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| Teenage childbearing and its |
| life cycle consequences |
| Hotz, McElroy and Sanders |
|  |

## Teenage pregnancy (1990)

- About 4 million children born in 1990, $1 / 8$ are to teen mothers
- $12 \%$ teen women get pregnant/year
- 35-40\% of teen women become pregnant before the age of 20
- $25 \%$ will be a mother by age 20
- $17 \%$ of teens will get pregnant during their $1^{\text {st }}$ non-marital intercourse
- $6 \%$ of teen women, aged 15-19 give birth in a given year


## Some trends in words

- Teen birth rates have changed considerably over time
- Most of these births are out of wedlock dramatically between 1990 and 2002
$-40 \%$ for black teens
$-34 \%$ for whites
- Between 1988-2000, teenage pregnancy rates declined in every state and in the District of Columbia.

- The teenage birthrate in 2002 was $30 \%$ lower than the peak rate of 61.8 births per 1,000 women, reached in 1991.
- By 2002, the teenage abortion rate had dropped by $50 \%$ from its peak in 1988 .
- From 1986 to 2002, the proportion of teenage pregnancies ending in abortion declined more than one-quarter from $46 \%$ to $34 \%$ of pregnancies among 15-19-year-olds.


## In 2000

- States with highest teen birthrate: MS, TX, AZ, AR, NM
- Lowest :NH, VT, VT, MA, ND, and ME
- Teenage abortion rates were highest in the DC, NJ, MD, NV, CA
- Lowest in ND, SD, KY and UT







## Are poor economic outcomes 'caused' by early childbearing?

- Teen mothers are not a random sample of the population
- Teen mothers are more likely to come from situations that would predict poorer economic outcomes anyway
- Teen mothers are
- Twice as likely to not complete high school
- $90 \%$ less likely to attend college
- At age 28 - teen mothers
- $50 \%$ more likely to be on poverty in their 20s
- Have lower wages
- Have more children
- Have lower labor supply
- Less likely to be married


## Outcomes of teen mothers

- Bill Clinton's State of the Union Address,
- Bill Clinton's State of the Union Address,
1995
- "We've got to ask our community leaders and all kinds of organizations to help us stop our most serious social problem: the epidemic of teen pregnancies and births where there is no marriage. "


| Dep. Var:Gave Birth by Age 20(1) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Born to Mom < 20 (col. 1\&2) or 18 (col. 3\&4) | $\begin{gathered} 0.250 \\ (0.041) \end{gathered}$ | --- |  |
| Born to Mom < 20 (col. 1\&2) or 18 (col. 3\&4) | $\begin{gathered} 0.014 \\ (0.045) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.001 \\ & (0.049) \end{aligned}$ |  |
| Born to Single Mom | $\begin{gathered} 0.186 \\ (0.031) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.092 \\ (0.037) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Born to Mom < HS grad | $\begin{gathered} 0.198 \\ (0.030) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.191 \\ (0.033) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Born into Poverty | $\begin{aligned} & 0.075 \\ & (0.041) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.112 \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Age 15 - Not living w/ married parents | - | $\begin{gathered} 0.112 \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Age 15 - Living in poverty | - | $\begin{gathered} 0.093 \\ (0.068) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| constant | $\begin{gathered} 0.138 \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.112 \\ (0.017) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| sample size Adjusted $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1,213 \\ & 0.116 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1,022 \\ & 0.117 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 22 |

- On average, teen mothers are more likely to come from:
- families with lower income and education
- poorer neighborhoods and lower quality schools
- Families with a teen mother

Table 1
Background Characteristics of Teenage Mothers and Women Who Delayed Childbearing until after Age 18

- Have Lower test scores
- Racial and ethnic minorities

|  | Teenage Mothers |  |  |  | Not Teenage Mothers |  |
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- Consider an alternative explanation of results
- Women with lowest opportunity cost of having children have more children
- Women from poorer backgrounds have lower opportunity cost of having children because they have lower economic prospects
- In this example, teen motherhood does not 'cause' poor outcomes, but instead, is a signal of the same problem - poor future prospects


## Natural experiment

- If this were a clinical setting - could determine long run consequences of teen motherhood through an experiment
- Randomly assign babies to teens and follow the families over time
- Problem - would not pass human subjects review!!!
- Solution - natural experiment
- Find something that acts like a random assignment clinical trial - randomly assigns higher or lower birth probability to a women


## Examples of natural experiments in this case

- Abortion reform
- Abortion became available in 1970 in CA and NY (and some other states)
- Compare women who turned 19 before 1970 in CA and NY with women who turned 19 by 1973
- One was exposed to abortion (and had lower birth rates) the other group was not
- Heat waves
- High summer temperatures reduce fertility
- Decrease sexual activity
- Decrease sperm counts
- Increase miscarriage rates
- Some teens are more exposed to high summer temperatures
- The ones who are are a treatment - lower births


## This paper

- Miscarriages as an experiment
- Miscarriages are mostly random -determined by genetic malformation
- Take a sample of teen women who all get pregnant
- Some miscarriage (treatment)
- Some do not (control)
- All women in the survey are 'representative' of women who get pregnant during teen years
- If teen motherhood is bad economically, we would expect to find better outcomes for women whose teen pregnancy was halted by a miscarriage
- The test has the ability to reject the null


