Online Appendix for Family formation and crime

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A Additional figures and tables



Figure A.1: Crime categories

Notes: This figure shows how trends in the raw averages of crime outcomes around childbirth vary as we sequentially implement our category restrictions. The top blue line shows all charges. Next, in the red line, we remove all domestic violence charges, a category which we study separately. The green line removes all non-DUI driving offenses, and the yellow line removes charges of obstruction and non-DV assaults. This last line is the main crime outcome we use in our analysis, consisting of economic crimes, drug crimes, DUIs, and destruction of property.





Notes: This figure plots estimated effects of childbirth from a traditional event study specification. In both panels, the dots show point estimates and the dotted lines give confidence intervals of event time coefficients from:

$$\mathbb{1}(arrest)_{it} = \alpha_i + \sum_{k \in S} \delta_k \mathbb{1}(t=k) + \mathbf{X}'_{it}\beta + \epsilon_{it}$$

where $\mathbb{1}(arrest)_{it}$ is equal to one if person *i* committed one of the four main offenses in month *t*, α_i denotes person fixed effects and δ_k are the event time coefficients measuring effects *k* months relative to birth. The set *S* runs from 36 months before to 36 months after birth, omitting k = -9. We bin the endpoints before and after 37 months from birth and include these as separate controls. The controls in \mathbf{X}_{it} include a 4th-order polynomial in age (measured in months) and dummies for being above 18 and 21 years of age. Panel (a) includes the first-time mothers sample and panel (b) includes the first-time fathers sample. The outcome is any offense from one of the four main crime categories. The estimates are divided by the average in the omitted period.

Figure A.3: Crime-type specific effects



Notes: This figure plots averages of regression estimates of Specification 1, which measures effects of births relative to these older parents, for first-time mothers and fathers. The outcome for each series is an indicator for any arrest for the crime type specified in the legend. Effects are scaled by 10,000. In both panels, the vertical dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of birth.





Notes: This figure shows the raw averages of an indicator for arrests for driving without a license, the most common non-DUI driving offense, around childbirth. Includes fully balanced arrest data for 532,790 first-time mothers. The vertical dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of birth.





Notes: This figure plots regression estimates of effects of childbirth from Specification 1 with 95% confidence intervals derived from standard errors clustered at the mother level shown in dashes. The sample is restricted to mothers who gave birth before turning 21. The outcome is an indicator for any alcohol-related arrest. Estimates are divided by average arrest rates 9 months before birth to show proportional effects. The dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of the birth.





Notes: This figure plots regression estimates of effects of childbirth from Specification 1 with 95% confidence intervals derived from standard errors clustered at the mother level shown in dashes. The sample is restricted to first-time mothers who gave birth at age 19 or younger. The outcome is an indicator for any economic, drug, DUI, or property destruction offense within the month. Estimates are divided by average arrest rates 9 months before birth to show proportional effects. The dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of the birth.





Notes: This figure plots average monthly arrest rates around childbirth for mothers and several comparison groups. The outcome is an indicator for any domestic violence arrest. Mothers' and older mothers' outcomes are constructed as in Figure 2. The vertical dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of birth.

Figure A.8: Fathers' domestic violence around marriage



Notes: This figure shows average arrest rates around marriage for husbands and older husbands. It is also constructed using the same approach as in Figure 3, so that husband's arrest rates are compared to older husbands' over the same ages.

Figure A.9: Domestic violence vs. divorce



Notes: This figure examines how domestic violence arrests relate to divorce. Panel (a) includes 126,777 still-married men and 10,145 divorced men. Panel (b) includes all men who were married for their first birth and then divorced 1-4 years after. Grouping is based on the rounded time in years between the child's birth date and date of the divorce decree (when the divorce is finalized). Sample sizes for the four groups are 2,146 (1 year), 4,511 (2 years), 5,768 (3 years), and 5,976 (4 years).



Figure A.10: Heterogeneity in the effect of childbirth between good marriages and bad marriages

Notes: This figure shows differences in arrests around marriage for couples that divorce within five years of childbirth compared to those who remain married. Panel (a) includes data on 135,774 still-married women and 10,319 divorced women. Panel (b) includes arrest data on 126,777 still-married men and 10,145 divorced men. The outcome is any drug, DUI, economic, or property destruction arrest, divided by the prepregnancy average. Divorce classification is derived from a fuzzy match between the Washington State marriage and divorce indexes. The vertical dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of birth.



Figure A.11: Robustness to migration out of Washington State

Notes: This figure plots regression estimates of effects of childbirth from Specification 1 with 95% confidence intervals derived from standard errors clustered at the father level shown in dashes. Panel (a) restricts to men charged with a driving-related (including DUI) offense 4-5 years after the birth. Panel (b) restricts to fathers who at some point have a second child in Washington State. The outcome is an indicator for any economic, drug, DUI, or property destruction offense within the month. Estimates are divided by average arrest rates 9 months before birth to show proportional effects. The dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of the birth.

Months since birth



Figure A.12: Robustness to migration into Washington State

Notes: This figure plots regression estimates of effects of childbirth from Specification 1 with 95% confidence intervals derived from standard errors clustered at the father level shown in dashes. Panel (a) includes all fathers determined to be born in Washington State through a link to an earlier birth record. Panel (b) includes all fathers with a juvenile arrest in Washington State. The outcome is an indicator for any economic, drug, DUI, or property destruction offense within the month. Estimates are divided by average arrest rates 9 months before birth to show proportional effects. The dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of the birth.

	All births	+Age restrictions	+Good match	+Mother's first
Demographics				
White	0.71	0.71	0.71	0.69
Black	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Hispanic	0.11	0.12	0.11	0.13
Asian	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.10
Other or missing	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Age	27.91	27.52	27.66	26.73
	(6.01)	(5.63)	(5.59)	(5.75)
Birth				
Low birth weight $(<2500g)$	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06
Twins+	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Male infant	0.51	0.51	0.51	0.51
Marital				
Mother married at birth	0.73	0.73	0.75	0.71
Midpregnancy marriage	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05
Divorce if married	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.18
Economic				
Median zip code income	59834.99	59661.75	59900.66	59944.48
-	(18187.96)	(18093.91)	(18191.49)	(18110.35)
Mother on Medicaid	0.36	0.36	0.35	0.35
WIC	0.34	0.35	0.34	0.34
Crime				
Any arrest	0.25	0.25	0.22	0.19
Father ever incarcerated	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Father ever on probation	0.09	0.09	0.08	0.07
Observations	$983,\!687$	955,914	908,480	532,790

Table A.1: Effects of sample restrictions, mother sample

Notes: This table shows how sample descriptives change as we implement restrictions sequentially for mothers. The first column includes all observations in the DOH birth records over the sample period, 1997 to 2009. The second column restricts to mothers between the ages of 15 and 40. The third column restricts to mothers who are unambiguously matched (or not matched) to the crime data. The final column restricts to the mother's first birth.

	All births	+ Age restrictions	+Good match	+Father's first
Demographics				
White	0.66	0.66	0.67	0.65
Black	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Hispanic	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.13
Asian	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08
Other or missing	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.09
Age	30.21	28.99	29.15	28.23
	(6.54)	(5.44)	(5.40)	(5.52)
Birth				
Low birth weight $(<2500g)$	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06
Twins+	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02
Male infant	0.51	0.51	0.51	0.51
Marital				
Mother married at birth	0.73	0.72	0.74	0.70
Midpregnancy marriage	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05
Divorce if married	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.18
Economic				
Median zip code income	59820.84	59415.29	59791.10	59576.83
-	(18182.44)	(17961.17)	(18094.11)	(17924.14)
Mother on Medicaid	0.36	0.37	0.35	0.36
WIC	0.34	0.35	0.34	0.35
Crime				
Any arrest	0.41	0.42	0.37	0.34
Father ever incarcerated	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.03
Father ever on probation	0.09	0.09	0.07	0.06
Observations	976,581	889,533	814,220	502,900

Table A.2: Effects of sample restrictions, father sample

Notes: This table shows how sample descriptives change as we implement restrictions sequentially for fathers. The first column includes all listed fathers in the DOH birth records over the sample period, 1997 to 2009. The second column restricts to fathers between the ages of 15 and 40. The third column restricts to fathers who are unambiguously matched (or not matched) to the crime data. The final column restricts to the father's first birth.

	Mai	rried	Divorced	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Demographics				
White	0.81	0.81	0.83	0.80
Black	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.05
Hispanic	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.05
Asian	0.09	0.07	0.07	0.06
Other or missing	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04
Age	28.07	29.31	25.23	27.02
	(5.02)	(4.88)	(5.07)	(5.11)
Birth				
Low birth weight $(<2500g)$	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06
Twins+	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01
Male infant	0.52	0.52	0.51	0.51
Marital				
Mother married at birth	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Midpregnancy marriage	0.13	0.14	0.28	0.28
Divorce	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
Economic				
Median zip code income	62839.21	62454.59	58908.64	58587.03
	(18206.16)	(18074.11)	(16025.63)	(15785.47)
Mother on Medicaid	0.15	0.16	0.26	0.27
WIC	0.16	0.17	0.30	0.32
Crime				
Any arrest	0.12	0.29	0.29	0.54
Father ever incarcerated	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.04
Father ever on probation	0.03	0.03	0.12	0.09
Observations	135,774	126,777	10,319	10,145

Table A.3: Descriptives of married and divorced parents

Notes: This table reports summary statistics for mothers and fathers who were married vs. divorced five years after the birth. The overall sample includes all births in the primary sample matched to a marriage record and recorded as married on the birth certificate.

Authors and Year	Journal	Data and sam-	Main results
		ple size	
Eichmeyer and Kent (2021)	Working paper	Administrative data from Al- legheny County, PA, N= 99,500	Motherhood decreases crime and increases drug treatment and government support
Dustmann and Lan- dersø (2021)	Journal of Polit- ical Economy	Danish admin- istrative data, N=2,803	Fathers to sons show larger decrease in crime
Gottlieb and Sugie (2019)	Justice Quar- terly	NLSY97, N=8,496	Both cohabitation and marriage are associ- ated with reductions in offending
Mitchell et al. (2018)	American Jour- nal of Criminal Justice	NLSY97, N=2,787 non- fathers, 1,772 fathers	Fatherhood is associ- ated with decreased substance use but not the likelihood of any arrest
Pyrooz et al. (2017)	Criminology	NLSY97, N=629	Mothers and residen- tial fathers have de- creased likelihoods of gang membership and offending
Tremblay et al. (2017)	Journal of Child and Family Studies	Pathways to De- sistance Study, N=1,170	Fatherhood is associ- ated with greater risk exposure among seri- ous juvenile offenders
Na (2016)	Journal of De- velopmental and Life Course Criminology	Pathways to Desistance Study, N=864 adolescents and N=476 young adults	Teen fathers report increased offending following childbirth; older fathers experi- ence a slight decrease
Zoutewelle-Terovan and Skardhamar (2016)	Journal of Quantitative Criminology	Statistics Nor- way, N=289 & Netherlands' Municipal Pop- ulation Register and Judicial Documentation, N=279	For at-risk mothers and fathers, decrease leading up to birth; in- crease to higher levels afterwards

 Table A.4: Papers on Crime and Childbearing or Marriage

Authors and Year	Journal	Data and sam-	Main results
		ple size	
Landers et al. (2015)	Journal of Child and Family Studies	NLSY 1997, N=478	Young fathers have decreased drug use controlling for indi- vidual fixed effects
Craig (2015)	Journal of Crime and Justice	Add Health, N=3,327	Marriage decreases of- fending among whites and Hispanics but not blacks; parenthood only decreases whites' offending
Theobald et al. (2015)	Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology	Australian & New Zealand Journal of Crim- inology & Cam- bridge Study in Delinquent Development, N=411	The number of con- victions decreases af- ter childbirth for men; this effect is greater if the child is born before or within nine months of marriage
Barnes et al. (2014)	Justice Quar- terly	Add Health, N=15,701	Marriage is correlated with but does not cause desistance
Zoutewelle-Terovan et al. (2014)	Crime & Delin- quency	Netherlands Ministry of Justice, N=540	Marriage and parent- hood both promote desistance of serious offending for men but not women
Skardhamar et al. (2014)	The British Journal of Criminology	Norwegian Reg- ister, N=80,064	Offending declines the year before marriage followed by a slight in- crease after marriage; the rebound is due to those who split up
Craig and Foster (2013)	Deviant Behav- ior	Add Health, N=3,082	Marriage decreases delinquent behavior for both males and females
Monsbakken et al. (2012)	The British Journal of Criminology	Statistics Nor- way, $N=208,296$ persons (101,480 women and 106,816 men)	Offending declines permanently before childbirth despite slight rebound after

Table A.4 – Continued from previous page

Authors and Year	Journal	Data and sam-	Main results
		ple size	
Bersani and Doherty (2013)	Criminology	NLSY97, N=2,838	Marriage decreases the likelihood of arrest; offending is higher when one is divorced than when one is married
Doherty and Ens- minger (2013)	Journal of Re- search in Crime and Delinquency	The Woodlawn Project, N=965	Marriage reduces of- fending for men only
Jaffee et al. (2013)	Development and Psy- chopathology	Add Health, N=4,149	Marriage is associated with a lower rate of criminal activity
Mercer et al. (2013)	European Jour- nal of Criminol- ogy	NetherlandsMinistryofJustice&PopulationRegistration,N=540	Married males have a higher likelihood of committing violent offenses compared with non-married males; reverse is true for women
Barnes and Beaver (2012)	Journal of Mar- riage and Family	Add Health, N=2,284 sibling pairs	Marriage is associated with desistance; this effect decreases after controlling for genetic influences
Beijers et al. (2012)	European Jour- nal of Criminol- ogy	Netherlands, N=971	Marriage is associated with desistance among high-risk men mar- ried after 1970 in the Netherlands
Salvatore and Taniguchi (2012)	Deviant Behav- ior	Add Health, N=4,880	Both marriage and parenthood reduce of- fending
Van Schellen et al. (2012)	Journal of Quantitative Criminology	Netherlands CCLS, N=4,615	Marriage is associated with decreased con- viction frequency for women; only marriage to a non-convicted spouse is beneficial for men
Kerr et al. (2011)	Journal of Mar- riage and Family	US - Capaldi and Patterson (1989) Study, N=206	Men desist from crime and use alcohol and tobacco less frequently following childbirth

Table A.4 – Continued from previous page

Authors and Year	Journal	Data and sam-	Main results
		ple size	
Giordano et al. (2011)	Journal of Crim- inal Justice	Toledo Ado- lescent Re- lationships Study (TARS), N=1,066	Mothers are more likely to desist from crime than fathers; parents from disad- vantaged backgrounds have less desistance than those from advantaged ones
Forrest and Hay (2011)	Criminology & Criminal Justice	NLSY79, N=2,325	Unlike cohabitation, marriage is associated with reduced crime, but effects decrease once controlling for self-control measures
Herrera et al. (2011)	Journal of Re- search on Ado- lescence	Add Health, N=1,267 oppo- site sex romantic pairs	Relationship quality and length are asso- ciated with decreased crime
McGloin et al. (2011)	European Jour- nal of Criminol- ogy	Netherlands CCLS, N=4,612	The year of marriage and year after have the greatest effect on decreasing offending
Kreager et al. (2010)	Criminology	Denver Youth Survey, N=567	Teen and young adult motherhood is asso- ciated with decreased delinquency for disad- vantaged women; con- trolling for mother- hood and age, mar- riage is not associated with desistance
Petras et al. (2010)	Criminology	Netherlands CCLS, N=4,615	The effects of mar- riage on probability and frequency of con- viction are both nega- tive
Ragan and Beaver (2010)	Youth & Society	Add Health, N=1,884	Marriage is associated with marijuana desis- tance

Table A.4 - Continued from previous page

Authors and Year	Journal	Data and sam-	Main results
		ple size	
Skardhamar and Lyn-	Statistics Nor-	Norwegian Reg-	Men desist from crime
gstad (2009)	way Discussion	ister (Marriage	leading up to mar-
	Papers	N=121,207;	riage/childbirth; some
		First	rebound for serious of-
		birth = 175, 118)	fenses
Bersani et al. (2009)	Journal of	Netherlands	Marriage is associated
	Quantitative	CCLS, $N=4,615$	with a decrease in the
	Criminology		odds of a conviction;
			the effect for women is
			less than that for men
Savolainen (2009)	The British	Statistics Fin-	Cohabitation has a
	Journal of	land, N=1,325	stronger effect on
	Criminology		desistance than mar-
			riage; parenthood
			is associated with
		NIXO N. 1 400	decreased crime
Thompson and Petro-	Journal of Re-	NYS, N=1,496	First childbirth in-
v1c (2009)	search in Urime		creases odds of drug
	and Definquency		usage for men and
			women, except single
			docrossos odds of drug
			users for mon but
			women's drug usage
			depends on strength
			of relationship
Beaver et al. (2008)	Social Science	Add Health	Being married in-
Deaver et al. (2000)	Research	N=1555	creases the odds of
	rtoboaron	1,000	desisting
King et al. (2007)	Criminology	NYS. N=1.725	After accounting
	0		for selection into
			marriage, marriage
			has a significant but
			small effect on crime;
			the decrease is much
			greater for males than
			females
Massoglia and Uggen	Journal of	Youth Devel-	Relationship quality is
(2007)	Contemporary	opment Study,	positively correlated
	Criminal Justice	N=1,000	with desistance

Table A.4 – Continued from previous page

Authors and Year	Journal	Data and sam-	Main results
		ple size	
Sampson et al. (2006)	Criminology	Glueck and Glueck study (1950), N=500 male delinquents and 500 male nondelinquents	Marriage is associated with a 35 percent re- duction in the odds of crime for men
Maume et al. (2005)	Journal of Quantitative Criminology	NYS waves 5-6, N=593	Marriage promotes marijuana desis- tance only for those with high marital attachment
Hope et al. (2003)	The Sociological Quarterly	Add Health, N=6,877	Adolescent girls who keep their babies re- duce delinquent be- havior compared to those with other preg- nancy resolutions
Piquero et al. (2002)	Social Science Quarterly	California Youth Authority, N=524	Controlling for in- dividual differences, marriage is neg- atively associated with violent, but not nonviolent, arrests
Graham and Bowling (1995)	Home Office Re- search Study	UK household survey, N=2,529	Having children is a strong predictor of de- sistance for females but not for males

Table A.4 – Continued from previous page

B Paternal co-residence

In this section, we use the Survey of Income and Program Participation (US Census Bureau, 2015) to study father co-residence in households with unmarried mothers. We used respondents from the 1996 panel and identify births by identifying persons under 1 year old who appear in the household during the survey period. To have the same number of observations for each birth in the data, we restrict to households with survey responses 2 years before and after the birth. This leaves us with 842 observations. Our main variable, father presence, is equal to one if someone who has been listed as the father of the baby is present in the house for that month of the survey.





Figure B.1 shows the raw averages of father presence for all unmarried mothers in our sample. The figure suggests a modest increase in co-residence during pregnancy. Father presence increases by 10% during this time, from 30% of households 10 months before birth to 33 percent of households in the month of birth. It peaks at 35% 9 months after the birth.

C Time spent performing childcare

We use the American Time Use Survey (ATUS, 2022; Flood et al., 2022) to measure how much time married and unmarried parents spend performing childcare, in both the U.S. overall and restricting to Washington State.

To maximize sample size, we use data for all years available (2003-2020). Figure C.1 shows the average hours spent per day performing childcare, split by sex and with Washington state broken out in the red columns on the left. In the left panels, we define childcare as any activity which involves taking care of a household or non-household child.¹ Panel (a) shows that Washington women with at least one household child under the age of 2 spent 3.5 hours per day performing these activities, compared to 1.9 hours for Washington men. These estimates are similar to those in for the entire U.S. shown in the two columns on the right, 3.4 hours for women and 1.6 hours for men.

The ATUS allows respondents to indicate secondary childcare, when the respondent was caring for a child while doing something else, most commonly eating or drinking, preparing food, or watching television (but not sleeping). In panel (b), we include secondary childcare. This greatly increases the estimated hours although leaves the ratios unchanged across samples.

Panels (c) and (d) show the same estimates but restricting to unmarried respondents. The patterns are broadly similar to those for married couples. In most cases, unmarried couples report spending less time on childcare, regardless of whether secondary childcare is counted.

Finally, panels (e) and (f) restrict to respondents with only nonresident children. Here our estimates for Washington are quite noisy because there only 6 such females and 32 such males captured over the sample period. In both Washington and in the national sample, however, time spent caring for nonresident children is substantially lower: less than half an hour per day when considering primary activities and less than two hours when considering secondary childcare.

¹This includes activity codes 030000-030399 (caring for children, activities related to children's health or education),180301-180303 (travel related to taking care of children),180401-180404 (travel related to non-household children),180801 (travel related to using childcare services),040000-040299 (caring for non-household children, activities related to non-household children's health or education).

Figure C.1: Time spent performing childcare, ATUS



Married, living with kid(s) under 2



(f) Including secondary childcare

(e) Excluding secondary childcare

D Bounding effects for all potential parents

Our data only include parents who carry their child to term. The estimates can be viewed as reflecting the effects of *pregnancy* on couples who carry the child to term. The choice to keep the child is of course endogenous, so we measure the crime declines for those couples who respond to the pregnancy shock by deciding to keep the child. Even if the couples *choose* to begin trying for a family sometime earlier, the sharp decline in crime at t = -9 suggests that only the actual event of becoming pregnant triggers the crime decline.

The effects of pregnancy on the full population of *potential* parents may differ. To gauge the potential size of these effects, we conduct a simple bounding exercise. The approach is visualized in Figure D.1 and D.2, where we impute a path of arrest arrest for the set of missing mothers / fathers who conceive at t = -9 but elect not to keep the child. Their arrest rates are assumed to follow the same age profiles of the focal mothers / fathers up to t = -9, then experience the same changes as *future* mothers / fathers who conceive within the next 1-5 years.

In other words, the missing couples who terminate a pregnancy are assumed to follow the same time trend as couples who are the closest match in terms of age. In the first 2 years of the plot, these are the focal parents before they experience their pregnancy. Then the counterfactual group shifts to include only the future parents as the focal parents are affected by pregnancy. Level differences would not affect the exercise—since we employ a difference-in-differences framework to estimate the effects, we require only imputed trends.

Mixing these missing parents into our sample in varying proportion would lead to different estimates that attenuate effects towards zero. Figure D.1 and D.2 shows the potential impact of this attenuation with varying degrees of missingness. If there are a large share of missing couples due to termination, effects of pregnancy may be significantly smaller. Even at 50% missingness, however, men who conceived at t = -9 would still show an over 10% long-run proportional decline in crime. Women still show a sustained 35% decline at the same rate of missingness.

Our estimates also require the couple to be named on the birth record. Mixing in the trends for missing parents not named on the record might attenuate the "overall" effect further if these parents do not respond to pregnancy. If they do respond in similar ways to named parents, then mixing them in would not attenuate estimates.

Proportionally, the declines around pregnancy are similar for married vs. unmarried parents, and similar over the full event time window for older vs. younger parents. These groups differ in the share of records missing parents' information. Mothers with prior arrests are also more likely to have missing father information, and yet show very similar responses. This suggests that adding parents who have a child but are not named on the birth records would be unlikely to substantially affect the estimates. Still, a reasonable worst case bound would assume the missing parents do not respond at all; this bound would thus map to the exercises discussed above.

Finally, it is also possible that some couples become pregnant and then *elect* whether to terminate based on whether the mother or the father has been recently engaging in more or less crime. This kind of selection is more pernicious because it might lead us to conclude family formation causes crime declines when in fact, for the mothers / fathers in our sample, recent crime declines cause the decision to carry the child to term and thus appear in our sample.

Several pieces of evidence weigh against this interpretation. First, if couples elect to terminate

because of increasing crime around pregnancy, then presumably they would also be more likely to *not* terminate because of decreasing crime around pregnancy. This selection pattern would generate negative pre-trends in the run-up to conception, but we see no such evidence of these trends in our estimates. Instead, given the sharp timing of the crime declines we document, any time-varying changes in offending propensities that affect the decision to terminate would need to occur very close to the moment of conception. Though we cannot rule out this possibility, we view it as unlikely.

Second, if couples elect to terminate due to differences in age-crime profiles (e.g., the potential mothers who terminate at age 22 have steeper / increasing profiles at 22, while the potential mothers who do not terminate at age 22 do not), these differences would also affect the age-crime profiles for the comparison groups used to estimate the age-adjusted effects. That is, mothers who terminate after conceiving at age 24 would also have different age profiles at 22. To the extent that age profiles for couples who terminate are similar to the age profiles of couples who terminate 1-5 years later, as we show in the paper holds for couples who do *not* terminate, these differences would be absorbed in our diff-in-diff when including all couples in the data. Including the couples that terminate would thus lead us back to the attenuation story discussed above.





Notes: This figure illustrates the potential attenuation in estimates due to the inclusion of missing parents in the sample. Panel (a) plots mothers' and future mothers' arrest rates, along with an imputed path of arrest rates for missing mothers. This path takes the focal mothers' mean at t = -9 and uses changes in future mothers' arrest rates to impute an implied future arrest rate. Panel (b) plots the implied effect of mixing in these missing mothers in varying proportions on regression estimates. In both panels, the vertical dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of birth.





(a) Potential mothers vs. older mother counterfactuals

Notes: This figure illustrates the potential attenuation in estimates due to the inclusion of missing parents in the sample. Panel (a) plots fathers' and future fathers' arrest rates, along with an imputed path of arrest rates for missing fathers. This path takes the focal fathers' mean at t = -9 and uses changes in future fathers' arrest rates to impute an implied future arrest rate. Panel (b) plots the implied effect of mixing in these missing fathers in varying proportions on regression estimates. In both panels, the vertical dashed lines mark 9 months before the birth and the month of birth.

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