

A Publication of Michigan Family Forum

Student Test Scores Reflect Family Structure



Dear Friend:

Thank you for your interest in the work of Michigan Family Forum. We hope this report will challenge you to think about the important role that family structure plays in educational achievement.

At MFF, we know that children thrive when they have the benefit of being raised with a loving Mother and Father. Unfortunately, with over 40 percent of children currently born to unwed parents, far too many students are denied this important advantage in life.

Clearly, we can do better - both in terms of educational outcomes and healthy family formation. While there are no easy solutions to these problems, we must confront the most obvious barriers to success. One of those barriers is the lack of healthy supportive families.

As you read this report, please consider ways that we can work together (in our communities and in Lansing) to strengthen families and give our kids a better chance to succeed in school and in life. We can start by exploring strategies to increase the odds that more children will get what they need and deserve - the love and support of a Mom and Dad.

Thanks again for your interest in MFF and for taking the time to consider the findings in this report.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Brad Snavely". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Brad Snavely
Executive Director

Research for this publication was conducted by Joe Brennan, a senior in the James Madison College at Michigan State University. Joe served as primary researcher/writer. We are grateful for his work and dedication to this project.

Executive Summary

This study examines the relationship between two-parent families and a child's educational development. We also wanted to see how family income was interconnected with family structure and educational attainment. Our research is composed of two parts, a literature review and data analysis. Our findings show that both family structure and family income have a significant impact on the educational attainment of Michigan students.

Our study begins by assessing the impact a family has on children where the biological parents remain married. Past research on the subject is clear, this is the best family structure for a child's overall well-being. Furthermore, the cognitive and behavioral development of children is strongly affected by the presence of both a mother and a father.

We then address the impact that biological married families have on the educational outcomes, specifically, MEAP scores. We found that family structure not only provides the best support to a child's education, but it also impacts the wider educational community. For example, eighth grade students attending school districts with higher percentages of non-married parents, even if their own parents are married, may be negatively affected academically.

Given the data that we gathered from the American Census Bureau and the Michigan Department of Education, we were then able to see if there was a clear relationship between the percentage of two-parent families and MEAP test scores. Based upon our findings, it was clear that there is a strong correlation between the two variables.

Next, we wanted to examine how economic factors influenced this outcome. Our analysis showed a very strong correlation between family income and MEAP test scores. Based upon the existing literature, social scientists have confirmed that family structure and economic factors should be considered together when discussing the educational development of children. Neither variable should be separated from the another; the increase of non-intact family structures leads to lower incomes which in turn impacts the formation of families.

We then set out to find, given our data, what the direct relationship of family structure to MEAP test scores was when we controlled for family income. We found that even when family income was considered, the direct relationship of family structure to MEAP test scores was statistically significant; especially for 3rd grade reading MEAP scores.

Without doubt, marriage is an essential part of an educated and economically prosperous society. If we want our educational systems to place less of a burden on taxpayers, then we need to consider the role that the family plays in supporting a child's education.

Our policy recommendations to support the family in light of these findings are as follows: Promoting marriage education for couples, eliminating barriers for family and marriage counselors, tracking pre-marital education statistics, amending the no-fault divorce law, and requiring divorce effects programs for divorcing couples with minor children.

Families Matter

Living with one's married, biological mother and father is one of the greatest resources for a child's healthy development. Researchers and social scientists have undertaken countless studies to determine the positive effects that this family structure has on children and have concluded that there are no replacements to the support it provides. It cannot be stated more emphatically: the natural end of marriage and the family is children. Every society has sanctioned marriage as moral and necessary to cultivate the soul and character of individuals specifically, and the welfare of society generally. However, in modern times the value of marriage has been called into question. In 2013, only 51% of adults were married compared to 72% in 1960 (Pew, 2013). It is important to note that this statistic does not take into account the proportion of remarried couples. Thus, the percentage of adults who have remained married to their first spouse is likely to be much lower than 51%. As alternatives to marriage become culturally acceptable, evidenced by the rapid rise of divorce and sexual promiscuity outside of marriage, we are tempted to turn a blind eye to this trend. However, if we are concerned for our posterity, the importance of marriage and the family must be brought to the center stage of the policy arena.

Fathers and mothers both play irreplaceable and distinct roles in their children's lives. For instance, the presence of a father in a child's life is shown to model sexual development leading to delays in female's sexual activity (Ellis, 2003) and greater hopes for trust and intimacy in a partner for boys (Risch, Eccles, 2004). Additionally, fathers also influence the development of intelligence and problem-solving skills. For instance, children whose fathers spend time with them doing simple things such as eating meals or reading are shown to perform significantly better with their homework than students whose fathers are not available in such ways (Cooksey, Fondell, 1996). A father that is actively present in a child's life also greatly diminishes the chances of depression and anxiety in a child (Carlson, 2006). The benefits

of having a father present continues into early adulthood. For example, an adult's psychological well-being is strongly influenced by a relationship with a father independently of closeness with mothers (Amato, 1994). From the overwhelming amount of research and literature devoted to this subject it is clear that a father's presence, both for boys and girls, is a uniquely salient figure in a child's cognitive and behavioral development.

Similarly, a mother provides children with developmental advantages that a father cannot. It is proven that mothers are biologically hardwired to nurture children and can detect changes in a child, such as sickness, long before a father can (Valenza, 2008). Another important advantage that mothers give to their children is that the relationship between a child and their mother helps develop "self-regulatory behavior". That is, mothers are shown to communicate more information about problem-solving to their children at early ages which in turn encourages children to seek help and the monitoring of progress from their parents. This trend continues into the classroom where children are more likely to seek academic guidance and to believe that they are more capable of handling their school assignments if their mother has raised and encouraged them to act autonomously (Neitzel, Stright, 2003). Mothers are also key sources of moral formation in children. The disciplinary styles of mothers differ from that of fathers as mothers place a greater emphasis on rationalizing the effects of negative behavior whereas fathers are more cut and dry; showing that a line has been crossed rather than explaining why that rule was in place to begin with (Pruett, 2000). Although these are just some of the many ways that fathers and mothers independently influence the development of their children, it is clear from the literature and research available on the subject that children need both a father and a mother in order for them to excel in the classroom and mature into young adults.

It may be asked, if fathers and mothers are both important factors for a child's welfare, is it necessary that they be married? In other words, can't two-parent cohabiting families do the trick? The answer is

categorically no. In regards to whether or not marriage was a significant factor in a child's well-being, Susan Brown from Bowling Green State University showed that "Among children ages 6-11, being in a two-biological-parent cohabiting family is associated with lower levels of well-being relative to children in two-married-biological-parent families" (Brown, 2004). This study measured a child's well-being by assessing the presence of behavioral and emotional issues as well as a child's level of school engagement. The results showed that it is not sufficient for a child to merely live with their biological parents to reach their maximum level of well-being, but that it is also important that these parents be married. Why might this be? Researchers have isolated many important factors to answer this question. Of concern to many is the economic advantage that married households have over non-married cohabiting households. Cohabiting families do not have nearly as many economic resources or time available for their children as married households do (Brown 2004). Furthermore, the psychological well-being of married adults is much greater than that of other family types, "cohabitation may not be an ideal childrearing context because of the stress associated with the uncertainty

Families and Education

Given the importance of a biological two-parent family on a child's development, the relationship between family structure and a child's educational achievement is a critical one. As has been discussed above, skills such as reading and classroom participation are largely dependent upon how engaged a parent is with their child at home. The cognitive and behavioral impacts that parents have with their child inevitably carry over into a child's schooling. A large body of literature argues that being a part of a two-parent family is strongly associated with better academic achievement as opposed to other family types (Pong 1997). In addition to the cognitive and behavioral impacts of living in a biological two-parent household, children from these families also benefit from the likelihood that their parents will be more active in their schooling community. A parent's engagement with school related events and meetings, volunteer efforts, and parent teacher conference influences a child's academic achievement (Pong, 1997). Furthermore, important social networks between parents and schools are more readily made in biological two-parent families than in alternative family structures, and thus the children

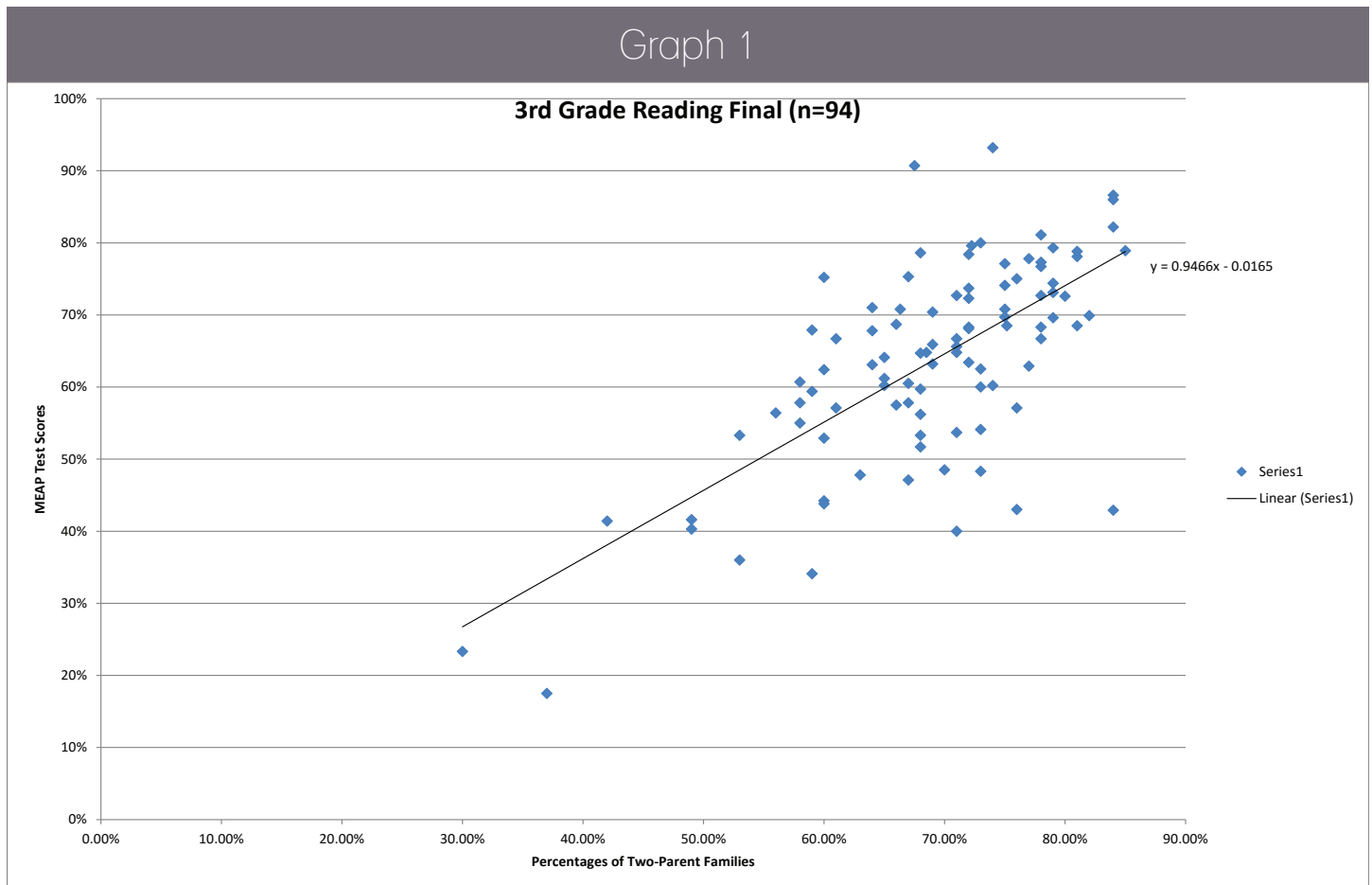
of these families are more likely to benefit academically. Furthermore the individual impacts that family structure has on students also influences the academic achievement of the wider schooling community. Perhaps one of the most startling trends is that, "attending a school with a high concentration of students from single-parent families and stepfamilies is, on average, more detrimental to a student's eight-grade achievement than is his or her living in a single-parent family or step-family" (Pong, 1997). The causes of this phenomenon are most likely that non-biological married families have less income to contribute to their educational community, and that they are also far less involved in formal and informal social networks that support schools. From these results it is clear that the effects of family structure cannot be reduced only to the children of individual families; whole communities are impacted by shifts in family structure.

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of the future of the union. Indeed, the percentage of psychologically distressed cohabiting mothers (24%) is closer to that of single unpartnered mothers (29%) than married mothers (14%)." (Brown 2004) A mother and a father living together without marriage place not only considerable stress on themselves, but also on their own child. Clearly, married households have an advantage over cohabiting households regarding child-rearing.

Veteran Michigan public school teachers reinforced the findings of studies. We were able to interview experienced elementary, middle, and high school teachers. There was considerable overlap in their assessment of the influence of family structure on children’s educational achievement, and they confirmed much of what we had speculated at the beginning of our study. That being said, one high school teacher reminded us that, “I don’t think that

reiterated that family structure was not the sole determinant in a child’s educational achievement, but that it was certainly an influential one. “There may be a few students who are gifted and are able to perform even without two-parent families, but even those students who are gifted do better with two-parents at home”. Although it was not the only factor influencing a child’s education, teachers stated that it was an important one.

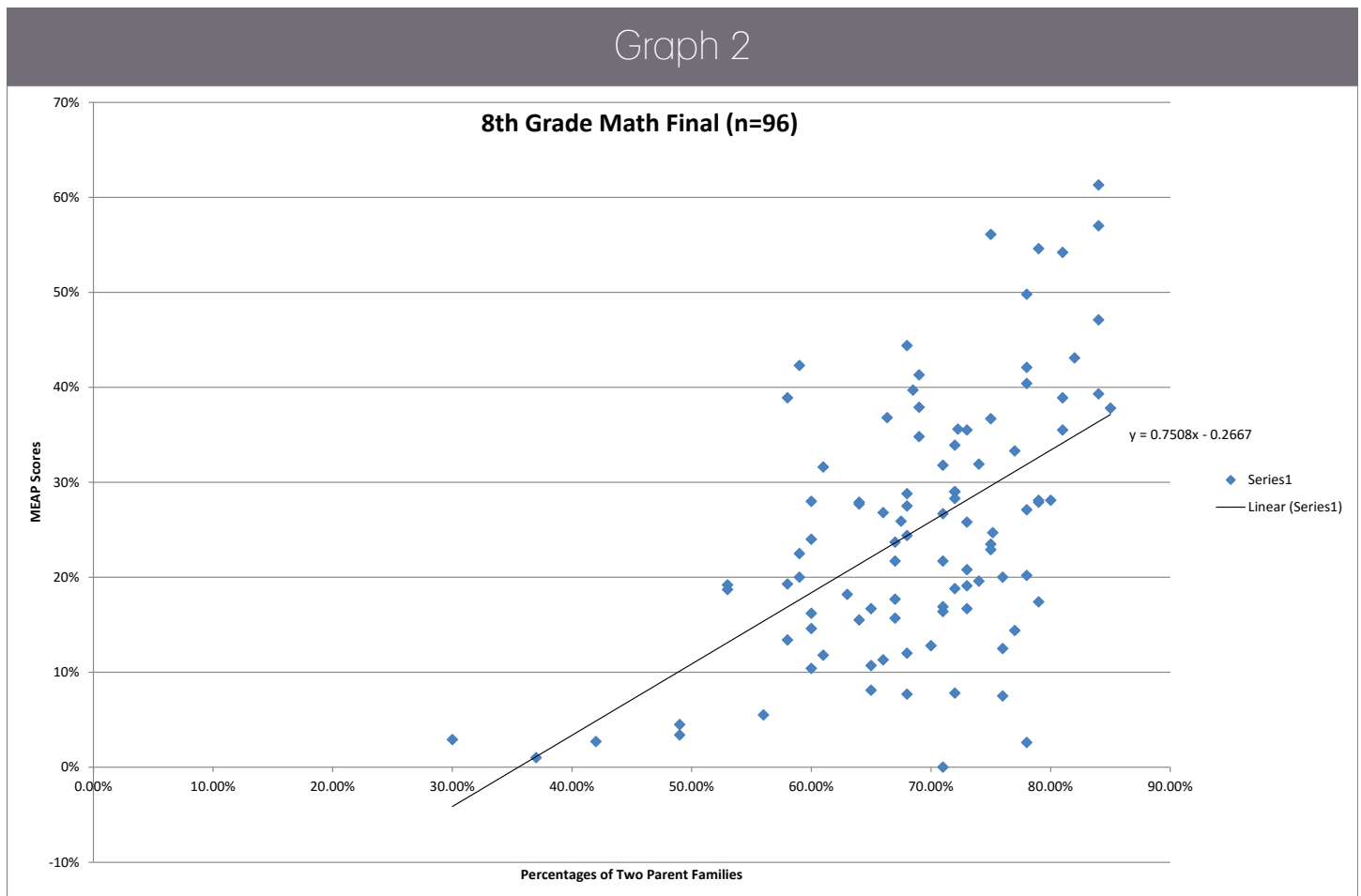


you can say definitively that all two parent families are in better shape than non-two parent families, because you can’t make a blanket statement.” She made it clear that the connection between family structure and educational achievement was by no means universal. She continued, “However, I have watched a lot of students as they’ve struggled with the divorce process, I’ve watched students who have only had one parent for whatever reason, and in general they have a harder time coping with adversity.” One elementary school teacher also

According to the educators we interviewed, two-parent families are best suited to tackle the challenges of helping a child excel in school. Citing personal experience, one teacher stated that single parents have a much harder time balancing all of the responsibilities of parenthood than two parent families. “When my husband went back to school he worked evenings and nights, and for a couple of years, “ she said. “ I felt like a single parent...I can’t imagine trying to do it on your own. It’s ridiculously hard.” From a child’s point of view, she said, the

challenges are also extremely difficult coming from a single-parent family; especially during middle school when teachers colloquially refer to their students as being “hormonally impaired.” “They don’t have the structure or security to deal with their lives being chaotic.” Teachers observed that two parents have more time available to commit to their child’s school-related activities, “Attending school events and having time to help out with homework is much easier to do with two parents.” said an elementary teacher. “If my wife is going out to do something, I need to be

and character traits that are essential for academic success. “If children are going to excel in school, it is not because they are smarter but it is going to be because of work ethic. Someone is going to have to set expectations on them from a very young age that just getting by isn’t good enough.” The disciplinary role of parents is very important in this regard. It is not enough just to allow the children to set their own educational agenda. Students require parents to inspire and motivate them, and to teach them the character traits needed for success. Said another



there to help the children. Day to day, parents help their children with being on top of things at school.” Speaking not only as teachers but also as parents, teachers know that being a part of a married couple is essential for a child’s educational success.

Another important advantage that two parent families provide to their children is the impartation of values

teacher, “Natural ability will only get you so far, but if you don’t have character traits such as honesty you won’t be prepared. Two-parent families help build in those ‘immeasurables.’ Students may be naturally smart, but if they have not had parents to teach them the right values, that natural ability will go to waste.” The benefits of two parents for instilling these values were explained, “When you are dealing

with academics, you need to have a good cop and a bad cop. You can't always be the good cop, and you can't always be the bad cop. By having two parents, you can alternate that role and the situations play out much more naturally." By having two parents engaged in disciplinary roles, a burden is taken off of both persons, making parenting far more effective. By using data from the MEAP test scores of eighth and third grade students in the year 2010, we want to discover how much of an impact family structure has had on our educational institutions.

It is apparent from the data that we gathered that there is a definite correlation between family structure and a child's educational performance. The slope of .9466 in Graph 1 means that for every percentage increase in the proportion of two-parent families in a district, that district's MEAP test scores for 3rd grade reading will increase by almost 1%. The lowest two data points, River Rouge (30% two-parent families) and Muskegon (37% two-parent families), show us how dramatic the connection between family structure and educational attainment may be.

So that we were sure that this trend was not isolated to either the 3rd grade level, or to reading, we also performed comparisons at the 8th grade level for math. Although the relationship was not as strong, there is still a clear correlation between the percentage of two parent families and 8th grade MEAP test scores. The slope of .7508 above is less than the slope for our graph with 3rd grade reading, but it is still great enough to suggest that the percentage of two-parent families has an effect on 8th grade math MEAP test scores. The highest data points on our graph, Rochester Hills (84% two parent families) and East Grand Rapids (84% two parent families), also had the highest 8th grade math scores.

Family Structure, Income, and Education: An Interwoven relationship

Some might argue that what is really important to focus on in this conversation about the family and the

educational achievement of children is not so much family structure, but rather the economic factors associated with the family. From this perspective, it is the economic resources provided by families to children that are determinative of their development (Garasky 1995). As long as a child has access to financial resources and a family with a stable income, this theory argues, that child's educational achievement will be supported to the greatest degree possible. Furthermore, from the economic perspective income is one of the main influences on whether or not parents may decide to become married in the first place. Income inequality is a major factor in rendering men unsuitable for marriage by societal standards, and by making it harder for low-skilled women to delay having children (McLanahan, Percheski, 2008). Therefore, the lower your socio-economic status, the less likely you are to be married and more likely to

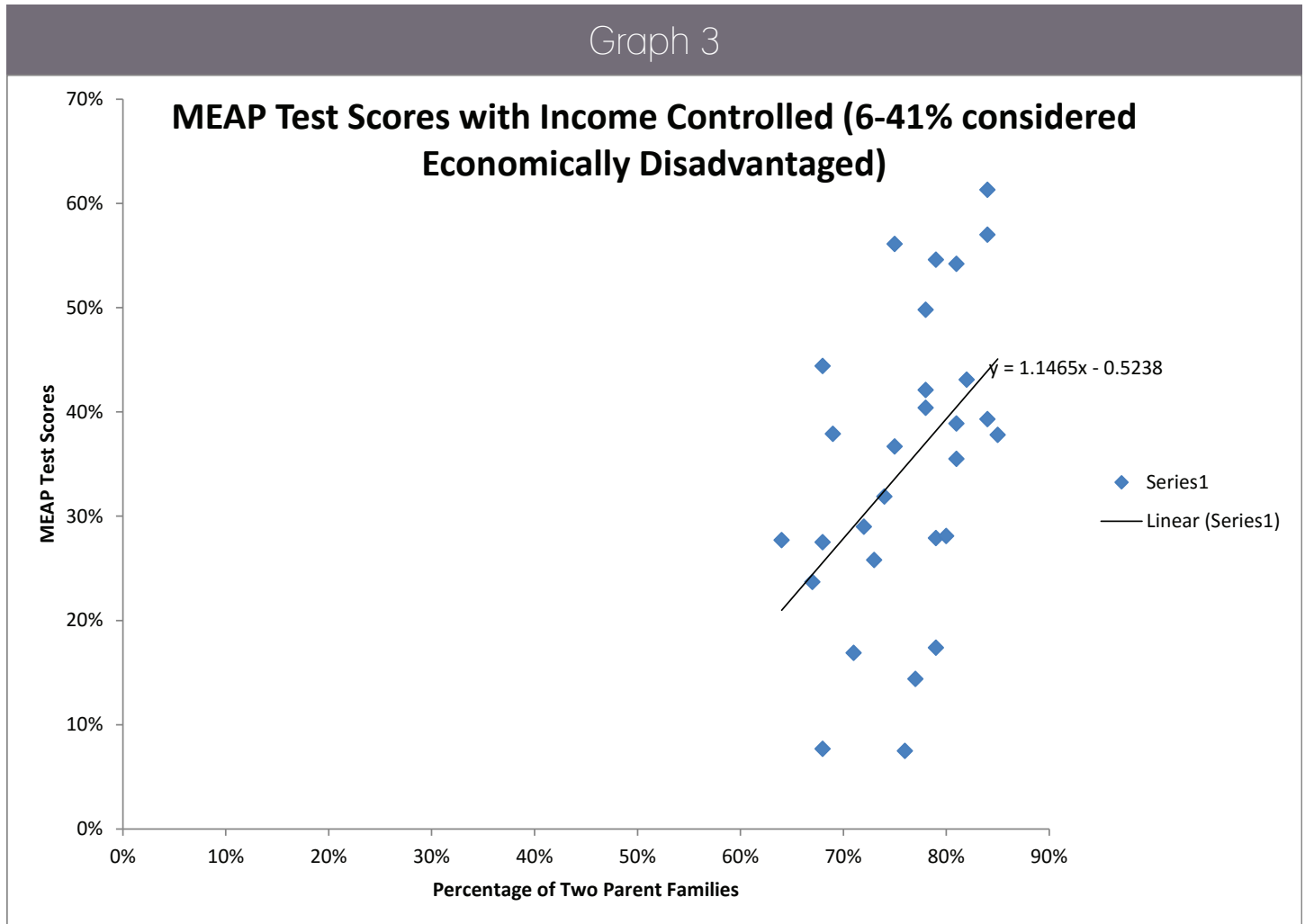
The married two-parent household provides the greatest degree of economic stability, whereas alternative family structures are subject to far more financial vulnerabilities.

pursue alternative family structures. It is undeniable that income has an effect on family structure and the ability to provide for a child, but it is also equally important to consider another perspective: how family structure influences income.

Family structure, income, and child development are intimately tied together. For instance, from an economic perspective it would seem reasonable that the addition of a stepparent would automatically increase the chances of a child's educational attainment; assuming that a step-parent would be able to provide more financial resources to that family. However, this is not the whole story. For children, the effects of living with a step-parent are also influenced by the type of family structure or which biological parent is a part of the household. Children living with their biological

mother and a step-father performed better in school than those living with their biological father and a step-mother (Garasky 1995). If all that mattered was the presence of economic and parental resources to a child's well-being, it should be expected that a child's well-being in a step family should be equal to that of

multiple transitions from different living situations place on children. If a child is raised in a single parent household, they may not have as many economic or parental resources but they may be protected from the confusion that transitioning to a stepfamily may create. Just as the child from an unmarried household



a two-parent biological household. Yet, remarriage following divorce is not a solution to providing for a child's well-being, "Children from stepfamily homes are twice as likely to have psychological, social and academic problems as are children in non-divorced families" (Kelly 2003). In one study on the life course of children born to unmarried mothers it was shown that the transition to a stepfamily from a single mother did not significantly impact the likelihood of high school graduation or seeking higher education after high school (Aquilino, 1996). The research concluded that this is the result of the stress that

may suffer from the stress of a family transition, so too a child of divorce would not necessarily benefit from the addition of another parent to the household and the economic advantages provided thereby. Thus, family structure must be considered alongside economic factors when discussing a child's educational progress.

Although income may influence family structure, it cannot be said to have a causal relationship. In an attempt to show whether or not income had a causal link on family structure, Sara McLanahan showed

that among white couples, disruption and divorce was the cause rather than the consequence of lower income. She came to this conclusion by comparing the income of families before and after divorce, and labeling those families who remained intact “stable” while labeling those families who were later divorced “unstable”. The study showed that on average, unstable families had slightly higher incomes than stable families, but that following divorce unstable families were earning around \$30,000 less than stable families (McLanahan 1999). Although the same phenomenon was not observed among the black couples that were studied, the trend for white couples is enough to dismiss the idea that income alone influences family structure.

To further complicate matters, family structure is a significant indicator of a family’s income. The married two-parent household provides the greatest degree of economic stability, whereas alternative family structures are subject to far more financial vulnerabilities. It has been estimated that 41% of the change in income inequality between the years 1976 and 2000 has been due to shifts in family structure (Martin, 2006). Next to increases in earnings inequality, changes in family structure represent the greatest source of income inequality in the United States. This inequality has a serious effect on the children of non-intact families. It is estimated that the impacts of the loss of a father’s income in a single-mother household accounts for 50% of the negative effects of this family structure on children (McLanahan 1999). The loss of an additional source of income may force a single-mother to take on another job, further constraining the amount of time that she is able to spend with her child. Problems regarding child-support are also a factor following family disruption, leading to poor financial provision for the child. However, “the lack of money affects a children’s well-being first and foremost, by limiting the quality of education to which they have access” (McLanahan 1999). Thus children coming from two-parent households, because of the economic advantages these unions provide, will undoubtedly have access to wealthier school districts and a greater

chance at upward economic mobility. Children from non-married households are more likely to be subject to economic disadvantages and to further promote income inequality. It is a sobering reality that because

...family structure did indeed have a correlation with MEAP test scores independent of economic factors.

these non-intact family structures are most common among “low-income and less educated Americans, we can think of family structure as a mechanism by which class inequality is reproduced” (McLanahan, Percheski, 2008).

In any conversation regarding the relationship of income and a child’s educational achievement, the role of family structure cannot be ignored. A recent Harvard study found that, “children who moved to lower-poverty areas when they were young (below age 13) are more likely to attend college and have substantially higher incomes as adults. These children also live in better neighborhoods themselves as adults and are less likely to become single parents themselves” (Chetty 2015). This demonstrates what might as well be called a positive feed-back loop between the family and economic stability. Two-parent families have greater financial stability and are able to give their children greater opportunities for development and educational advancement. Once these children have established themselves, they are then able to make responsible choices regarding family structure and to confer the same advantages to their children. It is not enough to just focus on either family structure, or economics, when discussing a child’s educational achievement. Both must be considered as interrelated processes if a complete picture is to be found and effective policy decisions are to be made.

Controlling for Income

In order to better understand the relationship between family structure, income, and education we decided to rerun our previous test while controlling for income. Using data from the Center for Educational Performance and Information (CEPI), we examined the percentages of students considered “Economically Disadvantaged” for the school districts we had used in our previous comparison. Students were considered economically disadvantaged if they were eligible for supplemental nutrition or they were reported as homeless or migrant.

Once this data was gathered, the percentage of disadvantaged students were divided into three groups with equal numbers of districts in each category. For each of the school districts, in each of the three categories, the relationship between the percentage of two-parent families and MEAP test scores was again compared.

Thus, to be fully committed to future generations we must pay attention to the value of marriage.

Graph 3 shows that when income is controlled for, the relationship between family structure and MEAP scores remains. This was especially true for those districts which had low levels of children considered to be “economically disadvantaged.” This is likely true because these families had fewer economic concerns than those families in districts with higher levels of “economically disadvantaged.” It is reasonable to surmise that in districts with low rates of “economically disadvantaged” students, a child’s poor academic performance would more likely be connected to other factors, such as family structure. In other control sets that we studied, the connection between family structure and MEAP test scores was not as strong but still present.

The Direct Influence of Family Structure on MEAP Test Scores

With the simple control method that we used above, we were able to show that family structure did indeed have a correlation with MEAP test scores independent of economic factors. From an academic perspective, however, this method is rudimentary and thus does not give a complete picture of the true relationship between these two variables. So that we might gain a deeper understanding of the issue, Michigan Family Forum was able to find the Partial Correlation Coefficient (PCC) between Family Structure and every subject and grade level of MEAP test scores that we had available. Stated very simply, a Partial Correlation Coefficient test provides the ability to take three interrelated variables (i.e. X, Y, and Z) and then to measure the relationship between two variables (X and Y) while eliminating the influence of the third variable (Z). In our study, the two variables

that we wanted to study were family structure and MEAP test scores, whereas the variable that we wanted to eliminate was the influence of economic factors. Family structure may very well impact test scores through its impact on economic factors, as has been argued above, but what the PCC gives us is how family structure influences MEAP test scores separately from this relationship. In short, what

are the direct effects of being part of a two-parent family on a child’s test scores regardless of financial security? After running a PCC test for our variables, we discovered that family structure did indeed have an independent relationship to Michigan students’ MEAP test scores which was most pronounced for 3rd grade reading MEAP scores. Similar to our graphs, this test showed that there was a moderate relationship between family structure and test scores when disregarding income. Given that the relationship was more pronounced for 3rd grade reading MEAP test scores, it is reasonable to suggest the following: that the presence of two parents may be more critical at younger ages rather than adolescence, and that a parent’s direct contact with their child is more important for the development of

reading skills than for math skills. Furthermore, it is important to note that the relationship between family structure and 3rd grade reading MEAP test scores was stronger than the effect of economic factors on 8th grade reading MEAP test scores once we performed a PCC test for economic factors and MEAP test scores. This was not the case for every subject and grade level. In the other grade levels and subjects, the independent effect of family income on test scores was greater than the independent effect of family structure on test scores; reinforcing the importance of including economic factors in the discussion of the factors surrounding Michigan students' academic achievement.

Conclusion: Marriage is needed for a high-functioning society

The education of our posterity is essential for economic and social stability. Unfortunately, in the rush to promote economic growth and to improve test scores, the role of family structure is often ignored. Without doubt, being a member of a two-parent married family is strongly associated with a child's educational achievement and their economic mobility. Thus, to be fully committed to future generations we must pay attention to the value of marriage. It is also important to consider the massive social costs associated with societies that neglect stable families. Jennifer Roback Morse, a scholar with the Hoover Institute, describes our current cultural view of marriage as being in a "social and legal environment in which the laissez-faire idea has been mechanically applied to sexual conduct and married life." Morse goes on to say, "In real, actually occurring societies, non-committal sexual activity results in mothers and children who require massive expenditures and interventions by a powerful government" (Morse 6). Children who cannot succeed in school because of an unstable home life inevitably incur costs to tax-payers in local school districts; not to mention the effects that this has on the other children in the classroom. If we wish to control rising governmental expenditures on education, then it would be wise to promote the stability of two-parent married families. "A free

society needs a culture that supports and sustains marriage as a normative institution for the begetting, bearing, and rearing of children" says Morse. Among its many advantages, the married family removes a financial burden from the government and an emotional burden from teachers by better supporting the child's education in the home. If we believe that education is a social value, and we know that families are indispensable to promoting this social value, then we must talk about education and the promotion of stable two-parent families at the same time.

Policy Recommendations

In light of these findings, Michigan Family Forum proposes the following:

Marriage Education

Incentives to encourage premarital education, marriage enrichment and marriage counseling should be established. These incentives can be in the form of tax credits or, in the case of premarital education, reduced waiting periods or marriage license fees. The state could require a marriage education program for individuals married by a public official.

Eliminate Barriers for Family and Marriage Counselors

Michigan law currently prohibits or hinders individuals who want to become marriage and family life counselors from participating in the profession. These barriers must be removed in order to allow service providers, specifically clergy and mental health professionals, the opportunity to assist individuals and families in need of professional family life education.

Track Pre-Marital Education Statistics

Michigan should provide a "check off" area on the marriage application, the marriage license and a petition for divorce to indicate whether or not the couple has participated in a premarital education program. This "check off" will help the state

determine whether or not premarital education is effective. It will also signal to the couple and the person officiating the wedding that the state considers premarital education important.

Amend No-Fault Divorce Law

Legislation making the divorce process a more equitable one should be enacted. A more flexible system that recognizes different family situations would allow for divorce in cases of mutual consent, in the best interests of the child or when one party acts in an egregious manner and destroys the “objects of matrimony.”

Divorce Effects Programs

Many states and municipalities require divorcing couples to attend a divorce effects program if they have minor children. This requirement recognizes that divorce can have a serious long-term impact on a child’s life. While no program can eliminate the devastation a child experiences as his family disintegrates, they can help parents minimize disruption by recognizing and addressing behaviors and fears the child may exhibit as a result of the divorce.

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Strengthening
Marriage



Caring for
Children & Elders



Encouraging
Fatherhood



Promoting
Freedom

Other Resources Available Online

- Sex Education: Rights and Responsibilities in Michigan Law
- Michigan Adoption Resource Guide
- What Every Child Needs: The Unique Contributions of Fathers and Mothers
- Family Policy Briefs
- Infant Adoption in Michigan: Reviving a Vanishing Phenomenon
- Family Health Indicators: A Survey of Michigan's Counties
- Home-based Care for Our Elders: Moving Forward

Our Core Values

- The family is the fundamental institution in a civil society.
- Healthy, lifelong marriages are beneficial to adults and offer the best environment in which to raise children and care for elders.
- The involvement of responsible fathers is essential to the economic, emotional, and social health of children.
- Children need the protection of stable families and a healthy understanding of human sexuality.
- Elders deserve to have security and care provided by loving family members in a comfortable home environment.
- Government has an important but limited role in a civil society.

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