

Birth order, maternal immunisations, and infant infections

Thomas Schober







NZ Policy Research Institute, Auckland University of Technology

65th Annual Conference of the New Zealand Association of Economists (NZAE)
Victoria University Of Wellington, 25 June 2025

IDI disclaimer

- ▶ Disclaimer: Access to the data used in this study was provided by Stats NZ under conditions designed to give effect to the security and confidentiality provisions of the Data and Statistics Act 2022. The results presented in this study are the work of the author, not Stats NZ or individual data suppliers. These results are not official statistics. They have been created for research purposes from the Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI) which is carefully managed by Stats NZ. For more information about the IDI please visit <https://www.stats.govt.nz/integrated-data/>.

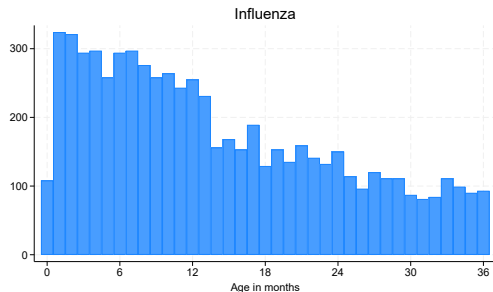
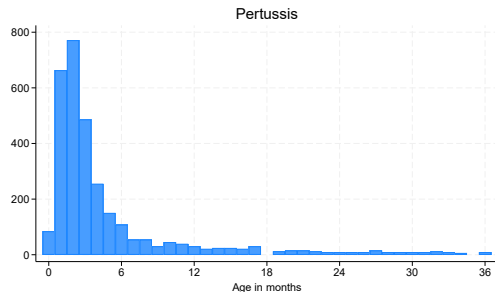
Introduction

- ▶ pregnancy and infancy are periods of increased vulnerability to infections
- ▶ maternal immunisations: protect pregnant women and their infants, but uptake remains low
 -  US survey: 47.2 % received influenza, 55.4 % Tdap during pregnancy (Razzaghi et al., [2023](#))
 -  NZ administrative data 2018: 30.8 % received influenza, 43.6 % Tdap (Howe et al., [2020](#))
- ▶ growing evidence that birth order affects early childhood health and parental behaviour
 -  lower uptake of childhood immunisations (Pruckner et al., [2021](#))
 -  higher rates of hospitalisations and drug prescriptions for contagious diseases in early life (Pruckner et al., [2021](#); Daysal et al., [2021](#))
- ▶ this paper: studies the relationship between
 -  birth order and maternal immunisation against pertussis and influenza
 -  birth order and childhood hospitalisation due to these diseases

Why should birth order matter?








- ▶ parental investment and behavior
 - ▶ time and financial constraints, parenting style (Price, [2008](#))
 - ▶ mothers are less likely to attend pre-natal care and breastfeed later-born children (Buckles and Kolka, [2014](#); Brenøe and Molitor, [2018](#); Lehmann et al., [2018](#))
 - ▶ later-born children are less likely to participate in preventive medical health checks and have lower childhood immunisation uptake (Pruckner et al., [2021](#); Lin et al., [2022](#))
- ▶ biological reasons
 - ▶ nutrition availability increases with each pregnancy
 - ▶ later-born children are healthier at birth (Brenøe and Molitor, [2018](#); Pruckner et al., [2021](#); Björkegren and Svaleryd, [2023](#))
- ▶ family environment: influence of (older) siblings
 - ▶ older children can 'bring home' common viruses or bacteria
 - ▶ younger siblings have higher rates respiratory/infectious conditions in early life (Pruckner et al., [2021](#); Daysal et al., [2021](#))
- ▶ endogeneity and selection explanations

Pertussis and influenza hospitalisations in NZ







- ▶ repeated **pertussis** (= whooping cough) outbreaks in [New Zealand](#)
 - ▶ young infants face a higher risk of hospitalisation and death (Kandeil et al., [2020](#))
- ▶ annual **influenza** seasons
 - ▶ approximately 1 in 5 unvaccinated children and 1 in 10 unvaccinated adults infected by seasonal influenza annually (Somes et al., [2018](#))
- ▶ potential long-term effects: brain development (Al-Haddad et al., [2019](#)), socio-economic outcomes (Almond, [2006](#))

Maternal immunisation

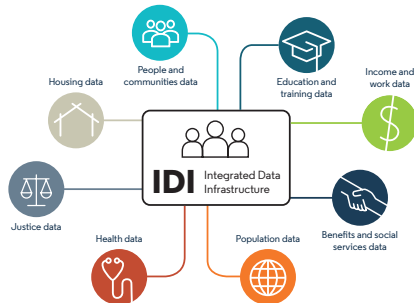
- ▶ 2 benefits of vaccination during pregnancy
 -  protecting women during pregnancy and the fetus from congenital infections and other harmful effects
 -  transfer of maternal antibodies to infants via placental transfer and/or breastfeeding
- ▶ vaccine effectiveness in infants of immunised mothers
 -  pertussis: 69-91 % for pertussis prevention; 91-94 % for hospitalisation, 95 % for death (Vygen-Bonnet et al., [2020](#))
 -  influenza: 48 % and 72 % reduced risk of infants having laboratory-confirmed influenza infection and associated hospitalization (Nunes and Madhi, [2018](#))
- ▶ maternal immunisations recommended and funded in many countries, including NZ
 -  pertussis: for all pregnant women since 2013
 - ▶ originally funded when given from 28 to 38 weeks' gestation
 - ▶ since 2019 funded when given any time in second or third trimester
 -  influenza: since 2010
 - ▶ recommended from 1 April, before usual May to September influenza virus activity
 - ▶ any trimester
 -  covid: recommended since June 2021

Childhood immunisation

- ▶ National Immunisation Schedule includes three acellular pertussis-containing vaccines in the first year of life
 -  6-in-1 vaccine at 6 weeks, 3 months, 5 months: diphtheria, tetanus, acellular pertussis, polio, hepatitis B, Haemophilus influenzae type b
 -  booster doses at ages 4 and 11 years
- ▶ additional first-year vaccinations: rotavirus, PCV (Pneumococcal vaccine), MMR (measles), Meningococcal B (since 2013)
- ▶ influenza: recommended for everyone over 6 months of age; publicly funded for children only if they have certain chronic conditions
 -  only 4.4 % of children under five received the vaccine in 2018 (Marsh et al., [2024](#))
 -  free influenza vaccines for children in 2022, abandoned in 2024
- ▶ maternal immunisation to fill the gap until infants can build up their own immunity

Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI)



- ▶ population-wide research database managed by StatsNZ
- ▶ linked micro-data from government agencies, NGOs, surveys
 - ▶ births from Department of Internal Affairs (DIA)
 - ▶ vaccine type and date from Aotearoa Immunisation Register (AIR) (*replaced the National Immunisation Register*)
 - ▶ hospital discharge records from Ministry of Health (MoH) with diagnostic information
 - ▶ National Maternity Collection: visits to lead maternity carer



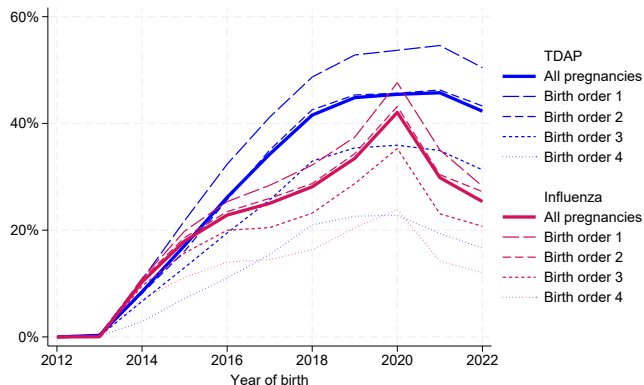
Empirical strategy

$$Y_{im} = \alpha + \sum_j \beta_j I(BO_{im} = j) + \gamma X_i + \delta_m + \epsilon_{im},$$

Y_{im}	outcome of pregnancy/child i of mother m
$BO_{im} = j$	birth order indicators ($j = 2, 3, 4+$)
X_i	sex, year-by-month of birth
δ_m	mother fixed effects

- ▶ exploit within-family variation in birth order to account for time-constant unobserved factors at the family level (e. g., genetic endowment, SES)
- ▶ main sample: children born between 2015-2023 for maternal immunisations
 -  mother with at least 2 births
 -  excluding mothers with multiple births → birth order = order of pregnancies
- ▶ alternative specification with linear birth order effect
- ▶ assumption: family size is exogenous to children's health endowment

Immunisation trends



► similar to Howe et al. (2020)








- using supplementary data on payments made to GPs for vaccination and pharmaceutical claims for vaccine dispensing
- 43.6 % received pertussis and 30.9 % influenza vaccine in 2018

Effects of birth order on immunisations

	(1) Maternal Tdap	(2) Maternal Influenza	(3) All infant immunisations
Birth order 2	-0.069*** (0.004)	-0.013*** (0.004)	-0.016*** (0.001)
Birth order 3	-0.112*** (0.007)	-0.043*** (0.007)	-0.031*** (0.002)
Birth order 4	-0.163*** (0.012)	-0.099*** (0.011)	-0.057*** (0.004)
N	209,049	209,049	503,118
Mean	0.426	0.322	0.913

Notes: Births between 2015 and 2023 in columns 1-2, and births between 2008 and 2023 in column 3. Regressions include mother fixed effects, year by month of birth fixed effects, and a female indicator. The mean of the dependent variable is displayed at the bottom of the table. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the mother level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Why do maternal immunisations decrease with birth order?

- ▶ mothers may believe immunisation during an earlier pregnancy provides sufficient protection
 - ▶  **test:** use a sample of mothers who received maternal immunisation during their first pregnancy and had at least two subsequent pregnancies
 - ▶  would expect a higher vaccine uptake for the third pregnancy compared to the second
- ▶ adverse effects of immunisation at earlier pregnancies?
 - ▶  medical literature suggests severe side-effects are rare
 - ▶  **test:** control for hospitalisations during previous pregnancy
- ▶ significant birth order effects also **number of visits to LMC** and **ultrasounds** during pregnancy
 - ▶  less recommendations/opportunities for vaccinations
 - ▶  but controlling for number of visits does not affect birth order effects substantially
 - ▶  generally lower uptake of services during pregnancy → parental behaviour and resources (time constraints)?







Effects of birth order on infant hospitalisations for infectious diseases

	Pertussis		Influenza	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
	≤ 12 months	≤ 3 months	≤ 12 months	≤ 3 months
Birth order 2	39.7** (13.1)	29.3** (11.4)	49.9** (17.8)	46.4*** (9.3)
Birth order 3	79.0** (26.5)	72.5** (23.3)	104.4** (36.1)	69.5*** (18.8)
Birth order 4	109.0* (42.7)	81.1* (37.1)	227.0*** (60.7)	97.0** (31.5)
N	897,852	897,852	897,852	897,852
Mean	129.3	95.6	250.6	74.8








Notes: Coefficients and Standard errors scaled to per 100,000 children. Births between 2000 and 2022. Regressions include mother fixed effects, year by month of birth fixed effects, and a female indicator. The mean of the dependent variable is displayed at the bottom of the table. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the mother level.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Effects of birth order on infant hospitalisations for infectious diseases

- ▶ large effects of birth orders on pertussis and influenza hospitalisations
- ▶ are infections higher *because* of lower maternal immunisations?
 -  can't be the (only) explanation:
 -  even before maternal immunisation was available, there are some birth order effects
 -  birth order effects for infant hospitalisations due to **RSV**
- ▶ is it because of worse general health of later born?
 -  no, they have higher **birth weight**
- ▶ 'contagion effect': having older siblings increases exposure
- ▶ is it *enough* to immunise older siblings? **No!**
 -  restrict the sample to first-born children and later-born children whose older siblings were fully immunised at 12 months
 -  means they received three doses of the 6-in-1 vaccine that include pertussis

Summary & discussion

- ▶ large decrease of uptake of maternal immunisations with each subsequent pregnancy
- ▶ three-fold disadvantage for later-born children
 -  lower uptake of maternal immunisation
 -  lower uptake of childhood immunisations
 -  increased exposure to infectious diseases
- ▶ infants who would benefit the most from protection tend to miss out most often
- ▶ work in progress
 -  heterogeneity analysis by child/family characteristics
 -  robustness checks: controlling for health-at-birth, age of mother
 -  effects on mother? hospitalisation during pregnancy by birth order
 -  (covid vaccine?)

Thank you!

thomas.schober@aut.ac.nz

References I

- ▶ Almond, Douglas (2006). "Is the 1918 influenza pandemic over? Long-term effects of in utero influenza exposure in the post-1940 US population". In: *Journal of Political Economy* 114.4, pp. 672–712.
- ▶ Björkegren, Evelina and Helena Svaleryd (2023). "Birth order and health disparities throughout the life course". In: *Social Science & Medicine* 318, p. 115605.
- ▶ Black, Sandra E, Paul J Devereux, and Kjell G Salvanes (2016). "Healthy (?), wealthy, and wise: Birth order and adult health". In: *Economics & Human Biology* 23, pp. 27–45.
- ▶ Brenøe, Anne Ardila and Ramona Molitor (2018). "Birth order and health of newborns: what can we learn from Danish registry data?" In: *Journal of Population Economics* 31, pp. 363–395.
- ▶ Buckles, Kasey and Shawna Kolka (2014). "Prenatal investments, breastfeeding, and birth order". In: *Social Science & Medicine* 118, pp. 66–70.
- ▶ CDC (2025). *Pertussis Incidence by Age Group and Year (1990-2023)*. URL: <https://www.cdc.gov/pertussis/php/surveillance/pertussis-incidence-by-age-group-and-year.html>.
- ▶ Daysal, N Meltem, Hui Ding, Maya Rossin-Slater, and Hannes Schwandt (2021). *Germs in the family: The short-and long-term consequences of intra-household disease spread*. Tech. rep. National Bureau of Economic Research.
- ▶ Al-Haddad, Benjamin JS, Elizabeth Oler, Blair Armistead, Nada A Elsayed, Daniel R Weinberger, Raphael Bernier, Irina Burd, Raj Kapur, Bo Jacobsson, Caihong Wang, et al. (2019). "The fetal origins of mental illness". In: *American journal of obstetrics and gynecology* 221.6, pp. 549–562.
- ▶ Howe, Anna S, Leah Pointon, Natalie Gauld, Janine Paynter, Esther Willing, and Nikki Turner (2020). "Pertussis and influenza immunisation coverage of pregnant women in New Zealand". In: *Vaccine* 38.43, pp. 6766–6776.
- ▶ IAC (2025). *Influenza disease*. Version 4. Immunisation Advisory Centre.
- ▶ Kandeil, Walid, Caroline van Den Ende, Eveline M Bunge, Victoria A Jenkins, Maria Angeles Ceregido, and Adrienne Guignard (2020). "A systematic review of the burden of pertussis disease in infants and the effectiveness of maternal immunization against pertussis". In: *Expert Review of Vaccines* 19.7, pp. 621–638.
- ▶ Lehmann, Jee-Yeon K, Ana Nuevo-Chiquero, and Marian Vidal-Fernandez (2018). "The early origins of birth order differences in children's outcomes and parental behavior". In: *Journal of Human Resources* 53.1, pp. 123–156.
- ▶ Lin, Allison, Duy Pham, Hannah Rosenthal, and Ruth Milanaik (2022). "Birth order and up-to-date vaccination status". In: *Pediatrics* 150.4.
- ▶ Marsh, Samantha, Janine Paynter, Peter McIntyre, and Rajneeta Saraf (2024). *Flu vaccines are no longer free for all under-12s in NZ – children living in poverty and at higher risk will bear the brunt*. The Conversation. URL: <https://theconversation.com/flu-vaccines-are-no-longer-free-for-all-under-12s-in-nz-children-living-in-poverty-and-at-higher-risk-will-bear-the-brunt-228095>.
- ▶ Nunes, Marta C and Shabir A Madhi (2018). "Influenza vaccination during pregnancy for prevention of influenza confirmed illness in the infants: a systematic review and meta-analysis". In: *Human vaccines & immunotherapeutics* 14.3, pp. 758–766.
- ▶ Price, Joseph (2008). "Parent-child quality time: Does birth order matter?" In: *Journal of human resources* 43.1, pp. 240–265.

References II

- ▶ Pruckner, Gerald J, Nicole Schneeweis, Thomas Schober, and Martina Zweimüller (2021). "Birth order, parental health investment, and health in childhood". In: *Journal of Health Economics* 76, p. 102426.
- ▶ Razzaghi, Hilda, KE Kahn, and K Calhoun (2023). "Influenza, Tdap, and COVID-19 Vaccination Coverage and Hesitancy Among Pregnant Women - United States, April 2023". In: *MMWR. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 72.
- ▶ Somes, Mitchell P, Robin M Turner, Liam J Dwyer, and Anthony T Newall (2018). "Estimating the annual attack rate of seasonal influenza among unvaccinated individuals: a systematic review and meta-analysis". In: *Vaccine* 36.23, pp. 3199–3207.
- ▶ Vygen-Bonnet, Sabine, Wiebke Hellenbrand, Edeltraut Garbe, Rüdiger von Kries, Christian Bogdan, Ulrich Heininger, Marianne Röbl-Mathieu, and Thomas Harder (2020). "Safety and effectiveness of acellular pertussis vaccination during pregnancy: a systematic review". In: *BMC infectious diseases* 20, pp. 1–22.

Effects of birth order on RSV hospitalisations

	RSV hospitalisation	
	(1) ≤ 12 months	(2) ≤ 3 months
Birth order 2	1237.7*** (43.8)	846.2*** (29.6)
Birth order 3	1827.3*** (85.0)	1201.8*** (57.8)
Birth order 4	2538.4*** (139.0)	1594.1*** (92.2)
N	897,852	897,852
Mean	1665.3	792.2

Notes: Regressions include mother fixed effects, year by month of birth fixed effects, and a female indicator. The mean of the dependent variable is displayed at the bottom of the table. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the mother level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Mothers believe immunisation during previous pregnancy is enough

	(1) Maternal Tdap	(2) Maternal Influenza
Birth order 2	-0.463*** (0.014)	-0.498*** (0.015)
Birth order 3	-0.513*** (0.026)	-0.531*** (0.027)
N	15,243	11,724

Notes: Sample of families where the mother received immunisation during first pregnancy. Regressions include mother fixed effects, year by month of birth fixed effects, and a female indicator. The mean of the dependent variable is displayed at the bottom of the table. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the mother level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Birth order effects when controlling for additional factors

	(1) Maternal Tdap	(2) Maternal Influenza	(3) Maternal Tdap	(4) Maternal Influenza
Birth order 2	-0.071*** (0.005)	-0.014** (0.005)	-0.071*** (0.006)	-0.016** (0.006)
Birth order 3	-0.114*** (0.009)	-0.040*** (0.009)	-0.108*** (0.012)	-0.042*** (0.011)
Birth order 4	-0.157*** (0.015)	-0.107*** (0.015)	-0.142*** (0.022)	-0.072*** (0.021)
Previous pregnancy hospitalisation	-0.007 (0.004)	-0.009* (0.004)		
LMC visits during pregnancy			0.003*** (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)
N	152,142	152,142	108,918	108,918

Notes: Regressions include mother fixed effects, year by month of birth fixed effects, and a female indicator. The mean of the dependent variable is displayed at the bottom of the table. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the mother level.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Birth order effects on other outcomes

	LMC visits				Ultrasounds
	(1) 1 st trimester	(2) 2 nd trimester	(3) 3 rd trimester	(4) Total	(5)
Birth order 2	-0.052*** (0.006)	-0.103*** (0.009)	-0.455*** (0.016)	-0.562*** (0.022)	-0.218*** (0.006)
Birth order 3	-0.170*** (0.012)	-0.179*** (0.018)	-0.613*** (0.030)	-0.914*** (0.041)	-0.469*** (0.011)
Birth order 4	-0.317*** (0.020)	-0.322*** (0.029)	-0.781*** (0.047)	-1.373*** (0.066)	-0.840*** (0.018)
N	353,877	353,880	371,676	381,057	659,412
Mean	1.158	2.317	6.297	9.504	3.504

Notes: Regressions include mother fixed effects, year by month of birth fixed effects, and a female indicator. The mean of the dependent variable is displayed at the bottom of the table. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the mother level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Effects of birth order on birth weight

	Birth weight
Birth order 2	147.909*** (1.441)
Birth order 3	194.025*** (2.544)
Birth order 4	236.445*** (4.034)
N	1,037,655
Mean	3466.307

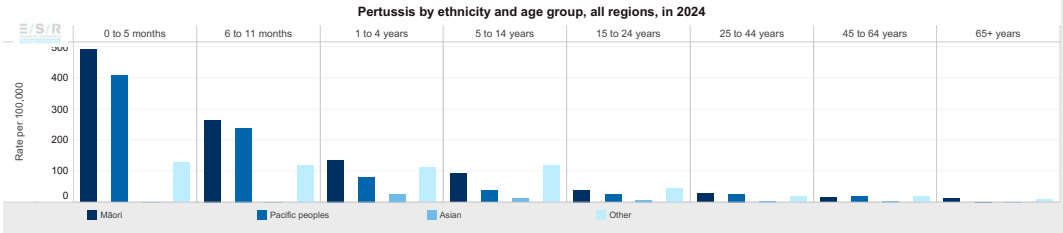
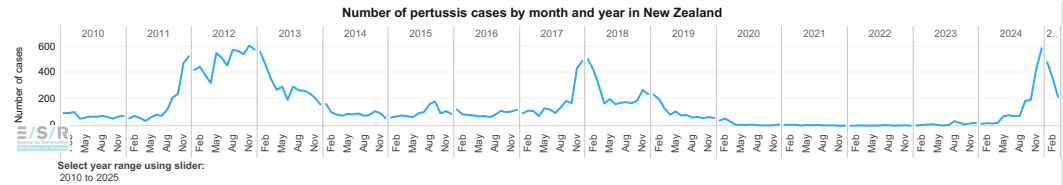
Notes: Regressions include mother fixed effects, year by month of birth fixed effects, and a female indicator. The mean of the dependent variable is displayed at the bottom of the table. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the mother level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Fully immunised siblings

	Pertussis	
	(1) ≤12 months	(2) ≤3 months
Birth order 2	59.8*** (17.1)	46.1** (14.7)
Birth order 3	90.1** (34.9)	79.9** (30.1)
Birth order 4	111.1 (57.7)	74.3 (48.3)
N	503,601	503,601
Mean	94.1	72.7

Notes: Regressions include mother fixed effects, year by month of birth fixed effects, and a female indicator. The mean of the dependent variable is displayed at the bottom of the table. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the mother level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Pertussis infections - NZ surveillance data



▶ back