

Adult Outcomes of Teen Mothers across Birth Cohorts

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the adult outcomes (education, single motherhood, poverty, employment, poverty among employed) of teen mothers across four five-year birth cohorts stretching from 1956 to 1975 who were teens from 1971 and 1994. It compares their outcomes across cohorts and to non-teen mothers within cohorts. Data were pooled from the 1995, 2002 and 2006-2010 NSFG. The sample of mothers was categorized by whether their first birth occurred in their teens and by their birth cohort. Adult outcomes among teen mothers were either stable across birth cohorts (education, employment) or worsened (single mother, poverty, working poor). Comparisons between teen and non-teen mothers within cohorts suggest that gaps between these two groups of mothers have widened over time, to the detriment of teen mothers. They have fallen behind in education and have become more likely to be single and poor than in the past and than non-teen mothers.

BACKGROUND

Societal Trends

Societal trends in the U.S. in the past several decades include cultural, social and economic changes. Among them are rising educational attainment, particularly among women, increasing proportions of women, including mothers, joining the work force and the declining proportion of children growing up with both parents. Poverty rates of families with children decline in robust economic times and rise during tough times but two-parent families are much less likely than single-mother families to be poor. In addition, teen birth rates have been declining steadily since the early 1990s; therefore dwindling percentages of children are the offspring of teen mothers.

Women's educational attainment has risen markedly since the mid-1900s. In 1960, nearly six in ten (57.5%) women ages 25 and older had not finished high school; only 5.8% had a college degree. By 2010, only one in eight (12.4%) women had not finished high school, whereas three in ten (29.6%) had finished college (U.S. Census 2011). In fact, young women surpassed young men in educational attainment in the mid-1990s; among 25-29 year olds, higher percentages of women complete high school, attend college and graduate from college than men (Child Trends, 2012).

The families in which children grow up have also changed in the past half century. The family structures in which children are raised have become more diverse as the proportion raised in intact two-parent families has declined and the percentage in single parent, blended and other family types has grown. Women are more likely to raise their children as single parents now than in the past. In 1960, close to nine in ten (87.7%) children lived with two parents, declining to 72.5% in 1990. Since then, the proportion of children in two-parent families has been stable at about 69% (U.S. Census, 2012). At the same time, the proportion living only with their mother rose from 8.0% in 1960 to 23.4% in 1995, then leveling off (U.S. Census, 2012).

The structure of children's families is associated with parental education and poverty status. The parental education of children in two-parent families is much higher than those living with single mothers; in 2011, almost half (47.8%) of children in married two-parent families had a parent with a college degree. In comparison, only one in seven (14.7%) children in mother-only families had a college-educated mother; among those living with never married mothers, only 8.0% of their mothers had a college degree (U.S. Census, 2011).

The patterns of poverty of families with children vary over time and by family structure. Since 1960, when one in five (19.7%) families with children was below the poverty line, the proportion of such families in poverty was lowest in the 1970s before rising through the 1980s and 1990s, declining in the early 2000s and rising recently to 18.5% in 2011. The trend among single mother families differs somewhat. In 1960, 56.3% of single mother families were poor; that fraction declined more or less steadily through 2000 to 33.0% before rising to four in ten (40.9%) in 2011 (U.S. Census, 2012a). In contrast, the proportion of two-parent families with children in poverty has hovered between 7% and 9% since the 1970s, except for a slight dip in the 2000s (U.S. Census, 2012a).

Changes in female labor force participation are related to gains in female education and changes in family structure. In 1950, just over one third (36.8%) of women ages 25-54 were in the work force. By 1990, that proportion had increased to three in four where it has since leveled off (Mosisa & Hipple, 2006). Among women with children under 18, more educated women are more likely than less educated women to work; within each education stratum, single mothers are more likely than married mothers to work. In fact, the increase in the proportion of single mothers in the labor force between 1994 and 2005 was greater for less educated than more educated mothers (Mosisa & Hipple, 2006). The work hours of mothers with children under six rose through the 1980s and 1990s for both single and married women, as did the percentage working full-time (Cohen & Bianchi, 1999). Since the early 1990s, 60-65% of mothers of children under age 6 and 75-80% of mothers of children ages 6-17 have been in the labor force (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010).

Women in the labor force are more likely to be part of the working poor than men. Moreover, higher percentages of less educated working women live in poverty than their more educated peers. In 2000, 15.5% of working women who did not finish high school were poor compared to 6.9% of high school graduates and only 1.4% of college graduates. Those percentages rose to almost one in four (23.9%) female high school dropouts in 2010, one in ten (10.8%) high school graduates and one in fifty (2.1%) college graduates (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2002; 2012a).

Teen Motherhood and Adult Outcomes

Teen birth rates have decreased over time, with some temporary reverses, but it is still much more common in the U.S. than in other developed countries. Teen births accounted for almost one in ten (9.3%) births in the U.S. in 2010, a proportion that has been as high as almost one in five in the 1970s. In adulthood, the outcomes of teen mothers on various socioeconomic measures differ from those of women who delayed childbearing to their twenties and later.

Teen mothers are less likely to finish high school and to attend college than non-teen mothers (Lee, 2010). Young teen mothers (age 17 and younger) are only one quarter as likely to attend or finish college as mothers who delayed their first birth to age 20 or 21. Older teen mothers (age 18-19) were only one third as likely to finish college (Hoffman, 2006). Even net of teens' school performance and attitudes, teen childbearing negatively affects young women's educational attainment (Jones, Astone, Keyl, Kim & Alexander, 1999). These differences remain even after taking into account factors that predict both teen motherhood and lower educational attainment. Because poverty status is strongly associated with educational attainment, the greater risk that teen mothers face of dropping out of high school or not going beyond high school suggest that they are also at greater risk for living in poverty.

The age at which women have their first birth appears to shape the structure of their families later on. Teen mothers are less likely to be married as adults than non-teen mothers. Having a birth while an unmarried teenager lowers women's likelihood of ever marrying compared to women who did not have a non-marital birth. Among those who do marry, their risk of divorce is higher than their peers who postponed their first birth (Graefe & Lichter, 1999). Being a teen mother also affects their future work lives. Teen mothers are less likely to be working and less likely to be working full-time as young adults

than comparable women who were not teen mothers. However, their wages do not differ from non-teen mothers during young adulthood (Lee, 2010).

Women who were teens in the 1970s faced a different economy and society than those who were adolescents in the 1980s or 1990s. Thus, those who become teen mothers are subject to different levels of penalties or opportunities depending on when they and their child were born. For example, those who became teen parents in a time when the earnings gap between more and less educated workers was narrower faced a relatively smaller penalty for not graduating from high school than those born in a more recent time when that gap had widened. This study examines how outcomes for teen mothers have changed over time and how those outcomes compare to non-teen mothers, women who gave birth after their teens.

Research Questions

Much research has documented that women whose first birth occurred in their teens have worse outcomes as adults than women who delayed childbearing until adulthood. While the causal pathways and mechanisms are a subject of debate, it is clear that teen mothers have less education, are less likely to be working, more likely to be poor and are less likely to be married as adults than other mothers.

This study asks whether the outcomes for teen mothers and those who became mothers after their teens have differed across birth cohorts and whether differences between teen mothers and other mothers have varied over time. That is, are the adult lives of teen mothers born more recently better or worse than those born in earlier time periods? In addition, are the differences in adult outcomes between teen and other mothers growing, narrowing or remaining constant?

DATA AND METHODS

Data and Study Sample

Data for this study are from the 1995, 2002 and 2006-2010 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG); the data from all three cycles were pooled. Four consecutive five-year birth cohorts of mothers were constructed from the combined NSFG cycles, ranging from those born in the late 1950s to those born in the early 1970s. The study sample includes respondents who had given birth at least once. Respondents were categorized by whether their first birth occurred during their teenage years ('teen mothers') or after ('non-teen mothers'). Women who arrived in the U.S. after their teen years are excluded from the analyses. Sample weights from each cycle were applied as instructed in statistical guideline documentation accompanying the NSFG Public Use File (NCHS, 2011). This results in appropriately weighted statistics for the combined data file.

Due to both the structure of each NSFG cycle and the requirements of the study sample, the age range and distribution of each cohort differs. Because educational attainment is one of the outcomes, the lower age cut-off is set at 25 to ensure that the vast majority of respondents had completed their education by the time of interview. Figure 1 shows the age range, mean age and distribution by birth cohort and by whether respondents were teen mothers or not. (Mean age of non-teen mothers was significantly higher than that for teen mothers within the three most recent cohorts.)

Variables

Outcomes. Several sociodemographic outcomes that describe aspects of women's well-being and socioeconomic status in adulthood are examined; all are dichotomous. Education is measured as whether respondents have any education beyond high school. Single mothers are compared to married mothers. Those living below 200% of the federal poverty level (FPL) are compared to those living at/above this line. Women working full-time (35 hours or more per week) are compared to women working fewer hours or not at all. Finally, among women employed full-time, those living below 200% FPL are compared to those living at/above 200%.

Focal independent variable. Two variables were combined to create the focal independent variable. The first is whether women had a birth before their 20th birthday. The second is the woman's year of birth (birth cohort). Women were divided into four consecutive five-year birth cohorts. The first cohort spans 1956-1960, the fourth spans 1971-1975. Each respondent was categorized by whether she had a birth before or after her teenage years and the birth cohort to which she belonged. This approach results in an 8-category variable.

Control variables. These variables are drawn from items that describe women's family background and situation while growing up. They include the education of the respondent's mother, the age at first birth of the respondent's mother, the family structure in which the respondent was raised and the respondents' race/ethnicity and country of birth (for Hispanics). Maternal education is a four-category variable, ranging from less than high school to a bachelor's degree or more. Maternal age at first birth was dichotomized: women whose own mothers were teen mothers, that is, their first birth occurred before age 20, comprise one category; those whose mothers were at least 20 years old at first birth comprise the second category. Women who were continually raised in a two-parent family (with the same two parents) are compared to women who grew up in all other situations. Racial/ethnic categories are: non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic other, U.S.-born Hispanics and immigrant Hispanics. Age at interview is also included in the multivariate analyses.

Analyses

Bivariate analyses describe birth cohort and teen birth differences for each of the outcomes. First, analyses estimated the proportion of women in each cohort who became teen mothers, non-teen mothers or non-mothers. Then, cross-tabulation analyses compared the distribution of the control variables for teen and non-teen mothers in each cohort as well as the distribution of the outcome variables.

For each outcome, multivariate logistic regression models included the teen birth x cohort variable, age (the age ranges of the cohorts vary considerably) and background control variables. In addition, because two of the outcomes, education and marital status, are predicted to affect the odds of the three poverty and employment outcomes, an additional model was run predicting those three that controlled for education and marital status.

Two kinds of related comparisons were analyzed. The first compared the odds of the outcome for teen mothers to that of non-teen mothers within each of the four birth cohorts. The second compared the odds of the outcome within teen mothers across cohorts and within non-teen mothers across cohorts. The first approach indicates how the difference in the two groups of women has changed (or not) across cohorts. The second shows whether changes have occurred within the populations of teen and non-teen mothers.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Sample Description

In each cohort, approximately one-fifth of the women had a teen birth (Table 1). The proportion with a non-teen birth declined from six in ten (60.5%) in 1956-1960 cohort to about five in ten (51.9%) in the 1971-1975 cohort while the proportion with no births rose. About one quarter of the mothers in the first three cohorts were teen mothers, that rose to 29.2% in the last cohort but the difference was not significant.

Table 1 about here

Across all cohorts, slightly more than half of women who became teen mothers were themselves the daughters of teen mothers (Table 2). Among non-teen mothers, roughly a third had teen mothers themselves. The proportion of both teen and non-teen mothers who grew up in intact two-parent families declined between the first and last cohorts; the percentage for each cohort was always significantly higher for non-teen mothers than teen mothers. Similarly, a higher percentage of teen mothers in each cohort had mothers with less than high school than non-teen mothers. Also, the proportion with a less educated mother declined significantly between the earliest and most recent cohort for each category of mothers.

The proportion of the population that was non-Hispanic white has declined across birth cohorts for both teen mothers and non-teen mothers. During the same time, the proportion of the two groups that was non-Hispanic black has remained stable and the proportion that was Hispanic has roughly doubled between the first and last cohorts. Across all cohorts, blacks and Hispanics made up a larger percentage of teen mothers than non-teen mothers.

Table 2 about here

Outcomes

Table 3 presents the percentage of teen mothers and non-teen mothers in each cohort who went beyond high school, were single parents, lived in/near poverty and worked fulltime. In addition, among mothers who worked fulltime, the percentage who lived in/near poverty is presented. This allows comparisons across birth cohorts for teen mothers and non-teen mothers and within cohorts between teen and non-teen mothers.

Table 3 about here

Education. The proportion of teen mothers who went beyond high school did not vary across birth cohorts whereas the proportion of non-teen mothers who had at least some college rose from 56.9% of the 1956-1960 cohort to 64.9% of the 1971-1975 cohort. In each cohort, teen mothers were less than half as likely to have gone beyond high school as non-teen mothers. This difference was greater in the most recent cohort than the earliest one.

Marital status. Just under 38% of teen mothers in the first two cohorts were single mothers; that proportion rose to about half of teen mothers born 1971-1975. Less than one quarter of non-teen mothers born from 1956 to 1970 were single mothers; that rose to 28.1% of those born 1971-1975. In each cohort, the percentage of teen mothers who were single mothers was at least 50% higher than the percentage of non-teen mothers and the gap widened across cohorts.

Poverty. Half (50.1%) of teen mothers born 1956-1960 lived below 200% of the federal poverty level (FPL). This rose to seven in ten (69.0%) teen mothers in the 1971-1975 cohort. One in four (26.6%) non-teen mothers born 1956-1960 and one in three (34.9%) born 1971-1975 lived below 200% of poverty. The proportion of non-teen mothers below 200% FPL was about half that of teen mothers in each cohort.

Employment. The proportion of both teen mothers and non-teen mothers who were employed full-time at the time of interview was stable across cohorts; about half of women in each cohort in both categories worked full-time.

<200% FPL among full-time employed. The proportion of full-time employed teen mothers who lived below 200% FPL (poor/near poor) rose from just over one in three (36.4%) of those born 1956-1960 to just over half (56.6%) of those born 1971-1975. The percentage of employed non-teen mothers at or near poverty did not change significantly across cohorts; between 22.3% and 29.5% lived below 200% of the poverty line. Within each cohort, full-time working teen mothers were more likely to live in or near poverty than their non-teen mother counterparts.

Multivariate Results

Multivariate results are in Table 4. The model for each outcome is presented to compare teen mothers across cohorts, non-teen mothers across cohorts and teen – non-teen mother comparisons within cohorts.

Education. The pattern in the net odds of going beyond high school across cohorts differed between teen and non-teen mothers. With the exception of greater odds of post-secondary educational attainment for teen mothers born 1971-1975 compared to those born 1961-65; there was no difference across cohorts for teen mothers. Non-teen mothers born in the second two cohorts were more likely to have gone beyond high school than those born in the first two cohorts. Across cohorts, the gap in the

odds of attaining post-high school education was smallest for the 1956-1960 cohort, rose during the next two cohorts and then declined somewhat in the most recent cohorts.

Table 4 about here

Marital status. The odds of being a single mother rose for both teen mothers and non-teen mothers, net of age and childhood demographic factors. Teen mothers born 1966-1975 were significantly more likely to be single mothers than those born in the previous ten years. Non-teen mothers born in the last two cohorts were more likely to be single mothers than those born in the first cohort; those born 1971-1975 were also more likely to be single mothers than those born 1961-1965. Within cohorts, the gap in the odds of single motherhood between teen and non-teen mothers was greater for the more recent birth cohorts than for the earlier cohorts.

Poverty. Net of age and childhood factors, the likelihood that teen mothers lived below 200% FPL was higher for the two most recent cohorts than for the two earliest cohorts. The cohort pattern for non-teen mothers differed. Those born in the early 1960s and early 1970s were more likely to be poor or near poor than those born 1956-1960. The difference in the odds of living below 200% of poverty between teen and non-teen mothers rose across cohorts. Among those born 1956-1960, teen mothers were 1.9 times more likely than non-teen mothers to be poor or near poor; those born ten years later were 2.8 times more likely. In the most recent cohort, teen mothers were 3.2 times more likely to be poor or near poor than their non-teen counterparts.

Employment. The odds of working full-time among teen mothers did not vary across the first three cohorts; those born 1971-1975 were more likely to be employed full-time than those born 1961-1965. Among non-teen mothers, those born in the second two cohorts were 26% more likely to be employed full-time than those born in the first two cohorts. Teen and non-teen mothers did not differ in their odds of working full-time within any of the four cohorts.

<200% FPL among full-time employed. The cohort patterns in the odds of living at/near poverty while working full-time for teen and non-teen mothers echoed those of living at/near poverty overall. Working teen mothers born 1966-1975 were more likely to be at/near poor than those born earlier, whereas non-teen mothers born 1961-1965 and 1971-1975 were more likely to be at/near poor than those born 1956-1960. The subset of full-time working mothers varied in one aspect, however. Among women born 1956-1965, there was no significant difference in the odds of living at/near poverty between teen and non-teen mothers. Among women in the most recent two cohorts, in contrast, teen mothers who worked full-time were more than 2.5 times more likely to be at/near poverty than non-teen mothers who worked full-time.

Net of R's Education and Marital Status

Poverty. Net of age, childhood factors and educational attainment and marital status, the cohort patterns for teen and non-teen mothers mirrored those when education and marital status were not held constant: the likelihood that teen mothers lived below 200% FPL was higher for the two most recent cohorts than for the earliest cohort; teen mothers born 1971-1975 were also more likely to be

poor/near poor than those born 1961-1965. Non-teen mothers born in the early 1960s and early 1970s were more likely to be poor or near poor than those born 1956-1960. Holding education and marital status constant erased the differences in the odds of living in/near poverty between teen and non-teen mothers in the first two cohorts seen above. It also narrowed the still significant differences between teen and non-teen mothers in the two most recent cohorts.

Employment. The odds of working full-time among teen mothers did not vary across the cohorts. Among non-teen mothers, those born in the third cohort were more likely to be employed full-time than those born in the first two cohorts. The odds of working full-time did not vary between teen and non-teen mothers in any cohort.

<200% FPL among full-time employed. The cohort patterns in the odds of living at/near poverty while working full-time for teen and non-teen mothers were somewhat similar to those of living at/near poverty overall. Teen mothers born 1966-1975 who worked were more likely to be at/near poor than those born earlier, whereas non-teen mothers born 1971-1975 were more likely to be at/near poor than those born 1956-1960. Among women born 1956-1965, there was no significant difference in the odds of living at/near poverty between teen and non-teen mothers. Among women in the most recent two cohorts, in contrast, teen mothers who worked full-time were about 1.7 times more likely to be at/near poverty than non-teen mothers who worked full-time.

DISCUSSION

Previous research has examined the effect of teen motherhood on women's adult outcomes but always for a particular birth cohort. However, each birth cohort experiences different social, economic and cultural influences during adolescence and adulthood. These influences shape women's opportunities and obstacles as well as their decisions and actions as teens and the subsequent repercussions. This study examines the adult outcomes of mothers born in one of four consecutive five-year birth cohorts. It compares both the outcomes of teen mothers across cohorts and the outcomes of teen mothers to non-teen mothers within cohorts. This approach provides information on whether the effect of being a teen mother has become more deleterious over time.

Overall, adult outcomes among teen mothers had either stayed stable across birth cohorts (education, employment) or gotten worse (single mother, poverty, working poor). Among non-teen mothers, there were mixed results. Their educational attainment improved but so did their likelihood of being a single mother. Both poverty and employment followed non-linear trends, while the odds of being working poor were higher for the most recent cohort than the earliest.

Comparisons between teen and non-teen mothers across cohorts suggest that gaps have widened over time, to the detriment of teen mothers. They have fallen behind in educational attainment, even as women in general have seen their educational attainment rise. Many of the women whose first birth occurred in their late twenties and thirties delayed childbearing in order to pursue higher education. The analyses indicate that non-teen mothers in recent cohorts are more likely to have at least some college than earlier cohorts, but there is no change across cohorts for teen mothers. This suggests that the educational gains that women as a group have experienced over the past decades have mostly accrued

to women who did not have a teen birth and that teen mothers have largely missed out on these gains. The result is that the relative education 'penalty' for teen mothers is greater for recent than for earlier cohorts.

The likelihood that teen mothers are single mothers as adults has increased compared to that of non-teen mothers. Moreover, non-teen mothers who are single mothers are more likely to be divorced than never-married while teen mothers are more likely to have never been married to their child's father. Therefore, non-teen single mothers are more likely to receive child support and to share the responsibilities of childrearing more equitably with their child's father. Thus, although the analyses demonstrate that the likelihood of single parenthood has grown more across cohorts for teen than non-teen mothers, and from a higher starting point, as well as the growing gap in the odds of single motherhood across cohorts between the two sets of mothers, they do not address the further differences in the situations of single teen and non-teen mothers.

The risk that teen mothers live in poverty as adults also increased for recent cohorts, compared both to earlier cohorts of teen mothers and to non-teen mothers in the same cohorts. The pattern holds even after controlling for the lower educational attainment of teen mothers and for their lower likelihood of being married. This result indicates that the consequences of teen motherhood for women and their children have grown relatively harsher for women born in the late 1960s and later.

Interestingly, given the changes found for the other outcomes, there were no changes in the odds of being employed full-time across cohorts of teen mothers. Nor was there any difference in these odds between teen and non-teen mothers within any cohort. This is striking given that the odds of poverty rose with cohorts among teen mothers and in comparison to non-teen mothers. This remained the case when only women who are employed full-time are analyzed. Together, these results suggest that teen mothers' efforts to provide for themselves and their families by working full-time are less likely to be successful for recent cohorts than earlier cohorts. Changes in the economy, including the stagnation of earnings, particularly among less educated workers, may contribute to this pattern.

The teen birth rate has declined fairly steadily since the early 1990s and overall for several decades before that. As a result, a smaller percentage and number of women become teen mothers and fewer families are formed as a result of a teen birth. The findings of this study indicate that the women who became teen mothers as it is becoming slightly less common have suffered increasingly negative consequences as have their children. Further research should focus on how greater economic, social and cultural changes have contributed to this trend.

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Figure 1. Age by Cohort (Weighted Means and Quartiles)

Birth Cohort (N)	Years Aged 15-19	Quartile			Mean	Range
		25%	50%	75%		
1956-1960 (N=2204)	1971-1979	36	38	42	38.9	34-44
1961-1965 (N=2943)	1976-1984	32	38	41	36.9	29-45
1966-1970 (N=2843)	1981-1989	32	35	39	34.5	25-44
1971-1975 (N=2002)	1984-1994	29	32	35	32.1	26-39

Table 1. Teen and Non-teen Motherhood across Cohorts

Birth Cohort	Teen Mother	Older Mother	Not Mother	Teen Mothers/All Mothers
1956-1960	20.9	60.5	18.6	25.7
1961-1965	18.7	58.6	22.8	24.2
1966-1970	18.6	55.4	26.0	25.1
1971-1975	21.4	51.9	26.7	29.2

Table 2. Family Background Descriptors by Birth Cohort and Age at First Birth (Percent, 95% CI)

	Mother was Teen Mother	2-Parent Family	Mother Education <HS	NH White	NH Black	Hispanic
Teen Mother						
1956-1960	52.2 (46.9-57.4)	59.6 (54.6-64.5)	51.8 (46.8-56.8)	60.6 (55.8-65.2)	26.5 (22.4-31.1)	11.5 (8.4-15.7)
1961-1965	57.4 (52.5-62.3)	54.0 (48.8-59.1)	46.2 (41.1-51.4)	54.9 (49.6-60.0)	26.6 (22.8-30.8)	14.1 (11.5-17.2)
1966-1970	58.9 (54.1-63.6)	50.5 (45.6-55.4)	39.6 (34.4-45.1)	52.4 (47.1-57.6)	25.2 (21.2-29.6)	17.2 (13.9-21.2)
1971-1975	51.8 (46.6-57.0)	44.3 (38.7-50.1)	36.6 (31.7-41.8)	49.3 (43.0-55.7)	24.1 (19.4-29.5)	21.6 (17.6-26.3)
Not Teen Mother						
1956-1960	31.3 (27.8-35.0)	72.8 (68.1-77.2)	28.1 (24.8-31.6)	81.2 (78.5-83.7)	10.3 (8.6-12.3)	6.7 (5.4- 8.3)
1961-1965	35.4 (32.6-38.2)	72.9 (70.1-75.5)	22.8 (20.4-25.3)	78.7 (76.1-81.0)	10.0 (8.6-11.7)	8.0 (6.6- 9.6)
1966-1970	37.9 (35.1-40.9)	65.3 (62.7-67.9)	23.3 (20.9-25.9)	74.8 (72.2-77.3)	10.5 (9.1-12.2)	10.0 (8.6-11.8)
1971-1975	36.0 (32.7-39.4)	61.9 (58.3-65.3)	19.0 (16.0-22.3)	70.6 (66.6-74.3)	12.3 (10.2-14.8)	12.6 (9.8-16.0)
N	9,992					

Table 3. Bivariate Results

	Went Beyond High School	Single Parent	<200% Federal Poverty Level (FPL)	Work Fulltime	<200% FPL if Work Fulltime
Teen Mother					
1956-1960	25.2 (20.6-30.4)	37.8 (32.6-43.4)	50.1 (44.0-56.2)	53.7 (48.5-58.8)	36.4 (28.8-44.7)
1961-1965	22.4 (18.4-26.9)	37.6 (32.5-42.8)	54.3 (48.9-59.5)	49.1 (44.0-54.2)	40.9 (33.8-48.4)
1966-1970	23.9 (19.7-28.6)	48.9 (43.6-54.2)	63.2 (57.9-68.2)	50.5 (45.4-55.6)	53.2 (45.6-60.7)
1971-1975	28.6 (24.2-33.5)	52.8 (47.4-58.1)	69.0 (63.5-74.0)	53.9 (48.3-59.4)	56.6 (48.7-64.2)
Not Teen Mother					
1956-1960	56.9 (52.8-60.8)	21.7 (18.6-25.1)	26.6 (23.6-29.9)	51.3 (47.0-55.6)	22.3 (17.8-27.5)
1961-1965	60.0 (56.8-63.1)	23.4 (21.0-26.0)	32.8 (29.6-36.1)	49.5 (46.7-52.4)	28.2 (23.8-33.0)
1966-1970	62.0 (59.1-64.8)	23.6 (21.2-26.2)	30.7 (27.9-33.6)	53.1 (50.1-56.1)	24.8 (21.2-28.9)
1971-1975	64.9 (60.9-68.6)	28.1 (25.0-31.4)	34.9 (31.1-38.9)	50.9 (47.2-54.6)	29.5 (24.7-34.8)
N	9,992	9,363	9,992	9,992	5,049

Table 4. Multivariate Logistic Regression Models Predicting Adult Outcomes

	Some Post-secondary Education or More ^b			Single Mother ^b		
	Teen Mothers	Non-teen Mothers	Teen Mothers vs. Non-teen Mothers	Teen Mothers	Non-teen Mothers	Teen Mothers vs. Non-teen Mothers
Birth Cohort						
1956-1960	1.00	1.00	0.34***	1.00	1.00	1.63**
1961-1965	0.88	1.18	0.25***	1.05	1.20	1.43*
1966-1970	1.05	1.44** ^a	0.25***	1.93*** ^a	1.31*	2.41***
1971-1975	1.39 ^a	1.71*** ^a	0.28***	2.55*** ^a	1.86*** ^a	2.24***
N		9,922			9,295	
-2ll (df)		2340.4 (18)			953.4 (18)	

*p ≤ 0.05; **p ≤ 0.01; ***p ≤ 0.001

^aSG different from 1961-1965

^bModels control for age, race/ethnicity, family structure in childhood, R's mother's education, R's mother's age at first birth

Table 4 (cont.)

	<200% Poverty Level ^b			Employed Fulltime ^b			<200% Poverty if Employed Fulltime ^b		
	Teen Mothers	Non-teen Mothers	Teen vs. Non-teen Mothers	Teen Mothers	Non-teen Mothers	Teen vs. Non-teen Mothers	Teen Mothers	Non-teen Mothers	Teen vs. Non-teen Mothers
Birth Cohort									
1956-1960	1.00	1.00	1.94***	1.00	1.00	1.05	1.00	1.00	1.50
1961-1965	1.12	1.34**	1.62***	0.91	1.00	0.96	1.18	1.44*	1.23
1966-1970	1.59** ^a	1.10	2.81***	1.06	1.26* ^a	0.88	2.15*** ^a	1.18	2.73***
1971-1975	2.10*** ^a	1.29*	3.17***	1.35 ^a	1.26* ^a	1.13	2.56*** ^a	1.50*	2.55***
N		9,922			9,922			5,020	
-2ll (df)		1491.7 (18)			146.4 (18)			570.8 (18)	

*p ≤ 0.05; **p ≤ 0.01; ***p ≤ 0.001

^aSG different from 1961-1965

^bModels control for age, race/ethnicity, family structure in childhood, R's mother's education, R's mother's age at first birth

NET OF R'S MARITAL STATUS AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT:

Table 4 (cont.)

	<200% Poverty Level ^d			Employed Fulltime ^d			<200% Poverty if Employed Fulltime ^d		
	Teen Mothers	Non-teen Mothers	Teen vs. Non-teen Mothers	Teen Mothers	Non-teen Mothers	Teen vs. Non-teen Mothers	Teen Mothers	Non-teen Mothers	Teen vs. Non-teen Mothers
Birth Cohort									
1956-1960	1.00	1.00	1.25	1.00	1.00	1.27	1.00	1.00	1.06
1961-1965	1.11	1.36*	1.02	0.96	0.99	1.24	1.18	1.48	0.84
1966-1970	1.45*	1.16	1.57*	1.05	1.22* ^a	1.08	1.94** ^a	1.23	1.67**
1971-1975	2.17*** ^a	1.45**	1.87***	1.19	1.20	1.26	2.72*** ^a	1.65*	1.75*
N		9,295			9,295			4,767	
-2ll (df)		2488.7 (22)			407.2 (22)			1082.1 (22)	

*p ≤ 0.05; **p ≤ 0.01; ***p ≤ 0.001

^aSG different from 1961-1965

^dModels control for age, race/ethnicity, family structure in childhood, R's mother's education, R's mother's age at first birth, R's marital status, R's education