Setting the Stage

Fertility—or the ability to conceive and bear children—has impacted women’s lives for millennia. Cultural, social, economic, religious, and personal factors have influenced questions of whether to have a child, when to have a child, how many children to have, and in what context to have them. How have Utahns made childbearing decisions? What story does state and national data tell us about Utah? Do Utah trends parallel national trends, or do unique Utah factors impact the data? To understand trends and changes related to fertility in Utah, this research snapshot focuses on four areas:

1) Fertility trends from 1970–2021;
2) Marital status trends from 1970–2021;
3) Cultural contexts by decade (1970–2020/2021); and
4) Looking ahead.

Fertility Trends from 1970–2021

For the last 50 years, Utah’s total fertility rate (TFR)\(^1\) has been consistently ahead of the national average, with Utahns having more children compared to the nation as a whole (see Figure 1).\(^2\) Utah women outpaced the nation the most in 1980, having 1.3 more children than the average American woman. Starting around 2010, however, that gap began to narrow as total fertility rates in the state and nation started to decline. In 2020, the difference between Utah and the nation was 0.3. Compared to 50 years ago, Utah’s TFR is 42.4% lower, and the nation’s rate is 36.0% lower.

In addition to Utah women having higher total fertility rates, they generally marry earlier and have their first child at a younger age than the average American woman. For example, in 2010 and 2021\(^3\) Utah women, on average, married 3.5 years earlier than American women (see Figure 2).\(^4\) Still, in the last 50 years, women’s age at first marriage and first birth\(^5\) (see Figure 3) has risen both nationally and in Utah, shifting from women’s early 20s to mid-20s for Utah and later 20s for the US.
Marital Status Trends from 1970–2021
Alongside total fertility rates, it is important to understand how marital status has shifted over time. The share of Utah women who have never married was at its lowest in 1980 (22.0%) and increased to 28.3% in 2021 (see Figure 4).9

The share of US women who have never married also rose similarly over the last 50 years. A consistently higher percentage of Utah women have been married compared to US women, with the gap widening to an average of 6.3% in the last two decades (see Figure 5).11

Still, marriage rates have declined over the last five decades in Utah and the US (a 6.3% and 11.9% drop, respectively). In 2021, 56.6% of Utah women were married. Conversely, divorce rates of US women tripled between 1970 and 2010.13 Divorce rates of Utah women largely followed national trends: divorce percentages climbed between 1970 (3.8%) and 2010 (10.1%), then dropped slightly in the last decade (9.8%, see Figure 6).14 Over time, the vast majority of Utah children have lived in two-parent households, and generally at higher rates than national averages.15 The percentage of Utah women in households with their own children under 18—but without a spouse present—has been low, with some fluctuation throughout the decades (see Figure 7).16 The peak occurred in 1990 at 8.1% and then decreased to 6.1% in 2021.

See Appendix for a compilation of Utah and US data from all seven figures.

Cultural Contexts by Decade (1970–2020/2021)
The following section summarizes data about each decade, including total fertility rates, marital status rates, and other demographics such as education and religion. State and national cultural factors that may have impacted Utah women during each decade are highlighted as well.

1970: In 1970, Utah women approaching the average age at first birth (21.4 years old) were Baby Boomers born in or around 1949; 62.9% were married, almost one in four (24.5%) had never married, and 3.8% were divorced.20 A mere 5.0% of Utah households with children were headed by women without a spouse present.21 The average number of children born to Utah women was 3.3.22 Utah’s racial and ethnic makeup was 97.4% White.23 In the US in 1970, 11.2% of women ages 25 to 64 in the labor force held a bachelor’s degree; a third (33.5%) had less than a high school diploma (did not graduate from high school or earn a GED).24 In 1979, US women earned 62.3 cents to every dollar that men earned.25
During the 1970s, women experienced the social impact of no-fault divorce laws, laws prohibiting discrimination against pregnant women, the availability of oral contraceptives, an increase of women on college campuses (in both undergraduate and graduate programs), and a significant increase of women in the workforce. California was the first state to pass a no-fault divorce law in 1969; Utah did not pass similar legislation until 1987. Women in the US were more likely to consider marriage at a later age after no-fault divorce laws were passed. After 1970, the use of oral birth control pills increased substantially among US college graduate women who were entering professional programs, which allowed for more personal choice in family planning and greater participation in the workforce. In addition, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 prohibited employers from making hiring and other job-related decisions that discriminated against pregnant women. Until the law was put into effect, women could still legally be dismissed from their jobs for becoming pregnant. Furthermore, the Equal Rights Amendment—what would then have become the 27th amendment to the US Constitution—came close to ratification during the 1970s. The dominant religion in Utah is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Church released a statement on birth control in 1969: though it still encouraged its members to avoid the use of birth control, it recognized that considerations such as a woman’s health ought to be factored into decisions. This softened stance likely provided its members, which comprised about two-thirds of Utah’s population at this time, with the latitude to exercise more control over their fertility.

1980: In 1980, Utah women approaching the average age at first birth (21.9 years old) were Baby Boomers born in or around 1958; 63.2% were married, 22.0% had never married, and 6.6% were divorced. A small proportion (6.7%) of Utah households with children were headed by women without a spouse present. The average number of children born to Utah women was 3.1. Utah’s racial and ethnic makeup was 94.7% White—a 2.7% decrease from the previous decade. Compared to the previous decade, more US women in the labor force held a bachelor’s degree (18.7%), and fewer had less than a high school diploma (18.4%).

Divorce rates peaked in the early 1980s and began to fall by the late 1980s. However, individuals and families were adjusting economically and socially from the impact of earlier rises. Additionally, the 1980s marked the beginning of a steady decline in the gender gap of labor force participation, with women increasing their commitment to education and to making career decisions that complemented their lifestyle preferences. Millennials began to be born during this time into a much different social landscape than previous generations had, with more varied family dynamics (such as older mothers and more working mothers).

1990: In 1990, Utah women approaching the average age at first birth (22.9 years old) were Gen Xers born in or around 1967; 60.6% were married, 22.6% had never married, and 8.7% were divorced. Nearly one in twelve (8.1%) Utah households with children were headed by women without a spouse present. The average number of children born to Utah women dropped below three for the first time. Utah’s racial and ethnic makeup was 93.8% White. Among US women, those in the workforce who held a bachelor’s degree continued to increase (24.5%), and working women having less than a high school diploma continued to decrease (11.3%). The US gender wage gap decreased 9.6% percent since 1979: in 1990, women earned 71.9 cents to every dollar that men earned. The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) was passed in 1993 and guaranteed employees unpaid time off for family and medical reasons, such as for the birth or adoption of a child. Prior to its passage, some employees left their jobs when they had a medical condition requiring a week or more of time off work. In other situations, women lost employment and were discriminated against when they took four or more weeks off to have a child. Thus, the FMLA provided much-needed protections. Because more families had dual incomes and more women were working single parents, children growing up in this decade were sometimes referred to as the “latchkey generation.” Children had more time alone or with siblings when parents were still at work and they were done with school. These experiences varied in terms of how much structure the children were given, how much responsibility the children had while at home without parents, and how well the children adapted to the independence.

2000: In 2000, Utah women approaching the average age at first birth (23.3 years old) were Gen Xers born in or around 1977; 59.4% were married, a quarter (25.2%) had never married, and 8.8% were divorced. The proportion of Utah households with children that were headed by women (7.5%) started to decline in this decade. The average number of children born to Utah women held steady at 2.8. Utah’s racial and ethnic makeup showed signs of diversifying: 89.2% were White and 10.8% were Hispanic, Asian, American Indian or Native Alaskan, Black, or another race. Among US women, those in the workforce who held a bachelor’s degree increased to 30.1%, and the percentage of working women with less than a high school diploma decreased to 8.5%. The US gender wage gap decreased 5.0% from the previous decade: women in 2000 earned 76.9 cents for every dollar that men earned. One of the major defining factors of this decade was the Great Recession, which began in late 2007 and continued...
through 2009. Economic downturns may influence a decline in births and total fertility rates.\textsuperscript{64} In Utah, total fertility rates peaked in 2008 and have since been on the decline. It is possible that the financial impact of the recession accelerated total fertility declines. Other financial concerns contributing to the postponement and reduction in childbearing may have included per capita student debt, which increased by 285\% between 2003 and 2015.\textsuperscript{65} Data trends also showed that in this decade Utah women were postponing the birth of their first child until later in life, which can affect how many children women are physically able to have.

In the year 2000, an estimated 66.0\% of Utah’s population were Latter-day Saints, down from 72.0\% in 1990.\textsuperscript{66} In 1998, Latter-day Saint leadership had issued new directions on family size in their official handbook, affirming that the number of children a couple decides to have ought to be a private decision.\textsuperscript{67} This likely impacted TFR declines in this decade as parents who were Latter-day Saints felt increased autonomy in their family planning.

\textbf{2010:} In 2010, Utah women approaching the average age at first birth (24.5 years old)\textsuperscript{68} were Millennials born in or around 1985; 58.3\% were married and the number of Utah women who had never married was steady (25.8\%). The number of divorced Utah women hit its peak (10.1\%) within the 50 years examined.\textsuperscript{69} The proportion of Utah households with children that were headed by women was 7.3\%.\textsuperscript{70} Of note nationally, even as the teen birth rate declined, the percentage of babies born to unmarried mothers in the US rose from 18.4\% in 1980 to 40.7\% in 2011.\textsuperscript{71} At the start of this decade, the average number of children born to Utah women was 2.5.\textsuperscript{72} Four of five Utahns were White (80.4\%); every fifth Utahn identified as another ethnicity or race.\textsuperscript{73}

Among US women in 2010, those in the workforce who held a bachelor’s degree had increased to 36.4\%; by 2016, this proportion had increased to 41.6\%.\textsuperscript{74} In 2010, the percentage of working women with less than a high school diploma had decreased to 6.8\%.\textsuperscript{75} The US gender wage gap decreased 4.3\% from the previous decade: women in 2010 earned 81.2 cents for every dollar that men earned.\textsuperscript{76} While the wage gap remained significant, it is important to note that from 1979 to 2016, the gap decreased by 19.6\%.\textsuperscript{77}

Financial concerns continued to be a factor for total fertility rates in this decade. Utah’s median home prices began escalating in 2011, and Utahns began to carry more housing debt, on average, than Americans in other states.\textsuperscript{78} From the first quarter of 2015 to the first quarter of 2020, the change in housing price index in Utah was 53.0\%—an unprecedented increase.\textsuperscript{79} The shortage of housing drove up prices and excluded many from homeownership.\textsuperscript{80} Research suggests that in expensive housing markets, parents may delay first births by as much as three to four years.\textsuperscript{81}

An estimated 69.0\% of Utahns were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 2010.\textsuperscript{82} In 2012, the proselytizing religion lowered the age at which young people could begin missionary service.\textsuperscript{83} Women could now choose to serve an 18-month mission at age 19; the previous minimum age was 21. The age change led to a historic increase of women serving missions and may have impacted their age at first marriage and first birth.\textsuperscript{84} By 2018, the proportion of Utahns who were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had decreased to around 55.0–61.6\%.\textsuperscript{85} As noted in a report by the Kem C. Gardner Policy Institute, several factors related to the Church will likely impact future fertility trends in Utah.\textsuperscript{86} First, Church teachings regarding women’s and men’s roles in the home and in the workplace have shifted to be more flexible. Second, individual interpretations of institutional guidance will continue to evolve as Utah integrates with the global culture. Both factors will impact when this demographic chooses to marry and have children, and how many children they choose to have.

\textbf{2020/2021:} Because some 2020 data from the US Census and American Community Survey was deemed experimental, we used 2021 estimates where appropriate. In 2020, Utah women approaching the average age at first birth (28.8 years old)\textsuperscript{87} were Millennials born in or around 1991; 2021 data showed Utah women’s median age at first marriage was 24.5.\textsuperscript{88} Consistently, most Utah women were married (56.4\%); women who had never married reached a high (28.3\%), and nearly one in ten were divorced (9.8\%). The proportion of Utah households with children that were headed by women was 6.3\%.\textsuperscript{89} The average number of children born to Utah women dropped below 2.0 for the first time to 1.9.\textsuperscript{90} This is significant, given that a TFR of 2.1 is considered necessary to replace the population.\textsuperscript{91} In 2020, Utah’s population had increased in diversity: the non-White population reached 24.6\%, with 15.1\% identifying as Hispanic or Latino, 2.4\% identifying as Asian, 1.1\% identifying as Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, 1.1\% identifying as Black or African American, and 0.9\% identifying as American Indian or Alaska Native.\textsuperscript{92}

Utah entered 2020 with a roaring economy and the lowest unemployment levels in the nation.\textsuperscript{93} As a business-friendly state, Utah had recruited numerous businesses and become a hub for the technology industry. However, the COVID-19 pandemic soon hit. Data over the coming years may reveal an interactive effect of the pandemic on total fertility rates. On the one hand, some research suggests that more time at home created a “baby bump,” or small TFR boost.\textsuperscript{94} On the other hand, increasing inflation and other ongoing economic implications of the pandemic may influence decreases in fertility.\textsuperscript{95}
Looking Ahead

The Utah of the past relied heavily upon births for its population growth. As the state has grown, total fertility rates have decreased, but net migration has allowed Utah to maintain sufficient growth in the labor force. Migration may help maintain population levels, but it also heightens concerns such as housing and water shortages.

Policy changes, such as same-sex marriage, are social dynamics that could affect total fertility rates. In 2019, 14.7% of US same-sex couples had at least one child under 18 in their household, compared to 37.8% for opposite-sex couples, and same-sex couples were more likely to have adopted children or stepchildren. Total fertility rates may also be impacted by the recent Supreme Court ruling on abortion and subsequent legislative changes at state levels.

Overall, Utah is undergoing change when it comes to the formation and makeup of families: divorce rates are dropping, but age of first marriage and age of mothers at their first birth are increasing, and more women than ever have never married. Utah’s TFR has declined since the onset of the Great Recession, and that trend is not predicted to reverse, even if there are some rebounds.

Policymakers should use TFR trends and cultural contexts to inform discussions about population replacement rates and to develop ways to support childbearing in Utah. Scholars acknowledge the complexity of the issue but point to government support (e.g., tax credits) and family-friendly employment policies as two ways to encourage childbearing. Individuals and families need access to resources that help them plan for and raise children. These resources include, but are not limited to, affordable access to prenatal and postnatal education and care, mental health support, and food programs such as Utah’s Women, Infants, and Children Program and the National School Breakfast Program. Other considerations include affordable childcare, affordable housing, and more supportive parental leave laws. Policymakers must also consider how total fertility rates impact outcomes such as school enrollment and labor force participation, while at the same time they must account for the impact of the aging population on healthcare costs.

Conclusion

The last 50 years have not seen one static “Utah woman.” Rather, Utah women have made diverse decisions about their childbearing and families, changing throughout the decades in response to cultural contexts, social norms, and personal circumstances. Looking to the future, community leaders will need to carefully consider how to balance resources among various population needs. Utah policymakers will need to support women and families so they are empowered to make childbearing choices that are right for them. When we support Utah women and families, we will help all Utahns thrive.

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1 Total fertility rate (TFR) refers to the “total number of children that would be born to each woman if she were to live to the end of her child-bearing years and give birth to children in alignment with the prevailing age-specific fertility rates.” Organisation for Economic Development. (2023). Fertility rates (indicator). https://doi.org/10.1787/8272b01-en

3 Because the Census Bureau has only released experimental one-year American Community Survey (ACS) estimates for 2020, we used 2021 one-year ACS estimates when drawing on this data source. See https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/data/experimental-data.html.


Church lowers missionary service age


See endnote five for average-age-at-first-marriage data sources.

See endnote nine for marital-status data sources.

See endnote thirteen for women-without-spouse-present data sources.


See endnote two for total-fertility-rate data sources.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). Decennial census national redistricting data: P2 Hispanic or Latino, and not Hispanic or Latino by race. https://data.census.gov/table?q=utah+population+by+Race+and+Ethnicity&g=010XX0US040XX0US49&tid=DECENNIALP2


See endnote five for average-age-at-first-marriage data sources.

See endnote four for median-age-at-first-marriage data sources.

See endnote thirteen for women-without-spouse-present data sources.


U.S. Census Bureau. (2020). Decennial census national redistricting data: P2 Hispanic or Latino, and not Hispanic or Latino by race. https://data.census.gov/table?q=utah+population+by+Race+and+Ethnicity&g=010XX0US040XX0US49&tid=DECENNIALP2

## APPENDIX: SNAPSHOT DATA SUMMARY

**TOTAL FERTILITY RATE, MARITAL STATUS, AND HOUSEHOLD STATUS OF UTAH AND US WOMEN FROM 1970 TO 2020/2021**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
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<td>21.0</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>25.1</td>
<td>26.1</td>
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<td>23.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>22.7</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>24.9</td>
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<td>22.6%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>US</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
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<td>58.3%</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>US</td>
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<td>58.9%</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
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<td>8.8%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>US</td>
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<td>8.6%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
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<td>9.6%</td>
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