Red Families v. Blue Families

Class, Culture, and Law

June Carbone
Red States v. Blue States

- Red families: control of sexuality, emphasis on abstinence, younger marriage and childbearing, higher rates of divorce, remarriage, and fertility
- Blue families: control of childbearing, deregulation of sexuality, emphasis on maturity, later ages of marriage, lower rates of divorce, greater tolerance and equality
A few slides that graphically show the differences:
A Class-Based Morality Tale?

- Did College Educated Women “Win” The Sex Revolution?

- Top ¼ of women by education:
  - Single parents: 7%
  - Divorce rate: 17%
  - Same as early 60’s
  - Family income has doubled since 1970
  - The only group whose marriage rates have increased
Figure 4. Trends in Divorce During the First 10 Years of Marriage for Marriage Cohorts, 1960–1964 to 1985–1989

Figure 3. Trends in Single Motherhood, 1960 to 2000

Note: Single motherhood is defined as not being married or not living with a spouse.

Figure 2. Trends in Mothers’ Employment, 1960 to 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Low education</th>
<th>Middle education</th>
<th>High education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Employment is defined as working at least 27 weeks per year for 15 hours per week.

Figure 6. Trends in Median Family Income, 1960 to 2000

Source: PUMS (1960-2000).
Figure 1. Trends in Mothers' Median Age, 1960 to 2000

- Low education
- Middle education
- High education

Note: Low education includes mothers in the bottom education quartile, middle education includes mothers in the middle two education quartiles, and high education includes mothers in the top education quartile.

Or Do We Have a Regionally Based Tale?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>-------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RI</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJ</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lowest Age of First Birth

- National Average: 24.9
- Mississippi (22.5)
- Arkansas (22.7)
- Louisiana and New Mexico (23.0)
- Oklahoma (23.1)
- Wyoming (23.2)
- FYI -- Alaska (24.1)
Highest Age at First Birth

- National average: 24.9
- Massachusetts (27.8)
- Connecticut (27.2)
- New Jersey (27.1)
- New Hampshire (26.7)
- New York (26.4)
QuickStats
FROM THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR HEALTH STATISTICS

Average Age of Mothers at First Birth, by State — United States, 2002
82% of teen births are non-marital (2004)

- **Lowest**
  - Idaho, 64%
  - Utah, 66%
  - Texas, 73%
  - Colorado, Kentucky, and Wyoming (74%)
  - Most Rep.: UT, WY, ID

- **Highest**
  - Massachusetts (92%)
  - Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island (91%)
  - Connecticut and Maryland (90%)
Race and Teen Births

- Texas, Arizona and New Mexico: more than half of teen births were to Hispanics
- Whites only: the top teen birth rates: Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Louisiana
- States increasing Rep. vote from 2004 to 2008: Ark., LA, TN, OK, WVa
Highest Divorce Rates

- Nevada
- Wyoming
- Arkansas
- Kentucky
- Mississippi
- Florida

U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States 2005-2006 93 (Table No. 117)
Lowest Divorce Rates

- Massachusetts
- Pennsylvania
- North Dakota
- Illinois
- Connecticut
Fertility rates

Highest per 1000 women
- Alaska 1,435
- Arkansas (1,418)
- Utah and Mississippi (1,393)
- South Dakota (1,368).

Lowest fertility rates
- Maryland (991)
- Vermont (1,000)
- Massachusetts (1,020)
- Maine (1,022)
- Delaware (1,023)
So what does the law have to do with changing family demographics?
Abstinence Education

- Young women living below 200% of the poverty level were more likely to receive abstinence-only instruction (or no sex education at all) than higher-income women in 2000.
- Two-thirds of white women had received instruction about contraception prior to their first sexual encounter, compared with fewer than half of their black peers.
Contraception

- Unintended pregnancy *increased* by 29% among poor women while *decreasing* 20% among higher-income women.
- Contraception rates increased in the 1990s, but dropped since 2002 due to rising nonuse among low-income women of color.
- 2006: teen pregnancies rose for the first time since 1991, and the racial group with the largest increase was black women aged 15-19.
Guttmacher, 2006

The bar chart shows the rate per 1,000 women aged 15–44 for unplanned pregnancies, abortions, and unplanned births, categorized by income levels:

- **Unplanned pregnancies**:
  - <100% of poverty: 112
  - 100–199%: 81
  - +200%: 29

- ** Abortions**:
  - <100% of poverty: 42
  - 100–199%: 36
  - +200%: 13

- **Unplanned births**:
  - <100% of poverty: 58
  - 100–199%: 35
  - +200%: 11
Rate of Abortion by Economic Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of poverty level</th>
<th>Abortion Rate (per 1,000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>≥300%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200–299%</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100–199%</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;100%</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jones et al., 2002
The 19 Blue States in 2004

6 have no parental notification laws
1 (NH) repealed its earlier law
3 (CA, IL, NJ) took no action after court injunctions
4 have broad waivers or substitute decision-makers
5 enforce relatively strict provisions
The 31 Red States in 2004

- All mandate parental involvement
- 25 have strict laws; 6 permit waivers or substitute decision-makers
- 6 have been enjoined, with 3 taking no action to reinstate law (NM, NV, MT)
Family Leave: Class Revisited

- 74% of workers whose family incomes > $100,000
- 39% of workers with incomes < $20,000
- 74% of workers with a graduate school education are covered
- 44% of workers with less than a high school education.
Parental Leave REPORT CARD

- **A-**
  - California 125
  - Hawaii 90
  - Washington DC 85
  - Oregon 85
- **B**
  - Connecticut 75
  - New Jersey 75
  - Washington 75
- **B-**
  - Maine 65
  - Vermont 65
  - Minnesota 60
  - Rhode Island 60

- **C+**
  - Massachusetts 55
  - Louisiana 50
- **C**
  - Wisconsin 35
  - New Hampshire 30
  - New York 30
  - Tennessee 30

**Source:** National Partnership for Women and Families, Expecting Better (2005)
Alabama 0
Arkansas 0
Delaware 0
Georgia 0
Idaho 0
Kansas 0
Maryland 0
Mississippi 0
Missouri 0
Nebraska 0
Nevada 0
North Carolina 0
Oklahoma 0
Pennsylvania 0
South Dakota 0
Texas 0
Virginia 0
West Virginia 0
Wyoming 0
Vicious cycles and Virtuous cycles

“Perhaps it might work”,
“Perhaps, if I try a different method.”

Depression → Weak Attempts, Inactivity → Giving Up
Poor Results, Failure, Negative Results

Confidence → Strong Attempts, Pro-activeness
Success, Good Results, Rewards, Goals Achieved

“PERHAPS”