THE POSITIVE EFFECTS OF MARRIAGE:
A BOOK OF CHARTS

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THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

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INTRODUCTION

As social science research data and government surveys increasingly show, the decline in marriage since the 1960s has been accompanied by a rise in a number of serious social problems. Children born out of wedlock or whose parents divorce are much more likely to experience poverty, abuse, and behavioral and emotional problems, have lower academic achievement, and use drugs more often. Single mothers are much more likely to be victims of domestic violence. With the rise in these problems comes high program costs to deal with the effects of the breakdown of marriage.

For children whose parents remain married, however, the benefits are real. Adolescents from these families have been found to have better health and are less likely to be depressed, are less likely to repeat a grade in school, and have fewer developmental problems. The implications of such mounting evidence for social policy are immense. Too many welfare programs continue to undermine marriage among the poor and must be reevaluated.

The following charts, based on the government surveys and independent studies listed in Appendix A, are offered to policymakers and decisionmakers to aid in their discussions of pro-marriage policies. They are presented in sections that highlight both the decline of marriage and its effects on children and adults compared with the numerous benefits that marriage offers. An explanation of the data source for each chart and a list of additional resources for more information and analysis of the issues raised in these charts may be found in the appendices.

Questions about these charts should be directed to the authors at The Heritage Foundation, at (202) 546-4400.
THE DECLINE OF MARRIAGE
Out-of-wedlock births were 7 percent of all births at the beginning of the War on Poverty in the mid-1960s, but have risen to 33 percent today.

Note: *1968–1996 data represent black births; 1940–1968 data represent very similar figures for non-white births.

Source: Centers for Disease Control, National Center for Health Statistics, Division of Vital Statistics.
Only 45 percent of all teenage children (ages 13–18) live with their married biological father and mother. Some 25 percent live in married two-parent families where one parent is a stepparent. Some 24 percent of teenagers live in various types of single-parent households. Almost 7 percent live either with their cohabiting unmarried biological parents or with a parent cohabiting with a boyfriend or girlfriend.

THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF MARRIAGE
Chart 3. Child Poverty by Birth Status

**CHILD POVERTY DRAMATICALLY INCREASES OUTSIDE OF INTACT MARRIAGES**

This chart divides children into four categories: Within Wedlock, Marriage Intact—children born to married parents who remained married after the birth; Within Wedlock, Subsequent Divorce—children born to married parents who later divorce; Out-of-Wedlock, Subsequent Marriage—children born out of wedlock whose mothers marry after the birth; Out-of-Wedlock, Never-Married Mother—children born out of wedlock whose mothers never married after the child’s birth. The chart shows the average percent of a child’s life spent in poverty in each category.

A child born and raised outside of marriage will spend an average of 51 percent of his childhood in poverty. By contrast, a child born and raised by both parents in an intact marriage will spend on average only 7 percent of his childhood in poverty. A child raised by a never-married mother is more than 7 times more likely to be poor than a child raised in an intact marriage.

Chart 4. Child Poverty by Family Structure

**MOST POOR CHILDREN RESIDE IN SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES**

Children residing in single-parent families comprise 27 percent of all American children. However, children in single-parent families are 62 percent of all poor children.

NEARLY 80 PERCENT OF ALL CHILDREN SUFFERING LONG-TERM POVERTY COME FROM BROKEN OR NEVER-MARRIED FAMILIES

This chart shows the percent of all children who experience long-term poverty in each of four categories: Within Wedlock/Marriage Intact—children born to married parents who remain married through the child’s life; Within Wedlock/Subsequent Divorce—children born to married parents who later divorce; Out-of-Wedlock/Subsequent Marriage—children born outside marriage whose mothers marry after birth; and Out-of-Wedlock/Never-Married Mother—children born outside marriage whose mother has never married.

For the purposes of this chart, a child in long-term poverty is defined as a child who has been poor for at least half of the years since birth. (The analysis is restricted to children over age 4, since for younger children it is difficult to separate long- and short-term poverty.) Of all children who experience long-term poverty, 31.9 percent come from families of never-married mothers; another 22.7 percent are children born out of wedlock whose mother has subsequently married; and 23.3 percent were born inside wedlock to parents who later divorced. Overall, 77.9 percent of all children suffering from long-term poverty come from broken or never-married families. Only 22.1 percent of children experiencing long-term poverty come from intact married families.

The median annual income of parents who are in an intact first marriage is $41,000. By contrast, the annual median income of cohabiting couples with children is $33,000, and the annual median income of never-married mothers is only $15,000.

THE EFFECTS OF MARRIAGE ON WELFARE
Chart 7. Welfare Dependence by Birth Status

**WELFARE DEPENDENCE DRAMATICALLY INCREASES OUTSIDE OF MARRIAGE**

This chart divides children into four categories: Within Wedlock, Marriage Intact—children born to married parents who remained married after the birth; Within Wedlock, Subsequent Divorce—children born to married parents who later divorce; Out-of-Wedlock, Subsequent Marriage—children born out of wedlock whose mothers marry after the birth; Out-of-Wedlock, Never-Married Mother—children born out of wedlock whose mothers never marry after the child’s birth. The chart shows the average percent of a child’s life spent on welfare in each category.

An average child born and raised outside marriage will receive some type of means-tested welfare aid (AFDC; food stamps; Medicaid; Women, Infants, and Children [WIC] food subsidy; or Supplemental Security Income [SSI]) during 71 percent of his childhood. By contrast, an average child born and raised by both parents in an intact marriage will receive welfare during 12 percent of his childhood years.

In fiscal year 2000, federal and state governments spent $199.6 billion in means-tested welfare aid to families with children. This means-tested aid includes programs such as Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), public housing, food stamps, Medicaid, WIC food program, SSI, and dozens of other programs. Of the total means-tested aid to children of $199.6 billion, some $148 billion (or 74 percent) went to children in single-parent families.

Note: *Includes a small amount of funding that went to children with no parents.

Source: Heritage analysis of data from various government sources; data available upon request.
RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN MARRIAGE
Black children are two and a half times more likely to live in poverty than are white children. A major factor in the higher rates of black child poverty is the fact that black children are almost three times more likely to live in single-parent families. Since single-parent families (irrespective of race) are much more likely to be poor, the higher level of single parenthood among blacks is a major factor behind the higher levels of black child poverty.

MUCH OF THE DIFFERENCE IN BLACK AND WHITE CHILD POVERTY IS DUE TO DIFFERENCES IN MARRIAGE

Most of the difference in black and white child poverty can be explained by the lower rate of marriage among blacks. Some 7.8 percent of white children in married-couple families live in poverty, compared with 8.2 percent among blacks. By contrast, the poverty rate among children in single-mother families is 32.9 percent among whites and 49.4 percent among blacks. Black children are more likely to be poor because they are almost three times more likely to live in poverty-prone, single-parent families. A second important factor contributing to higher black child poverty is that black single mothers are more likely to be on welfare than are white single mothers.

MARRIAGE AND ABORTION
Abortion in America is tightly linked to the decline of marriage and the increase in sexual activity outside of marriage. About 5.5 million pregnancies occur in the United States each year; nearly half (45.8 percent) of these pregnancies are to non-married women. Surprisingly, the pregnancy rate among never-married women is virtually the same as for married women. However, while women have similar pregnancy rates, they differ greatly in whether the pregnancy results in the birth of a child. Nearly half of the pregnancies of non-married women end in abortion, compared with only 11 percent among married women. This difference in the abortion rate means that more than three-quarters of abortions occur to non-married women.

NON-MARRIED WOMEN ACCOUNT FOR 80 PERCENT OF ALL ABORTIONS

Abortions to Married Women 19%
Abortions Outside of Marriage 81%

The erosion of marriage is a critical factor behind the rise of abortion. More than four out of five abortions occur to non-married women.

THE EFFECTS OF MARRIAGE ON ADULTS
Mothers with children who have married (including those who are currently married as well as those who are divorced and separated) are half as likely to experience domestic violence by an intimate as are mothers with children who have never been married. Each year, 1.5 percent of currently married, divorced, or separated mothers are abused by their spouse or former spouse. By contrast, 3.3 percent of mothers who have never married are abused by a boyfriend or partner.

Note: Domestic violence is being the victim of rape/sexual assault, robbery, assault, or aggravated assault by a boyfriend or girlfriend or spouse or by an ex-boyfriend, ex-girlfriend, or ex-spouse. These data are limited to mothers with children under age 12; mothers with older children cannot be identified separately in the survey.

Married people are more than twice as likely to be happy.

The General Social Survey regularly asks adults whether they are “very happy,” “pretty happy,” or “not too happy.” Married persons are twice as likely to report being very happy when compared with divorced or never-married adults.

Divorced and separated adults are more than two and a half times more likely to attempt suicide than are currently married adults.

THE EFFECTS OF MARRIAGE ON CHILDREN
SERIOUS CHILD ABUSE IS LESS LIKELY IN MARRIED FAMILIES

A child living alone with a single mother is 14 times more likely to suffer serious physical abuse than is a child living with both biological parents united in marriage. A child whose mother cohabits with a man who is not the child’s father is 33 times more likely to suffer serious physical child abuse than is a child living with both biological parents in an intact marriage.

An adult raised in a single-mother home is twice as likely to serve jail time as an adult raised by always-married biological parents. Adults raised in stepfamilies are three times more likely to spend time in jail than are adults from intact married families. Adults raised with fathers and stepmothers are almost four times more likely to go to jail than are those raised by biological parents who were married to each other.

Adolescents in married families are less likely to be depressed.

Adolescents who grew up with both parents in an intact marriage are the least likely to report feeling sad. Adolescents of single, never-married mothers are almost twice as likely to report sadness as are adolescents of intact married parents.

Children from divorced families are almost twice as likely to be expelled from school as are children from intact married families. Children of single, never-married parents are more than four times more likely to be expelled.

Children in intact married families are less likely to repeat a grade

Children of divorced mothers and children in stepfamilies are almost twice as likely to fail in school and repeat a grade when compared with children raised by both biological parents in an intact marriage. Children raised by a never-married mother are more than twice as likely to repeat a grade when compared with children raised in intact marriages.

Children of single-parent families have significantly more developmental and behavior problems than do children in two-parent families. Children in single-parent families are almost twice as likely to be in the lower half of their class at school, compared with those in two-parent families. Children in two-parent families experience almost half the developmental delay that children in single-parent families face. Children in single-parent families have more than twice the emotional and behavioral problems compared with children in two-parent families.

Source: Heritage analysis based on Nicholas Zill, National Health Interview Survey, Child Health Supplement, 1981. This supplement is no longer produced.
**Children from Divorced Families Are More Likely to Have Behavior Problems**

Children from divorced families have significantly more behavioral problems than do children from two-parent families. For example, 4.7 percent of children from divorced families have stolen something from a store, compared with 1.4 percent from intact married families.

**Source:** National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1996.
ADOLESCENT MARIJUANA USE IS MORE COMMON IN BROKEN FAMILIES

Adolescents of married parents use marijuana the least. Adolescents from divorced backgrounds are almost twice as likely to report marijuana use as are children raised in intact married families.

Adolescent cocaine use is much more common in broken families.

Adolescents from divorced backgrounds are almost twice as likely to use cocaine as are children raised in intact married families. The rate of cocaine use among adolescents raised by never-married mothers is even higher.

WEAPON-CARRYING BY ADOLESCENTS ON DRUGS IS MORE COMMON IN BROKEN FAMILIES

Really dangerous adolescents are much more likely to come from broken families. Adolescents from divorced or never-married families who are using drugs are almost three times more likely to carry weapons while using drugs.

Adolescents living in divorced families are 30 percent more likely to have experimented with cigarettes than are adolescents with two biological parents in intact married families. Sixty-six percent of adolescents with divorced parents have tried cigarettes, while 50 percent of adolescents with married biological parents have tried smoking.

Adolescents raised by both parents in intact marriages have the best health. Adolescents from divorced or never-married families are twice as likely to report poor health as are adolescents raised in intact married families.

Adolescent children from intact married families are least likely to be sexually active as teenagers.

Note: The data show the sexual activity rates of youth aged 14 to 18.

Adolescents from broken families are twice as likely to look favorably on having children out of wedlock.

Adolescents were asked the following question in a national survey: “Regardless of whether you have ever had a child, would you consider having a child in the future as an unmarried person?” Adolescents from married families are least likely to be willing to have children outside of marriage.

APPENDIX A
EXPLANATION OF DATA SOURCES

Chart 1. “Out-of-Wedlock Births Have Risen to a Third of All Births.” Source: Centers for Disease Control, National Center for Health Statistics, Division of Vital Statistics, various years.


Chart 3. “Child Poverty Dramatically Increases Outside of Intact Marriages.” Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1979–96, a survey of a nationally representative sample of 12,686 young men and women who were 14 to 22 years of age when they were first surveyed in 1979. The survey, funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, interviewed these individuals annually through 1994; they are now interviewed on a biennial basis. A key feature of this survey is that it gathers information in an event history format—dates are collected for the beginning and ending of important life events. See http://www.bls.gov/nls/nlsy79.htm.


Chart 13. “Married Mothers Are Half as Likely to Be Victims of Domestic Violence.” Source: U.S. Department of Justice, *National Crime Victimization Survey*, 1999, an ongoing survey of a nationally representative sample of residential addresses. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), previously called the National Crime Survey (NCS), has been collecting data on personal and household victimization since 1973. It is administered by the U.S. Census Bureau on behalf of the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The findings are offered in a comprehensive database of crime incidents that includes both those reported to police and others not reported to the police. See [http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/NACJD/SDA/ncvs.html](http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/NACJD/SDA/ncvs.html).

Domestic violence is determined as rape/sexual assault, robbery, assault, or aggravated assault by a boyfriend or girlfriend or spouse or ex-boyfriend, -girlfriend, or -spouse. For the purposes of this chart, the term mother with children refers to women over the age of 20 with children under age 12. Limitations in the survey do not permit identification of mothers who have children aged 13 to 18, but no younger children. There is no reason to believe the data on violence would be altered if younger mothers and mothers with older children were included.

Chart 14. “Married People Are More than Twice as Likely to Be Happy.” Source: *General Social Survey*, 1998. The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) has administered the General Social Survey (GSS) 23 times since its initial fielding in 1972, with core funding from the National Science Foundation. Every two years, a large, nationally representative cross section of 3,000 adults answer questions regarding their opinions on a wide variety of issues. See [http://www.norc.uchicago.edu/projects/gensoc.asp](http://www.norc.uchicago.edu/projects/gensoc.asp).


*The Positive Effects of Marriage: A Book of Charts*
Chart 17. “Children from Single-Parent and Broken Families Are More Likely to End Up in Jail as Adults.” Source: Cynthia Harper and Sara McLanahan, “Father Absence and Youth Incarceration,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in San Francisco, August 1998. Findings based on the NLSY, which surveyed the same nationally representative sample of individuals annually from 1979, when they were between 14 and 22 years of age, until 1992 and every two years after that.

Chart 18. “Adolescents in Married Families Are Less Likely to Be Depressed.” Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health, Wave II, 1996. The National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health is a school-based study of the health-related behaviors of adolescents in grades 7–12. It has been designed to explore the causes of behaviors, with an emphasis on the influence of social context. It is funded by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) and 17 other federal agencies. The survey was conducted in two waves. The first survey (“Wave I”) was conducted between September 1994 through December 1995, the second (“Wave II”) from April through August 1996. A third survey (“Wave III”) was fielded in late 2000 and 2001 but is not yet available. See http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth/.


Chart 21. “Development Problems Are Less Common in Two-Parent Families.” Source: Nicholas Zill, National Health Interview Survey, Child Health Supplement 1981. The National Health Interview Survey has been conducted annually since 1957. It covers the civilian, non-institutional population of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. The 1981 Child Health Supplement gathered additional information for one child, aged 0–17, in each family having children in that cohort; 15,416 children were included in the 1981 Supplement. The Child Health Supplement is no longer produced. Data on child health are now part of the annual NHIS. Heritage analysis of these data forthcoming.


The Positive Effects of Marriage: A Book of Charts


APPENDIX B
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

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