

# ART vs Abortion: Explaining Trends in Child Adoption

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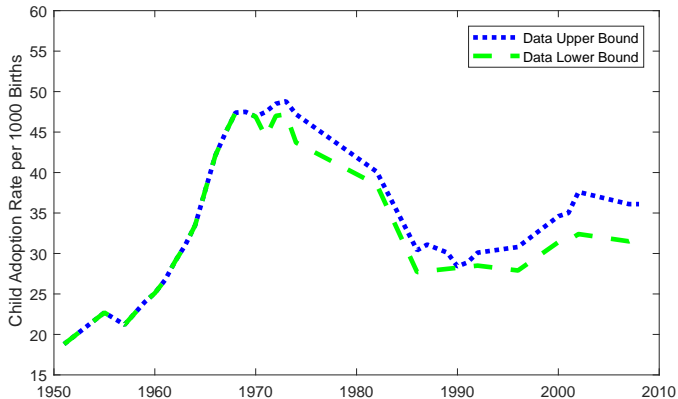
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# Motivation

Figure: Child Adoption Rate per 1000 Births



Source: Moriguchi (2012)

# Summary

## Child Adoption Rate in the US

1. Exponentially increases until 1970
2. Falls until 1990 and partially recovers after that

## This Paper:

1. Study changes in **demand** and supply side in the adoption market
2. Build a stylized model where adoption is an alternative to childbearing
3. Use this model to simulate the historical US adoption rates

## Who are Adoptive Parents?

*"[Unrelated] adoption is rare among all couples in the US, but in some subgroups it is an important means of acquiring children. ... Having adopted a child is most common among women who had never borne a child, those [with fecundity impairment], currently married and those age 30 or older. Nearly half of the women who possess all of these characteristics had adopted a child."*

C. Bachrach (*National Center for Health Statistics*)

# General Idea

## **Supply side:** (Conventional Explanation)

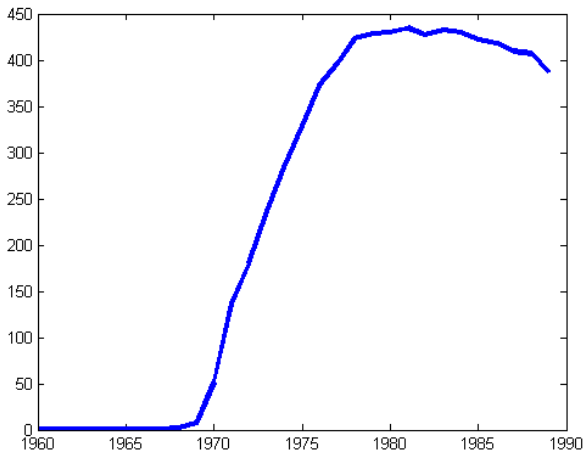
1. Early 1970s legalization of abortion decreased supply of orphans for adoption.

## **Demand side:**

2. Increasing returns to work experience motivates women to delay fertility, *ceteris paribus*, increasing demand for adoption.
3. Early 1970s various methods of Assisted Reproductive Technologies (ART) became widespread, allowing more women of older ages to have biological children, decreasing demand for adoption.

# Conventional Explanation: Abortion Legalization

Figure: Abortion Rate per 1000 Births in the U.S. 1960-1990



## Why Abortion is Not Enough?

- ▶ Abortion legalization can explain only 1970s drop but not 1960s rise in adoption.
- ▶ Adoptions are not limited by the local market, but there is no kink in the international adoptions.
- ▶ No decrease in the age at first birth among college-educated/25+ women following abortion legalization.

## Supply Side: Assisted Reproductive Technologies



Dr. Jerome K. Sherman - founder of the first in the world sperm bank in University of Iowa Hospital in 1964.

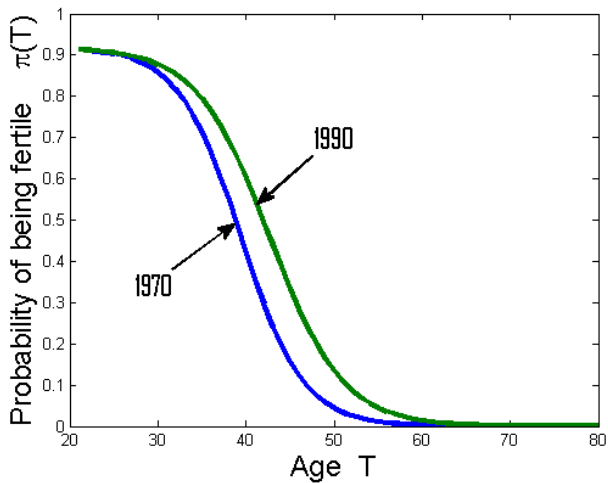


## Supply Side: Assisted Reproductive Technologies

Assisted Reproductive Technology (ART) is a group of methods used to cure infertility and achieve pregnancy.

- 1953. The first successful pregnancy from artificial insemination of frozen sperm is reported.
- **1970. Idant Laboratories — the first commercial sperm bank in the US**
- 1978. Louise Brown — the first IVF child.
- **By 1987, US doctors were performing artificial insemination on about 172,000 women per year, resulting in some 65,000 births.**

## Progress in ART



## Model

- ▶ Agent lives from time 0 — beginning of her career to time  $R$  — retirement
- ▶ Agent maximizes her expected lifetime utility by choosing  $T$  — time of child acquisition and  $\bar{K}$  — number of attempts to get a child
- ▶ All biological ( $k_b$ ) and adopted children ( $k_a$ ) are assumed to appear simultaneously in the agent's life
- ▶ Note that  $\bar{K}$  is the maximum number of children  $K = k_b + k_a$  that the agent will have if all of her conception and/or adoption attempts are successful
- ▶ Given the assumptions, agent solves:

$$\max_{T, \bar{K}} \mathbb{E}_K V(T, K) + \mathbb{E}_{k_b, k_a} U(k_b, k_a, T) \quad (1)$$

## Family Formation

- ▶  $\pi_b(T)$  — probability an agent is fertile in period  $T$   
( $\frac{\partial \pi_b(T)}{\partial T} < 0$ )
- ▶ If she fails to conceive,  $\pi_a$  — probability she adopts
- ▶ Example:  $\bar{K} = 1$ 
  - ▶ Agent ends up with a biological child with  $p_{1,0}(1) = \pi_b(T)$
  - ▶ with adopted child:  $p_{0,1}(1) = (1 - \pi_b(T))\pi_a$
  - ▶ child free:  $p_{0,0}(1) = (1 - \pi_b(T))(1 - \pi_a)$
- ▶ So by choosing  $T, \bar{K}$  agent picks probability distribution over composition and number of children

Then the expected utility agent derives from parenting is:

$$\mathbb{E}_{k_b, k_a} U(k_b, k_a, T) = \sum_{\{k_b, k_a\}: k_b + k_a \leq \bar{K}} p_{k_b, k_a}(T, \bar{K}) U(k_b, k_a, T) \quad (2)$$

where 
$$U(k_b, k_a, T) = \lambda u(k_b, R - T) + u(k_a, R - T) \quad (3)$$

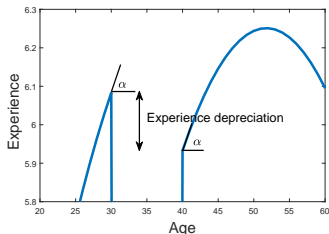
## Life-Time Earnings

- ▶ Following Olivetti (2006), the agent accumulates experience through a learning-by-doing process (i.e., current stock of experience depends on its past value and the number of hours worked in the previous period)
- ▶ While the agent is childless, she devotes all her time to work
- ▶ Time cost: fraction of time  $\tau$  per child
- ▶ Agent's earnings therefore are  $\Theta \equiv \Theta(t, 0)$  before the agent attempts to become a mother and  $\Theta \equiv \Theta(t, T, K)$  once she starts to take care of  $K$  children.

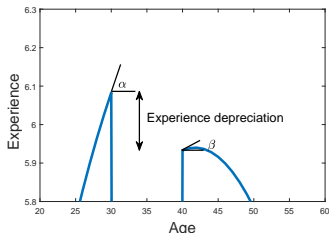
Present value of life-time earnings:

$$\mathbb{E}_K V(T, K) = \sum_{t=1}^T \beta^t v(\Theta(t, 0)) + \sum_{K=0}^{\bar{K}} P_K(T, \bar{K}) \left[ \sum_{t=T+1}^R \beta^t v(\Theta(t, T, K)) \right] \quad (4)$$

# Benefit of Fertility Delay

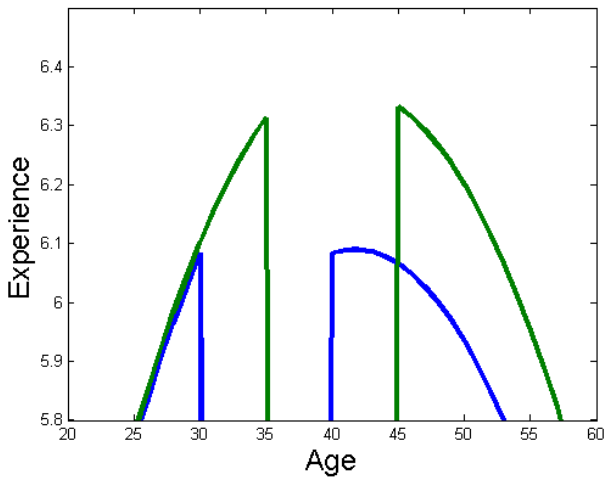


(a) Tenure-Specific Process à la Mincer



(b) Age-Specific Process à la Olivetti

## Benefit of Fertility Delay



## Simulation of Historical Trends

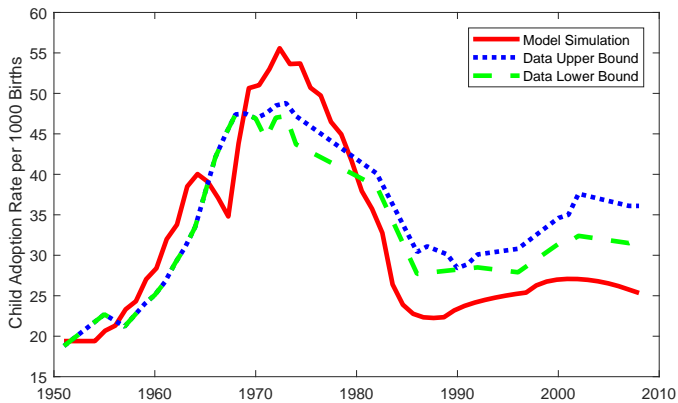
- ▶ I simulate behavior of successive generations of representative agents. Each generation has specific  $\Theta$ ,  $\pi_a$  and  $\pi_b(g)$  functions
- ▶  $\Theta$  Human capital accumulation process: linear extrapolation of coefficients from Olivetti (2006)
- ▶  $\pi_b$  Probability of being fertile: Van Noord-Zaadstra et al. (1991) for benchmark case, and update it with ART success rates
- ▶  $\pi_a$  Availability of adoption

$$\pi_a = 1 - N_I - N_L + N_{IA} \quad (5)$$

where  $N_I$  and  $N_L$  are illegal and legal abortions per thousand live births respectively, and  $N_{IA}$  is the number of intercountry adoptions per thousand live births.

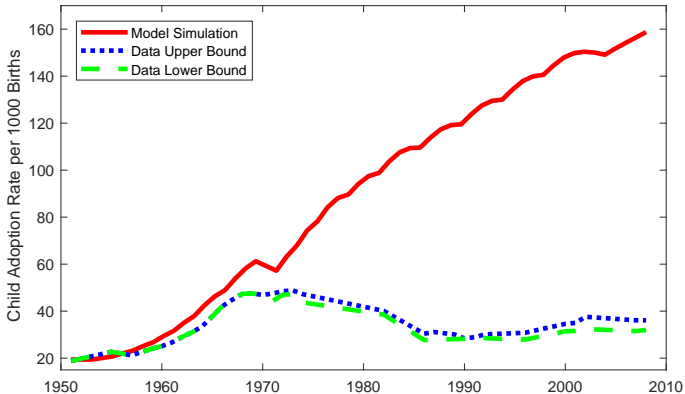


# Simulation Result



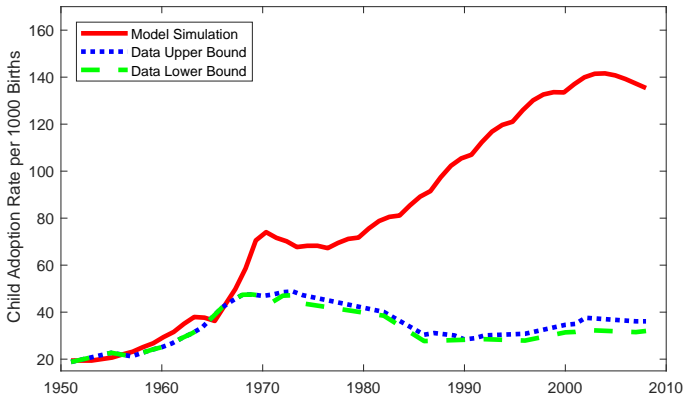
# Counterfactual 1

Figure: Only Returns to Experience Change



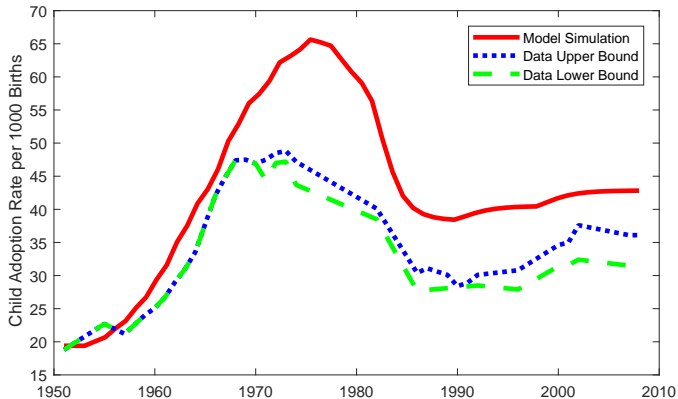
## Counterfactual 2

Figure: Returns to Experience and Abortion Rate Changes



## Counterfactual 3

Figure: Returns to Experience and ART Changes



## Conclusion

- ▶ It is unlikely that the child adoption trend was driven mainly by the supply side
- ▶ In the model increasing returns to female experience produce pre-1970 rise in adoption rate and innovations in ART together with increase in abortions produce post-1970 decline