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UTAH SOCIAL CAPITAL SERIES

PART IV



THE COMFORTS OF HOME

Family Life in Utah

FEBRUARY 2022

THE COMFORTS OF HOME

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The Utah Foundation's mission is to produce objective, thorough and well-reasoned research and analysis that promotes the effective use of public resources, a thriving economy, a well-prepared workforce and a high quality of life for Utahns. The Utah Foundation seeks to help decision-makers and citizens understand and address complex issues. The Utah Foundation also offers constructive guidance to improve governmental policies, programs and structures.

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Research Report 797

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INTRODUCTION

Family is the basic building-block of society and a core component of social capital. To the extent that families are stable, the larger civilization benefits from greater social stability. To the extent that family connections are strong, the members of that family will tend to enjoy stronger social capital and related socio-economic benefits.

This installment in the Utah Social Capital Series seeks to measure family stability. We do so using seven metrics: the share of adults aged 35 to 64 currently married; share of births to married women; the share of children living in a single-parent family; the share of children age five and under who are read to every day; TV viewing by children up to age 17; time spent on electronic devices for the same age group; and the share of families eating meals together daily.

BACKGROUND

Strong family health is inextricably linked with a network of interrelated and self-perpetuating benefits. For instance, families with two parents are far less likely to live in poverty, and the children of those families are more likely to do well in educational attainment.¹ The data are so stark that it is impossible to honestly examine economic or educational outcomes without considering family structure.



KEY FINDINGS OF THIS REPORT

- By a clear margin, Utah has the nation's highest proportion of currently married adults in the nation. Neighboring Idaho and Wyoming occupy the next two spots.
- Utah enjoys a far higher proportion of births to married women compared to the nation at large. In Utah in 2020, 81% of births were to married women, versus 59% nationally. Neighboring Idaho and Colorado are second and third.
- The share of Utah children in single-parent families is far lower than the national average. As of 2019, only 16% of Utah children lived in such families – the lowest in the nation. Nationally, the proportion was 27%. Neighboring Wyoming and Idaho were also among the best in the nation on this metric.
- The pandemic dramatically reversed some negative trends in family activities in Utah.
- Prior to the pandemic, Utah languished in the bottom 10 states in reading to young children, and it had been in rapid decline. However, the pandemic year 2020 reversed this trend dramatically, sending Utah just above the national average.
- Prior to the pandemic, Utah saw an alarming decline in families eating together daily. While most Mountain States perform well on this metric, Utah's decline had led it down to the nation's 11th worst by 2019. However, in 2020, Utah's massive rebound outperformed the increase nationally, putting the state into the top 10 for family meals.
- Though recreational electronic device use among Utah youth was below average prior to the pandemic, it had been rising rapidly since 2011. In 2020, Utah fell into the lowest-using 10 states nationally. However, this was mainly because the increases in youth electronic media use in other states surpassed the increase in Utah. In fact, the increase in Utah in 2020 was significant.
- While Utah families may be well-formed, the interactions within those families have for years been of poor and declining quality. Unless Utah can hold on to the 2020 turnaround on family meals and reading – and tamp down recreational technology usage among youth – the consequences for children will play out over time and may have negative effects on future family life.



FORMAT OF THE UTAH SOCIAL CAPITAL SERIES

Social capital refers to the bonds between neighbors and among networks, which they can use to benefit themselves and the group as a whole. Social capital takes many forms. With this series, the Utah Foundation seeks to be comprehensive, gathering data on roughly 30 metrics. We sorted them into seven categories:

- Civic Engagement
- Social Trust
- Community Life
- Family Health
- Social Cohesion
- Future Focus
- Social Mobility

In determining the metrics, we explored other social capital analyses, including the indices created by Joint Economic Council and by Harvard University political scientist Robert Putnam. From these, we culled certain metrics that are not reproduced at regular intervals, which could inhibit comparisons over time. We also added a number of factors either because they would be of particular interest to Utah or because they allow us to flesh out our analysis of certain topic areas. Our analysis compares Utah to the U.S. at large and to the other Mountain States (Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico and Wyoming). It also examines trends over time. There is no absolute consensus on how to measure social capital.

In addition to the poor economic and educational outcomes that come with single-parent households, researchers have connected fatherlessness with a litany of repercussions, including increased risk of substance use, depression, obesity, child abuse, suicide, teen pregnancy and contact with the criminal justice system.² Weak family structures also result in weaker connections to aid young adults as they seek employment and important social opportunities. And the importance of family structure to social capital starts early: For instance, a recent study found a strong association between two-parent families and youth participation in extracurricular activities (which provide an opportunity to build social capital).³

Beyond structure, there is growing concern about how families spend time together, and how children spend their time. As seen in this report, the time children spend in front of a screen has been increasing at an alarming rate.

The pandemic has had significant impacts on family life, both positive and negative. On the one hand, families spent more time together having dinner and parents read more often to children.⁴ But this report also finds a remarkable upsurge in recreational electronic device usage among children that was only accelerated by the pandemic.

For the purposes of this series, the Utah Foundation defines family health as a collection of both structural elements and habitual activities affecting marriage and children. It should be noted that there may be factors beyond those identified in this report that affect family health. Those used in this report are commonly used in analyses of social capital related to family stability.

There is growing concern about how families spend time together, and how children spend their time. As seen in this report, the time children spend in front of a screen has been increasing at an alarming rate.

MARRIAGE

Families have been called the “bed-rock of social capital,”⁵ and marriage is traditionally understood as the starting point of family creation, as the original sense of the word “matrimony” was the making of a mother. Marriage binds spouses legally and with familial ties, as the spouse is traditionally considered as a member of the “in-law” family. This has obvious and immediate repercussions for building social capital, as it merges the networks for two people and their families. While marriage is a key indicator of social capital, it should be noted that some single people may be more actively engaged in expanding their social networks,⁶ albeit on a more tenuous basis than a legally binding marriage.

Marriage in Utah Over Time

Several factors put downward pressure on marriage rates. One is the rapidly rising marital age in the U.S., which went from 23 for men and 21 for women in 1980 to nearly 31 and 28, respectively, in 2020. In the past 30 years, even as the percentage of divorces has held relatively steady, the percentage of women never married has shot up from about 22% to 30%. The percentage of men never married has steadily increased, from 30% to about 35%.⁷

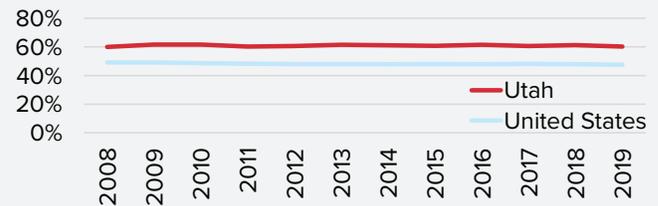
Marriage in Utah has been holding steady in recent times. From 2008 through 2019, the share of adults aged 35 to 64 and currently married remained at or just over 60%.

Marriage in Utah and the Nation

Marriage nationally slipped slightly from 2008 to 2019, which resulted in Utah slightly increasing its proportion compared to the U.S. Utah clearly has the nation’s highest proportion of currently married adults in the nation.

Marriage in Utah is holding strong.

Figure 1: Share of Adults 35-64 Currently Married, Utah and the United States: 2008-2019



For source information on all figures, see the Appendix.

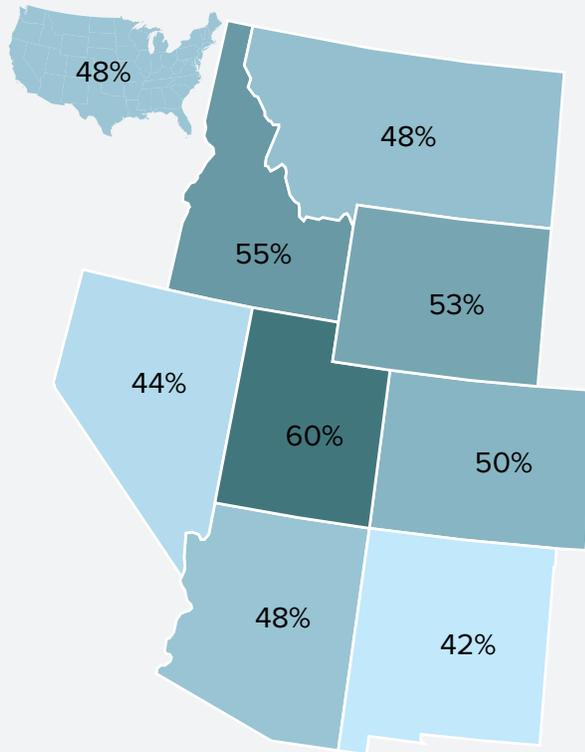
Utah leads the nation in marriage.

Figure 2: Share of Adults 35-64 Currently Married, by State, 2019



Utah, Idaho, Wyoming and Colorado are all strong states for marriage.

Figure 3: Share of Adults 35-64 Currently Married in the Mountain States, 2019



Marriage in the Mountain States

While Utah is the national leader in marriage, two of its neighbors – Idaho and Wyoming – are keeping the Beehive State company in the second and third spots, respectively. Colorado is also in the top 10. Two other Mountain States are above average. But the final two, Nevada and New Mexico, are at the opposite end of the states, with the Land of Enchantment coming in dead last for marriage.

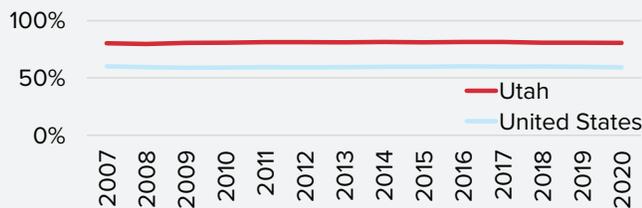
BIRTHS TO MARRIED WOMEN

Beyond marriage levels, this report looks at family formation through two additional lenses: the percentage of births to married

women and the percentage of children in single-parent households. As discussed earlier, research has shown two-parent households to produce better economic, physical and mental health outcomes. They also tend to provide wider opportunities to build social capital, as children gain access to both parents’ social networks and the networking that a stronger economic status enables.

In Utah, births to married women have been holding steady at above 80%.

Figure 4: Births to Married Women, Utah and the United States: 2007-2020



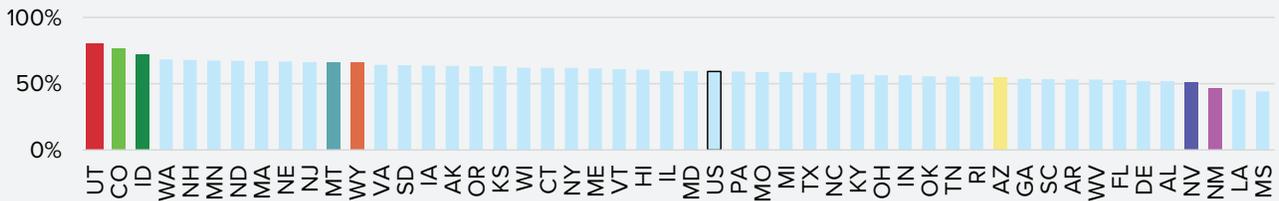
Utah Births to Married Women Over Time

Despite the rise of birth control and abortion rates, as well as the clear evidence of socio-economic consequences, out-of-wedlock birthrates began soaring around 1970 and kept moving upward for decades. Theories on why this has taken place include changes in the economy, the 1960s expansion of the welfare state, the sexual revolution and the decline of so-called “shotgun” marriages.⁸ Some treat these theories as competing, others see them as interwoven.

However, after peaking around 2007, the proportion of births to unmarried women appears to have leveled out nationally. In Utah, from 2007 to 2019, births to married women have held strong at above 80%.

Utah strongly leads the nation in births to married women.

Figure 5: Births to Married Women by State, 2020



Births to Married Women in Utah and Nationally

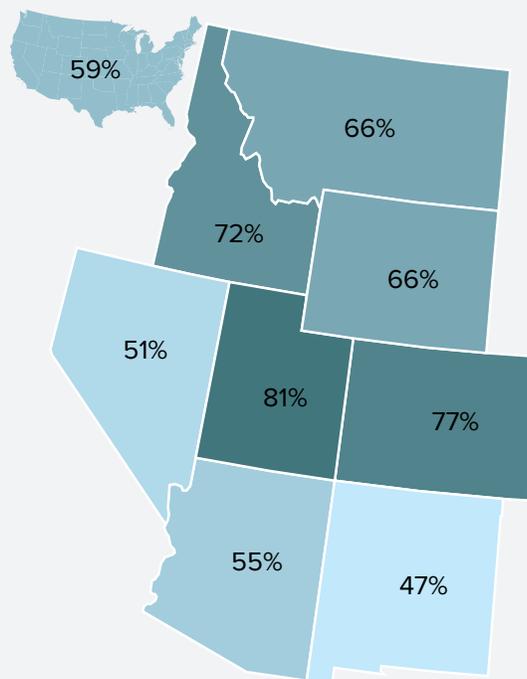
Utah enjoys a far higher proportion of births to married women compared to the nation at large. And it’s not even close. In Utah in 2020, 81% of births were to married women, versus 59% nationally. Utah strongly leads the nation on this measure.

Births to Married Women in the Mountain States

With Utah as the national leader in births to married women, two neighboring states – Colorado and Idaho – occupy the next two spots. Wyoming and Montana are also well above the national average. However, New Mexico and Nevada sit among the bottom five nationally. Nevada, in particular, has moved in the wrong direction, going from 58% of births within wedlock in 2007 to only 51% in 2020.

Multiple Mountain States perform comparatively well in births to married women.

Figure 6: Births to Married Women in the Mountain States, 2020



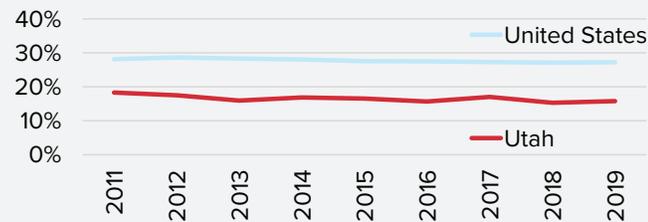
Children living in single-mother families (the vast majority of single-parent families) are five times more likely to be poor than children living in married-couple families.

CHILDREN LIVING IN SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES

Though tied closely to births to married women, the family status of children provides a different vantage point from which to evaluate family health. As previously noted, single-parent families are closely correlated with childhood poverty. Children living in single-mother families (the vast majority of single-parent families) are five times more likely to be poor than children living in married-couple families.⁹

The share of children living in single-parent families has declined in recent years.

Figure 7: Share of Children Living in a Single-Parent Family, Utah and the United States, 2011-2019



Children in Single-Parent Families Over Time

The share of Utah children in a single-parent family declined gradually in Utah from 2011 to 2019 – from 18% to 16%. This decline accompanies a national decline during the same period, from 28% to 27%.

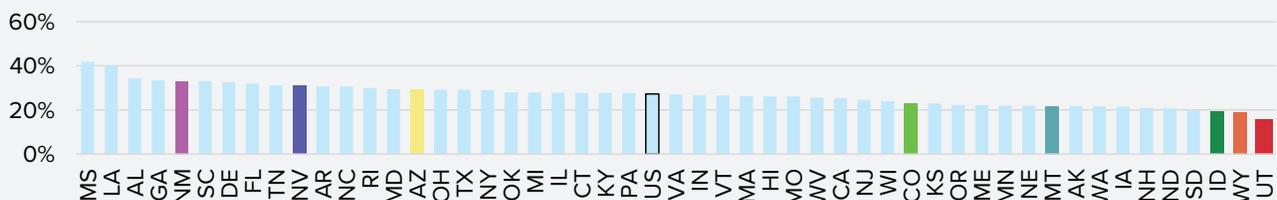
Children in Single-Parent Families in Utah and the U.S.

The share of Utah children in single-parent families is far lower than the national average. As of 2019, only 16% of Utah children lived in such families. Nationally, the proportion was 27%.

In fact, Utah has the nation’s lowest share, and leads the nation strongly on this point. The two states with the second-lowest proportion (Wyoming and Idaho) had 19% of children in single-parent families.

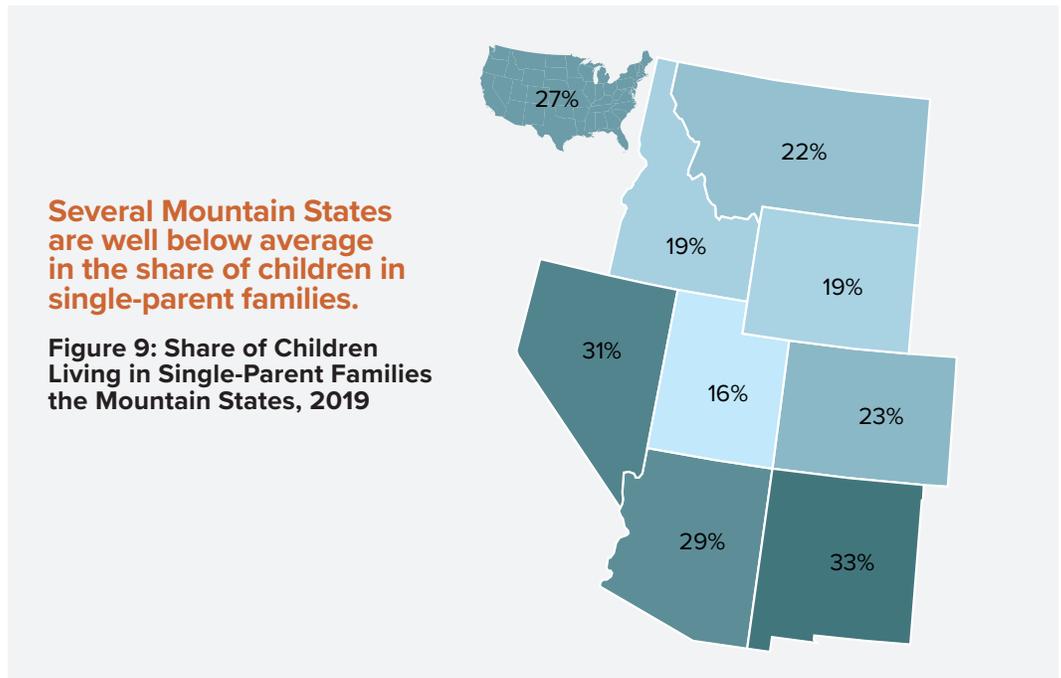
Utah has the nation’s lowest share of children in single-parent families.

Figure 8: Share of Children Living in Single-Parent Families by State, 2019



Children in Single-Parent Families in the Mountain States

Several Mountain States perform well when it comes to children in single-parent families. Four states in the region are in the national bottom 10, with Wyoming and Idaho right behind Utah with the second and third lowest percentages. However, at the other end, New Mexico had the nation's fifth highest percentage, with one-third of children living in single-parent families in 2019.



READING TO CHILDREN

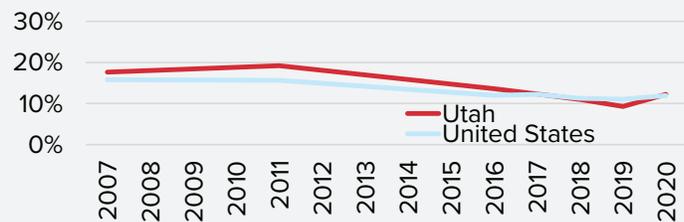
The share of children who are read to everyday provides an indicator of the time parents spend with their children and the strength of that bond. Furthermore, early attainment of reading and other basic educational skills can set the pace for the rest of a student's academic career. And, as noted in a separate report in this series, educational attainment opens the way for critical gathering of social capital.

Reading to Children in Utah: A Striking Decline

The downward trend in reading to children is striking. From 2011 to 2019, the share of Utah children aged 5 and under who were read to every day fell by more than half, from 19% to 9%. This suggests that social scientists in Utah should explore this matter closely to discover what may be behind this trend. Interestingly, 2020 saw a slight recovery. The U.S. Census Bureau attributes some of this bump to the pandemic, noting that the increase was largely driven by parents above the poverty level and with higher levels of education.¹⁰

From 2011 to 2019, the share of Utah children read to every day plummeted.

Figure 10: Share of Children 5 and under Read to Every Day, Utah and the United States, 2007-2020



Early attainment of reading and other basic educational skills can set the pace for the rest of a student's academic career.

During a pandemic-year boost, Utah moved to the median in reading to children.

Figure 11: Share of Children 5 and under Read to Every Day, by State, 2020



Reading to Children in Utah and Nationally

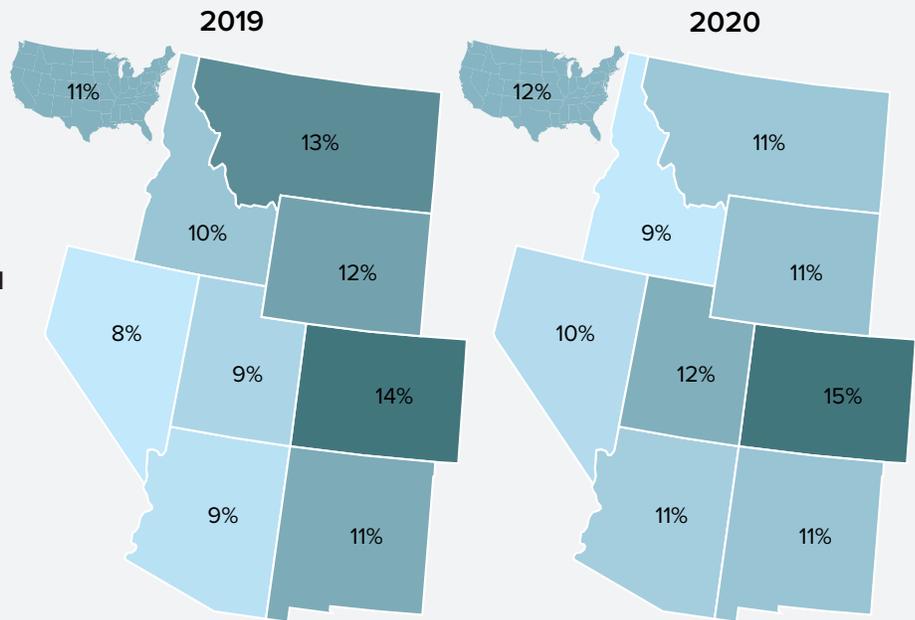
A decade ago, Utah outpaced the nation in reading to children. But by 2017 the percentages had converged and by 2019 Utah had fallen below the national average. Indeed, Utah’s percentage had fallen to the nation’s bottom tier. However, Utah saw a remarkable jump as the pandemic hit in 2020 — boosting it from 41st in the nation in 2019 to 25th in 2020.

Reading to Children in in the Mountain States

All eight Mountain States saw a decline in reading to children from 2011 to 2019. Utah, unfortunately, saw the biggest decline. It languished in the lowest tier with Nevada and Arizona. However, it saw a large bump in 2020 that put it back among the median states, and second highest among the Mountain States. Only one state in the region, Colorado, was among the top 10 states nationally. And the percentage of young children read to daily in that state was only 14% – well below even the 19% Utah enjoyed in 2011. Aside from Colorado and Utah, all other Mountain States are below the U.S. average.

After a pandemic year surge, Utah has become the second best-performing state in the region in reading to children.

Figure 12: Share of Children 5 and under Read to Every Day in the Mountain States; 2019 and 2020



CHILDREN AND MEDIA

Since the turn of the millennium there has been a massive increase in the amount of time children spend on media, driven by the rise of the internet, social media and mobile devices. This is revolutionizing interactions among young people, and with this revolution comes consequences. The amount of time spent watching TV and on electronic devices eats into time that children could otherwise spend on in-person social activities, sports and family interactions that expand their social capital.¹¹ Youths who spend more time on recreational electronic media reportedly have lower grades and lower levels of contentment.¹²

Utah Children, TV and Electronic Devices: More Unfortunate Trends

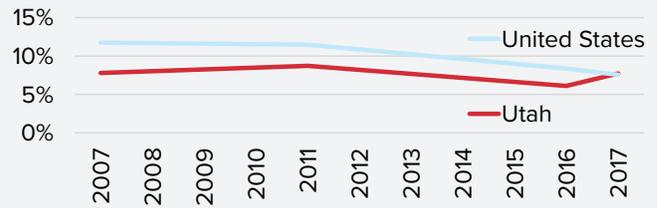
While TV watching among Utah children up to age 17 began to decline in 2011, a rapid ascent began after 2016. In the meantime, a revolution has occurred in children’s use of electronic devices, from essentially a nonexistent factor in 2008 to a major component of daily life for many children. As of 2019, 17% of Utah children spent at least four hours a day on cell phones and similar devices. A year later, the number surged to 21%. There is little reason to suspect that the trend line has slowed its ascent since 2020, particularly in light of the limited social interactions that have continued through the pandemic.

Utah and the Nation Youth on Devices

Utah has roughly paralleled national trends in both TV watching and electronic device usage among children. As of 2019, Utah was somewhat behind the national average on the combined metric. Utah fell further behind in 2020 as recreational electronic media use nationally exploded in 2020.

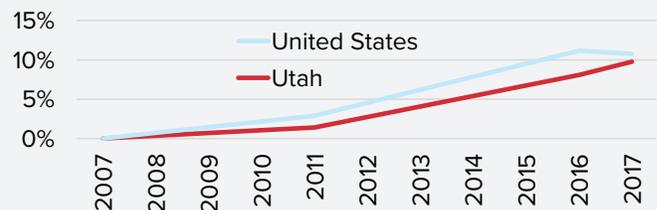
TV watching among Utah children converged with watching nationally by 2017.

Figure 13: Share of Children 0-17 that Watched TV 4+ Hours in the Average Weekday, Utah and the United States: 2007-2017



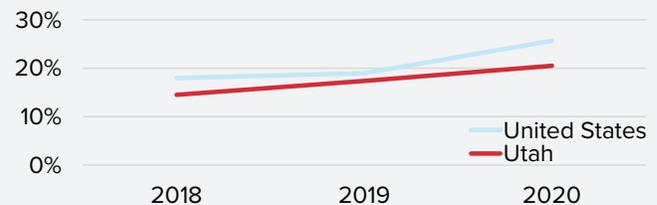
Electronic device usage is rapidly becoming a major feature of daily life for Utah children.

Figure 14: Share of Children 0-17 that Spent 4+ Hours on Electronic Devices in the Average Weekday, Utah and the United States: 2007-2017



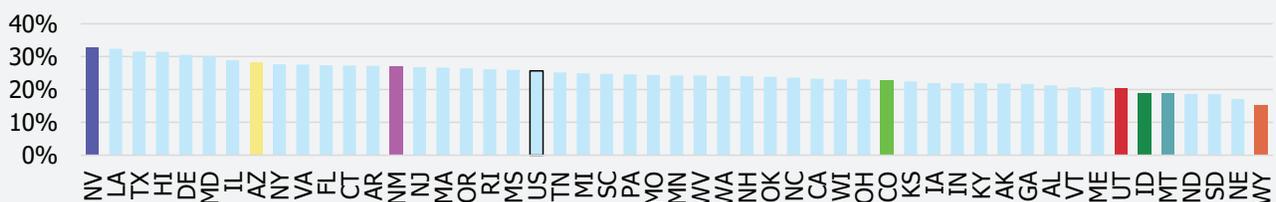
The combined figures for TV and electronic devices show a surge in 2020.

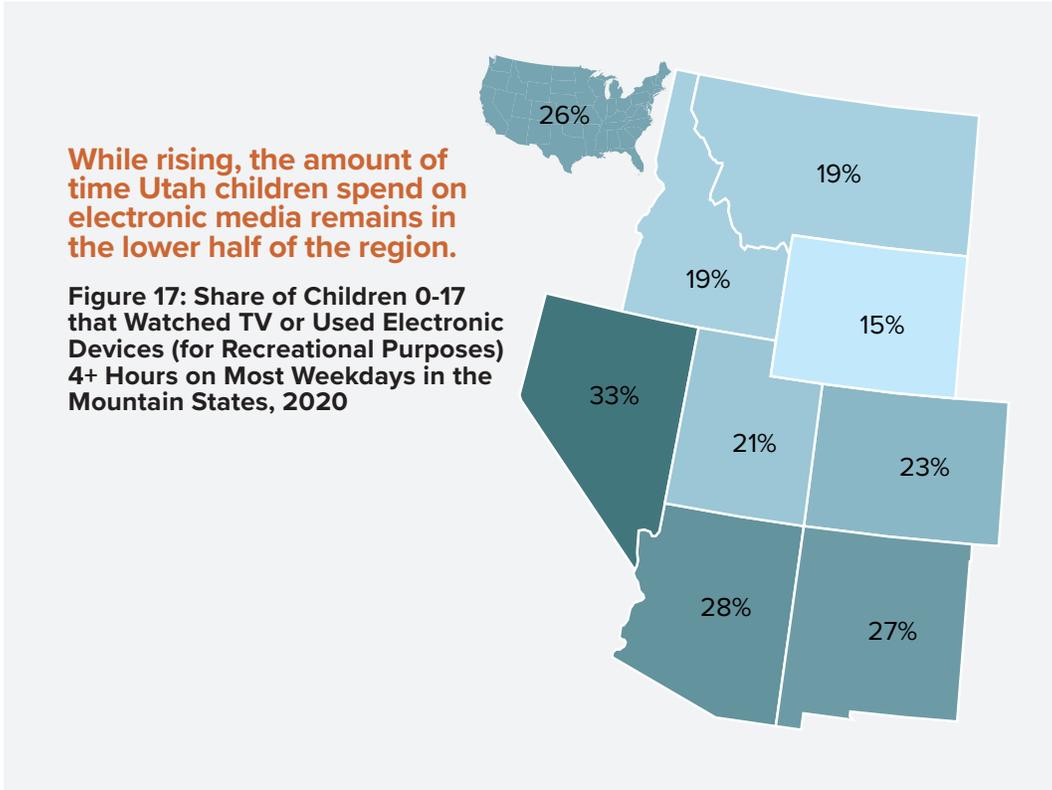
Figure 15: Share of Children 0-17 that Spent 4+ Hours on TV or Electronic Devices (for Recreational Purposes) on most Weekdays, Utah and the United States: 2018-2020



Utah children spend less time on recreational electronic media than the national average.

Figure 16: Share of Children 0-17 that Spent 4+ Hours on TV and Electronic Devices (for Recreational Purposes) on Most Weekdays by State, 2020





Children and Electronic Media in the Mountain States

Among the Mountain States, Nevada children have far higher media usage than in the other seven states – and in fact the highest usage of any state in the nation. While most Mountain States had been below the national average, the pandemic year of 2020 saw a large upsurge in recreational electronic media usage, especially in Arizona and New Mexico, whose share both increased by more than 50%. In 2020, only Wyoming saw a decrease in children’s use of electronic media; it is the lowest in the nation. Together with Utah, Idaho and Montana also remain well below the national average.

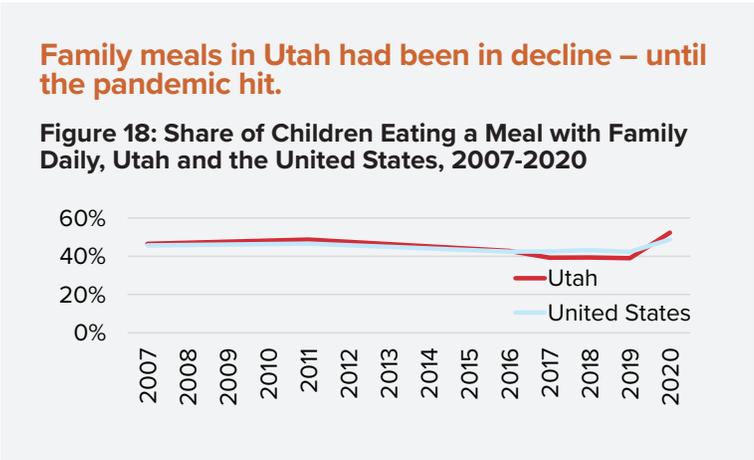
CHILDREN AND FAMILY MEALS

In contrast to the time children spend on media, daily family meals provide a time-tested forum for the family to act as a socialization force.¹³ Mealtimes offer an opportunity for families to meet, strengthen relationships, communicate important information and address problems. Children who regularly eat with their parents are more likely to perform well in school.¹⁴ Family meals are also associated with healthier diets and lower obesity rates.¹⁵

Family meals are also associated with healthier diets and lower obesity rates.¹⁵

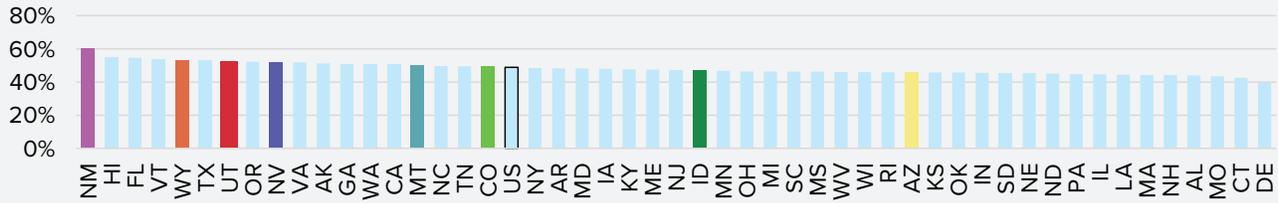
Family Meal Trends in Utah

The percentage of Utah families eating together has been in rapid decline. In 2011, 49% of Utah children convened for a meal with their family every day. By 2019, that number had dropped by one-fifth, to 39%. However, the pandemic boosted family meals in 2020, sending Utah to its highest point in the past 15 years with more than half of children eating meals with family daily.



Utah was among the worst-performing states in terms of family meals until 2020 – when it surged to the top tier.

Figure 19: Share of Children Eating a Meal with Family Daily in the Past Weekday by State, 2020



Utah and the Nation

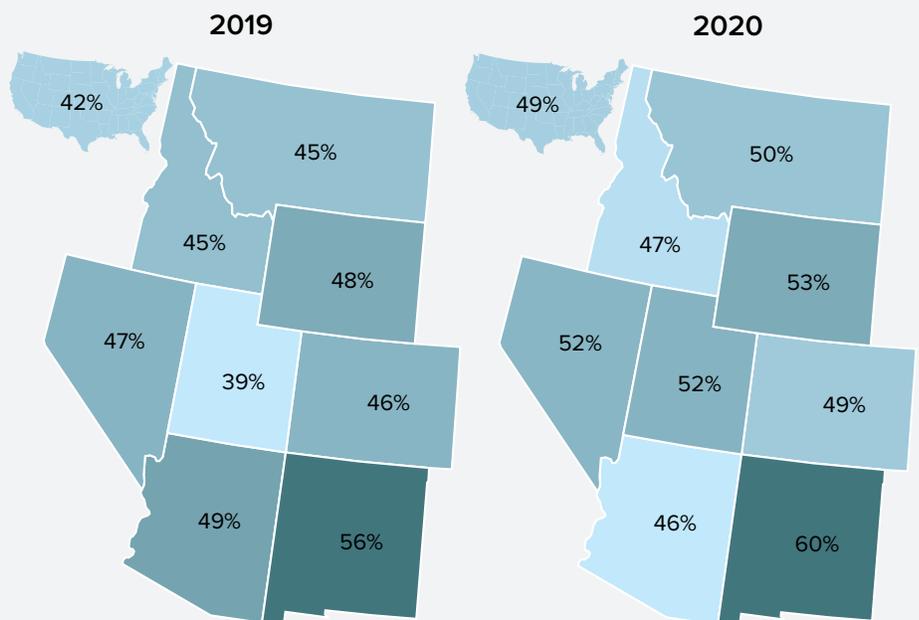
In 2011, Utah was ahead of the national average in its share of children eating a meal together with their family daily. By 2019, the Beehive State had fallen behind the national average on this metric. In fact, Utah was the 11th worst-performing states in terms of family meals. However, its increase during the pandemic put it 7th in the nation in 2020. Utah’s one-third increase was second only to Minnesota, which experienced a more than 50% jump.

Family meals in the Mountain States

Six Mountain States are above average on the share of families eating together daily, and four of them are in the top 10 nationally. While Idaho and Arizona were below average in 2020, both were ranked above average in 2019. Idaho even increased its share from 2019 to 2020, just not nearly as much as other states. Arizona was the only state among the Mountain States to see a decline in its share of children participating in family meals daily; while it was only a small decrease, the increase in the rest of the nation dropped it from 3rd highest in 2019 to 35th in 2020. New Mexico is No. 1, by a large distance. This may be due to a cultural attribute: New Mexico is the most Hispanic state in the nation, and Hispanic families are more likely to prize mealtimes.¹⁶

As of 2020, Utah is no longer the poorest-performing state in the region when it comes to family meals.

Figure 20: Share of Children Eating a Meal as a Family Daily in the Mountain States; 2019 and 2020



CONCLUSION

Family stability in Utah looks comparatively strong by multiple measures. By others, it looked weak and appeared to be in decline – until the pandemic hit and reversed some negative trends.

Utah strongly leads the nation in marriage, with the share of married adults aged 35 to 64 far well above the national average. Two neighboring states, Idaho and Wyoming, occupy the second and third spots nationally. But two other Mountain States, New Mexico and Nevada, are in the bottom five nationally.

Utah also strongly leads the nation in births within wedlock, and births to married women are far above the national average. On this metric, two neighboring states again occupy the second and third spots nationally – this time, Colorado and Idaho. But, once again, New Mexico and Nevada bring up the rear in the nation's bottom five.

On a related metric, Utah shows up as the nation's best in terms of children in single-parent households, with much lower percentage than the national average and strong recent trend in the right direction. As with the previous two metrics, two neighboring states – Wyoming and Idaho – are the second and third best performers. On this metric, New Mexico again fell into the worst-performing five.

But despite Utah's outstanding performance on family formation and structure, the Beehive State had performed poorly on family activities before the pandemic hit. And Utah continues trending in the wrong direction on children's electronic media usage.

With Nevada and Arizona, prior to the pandemic Utah languished in the bottom 10 states in reading to young children. Reading to children had been in rapid decline in Utah. However, the pandemic year 2020 reversed this trend dramatically, sending Utah just above the national average.

As reading to younger children was declining, the consumption of technology for children had been rising. While electronic device usage among Utah youth lagged the nation, it had been rising with alarming rapidity since 2011. But in 2020, Utah fell into the lowest-using 10 states nationally. Unfortunately, this was mainly because the increases in youth electronic media usage in other states surpassed the increase in Utah. In fact, the increase in Utah in 2020 was significant.

Also alarming has been the significant decline in Utah families eating together daily. While most Mountain States perform well on this metric – with five in the top 10 and New Mexico a strong No. 1 – Utah's decline had led it down to the 11th worst by 2019. However, in 2020, Utah's massive rebound outperformed the increase nationally, putting the state into the top 10 for family meals.

Utah has reason to brag about its excellent statistics on family formation and structure. It is the undisputable national leader in this respect. But while Utah families may be well-formed, the interactions within those families have for years been of poor and declining quality. Unless Utah can hold on to the 2020 turnaround on family meals and reading – and tamp down youth technology usage – the consequences for children will play out over time and may have negative effects on future family life.

Unless Utah can hold on to the 2020 turnaround on family meals and reading – and tamp down youth technology usage – the consequences for children will play out over time and may have negative effects on future family formation.

APPENDIX

Share of Births to Married Women

Birth rate data were collected from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) database on Natality, 2007-2020.¹⁷ The Utah Foundation looked at births only where mothers were reported married or unmarried and did not consider cases where mothers were not asked or undetermined cases. The difference between this metric and married mothers as a share of all births is minimal. Previous to 2017, the data were identical. As of 2017, California stopped reporting to the CDC so the data for the state is unavailable for comparison for recent years. Data were available from 2007-2020.

The Share of Adults 35-64 Currently Married

The Utah Foundation used the public use microsample (PUMS) dataset from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) for data on married individuals. Individuals were considered married if they were between the ages of 35 and 64 and lived in a married couple household. Data were available for 2008-2019.

Share of Children Living in a Single-Parent Family

Data on the share of residents born in the state in which they currently reside were collected from the ACS PUMS. Data were available from 2011-2019. Utah Foundation counted children in a single family if the child's parent had no married or unmarried partner in the household.

Share of Children 5 and under Read to Every Day

Data for children who were read aloud to were collected in the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH), which was administered in 2007 and 2011/12 by the CDC and from 2016 to 2020 by the U.S. Census Bureau. The NSCH is a questionnaire sent to parents and other guardians of children across all 50 states and the District of Columbia, with a rough minimum of 100,000 respondents per year in 2007-12 and a rough minimum of 20,000 respondents per year in 2016-20. In 2007-12 the survey was conducted via telephone methodology, and in 2016-20 it was conducted via mail and internet-based communications. Each response was assigned a weight based on the number of respondents from the same state to ensure equal geographic representation when aggregating the data.¹⁸ Between 2007-2020, this question in the NSCH asked how many nights a week the child was read to (the dataset included children ages five and under).¹⁹ Data were available for 2007, 2011/2012, and 2016-2020.

Share of Children 0-17 that Watched TV 4+ Hours in the Past Weekday

Data for children watching TV were collected in the NSCH, which was administered in 2007 and 2011/12 by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and in 2016-20 by the U.S. Census Bureau. See details about the NSCH, above. Between 2007-2017, this question in the NSCH was asked about how many hours on an average weekday the child spent "in front of a TV watching TV programs, videos, or playing video games?"²⁰ In 2018-20, the question was combined with the formerly separate metric for time spent using a computer or other electronic device to read "about how much time did this child spend in front of a TV, computer, cellphone or other electronic device watching programs, playing games, accessing the internet or using social media?"²¹ The Utah Foundation standardized measures to count those that spent 4+ hours in the past week. Data were available for 2007, 2011/2012 and 2016-2020.

Share of Children 0-17 that Spent 4+ Hours on Electronic Devices in the Past Weekday

Data for children using electronics were collected in the NSCH, which was administered in 2007 and 2011/12 by the CDC and in 2016-20 by the U.S. Census Bureau.

See details about the NSCH, above. This question was first introduced in the NSCH in 2011, when it asked about how many hours on an average weekday the child spent “with computers, cell phones, handheld video games, and other electronic devices?”²² In 2016-17, the wording was changed slightly to clarify that the time must be spent doing things other than schoolwork. In 2018-20, the question was combined with the formerly separate metric for time spent watching TV to read “about how much time did this child spend in front of a TV, computer, cellphone or other electronic device watching programs, playing games, accessing the internet or using social media?”²³ The Utah Foundation standardized measures to count those that spent 4+ hours in the past weekday. Data were available for 2007, 2011/2012, and 2016-20.

Share of Families Eating a Meal Together Daily

Data for children eating meals with their families was collected in the National Survey of Children’s Health (NSCH), which was administered in 2007 and 2011/12 by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and in 2016-20 by the Census Bureau. See details about the NSCH, above. Between 2007-20, this question in the NSCH was asked about how many days during the past week all family members in a household ate meals together.^{24,25} The Utah Foundation standardized measures to count those that ate a meal together every day. Data were available for 2007, 2011/2012, and 2016-20.

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