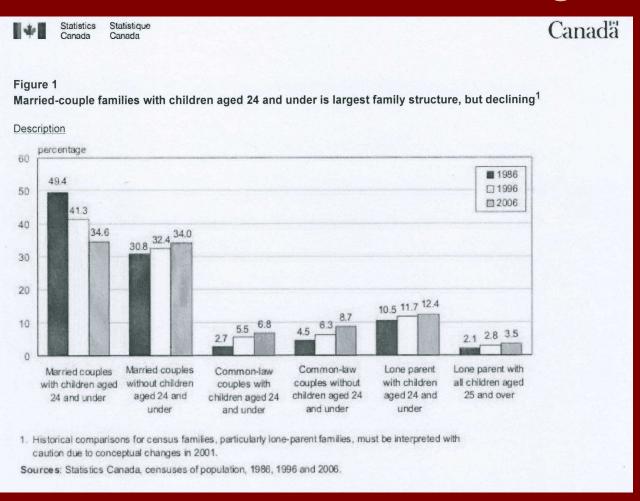
# Myths of Cohabitaton and Marriage

Presentation by Dr. Jennifer Roback Morse Institute for Marriage and Family, Canada September 27, 2007 Ottawa, Canada

# Trends in Canadian Cohabitation

- The proportion of common-law families, rose to 15.5% in 2006,
  - from 13.8% five years ago,
  - 7.2 two decades ago.
- The proportion of lone-parent families rose to 15.9% from 15.7% in 2001 and 12.7 two decades ago.

# Figure 1: married couple families with children, declining.



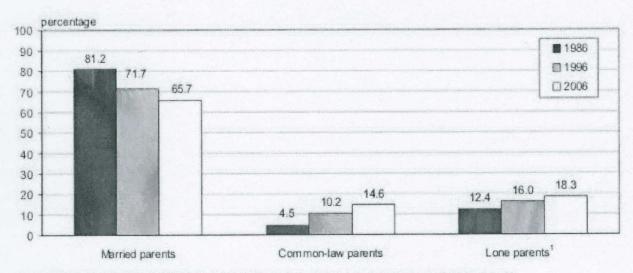
# Figure 13: Proportion of children under 14 living with married parents continues to decrease.

Statistics Statistique Canada

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Figure 13
Proportion of children aged 14 and under living with married parents continues to decrease

Description



 Historical comparisons for census families, particularly lone-parent families, must be interpreted with caution due to conceptual changes in 2001.

Note: For each census year, 2.1% or a smaller percentage of children are counted in the 'other' category. Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1986, 1996 and 2006.

### Myths of Marriage, Marriage is Bad Because:

- Women can be trapped in dangerous and abusive marriages.
- Marriage is an emotional trap.
- Marriage is too much financial responsibility.

#### Cohabitation is Good Because:

- We'll figure out if we are compatible.
- We'll avoid divorce if we find that we aren't compatible.
- We'll have a better marriage in the end.

### Implicit Theory:

- Marriage is just a piece of paper.
- Marriage is just a contract between consenting adults. We can make any agreement we want.

### Three topics:

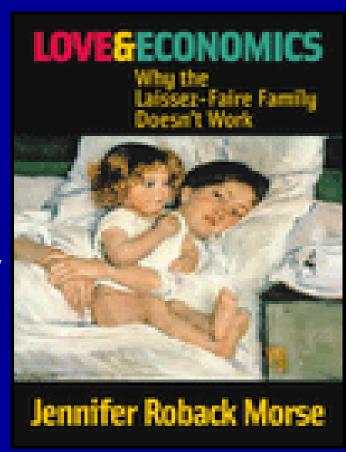
- Examine the implicit theory of marriage.
- Explode the myths of cohabitation and marriage.
- Explore why cohabitation is so disapppointing.

### Understanding Marriage:

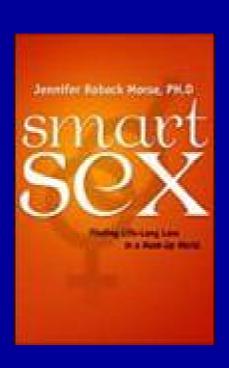
- The Theoretical, Philosophical Level
- The Public Policy Level
- The Personal, Individual Level
- Let's take a moment to look at marriage at the Philosophical level.

### **Love and Economics:**

Why the Laissez-Faire Family Doesn't Work



# Smart Sex: Finding Life-long Love in a Hook-up World



"Smart Sex" presupposes something called "Dumb Sex." How do you suppose I got to be an expert on Dumb things that Don't Work?

### My story

- Cohabiting. Bought house. Got dog.
- "married singles" life style
- Infertility
- Adoption and birth
- Needed far more cooperation than we had been used to.
- We had to unlearn what we learned while cohabiting.

# What are social institutions and why do we need them?

 Three broad sectors: the legal, political sector, the economic market sector, and the social cultural sector.

 Each sector has its own role to play, its own strengths and limitations.

# More than a collection of individuals

- Social institutions perform team production.
- Their "product" can not be easily distributed or "privatized" among the members without significant losses.
- Social institutions can have a legal identity, independently of the individuals within it, and can outlive the members.

### Marriage is a Social Institution

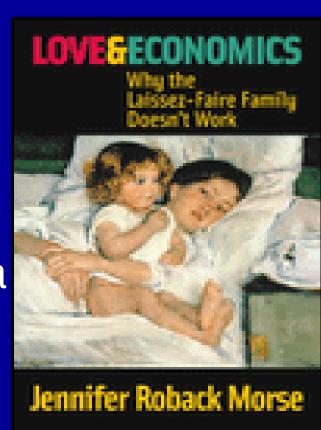
- The "production" of children is a genuine team effort.
- Men and women come together spontaneously.
- Marriage is not the creation of the state.
- Solves problems more personally than can the state or the market.
- The cooperation between mothers and fathers is the most basic unit of social cooperation.

### Marriage is more than a contract.

- Rights and responsibilities can not be fully specified.
- Life-long, not a limited term relationship.
- Contracts are not the only form of social cooperation.
- Partnership, not contract.
- Thinking contractually can undermine cooperation.

### **Love and Economics**

Chapter 4: Why Marriage is Not a Contract.



### Exploding the Myths

Modern opinion-makers have:

Over-stated the risks of marriage,

Understated the risks of cohabitation.

Cohabitation has been extensively studied.

I will give

robust general results.

recent specific results.

#### General Reference:

- "Should We Live Together? What Young Adults Need to Know about Cohabitation Before Marriage: A Comprehensive Review of Recent Research," David Popenoe and Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, (Rutgers, NJ: The National Marriage Project, 2002).
- "No positive contribution of cohabitation to marriage has ever been found."

### Get the National Marriage Project Materials on-line:

http://marriage.rutgers.edu/publications .html

http://marriage.rutgers.edu/Publication s/swlt2.pdf

### Myth: Marriage is dangerous to women and children.

 Fact: cohabitation is more dangerous to women and children than marriage.

# Domestic violence against women

- Women in cohabiting relationships are more likely to suffer physical and sexual abuse.
- Aggression: at least twice as common among cohabitors.
- Two studies, one in Canada, one in the US, found that women in cohabiting relationships are about **nine times** more likely to be killed by their partner than are women in marital relationships.

#### Child Abuse:

- Recent study (2005) of child deaths in Missouri.
- Children residing in households with unrelated adults were nearly 50 times as likely to die of inflicted injuries than children residing with 2 biological parents.

### The Boyfriend Problem:

- Children in households with a single parent and no other adults in residence had no increased risk of inflicted injury deaths.
- In households with unrelated adults, most perpetrators (84%) were the unrelated adult household member.
- Only 6.5% of perpetrators were the biological parent of the child.

### Complete reference:

 "Child Deaths Resulting from Inflicted Injuries: Household Risk Factors and Perpetrator Characteristics," Patricia G. Schnitzer, Bernard G. Ewigman,
 Pediatrics 116, no. 5, November 2005.

# Myth: marriage is an emotional trap.

- Fact: Cohabiting couples report:
  - lower levels of happiness
  - lower levels of sexual exclusivity
  - Less sexual satisfaction
  - poorer relationships with their parents
  - Greater uncertainty about the relationship

than do married couples.

### Depression

- Cohabiting women are more than three times more likely than married women to be depressed.
  - The presence of children increases the likelihood of depression among cohabiting women, but not among married women.

# Myth: Marriage is too much financial responsibility.

- Fact: Marriage is a wealth-creating institution.
- Cohabiting couples: about two-thirds of the income of married couples with children.
- Average income of male cohabiting partners: about half that of male married partners.
- Private transfer of wealth among extended family members: lower for cohabiting couples than for married couples:
  - family members are more willing to transfer wealth to "in-laws" than to mere boyfriends or girlfriends.

### Myths (Fantasies?) of Cohabitation:

- We'll figure out if we are compatible.
- We'll avoid divorce if we find that we aren't compatible.
- We'll have a better marriage in the end.

### Risks to Relationships.

- More instability within the existing relationship.
- Greater probability of divorce, if the couple does go on to marriage.
- More perceived problems.
- Attitudes that inhibit successful relationships.

### Relationship instability

- A 1992 study found that prior cohabitors are estimated to have a hazard of later marital dissolution that is 46% higher than noncohabitors.
- Serial cohabitation is particularly problematic. Some studies indicate: the effect of cohabitation on later marital instability is found only when one or both partners had previously cohabited with someone other then their spouse.

### Is it all a selection effect?

- Are those who cohabit systematically different from those who marry?
- Students want to know this!
- Early studies checked this closely.
- Demographic characteristics typically explain some, but not all, of the impact of cohabitation.

### Recent study (2003) of US Data

- Tested selection effects.
  - Are cohabitors more likely to be losers?
- Tested cohort effects.
  - Are the ill-effects of cohabitation diminishing, as cohabitation becomes more socially acceptable?

Answer to both questions: NO!

### Results: Cohort?

- Cohorts defined: those married between 1964 and 1980 (when cohabitation was less common) and those married between 1981 and 1997 (when cohabitation was more common.)
- Probability of divorce:
  - The odds of divorce were 90% higher in the more recent cohort.
  - Even holding cohort constant, cohabitors had a 151% increase in the odds of divorce.
- Whether you got married in 1964 or 1997, cohabiting still is associated
  - lower marital happiness
  - greater marital instability.

### Results: Selection Bias?

- Including race, education, income and parental divorce reduced the impact of cohabitation on happiness, conflict and later divorce, but did not eliminate it.
- Without control variables: 151% higher odds of divorce for cohabitors.
- With control variables: the odds of divorce for cohabitors were a mere 77% higher than for non-cohabitors.

### Complete Reference:

 "The Relationship between Cohabitation and Marital Quality and Stability: Change across Cohorts?" Claire M. Kamp Cush, Catherine L. Cohan, and Paul R. Amato, Journal of Marriage and Family, 65 (August 2003): 539-549.

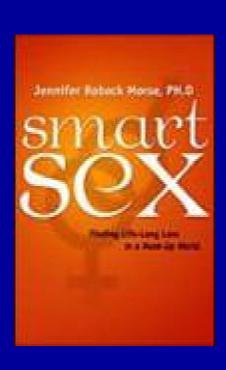
# Why is cohabitation so disappointing?

- The Oxytocin Effect.
- Poorer choice of partner.
- Learned habits.
- Why not take her for a test drive?

### The Oxytocin Effect

- Oxytocin is a hormone that promotes bonding and attachment.
- Women secrete Oxytocin during sex and lactation.
- Nature's way of building a family.
- Cohabitors are creating an "involuntary chemical commitment," which clouds their judgment about the suitability of a partner.

# Smart Sex: Finding Life-long Love in a Hook-up World



Chapter 2: "The Gift of Sex" discusses how sex creates attachment.

# Choice of partner?

People choose riskier partners when cohabiting than when marrying.

- Completing high school
- stable employment
- high earnings

are less important prerequisites for cohabiting than for marriage.

#### **Learned Behaviors**

#### Cohabitors tend to:

- Be less committed to continuing the relationship
- Be more oriented toward their own personal autonomy.
- be less motivated to develop conflict resolution and support skills.

# Among married individuals, premarital cohabitation is related to:

- less time spent together in shared activities
- higher levels of marital disagreement
- less supportive behavior
- less positive problem solving
- more reports of marital problems
- greater perceived likelihood of marital dissolution

# Cohabitation inhibits marriage skills.

- Marriage skills must be learned.
- 101 Tips for a Happier Marriage: it can be taught!
- Why NOT take her for a test drive?

#### Hazards to Children

- People are often not thinking about children when they choose to cohabit. But kids suffer from:
- Fewer economic resources.
- Relationship instability.
- Domestic violence.
- Diminished school achievement.
- Sadness, Ioneliness, lack of self-control.

# The Big "If Only"

- "If Only" cohabiting parents had as much income as married parents;
- "If Only" cohabiting mothers were depressed as infrequently as married mothers.
- "If Only" stepfathers spent as much time with kids as biological fathers.
- "If Only" cohabiting boyfriends were not as violent as married biological fathers.

### But these "if's" hardly ever hold.

- Result:
- Lower school achievement
- More sadness and loneliness for children.
- Less self-control for children.

### What should we do?

 As legislators, do not encourage cohabitation, by treating it like marriage.

- Begin constructive dialogue with:
  - Social workers
  - Family law attorneys and judges
  - Psychologists
  - Police

### Our goals:

- For children: to spend their entire childhood with their own married parents.
- For adults: life-long married love.
- For young adults: to enter into married life with hope and without fear.
- For the taxpayer: reduced expenditures on social services that compensate for loss of family.

### Love and Economics:

Why the Laissez-Faire Family
Doesn't Work
www.jennifer-roback-morse.com

