The Relationship between Age at Completion of Schooling and Age at First Birth in El Salvador

by

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Despite substantial improvements in female educational attainment throughout Latin America, there has been little change in the age at first birth or in adolescent fertility rates in much of the region. The lack of change in the age at marriage or initiation of childbearing has been remarked upon by a variety of analysts (Rosero-Bixby, 1990; Martin and Juarez, 1994; Singh, 1998). In a comparative review of adolescent childbearing using DHS data Singh (1998) notes that, "The relatively small decreases, and even occasional small increases in adolescent childbearing in Latin America are unexpected, given the extent of social and structural change that has taken place in this region, and given the large decline in childbearing that has occurred among older women." While the total fertility rate for El Salvador has declined from 4.2 to 3.6 between 1983-88 and 1993-98, there has been little change in the age-specific fertility rate for 15-19 year olds, which at a level of 116 per 1000 is one of the highest in Latin America (ADS and CDC, 2000).

The main goal of this paper is to more closely examine the relationship between the age at first birth and women's education by taking into account the age at completion of schooling. The main conclusion we reach is that the age when a women leaves school, and not the highest grade level reached, is the critical aspect of her school attendance that affects her risk of getting pregnant and having a birth. Secondly, we consider the evidence that in El Salvador there is a threshhold age at completion of schooling, which when reached may precipitate changes in the age at first birth. We conclude by considering the reverse situation in which having the first birth is a risk factor for leaving school.

Data:

The data presented here are from the 1998 El Salvador National Family Health Survey (FESAL-98), which was conducted by the Asociación Demográfica Salvadoreña and was provided technical assistance by the Division of Reproductive Health, Centers for Disease

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Control and Prevention (ADS and CDC, 2000). This was a nationally representative survey of 20,760 households within which 12,634 women ages 15 to 49 were interviewed. The questionnaire for the survey includes a complete history of birth dates for all live births to the woman, as well as recording age at completion of schooling (for women not currently attending), and highest grade level completed at the time of the survey (April - November, 1998). The El Salvadoran school year is from January to September so that information on highest grade completed for most respondents refers to the grade completed in 1997.

Trends in Fertility and School Attendance:

Table 1 and Figure 1 illustrate the trends in median age[3] at first sex, first union, first birth and completion of schooling for the successive five-year birth cohorts of women born in the period 1948 through 1978, which correspond to women ages 20 through 49 when the survey was conducted in 1998. While the median age at completion of schooling[4] has risen from 12 to 16.7 between the 1948-53 birth cohort and the 1978-83 cohort there is virtually no change in the median age for the other three events. There is evidence of a slight increase in the age at first union among recent cohorts, but this has not resulted in a notable change in the median age at first birth, suggesting an increase in premarital conceptions. The rise in the median age at completion of schooling corresponds to an increase across cohorts from 28 to 64 percent of women still attending school at age 15, and from 12 to 26 percent still in school at age 20. Also shown in Table 1 is that the median highest grade of school completed has risen from just 3.2 years among those born in 1948-53 to 7.9 years for those born in 1978-83.

Figures 2 and 3 (and Table 2) provide more detail on the distributions of women by highest grade completed and age last attended school in each of the birth cohorts of women. This illustrates impressive gains in educational attainment, with the proportion with 6 or less years of schooling declining from 81 percent among the 1948-53 cohort to 43 percent for those born in 1978-83 (ages15 to 19 in 1998). The proportion in the two highest education groups combined (10 or more years of education) has increased from 14.6 percent in the earliest cohort to 34.6 percent among those born in 1973-78. The fact that the proportion in the 10+ years of education category is less for the most recent cohort (ages 15 to 19) than for the next three earlier cohorts (ages 20 to 34) highlights a limitation of the highest grade completed variable. Substantial proportions of younger women are still attending school so that the highest grade attained by these women does not have the same meaning as for women who are no longer in school.

As seen in Figure 3 (and Table 2), 48 percent of 15-19 year olds and 19 percent of 20-24 year olds report themselves to still be attending school. Most of these women will eventually reach higher levels of educational attainment, so that the gains in achievement of recent cohorts relative to earlier cohorts are understated. Figure 3 also shows that the percent of women who

[3]Median ages calculated as life table medians where exposure of women never experiencing the event is included at ages up to the current age of the woman.

[4] Those women who never attended school were assigned an age at completion of 5 for purposes of calculating a median age

never attended school has dropped precipitously from 32 percent of the 1948-53 cohort to just 5.5 percent of women born in the 1978-83 period. The percent who started school but stopped before age 15 has declined from 35 to 23 percent and those stopping at ages 15 or older has risen from 33 percent to 71.4 percent of women in the youngest cohort (these percentages include those who report they are still attending school). The more than doubling of the percent of women attending school at ages where fertility commonly begins has led to our closer examination of this variable as a potential contributor to delayed age at first birth.

Relationship between the Highest Grade Completed and Age when Completed:

While there is clearly a correlation between the highest grade completed and the age when completed there is also reason to suspect that these variables may have independent effects on age at first birth. Figures 4, 5 and 6 (and Tables 3 and 4) illustrate that there is considerable variation in the highest grade completed for those who stop at a given age and similarly in the age last attended for those stopping at a given grade level. For example, among those women who last attended school at age 15, 25 percent had completed grade 4 or less, 50 percent grade 6 or less and 75 percent grade 7 or less (Figure 4). Generally there is a range of 3 or 4 grade levels between the 25^{th} and 75^{th} percentiles of the distribution of grade level for a given age. Similarly, there is a range of 3 or 4 years in the age last attended between the 25^{th} and 75^{th} percentiles of those stopping after achieving a given grade level (Figure 5). Finally, for those women still in school at the time of interview, there is also substantial variation in the current age for those who have completed a given grade level (Figure 6). The fairly wide variation in age at completion of a given grade is due to delayed entry into school and to high repetition rates, especially at the primary level (Stupp and Cáceres, 2000).

Leaving School and the Risk of the First Birth:

Table 5 shows, for women ages 20 and older, the percent who had their first birth before ages 15, 18 and 20, classified by education level. It illustrates the rather substantial drop off in the proportion of women having a first birth by any age as education level increases. By age 20 there is a discrepancy of 53 percentage points between the highest and lowest education categories. This does not, however, address whether this differential is due to the grade level achieved or if it is due to the age of the woman when she last attended school.

Table 6 (and Figure 7) provides further insight into the possible effects of age last attended by showing the time interval between leaving school and the first birth, classified by age last attended. Only those women no longer in school are included in these tabulations. For those stopping school before age 15 the largest group experienced a gap of 4 or more years before having the first birth. For those stopping at ages 15 to 19, between 25 and 30 percent had the first birth within one or two years of leaving school, and a growing proportion have the first birth either before or at the same age as when they last attended school. For those leaving at age 19, a full 48 percent had their first birth within 2 years of leaving or earlier. This, however, does not take into account that substantial proportions of women remain enrolled in school during these

teenage years or that the event of having a birth may terminate their school attendance.

In order to properly account for the censoring of women as they experience the first birth we estimate Cox Proportional Hazards models (Allison, 1995) of the relative risks of having a first birth for several characteristics. Because of the potential reverse causality of a woman experiencing a birth causing her to end or suspend her school attendance it is necessary to take this into account when estimating the effect of leaving school on the risk of first birth. To do this we define an age-varying variable that gives her school attendance status (still in school/ended school attendance) at each age for which the risk of first birth is being estimated. In the models presented here this is done by setting this variable to 1 if the age when the woman last attended school is less than the age for which the risk is being estimated and to 0 if her last school attendance was that age or older (or if she is still attending school when interviewed).

Table 7 gives the results from four different models of the relative risk of first birth. The first, model A, gives the relative risks by highest grade completed without taking into account whether the woman had left school at the ages for which the risk is estimated. Consistent with what was seen in Table 5, the lower the education level the greater the risk of a birth. A drawback of this model is that we do not know the education level the woman has reached for each of the ages for which the risk is estimated, so that we are estimating the relative risk based on her eventual education level. Model B gives the relative risk of the first birth by whether or not the woman was in school at each age for which the risk is estimated. Overall, not being in school increases the risk by 320 percent, relative to being in school.

Model C gives the interaction effects between being in school or not and the highest grade level completed. The reference category is women who are still in school, so that the estimated coefficients give the relative risk of having a birth for women no longer in school and who have achieved a given education level. It can be seen that the risks for all the education levels are very similar with risks ranging between 2.9 and 3.3 times the risk for women still in school. This illustrates that the apparent effect of more years of education is essentially capturing an effect of staying in school until an older age.

Model D gives the interaction effects between being in school or not and the age for which the risk is estimated. The relative risk of a birth is greatest for those who are not in school at ages 15-16 (relative to those still in school) and declines slowly with age. This does not mean that the risk of a birth is greatest at ages 15-16, which is clearly not true, but that the relative risk associated with not being in school is greatest at these ages.

As was seen in Table 1, the age at completion of schooling has risen considerably in El Salvador from a median of 12.1 years to 16.7 between the cohorts born between 1948 and 1978. Nevertheless, there has been virtually no change in the median age at first birth. Table 8 (and Figure 8) gives the trends in age at first birth and school completion, broken down by areas of residence. The rural areas have experienced the largest gain in women staying in school, with the median increasing 8.5 years (from age 5.9 to age 14.4) between 1948 and 1978, yet the median age at first birth in rural areas has been flat at about 19.6 throughout the period. The metropolitan area of San Salvador, on the other hand, had the smallest change in median age at

schooling completion of just 2.6 years (from age 17.1 to 19.7), yet experienced a noticeable change in age at first birth from 21.6 to 23.3. The other urban areas have an intermediate result, with the median age at school completion rising about 6 years (from 12.4 to 18.5) and the median age at first birth rising one year (from 20.5 to 21.5). Taken together, this suggests that there is a threshold median age at school completion (around age 15 or 16), which when reached may lead to changes in the age at first birth. The fact that the rural areas were initially so far behind urban areas in terms of school attendance has meant that most of the gains in school attendance have been achieved with little noticeable effect on adolescent fertility. If our hypothesis that there is a threshhold age until which women must attend school is correct then rural El Salvador may now be poised at the point of starting to experience some change in the age at first birth.

Having a Birth and the Risk of Leaving School:

In the multivariate models of age at first birth presented above we have taken care to specify the model such that school completion took place prior to the age for which the risk is being estimated. There is the risk, as well, that first births can cause a woman to leave school. As was seen in Figure 7, starting with age 15, a small but growing proportion of those last attending school at a given age reported having their first birth before or at the same age as they last attended, reaching 20 percent for those staying in school until age 19.

For women ages 15 to 24 at the time of the survey, the 1998 Family Health Survey included additional questions regarding the first pregnancy and whether the woman was attending school at the time she learned she was pregnant. Figure 9 (and Table 9) shows the percent who were attending school at the time of the pregnancy and whether or not she continued school after the pregnancy, categorized by age at completion of schooling. Since this is constrained to women under 25, a large percentage (58 percent) had never been pregnant. Overall 9.6 percent of these women were still in school at the time of the first pregnancy of whom 7.3 percent did not return to school after the pregnancy. When just those women no longer in school are considered the percent who report they were still in school when they became pregnant is greater than 15 percent for those last attending at ages 16 and older and reaches 22.3 percent among those who last attended at age 19. The percent who did not return to school is highest among those who last attended at age 17 (18 percent). These are competing and related risks during this transitional period from ages 15 to 20. While smaller and smaller proportions of women stay in school as age increases, the proportion of those still in school who become pregnant while in school increases with age.

In Table 10 we present 2 models of the risk of leaving school with an age-varying covariate for whether or not the woman had ever had a birth prior to the age at which the risk of leaving school is being estimated. In the first model the relative risk associated with having had a birth is assumed to be constant across ages for which the risk is estimated (proportional hazard). In the second model the relative risk is allowed to vary by age at risk (via interaction terms as described in the models of risk of first birth). In the first model we find no greater risk of leaving school for those women who have had a birth than for those who have not. When we allow the relative risk to vary by age, however, sizable effects are estimated. The effect of

having a birth is greatest at ages under 15 (2.7 times the risk for women without children) and diminishes with age to the point that having had a birth is actually protective of ending school for women still in school at ages 19 and above (0.74 times the risk for women without children). One explanation for this age pattern is that a significant proportion of women who report still attending school at older ages (20 and above) are women who have dropped out, perhaps because they got married or had a child, and returned to school at a later stage. This dataset only contains a variable on the age a woman last attended school, for those not currently attending so that it is not possible to model patterns of withdrawal from school and reentry. We are constrained by the data to modelling school attendance as if it only occurred in one duration of time, which is clearly an oversimplification. This is probably not a bad approximation to reality for earlier ages of childbearing, but is more problemmatic at older ages.

Discussion

We began by noting the apparent lack of an effect of improvements in women's educational attainment on the median age at first birth in El Salvador. This is despite a very clear differential in age at first birth according to education level. We therefore have looked more closely at school attendance to determine whether it is the grade level attained or the age at which a woman leaves school that matters for determining her risk of having a first birth. We concluded that it is whether a woman remains in school until any given age, and not the grade level reached, that is important for initiation of parenthood. Therefore, improvements in school attendance below age 15 are unlikely to have much of an effect on age at first birth.

We then reconsidered what segments of the Salvadoran population have experienced the greatest gains in school attendance, focusing on age last attended as the key variable of interest. While the national median age at completion of schooling has increased from 12.1 to 16.7 for cohorts born between 1948 and 1978, a very large component of this increase occurred in rural areas where the median age at completion went from 5.9 to 14.4 in the same period of time. It is therefore, only very recently that large segments of the rural female population has remained in school until ages where an effect on age at first birth could be expected. In urban areas, which have experienced more modest increases in the age when women leave school, the median age at first birth has actually begun to increase. This has led us to hypothesize that a threshhold median age at schooling completion must be reached before the distribution of ages at first birth (and adolescent fertility) begins to respond.

While there was not an overall effect of having the first birth on the risk of leaving school, once the proportionality assumption was removed to allow the effect to vary with age a significant effect was found for all age groups. For ages 18 and younger having had a birth was a risk factor for leaving school, whereas at ages 19 and older having had a birth was actually associated with still being in school. We have interpreted this protective effect as possibly arising from how we have modelled school attendance due to data limitations. We only have information on whether the woman is currently attending school and the age the woman last attended school for those not in school. This does not allow us to model periods of disruption in school attendance possibly due to other events like getting married or having a child, so that we

essentially assume the woman was continuously in school from her first enrollment until the reported age she last attended. This reinforces a point made by others investigating the education fertility linkage (e.g., Eloundou-Enyegue, 1999) that without data on the timing of both fertility and schooling events it is difficult to make inferences about causality.

In El Salvador, the proportion of women staying in school until ages at which childbearing commonly begins is still relatively small and is constrained to mostly urban segments of the population. As gains in the duration of school enrollment continue, the overlap between the schooling and childbearing years will increase. The immediate policy concern is with consequences of adolescent childbearing, particularly the ability to achieve desired levels of schooling. Sizable proportions of Salvadoran women report themselves to be attending school into their late 20's and early 30's. These are not likely women who have continuously attended in school, but rather those who have experienced interruptions in their educational careers. As educational aspirations increase, school returnees can also be expected to increase as a proportion of women in these age groups.

To better understand the relationships between education and fertility in an environment where both education and fertility are changing, it will be useful to collect information on the timing of all spells of school attendance. We have shown the relevance of considering the timing of schooling for first births. As more women attend school at older ages it is likely that timing issues will be important for higher order births as well.

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Table 1: Trends in Age at First Birth and School Attendance: El Salvador								
	Birth Cohort of Women							Total
	1948-53	1953-58	1958-63	1963-68	1968-73	1973-78	1978-83	
Fertility events								
Median Age at:								
First Sex	18.3	18.1	18.1	18.3	18.6	18.7	--	18.5
First Union	19.1	18.7	18.7	19.5	19.5	20.3	--	19.5
First Birth	20.8	20.2	20.1	20.7	20.5	20.8	--	20.5
School Attendance								
Median Grade Completed	3.2	4.4	5.6	6.3	6.7	7.9	--	6.6
Median Age at Completion	12.1	13.2	14.1	14.8	15.9	16.7	--	15.6
Percent Still Attending	1.2	2.1	2.8	4.1	7.8	18.9	47.8	17.3
Number of Cases	*883*	*1168*	*1434*	*1873*	*2119*	*2406*	*2271*	*12154*
Current Ages (1998)	*45-49*	*40-44*	*35-39*	*30-34*	*25-29*	*20-24*	*15-19*	*15-49*

Note: Women who never attended school were assigned an age at completion of 5 for purposes of calculating a median age.

Table 2: Trends in percent distribution of women by highest grade completed and age last attended								
	Birth Cohort of Women							Total
	1948-53	1953-58	1958-63	1963-68	1968-73	1973-78	1978-83	
Highest Grade Completed								
0-6	80.8	73.2	63.6	57.5	52.3	45.4	43.2	55.0
7-9	4.6	10.2	13.3	14.1	18.5	20.0	35.7	19.8
10-12	10.6	10.0	13.3	17.4	16.2	21.4	18.6	16.6
13+	4.0	6.5	9.7	11.0	13.0	13.2	2.5	8.6
Age Last Attended								
Never Attended	32.0	27.7	23.1	18.6	14.0	11.3	5.5	15.8
6-14	35.0	31.5	31.2	30.3	27.4	23.5	23.1	27.4
15-18	16.4	20.4	21.9	22.1	27.6	29.6	23.0	24.0
19-22	5.1	9.0	9.5	12.5	13.4	15.9	0.6	9.3
23-49	10.3	9.4	11.6	12.4	9.8	0.9	--	6.3
Still Attending	1.2	2.1	2.8	4.1	7.8	18.9	47.8	17.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	*883*	*1168*	*1434*	*1873*	*2119*	*2406*	*2271*	*12154*
Current Ages (1998)	*45-49*	*40-44*	*35-39*	*30-34*	*25-29*	*20-24*	*15-19*	*15-49*

Table 3: Quartiles of the Distribution of Highest Grade Completed by Age Last Attended							
	Highest Grade Completed by 5, 25, 50, 75 and 95 Percent of Women who Last Attended School at a Given Age						
Age Last Attended	5%	25%	Median50%	75%	95%	Mean Grade	N
6-10	1	1	2	3	3	2.1	754
11	1	2	3	4	6	3.1	305
12	1	2	3	4	6	3.5	783
13	2	3	4	6	6	4.4	804
14	2	3	5	6	8	4.9	901
15	2	4	6	7	9	5.8	936
16	3	5	6	9	9	6.8	708
17	3	6	8	9	12	8.3	599
18	4	7	9	12	12	9.3	622
19	5	9	11	12	12	10.4	405
20+	5	11	12	16	17	12.4	1333
Still Attending	4	8	9	12	17	10.3	1518

Table 4: Quartiles of the Distribution of Age Last Attended by Highest Grade Completed							
High Grade Completed	Age Last Attended by 5, 25, 50, 75 and 95 Percent of Women No Longer in School who Completed a Given Grade Level						
- No Longer Attending	5%	25%	Median 50%	75%	95%	Mean Age	N
6	12	14	15	16	19	14.9	1189
7	13	15	16	17	19	16.1	392
8	14	15	16	18	22	16.9	278
9	15	16	17	18	22	17.4	927
10	15	17	18	20	24	18.8	149
11	17	18	19	21	25	19.5	162
12	17	18	20	22	28	20.7	898
13+	20	23	25	29	35	26.2	488
High Grade Completed	Current Age of 5, 25, 50,75 and 95 Percent of Women Still Attending School who Have Completed a Given Grade Level						
- Still Attending	5%	25%	Median50%	75%	95%	Mean Age	N
6	15	15	16	17	21	16.4	86
7	15	15	16	17	21	16.4	135
8	15	15	16	17	21	16.6	196
9	15	16	17	18	26	17.2	206
10	16	17	18	19	32	18.5	150
11	16	17	18	20	29	19.0	106
12	17	18	20	23	33	21.0	135
13+	19	21	23	28	38	24.7	362

Table 5: Age at First Birth by Education Level and Age Last Attended School (women 20 and older)

	Percent with First Birth Before		
High Grade Completed	Age 15	Age 18	Age 20
0-6	4.5	34.5	58.9
7-9	0.8	19.9	46.2
10-12	0.5	5.0	19.2
13+	0.5	2.7	6.2
Age Last Attended			
Never	6.5	38.9	61.6
6-14	4.4	35.8	60.3
15-18	1.0	21.4	50.9
19-22	0.3	3.3	14.5
23-49	0.7	6.4	13.2
Still Attending	0.8	5.8	12.3
Total	2.9	24.2	45.1

Table 6: Timing of the First Birth relative to age last attended school: Women no longer attending School

	First Birth Occurred:					
	before or same age as Last Attended	1-2 years after school	3-4 years after school	5+ years after	No birth Yet	Total
Age Last Attended						
6-10	0.0	0.1	3.3	82.6	14.0	100.0
11	0.1	1.5	9.8	70.0	18.6	100.0
12	0.0	4.7	13.4	62.7	19.2	100.0
13	1.8	14.1	23.5	41.2	19.4	100.0
14	3.8	19.3	21.0	31.3	24.6	100.0
15	7.7	25.7	19.1	21.6	25.9	100.0
16	13.9	30.9	18.6	14.4	22.2	100.0
17	16.3	30.4	14.4	12.7	26.2	100.0
18	18.6	27.1	12.7	17.8	23.8	100.0
19	20.8	26.8	15.5	11.1	25.8	100.0
20+	44.8	16.6	8.2	7.8	22.6	100.0

Table 7: Models of the Relative Risk of Having the First Birth by whether in school and highest grade completed

MODEL	Variables	RR	p-value
A.	**Years of Education**		
	0-6	3.10	0.0001
	7-9	2.31	0.0001
	10-12	1.44	0.0001
	13+ (ref cat)	1.00	--
B.	**Whether still in School - age varying**		
	In school(age) -(ref cat)	1.00	--
	Not in school(age)	3.20	0.0001
C.	**Interaction (whether in school and years of education)**		
	In school(age) -(ref cat)	1.00	--
	Not in school & 0-6(age)	3.21	0.0001
	Not in school & 7-9(age)	3.26	0.0001
	Not in school & 10-12(age)	2.88	0.0001
	Not in school & 13+(age)	3.30	0.0001
D.	**Interaction (whether in school and age)**		
	In school(age) -(ref cat)	1.00	--
	Not in school & age<15	4.04	0.0001
	Not in school & age 15-16	4.64	0.0001
	Not in school & age 17-18	3.74	0.0001
	Not in school & age 19-22	2.90	0.0001
	Not in school & age 23-29	1.69	0.0001
	Not in school & age 30+	1.07	0.7746

Table 8: Trends in the median age at first birth and at school completion, by area of residence

	Birth Cohort of Women							Total
	1948-53	1953-58	1958-63	1963-68	1968-73	1973-78	1978-83	
Age at First Birth								
San Salvador	21.6	20.9	21.4	21.6	22.5	23.3	--	21.8
Other Urban	20.8	20.5	20.1	21.3	21.1	21.5	--	21.0
Rural	20.2	19.4	19.4	19.7	19.5	19.6	--	19.6
							--	
Age at School Completion							--	
San Salvador	17.1	16.9	18.2	18.2	19.3	19.7	--	18.7
Other Urban	12.4	14.8	15.1	17.0	17.6	18.5	--	17.2
Rural	5.9	5.9	9.8	12.4	13.4	14.4	--	13.3

Note: Women who never attended school were assigned an age at completion of 5 for purposes of calculating a median age.

Table 9: Percent Distribution of Women, 15-24, by Whether Ever Pregnant and if Pregnancy terminated school attendance by Age Last Attended School

	Never pregnant	Already out of School at First Pregnancy	In School at time of first pregnancy		Total	N
			Continued After School	Did not Continue		
Total	57.8	32.7	2.3	7.3	100	4677
Age Last Attended						
Never Attended	27.1	72.9	0.0	0.0	100.0	534
6-14	38.4	57.0	0.6	4.0	100.0	1257
15-18	39.3	43.9	2.1	14.7	100.0	1248
19-24	48.4	28.0	6.9	16.7	100.0	357
Still Attending	93.8	1.5	2.9	1.8	100.0	1263

Table 10: Models of the Relative Risk of Leaving School by whether Ever had a Birth and Residence

MODEL	Variables	RR	p-value
A.	**Residence and whether had a birth**		
	Residence		
	Rural (ref cat)	1.00	--
	San Salvador	0.40	0.0001
	Other Urban	0.52	0.0001
	Whether had a birth - age varying		
	Has not had a birth(age)	1.00	--
	Has had a birth(age)	0.97	0.5073
B.	**Residence and interaction between age and whether had a birth**		
	Residence		
	Rural (ref cat)	1.00	--
	San Salvador	0.40	0.0001
	Other Urban	0.52	0.0001
	Interaction (whether had birth and age)		
	Has not had a birth(age)	1.00	--
	Had birth & age<15	2.73	0.0001
	Had birth & age 15-16	2.31	0.0001
	Had birth & age 17-18	1.36	0.0103
	Had birth & age 19+	0.74	0.0001

Figure 1:

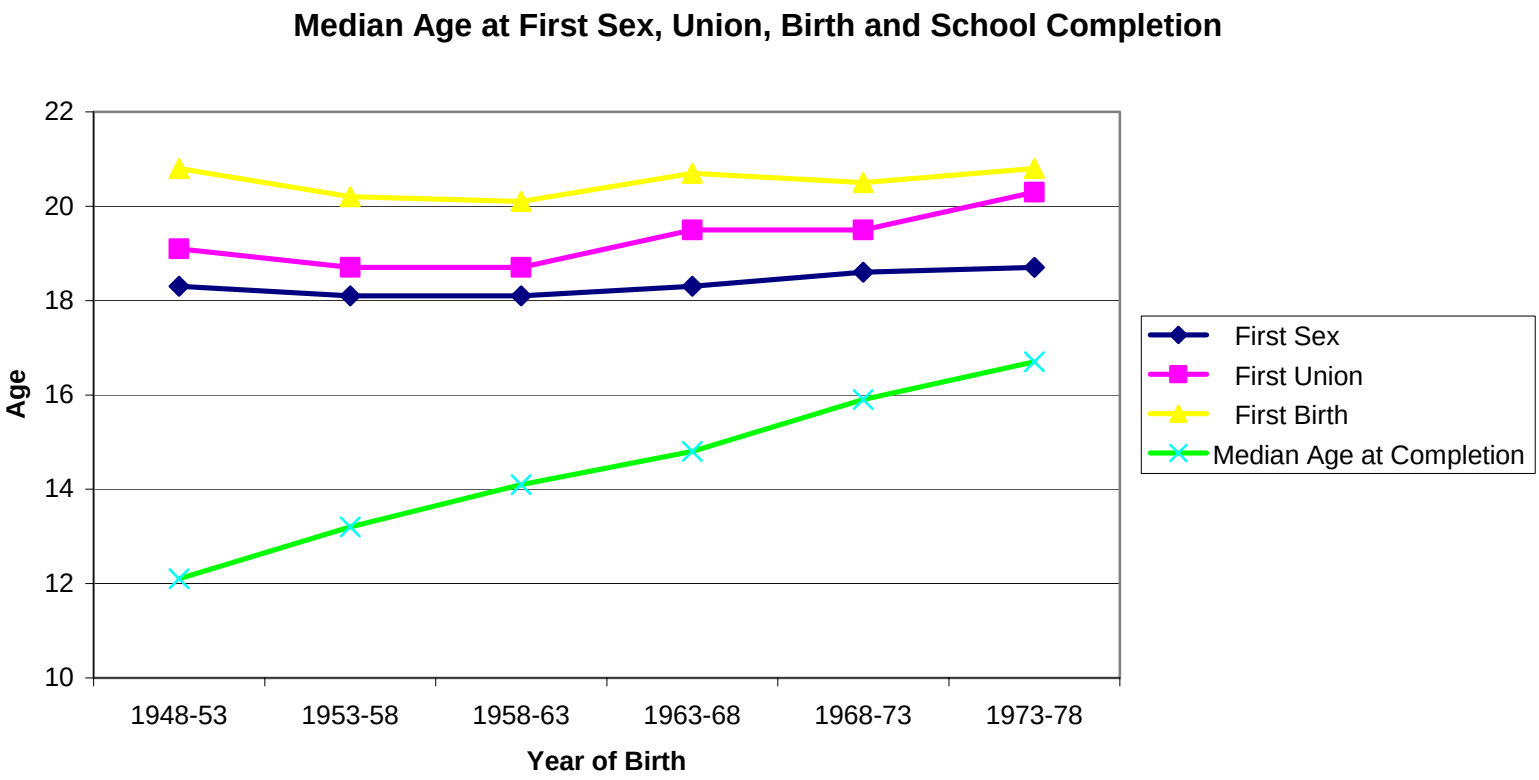

Median Age at First Sex, Union, Birth and School Completion
22
20
18
16
14
12
10
Age
1948-53
1953-58
1958-63
1963-68
1968-73
1973-78
Year of Birth
First Sex
First Union
First Birth
Median Age at Completion

Figure 2:

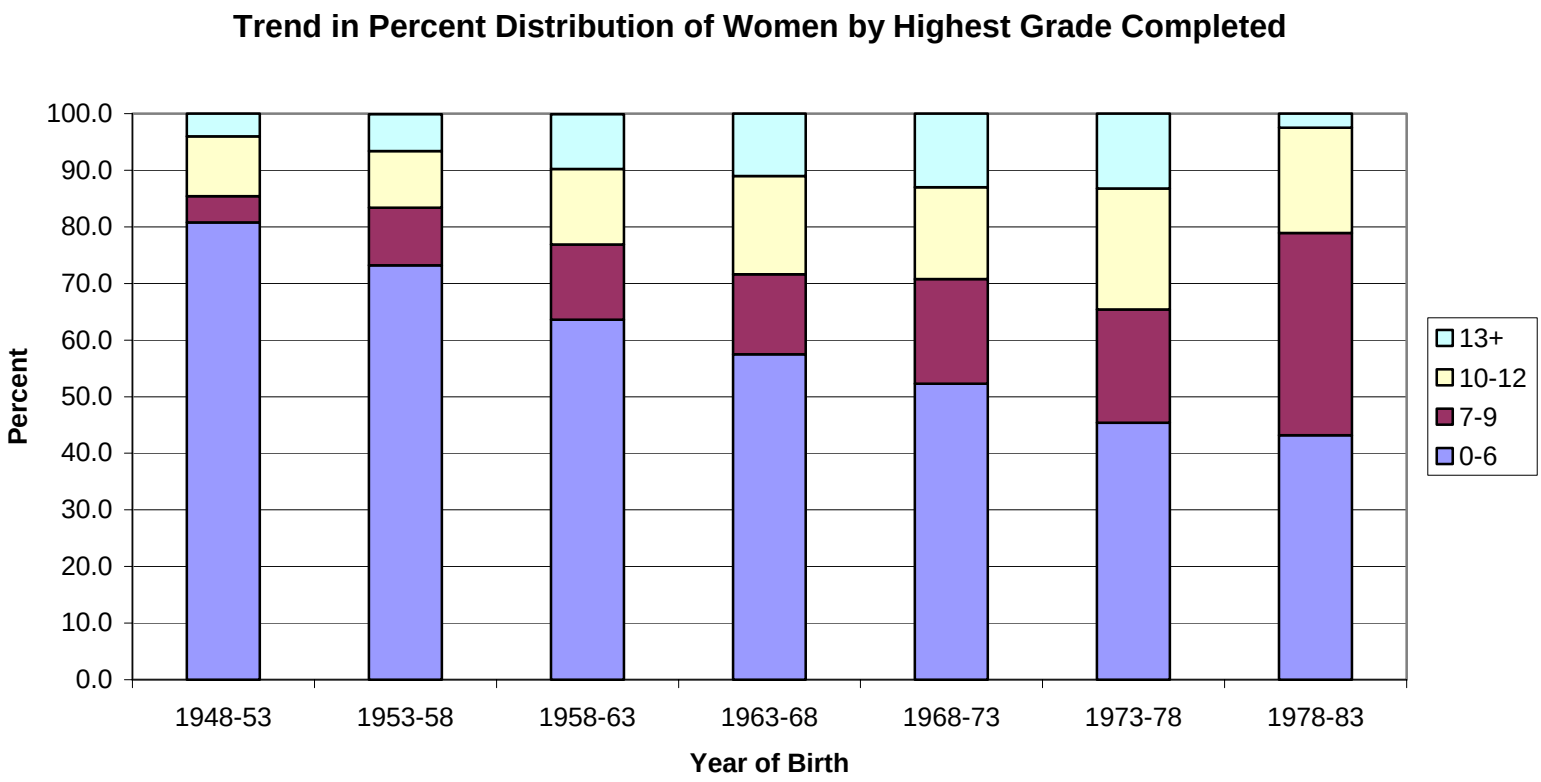

Trend in Percent Distribution of Women by Highest Grade Completed
Percent
100.0
90.0
80.0
70.0
60.0
50.0
40.0
30.0
20.0
10.0
0.0
1948-53
1953-58
1958-63
1963-68
1968-73
1973-78
1978-83
Year of Birth
13+
10-12
7-9
0-6

Figure 3:

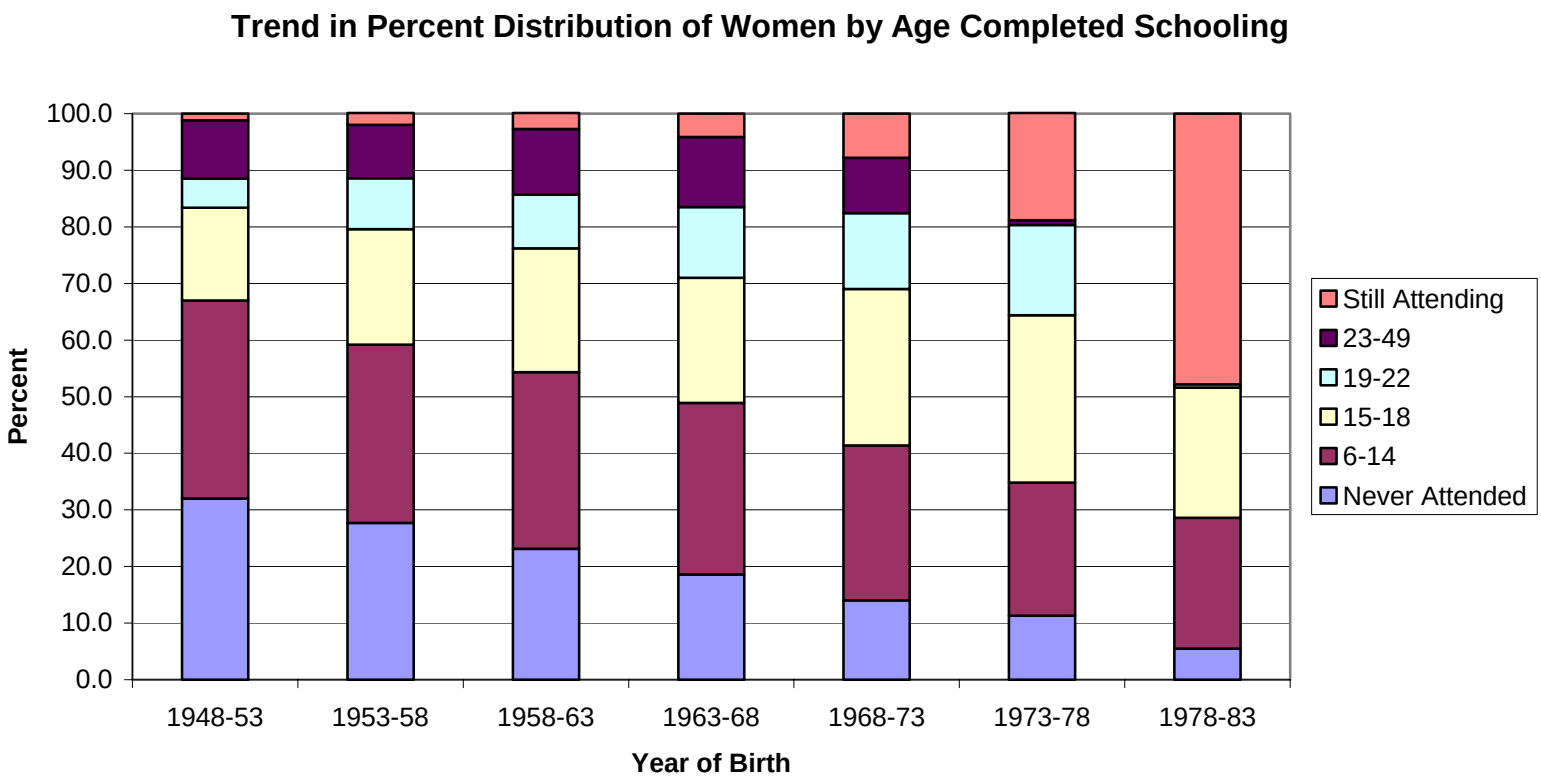

Trend in Percent Distribution of Women by Age Completed Schooling
Percent
100.0
90.0
80.0
70.0
60.0
50.0
40.0
30.0
20.0
10.0
0.0
1948-53
1953-58
1958-63
1963-68
1968-73
1973-78
1978-83
Year of Birth
Still Attending
23-49
19-22
15-18
6-14
Never Attended

Figure 4:

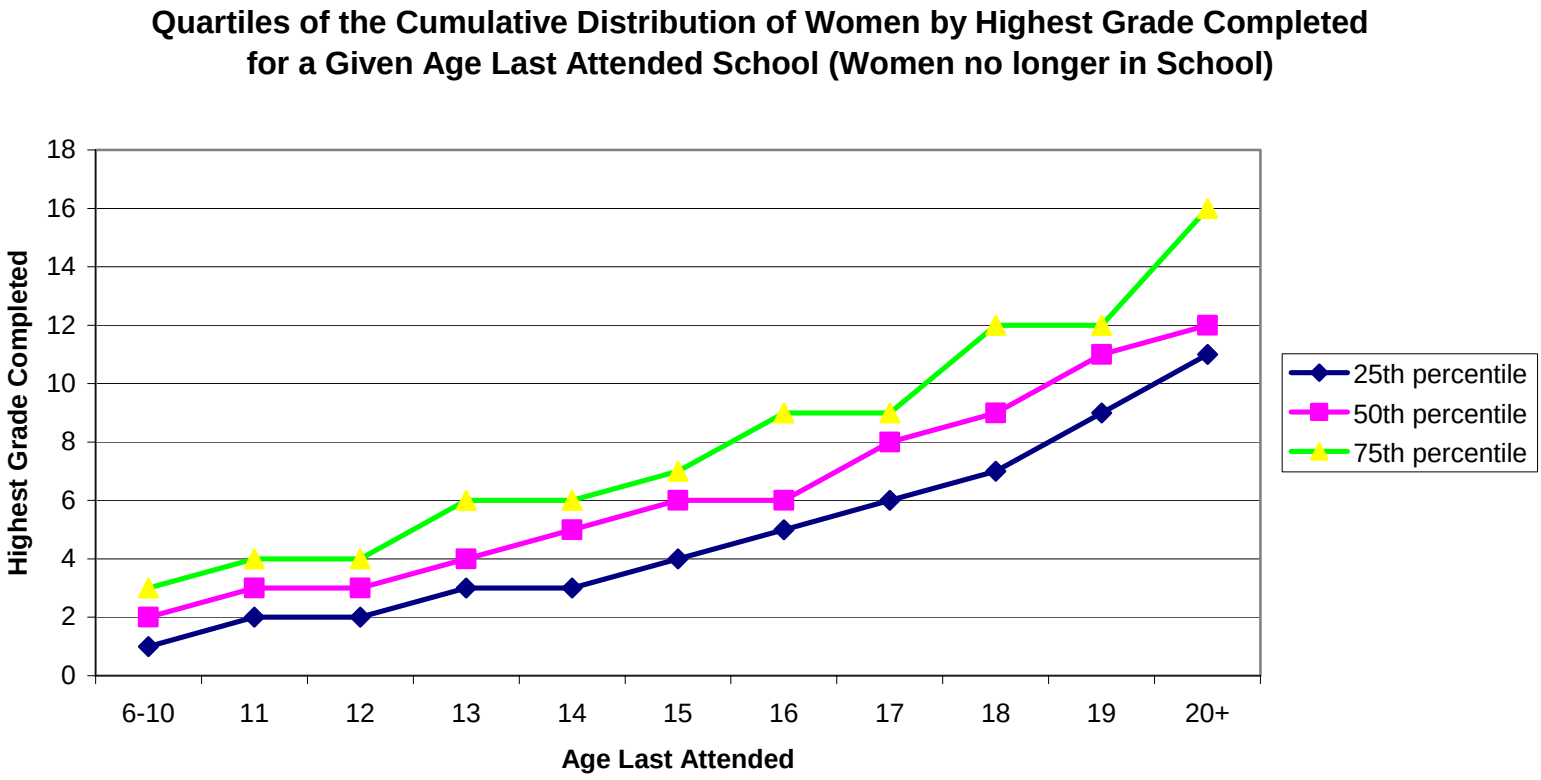

Quartiles of the Cumulative Distribution of Women by Highest Grade Completed for a Given Age Last Attended School (Women no longer in School)
Highest Grade Completed
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
6-10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20+
Age Last Attended
25th percentile
50th percentile
75th percentile

Figure 5:

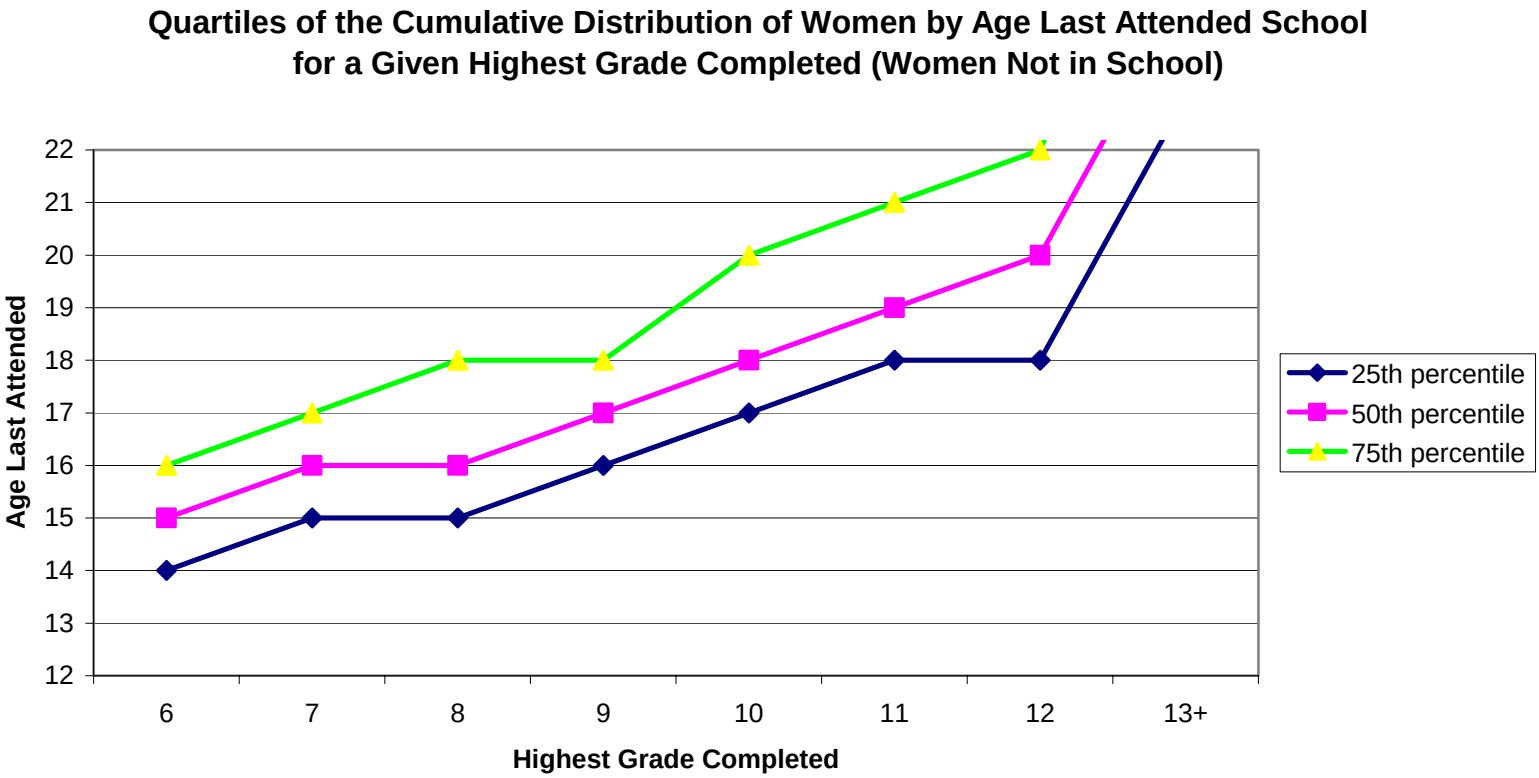

Quartiles of the Cumulative Distribution of Women by Age Last Attended School for a Given Highest Grade Completed (Women Not in School)
Age Last Attended
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13+
Highest Grade Completed
25th percentile
50th percentile
75th percentile

Figure 6:

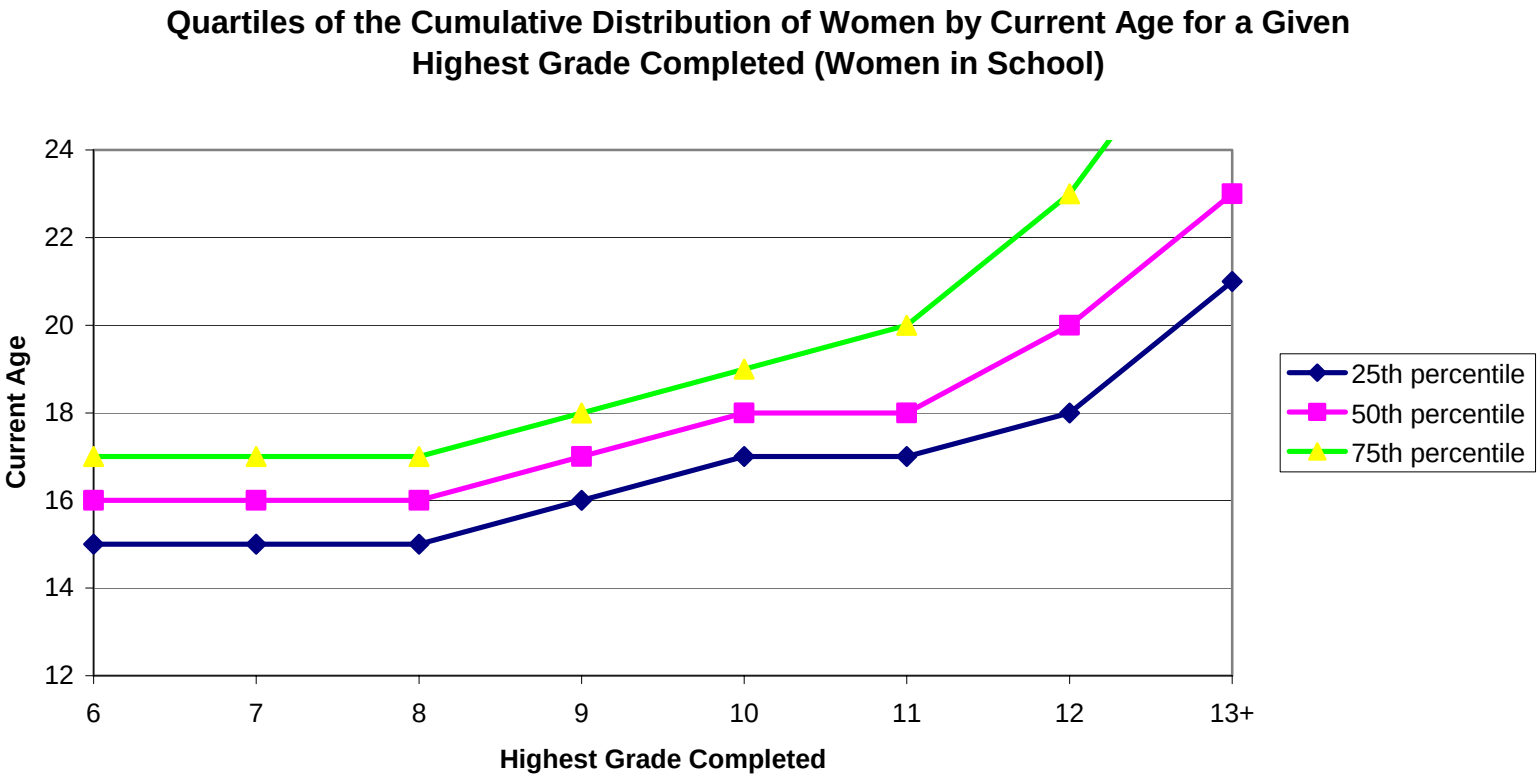

Quartiles of the Cumulative Distribution of Women by Current Age for a Given Highest Grade Completed (Women in School)
Current Age
24
22
20
18
16
14
12
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13+
Highest Grade Completed
25th percentile
50th percentile
75th percentile

Figure 7:

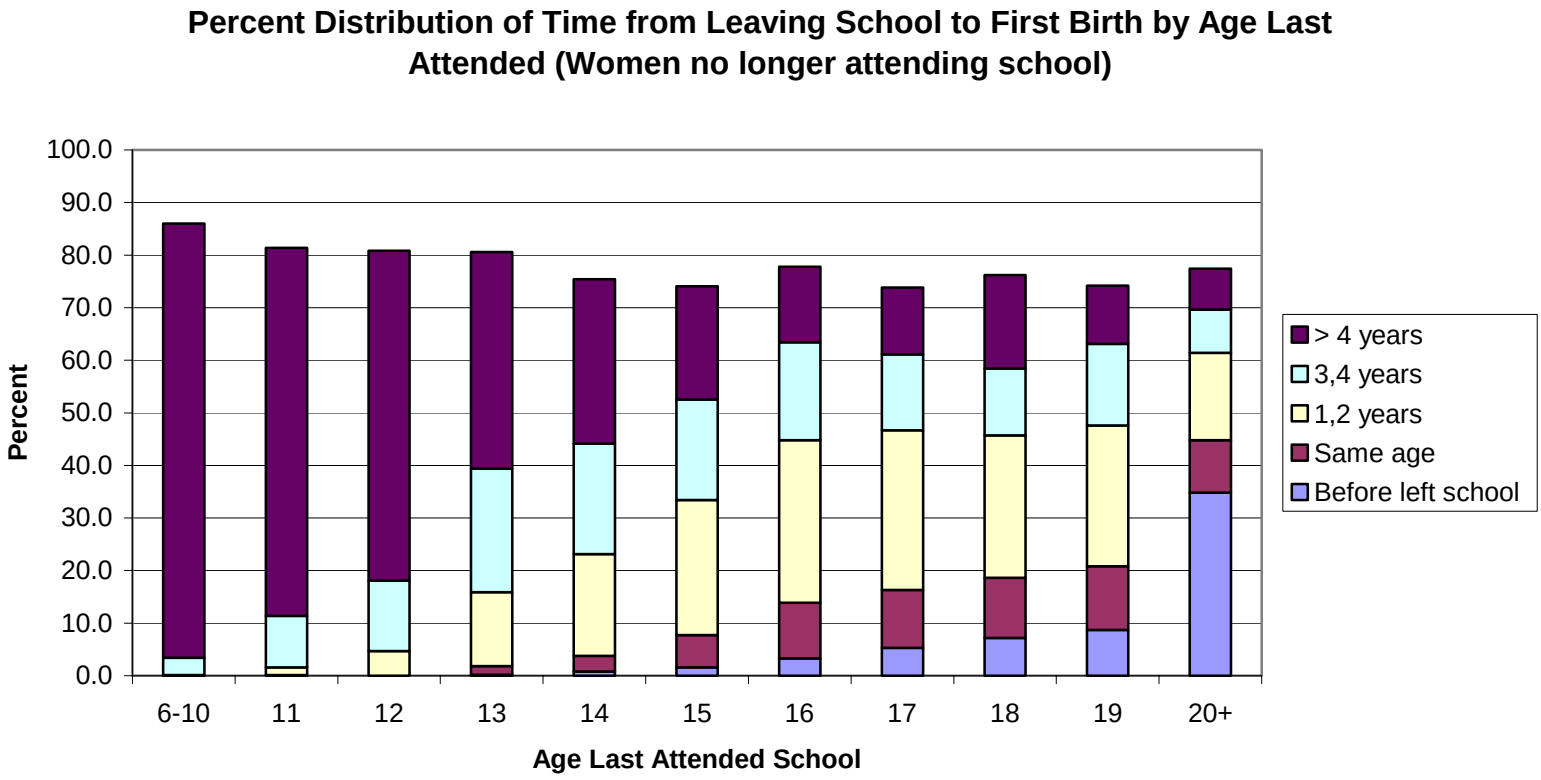

Percent Distribution of Time from Leaving School to First Birth by Age Last Attended (Women no longer attending school)
100.0
90.0
80.0
70.0
60.0
50.0
40.0
30.0
20.0
10.0
0.0
Percent
6-10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20+
Age Last Attended School
> 4 years
3,4 years
1,2 years
Same age
Before left school

Figure 8:

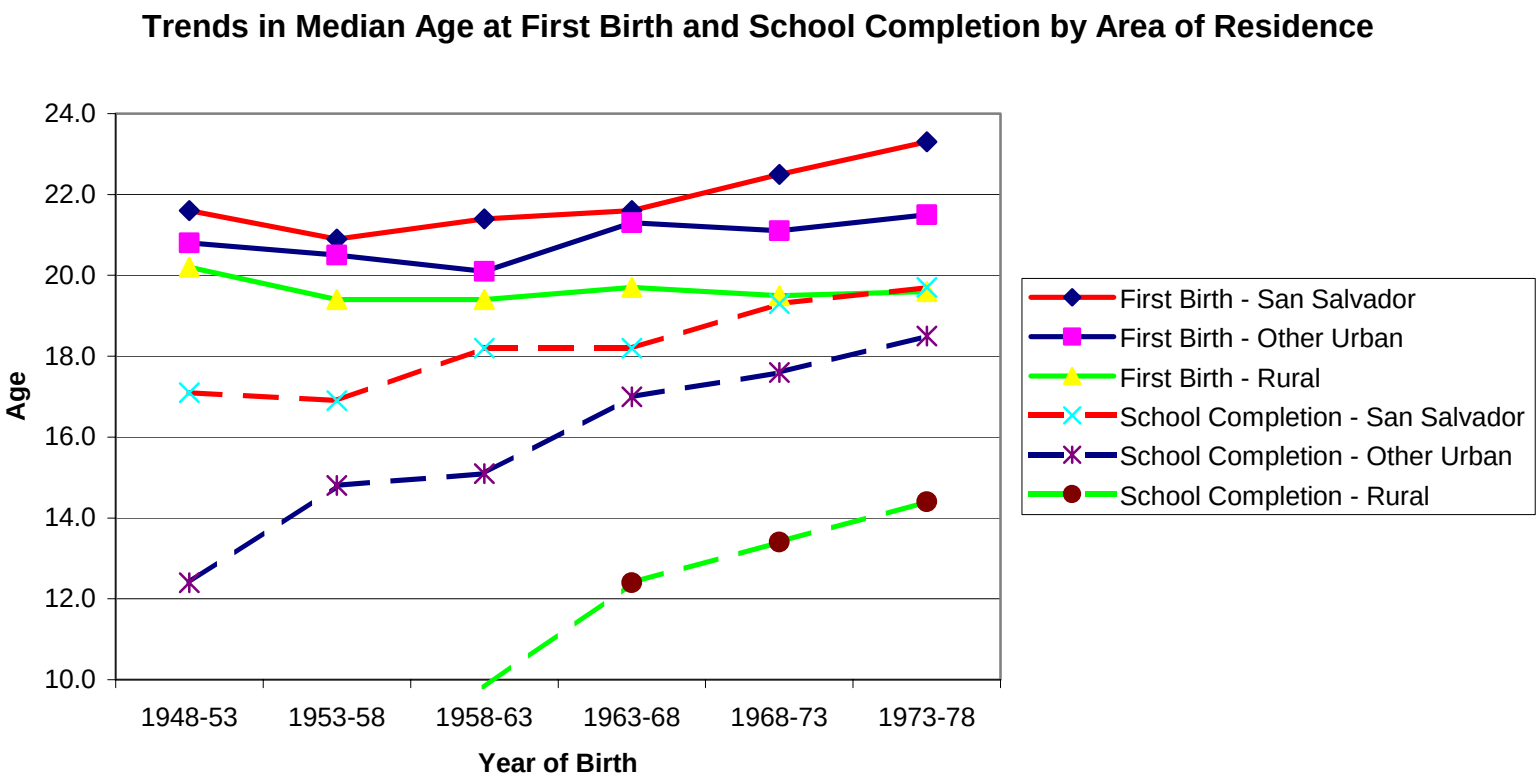
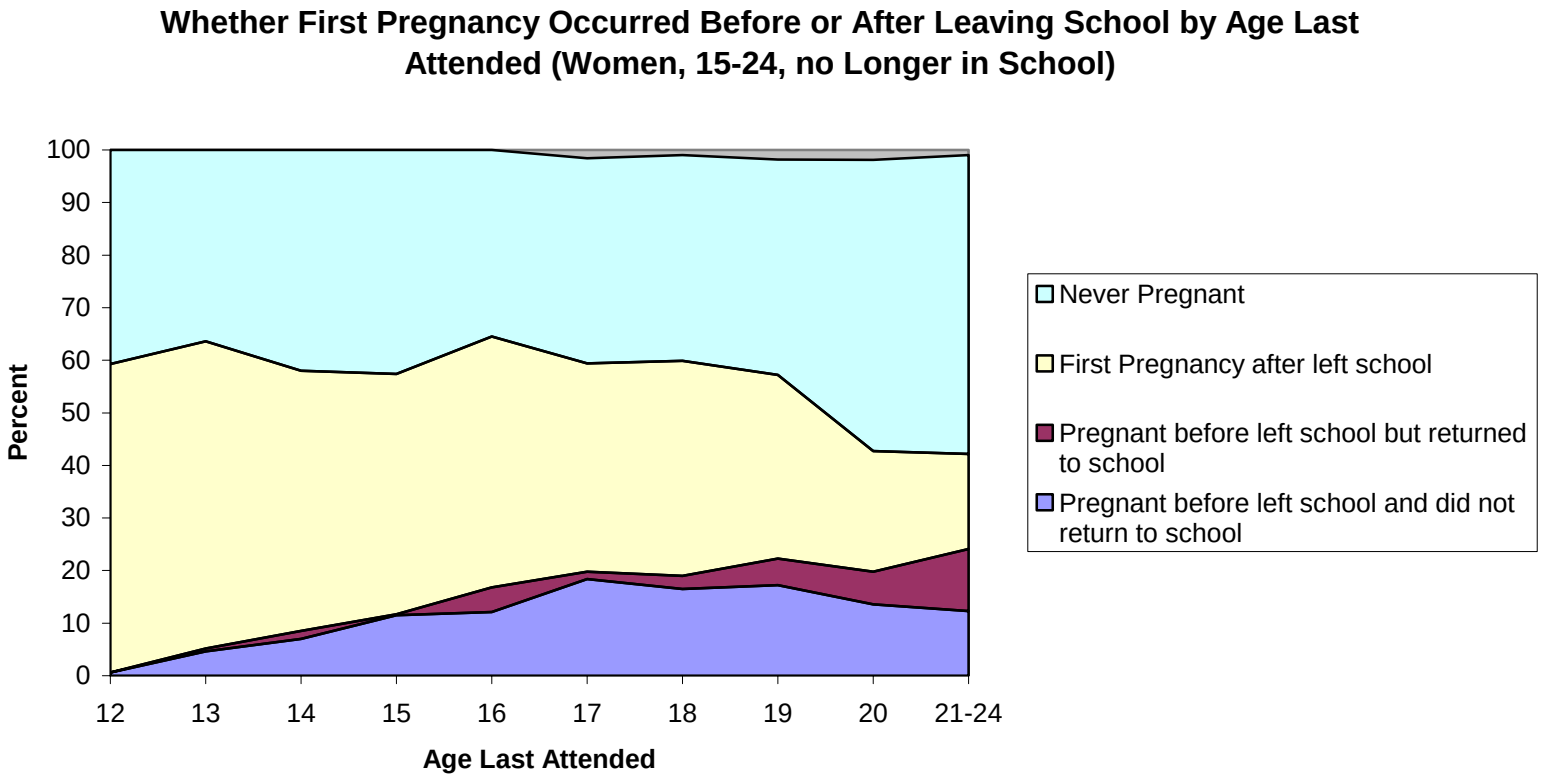

Trends in Median Age at First Birth and School Completion by Area of Residence
24.0
22.0
20.0
18.0
16.0
14.0
12.0
10.0
Age
1948-53
1953-58
1958-63
1963-68
1968-73
1973-78
Year of Birth
First Birth - San Salvador
First Birth - Other Urban
First Birth - Rural
School Completion - San Salvador
School Completion - Other Urban
School Completion - Rural

Figure 9:


Whether First Pregnancy Occurred Before or After Leaving School by Age Last Attended (Women, 15-24, no Longer in School)
Percent
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21-24
Age Last Attended
Never Pregnant
First Pregnancy after left school
Pregnant before left school but returned to school
Pregnant before left school and did not return to school