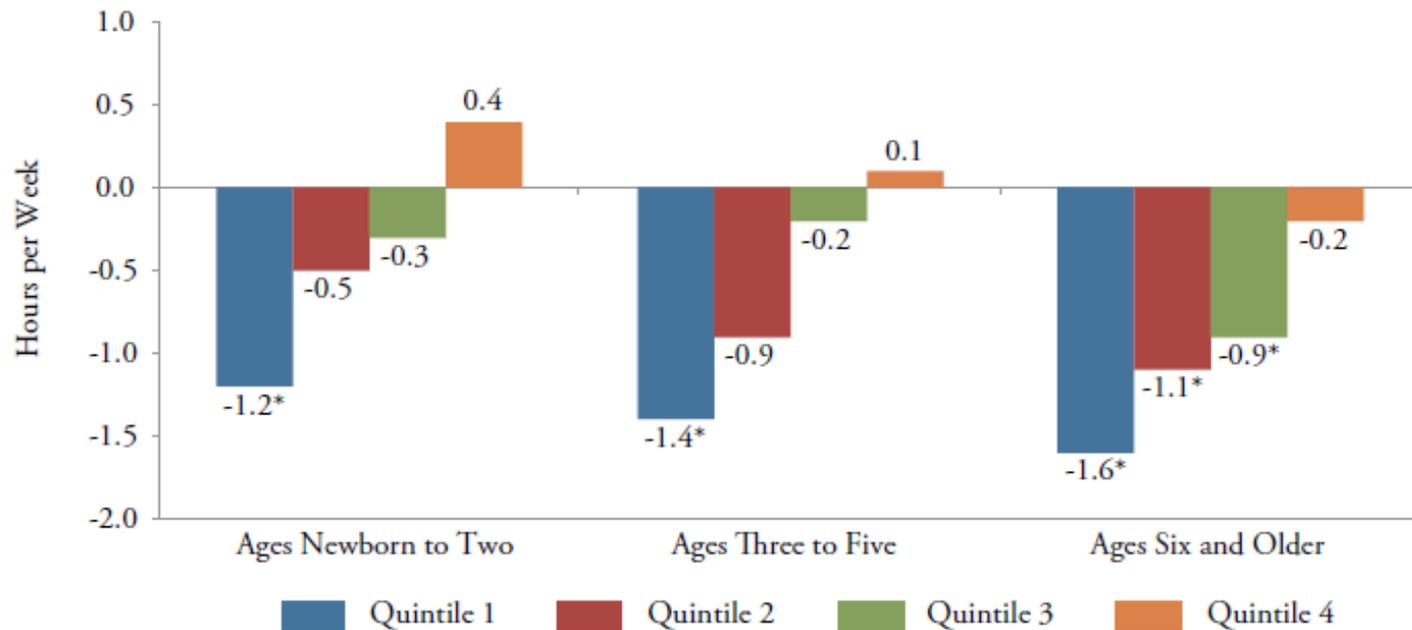
- Almost all parents want to do everything they can for their kids, but some are better able and more skilled at navigating life's challenges than are others— money and skills are both important
- Older parents are better off economically, socially and education wise
- **Top-quintile spending on kids' enrichment is now multiple times that of lowest income quintile spending**
- **Activities spent on literacy and other investments also vary enormously by income and SES**

Kaushal, Magnuson and Waldfogel(2011): annual spending on children's enrichment



Parents to kids: skills and quality time , not just money (Phillips ; Kalil, et al; Sayer)

Figure 21: Disparities in Weekly Time Spent in Literacy Activities by Age and Household Income Quintile¹⁰¹



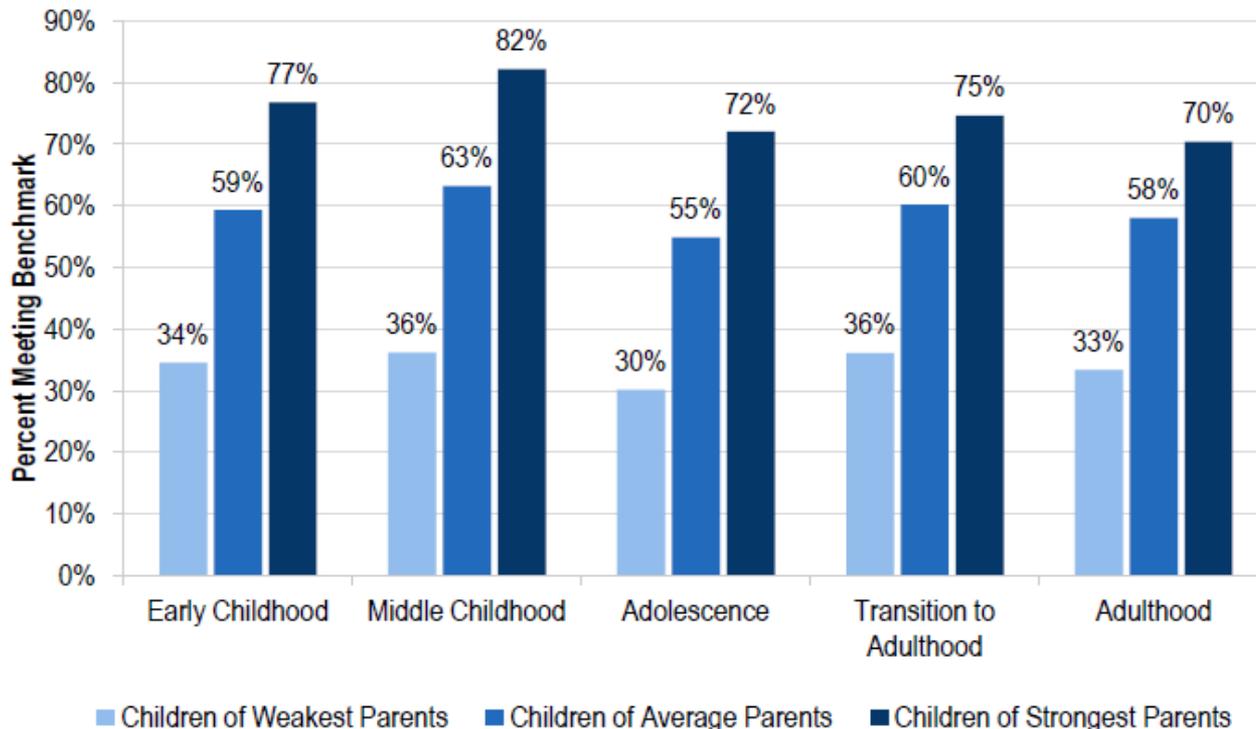
Source: Meredith Phillips, based on Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 2009. Bars show difference relative to children whose family is in the top quintile, adjusted for child's age in month and gender. *Denotes statistically significant difference at the $p < 0.05$ level.

Weak and strong parents matter

- **Basis: CNLSY 'HOME' assessments at various life stages (includes pictures, observation, interviews, etc.)**
 - 'Weak Parents' — bottom 25 percent**
 - 'Strong Parents'— top 25 percent**
 - 'Average parents' – middle 50 percent**
- **Differences in crossing developmental stages are 40 + percent between weak and strong parents, including the first gate**

Parenting quality at life stages (think gates)

Figure 4. Percent of Children Succeeding at Each Life Stage by Quality of their Parents



Source: Reeves, R., and K. Howard, "The Parenting Gap," Center on Children and Families at Brookings. Available at <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2013/09/09-parenting-gap-social-mobility-wellbeing-reeves>

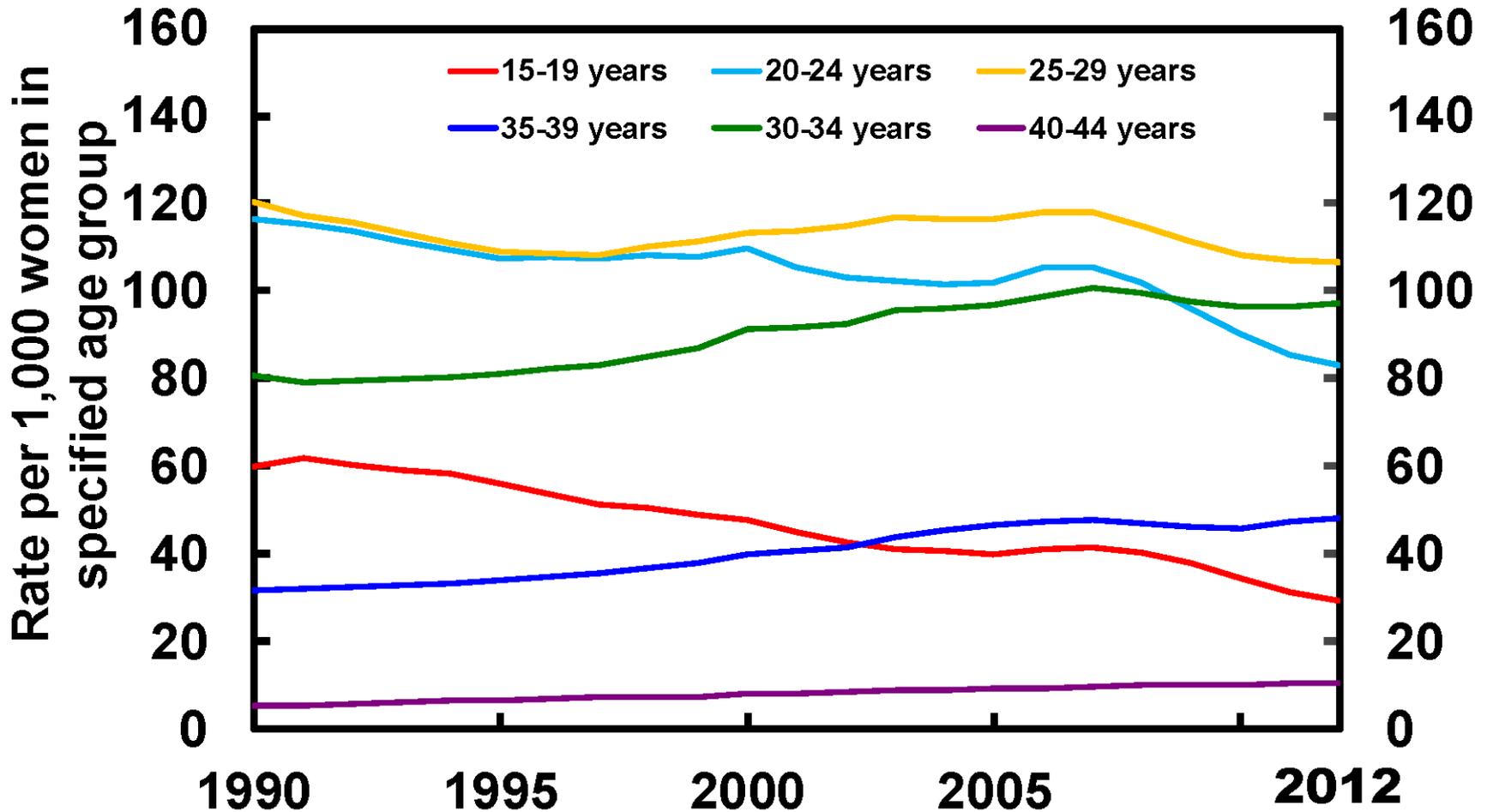
Bottom Line

- **Parents matter a lot– and we cannot , and likely do not want to, limit what they can and will do for their kids**
- **Weaker parents do worse– why? --time, money, skills, cumulative disadvantage**
- **So we need to make weaker parents into better stronger parents somehow—AEI-Brookings agree**

A little good news-next slide

- **Teen pregnancy is way down and 20-24 year old pregnancy is also down**
- **Why -- cyclical or structural changes ?**
- **Would love to believe the latter –the older the mother at time of birth of the child, the more likely is the birth a planned/intended birth, and the better the outcomes as the child ages .**

**Figure 3. Birth rates, by selected age of mother:
United States, final 1990-2011 and preliminary 2012**



NOTE - Due to software limitation, this graph could not be plotted on a log scale. The published version of this graph will be plotted on a log scale.

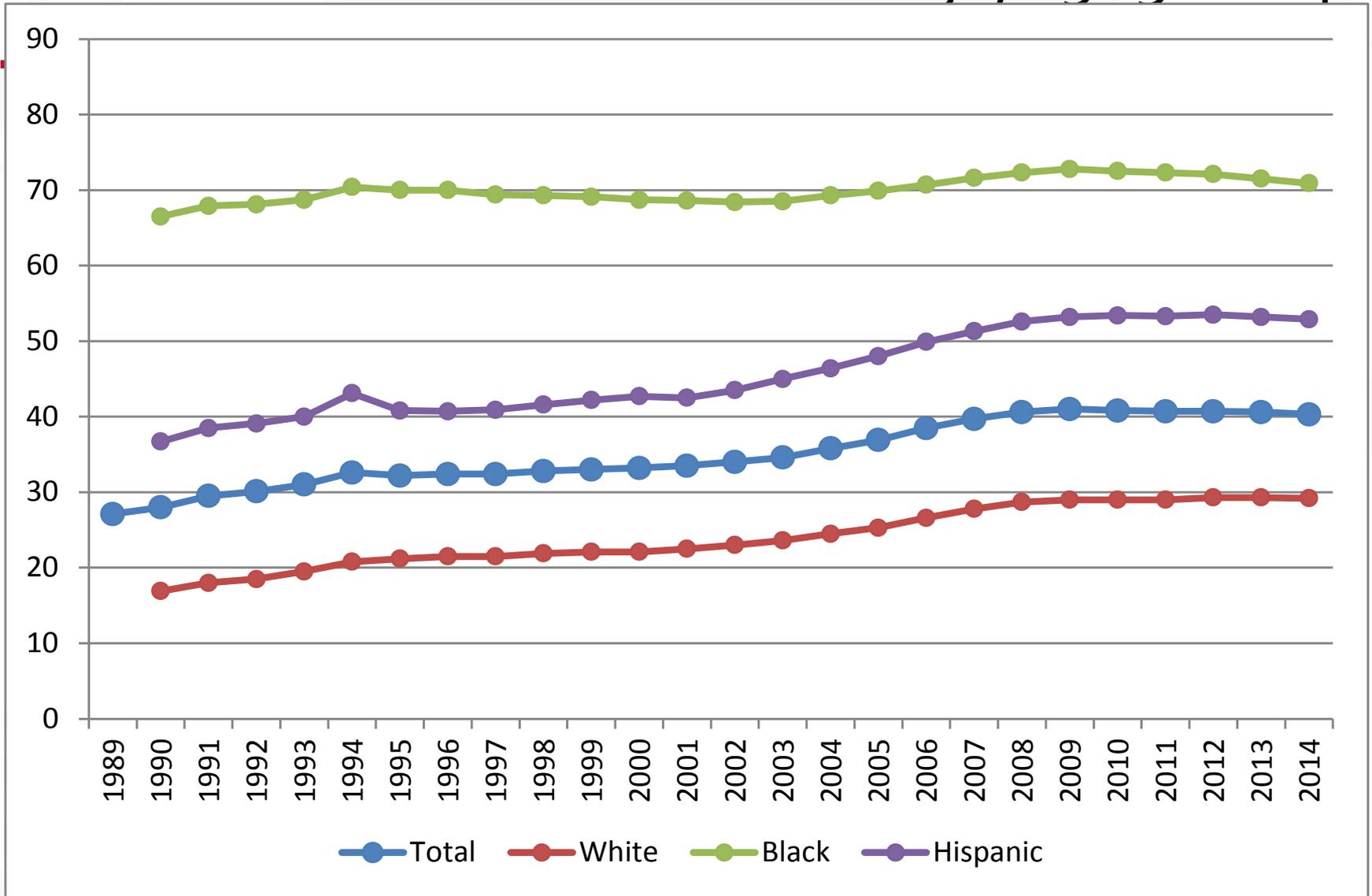
NOTES: Rates are plotted on a logarithmic scale.

49 SOURCE: CDC/NCHS, National Vital Statistics System.

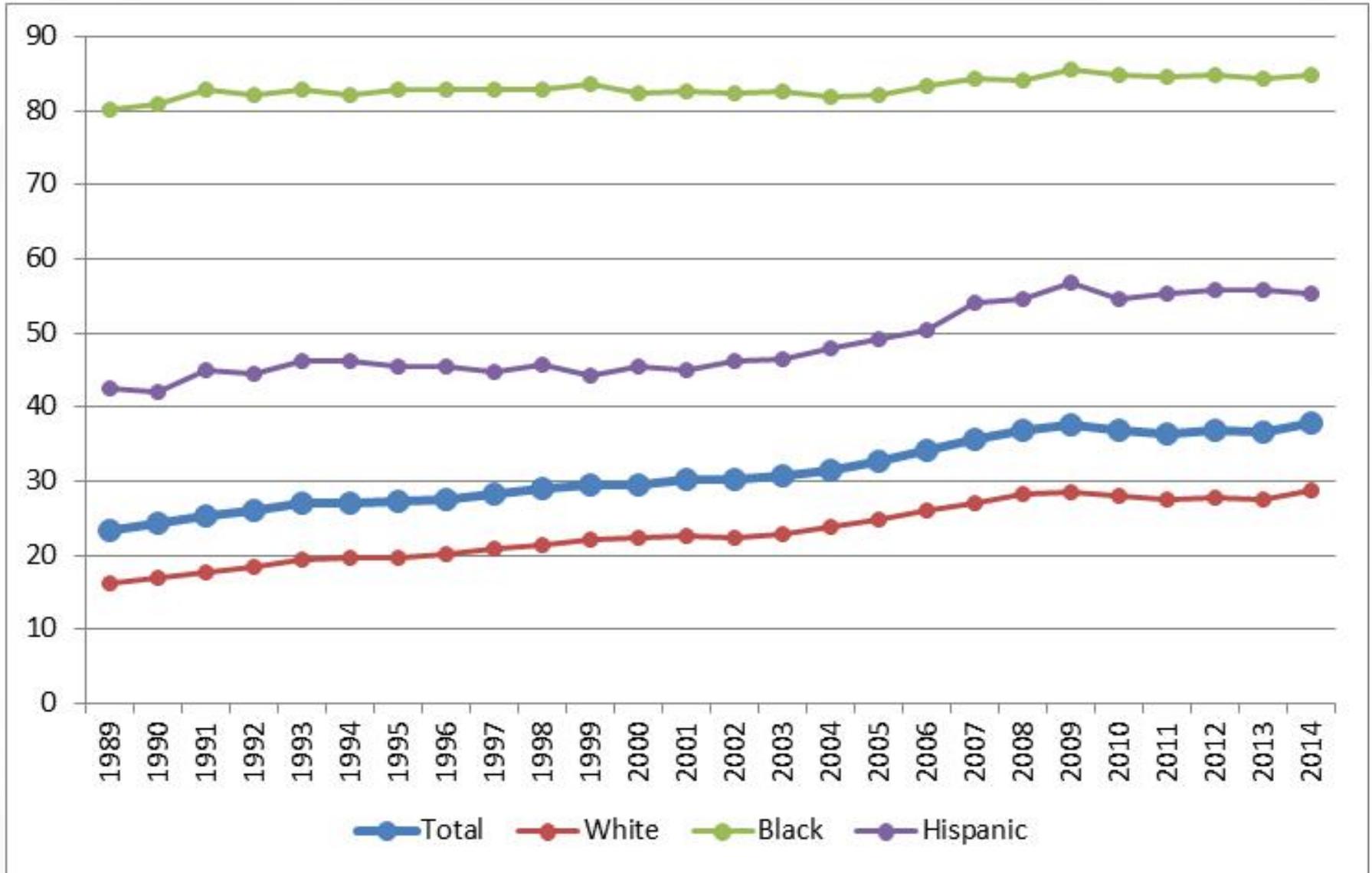
C. The Wisconsin family today .

- **WI figures on out of wedlock childbirths**
- **Poverty and inequality from the WI poverty report**
- **Focus at end on Milwaukee situation for families with kids--poverty, race and place**
- **Economic and racial segregation within WI counties and across counties**

US % of Births Outside of Marriage, 1989-2014



WI % of Births Outside of Marriage, 1989-2014



Compare the two set of lines

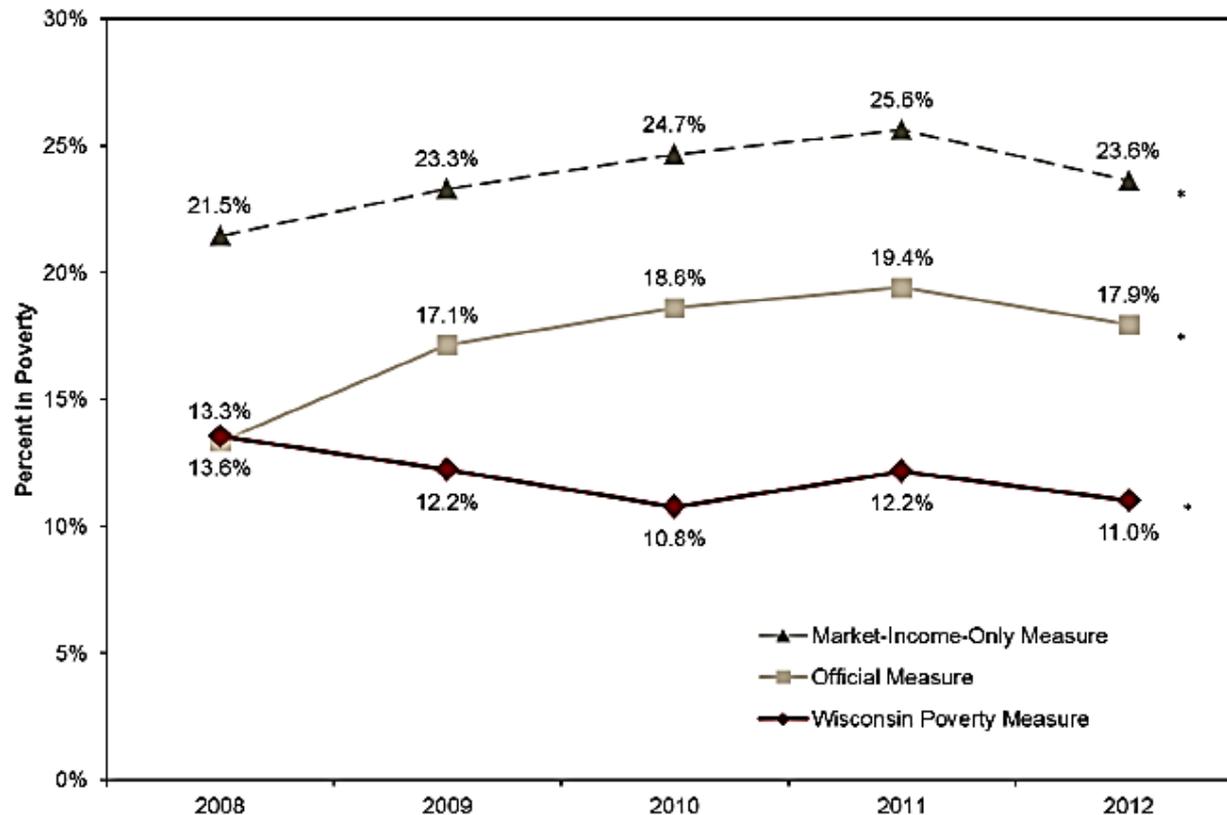
- Not a lot of change for 25 years, but some upward trend for most groups
- **Black out of wedlock birth rates in WI are 10 points above the US as a whole !!**
- The others: white, Hispanic and total are much the same in WI and in USA
- How about poverty rates– for children especially, within WI ?

The WPM:

Three Sets of Poverty Rates

- **Market Income (MI) based poverty rates** – including only own earnings and private investment and retirement incomes
- **The Official Measure (OM) poverty rates** – which are based only on cash income only
- **The Wisconsin Poverty Measure (WPM)** – which includes the effects of housing costs, child care costs, medical costs as well as taxes, refundable tax credits, and noncash benefits like SNAP and public housing

Wisconsin **Child** Poverty Rates under Different Poverty Measures, 2008–2012



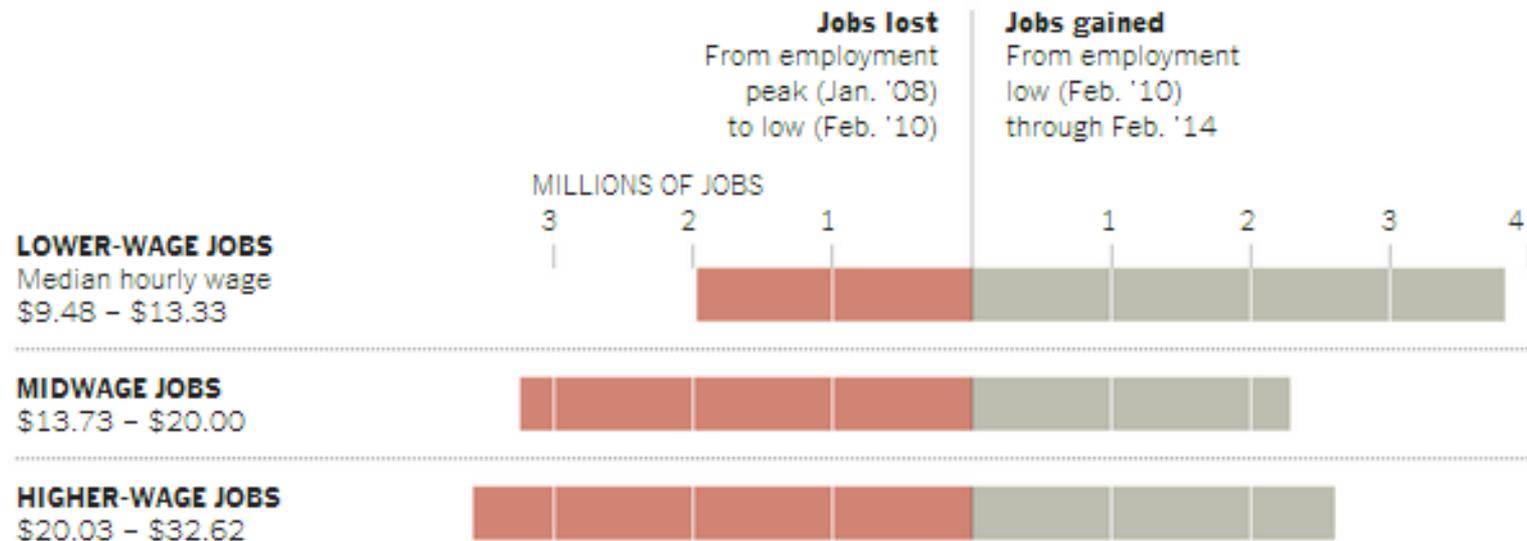
Source: IRP tabulations using 2008–2012 American Community Survey data.

Note: * = The difference between 2011 and 2012 was statistically significant for all three measures.

But don't rush to judgement on jobs – consider the types of jobs we are creating

An Unbalanced Recovery

Most of the jobs added during the recovery have been in lower-wage industries.

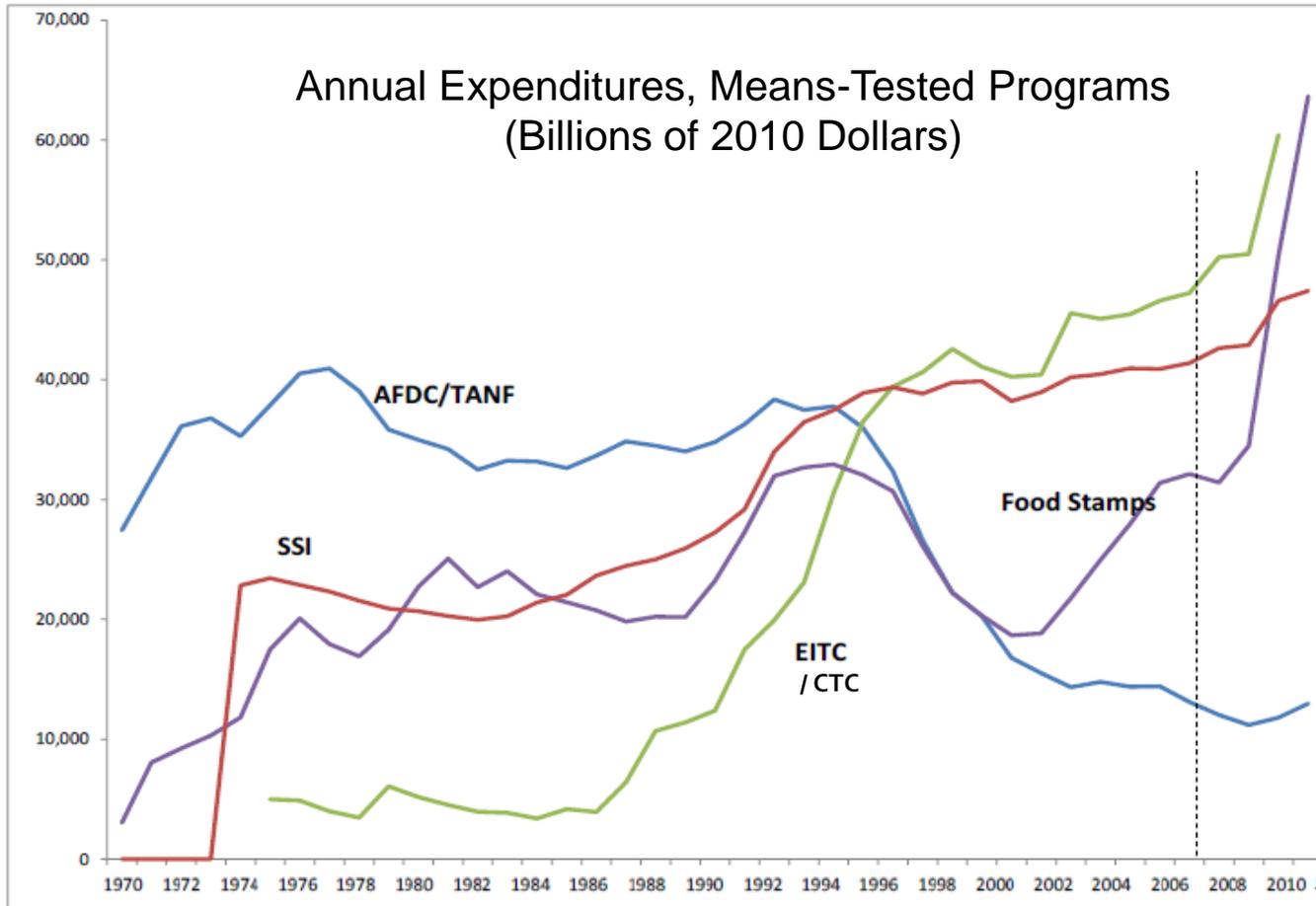


Source: National Employment Law Project

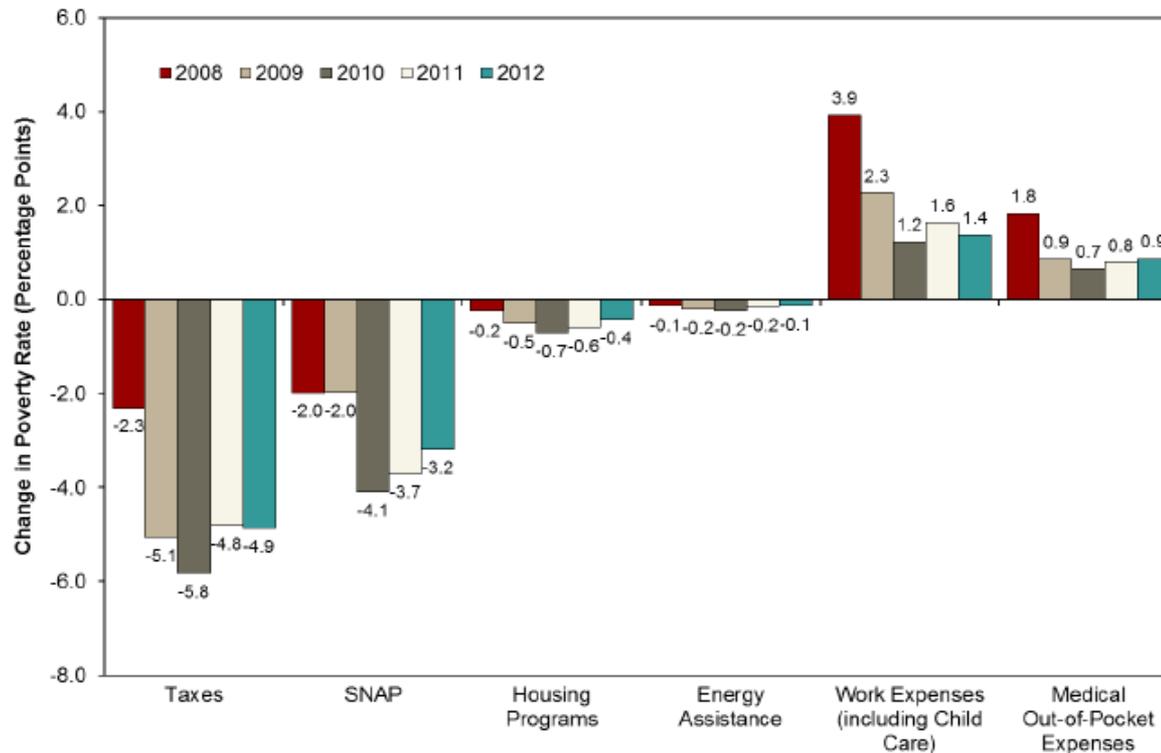
What Drove Overall and **Child** Poverty Rates Down?

- After earnings increases are recorded, four major policy levers affected WI poverty:
 1. **Refundable tax credits** like the EITC (federal and state) and child tax credits
 2. **Noncash benefits** like SNAP (*FoodShare*) public housing, LIHEAP)
 3. **Work related expenses** like child care, affected by SHARES, and commuting costs
 4. **Out of pocket health care costs**, affected by Badger Care

How Programs to Help the Poor in the US (and Wisconsin) Have Changed



Effects of Taxes, Public Benefits, and Expenses on Child Poverty in Wisconsin, 2008–2012



Source: IRP tabulations using 2008–2012 American Community Survey data.

Note: SNAP = Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.

How about Poverty by Race ?

- **Big concern with closing the racial and economic “achievement gap” in schools and in life**
- **Where are blacks in WI ?**
- **How do they fare across the income spectrum ?**
- **Poverty rates within cities and counties , especially the Milwaukee area**

Overall Blacks and Overall Black Poverty using the WPM in 2012

There were about **370,000 blacks in WI in 2013** , **6.6 percent** of the non-institutional population

- **Only 21.7 percent** of *all* blacks in WI were 'middle class' (incomes at least 2x poverty line) , **lower for kids and in Milwaukee as well**
- In 2012, there were **112,151 black poor in WI**, **30.3 percent of all blacks**, and of these:
 - **85,518 (76%) are in Milwaukee County**
 - **10,945 are in in Dane County**
 - **15, 687 everywhere else in the state**

How big is the 'black family with child' middle class in Milwaukee ?

Children by Rates of their Family Income to Needs* in Milwaukee County, 2012				
	Black	White	Latino/ Other	All
In Poverty (<100%)	40.6	8.5	26.4	25.2
100-200% of Poverty	46.1	35.3	53.3	43.9
200%+ of Poverty	13.5*	56.2	20.2	30.8
(% of all children in Milwaukee County)	(36.6)	(38.2)	(25.2)	(100.0)

* in USA as a whole this number is 26 percent for blacks

Concentrated (official) poverty is in Milwaukee not Madison

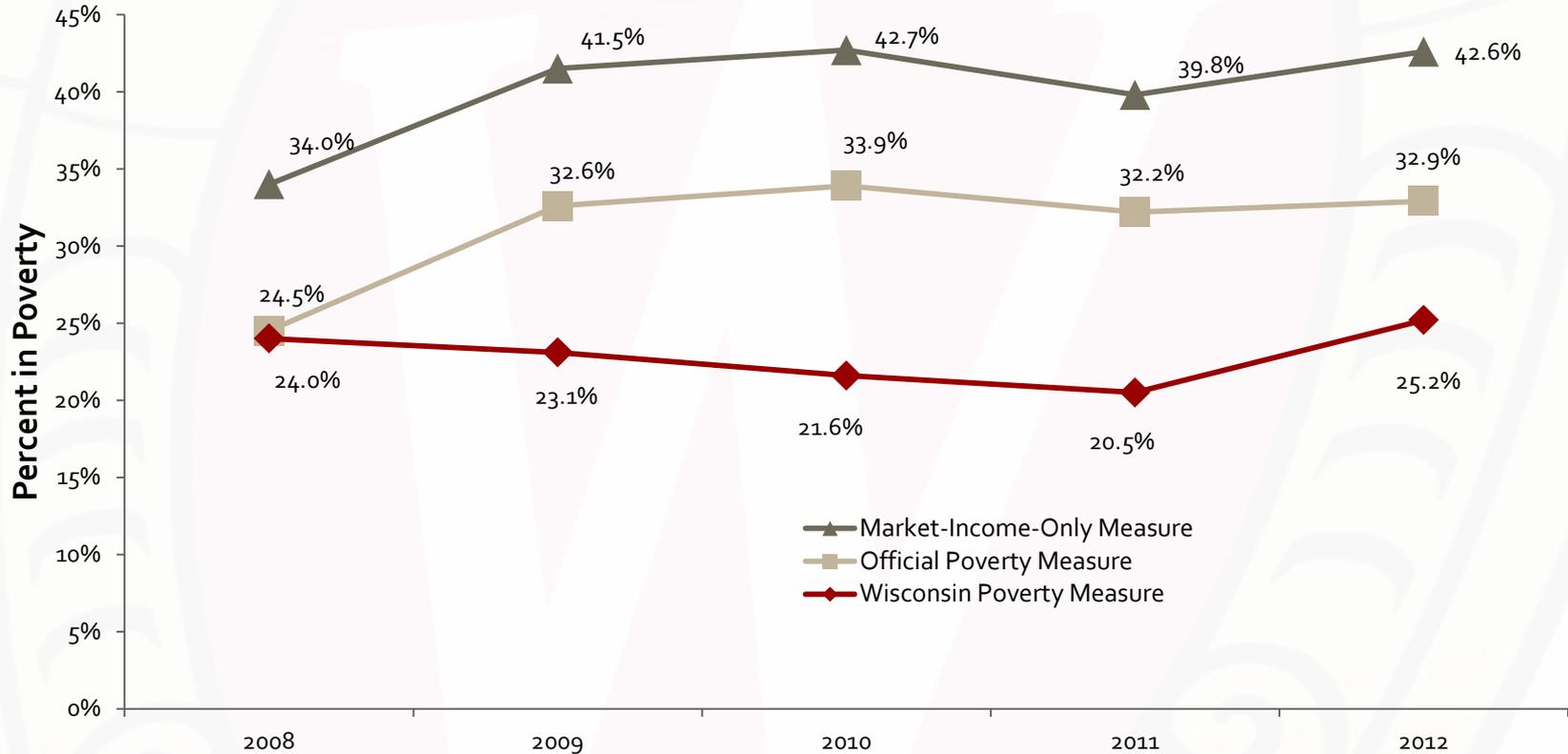
Comparing Madison and Milwaukee Metropolitan Areas Concentrated Poverty in 2012

	Milwaukee Metro	Madison Metro
Poor in Area (in 1,000s)		
> 40% Poverty	68.0 (31)	0 (0)
20-40%	74.1 (34)	10.4 (20)
<20%	75.0 (35)	40.7 (80)
Total Poor	217.1 (100)	51.1 (100)
Rank among U.S. Metros with most concentrated poverty	8th	100th
Source: http://www.brookings.edu/research/interactives/2014/concentrated-poverty		

Poverty *Within* Wisconsin's Borders

- ACS is big enough to accurately show poverty in areas of 100,000 persons within the state as well as ethnic and racial breakdowns
- Poverty varied across counties within the state with three areas with significantly higher poverty rates (Dane, Superior, and Milwaukee) and many areas with below state average rates.
- Though not in the annual report, the following slides emphasize the wide differences in poverty *within* Milwaukee county and city where poverty in some subareas is multiple times poverty in other areas

Milwaukee Child Poverty Rates under Three Measures, 2008–2012



Source: IRP Tabulations using 2008-2012 American Community Survey data.

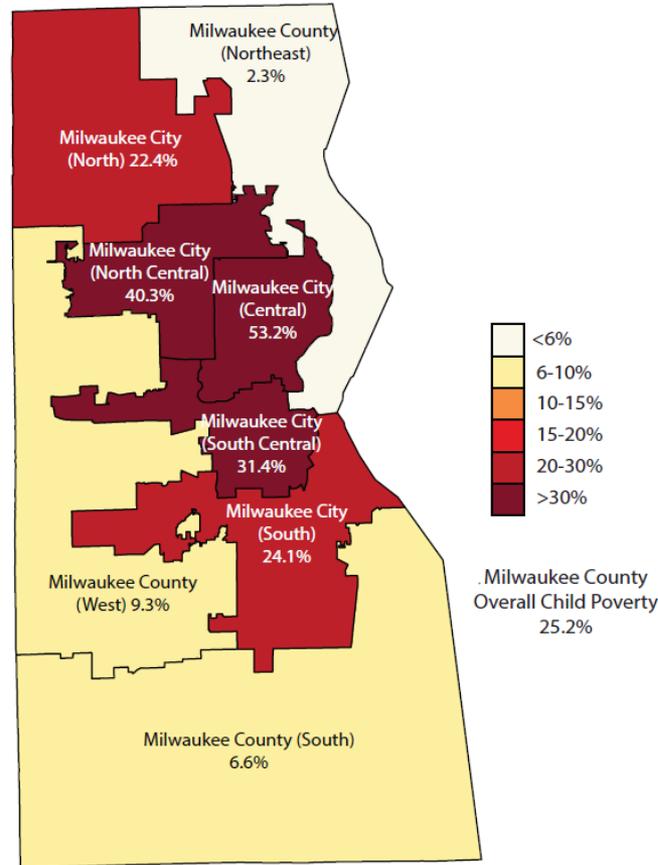
Notes: Market income includes earnings, investment income, private retirement income, child support, and other forms of private income. Both the market-income measure and the WPM are based on the WPM thresholds, definition of family unit, and treatment of work and medical expenses, which differ from the thresholds and methodologies of the official measure, as described in the methods section below.

Poverty among children, especially minority youth

- The recent Casey Kids Count Report has Wisconsin at the bottom of the state rankings in terms of minority children's educational attainment, largely because they come from poor families (and attend not so great schools)
- **The Milwaukee slides speak volumes about the differences in child poverty within our two largest counties (child poverty rates range from 53% to 2% *within* Milwaukee), and in the Southeast WI area.**
- **The numbers for black children are even worse**

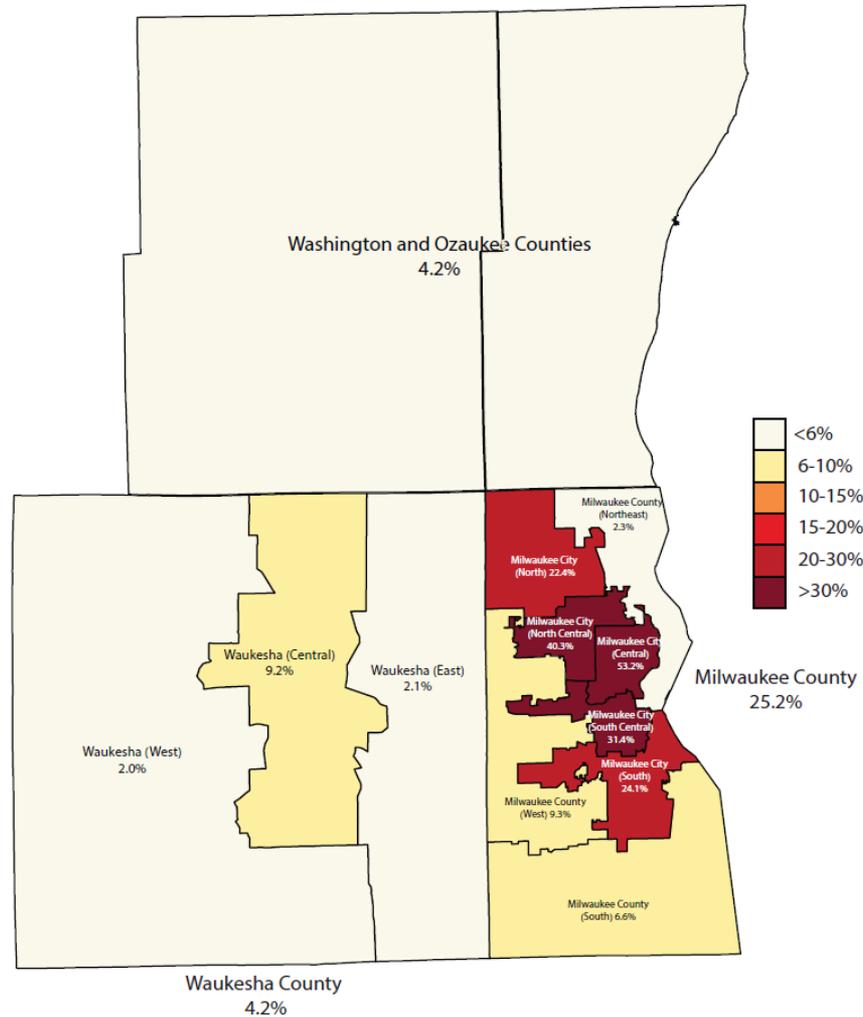
Milwaukee County **Overall** Child Poverty

(compared to Wisconsin child poverty rate of 11.0 percent)

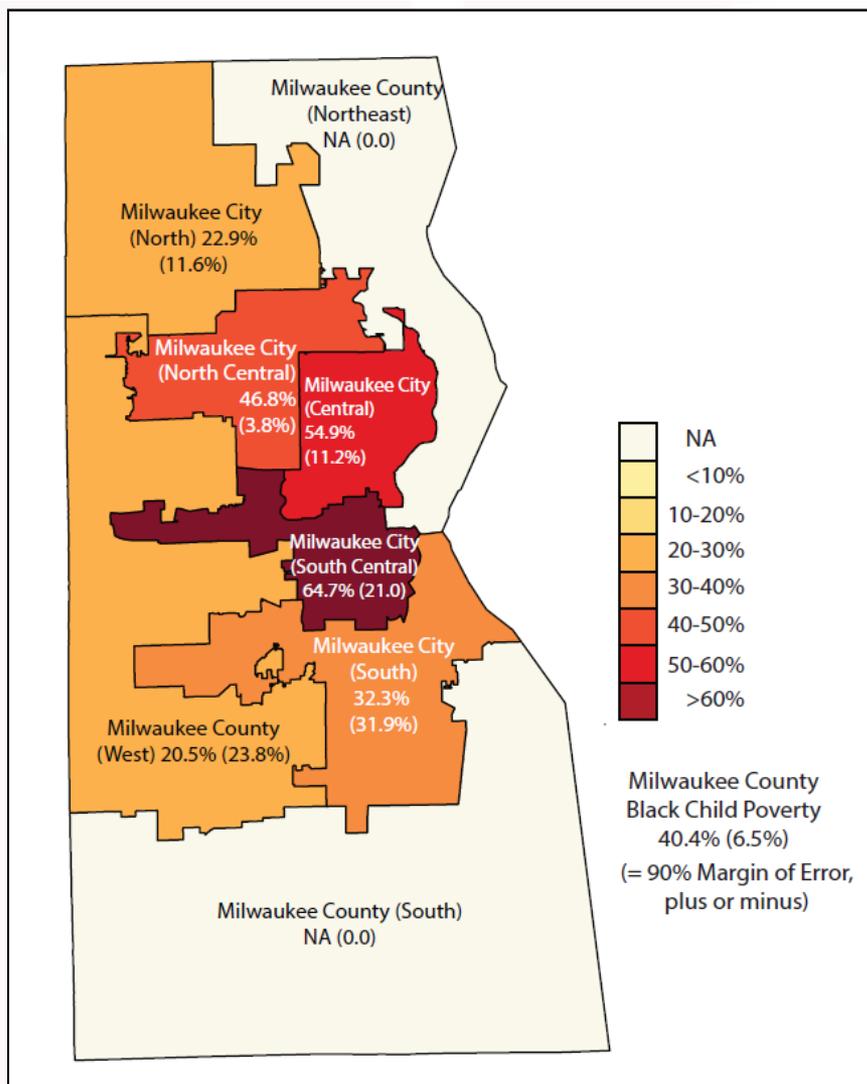


Southeast Wisconsin Overall Child Poverty— Further Economic Segregation

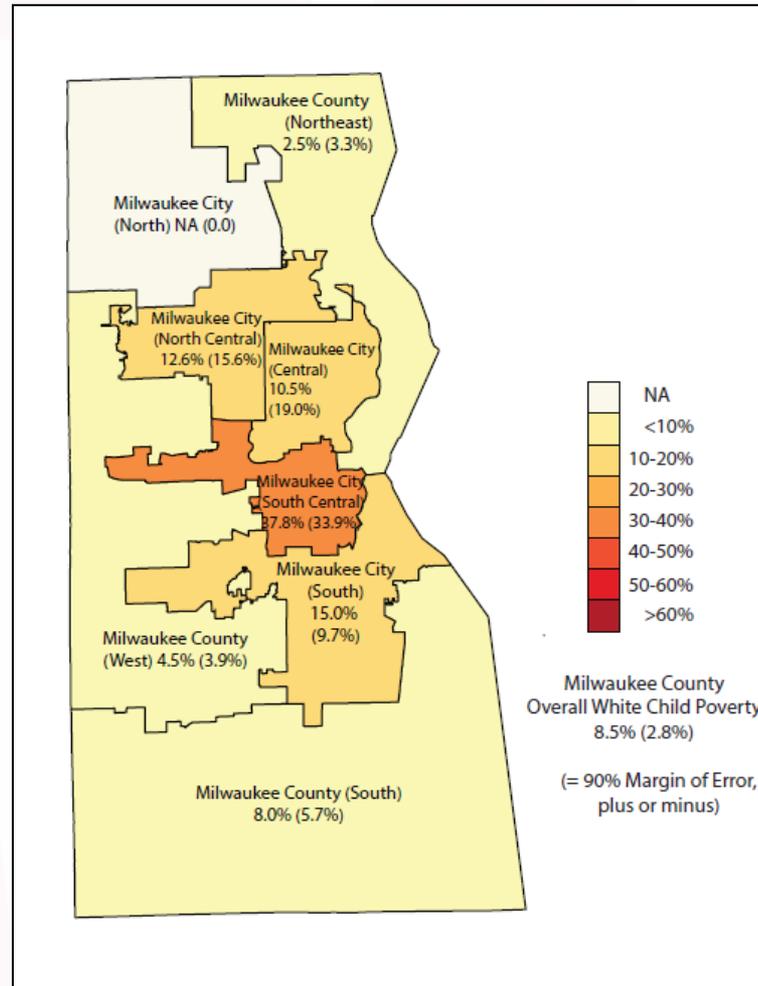
(compared to Wisconsin child poverty rate of 11.0 percent)



Milwaukee County WPM **Black** Child Poverty Rates (Compared to Wisconsin black child poverty rate of 34.0%)



Milwaukee County WPM **White** Child Poverty Rates (Compared to Wisconsin white child poverty rate of 6.3%)



D. Policy issues

- How can we build stronger families, increase economic prosperity and possibly also increase marriage ?

--reduce out of wedlock unplanned births for younger men and women

-- adopt the four cornerstones of the AEI-Brookings joint report :

"Opportunity, responsibility, and security: A consensus plan for reducing poverty and restoring the American

dream" <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2015/12/aei-brookings>

[poverty-report/full-report.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2015/12/aei-brookings-poverty-report/full-report.pdf)

Five ways to reduce out of wedlock unplanned births for unmarried youngsters

1. Stop premarital sex (abstinence)
2. Stop from becoming pregnant when having sex (birth control)
3. Stop pregnancy ex-post (abortion)
4. Marry when you have children regardless of the economic or social situation
5. Offer children for adoption

Which one should we emphasize ?

- #1 (abstinence) and #4 (marriage promotion) have not worked, yet—despite our efforts. More work to promote marriage is of course part of everyone’s plan
- #3 and #5 offer less desirable choices
- #2 is starting to work, and if we are to use birth control as the strategy, more reliable birth control devices can reduce unplanned pregnancies --can we promote LARCs in WI?

Marriage Promotion

- Bush healthy marriage initiative promotion experiment failed per Wade Horn, its most eloquent spokesman and advocate
- Marriage of two minimum wage earners is not enough to build family on, so no magic bullet
- Availability of two steady well paying jobs is important (e.g. \$ 30,000 a year times two means FY/FT 4000 hours of work at \$15 an hour) , without costs of going to work or child care

You need higher pay as well as marriage to increase mobility

- About 28 million married Americans and their children lived below or near (150 percent) the poverty line in 2013, according to the federal Government Accountability Office.
- A large majority of married families who are considered low income (defined as at or below 150 percent of the Census Bureau's *Supplemental Poverty Measure*) includes at least one person who is employed.
- Brad Wilcox : “ *marriage is not all that is needed to fight poverty. But Americans are more likely to realize the American dream if they get and stay married, and grow up in communities where marriage is stronger. Marriage fosters saving, facilitates economies of scale and encourages stability in family life, all things that are good for the average American’s pocketbook.*”

Four cornerstones to improve families from 'consensus' report

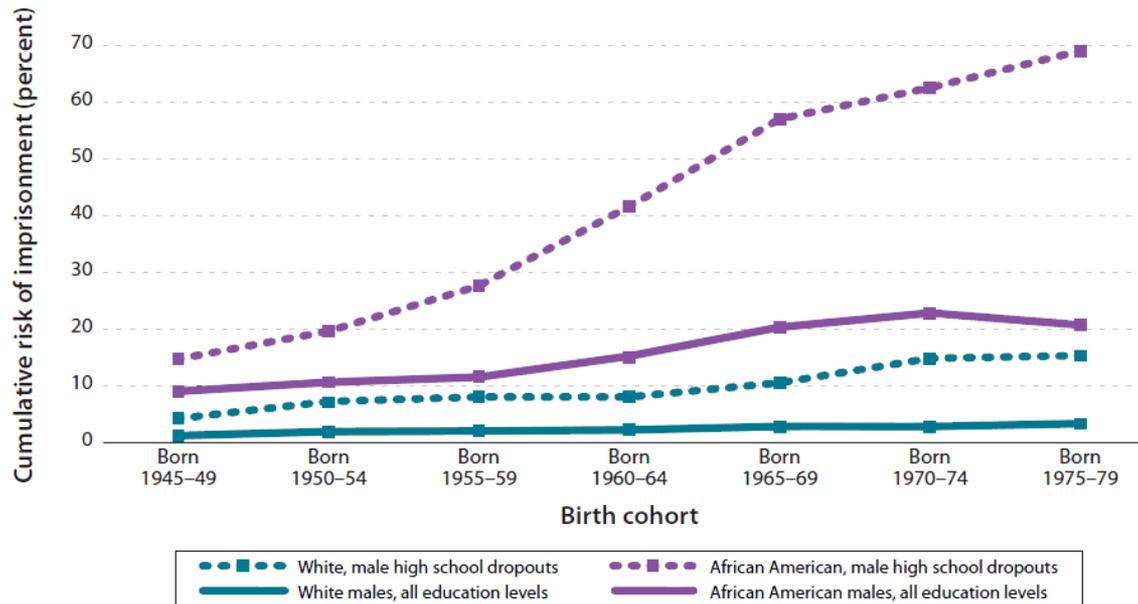
- Promote marriage as the most reliable route to family stability and combined resources
- Promote delayed, responsible childbearing
- Promote parenting skills and practices amongst low income younger parents
- Promote skill development (schooling, training, jobs , apprenticeships), family involvement and employment amongst young men and women

And we cannot ignore incarceration and its effects on families and neighborhoods

FIGURE 7.

Cumulative Risk of Imprisonment by Age 30–34 for Men Born Between 1945–49 and 1975–79, by Race and Education

Among men born between 1975 and 1979, an African American high school dropout has nearly a 70 percent chance of being imprisoned by his mid-thirties.



Source: Western and Wildeman 2009.

Note: Cumulative risk of imprisonment is the projected lifetime likelihood of imprisonment for a person born in a specific range of years. For more details, see the technical appendix.

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E. Conclusions and readings

- I think we agree on where we want to go
- But how do we get there ?
- It may be easier to change the economy than change the family
- But we hope they both move upward together
- Compromise is the way to advance

Some reading material

Sawhill, Isabel. 2014. *Generations Unbound*. Brookings Press, Washington, DC

Stephen Ruggles, 2015 Presidential address to PAA, "Patriarchy, Power, and Pay: The Transformation of American Families, 1800–2015" *Demography*

Brad Wilcox, The National Marriage Project. 2011 "Cohabitation Eclipses Divorce as Key Risk Factor for Children in America" <http://www.bradleyfdn.org/On-Lion-Letter/ID/1054/Cohabitation-eclipses-divorce-as-key-risk-factor-for-children-in-America>

AEI-Brookings Report. 2015. *Opportunity, responsibility, and security: A consensus plan for reducing poverty and restoring the American dream*; overview and family chapter, at least (<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2015/12/aei-brookings-poverty-report/full-report.pdf>)

Isabel Sawhill and Edward Rodrigue. "An Agenda for Reducing Poverty and Improving Opportunity", Brookings Institution, 2015, also at <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2015/11/campaign-2016-presidential-candidates-poverty-and-opportunity>

Timothy M. Smeeding, Julia B. Isaacs, Katherine A. Thornton. 2015. Wisconsin Poverty Report (Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin-Madison) <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/research/WisconsinPoverty/pdfs/WI-PovertyReport2014.pdf>

More references post meeting

- Smeeding, Timothy. 2016. "Gates, Gaps, and Intergenerational Mobility: The Importance of an Even Start", in H. Braun and I. Kirsch, eds. *The Dynamics of Opportunity in America: Evidence and Perspectives*, Springer, January 27 . www.springer.com/us/book/9783319259895
- Haveman, Robert, Rebecca Blank, Robert Moffitt, Timothy Smeeding, and Geoffrey Wallace. 2015. "The War on Poverty: Measurement, Trends, and Policy", *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Summer, Volume 34,3, Summer 593–638

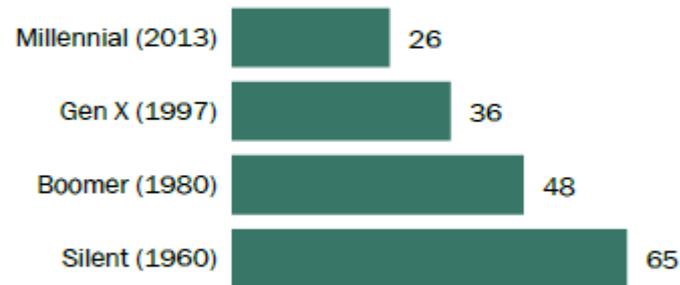
Strange bedfellows on falling marriage rates amongst younger white Americans

- **Cherlin, Andrew J.** 2014. *Labor's Love Lost: The Rise and Fall of the Working-Class Family in America* (NY, Russell Sage Press)
- **Murray, Charles.** 2013. *Coming Apart : The State of White America, 1960-2010* (NY: Crown Forum/Random House)
- **Putnam, Robert.** 2015. *OUR KIDS: The American Dream in Crisis* (NY Simon & Schuster)

Extra slide on declining marriage

The Decline in Marriage Among the Young

% married at age 18 to 32, by generation



Source: Data from 1980, 1997 and 2013 are from the March Current Population Survey; 1960 data are from the 1960 Census

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