

Fathers of Children Born To Young Urban Mothers.

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Summary

Fathers of babies born to a sample of urban mothers younger than 18 at delivery ranged in age from 14-50 and were, on average, 2-4 years older than the mothers. Among the adolescent women who had given birth to their first child, 28 percent of the partners of black women and 45 percent of the partners of white women were 20 years of age or older. The educational attainment of the fathers was very low, particularly among older whites. At approximately 15 months after the child's birth, 36 percent of the fathers were neither in school nor working.

Three-quarters of the pregnancies among the young white mothers and 95 percent of those among the black mothers were unplanned, but only six percent of the white mothers and 16 percent of the black mothers were using a contraceptive at the time of conception. Only 16 percent of the fathers were living with or married to the mother of their child at 15 months after birth. About 90 percent of the fathers had spent time with their child during that period, but frequency of contact declined markedly with time. Overall, 20 percent of the fathers had children by other women.

Introduction

The role played by the male in the problem of adolescent pregnancy in the United States has received increasing attention in recent years. Many of the studies of young fathers have shown that they, like teenage mothers, tend to be from among the poorer and less educated groups in society, and that they may face serious and long-term social and economic disadvantages, when compared with young men who postpone parenting until a later age. (1)

The existing data on adolescent fathers suffer from serious shortcomings, however. Adolescent fathers are difficult to reach in any systematic way, because a great deal of demographic information about them is missing, especially in some parts of the country, and because an unknown but considerable proportion of men deny paternity. (2) To complicate matters, some studies include only teenage fathers, while others cover fathers in their early 20s. (3)

Even when studies include men in their early 20s, the picture provided by most is inadequate precisely because of the age limit. Teenage fathers, unlike teenage mothers, actually represent a very small population group. National birth statistics show that in 1986, only three percent of all fathers were teenagers when their first child was born. (4) Because the fathers of babies born to women under the age of 20 are usually older than the mothers, a broader perspective on the male contribution to teenage pregnancy can be obtained by looking at all men who father children born to adolescent women, regardless of their age at the time of the child's birth. However, there are no national data available on the number or the characteristics of such men.

In an earlier analysis of the data used in the present study, we found that 12 percent of resident recorded live births in Baltimore in 1983 were to parents who were both under the age of 20. A further 14 percent were to teenage mothers and were fathered by men over the age of 20; an additional two percent were to women over the age of 20 whose male partners were still in their teens. Altogether, in 28 percent of births, one or the other of the partners was an adolescent. (5)

The present report focuses on a subgroup of the Baltimore sample of birth registrations: all men who, in

1983, fathered children by mothers under the age of 18. The study focuses on younger teenage mothers because they are physically, cognitively and emotionally less mature, thus placing themselves and their babies at higher medical and social risk. (6)

Although no direct information was available about the financial situation of the fathers in question, it seems plausible, based upon what we know of their educational level, employment history and living arrangements that they were similar to the mother's circumstances. On the basis of the earlier study, we know that the mothers lived predominantly in very poor inner-city neighborhoods. There were 6.3 members in each black household, on average, and 5.0 in each white household. Seventy-six percent of the families in which the teenage mothers were living at three months after their child's birth were headed by women. Average family incomes were extremely low: Thirteen percent earned less than \$5,000 a year, 49 percent, under \$10,000, and only 14 percent, \$20,000 or more, with no significant racial differences in this distribution. Ninety percent of the teenage mothers received welfare, and 95 percent obtained Medicaid coverage for themselves or their babies over the course of an 18-month follow-up. (7)

Methodology

In this study, information about the characteristics of the fathers of children born to young adolescents comes from two different sources: the child's birth certificate, which contains some data on the father's race, age and educational level; (*) and information provided by the teenage mother about the father's situation and his relationships with her and her baby. The latter was collected during interviews carried out at three months after delivery and at 15-18 months postpartum. The fact that the second type of information on the father was derived from the perceptions and recollection of the mother means that it was both subjective in quality and subject to reporting error. The completeness of the mother's responses to questions was generally high but did vary somewhat, depending on how long and how well she had known the father of her child. However, since the interviewers found the subjects to be remarkably forthright, we have concluded that their reporting was reliable and, thus, that the study offers valuable new information about urban fathers of children born to young adolescents.

From the 1,312 adolescents under age 18 who gave birth in Baltimore in 1983, the researchers selected a disproportionate random sample of 529 women. The sample was designed to provide a large enough basis for statistical analysis in each age, race and parity group. (+) The teenage mothers were informed by mail that they had been chosen for the study. They were asked to return an enclosed, stamped postcard if they did not wish to participate.

Of the original 331 black adolescents selected, 25 (eight percent) refused to participate; among the 198 whites, 35 (18 percent) declined an interview. An additional 26 teenage mothers could not be located, and 26 more refused informed consent at the time of the first home visit. An additional 22 mothers had moved out of the city, four had put their children up for adoption and the children of two had died. Thus, 389 mothers (74 percent of the original sample) agreed to the initial interview that was scheduled three months after delivery. Of these teenagers, 272 were black and 117 were white. At 15-18 months after birth, a further 26 (seven percent) declined participation. The remaining 363 were re-interviewed, but only 355 had sufficient information about the father for inclusion in most analyses.

To determine whether losses from the original sample were likely to bias the results of the study, we used birth certificate information to compare the final respondents and the nonrespondents for such characteristics as age at birth, education, timing of onset of prenatal care, medical assistance status, pregnancy complications, preterm delivery, low birth weight and Apgar score. No significant differences between the two groups were found, and the final sample is believed to be representative of all births among Baltimore residents under the age of 18 in 1983.

However, it should be emphasized that the fathers covered by the study were not completely representative of all males responsible for teenage pregnancies in Baltimore, since we know from our earlier analysis that 46 percent of teenagers younger than 18 who became pregnant in 1983 terminated the pregnancy by an abortion, and that a small, unknown proportion had miscarriages. (8)

During the initial interview, trained interviewers obtained a large amount of information about the young parents and their children and about each partner's living arrangements. The interviews were reviewed by a field supervisor for consistency and completeness, and a random 10 percent of the sample were re-interviewed by telephone to check for the reliability of the responses. Chi-square analysis, t-tests and one-way analysis of variance were used to assess the statistical significance of the findings in terms of the father's age and the mother's race and parity.

The Fathers and Their Role

Table 1 shows a percentage distribution of the fathers by age, according to the mother's age and race. So that the analysis of the father's age may be as complete as possible, it is based on information obtained from the birth certificates of babies born to all Baltimore girls 17 and under in 1983 that had no missing data (N = 1,095).

The fathers of babies born to black mothers having their first child ranged in age from 14 to 50 years, but almost three-quarters (72 percent) were under 20. The age range of the partners of white mothers was from 15 to 39 years, and 56 percent were 19 or younger. For second-order or higher-order births, the father's ages were older (59 percent were 20 and older), as might be expected. On average, the fathers of all infants born to white teenage women were four years older than were the mothers, and those of infants born to black teenage mothers were 2-3 years older (not shown).

Table 2, which is based only on births to the teenage mothers who were interviewed 15-18 months after delivery, describes the educational level and work status of the fathers at the time of the interview. There were significant racial differences in these characteristics: Fifty-three percent of the partners of white mothers, compared with 11 percent of those of black mothers, had had nine or fewer years of schooling; only 16 percent of partners of white mothers (compared with 51 percent of those of blacks) had finished high school.

At the time of the second interview, nine percent of fathers were still in school, 54 percent were working and no longer in school, and 36 percent were neither in school nor working. School attendance was higher among the partners of black mothers than among those of white mothers (12 percent compared with three percent), and a higher proportion of the partners of white mothers than of black mothers were in the labor force (74 percent compared with 46 percent). There were marked racial differences in the proportion of fathers who were neither in school nor working. Among partners over the age of 19 at the time of the child's birth, white mothers reported that 19 percent were neither working nor in school at the time of the interview; the comparable proportion among black mothers was 40 percent.

Table 3 presents data on certain aspects of the father's relationship with the mother of his child. According to the accounts given by the mothers, most of the fathers had been known to them for some time before the conception. Only nine percent of couples had known each other for less than six months, and more than half had been acquainted for more than two years before conception. There was very little variation by race in the length of the prior relationship. However, there were significant differences in the type of the current relationship. About one-third of the fathers of infants born to white mothers, compared with almost none of the fathers of infants born to black mothers, had been married to their child's mother, and higher proportions of the partners of white mothers than of black mothers had lived with the mother at some point without being married.

At the time of the interview, the young mothers not married to the father of their child were asked whether they thought it likely that they would marry him. Almost identically high proportions for both races, about six in 10, thought it unlikely. Similarly, three-quarters of both black and white teenage mothers not living with or married to the father said they thought it unlikely that they would ever live together.

Overall, 20 percent of the young mothers reported that the father of their baby had a child (or children) by another woman or by other women. The difference between the races was statistically significant for fathers over the age of 19-29 percent of the partners of white mothers and 36 percent of those of black mothers had other children ($p < 0.001$).

The teenage mothers were also asked detailed questions about whether they had planned to have the child they gave birth to in 1983, and whether they had been practicing contraception at the time pregnancy occurred (Table 4--page 162). Nine out of 10 births had been unplanned (75 percent of those to white mothers and 95 percent of those to black mothers). Overall, fewer than half of the couples (45 percent) had discussed the possibility of pregnancy, although among couples closer in age (that is, where the fathers were younger), slightly higher proportions had done so. If the couple had discussed the likelihood of pregnancy, the fathers were more likely than the mothers to have desired pregnancy (especially the older partners of black mothers), and white mothers were considerably more likely than their black counterparts to say they had wanted the pregnancy. However, only one in five of all the teenage mothers said they had wanted the pregnancy.

Even though most of the pregnancies were unplanned, very few couples had been using a contraceptive method at the time of conception: Six percent of white mothers and 16 percent of black mothers reported doing so. Moreover, only one in four couples had ever at any time in the relationship used a form of birth control dependent on the male partner (i.e., the condom or withdrawal).

Three-quarters of the fathers had been told of the pregnancy within one week of its diagnosis, and a further 10 percent, within one month. Less than one percent were never told. Two-thirds of the fathers not living with the teenage mothers were said to have given assistance of some kind during the pregnancy.

Ninety percent of fathers who were neither married to nor living with the child's mother had spent some time with the child during the 15 months since the birth. The proportion was statistically significant by race of the mother, with 92 percent of black mothers and 83 percent of white mothers reporting that the father had spent time with the child ($p < 0.05$). There was very little variation by father's age. Most of these contacts took place in the mother's home. However, only 28 percent of all fathers shared equally with the mothers in making childrearing decisions, and only two percent were the primary decision-makers.

Data pertaining to the father's relationship with his child if he was neither married to nor living with the mother at the time of the second interview are shown in Table 5. This group represents 88 percent of the 363 fathers whose partners were reinterviewed at 15-18 months.

Over half of noncohabiting fathers visited their child daily during the first three months after birth, and 27 percent visited weekly. Fourteen percent saw the child less frequently, and seven percent had no contact during that period. (There were no significant differences in these statistics by the father's age or race). By the time one year had passed, however, the frequency of the father's contact with his child had diminished further. Less than one-quarter now had daily contact, a third saw the child weekly, one-quarter visited only once a month and 16 percent had no contact whatsoever.

One-half of the mothers complained of receiving too little help from the father in raising the child. Black

mothers were more likely than white mothers to report that the father helped too little (55 percent compared with 33 percent-- $p<0.01$). Among white mothers, fathers aged 20 and older were reported as significantly less helpful than the younger ones ($p<0.05$). About six in 10 young mothers said that the father contributed too little financial support, and black mothers were significantly more likely to make this complaint than were white mothers (65 percent compared with 46 percent-- $p<0.01$).

Help with child care and financial support were also examined among couples who were married or living together. Of this small group, only 15 percent of cohabiting mothers (13 percent of blacks and 17 percent of whites) and only 20 percent of those who were married (who were primarily whites) reported that their partners did not help enough with child care. As might be expected, these levels of dissatisfaction are much lower than those found among teenage mothers living apart from the fathers, and the contrast is particularly pronounced among blacks ($p<0.01$).

Similarly, teenage mothers who cohabited with the father of their child were much less likely than those living apart to complain of inadequate financial support. Overall, only 16 percent of cohabiting mothers, compared with 61 percent of those living apart, said that they received too little financial help. Among black mothers, 20 percent of those who cohabited, compared with 65 percent of those living separately, reported insufficient financial support ($p<0.001$); among whites, the proportions were eight percent and 47 percent, respectively ($p<0.05$).

By the time the child was about 18 months old, only 16 percent of all fathers were married to or living with the mother. Most of these couples lived in their own household, although those in which the father was 20 and older were more likely to do so than those in which he was younger than 20. Whites were more likely to have their own household than were blacks. The most common arrangement otherwise was to be living with one or the other set of the child's grandparents.

Among the 84 percent of fathers living separately from their children, 60 percent lived with a parent, six percent lived with a woman who was not the mother, seven percent were in jail (11 percent of blacks over 19) and four percent were in the armed forces. In 10 percent of cases (21 percent if the father was white and over 19), the mother did not know the whereabouts of her child's father.

Conclusions

This study looks at a large sample of the fathers of children born to young adolescent women. The approach is unique because it is not limited to the adolescent or young adult father but investigates the characteristics of all men, regardless of age, who have fathered children by very young women. The results, as might be expected, reveal some similarities with those of earlier studies that concentrated on adolescent or young adult fathers, but also show some interesting differences, probably because of the wider age-range studied.

It seems surprising that so few fathers were under the age of 16, since sexual activity has been shown to start at a very early age among poor urban populations. (9) Yet these findings are similar to those based on the National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience of Youth. (10) The finding raises the question of whether young males may be infertile or subfecund during the early years following puberty.

The considerably older age of some of the fathers raises possible questions about sexual abuse, an issue that this study did not address directly. However, anecdotal information suggests that sexual abuse is not infrequent in this and other similarly disadvantaged populations. In our own clinic work in Baltimore, we have encountered several young adolescents who bore children fathered by much older men--their own fathers or their mothers' boyfriends, for example.

The results of the study confirm the findings of a large number of other studies, (11) in that the Baltimore fathers had, in general, low levels of schooling (especially among the partners of white mothers) and poor employment histories. Four in 10 fathers of children born to black mothers and two in 10 fathers of children born to white mothers were unemployed; even among those fathers over the age of 19, many had never worked. The obvious implication of these findings is that, even if they had wished to do so, most of the fathers in the study did not have the necessary skills to provide a stable, independent home for their families. In addition, some research suggests that young men in job-training programs have lower fertility than those not exposed to such opportunities. (12)

Only one in six children born to young teenagers in Baltimore lived with the father, while a surprisingly large number of the fathers lived with their own parents. Moreover, one father in five had at least one other child by a different woman. In addition, seven percent were in jail (and several others had served prison terms). Research by other investigators also found criminal records to be common among the fathers of babies born to adolescent women. (13)

Despite the fact that such a large number of fathers were living in conditions not particularly conducive to stability or control over their own lives, many of them maintained some kind of a relationship with their children (especially soon after the birth) and contributed food, diapers, clothing, some child care and some financial assistance. The fact that six out of 10 teenage mothers considered the father's contributions to the child's upbringing inadequate is not surprising in light of the men's probably poor financial situation.

If the aim of social programs is to strengthen family relationships and improve the conditions in which young children are raised, certain services deemed essential for young women are no less important for young men. These include programs to encourage the prevention of unwanted pregnancy (e.g., sex education in schools, courses on the responsibilities of parenthood and family planning services) and comprehensive services to support these parents and their babies. Several successful models already exist for such programs: School-based programs in St. Paul and Baltimore (14) have proved successful in reducing pregnancy rates among the student body and in encouraging high school students to delay sexual activity. There are successful examples of comprehensive programs for pregnant teenagers that include services for fathers; (15) and a number of family support centers and programs around the country are beginning to meet the needs of very young parents. (16)

Despite these initiatives, such programs, although important and effective in preventing pregnancies and improving health and developmental outcomes when pregnancy occurs, are tantamount to band-aids. The study findings presented here suggest that the basic problem of teenage pregnancy is poverty. America's underclass, as has so often been pointed out, consists largely of female-headed, single-parent families. (17) Yet, in comparison with most Western, industrialized nations, the United States lacks the kind of broad social policies and programs that are essential if the country is to address the conditions that perpetuate the existence and growth of such families. These much-needed programs would include adequate support to poor families; school programs that train and enable young people to join today's modernized, nonindustrial labor force; and job-training programs for school dropouts that would enable them to more easily support their own families.

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(*)The birth certificates contained complete information on the mother's age, race and marital status, but lacked the father's age in three percent of black births and five percent of white births. The father's educational status was missing in 15 percent of the black, and 16 percent of the white, birth registrations.

(+)The disproportionate, stratified random sampling that was necessary to adjust for the existence of small numbers in some subgroups required the application of weights to achieve sample distributions paralleling those of the original population. All white mothers under the age of 16 had to be included, whereas only one in five black mothers aged 17 were required for analysis. The number selected in each subgroup was determined on the basis of births to girls 17 and younger in 1981.

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Table 1.

Percentage distribution of fathers, by mother's race and father's age at child's birth, according to mother's age at child's birth and to birth order, Baltimore, 1983

Mother's race and father's age	Mother's age			
	Total	<15	15	16
All races	(1,095)	(96)	(181)	(336)
[less than or equal to]15	5	17	10	3
16-17	26	42	38	29
18-19	39	27	33	40
[greater than or equal to]20	31	15	20	29
Black	(900)	(92)	(152)	(275)
[less than or equal to]15	5	17	9	3
16-17	27	42	40	30
18-19	40	26	33	41
[greater than or equal to]20	28	14	18	26
White	(195)	(4)	(29)	(61)
[less than or equal to]15	4	*	10	3

16-17	21	*	28	23
18-19	31	*	31	33
[greater than or equal to]20	45	*	31	41
		*		
Total	100	100	100	100

Mother's race and father's age

Mother's age

1st-order births

2nd-order births

17 All ages

All races	(482)	(162)
[less than or equal to]15	2	1
16-17	16	12
18-19	43	29
[greater than or equal to]20	41	29

Black	(381)	(132)
[less than or equal to]15	1	1
16-17	15	12
18-19	46	29
[greater than or equal to]20	38	58

White	(101)	(30)
[less than or equal to]15	2	0
16-17	18	10
18-19	29	30
[greater than or equal to]20	52	60

Total	100	100
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(*Fewer than 10 cases.

Notes: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding. Figures in parentheses are the numbers of fathers.

Table 2.

Percentage distribution of fathers, by educational achievement and school/work status, according to mother's race and to father's age at child's birth

Education and school/work status	Mother's race and fathers age		
	All	White	<18
	(N=355)	(N=103)	(N=17)

Highest completed grade (+)

[greater than or equal to]	9	24	53	55
10-11		37	31	37
12		36	16	8
Postsecondary		3	0	0

School/work status (+)

In school and working		1	1 (*)	0
In school only		8	2	14
Working only		54	74	51
Neither in school nor working		36	23 (*)	35

Total		100	100	100
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Education and school/ work status		Mother's race and fathers age			
		White		Black	
		18-19	<19	Total	<18
		(N=38)	(N=48)	(N=252)	(N=78)

Highest completed grade (+)

[greater than or equal to]	9	58	48	11 (**)	22
10-11		34	28	40	49
12		8	24	45	29
Postsecondary		0	0	4	0

School/work status (+)

In school and working		3	0	1 (***)	1
In school only		0	0	11	28
Working only		73	81	48	26
Neither in school nor working		24	19	42	44

Total		100	100	100	100
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Education and school/ work status		Mother's race and fathers age		
		Black		
		18-19	>19	
		(N=97)	(N=77)	

Highest completed grade (+)

[greater than or equal to]	9	6	8
10-11		34	37
12		54	49
Postsecondary		5	6

School/work status (+)

In school and working	2	0
In school only	5	3
Working only	51	57
Neither in school nor working	41	40
Total	100	100

(*)For whites, age differences were significant at $p < 0.05$.

(**)For blacks, age differences were significant at $p < 0.01$.

(***)For blacks, age differences were significant at $p < 0.001$.

(+)For this category, racial differences were significant at $p < 0.001$.

Table 3.

Percentage of fathers, by relationship with child's mother, according to mother's race and to father's age at child's birth

Relationship	Mother's race and father's age	
	All	White
	Total	

Knew mother before conception for:

<6 months	9	8
6-11 months	8	13
12-23 months	24	20
[greater than or equal to]24 months	58	58
Total	100	100

Married to mother

Before learning of pregnancy (***)	5	14
At child's birth (***)	9	27
3 months after birth (***)	8	22
15 months after birth (***)	8	23

Living with child's mother:

At birth (*)	7	12
3 months after birth	9	12
15 months after birth	8	11

Relationship	Mother's race and father's age		
	White		
	<18	18-19	>19

Knew mother before conception for:

<6 months	0	11	8	
6-11 months	6	8	21	
12-23 months	29	15	23	
[greater than or equal to]24 months	65		66	49
Total	100	100	100	

Married to mother

Before learning of pregnancy (***)	19		8	17
At child's birth (***)	29	24	32	
3 months after birth (***)	27	16	26	
15 months after birth (***)	23	18	29	

Living with child's mother:

At birth (*)	12	11	13
3 months after birth	5	13	14
15 months after birth	6	14	11

Relationship	Mother's race and father's age		
	Black		
Total	<18	18-19	

Knew mother before conception for:

<6 months	11	10	4	
6-11 months	6	7	5	
12-23 months	26	31	25	
[greater than or equal to]24 months	57	52	66	
Total	100	100	100	

Married to mother

Before learning of pregnancy (***)	1	0	1
At child's birth (***)	1	0	1
3 months after birth (***)	2	0	3
15 months after birth (***)	2	0	3

Living with child's mother:

At birth (*)	4	2	7
3 months after birth	7	6	9
15 months after birth	7	6	7

Relationship	Mother's race and father's age		
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Black
>19

Knew mother before conception for:

<6 months	16
6-11 months	8
12-23 months	23
[greater than or equal to]24 months	53
Total	100

Married to mother

Before learning of pregnancy (***)	1
At child's birth (***)	1
3 months after birth (***)	2
15 months after birth (***)	2

Living with child's mother:

At birth (*)	4
3 months after birth	7
15 months after birth	8

(*)For this group, racial differences were significant at $p < 0.05$.

(***)For this group, racial differences were significant at $p < 0.001$.
Table 4.

Percentages of mothers' responses to questions concerning their pregnancy and concerning contraceptive practices, according to mother's race and to father's age at child's birth

Responses	Mother's race and father's age			
	All	White		
	Total	<18	18-19	
Pregnancy unplanned (***)	89	75	66	78
Couple discussed possibility of pregnancy (*)	45	56	63	55
Pregnancy discussed before conception- desired by:				
Father (ss)	55	61	52	71
Mother (***)	39	64	51	60

Pregnancy desired by mother (***)	21	41	30	45
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Contraceptives used at time of conception (**)	13	6	0	2
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Condom/withdrawal used before conception	26	33	19	31
--	----	----	----	----

Responses	Mother's race and father's age				
	White	Black			
	>19	Total	<18	18-19	>19

Pregnancy unplanned (***)	75	95	96	94	96
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Couple discussed possibility of pregnancy (*)	54	41 (+)	52	30	45
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Pregnancy discussed before conception- desired by:					
Father (ss)	56	52 (+)	34	64	59
Mother (***)	72	25	13	29	33

Pregnancy desired by mother (***)	42	13	11	12	15
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Contraceptives used at time of conception (**)	10	16	10	18	18
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Condom/withdrawal used before conception	40	24	20	27	22
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(*)For this group, racial differences were significant at $p<0.05$.

(**)For this group, racial differences were significant at $p<0.01$.

(***)For this group, racial differences were significant at $p<0.001$.

(+)For blacks, age differences were significant at $p<0.05$.

(ss)Denominator is those who discussed the possibility of pregnancy.

Table 5.

Percentage distribution of fathers not married to or living with the child's mother, by contact with child, according to mother's race and to father's age at child's birth

Father's contact with child	Mother's race and father's age			
	All	White		
	Total	<18	18-19	
	(N=321)	(N=76)	(N=13)	(N=29)

In first three
months
saw child:

Daily	52	53	38	68
Weekly	27	26	26	13
[less than or equal to]Monthly	14	14	18	10
Never	7	7	18	9

At 15-18
months saw
child:

Daily	24	30	29	31
Weekly	36	33	32	32
[less than or equal to]Monthly	24	17	19	22
Never	16	20	19	16
Total	100	100	100	100

Father's contact with child	Mother's race and father's age				
	White		Black		
	>19	Total	<18	18-19	>19
	(N=34)	(N=245)	(N=78)	(N=91)	(N=76)

In first three
months
saw child:

Daily	46	51	56	50	47
Weekly	37	28	27	27	29
[less than or equal to]Monthly	16	13	11	17	13
Never	0	7	5	6	11

At 15-18
months saw

child:

Daily	28	23	15	20	34
Weekly	35	36	44	34	32
[less than or equal to]Monthly	12	26	29	29	21
Never	25	15	13	17	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100