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mortality and differ significantly from those of countries with better records. A study of maternity policies for working women in seventy-five countries (including all industrialized countries and some developing nations) found that the United States was the only nation that failed to ensure provision of certain basic health services and social supports needed during pregnancy, childbirth, and infancy. Those services and supports include necessities such as medical and nutritional care, and some form of income support or protection (such as a family allowance or a parental leave policy).[11]

The powerful influence that a nation's social policies can have on the health of infants is evident when one examines the experience of immigrants now living in Sweden who came from Southeastern European and other countries with heavily depressed economies and high rates of infant mortality. As in many countries, the immigrants (who came to Sweden in the late 1960s and early 1970s) generally had lower incomes than native Swedes and experienced lower standards of living. However, their mothers were provided with comprehensive health and social services. As a result, babies born to these immigrant mothers in recent years experienced slightly lower infant mortality rates than infants born to native Swedes, despite their higher social risk and relative economic disadvantage.[12]

State and City Findings

National maternal and infant health problems, already serious when compared to those of other countries, mask particularly severe problems in many states and cities.

State Findings

Infant mortality: Clear regional patterns in infant mortality rates can be discerned.

- In 1984, the states with the highest rates of infant mortality tended to be concentrated in the South. With the exception of Illinois, the ten states with the highest 1984 overall infant mortality rates were all southern (Table 2.1A).
- Southern states also exhibit the highest rates of neonatal mortality. With the exception of Illinois, the ten states with the highest overall neonatal mortality rates in 1984 were all in the South (Table 2.1B). In contrast, it is the western states that experienced the most serious postneonatal mortality problems in 1984. Of the ten states with the greatest overall postneonatal mortality rates in 1984, seven were western (Table 2.1C).

These region-specific neonatal and postneonatal mortality patterns may result in part from the fact that the South has a greater share of the nation's black births, and the western states have higher concentrations of Native American and Mexican-American births. These groups are desperately poor. Black infants tend to experience relatively high neonatal mortality because of their higher incidence of low birthweight. Native American and Mexican-American infants tend to have a lower incidence of low birthweight but relatively greater rates of postneonatal mortality.

- While southern states had high overall infant mortality rates in 1984, five of the ten states with the highest 1984 black infant mortality rates were located outside the South. The ten states were Connecticut, Delaware, Mississippi, Virginia, South Carolina, Washington State, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, and the District of Columbia (Table 2.3A).*

*Southern states are considered to be: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Low birthweight: Low birthweight is the single greatest cause of death during the neonatal period. Seven of the ten jurisdictions with the highest overall incidence of low birthweight in 1984 also were among the ten jurisdictions with the highest overall neonatal mortality rates that year. These seven were the District of Columbia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina (Tables 2.1B and 2.5A).

Prenatal care: Of the ten states with the highest overall percentage of pregnant women who received late or no prenatal care in 1984, the percentage of such women actually increased between 1983 and 1984 in five of the states. These were Arkansas, Arizona, Florida, Texas, and New Mexico (Table 2.5C).

Wide variations in state indicators: In 1984 there continued to be enormous variations from state to state in infant mortality rates, the percentage of low-birthweight babies, and the proportion of infants born to women who had received early or late or no prenatal care.

■ For example, in 1984 a white infant born in Wyoming was nearly one and a half times more likely to die in the first year of life than a white infant born in North Dakota (Table 2.2A). A black infant born in the District of Columbia was 1.7 times more likely to die in the first year of life and more than two times more likely to die in the first twenty-eight days of life than a black infant born in Massachusetts (Table 2.3B). A black infant born in Illinois was nearly 1.6 times more likely than one born in Maryland to die during the postneonatal period (Table 2.3C).

An infant born to a black woman in New York in 1984 was more than three times more likely than one born to a black woman in Mississippi, and more than four times more likely than one born to a black woman in Massachusetts, to have a mother who received late or no prenatal care (Table 2.7C).

Among the states that accounted for 99 percent of all black births in 1984, one out of every four infants was born to a woman who failed to receive early prenatal care (Table 2.7B).

An infant born to a black woman in New York in 1984 was more than three times more likely than one born to a black woman in Mississippi, and more than four times more likely than one born to a black woman in Massachusetts, to have a mother who received late or no prenatal care.

City Findings

■ Between 1983 and 1984, infant mortality rates rose in six of America's twenty-two largest cities. These were the District of Columbia, San Antonio, Cleveland, Boston, Detroit, and Milwaukee (Table 1.3). The District experienced an alarming 8.8 percent increase in infant mortality between 1983 and 1984 alone.

■ Milwaukee, Wisconsin experienced a particularly notable 1984 infant mortality rate. Milwaukee's 1984 overall infant mortality rate of 14.2 deaths per 1,000 live births stood at the highest point in five years and was higher than the city's average infant mortality rate for the preceding four-year period.

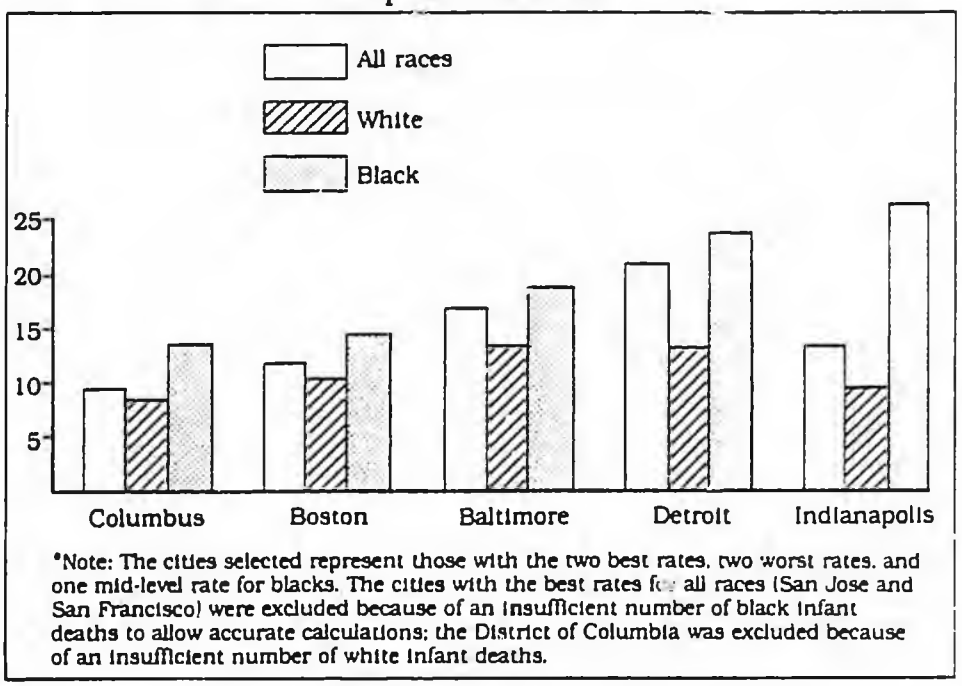
■ In general, infant mortality in America's largest cities tends to be more serious than for the nation as a whole. Only five of America's twenty-two largest cities had 1984 infant mortality rates equal to or lower than the national average. These were Columbus, Phoenix, San Diego, San Francisco, and San Jose (Tables 1.3 and 2.22A).

■ In 1984 there was a substantial disparity in infant mortality rates from city to city. Indianapolis, the city with the highest black infant mortality rate, had a rate that was 1.8 times higher than the black rate in Columbus and 1.6 times higher than the rate in Dallas (Tables 1.3 and 2.22D). Similarly, the District of Columbia's 1984 nonwhite infant mortality rate, the highest among the twenty-two largest cities, was nearly three times greater than the nonwhite rate in San Francisco, the city with the lowest rate that year (Tables 1.3 and 2.22C).

■ The disparity between black and white infant mortality rates in America's twenty-two largest cities in 1984 was startling. In seven cities, (Philadelphia, San Diego, Chicago, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Los Angeles,

FIGURE 1.4

Infant Mortality Rates by Race, Selected* Cities with 500,000+ Population, 1984



*Note: The cities selected represent those with the two best rates, two worst rates, and one mid-level rate for blacks. The cities with the best rates for all races (San Jose and San Francisco) were excluded because of an insufficient number of black infant deaths to allow accurate calculations; the District of Columbia was excluded because of an insufficient number of white infant deaths.

A black infant born in Indianapolis or the District of Columbia in 1984 was more likely to die in the first year of life than an infant born in Trinidad and Tobago, a country much poorer than ours.

and Memphis) black infant mortality rates were more than twice as high as white rates. (The national black infant mortality rate is 1.96 times higher than the white rate.) The highest white infant mortality city rate among the cities in 1984 (13.8 deaths per 1,000 live births in Detroit) was nearly identical to the lowest black city rate that year (13.5 deaths per 1,000 live births in Columbus) (Tables 2.22B and 2.22D).

■ A black infant born in Indianapolis or the District of Columbia in 1984 was more likely to die in the first year of life than an infant born in Trinidad and Tobago, a country much poorer than ours.

■ The infant mortality rates of certain cities stand out. For example, regardless of whether the District of Columbia is considered a state or city, its 1984 black infant mortality rate was shockingly high. In 1984, the District's black infant mortality rate ranked twenty-first worst out of twenty-two large American cities, and last among thirty-two states with a sufficient sample size of black live births (Tables 2.3A and 2.22D).

■ Urban infant mortality rates can vary dramatically on an intrastate as well as interstate basis. For example, in 1984 there was a remarkable difference in infant mortality rates between Columbus, Ohio, and Cleveland, Ohio. A black infant born in Cleveland was 1.7 times more likely to die in the first year of life than one born in Columbus (Table 2.22D).

Findings on Births to Teens and Unmarried Women

Births to teens and unmarried women were nationwide problems in 1984.

Percent of 1984 Births That Occurred to Teens

■ Nationally in 1984, 13.1 percent of all births, and 23.6 percent of all black births, occurred to women younger than twenty (Table 1.1). These figures varied dramatically from state to state. For example, the

TABLE 1.3

Infant Mortality Rates, Cities with 500,000+ Population, by Race,* 1984

	White	Nonwhite		Total
		Black	Total	
Baltimore	13.2	18.7	18.5	16.8
Boston	10.4	14.6	13.4	11.7
Chicago	11.1	22.6	21.5	16.5
Cleveland	10.2	23.2	23.0	16.8
Columbus	8.3	13.5	12.8	9.6
Dallas	9.7	15.7	15.2	11.7
Detroit	13.8	23.7	23.3	20.9
District of Columbia	—	24.3	24.1	21.0
Houston	10.6	16.7	14.6	11.9
Indianapolis	9.4	24.5	23.6	13.3
Jacksonville	9.5	16.8	16.3	11.9
Los Angeles	9.2	19.9	15.6	11.0
Memphis	7.8	19.3	19.2	14.8
Milwaukee	11.7	18.5	18.1	14.2
New Orleans	—	18.5	17.9	16.0
New York City	11.7	15.6	14.6	13.0
Philadelphia	9.2	22.3	21.8	15.5
Phoenix	9.4	—	—	9.9
San Antonio	12.5	—	—	12.8
San Diego	8.8	18.1	11.9	9.7
San Francisco	8.5	—	9.0	8.8
San Jose	8.3	—	—	7.9

* The following cities were not ranked because there were too few infant deaths to calcuate a reliable rate: for whites, the District of Columbia and New Orleans; for blacks, Phoenix, San Antonio, San Francisco, and San Jose; for all nonwhites, Phoenix, San Antonio, and San Jose.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

percentage of all births that occurred to mothers younger than twenty in Mississippi was three times higher than in Minnesota (Table 2.13B).

Low Birthweight Among Infants Born to Teens

■ Babies born to teen mothers are more likely to be born at low birthweight than those born to older mothers (Table 1.4). In 1984, 9.4 percent of births to women younger than twenty were at low birthweight, compared to 6.7 percent of all births nationally (Table 1.1).

■ There was wide variation from state to state in the incidence of low birthweight among infants born to teens in 1984. An infant born to a South Carolina teen was 2.5 times more likely to be born at low birthweight than one born to a North Dakota teen (Table 2.9A). Similar dramatic state-to-state variations can be seen when the incidence of low birthweight to teens is examined by race. For example, an infant born to a white teen in Wyoming was 1.9 times more likely to be low birthweight than one born in North Dakota (Table 2.10A). Finally, southern teens in general were more likely to have low birthweight infants than teens in other regions (Table 2.9A).

Prenatal Care Among Teens

■ Despite their greater need for prenatal care, pregnant teens are less likely than older women to begin care early in pregnancy and are more likely to receive either no care or none until the last trimester of pregnancy (Table 1.4). In 1984, only 53.7 percent of infants born to teens had mothers who began care early in pregnancy, compared to 76.5 percent of all births (Table 1.1). Similarly, 11.9 percent of infants born to teens had mothers who received no prenatal care or none until the last trimester, compared to 5.6 percent of all infants (Table 1.1).

■ In some states, teens' lack of access to early prenatal care is particularly shocking. In 1984, for example, two out of every three black births to teens in New York, South Carolina, Florida, Oklahoma, and West Virginia occurred to mothers who had received no prenatal care early in pregnancy (Table 2.11C).

Births to Unmarried Teens and Older Women

■ Nationally in 1984, 56.3 percent of all births to teens, 42.0 percent of births to white teens, 89.5 percent of births to black teens, and 86.4 percent of births to nonwhite teens were to unmarried mothers (Tables 2.17B, 2.18B, 2.19B, and 2.20B). Since 1970, both teen birth rates and the

TABLE 1.4

Birth Outcome and Prenatal Care, by Age, U.S., 1984

	Under 15	*15-19*	*20-24*
Percentage of babies born at low birthweight (5.5 pounds or less)	13.6	9.3	6.9
Percentage of babies born to mothers who received early prenatal care	34.5	54.1	72.7
Percentage of babies born to mothers who received late or no prenatal care	21.0	11.8	6.6

percentage of all births that are to teen mothers have fallen significantly. But the percentage of births to teens that occur to unmarried women has climbed dramatically.

■ In the case of white infants, there was an enormous difference among the states in the percentage of births to teens that occurred to unmarried mothers (Table 2.18B). This was not the case with infants born to black teen mothers, however (Table 2.19B). In thirty-eight of forty-one states with sufficient data on black teen births, more than 80 percent of births to black teens occurred to unmarried mothers in 1984 (Table 2.19B).

■ Births to unmarried white teens were less common in southern states than in other regions in 1984 (Table 2.18B). However, this means only that a white teen was more likely to be married at the time of her baby's birth. Many of these pregnancies were conceived prior to the mother's marriage. Research indicates that, regardless of the timing of the marriage, many of the problems associated with teen pregnancy and parenthood remain, including ignorance about contraception and prenatal care, and inadequate parenting skills, as well as an increased risk of poverty. Teen marriages also are more likely to result in divorce. More than one-third of all divorces in 1984 occurred among women who had married while still in their teens. The greatest rate of divorce that year occurred among women who were younger than twenty.[13]

■ While births to unmarried teens represent an extremely disturbing trend, births to unmarried teenage mothers in 1984 constituted a minority of all births to unmarried women that year. In 1984, teens accounted for only 35 percent of all births that occurred to unmarried mothers (Table 2.17C). This percentage was consistent across racial groups (Tables 2.18C, 2.19C, and 2.20C). These data suggest that the phenomenon of births to unmarried teens is part of a much larger childbearing pattern that persists well beyond adolescence.

Progress Toward Meeting The Surgeon General's 1990 Infant Health Objectives

In 1978, the Surgeon General of the United States established a set of 1990 Health Objectives for the Nation in the area of infant health. CDF has calculated the nation's and states' rates of progress in meeting these goals. In determining these rates we have included the years of greater progress (generally, 1978 to 1981) as well as those of slower progress (1982 to 1984). As a result, the bleak picture described below may be overly optimistic. If the slower rates of progress that generally prevailed in 1982, 1983, and 1984 continue throughout all, or most of, the rest of the decade (and provisional 1985 infant mortality rates suggest that this may well be the case), even fewer states and fewer subgroups than are described below will meet the Surgeon General's goals.

For example, based on the infant mortality rate of progress for the nation as a whole from 1978 to 1984, we project that the nation will meet this goal. Even this is questionable, however, if one projects on the basis of 1982 to 1984 trends. The Public Health Service of the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services itself reported to Congress in 1985 that the 1990 annual infant mortality goal would not be met based on 1982-1984 trends.* In a more recent study, *The 1990 Health Objectives for the*

*On March 20, 1985, the Public Health Service reported to the U. S. House Energy and Commerce Committee: "Based on a regression of 1982-84 provisional IMRs [infant mortality rates], the average annual decline was 2.7 percent (compared to 4.2 percent for 1978-82 final data). By applying this 2.7 percent decline to the 1982 final rate, the 1990 projection is an IMR of 9.2. Although provisional rates by race are unavailable, the 2.7 percent decline was applied to the 1982 rates for white and black infants separately. This resulted in a 1990 projection of 8.1 for whites and 15.7 for blacks. Thus, if the latest provisional data alone are used to project the infant mortality rates for 1990, the projections are above those in the 1990 Prevention Objectives."[14]

Nation: A Midcourse Review, the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services concurred that at its current rate of progress, the United States will not meet the 1990 infant mortality goal.[15]

Overall, it is clear that inadequate progress toward the Surgeon General's Objectives is being made. For some key measurements, a number of states actually are moving in the wrong direction.

Objective 1: Infant Mortality

Twenty-two of the thirty-four jurisdictions with measurable numbers of black infant deaths in 1984 will not meet the infant mortality objective for black infants.

Surgeon General's Objective: By 1990, the national infant mortality rate (deaths of children younger than one year old) should be reduced to no more than nine deaths per 1,000 live births, with no county and no racial or ethnic subgroup having an infant mortality rate in excess of twelve deaths per 1,000 live births.

Findings: Based on CDF's five-year trend calculations, we have concluded that the nation will meet the Surgeon General's overall 1990 infant mortality goal. However, CDF's calculations are more conservative than those performed by the Department of Health and Human Services and therefore have yielded a larger average annual rate of progress. The Department's recently published *Midcourse Review* of the Surgeon General's 1990 Health Objectives, discussed above, found that "based on progress to date, achievement of this objective (infant mortality) is questionable. Applying the 1983-85 rate of decline (9 percent) to the final 1983 figure yields a projected rate in 1990 of 9.2 per 1,000," which is above the 9.0 goal.[16]

- Both CDF and the Department have concluded that the goal will not be met for key racial and ethnic subgroups. First, the Surgeon General's Objective for infant mortality among racial and ethnic subgroups will not be met nationally for blacks.
- Second, while the Department did not chart states' progress toward the 1990 goals, CDF's state trend analysis shows that twenty-two of the thirty-four jurisdictions with measurable numbers of black infant deaths in 1984 will not meet the infant mortality objective for black infants. These are Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Two additional states, Washington and Wisconsin, actually are moving in the wrong direction.
- Third, seventeen of the thirty-one jurisdictions (thirty states and the District of Columbia) with measurable numbers of nonwhite infant deaths in 1984 will not meet the goal for nonwhite infants. These include: Alabama, Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. A nineteenth state, Wisconsin, actually is moving in the wrong direction.
- Thirteen jurisdictions (Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Virginia, and Wyoming) will not meet the overall infant mortality goal. Finally many cities and substate regions will not meet the goal.

Objective 2: Neonatal Mortality

Surgeon General's Objective: By 1990, the neonatal mortality rate (deaths of infants younger than twenty-eight days of age) should be reduced to no more than six deaths per 1,000 live births.

Findings: Both CDF's and the Department's analyses show the nation will meet this 1990 Objective.

- While states' progress generally has been adequate to assure that

TABLE 1.5

Surgeon General's 1990 Goals Fact Sheet for the Nation

	1984 Rate	*Average rate change per year 1978-84*	*Average rate change needed per year to reach the 1990 goal*
Infant Mortality			
Total	10.8	-0.50	-0.30
White	9.4	-0.43	-0.07
Nonwhite	16.1	-0.85	-0.68
Black	18.4	-0.78	-1.07
Neonatal Mortality			
Total	7.0	-0.42	-0.08
Postneonatal Mortality			
Total	3.8	-0.08	-0.22
Low Birthweight			
Total	6.7	-0.07	-0.28
White	5.6	-0.05	-0.10
Nonwhite	11.1	-0.13	-0.35
Black	12.4	-0.08	-0.57
Prenatal Care			
Total	76.5	0.27	2.25
White	79.6	0.23	1.73
Nonwhite	64.1	0.45	4.32
Black	62.2	0.33	4.63

TABLE 1.6

Progress Toward Meeting the Surgeon General's 1990 Objectives for the Nation

			Nonwhite	
Infant Mortality	*All Races*	*White*	*Black*	*Total*
Change 1983-1984	-0.40	-0.30	-0.80	-0.70
Projected Change Needed 1983-1984	-0.31	-0.10	-1.03	-0.69

Low Birthweight	*All Races*	*White*	*Nonwhite*
Change 1983-1984	-0.10	-0.10	-0.30
Projected Rate Change Needed 1983-1984	-0.26	-0.10	-0.34
Early Prenatal Care			
Change 1983-1984	+0.30	+0.20	+0.70
Projected Rate Change Needed 1983-1984	+1.97	+1.51	+3.80

this objective is attained, five jurisdictions, (the District of Columbia, Georgia, Michigan, South Carolina, and Virginia), show inadequate annual rates of progress to meet the goal.

Objective 3: Postneonatal Mortality

Surgeon General's Objective: By 1990, the postneonatal mortality rate (deaths of infants age twenty-eight days to one year) should be reduced to no more than 2.5 deaths per 1,000 live births.

Findings: Both CDF and the Department project that the nation as a whole will not meet the Surgeon General's 1990 goal. In addition, forty-four jurisdictions with sufficent postneonatal deaths to compute progress will not meet the goal. These are Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington State, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

- Some of these states actually are moving in the wrong direction. These are Alaska, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Utah, Washington State, and Wisconsin.

CDF and the Department of Health and Human Services project that the nation will not meet the Surgeon General's overall objective for low birthweight and will not meet the goal for black infants.

Objective 4: Low-Birthweight Babies

Surgeon General's Objective: By 1990, low-birthweight babies (those weighing 5.5 pounds or less at birth) should constitute no more than 5 percent of all live births, and in no county or racial or ethnic subgroup of the population should more than 9 percent of all live births be low birthweight.

Findings: Both CDF and the Department project that the nation will not meet the Surgeon General's overall objective for low birthweight and will not meet the goal for black infants.

- CDF's analysis of state trends revealed that only ten states have met or will meet the objective for all races. These are Alaska, Idaho, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington State, and Wisconsin. Six states (Arizona, Delaware, Hawaii, Maine, Oregon, and West Virginia), are moving in the wrong direction.
- Only seventeen states will meet the low birthweight goal for white infants..
- Only fifteen of the forty-two jurisdictions with sufficient numbers of black infant deaths to compute trends will reach the low birthweight goal. Ten states actually are moving in the wrong direction. These are Arizona, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia.
- Only twenty of the forty-eight jurisdictions with statistically significant numbers of nonwhite low-birthweight births will meet the objective for nonwhite infants. These include: Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Washington State, and Wyoming. The other twenty-eight jurisdictions will not meet the goal.

Progress Toward the Early Prenatal Care Goal, All Races, 1984

Objective 5: Early Prenatal Care

Surgeon General's Objective: By 1990, 90 percent of all pregnant women should obtain prenatal care within the first three months of pregnancy.

Findings: Based on CDF's and the Department's analyses of recent trends, the nation will not meet the Surgeon General's goal.

- No state will reach the goal at its current rate of progress. Ten jurisdictions are moving in the wrong direction. These are Connecticut, District of Columbia, Maryland, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Washington State.

Health and Social Programs for Mothers and Children

Major public health and social programs are inadequate to meet the national need created by persistent and widespread maternal and child poverty and loss of private health insurance. Stagnation in the nation's rate of progress in improving infant health has occurred at a time of persistently high unemployment and poverty rates, as well as massive changes in the American employment structure. These changes have led to the loss of millions of jobs with decent fringe benefits (such as health insurance), and the rapid growth of low-paying jobs with no health insurance. Yet public health programs have not responded to these major trends.

Between 1978 and 1984, the number of uninsured Americans increased by more than one-third, from 26 million to 35 million (Figure 1.5). There are numerous causes of this phenomenon, and all have long-term implications. First, poverty increased substantially during this same time period (usually resulting from unemployment or under-employment), and poverty itself results in a significantly greater likelihood that a family will be uninsured.

Children's access to private coverage depends on their parents' economic and employment status. And as that economic and employment picture has eroded for young families, so has children's health insurance status.

Second, eligibility for private health insurance among American families with children is closely related to their employment status. As a result, the persistently high unemployment pattern that has prevailed in the United States in the 1980s, and that shows no signs of disappearing, means greater loss of insurance among families.

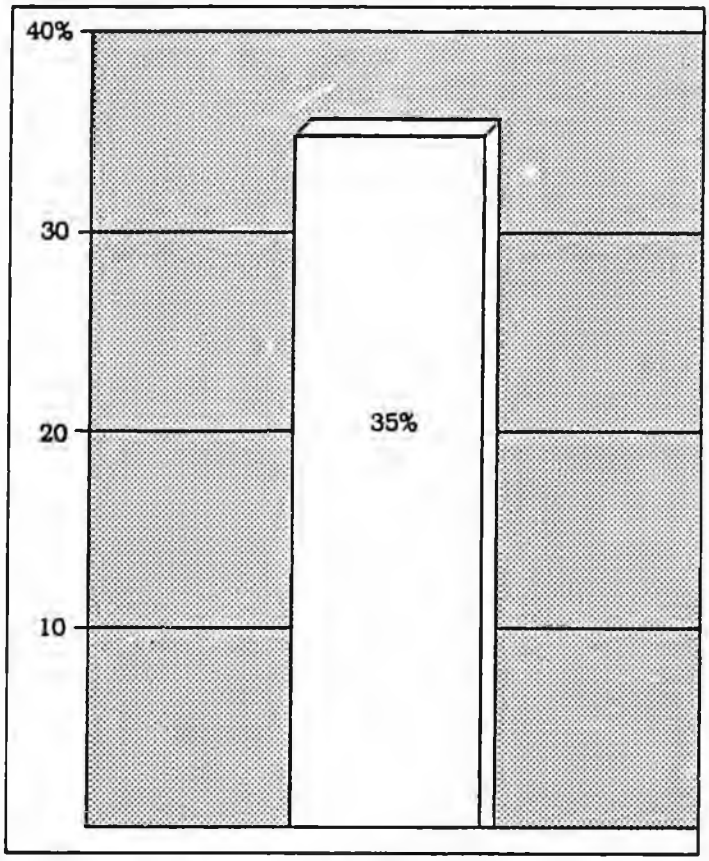
Third, major economic changes now occurring in the United States carry profound implications for Americans' access to employer-provided private health insurance. More than 75 percent of the Americans who have private insurance are covered through their employer. Over the past several years, there has been a notable shift in American employment patterns. The nation has begun to move away from higher paying manufacturing jobs that furnish decent fringe benefits, including private health insurance, and toward low-paying jobs (often in the service sector) that carry few or no benefits. When this shift is added to other trends—more poverty, rising unemployment, higher number of female-headed families in which the primary wage earner tends to have a lower paying service-sector job, and an increase in part-time employment—the elements of significant private disinsurance are all present. The employer-based private health insurance system—the bedrock of the American approach to health care financing for the non-elderly—simply has disappeared for millions of Americans.

As dependents, children's access to private coverage depends on their parents' economic and employment status. And as that economic and employment picture has eroded for young families, so has children's health insurance status. By 1984:

- One-third of all uninsured Americans younger than sixty-five were children younger than eighteen, even though children in that age group represented only 25 percent of all Americans younger than sixty-five.

FIGURE 1.5

Growth in the Number of Americans Without Health Insurance Coverage, Percent Change, 1978-1984

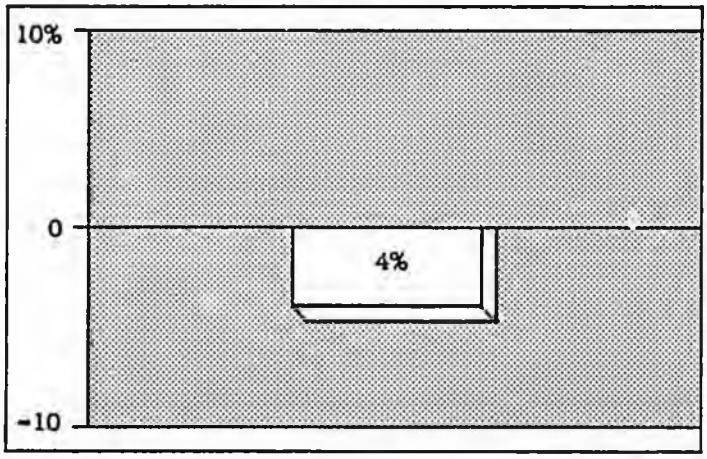


Between 1978 and 1984, the number of uninsured Americans increased by 35 percent.

Source: Margaret Sulvetta and Katherine Swartz, The Uninsured and Uncompensated Care, *Urban Institute, 1986.*

FIGURE 1.6

Reduction in Child Medicaid Recipients,* Percent Change, 1978-1985



Between 1978 and 1985, the actual number of child Medicaid recipients dropped 4 percent, from 11,405,000 to 10,969,300.

*This calculation excludes children whose Medicaid eligibility is based on their relationship to the Supplemental Security Income program.

Source: U.S. Health Care Financing Administration, published and unpublished data.

■ One out of every three poor children and one out of every three women of childbearing age was uninsured.

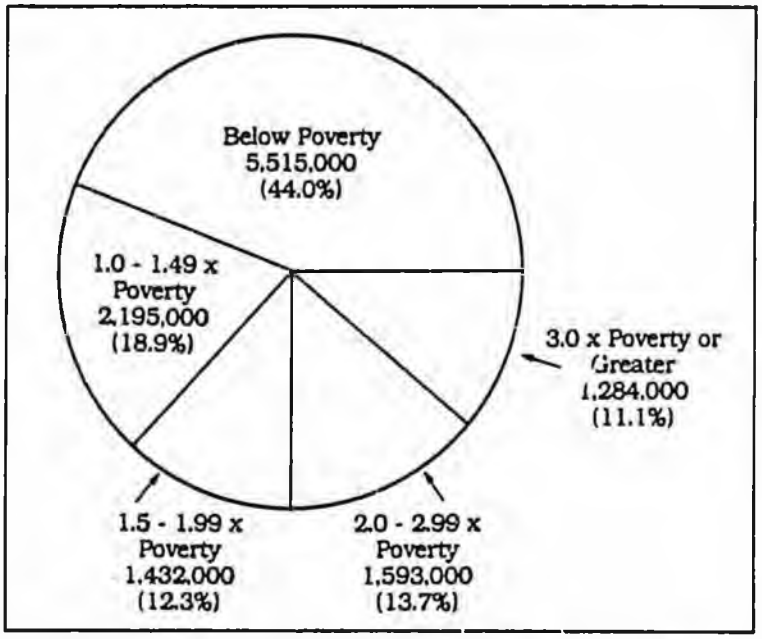
■ Three-quarters of uninsured children had a family income of less than 200 percent of the federal poverty level (Figure 1.7).

■ The great majority of uninsured children were white, although black children were more likely to be uninsured (Figures 1.9 and 1.10).

■ The lack of health insurance was greatest in the South, the region of the country with the highest infant mortality rates and the least generous public assistance programs. Nearly 55 percent of all uninsured Americans lived in the southern region of the nation.

FIGURE 1.7

Distribution of Uninsured Children by Family Income Relative to the Poverty Level, 1984



Source: Margaret Sulvetta and Katherine Swartz, The Uninsured and Uncompensated Care, *Urban Institute, 1986.*

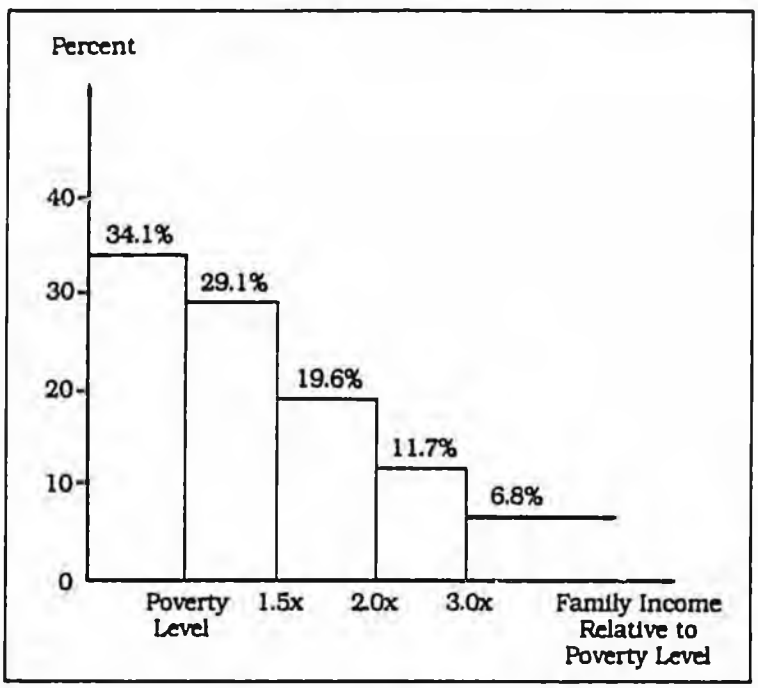
Some public health programs have been improved modestly during the past several years, but not sufficiently to meet enormous maternal and child health needs. In some cases, particularly Medicaid, improvements occurred in one part of a program while funding reductions occurred in other portions of the same program. Still other health programs simply were reduced in funding, either in absolute terms or compared to medical care inflation.

Beginning in 1984, Congress enacted a series of Medicaid reforms for pregnant women and children. First, it mandated that states provide coverage to all pregnant women and all children younger than five whose family incomes fall below state AFDC eligibility levels (Deficit Reduction Act of 1984, PL 98-369; Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986, PL 99-272). Then it gave states a new option of covering all pregnant women and children younger than five whose family incomes fall below the federal proverty level but exceed the states' very low AFDC eligibility levels (Sixth Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, PL 99-504). In addition, since 1982 between fifteen and twenty states on their own initiative have expanded the categories of pregnant women and children eligible for Medicaid. These reforms all have been of critical importance.

At the same time, however, there have been other serious and offsetting cuts in Medicaid eligibility. Many states have permitted their AFDC benefit levels to erode further. In 1986, thirty-two states maintained AFDC eligibility levels that were less than 50 percent of the federal poverty level (Table 2.21A). As a result, a shrinking percentage of poor pregnant women and children are eligible for benefits. Moreover, eligibility restrictions imposed on the AFDC program by Congress since 1981 have removed virtually all working poor families and many other families from the program. Because children's eligibility for Medicaid is tied closely to AFDC eligibility requirements, long-term erosion and cutbacks in AFDC

FIGURE 1.8

Percentage of Children in Each Family Income Group Who Are Uninsured, 1984



Source: Margaret Sulvetta and Katherine Swartz, The Uninsured and Uncompensated Care, *Urban Institute, 1986.*

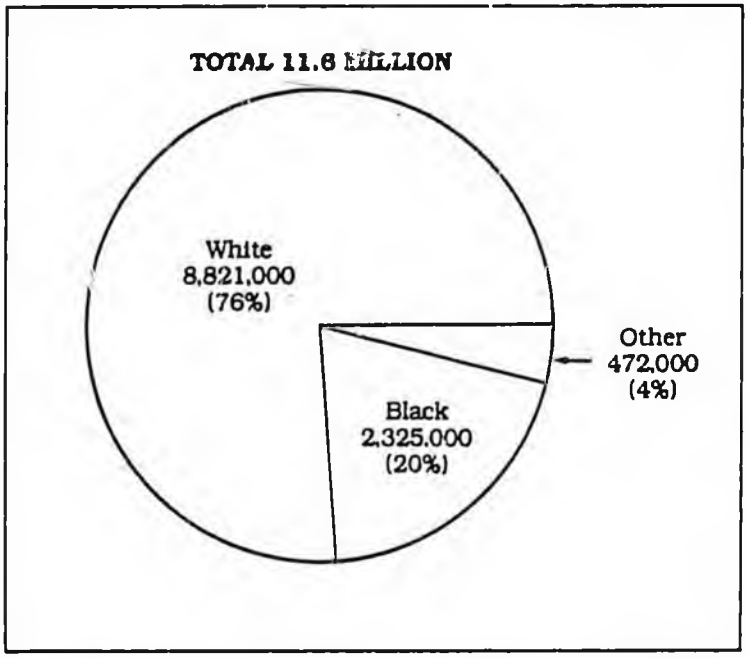
have undermined the Medicaid expansions enacted by Congress and the states during the past few years.

Beginning in April 1987, states will have the option to set Medicaid eligibility levels for children younger than five and pregnant women higher than their AFDC levels. But past experience with states' response to Medicaid maternal and child health options suggests that it will be many years before such an option is fully implemented in all states.

Federal and state reforms enacted since 1982 thus have had only the slightest impact on the number of children and pregnant women enrolled in Medicaid. In Fiscal Year 1985, after the Deficit Reduction Act took effect and after many states had expanded the categories of children eligible for Medicaid additionally, the number of children receiving Medicaid benefits totalled 10,969,293—only 148,645 more than in Fiscal Year 1984. This small expansion failed to offset earlier cutbacks and the effects of program erosion. The total number of children receiving Medicaid in Fiscal Year 1985 was lower than the number who had received benefits in 1978 (Figure 1.6).

FIGURE 1.9

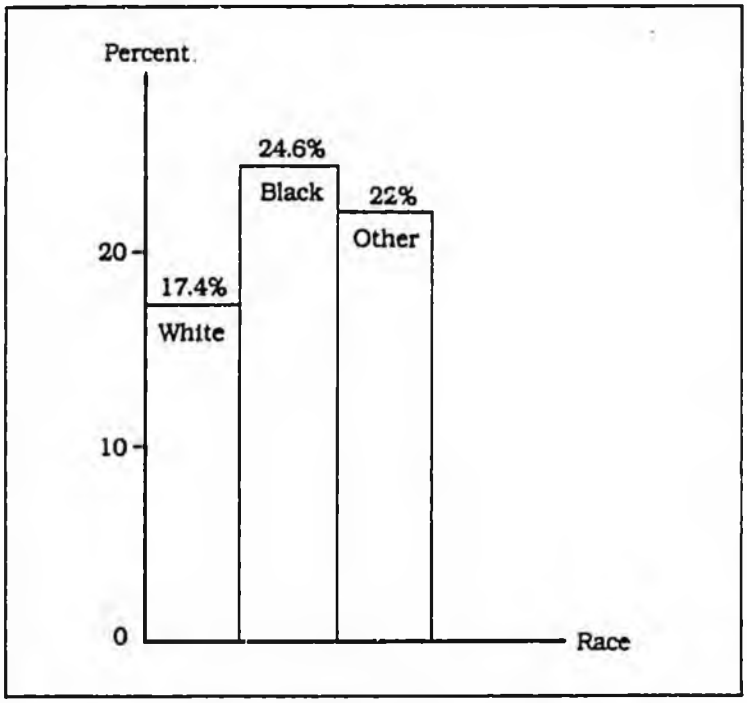
Racial Distribution of Uninsured Children (Under 18 Years of Age), 1984



Source: Margaret Sulvetta and Katherine Swartz, The Uninsured and Uncompensated Care, *Urban Institute, 1986.*

FIGURE 1.10

Percentage of Children in Each Racial Group Who Are Uninsured, 1984



Source: Margaret Sulvetta and Katherine Swartz, The Uninsured and Uncompensated Care, *Urban Institute, 1986.*

By 1986, states' lifeline public health programs reached only a fraction of those who needed aid:

Medicaid: Thirty-two states maintained eligibility levels for families with no income other than AFDC that were less than 50 percent of the federal poverty levels (Table 2.21A).

The Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC): In no state are all women and children who are eligible for WIC actually served. Nationally WIC reached only 40 percent of eligible women and children in 1986. In eleven states (Nebraska, Arkansas, South Dakota, Washington State, California, Utah, Arizona, Idaho, Alaska, New Mexico, and Hawaii) fewer than one-third of all eligible women and children were served (Table 2.21D).

The Cost of Infant Death and Disability

By the end of this decade, at its current rate of progress, the nation will have spent at least $2.1 billion in first-year costs alone to care for the excess numbers of low-birthweight infants who need extensive medical care and whose tragic situations could have been averted had the nation moved more rapidly to reduce the incidence of low birthweight.

On average, the nation's annual rate of progress between 1978 and 1984 in reducing low birthweight has been only 40 percent of what it needs to be if the 1990 goal is to be achieved. At the nation's average annual rate of progress, we will not meet the Surgeon General's 1990 low birthweight goal until the year 2044. Given our consistently slow rate of progress and the absence of any foreseeable, significant improvement in the rate of progress during the rest of the decade, it is evident that the nation will continue to experience an excessive number of low-birthweight births. We estimate that in light of the nation's slow rate of progress in reducing low birthweight, between 1978 and 1990 the nation will experience an excess of 300,701 low-birthweight births (including 57,133 very low-birthweight births) that could have been avoided had progress been sufficient to achieve the goal (Table 1.7).

TABLE 1.7

Low Birthweight Trends and Projections

Year	*Actual Percent Of Low-Birthweight Births*	*Actual Number Of Low-Birthweight Births*	*Projected Percent Of Low-Birthweight Births*	*Projected Number Of Low-Birthweight Births*	*Excess Number Of Low-Birthweight Births*
1978	7.11%	236,342	7.108%	236,342	(0)
1979	6.94%	241,826	6.933%	241,727	99
1980	6.84%	246,292	6.758%	243,332	2,960
1981	6.81%	246,749	6.583%	238,452	8,297
1982	6.75%	248,104	6.408%	235,482	12,622
1983	6.82%	247,668	6.233%	226,489	21,179
1984	6.72%	246,105	6.058%	221,978	24,127
1985	6.65%	249,183	5.883%	220,561	28,622
1986	6.58%	246,804	5.708%	214,213	32,591
1987	6.51%	244,419	5.533%	207,851	36,567
1988	6.44%	242,027	5.358%	201,476	40,552
1989	6.37%	239,629	5.183%	195,086	44,543
1990	6.30%	237,223	5.008%	188,681	48,542
TOTAL		3,172,371		2,871,670	300,701

These excess low-birthweight births represent lost lives. Infants born at low birthweight are twenty times more likely than normal weight infants to die in the first year of life. Moreover, many of these infants become permanently disabled children who need a lifetime of medical care and supportive services. Low-birthweight infants are substantially more likely to be impaired for life by autism, retardation, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, learning disabilities, and vision and hearing disabilities.

The excess number of low-birthweight births also represents an enormous financial drain on the nation. Because low-birthweight infants need far greater levels of hospitalization, rehospitalization, and intensive medical care, we calculate that the *first year costs alone* that are involved in caring for the 300,701 excess low-birthweight babies born between 1978 and 1990 will amount to $2,103,830,500 by 1990. This expenditure does not take into account the long-term costs of specialized medical, educational, and social services that these infants may need, nor does it estimate the value of these children's lost productivity to the nation.

For the same money that we will spend over this time period to care for excessive numbers of low-birthweight infants, we could have:

- Provided 60,109,443 WIC monthly supplemental food packages;
- Provided comprehensive prenatal care to 3,187,000 women;
- Provided comprehensive maternity care (including delivery costs) to 701,277 women; or
- Provided comprehensive basic pediatric care to 4,207,661 additional infants and children.

By spending $2.1 billion on maternity care, WIC, or primary pediatric health care, we would have reduced infant low birthweight, disability, and mortality more rapidly and therefore could have achieved substantial long-term savings.

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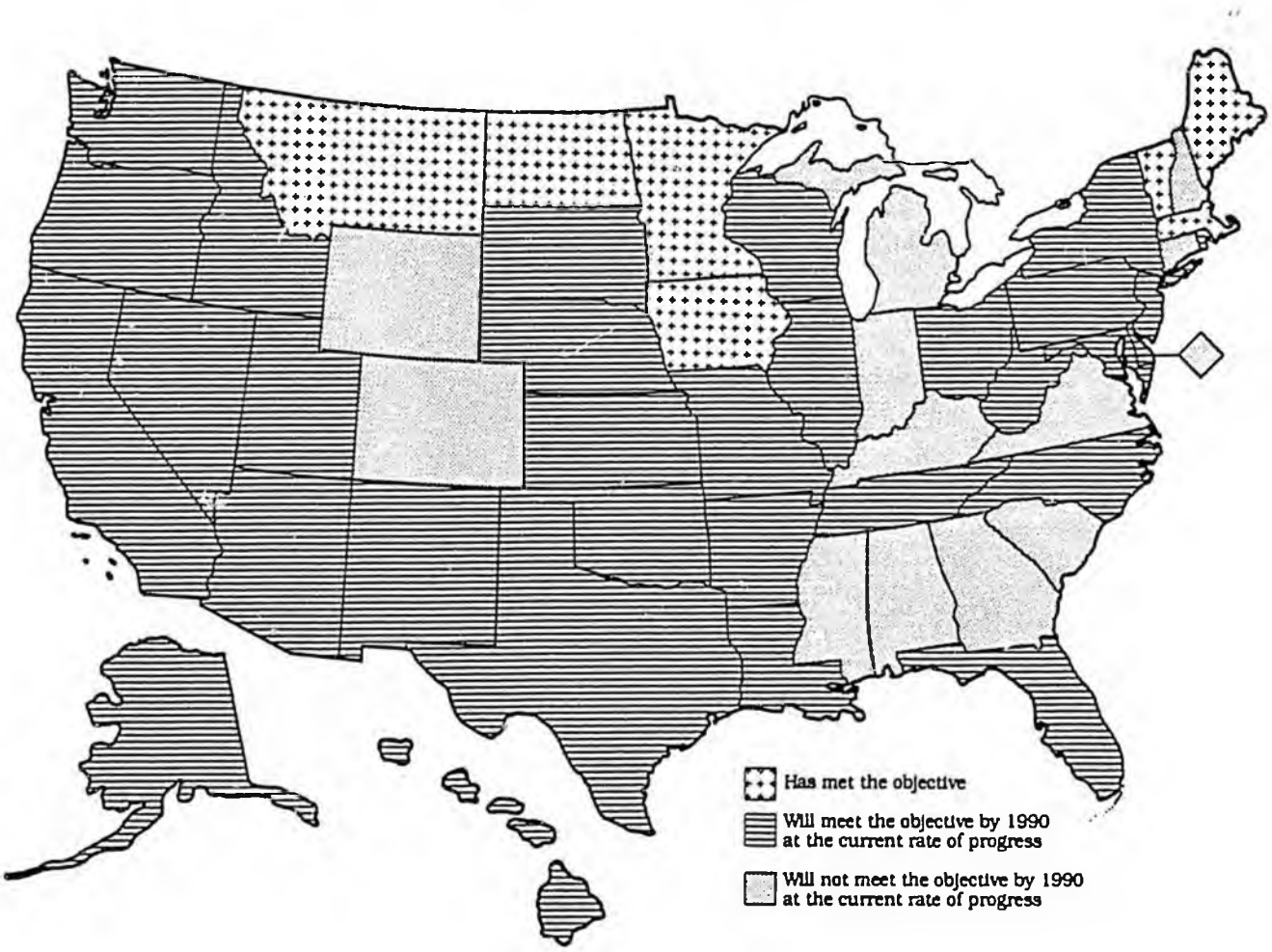
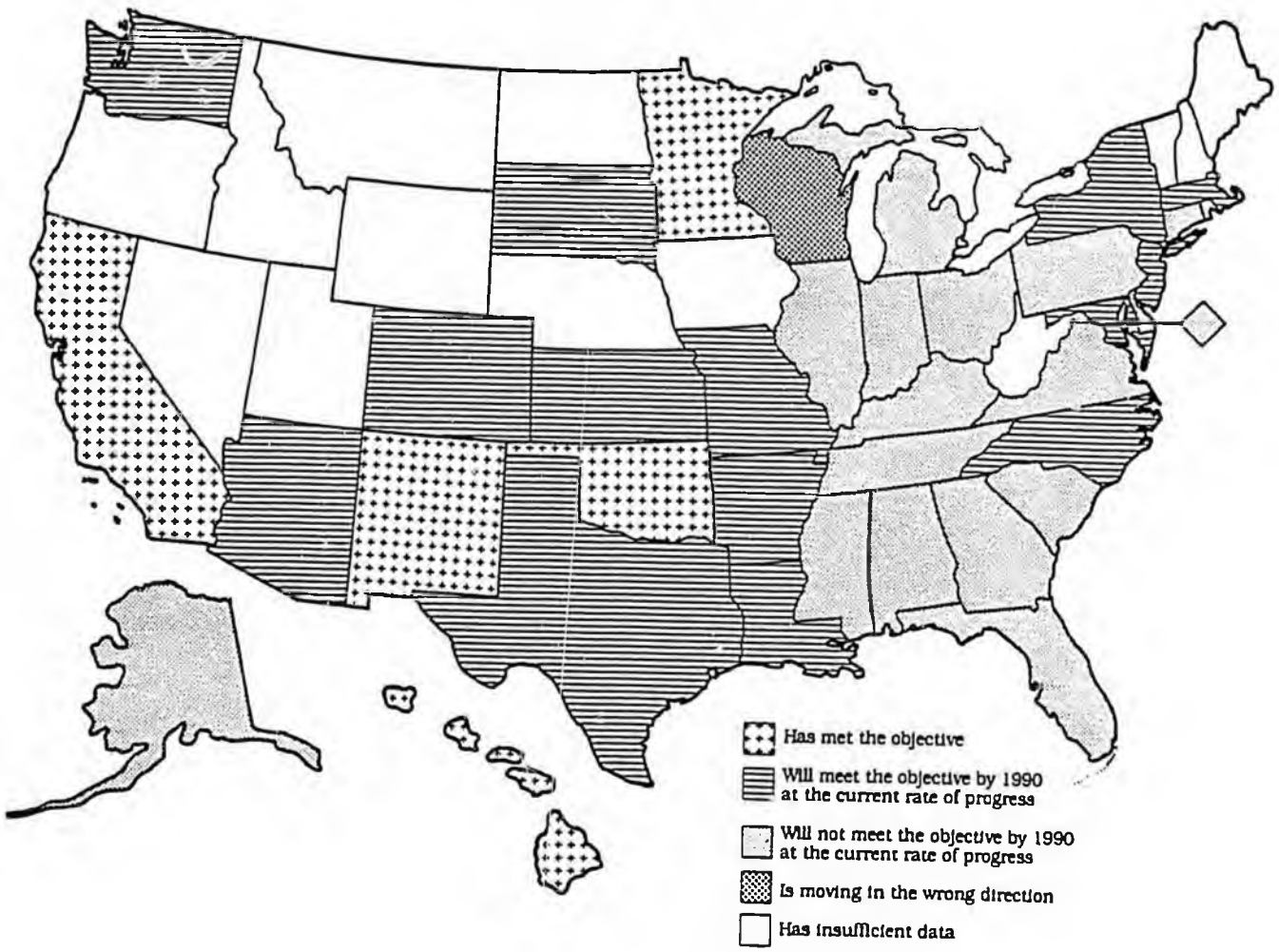
PART 2

State and City Data

Progress Toward the Infant Mortality Goal, All Races, 1984



Progress Toward the Infant Mortality Goal, Nonwhite, 1984



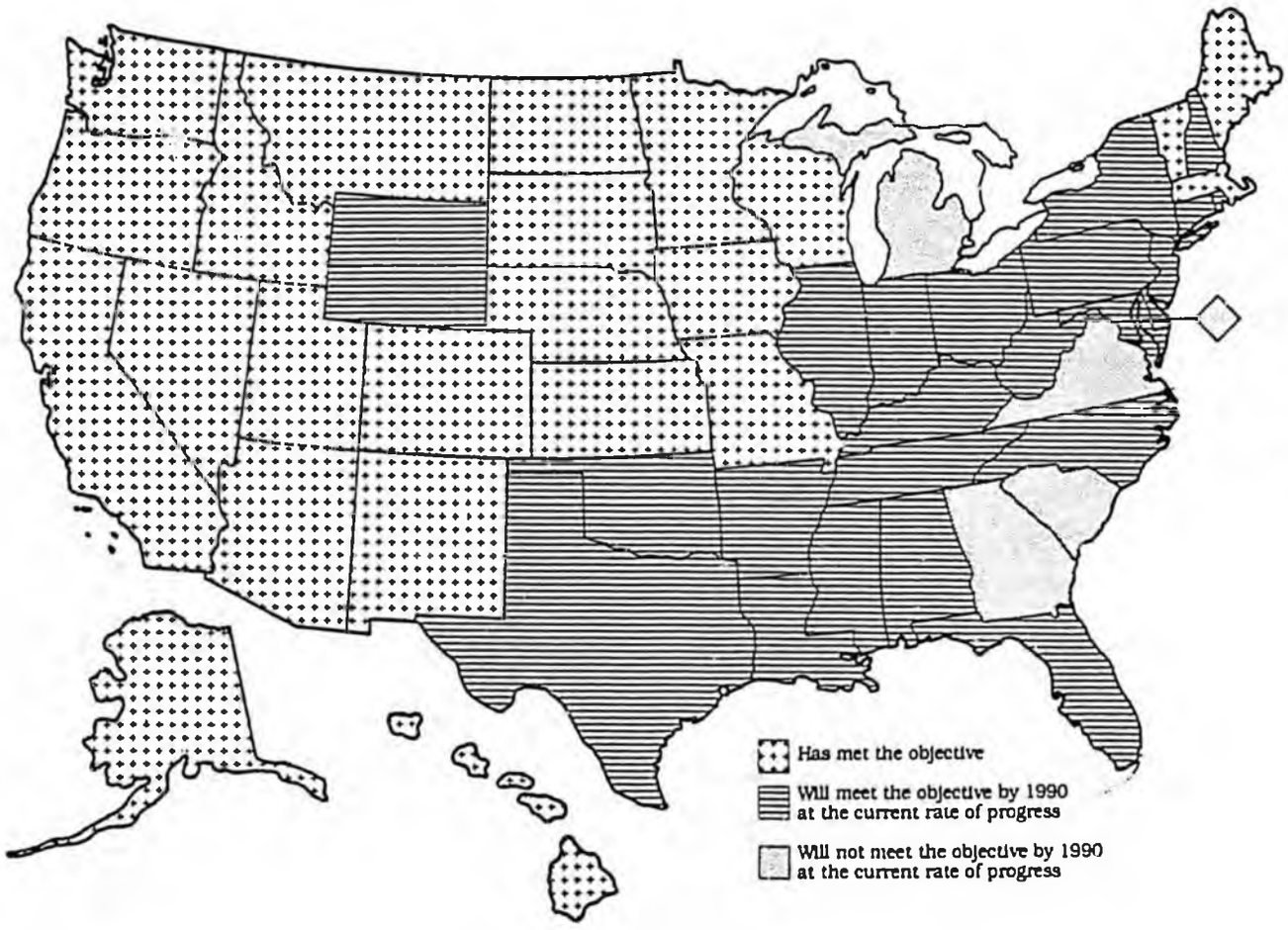
Progress Toward The Objectives:
Infant Mortality

Will the state meet the Surgeon General's 1990 Objectives for infant mortality for all races and nonwhites at the current rate of progress?

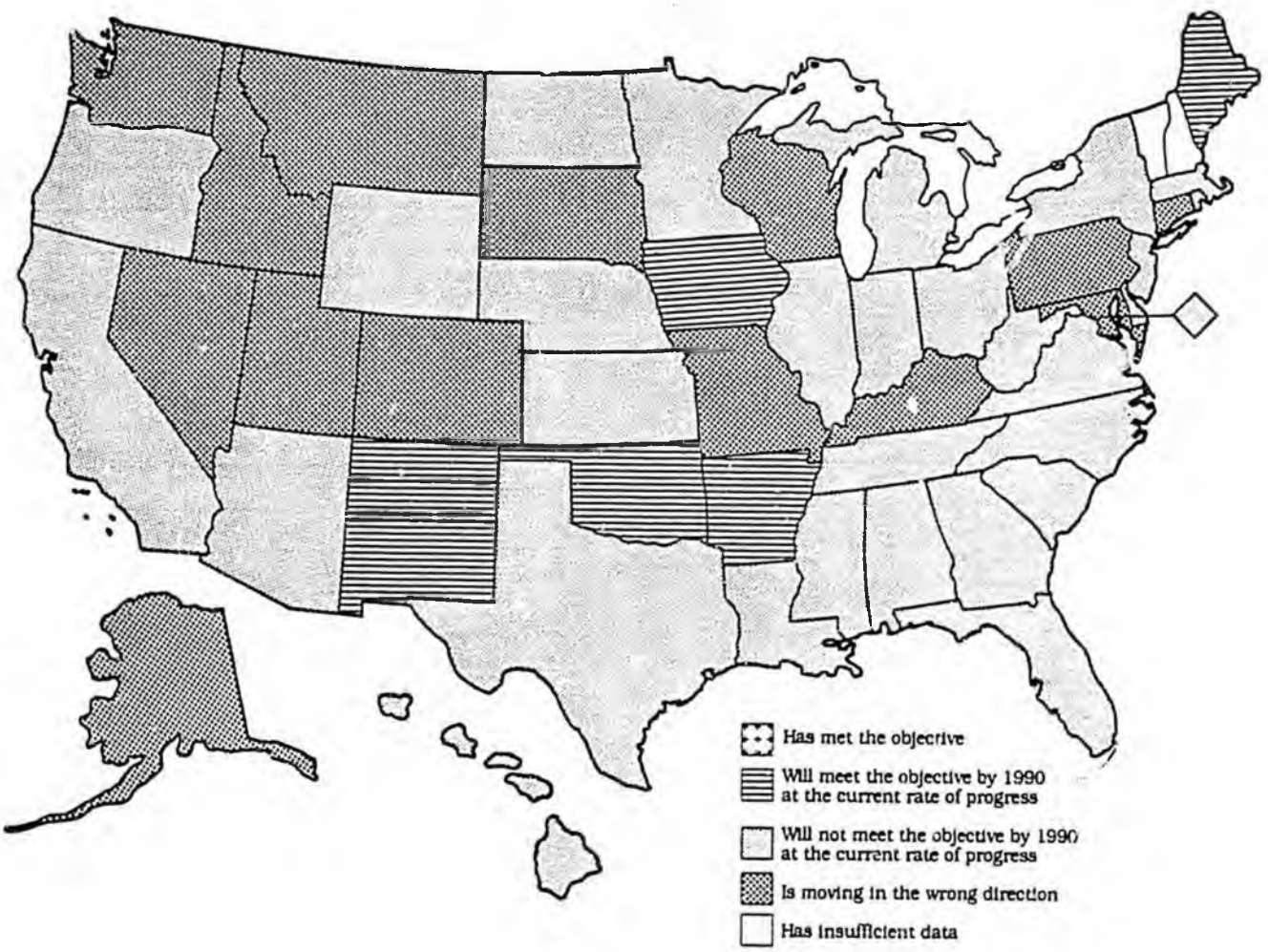
	All Races		*Nonwhite*	
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
Alabama		N		N
Alaska	Y		N	
Arizona	Y			Y
Arkansas	Y		Y	
California	Y		Y	
Colorado		N	Y	
Connecticut		N		N
Delaware	Y			N
District of Columbia		N		N
Florida	Y			N
Georgia		N		N
Hawaii	Y		Y	
Idaho	Y		•	•
Illinois	Y			N
Indiana		N		N
Iowa	Y		•	•
Kansas		N	Y	
Kentucky		N		N
Louisiana	Y		Y	
Maine	Y		•	•
Maryland	Y		Y	
Massachusetts	Y		Y	
Michigan		N		N
Minnesota	Y		Y	
Mississippi		N		N
Missouri	Y		Y	
Montana	Y		•	•
Nebraska	Y		•	•
Nevada	Y		•	•
New Hampshire		N	•	•
New Jersey	Y		Y	
New Mexico	Y		Y	
New York	Y		Y	
North Carolina	Y		Y	
North Dakota	Y		•	•
Ohio	Y			N
Oklahoma	Y		Y	
Oregon	Y		•	•
Pennsylvania	Y			N
Rhode Island	Y		•	•
South Carolina		N		N
South Dakota	Y			N
Tennessee	Y			N
Texas	Y		Y	
Utah	Y		•	•
Vermont	Y		•	•
Virginia		N		N
Washington	Y		Y	
West Virginia	Y		•	•
Wisconsin	Y			N
Wyoming		N	•	•
United States	Y		Y	

**Insufficient data.*

Progress Toward the Neonatal Mortality Goal, All Races, 1984



Progress Toward the Postneonatal Mortality Goal, All Races, 1984



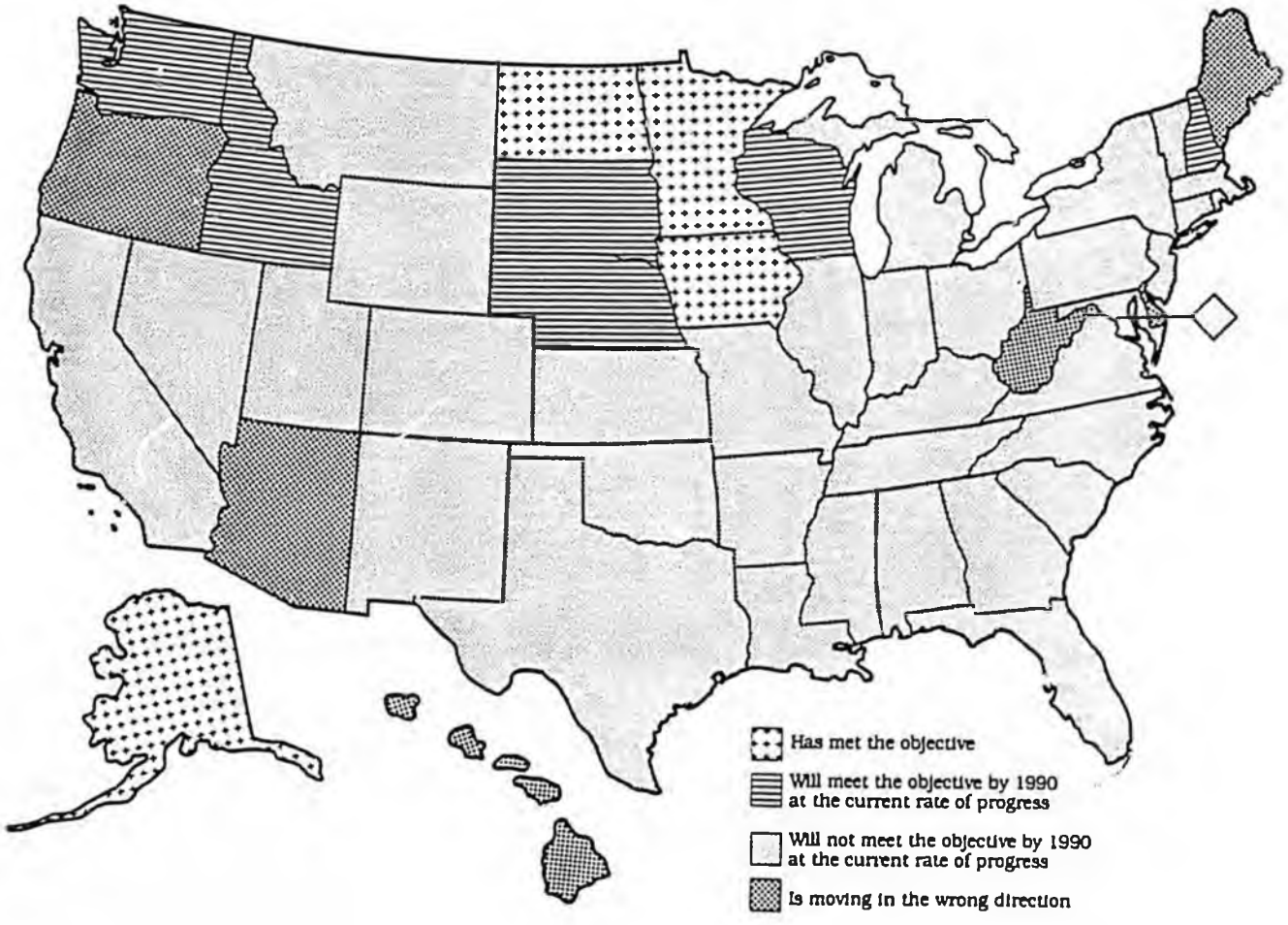
Progress Toward The Objectives:
Neonatal and Postneonatal Mortality

Will the state meet the Surgeon General's 1990 Objectives for neonatal and postneonatal mortality at the current rate of progress?

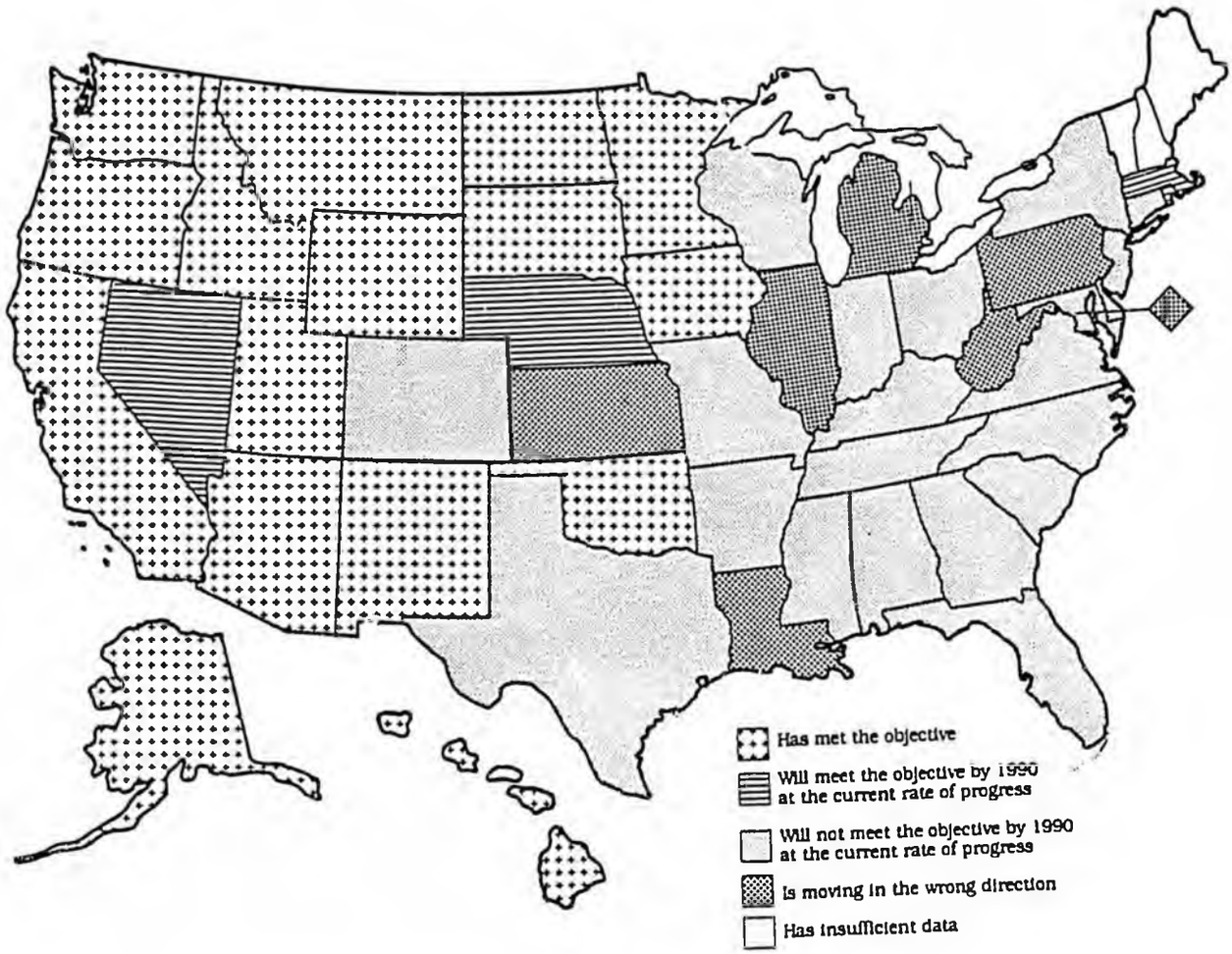
	Neonatal Mortality		*Postneonatal Mortality*	
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
Alabama	Y			N
Alaska	Y			N
Arizona	Y			N
Arkansas	Y		Y	
California	Y			N
Colorado	Y			N
Connecticut	Y			N
Delaware	Y			N
District of Columbia		N		N
Florida	Y			N
Georgia		N		N
Hawaii	Y			N
Idaho	Y			N
Illinois	Y			N
Indiana	Y			N
Iowa	Y		Y	
Kansas	Y			N
Kentucky	Y			N
Louisiana	Y			N
Maine	Y		Y	
Maryland	Y			N
Massachusetts	Y			N
Michigan		N		N
Minnesota	Y			N
Mississippi	Y			N
Missouri	Y			N
Montana	Y			N
Nebraska	Y			N
Nevada	Y			N
New Hampshire	Y		*	*
New Jersey	Y			N
New Mexico	Y		Y	
New York	Y			N
North Carolina	Y			N
North Dakota	Y			N
Ohio	Y			N
Oklahoma	Y		Y	
Oregon	Y			N
Pennsylvania	Y			N
Rhode Island	Y			N
South Carolina		N		N
South Dakota	Y			N
Tennessee	Y			N
Texas	Y			N
Utah	Y			N
Vermont	Y		*	*
Virginia		N		N
Washington	Y			N
West Virginia	Y			N
Wisconsin	Y			N
Wyoming	Y			N
United States	Y			N

**Insufficient data.*

Progress Toward the Low Birthweight Goal, All Races, 1984



Progress Toward the Low Birthweight Goal, Nonwhite, 1984



Progress Toward The Objectives:
Low Birthweight

Will the state meet the Surgeon General's 1990 Objectives for low birthweight for all races and nonwhites at the current rate of progress?

	All Races		*Nonwhite*	
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
Alabama		N		N
Alaska	Y		Y	
Arizona		N	Y	
Arkansas		N		N
California		N	Y	
Colorado		N		N
Connecticut		N		N
Delaware		N		N
District of Columbia		N		N
Florida		N		N
Georgia		N		N
Hawaii		N	Y	
Idaho	Y		Y	
Illinois		N		N
Indiana		N		N
Iowa	Y		Y	
Kansas		N		N
Kentucky		N		N
Louisiana		N		N
Maine		N	*	*
Maryland		N		N
Massachusetts		N	Y	
Michigan		N		N
Minnesota	Y		Y	
Mississippi		N		N
Missouri		N		N

	All Races		*Nonwhite*	
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
Montana		N	Y	
Nebraska	Y		Y	
Nevada		N	Y	
New Hampshire		N	*	*
New Jersey		N		N
New Mexico		N	Y	
New York		N		N
North Carolina		N		N
North Dakota	Y		Y	
Ohio		N		N
Oklahoma		N	Y	
Oregon		N	Y	
Pennsylvania		N		N
Rhode Island		N	Y	
South Carolina		N		N
South Dakota	Y		Y	
Tennessee		N		N
Texas		N		N
Utah		N	Y	
Vermont		N	*	*
Virginia		N		N
Washington	Y		Y	
West Virginia		N		N
Wisconsin	Y			N
Wyoming		N	Y	
United States		N		N

**Insufficient data.*

Progress Toward the Early Prenatal Care Goal, All Races, 1984

Progress Toward The Objectives:
Early Prenatal Care

Will the state meet the Surgeon General's 1990 Objectives for early prenatal care for all races and nonwhites at the current rate of progress?

	All Races		*Nonwhite*	
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
Alabama		N		N
Alaska		N		N
Arizona		N		N
Arkansas		N		N
California		N		N
Colorado		N		N
Connecticut		N		N
Delaware		N		N
District of Columbia		N		N
Florida		N		N
Georgia		N		N
Hawaii		N		N
Idaho		N		N
Illinois		N		N
Indiana		N		N
Iowa		N		N
Kansas		N		N
Kentucky		N		N
Louisiana		N		N
Maine		N		N
Maryland		N		N
Massachusetts		N		N
Michigan		N		N
Minnesota		N		N
Mississippi		N		N
Missouri		N		N
Montana		N		N
Nebraska		N		N
Nevada		N		N
New Hampshire		N		N
New Jersey		N		N
New Mexico	•	•	•	•
New York		N		N
North Carolina		N		N
North Dakota		N		N
Ohio		N		N
Oklahoma		N		N
Oregon		N		N
Pennsylvania		N		N
Rhode Island		N		N
South Carolina		N		N
South Dakota		N		N
Tennessee		N		N
Texas		N		N
Utah		N		N
Vermont		N		N
Virginia		N		N
Washington		N		N
West Virginia		N		N
Wisconsin		N		N
Wyoming		N		N
United States		N		N

**Insufficient data.*

State and City Ranking Tables

Infant mortality consists of neonatal and postneonatal mortality. In southern states, where infant mortality rates are among the highest in the country, infant mortality in 1984 was most heavily affected by high neonatal mortality rates. Western states ranked among the highest for postneonatal mortality.

TABLE 2.1A

Infant Mortality Rate, Total, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	North Dakota	8.1
2	Maine	8.4
3	Vermont	8.7
4	Iowa	8.8
5	Montana	8.8
6	Minnesota	8.9
7	Massachusetts	9.0
8	Utah	9.1
9	California	9.4
10	Arizona	9.5
11	New Mexico	9.6
12	Nebraska	9.6
13	Idaho	9.8
14	Oregon	9.9
15	Rhode Island	9.9
16	Hawaii	9.9
17	Wisconsin	9.9
18	South Dakota	10.0
19	Kansas	10.1
20	Colorado	10.2
21	New Hampshire	10.2
22	Washington	10.2
23	Connecticut	10.4
24	Missouri	10.4
25	Pennsylvania	10.4
26	Ohio	10.4
27	Texas	10.5
28	Nevada	10.5
29	Delaware	10.8
30	Florida	10.8
31	Arkansas	10.9
32	New Jersey	10.9
33	Oklahoma	11.0
34	West Virginia	11.0
35	New York	11.0
36	Wyoming	11.1
37	Indiana	11.1
38	Alaska	11.2
39	Kentucky	11.5
40	Michigan	11.7
41	Maryland	11.8
42	Tennessee	11.8
43	Louisiana	12.1
44	Illinois	12.1
45	Virginia	12.1
46	North Carolina	12.4
47	Georgia	12.9
48	Alabama	12.9
49	Mississippi	14.4
50	South Carolina	14.7
51	District of Columbia	21.0
	United States	10.8

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.1B

Neonatal Mortality Rate, Total, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Montana	4.5
2	North Dakota	4.5
3	Oregon	4.8
4	Idaho	5.0
5	Maine	5.1
6	Washington	5.4
7	South Dakota	5.5
8	Vermont	5.5
9	Minnesota	5.5
10	Utah	5.6
11	Arizona	5.7
12	Alaska	5.7
13	Colorado	5.8
14	Iowa	5.9
15	California	6.0
16	New Mexico	6.0
17	Nevada	6.0
18	Massachusetts	6.1
19	Nebraska	6.2
20	Wisconsin	6.3
21	Missouri	6.4
22	Kansas	6.5
23	Hawaii	6.5
24	Texas	6.6
25	Ohio	6.8
26	Arkansas	6.9
27	Florida	6.9
28	Rhode Island	7.0
29	Oklahoma	7.0
30	Wyoming	7.1
31	New Hampshire	7.1
32	West Virginia	7.1
33	Indiana	7.1
34	Pennsylvania	7.2
35	Kentucky	7.4
36	Connecticut	7.5
37	New York	7.5
38	New Jersey	7.5
39	Delaware	7.6
40	Tennessee	8.0
41	Louisiana	8.0
42	Illinois	8.1
43	Michigan	8.1
44	North Carolina	8.1
45	Maryland	8.1
46	Virginia	8.7
47	Georgia	8.7
48	Alabama	8.7
49	Mississippi	9.0
50	South Carolina	9.8
51	District of Columbia	16.0
	United States	7.0

TABLE 2.1C

Postneonatal Mortality Rate, Total, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Massachusetts	2.9
2	Connecticut	2.9
3	Rhode Island	2.9
4	Iowa	2.9
5	New Hampshire	3.1
6	Pennsylvania	3.2
7	Delaware	3.2
8	Maine	3.3
9	Hawaii	3.4
10	Minnesota	3.4
11	New Jersey	3.4
12	California	3.5
13	Nebraska	3.5
14	Virginia	3.5
15	New York	3.5
16	Utah	3.6
17	Kansas	3.6
18	New Mexico	3.6
19	North Dakota	3.6
20	Wisconsin	3.6
21	Michigan	3.7
22	Ohio	3.7
23	Maryland	3.7
24	Oklahoma	3.9
25	West Virginia	3.9
26	Arizona	3.9
27	Tennessee	3.9
28	Texas	3.9
29	Florida	3.9
30	Illinois	4.0
31	Indiana	4.0
32	Missouri	4.0
33	Wyoming	4.0
34	Louisiana	4.0
35	Arkansas	4.0
36	Kentucky	4.2
37	Alabama	4.2
38	Georgia	4.2
39	North Carolina	4.3
40	Colorado	4.3
41	Montana	4.4
42	South Dakota	4.5
43	Nevada	4.5
44	Idaho	4.7
45	Washington	4.8
46	South Carolina	4.9
47	District of Columbia	5.0
48	Oregon	5.1
49	Mississippi	5.4
50	Alaska	5.5
	United States	3.8

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Among whites, sixteen states have met the Surgeon General's 1990 goal for infant mortality. In 1984 most of the remaining states were within a percentage point of reaching the goal for whites.

Postneonatal infant mortality rates in 1984 were high among whites in western states. Some states, such as Alaska, Colorado, and South Dakota, rank among the best states on neonatal mortality but among the worst states on postneonatal mortality for whites.

TABLE 2.2A

Infant Mortality Rate, White, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	North Dakota	7.7
2	Hawaii	7.7
3	Delaware	8.4
4	Maine	8.4
5	Florida	8.5
6	Massachusetts	8.6
7	Iowa	8.8
8	Vermont	8.8
9	Arizona	8.8
10	Pennsylvania	8.8
11	South Dakota	8.8
12	Louisiana	8.9
13	Montana	8.9
14	Minnesota	8.9
15	Missouri	9.0
16	Utah	9.0
17	California	9.1
18	Wisconsin	9.2
19	Arkansas	9.2
20	Connecticut	9.2
21	Nebraska	9.2
22	Ohio	9.3
23	New Jersey	9.3
24	Alaska	9.3
25	Kansas	9.4
26	Michigan	9.4
27	New Mexico	9.4
28	Rhode Island	9.4
29	Illinois	9.5
30	Alabama	9.7
31	Texas	9.7
32	New York	9.8
33	Maryland	9.8
34	Tennessee	9.8
35	Idaho	9.8
36	Washington	9.9
37	Virginia	9.9
38	Colorado	9.9
39	North Carolina	9.9
40	Georgia	10.0
41	Oregon	10.0
42	Mississippi	10.0
43	Indiana	10.2
44	New Hampshire	10.2
45	Nevada	10.5
46	West Virginia	10.8
47	Kentucky	10.9
48	South Carolina	11.0
49	Oklahoma	11.1
50	Wyoming	11.2
	United States	9.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.2B

Neonatal Mortality Rate, White, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	North Dakota	4.5
2	Montana	4.6
3	Alaska	4.7
4	Oregon	4.9
5	Maine	5.0
6	Idaho	5.0
7	South Dakota	5.0
8	Washington	5.3
9	Utah	5.4
10	Missouri	5.5
11	Vermont	5.5
12	Minnesota	5.5
13	Colorado	5.6
14	Arizona	5.6
15	Florida	5.7
16	Arkansas	5.7
17	Wisconsin	5.8
18	California	5.8
19	Iowa	5.9
20	Nebraska	5.9
21	Massachusetts	5.9
22	Louisiana	5.9
23	Kansas	6.0
24	Ohio	6.1
25	Delaware	6.1
26	Pennsylvania	6.1
27	Nevada	6.1
28	Texas	6.2
29	New Mexico	6.2
30	Michigan	6.4
31	Tennessee	6.4
32	Indiana	6.6
33	Connecticut	6.6
34	Illinois	6.6
35	Georgia	6.6
36	Rhode Island	6.7
37	North Carolina	6.7
38	Maryland	6.7
39	New Jersey	6.8
40	Kentucky	6.9
41	New York	6.9
42	Alabama	6.9
43	West Virginia	7.0
44	Mississippi	7.0
45	Wyoming	7.0
46	New Hampshire	7.1
47	Virginia	7.2
48	Oklahoma	7.2
49	South Carolina	7.8
	United States	6.2

TABLE 2.2C

Postneonatal Mortality Rate, White, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	New Jersey	2.5
2	Connecticut	2.7
3	Massachusetts	2.7
4	Pennsylvania	2.7
5	Rhode Island	2.7
6	Alabama	2.7
7	Virginia	2.8
8	Florida	2.8
9	New York	2.8
10	Illinois	2.9
11	Iowa	2.9
12	Louisiana	3.0
13	Mississippi	3.0
14	Michigan	3.0
15	Maryland	3.1
16	New Hampshire	3.1
17	North Dakota	3.2
18	New Mexico	3.2
19	Arizona	3.2
20	Ohio	3.2
21	North Carolina	3.2
22	South Carolina	3.3
23	California	3.3
24	Georgia	3.3
25	Kansas	3.3
26	Nebraska	3.4
27	Wisconsin	3.4
28	Minnesota	3.4
29	Maine	3.4
30	Tennessee	3.4
31	Arkansas	3.5
32	Missouri	3.5
33	Texas	3.6
34	Utah	3.6
35	Indiana	3.6
36	South Dakota	3.8
37	West Virginia	3.8
38	Oklahoma	3.9
39	Kentucky	4.0
40	Wyoming	4.2
41	Colorado	4.3
42	Montana	4.3
43	Nevada	4.4
44	Alaska	4.6
45	Washington	4.6
46	Idaho	4.8
47	Oregon	5.0
	United States	3.3

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Infant mortality is a particularly serious problem among black Americans. The lowest reported state infant mortality rate in 1984 among blacks (14.2) was greater than the highest state rate among whites (11.2).

The highest rates of infant mortality tend to be concentrated in the South. Yet the highest black neonatal mortality rates were found in states outside of the South.

Black postneonatal mortality rates were generally twice as high as white postneonatal rates.

TABLE 2.3A

Infant Mortality Rate, Black, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Massachusetts	14.2
2	Oklahoma	14.8
3	California	15.6
4	Texas	15.8
5	New York	16.2
6	Arkansas	16.7
7	Arizona	16.9
8	Colorado	17.0
9	Maryland	17.0
10	Louisiana	17.4
11	Ohio	17.7
12	Missouri	18.3
13	Florida	18.4
14	New Jersey	18.4
15	Kentucky	18.4
16	Kansas	18.5
17	Georgia	18.5
18	Wisconsin	18.7
19	North Carolina	18.8
20	Tennessee	18.9
21	Indiana	19.1
22	Alabama	19.2
23	Connecticut	19.3
24	Delaware	19.4
25	Mississippi	19.5
26	Virginia	19.6
27	South Carolina	20.7
28	Washington	21.3
29	Pennsylvania	21.3
30	Illinois	22.0
31	Michigan	23.5
32	District of Columbia	24.3
	United States	18.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.3B

Neonatal Mortality Rate, Black, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Massachusetts	8.8
2	Oklahoma	9.2
3	California	9.7
4	Texas	9.7
5	New York	10.0
6	Arkansas	10.8
7	Florida	10.9
8	New Jersey	11.0
9	Ohio	11.1
10	Mississippi	11.4
11	Missouri	11.5
12	Louisiana	11.6
13	North Carolina	11.8
14	Kansas	11.8
15	Maryland	11.8
16	Wisconsin	12.2
17	Alabama	12.2
18	Indiana	12.3
19	Kentucky	12.5
20	Washington	12.6
21	Georgia	12.7
22	South Carolina	13.1
23	Tennessee	13.5
24	Virginia	13.6
25	Illinois	13.8
26	Connecticut	14.2
27	Pennsylvania	14.6
28	Michigan	16.9
29	District of Columbia	18.7
	United States	11.8

TABLE 2.3C

Postneonatal Mortality Rate, Black, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Maryland	5.2
2	Tennessee	5.4
3	Massachusetts	5.4
4	District of Columbia	5.5
5	Oklahoma	5.6
6	Louisiana	5.8
7	Georgia	5.9
8	California	5.9
9	Arkansas	6.0
10	Virginia	6.0
11	Texas	6.1
12	New York	6.2
13	Wisconsin	6.5
14	Ohio	6.6
15	Pennsylvania	6.6
16	Michigan	6.6
17	Missouri	6.8
18	Indiana	6.8
19	Alabama	7.0
20	North Carolina	7.0
21	New Jersey	7.4
22	Florida	7.5
23	South Carolina	7.6
24	Mississippi	8.0
25	Illinois	8.2
	United States	6.5

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Nonwhite infant mortality rates (including infants who were Asian, black, Native American, and other races) are not always consistent with black infant mortality rates. For example, in Washington State the 1984 black infant mortality rate was 21.3, while the nonwhite rate was 12.4.

Only one-third of states had nonwhite neonatal mortality rates better than the national average.

Postneonatal mortality is not always a problem among all populations within a given state. New Jersey had the best postneonatal mortality rates among whites in 1984, but its rates were among the worst for nonwhites and blacks.

TABLE 2.4A

Infant Mortality Rate, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Minnesota	8.7
2	Oklahoma	10.2
3	California	10.6
4	New Mexico	10.6
5	Hawaii	10.6
6	Massachusetts	12.3
7	Washington	12.4
8	Colorado	12.5
9	Arizona	13.2
10	Texas	14.4
11	New York	14.8
12	Kansas	15.8
13	Maryland	15.9
14	Arkansas	16.0
15	South Dakota	16.1
16	Alaska	16.1
17	New Jersey	16.7
18	Wisconsin	16.7
19	Louisiana	16.9
20	Ohio	16.9
21	Connecticut	17.2
22	Missouri	17.3
23	Kentucky	17.3
24	Florida	17.7
25	Indiana	17.8
26	North Carolina	17.9
27	Georgia	18.2
28	Virginia	18.3
29	Tennessee	18.5
30	Delaware	18.6
31	Alabama	18.9
32	Mississippi	19.2
33	Pennsylvania	20.0
34	South Carolina	20.2
35	Illinois	20.5
36	Michigan	22.0
37	District of Columbia	24.1
	United States	16.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.4B

Neonatal Mortality Rate, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Arizona	5.8
2	Washington	6.4
3	Oklahoma	6.5
4	California	6.5
5	Hawaii	7.0
6	Massachusetts	7.6
7	Colorado	8.1
8	Texas	8.7
9	New York	9.1
10	New Jersey	10.2
11	Kansas	10.3
12	Arkansas	10.3
13	Florida	10.5
14	Ohio	10.7
15	Wisconsin	10.8
16	Missouri	11.0
17	Maryland	11.0
18	North Carolina	11.2
19	Louisiana	11.2
20	Mississippi	11.2
21	Indiana	11.3
22	Kentucky	11.8
23	Alabama	12.1
24	Georgia	12.5
25	Connecticut	12.7
26	Virginia	12.8
27	South Carolina	12.8
28	Illinois	12.8
29	Tennessee	13.1
30	Pennsylvania	13.7
31	Michigan	15.6
32	District of Columbia	18.5
	United States	10.2

TABLE 2.4C

Postneonatal Mortality Rate, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Hawaii	3.6
2	California	4.0
3	Oklahoma	4.1
4	Massachusetts	4.7
5	Maryland	4.9
6	Tennessee	5.3
7	Virginia	5.5
8	District of Columbia	5.6
9	Louisiana	5.6
10	Texas	5.7
11	New York	5.7
12	Arkansas	5.7
13	Georgia	5.7
14	Wisconsin	5.9
15	Washington	6.0
16	Ohio	6.3
17	Pennsylvania	6.3
18	Missouri	6.3
19	Michigan	6.4
20	Indiana	6.5
21	New Jersey	6.5
22	North Carolina	6.7
23	Alabama	6.8
24	Florida	7.2
25	Arizona	7.4
26	South Carolina	7.4
27	Illinois	7.7
28	Mississippi	8.0
	United States	5.8

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Low birthweight is the single largest cause of neonatal death. Ten of fourteen states with the highest incidence of low birthweight also had the highest neonatal mortality rates in 1984.

As might be expected, the states in which higher proportions of pregnant women fail to receive early prenatal care are the same states in which greater proportions of pregnant women receive no prenatal care or none until the last three months of pregnancy. For example, in New Mexico, two in every five infants born in 1984 were born to women who had no prenatal care in the first three months of pregnancy. One in eight New Mexico infants was born to a mother who had received late or no care.

TABLE 2.5A

Percent of Births that Were Low Birthweight, Total, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	North Dakota	4.8
2	Alaska	4.8
3	Iowa	4.9
4	Minnesota	4.9
5	New Hampshire	5.0
6	South Dakota	5.1
7	Washington	5.1
8	Idaho	5.1
9	Wisconsin	5.1
10	Oregon	5.2
11	Nebraska	5.4
12	Maine	5.5
13	Utah	5.6
14	Montana	5.8
15	California	5.9
16	Massachusetts	5.9
17	Rhode Island	6.0
18	Kansas	6.1
19	Vermont	6.1
20	Arizona	6.1
21	Indiana	6.3
22	Oklahoma	6.3
23	Ohio	6.4
24	Connecticut	6.6
25	Pennsylvania	6.6
26	Missouri	6.7
27	Nevada	6.7
28	Texas	6.8
29	West Virginia	6.9
30	Kentucky	6.9
31	Michigan	7.0
32	New Jersey	7.0
33	New York	7.0
34	Wyoming	7.1
35	Illinois	7.1
36	Virginia	7.2
37	Hawaii	7.2
38	Delaware	7.4
39	Florida	7.4
40	Maryland	7.4
41	Arkansas	7.5
42	New Mexico	7.6
43	Colorado	7.6
44	North Carolina	7.8
45	Alabama	7.9
46	Tennessee	7.9
47	Georgia	8.3
48	Louisiana	8.5
49	Mississippi	8.7
50	South Carolina	8.8
51	District of Columbia	12.5
	United States	6.7

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, Total, 1984

TABLE 2.5B
Early Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Connecticut	85.6
2	Massachusetts	85.6
3	Rhode Island	85.5
4	Iowa	85.3
5	New Hampshire	84.6
6	Wisconsin	84.1
7	Maine	82.8
8	Vermont	82.3
9	North Dakota	82.0
10	New Jersey	82.0
11	Utah	82.0
12	Ohio	81.7
13	Kansas	81.5
14	Michigan	81.4
15	Wyoming	80.6
16	Virginia	80.3
17	Nebraska	79.9
18	Missouri	79.9
19	Minnesota	79.9
20	Maryland	79.3
21	Montana	79.0
22	Pennsylvania	78.9
23	North Carolina	78.2
24	Washington	78.1
25	Indiana	78.0
26	Delaware	78.0
27	Illinois	77.9
28	Louisiana	77.6
29	Colorado	77.2
30	Oregon	77.1
31	California	76.9
32	Idaho	76.5
33	Georgia	75.8
34	Hawaii	75.8
35	Nevada	75.8
36	Tennessee	75.7
37	Alaska	75.7
38	Kentucky	75.6
39	Mississippi	74.8
40	Alabama	73.6
41	South Dakota	72.7
42	New York	72.2
43	Arizona	71.7
44	West Virginia	71.2
45	Oklahoma	69.4
46	Arkansas	68.9
47	Texas	68.1
48	Florida	67.7
49	South Carolina	67.6
50	New Mexico	61.2
51	District of Columbia	60.3
	United States	76.5

TABLE 2.5C
Late or No Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Iowa	2.2
2	Rhode Island	2.2
3	New Hampshire	2.3
4	Massachusetts	2.3
5	Maine	2.4
6	Wisconsin	2.6
7	Connecticut	2.6
8	Vermont	2.7
9	North Dakota	2.7
10	Michigan	3.0
11	Utah	3.1
12	Nebraska	3.5
13	Minnesota	3.6
14	Ohio	3.6
15	Kansas	3.7
16	Delaware	3.7
17	Virginia	3.8
18	North Carolina	3.9
19	Maryland	4.0
20	Missouri	4.0
21	New Jersey	4.0
22	Wyoming	4.1
23	Montana	4.2
24	Mississippi	4.4
25	Illinois	4.4
26	Pennsylvania	4.4
27	Indiana	4.4
28	Hawaii	4.7
29	Louisiana	4.8
30	Alaska	4.8
31	Idaho	4.8
32	Washington	5.0
33	Georgia	5.1
34	California	5.1
35	Oregon	5.2
36	Tennessee	5.3
37	Kentucky	5.3
38	Colorado	5.4
39	Alabama	5.9
40	Nevada	6.0
41	West Virginia	6.3
42	South Dakota	6.6
43	South Carolina	7.7
44	Arkansas	7.9
45	Arizona	8.2
46	Oklahoma	8.5
47	Florida	8.9
48	New York	9.2
49	District of Columbia	10.0
50	Texas	10.6
51	New Mexico	13.2
	United States	5.6

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Low birthweight is a problem for many white infants. Low-birthweight rates among white infants that exceed the national average are not confined to any one region of the country.

Among the nine states in which the greatest percentage of white pregnant women received late or no prenatal care in 1984, seven had increases in the proportion of women receiving late or no prenatal care between 1983 and 1984.

TABLE 2.6A

Percent of Births that Were Low Birthweight, White, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Alaska	4.3
2	North Dakota	4.5
3	Wisconsin	4.6
4	Washington	4.7
5	Minnesota	4.7
6	Iowa	4.7
7	South Dakota	4.8
8	New Hampshire	5.0
9	Oregon	5.0
10	Idaho	5.0
11	Nebraska	5.0
12	California	5.1
13	District of Columbia	5.1
14	Illinois	5.3
15	Utah	5.4
16	Maryland	5.4
17	Maine	5.4
18	Ohio	5.5
19	Massachusetts	5.5
20	Kansas	5.5
21	Michigan	5.5
22	Pennsylvania	5.5
23	Missouri	5.6
24	Rhode Island	5.6
25	Connecticut	5.6
26	Indiana	5.7
27	New Jersey	5.7
28	Virginia	5.7
29	Montana	5.7
30	Louisiana	5.7
31	Alabama	5.7
32	New York	5.7
33	Oklahoma	5.8
34	Arizona	5.9
35	Georgia	5.9
36	Texas	6.0
37	Florida	6.0
38	Arkansas	6.0
39	Mississippi	6.0
40	Nevada	6.1
41	Hawaii	6.1
42	Delaware	6.1
43	North Carolina	6.1
44	Vermont	6.2
45	South Carolina	6.2
46	Kentucky	6.4
47	Tennessee	6.4
48	West Virginia	6.6
49	Wyoming	7.1
50	Colorado	7.3
51	New Mexico	7.8
	United States	5.6

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, White, 1984

TABLE 2.6B
Early Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Connecticut	88.5
2	Rhode Island	87.4
3	Massachusetts	86.6
4	Wisconsin	86.1
5	Iowa	86.0
6	Louisiana	85.8
7	New Jersey	85.5
8	Maryland	85.4
9	Mississippi	85.3
10	New Hampshire	84.7
11	Virginia	84.4
12	Ohio	84.1
13	North Carolina	84.0
14	North Dakota	83.5
15	Michigan	83.3
16	Kansas	83.1
17	Utah	82.9
18	Maine	82.9
19	Georgia	82.6
20	Vermont	82.4
21	Missouri	82.3
22	Delaware	81.9
23	Pennsylvania	81.9
24	Montana	81.7
25	Nebraska	81.6
26	Illinois	81.6
27	Alabama	81.5
28	Minnesota	81.5
29	Wyoming	81.0
30	Indiana	79.9
31	Washington	79.5
32	Tennessee	79.5
33	Alaska	78.8
34	Hawaii	78.5
35	New York	78.2
36	Colorado	77.9
37	Nevada	77.9
38	Oregon	77.8
39	California	77.5
40	Kentucky	77.2
41	Idaho	76.8
42	South Carolina	76.7
43	South Dakota	76.7
44	District of Columbia	75.7
45	Arizona	74.1
46	Arkansas	73.8
47	Oklahoma	73.6
48	Florida	73.3
49	West Virginia	71.9
50	Texas	69.6
51	New Mexico	63.5
	United States	79.6

TABLE 2.6C
Late or No Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Rhode Island	1.8
2	Iowa	2.0
3	Connecticut	2.0
4	North Dakota	2.1
5	Massachusetts	2.1
6	Wisconsin	2.2
7	New Hampshire	2.3
8	Maine	2.4
9	Mississippi	2.4
10	Michigan	2.4
11	North Carolina	2.5
12	Maryland	2.5
13	Vermont	2.6
14	Utah	2.7
15	Delaware	2.8
16	Ohio	2.8
17	Louisiana	2.8
18	Minnesota	2.9
19	Virginia	2.9
20	Nebraska	3.0
21	Montana	3.1
22	New Jersey	3.1
23	Kansas	3.1
24	Missouri	3.4
25	Pennsylvania	3.5
26	Illinois	3.5
27	Hawaii	3.6
28	Alaska	3.6
29	Georgia	3.8
30	Indiana	3.9
31	Alabama	3.9
32	Wyoming	4.0
33	South Dakota	4.0
34	Tennessee	4.2
35	Washington	4.5
36	South Carolina	4.6
37	Idaho	4.7
38	Kentucky	4.9
39	Oregon	4.9
40	District of Columbia	5.0
41	California	5.0
42	Colorado	5.1
43	Nevada	5.4
44	West Virginia	6.1
45	Arkansas	6.4
46	New York	6.6
47	Oklahoma	6.9
48	Florida	7.2
49	Arizona	7.2
50	Texas	10.3
51	New Mexico	12.1
	United States	4.7

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

In 1984, there was wide variation among states in the percentage of black infants born at low birthweight. A black infant born in Michigan or the District of Columbia was twice as likely as a black infant born in Alaska to have a low birthweight.

In those states that accounted for 99 percent of all black births in 1984, fewer than 75 percent of all infants were born to mothers receiving early prenatal care.

In states that accounted for two-thirds of all black births in 1984, 10 percent or more of black infants were born to mothers who received no care before the seventh month of pregnancy or none at all.

TABLE 2.7A

Percent of Births that Were Low Birthweight, Black, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Alaska	7.1
2	Hawaii	9.0
3	New Mexico	9.8
4	Nevada	10.2
5	Washington	10.5
6	Iowa	10.6
7	Minnesota	10.6
8	Oregon	10.9
9	Massachusetts	11.0
10	California	11.4
11	Oklahoma	11.5
12	Rhode Island	11.6
13	Nebraska	11.6
14	New York	11.7
15	Mississippi	11.7
16	Indiana	11.7
17	Delaware	11.8
18	Florida	11.9
19	Arizona	11.9
20	Virginia	12.0
21	Kentucky	12.0
22	Maryland	12.0
23	Alabama	12.1
24	Wisconsin	12.1
25	Kansas	12.1
26	North Carolina	12.2
27	Ohio	12.2
28	Texas	12.2
29	Arkansas	12.3
30	New Jersey	12.4
31	Missouri	12.6
32	Georgia	12.6
33	South Carolina	12.7
34	Connecticut	12.9
35	Colorado	13.0
36	Louisiana	13.1
37	Tennessee	13.2
38	West Virginia	13.4
39	Illinois	13.8
40	Pennsylvania	13.9
41	District of Columbia	14.2
42	Michigan	14.2
	United States	12.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, Black, 1984

TABLE 2.7B
Early Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	New Hampshire	81.0
2	Wyoming	79.8
3	Montana	79.7
4	Massachusetts	75.5
5	Maine	74.3
6	North Dakota	74.2
7	Iowa	73.3
8	Hawaii	73.0
9	Michigan	72.3
10	Rhode Island	71.9
11	California	71.9
12	Idaho	71.8
13	Kansas	70.1
14	Alaska	69.8
15	Colorado	69.7
16	Wisconsin	68.5
17	Virginia	68.0
18	New Jersey	67.9
19	Utah	67.7
20	Missouri	67.1
21	Ohio	66.8
22	Connecticut	66.3
23	Washington	65.7
24	Illinois	65.3
25	Maryland	65.2
26	Oregon	65.2
27	Arizona	64.9
28	Louisiana	64.8
29	North Carolina	64.8
30	Delaware	64.4
31	Mississippi	63.5
32	Minnesota	63.4
33	Georgia	63.2
34	South Dakota	63.0
35	Tennessee	62.7
36	Nevada	62.4
37	Nebraska	61.6
38	Kentucky	61.1
39	Pennsylvania	59.0
40	Alabama	58.8
41	Indiana	58.5
42	Texas	58.2
43	District of Columbia	56.7
44	West Virginia	53.9
45	South Carolina	53.5
46	Arkansas	53.2
47	New Mexico	52.7
48	Oklahoma	51.4
49	New York	50.6
50	Florida	50.1
	United States	62.2

TABLE 2.7C
Late or No Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Hawaii	3.8
2	Massachusetts	4.4
3	Iowa	4.5
4	California	5.4
5	Michigan	5.5
6	Rhode Island	5.6
7	Virginia	6.2
8	Kansas	6.4
9	Mississippi	6.4
10	Wisconsin	6.5
11	Delaware	6.7
12	Connecticut	6.8
13	North Carolina	7.2
14	Missouri	7.3
15	Maryland	7.3
16	Illinois	7.5
17	Georgia	7.5
18	Louisiana	7.8
19	New Jersey	8.0
20	Colorado	8.0
21	Oregon	8.5
22	Ohio	8.5
23	Nevada	8.8
24	Nebraska	8.9
25	Tennessee	8.9
26	Alabama	9.5
27	Arizona	9.5
28	Washington	9.5
29	Indiana	9.8
30	Kentucky	10.0
31	Minnesota	10.6
32	Pennsylvania	11.1
33	District of Columbia	11.4
34	West Virginia	12.2
35	South Carolina	12.5
36	Texas	12.7
37	Arkansas	12.7
38	Florida	14.3
39	New Mexico	14.5
40	Oklahoma	15.4
41	New York	19.2
	United States	9.6

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

The record for early prenatal care among infants born to nonwhite mothers was poor in all states in 1984. However, in some states, lack of adequate prenatal care is a particularly serious problem. For example, in New Mexico and South Dakota, only half of all nonwhite babies were born to mothers who received early care. In South Dakota, one in five babies was born to a mother who received late or no care.

TABLE 2.8A

Percent of Births that Were Low Birthweight, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Alaska	6.1
2	South Dakota	6.3
3	New Mexico	6.6
4	Montana	6.9
5	North Dakota	7.3
6	Arizona	7.4
7	Oregon	7.4
8	Hawaii	7.6
9	Minnesota	7.8
10	Idaho	7.9
11	Washington	8.0
12	Oklahoma	8.3
13	Utah	8.7
14	California	8.7
15	Iowa	8.8
16	Nevada	9.6
17	Nebraska	9.7
18	Massachusetts	9.8
19	Rhode Island	10.1
20	Wisconsin	10.3
21	Kansas	10.9
22	New York	10.9
23	Colorado	11.0
24	Indiana	11.2
25	Virginia	11.4
26	Delaware	11.4
27	Texas	11.5
28	Mississippi	11.6
29	Maryland	11.6
30	Florida	11.6
31	New Jersey	11.6
32	North Carolina	11.7
33	Kentucky	11.7
34	Ohio	11.8
35	Arkansas	12.0
36	Alabama	12.0
37	Connecticut	12.2
38	Missouri	12.3
39	Georgia	12.5
40	South Carolina	12.6
41	West Virginia	12.8
42	Louisiana	12.8
43	Tennessee	13.0
44	Illinois	13.1
45	Pennsylvania	13.3
46	Michigan	13.5
47	District of Columbia	14.2
	United States	11.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, Nonwhite, 1984

TABLE 2.8B
Early Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	New Hampshire	79.5
2	Maine	76.9
3	Massachusetts	76.6
4	Hawaii	74.9
5	California	74.6
6	Wyoming	73.2
7	Michigan	72.7
8	Iowa	70.3
9	New Jersey	70.0
10	Virginia	69.0
11	Kansas	68.9
12	Colorado	68.9
13	Rhode Island	68.8
14	Connecticut	68.2
15	Washington	68.0
16	Ohio	67.8
17	Oregon	67.8
18	Missouri	67.7
19	Alaska	67.4
20	Idaho	67.3
21	Maryland	66.7
22	North Dakota	66.7
23	Illinois	66.2
24	Wisconsin	66.2
25	Nevada	65.9
26	Delaware	65.4
27	North Carolina	65.3
28	Louisiana	65.1
29	Vermont	64.5
30	Utah	64.1
31	Georgia	63.6
32	Mississippi	63.5
33	Tennessee	63.0
34	Kentucky	61.5
35	Indiana	60.2
36	Pennsylvania	60.2
37	Nebraska	60.1
38	Texas	60.0
39	Montana	59.5
40	Alabama	59.0
41	Arizona	58.9
42	Minnesota	58.0
43	District of Columbia	56.8
44	West Virginia	56.0
45	Arkansas	53.8
46	South Carolina	53.7
47	Oklahoma	53.3
48	New York	53.1
49	Florida	51.1
50	New Mexico	50.8
51	South Dakota	50.4
	United States	64.1

TABLE 2.8C
Late or No Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Massachusetts	4.4
2	Hawaii	5.1
3	Michigan	5.5
4	California	5.5
5	Virginia	6.1
6	Connecticut	6.4
7	Rhode Island	6.4
8	Mississippi	6.5
9	Delaware	6.6
10	Wisconsin	6.9
11	North Carolina	7.0
12	Maryland	7.0
13	Iowa	7.0
14	Missouri	7.1
15	Illinois	7.3
16	New Jersey	7.4
17	Georgia	7.5
18	Louisiana	7.8
19	Wyoming	7.9
20	Alaska	8.0
21	Kansas	8.0
22	Ohio	8.2
23	Washington	8.8
24	Tennessee	8.8
25	Oregon	8.9
26	Colorado	9.1
27	Nevada	9.3
28	Indiana	9.4
29	Alabama	9.5
30	Nebraska	9.5
31	North Dakota	9.5
32	Idaho	9.6
33	Kentucky	9.7
34	Utah	9.8
35	Pennsylvania	10.7
36	District of Columbia	11.2
37	West Virginia	11.2
38	Texas	12.2
39	Montana	12.3
40	South Carolina	12.4
41	Arkansas	12.5
42	Minnesota	13.1
43	Arizona	13.2
44	Florida	14.0
45	Oklahoma	14.6
46	New York	17.8
47	New Mexico	17.9
48	South Dakota	21.5
	United States	9.3

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Babies born to teen mothers are more likely to experience low birthweight than those born to older mothers. However, in 1984 there was wide variation among states in the incidence of low birthweight among infants born to teens. An infant born to a teen mother in South Carolina in 1984 was two and one-half times more likely to be born at low birthweight than one born to a teen in North Dakota.

Teen mothers are among those least likely to receive adequate prenatal care. Even in the state with the best rankings on this table, one in three babies born to teens in 1984 had mothers who did not receive early prenatal care. In states representing more than half of teen births, 10 percent or more received late or no care.

TABLE 2.9A

Percent of Births to Teens that Were Low Birthweight, Total, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	North Dakota	5.1
2	Alaska	6.2
3	New Hampshire	6.3
4	Idaho	6.7
5	Oregon	7.1
6	Washington	7.2
7	Arizona	7.2
8	Montana	7.3
9	South Dakota	7.4
10	Minnesota	7.4
11	Iowa	7.4
12	California	7.6
13	Nebraska	7.8
14	Nevada	7.8
15	Wisconsin	7.9
16	Maine	8.1
17	Oklahoma	8.4
18	West Virginia	8.6
19	New Mexico	8.7
20	Utah	8.8
21	Indiana	8.8
22	Massachusetts	8.9
23	Ohio	9.0
24	Kentucky	9.0
25	Texas	9.2
26	Wyoming	9.2
27	Rhode Island	9.3
28	Kansas	9.3
29	Missouri	9.4
30	Vermont	9.4
31	Arkansas	9.7
32	Pennsylvania	9.8
33	Michigan	9.9
34	Delaware	9.9
35	Maryland	10.0
36	Colorado	10.0
37	Illinois	10.1
38	Virginia	10.1
39	New York	10.1
40	Hawaii	10.2
41	Connecticut	10.2
42	North Carolina	10.2
43	Tennessee	10.4
44	Florida	10.5
45	Alabama	10.7
46	Georgia	10.8
47	New Jersey	11.2
48	Mississippi	11.5
49	Louisiana	11.6
50	District of Columbia	12.2
51	South Carolina	12.5
	United States	9.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births to Teens by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, Total, 1984

TABLE 2.9B
Early Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Maine	67.1
2	Utah	65.9
3	Iowa	65.2
4	Rhode Island	64.2
5	Wisconsin	61.7
6	North Dakota	61.3
7	Massachusetts	61.2
8	Kansas	61.1
9	Wyoming	60.8
10	Michigan	60.5
11	Ohio	60.2
12	Vermont	60.1
13	New Hampshire	60.1
14	Louisiana	60.0
15	Connecticut	58.8
16	Kentucky	58.3
17	Mississippi	57.6
18	Alaska	57.5
19	Montana	57.4
20	California	57.3
21	Missouri	57.3
22	Virginia	57.2
23	North Carolina	57.0
24	Idaho	56.8
25	Delaware	56.6
26	Minnesota	56.3
27	Indiana	56.1
28	Hawaii	55.8
29	Maryland	55.5
30	New Jersey	55.3
31	Georgia	55.3
32	Nebraska	54.9
33	Tennessee	54.4
34	Illinois	54.3
35	Washington	54.2
36	Nevada	53.9
37	Pennsylvania	53.7
38	Oregon	52.3
39	Arizona	51.8
40	Colorado	51.6
41	Alabama	51.5
42	Arkansas	50.6
43	South Dakota	50.6
44	West Virginia	48.8
45	Oklahoma	48.3
46	Texas	45.7
47	New York	44.1
48	District of Columbia	43.3
49	South Carolina	42.9
50	Florida	41.4
51	New Mexico	39.9
	United States	53.7

TABLE 2.9C
Late or No Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Maine	5.0
2	Rhode Island	5.7
3	Iowa	6.2
4	New Hampshire	6.2
5	Utah	6.5
6	Vermont	6.9
7	Wisconsin	7.4
8	North Dakota	7.5
9	Mississippi	7.8
10	Massachusetts	7.8
11	Michigan	7.9
12	Ohio	8.0
13	Delaware	8.1
14	Hawaii	8.4
15	Kansas	8.5
16	Louisiana	8.5
17	North Carolina	8.6
18	Missouri	8.8
19	Connecticut	8.8
20	Indiana	8.9
21	Minnesota	9.0
22	Montana	9.2
23	Maryland	9.4
24	Wyoming	9.5
25	Virginia	9.5
26	Kentucky	9.7
27	Georgia	9.8
28	Nebraska	9.9
29	California	9.9
30	Tennessee	10.3
31	Illinois	10.3
32	Alaska	10.4
33	Idaho	10.5
34	Pennsylvania	10.6
35	New Jersey	11.3
36	Washington	11.8
37	Alabama	12.0
38	Nevada	12.2
39	Oregon	12.9
40	Colorado	12.9
41	West Virginia	13.1
42	Arkansas	13.5
43	South Dakota	14.3
44	Oklahoma	15.4
45	District of Columbia	15.7
46	South Carolina	15.7
47	Arizona	16.0
48	Florida	17.6
49	Texas	19.3
50	New York	20.7
51	New Mexico	22.8
	United States	11.9

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Low birthweight among infants born to white teens in 1984 was not concentrated in any one region in the country. Furthermore, there was wide disparity between the best and worst states in the proportion of low-birthweight births among white infants born to teens.

In 1984, white teens were less likely than older white mothers to receive adequate prenatal care. However, they were more likely to receive early care than their black counterparts. While only 50.3 percent of black births to teens in Mississippi in 1984 occurred to mothers who received early prenatal care, 70.6 percent of infants born to white Mississippi teens had mothers who received care during the first trimester of pregnancy.

TABLE 2.10A

Percent of Births to Teens that Were Low Birthweight, White, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	North Dakota	5.1
2	Alaska	5.9
3	New Hampshire	6.2
4	Nebraska	6.5
5	California	6.5
6	Wisconsin	6.6
7	Idaho	6.6
8	Washington	6.6
9	Maryland	6.8
10	Nevada	6.9
11	Alabama	7.0
12	Oregon	7.0
13	Arizona	7.1
14	Iowa	7.1
15	Minnesota	7.1
16	Louisiana	7.4
17	Virginia	7.4
18	Illinois	7.5
19	South Dakota	7.5
20	Arkansas	7.6
21	Ohio	7.6
22	Oklahoma	7.7
23	Indiana	7.7
24	Montana	7.8
25	Michigan	7.8
26	Rhode Island	7.9
27	Texas	7.9
28	Massachusetts	8.0
29	Missouri	8.0
30	Pennsylvania	8.0
31	North Carolina	8.0
32	Maine	8.1
33	Florida	8.1
34	Mississippi	8.2
35	Georgia	8.3
36	New York	8.3
37	Kentucky	8.3
38	Kansas	8.3
39	West Virginia	8.3
40	Utah	8.4
41	Tennessee	8.6
42	Connecticut	8.6
43	New Mexico	8.7
44	South Carolina	8.8
45	New Jersey	8.9
46	Delaware	8.9
47	Hawaii	9.4
48	Colorado	9.5
49	Vermont	9.5
50	Wyoming	9.6
	United States	7.7

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births to Teens by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, White, 1984

TABLE 2.10B
Early Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Mississippi	70.6
2	Louisiana	69.1
3	Utah	67.5
4	Maine	67.1
5	Iowa	65.9
6	Rhode Island	65.6
7	Wisconsin	64.4
8	Georgia	63.8
9	North Carolina	63.6
10	North Dakota	63.5
11	Kansas	63.1
12	Ohio	63.0
13	Maryland	62.9
14	Michigan	62.2
15	Connecticut	61.8
16	Virginia	61.5
17	Montana	61.4
18	Wyoming	61.1
19	Massachusetts	61.0
20	Vermont	60.2
21	Alabama	60.0
22	New Hampshire	60.0
23	Kentucky	59.7
24	Delaware	59.1
25	Hawaii	58.8
26	Indiana	58.7
27	Missouri	58.5
28	Minnesota	58.4
29	Alaska	58.4
30	Tennessee	57.6
31	California	57.5
32	Pennsylvania	57.3
33	Idaho	57.1
34	Nevada	57.1
35	Illinois	56.5
36	New Jersey	56.4
37	Nebraska	56.3
38	Arkansas	55.7
39	South Dakota	55.4
40	Washington	55.1
41	Arizona	53.2
42	Oregon	53.1
43	South Carolina	52.1
44	Oklahoma	52.0
45	Colorado	51.9
46	West Virginia	49.6
47	New York	48.8
48	Texas	47.2
49	Florida	46.2
50	New Mexico	41.2
	United States	56.7

TABLE 2.10C
Late or No Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Maine	4.9
2	North Dakota	5.5
3	Rhode Island	5.7
4	Iowa	5.7
5	Mississippi	5.8
6	Utah	5.9
7	Louisiana	6.1
8	North Carolina	6.2
9	New Hampshire	6.4
10	Wisconsin	6.4
11	Maryland	6.6
12	Ohio	6.7
13	Vermont	6.9
14	Michigan	7.1
15	Delaware	7.5
16	Minnesota	7.5
17	Kansas	7.6
18	Montana	7.6
19	Massachusetts	7.7
20	Indiana	7.9
21	Alaska	7.9
22	Missouri	8.1
23	Connecticut	8.2
24	Georgia	8.5
25	Virginia	8.5
26	Pennsylvania	8.6
27	Alabama	8.9
28	Tennessee	9.1
29	South Dakota	9.1
30	Wyoming	9.2
31	Kentucky	9.2
32	Nebraska	9.4
33	Illinois	9.8
34	California	9.9
35	Idaho	10.5
36	Washington	11.1
37	Nevada	11.4
38	New Jersey	11.4
39	South Carolina	11.5
40	Arkansas	11.6
41	Oregon	12.3
42	Colorado	12.5
43	West Virginia	12.6
44	Oklahoma	13.6
45	Arizona	15.2
46	Florida	16.2
47	New York	17.5
48	Texas	19.3
49	New Mexico	21.9
	United States	10.9

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Infants born to black teen mothers are at greater risk of low birthweight than those born to other teen mothers. For example, in 1984 the lowest per-state percentage of low birthweight among infants born to white teen mothers (North Dakota) was about half as large as the lowest per-state percentage of low birthweight among infants born to black teen mothers (Nevada).

In 1984, two in three black births to teens in West Virginia occurred to mothers who did not receive early prenatal care, compared to one in three black births to teens in Massachusetts. One in four infants born to black teens in New York in 1984 had a mother who received late or no prenatal care.

TABLE 2.11A

Percent of Births to Teens that Were Low Birthweight, Black, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Nevada	10.1
2	Delaware	11.3
3	Washington	11.5
4	Iowa	11.5
5	California	12.2
6	District of Columbia	12.4
7	Minnesota	12.6
8	New York	12.8
9	Missouri	12.8
10	Maryland	12.9
11	Wisconsin	13.0
12	North Carolina	13.1
13	Ohio	13.2
14	Illinois	13.3
15	Georgia	13.3
16	Indiana	13.4
17	Oklahoma	13.4
18	Mississippi	13.4
19	Texas	13.6
20	Massachusetts	13.6
21	Arizona	13.6
22	Arkansas	13.7
23	Connecticut	13.8
24	New Jersey	13.8
25	Florida	13.9
26	Virginia	14.0
27	Kentucky	14.1
28	Kansas	14.1
29	Michigan	14.2
30	Tennessee	14.4
31	Pennsylvania	14.6
32	Nebraska	14.6
33	Alabama	14.6
34	Louisiana	15.2
35	South Carolina	15.5
36	Colorado	16.5
	United States	13.6

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births to Teens by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, Black, 1984

TABLE 2.11B
Early Care

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Massachusetts	62.7
2	Iowa	60.6
3	Rhode Island	60.1
4	California	57.6
5	Michigan	57.3
6	Wisconsin	55.6
7	Missouri	54.3
8	New Jersey	54.1
9	Delaware	53.3
10	Hawaii	53.3
11	Kansas	52.8
12	Louisiana	52.3
13	Connecticut	52.2
14	Colorado	51.7
15	Illinois	51.6
16	Ohio	51.6
17	Virginia	51.1
18	Mississippi	50.3
19	Arizona	49.3
20	Kentucky	49.0
21	Nebraska	48.9
22	North Carolina	48.7
23	Maryland	48.3
24	Tennessee	47.7
25	Minnesota	47.2
26	Georgia	47.0
27	Washington	46.9
28	Alaska	46.2
29	Oregon	4[illegible]
30	Nevada	4[illegible]
31	Pennsylvania	[illegible]
32	District of Columbia	[illegible]
33	Indiana	[illegible]
34	Alabama	42.4
35	Arkansas	41.0
36	Texas	40.3
37	New York	36.4
38	South Carolina	35.4
39	Florida	34.6
40	Oklahoma	34.4
41	West Virginia	32.3
	United States	47.0

TABLE 2.11C
Late or No Care

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Massachusetts	8.2
2	Mississippi	8.8
3	Delaware	8.8
4	California	9.2
5	Michigan	9.4
6	Wisconsin	9.9
7	Connecticut	10.0
8	Missouri	10.1
9	Louisiana	10.5
10	Kansas	10.7
11	Illinois	10.8
12	Virginia	10.9
13	Georgia	11.0
14	New Jersey	11.2
15	Nebraska	11.6
16	North Carolina	11.7
17	Ohio	11.9
18	Maryland	12.1
19	Nevada	12.2
20	Tennessee	12.8
21	Kentucky	12.9
22	Indiana	13.9
23	Washington	14.6
24	Colorado	15.2
25	Alabama	15.3
26	District of Columbia	15.5
27	Pennsylvania	16.2
28	Arizona	16.2
29	Minnesota	17.1
30	Arkansas	17.2
31	South Carolina	19.1
32	Texas	19.3
33	Florida	19.6
34	Oklahoma	21.6
35	West Virginia	22.6
36	New York	25.8
	United States	14.0

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

One in six infants born to nonwhite teens in Rhode Island in 1984 was low birthweight, compared to one in seventeen infants born that year to all mothers in the state.

More than half of all nonwhite teen births in 1984 occurred in states in which more than half such infants were born to mothers who did not receive early prenatal care. Furthermore, one in four nonwhite infants born to teens in New York, New Mexico, and South Dakota in 1984 had mothers who received no care or none before the seventh month.

TABLE 2.12A

Percent of Births to Teens that Were Low Birthweight, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Alaska	6.6
2	Arizona	7.8
3	Oregon	7.9
4	New Mexico	8.4
5	Minnesota	8.9
6	Washington	10.0
7	Oklahoma	10.1
8	Nevada	10.4
9	Hawaii	10.4
10	Delaware	11.1
11	Iowa	11.1
12	California	11.2
13	Wisconsin	12.0
14	District of Columbia	12.2
15	New York	12.8
16	Missouri	12.8
17	North Carolina	12.9
18	Maryland	12.9
19	Utah	13.0
20	Ohio	13.1
21	Indiana	13.2
22	Illinois	13.3
23	Georgia	13.3
24	Mississippi	13.3
25	Massachusetts	13.5
26	Arkansas	13.5
27	Texas	13.5
28	Nebraska	13.5
29	New Jersey	13.7
30	Kansas	13.7
31	Connecticut	13.8
32	Virginia	13.9
33	Florida	13.9
34	Michigan	13.9
35	Kentucky	13.9
36	Tennessee	14.3
37	Colorado	14.3
38	West Virginia	14.4
39	Pennsylvania	14.5
40	Alabama	14.6
41	Louisiana	15.1
42	South Carolina	15.5
43	Rhode Island	15.8
	United States	13.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Percent of Births to Teens by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, Nonwhite, 1984

TABLE 2.12B
Early Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Massachusetts	62.3
2	Wyoming	57.6
3	Michigan	57.2
4	Rhode Island	56.9
5	California	56.8
6	Iowa	56.7
7	Alaska	56.5
8	Hawaii	54.7
9	Missouri	54.4
10	New Jersey	54.2
11	Wisconsin	53.5
12	Delaware	53.5
13	Kansas	52.6
14	Louisiana	52.4
15	Connecticut	52.3
16	North Dakota	52.1
17	Ohio	51.8
18	Illinois	51.6
19	Idaho	51.5
20	Virginia	51.2
21	Mississippi	50.4
22	Colorado	49.3
23	North Carolina	49.2
24	Washington	49.1
25	Kentucky	49.0
26	Nebraska	48.6
27	Maryland	48.5
28	Tennessee	47.7
29	Georgia	47.0
30	Arizona	46.4
31	Nevada	45.7
32	Minnesota	45.1
33	Utah	44.7
34	Oregon	44.4
35	Montana	44.2
36	Pennsylvania	43.9
37	Indiana	43.6
38	District of Columbia	43.5
39	Alabama	42.4
40	Arkansas	41.2
41	Texas	40.3
42	South Dakota	38.9
43	Oklahoma	38.9
44	New York	36.7
45	South Carolina	35.5
46	New Mexico	35.2
47	Florida	34.7
48	West Virginia	32.8
	United States	47.3

TABLE 2.12C
Late or No Care

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Massachusetts	8.5
2	Hawaii	8.6
3	Mississippi	8.8
4	Delaware	8.9
5	Michigan	9.4
6	California	9.7
7	Connecticut	10.0
8	Missouri	10.2
9	Wisconsin	10.4
10	Louisiana	10.6
11	Illinois	10.9
12	Virginia	11.0
13	Georgia	11.0
14	New Jersey	11.2
15	North Carolina	11.4
16	Iowa	11.5
17	Ohio	11.8
18	Nebraska	11.9
19	Maryland	12.1
20	Kansas	12.3
21	Tennessee	12.8
22	Kentucky	12.9
23	Alaska	13.4
24	Indiana	13.9
25	Nevada	14.1
26	Utah	14.2
27	Montana	14.5
28	Alabama	15.3
29	District of Columbia	15.5
30	Washington	15.5
31	North Dakota	16.0
32	Pennsylvania	16.1
33	Colorado	16.3
34	Arkansas	17.0
35	Minnesota	17.0
36	Oregon	17.7
37	Arizona	18.8
38	South Carolina	19.1
39	Texas	19.4
40	Florida	19.6
41	Oklahoma	20.2
42	West Virginia	21.9
43	New York	25.7
44	New Mexico	26.3
45	South Dakota	26.9
	United States	14.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

In southern states low-birthweight births to teens account for a larger proportion of all low-birthweight births than in other states.

The proportions of all births to teens in 1984 were highest in southern states. The proportion of births to teenagers younger than fifteen was also highest in the South. In Mississippi, the percentage of births to teens younger than fifteen was three times the national average in 1984.

TABLE 2.13A

Percent of All Low-Birthweight Infants Born to Teens, Total, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	North Dakota	9.1
2	New Hampshire	10.9
3	Minnesota	11.9
4	Alaska	12.3
5	Montana	13.0
6	Massachusetts	13.6
7	Utah	13.7
8	Colorado	14.0
9	Nebraska	14.0
10	Idaho	14.0
11	Nevada	14.4
12	Iowa	14.4
13	Connecticut	14.6
14	California	14.6
15	Hawaii	14.6
16	Washington	14.6
17	Oregon	15.0
18	New York	15.0
19	Wyoming	15.1
20	Vermont	15.5
21	Wisconsin	15.6
22	South Dakota	15.7
23	Rhode Island	15.7
24	New Jersey	16.3
25	Arizona	16.8
26	Maryland	17.1
27	Pennsylvania	17.2
28	Michigan	17.5
29	District of Columbia	17.5
30	Virginia	17.7
31	New Mexico	18.0
32	Maine	18.1
33	Kansas	18.1
34	Illinois	18.4
35	Delaware	18.5
36	Ohio	18.8
37	Indiana	19.7
38	Missouri	19.9
39	Florida	20.8
40	Texas	21.1
41	Oklahoma	21.4
42	North Carolina	21.6
43	West Virginia	22.2
44	Tennessee	22.8
45	Georgia	23.2
46	Louisiana	23.8
47	Kentucky	23.9
48	Alabama	24.5
49	South Carolina	24.6
50	Arkansas	25.8
51	Mississippi	28.2
	United States	18.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.13B

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 20, Total, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Minnesota	7.9
2	North Dakota	8.5
3	New Hampshire	8.6
4	Utah	8.7
5	Massachusetts	9.0
6	Connecticut	9.4
7	Iowa	9.4
8	Alaska	9.6
9	Nebraska	9.7
10	Vermont	10.0
11	Wisconsin	10.1
12	New Jersey	10.2
13	Rhode Island	10.3
14	Montana	10.3
15	Hawaii	10.4
16	Washington	10.4
17	New York	10.4
18	Colorado	10.7
19	Idaho	10.7
20	South Dakota	10.8
21	Oregon	10.9
22	California	11.2
23	Wyoming	11.6
24	Pennsylvania	11.7
25	Kansas	11.8
26	Maine	12.2
27	Nevada	12.2
28	Michigan	12.4
29	Virginia	12.6
30	Maryland	12.8
31	Illinois	13.0
32	Ohio	13.4
33	Delaware	13.8
34	Missouri	14.0
35	Indiana	14.1
36	Arizona	14.3
37	Florida	14.7
38	Texas	15.7
39	New Mexico	15.7
40	Oklahoma	16.2
41	North Carolina	16.5
42	South Carolina	17.2
43	Tennessee	17.4
44	Louisiana	17.6
45	West Virginia	17.7
46	Georgia	17.8
47	District of Columbia	18.0
48	Alabama	18.2
49	Kentucky	18.3
50	Arkansas	19.9
51	Mississippi	21.2
	United States	13.1

TABLE 2.13C

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 15, Total, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Minnesota	0.1
2	Iowa	0.1
3	Massachusetts	0.1
4	Colorado	0.1
5	Nebraska	0.1
6	Wisconsin	0.1
7	Oregon	0.1
8	Washington	0.1
9	Kansas	0.2
10	Connecticut	0.2
11	Arizona	0.2
12	New York	0.2
13	California	0.2
14	Missouri	0.2
15	West Virginia	0.2
16	Pennsylvania	0.2
17	Indiana	0.2
18	Ohio	0.2
19	New Mexico	0.2
20	Nevada	0.2
21	Michigan	0.3
22	Virginia	0.3
23	New Jersey	0.3
24	Illinois	0.3
25	Oklahoma	0.3
26	Maryland	0.3
27	Texas	0.4
28	Florida	0.4
29	Tennessee	0.4
30	Kentucky	0.4
31	Delaware	0.4
32	North Carolina	0.4
33	Alabama	0.4
34	South Carolina	0.5
35	Arkansas	0.5
36	Georgia	0.5
37	Louisiana	0.5
38	District of Columbia	0.5
39	Mississippi	0.9
	United States	0.3

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

In some states, in 1984 a relatively low percentage of low-birthweight births was attributable to teen mothers. For example, while New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming had the highest percentages of low-birthweight births among all white mothers, white teens in these states made only a moderate contribution to all low-birthweight births that year.

Of the ten states in 1984 in which the highest percentage of white births occurred to teen mothers, eight were southern states.

TABLE 2.14A

Percent of All Low-Birthweight Infants Born to Teens, White, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	North Dakota	8.6
2	Alaska	9.8
3	New Jersey	10.7
4	New Hampshire	10.8
5	Minnesota	10.8
6	Nebraska	11.1
7	Connecticut	11.4
8	Maryland	11.6
9	Hawaii	12.0
10	New York	12.0
11	Nevada	12.1
12	Massachusetts	12.2
13	Wisconsin	12.3
14	Montana	12.3
15	Illinois	13.1
16	Virginia	13.2
17	Utah	13.2
18	Colorado	13.4
19	Rhode Island	13.5
20	Iowa	13.6
21	South Dakota	13.9
22	Idaho	13.9
23	California	14.0
24	Washington	14.2
25	Pennsylvania	14.2
26	Michigan	14.2
27	Delaware	14.4
28	Oregon	14.9
29	Wyoming	15.0
30	Florida	15.5
31	Vermont	15.6
32	Arizona	16.0
33	Kansas	16.4
34	Ohio	16.4
35	North Carolina	17.1
36	Missouri	17.1
37	Louisiana	17.2
38	New Mexico	17.2
39	Indiana	17.4
40	Alabama	17.6
41	South Carolina	17.8
42	Maine	18.1
43	Georgia	19.2
44	Oklahoma	19.3
45	Texas	19.3
46	Mississippi	19.8
47	Tennessee	20.3
48	Arkansas	21.4
49	West Virginia	22.2
50	Kentucky	23.1
	United States	15.3

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.14B

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 20, White, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	District of Columbia	4.1
2	New Jersey	6.8
3	Minnesota	7.1
4	Alaska	7.3
5	Connecticut	7.5
6	North Dakota	7.6
7	Hawaii	7.8
8	Massachusetts	8.3
9	New York	8.3
10	Wisconsin	8.5
11	Utah	8.5
12	New Hampshire	8.6
13	Nebraska	8.6
14	South Dakota	9.0
15	Montana	9.0
16	Iowa	9.0
17	Maryland	9.2
18	Illinois	9.3
19	Rhode Island	9.5
20	Pennsylvania	9.8
21	Delaware	9.9
22	Washington	10.0
23	Vermont	10.0
24	Michigan	10.0
25	Virginia	10.0
26	Colorado	10.3
27	Idaho	10.5
28	Oregon	10.6
29	Nevada	10.7
30	Kansas	10.8
31	California	11.0
32	Wyoming	11.1
33	Florida	11.4
34	Ohio	11.8
35	Missouri	11.9
36	Maine	12.2
37	South Carolina	12.6
38	Indiana	12.8
39	North Carolina	13.0
40	Louisiana	13.3
41	Arizona	13.3
42	Georgia	13.8
43	Alabama	14.4
44	Mississippi	14.5
45	Texas	14.5
46	Oklahoma	14.6
47	Tennessee	15.3
48	New Mexico	15.4
49	Arkansas	17.0
50	West Virginia	17.6
51	Kentucky	17.7
	United States	11.1

TABLE 2.14C

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 15, White, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Massachusetts	0.1
2	Kansas	0.1
3	Illinois	0.1
4	Virginia	0.1
5	New Jersey	0.1
6	Pennsylvania	0.1
7	Connecticut	0.1
8	Michigan	0.1
9	Ohio	0.1
10	Missouri	0.1
11	Washington	0.1
12	Colorado	0.1
13	Maryland	0.1
14	New York	0.1
15	Oregon	0.1
16	Indiana	0.1
17	Florida	0.1
18	South Carolina	0.1
19	North Carolina	0.1
20	Mississippi	0.1
21	Arizona	0.2
22	Louisiana	0.2
23	Georgia	0.2
24	Tennessee	0.2
25	Alabama	0.2
26	California	0.2
27	Arkansas	0.2
28	West Virginia	0.2
29	New Mexico	0.2
30	Oklahoma	0.2
31	Texas	0.3
32	Kentucky	0.3
	United States	0.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

In states representing nearly 60 percent of all black teen births in 1984, low-birthweight births to black teens accounted for at least one in four of all black low-birthweight births.

In 1984 there was wide variation among states in the proportion of all black births that occurred to mothers younger than twenty. For example, the percentage in Arkansas was four times that in Hawaii.

TABLE 2.15A

Percent of All Low-Birthweight Infants Born to Teens, Black, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Washington	17.9
2	District of Columbia	18.7
3	California	19.6
4	New York	20.8
5	Colorado	21.5
6	Maryland	23.2
7	Massachusetts	23.3
8	Michigan	23.9
9	Connecticut	24.4
10	Nevada	25.0
11	Virginia	25.0
12	Minnesota	25.1
13	Kansas	25.4
14	Ohio	25.6
15	Pennsylvania	25.7
16	Arizona	25.7
17	Delaware	25.8
18	Illinois	26.1
19	Iowa	26.8
20	Oklahoma	26.9
21	Missouri	27.0
22	North Carolina	27.0
23	Georgia	27.1
24	New Jersey	27.2
25	Tennessee	27.3
26	Texas	27.6
27	Louisiana	28.6
28	Kentucky	29.1
29	Indiana	29.4
30	Florida	29.4
31	South Carolina	30.0
32	Alabama	30.6
33	Wisconsin	31.0
34	Arkansas	32.8
35	Mississippi	33.0
36	Nebraska	34.2
	United States	26.0

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.15B

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 20, Black, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Hawaii	7.2
2	Utah	12.3
3	Alaska	13.7
4	Washington	16.3
5	Colorado	17.1
6	California	18.3
7	Massachusetts	18.8
8	New York	18.9
9	Rhode Island	19.5
10	New Mexico	19.5
11	Oregon	20.5
12	Minnesota	21.2
13	Virginia	21.5
14	District of Columbia	21.5
15	Maryland	21.6
16	West Virginia	21.7
17	Kansas	21.9
18	Arizona	22.5
19	Connecticut	22.8
20	Oklahoma	23.0
21	Ohio	23.6
22	Michigan	23.8
23	New Jersey	24.5
24	Pennsylvania	24.5
25	South Carolina	24.6
26	Iowa	24.6
27	Louisiana	24.7
28	Texas	24.8
29	Kentucky	24.8
30	Tennessee	25.0
31	Florida	25.1
32	North Carolina	25.2
33	Nevada	25.4
34	Alabama	25.4
35	Indiana	25.7
36	Georgia	25.7
37	Missouri	26.5
38	Delaware	27.0
39	Illinois	27.0
40	Nebraska	27.3
41	Mississippi	28.8
42	Wisconsin	28.9
43	Arkansas	29.4
	United States	23.6

TABLE 2.15C

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 15, Black, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	New York	0.6
2	Connecticut	0.6
3	California	0.6
4	District of Columbia	0.7
5	Oklahoma	0.8
6	Missouri	0.8
7	Virginia	0.8
8	Maryland	0.9
9	Michigan	1.0
10	Alabama	1.0
11	New Jersey	1.0
12	Ohio	1.0
13	Texas	1.0
14	South Carolina	1.0
15	Pennsylvania	1.0
16	Illinois	1.0
17	Indiana	1.1
18	Louisiana	1.1
19	Florida	1.2
20	North Carolina	1.2
21	Georgia	1.2
22	Tennessee	1.2
23	Wisconsin	1.3
24	Kentucky	1.3
25	Arkansas	1.4
26	Delaware	1.5
27	Mississippi	1.8
	United States	1.0

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

In three states in 1984, nearly one in every three nonwhite low-birthweight births occurred to a woman younger than twenty.

The high incidence of births to nonwhite teens is a national problem. In every state in 1984 more than one in ten nonwhite births occurred to a mother younger than twenty.

TABLE 2.16A

Percent of All Low-Birthweight Infants Born to Teens, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Hawaii	15.3
2	Oregon	15.6
3	California	15.8
4	Washington	16.5
5	Alaska	16.8
6	District of Columbia	18.4
7	Colorado	18.4
8	Utah	18.7
9	New York	19.9
10	Arizona	20.1
11	Minnesota	20.5
12	Massachusetts	20.8
13	Nevada	21.3
14	West Virginia	22.2
15	Maryland	22.4
16	New Mexico	22.4
17	Michigan	23.2
18	Connecticut	23.5
19	Virginia	24.0
20	Iowa	24.7
21	Pennsylvania	24.7
22	Kansas	24.9
23	Ohio	24.9
24	Illinois	25.4
25	Delaware	25.4
26	New Jersey	25.6
27	Texas	26.2
28	Missouri	26.2
29	Rhode Island	26.3
30	Georgia	26.7
31	North Carolina	26.8
32	Tennessee	26.8
33	Oklahoma	27.3
34	Kentucky	27.6
35	Louisiana	28.3
36	Indiana	28.3
37	Florida	28.8
38	Wisconsin	29.0
39	South Carolina	29.8
40	Alabama	30.4
41	Nebraska	32.1
42	Arkansas	32.3
43	Mississippi	32.9
	United States	24.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.16B

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 20, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Hawaii	11.2
2	California	12.2
3	Utah	12.4
4	Washington	13.3
5	Maine	14.2
6	Colorado	14.2
7	Oregon	14.7
8	Massachusetts	15.1
9	Alaska	15.6
10	Idaho	15.8
11	Rhode Island	16.7
12	New York	17.0
13	New Mexico	17.7
14	Minnesota	18.0
15	North Dakota	18.1
16	Arizona	19.1
17	Iowa	19.5
18	Nevada	19.6
19	Virginia	19.7
20	Kansas	19.7
21	West Virginia	19.7
22	Montana	20.1
23	Maryland	20.1
24	South Dakota	20.6
25	Connecticut	20.8
26	District of Columbia	21.2
27	Wyoming	21.6
28	New Jersey	21.8
29	Texas	22.1
30	Oklahoma	22.4
31	Ohio	22.5
32	Michigan	22.5
33	Pennsylvania	22.7
34	Nebraska	23.1
35	Kentucky	23.3
36	Louisiana	24.1
37	Indiana	24.1
38	Florida	24.2
39	South Carolina	24.3
40	North Carolina	24.4
41	Tennessee	24.4
42	Wisconsin	25.0
43	Illinois	25.0
44	Alabama	25.1
45	Georgia	25.1
46	Missouri	25.1
47	Delaware	26.2
48	Mississippi	28.5
49	Arkansas	28.6
	United States	20.8

TABLE 2.16C

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 15, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	California	0.4
2	Washington	0.4
3	Arizona	0.5
4	New York	0.5
5	Connecticut	0.5
6	Oklahoma	0.6
7	Minnesota	0.6
8	Kansas	0.7
9	Missouri	0.7
10	Virginia	0.8
11	Maryland	0.8
12	Texas	0.9
13	New Jersey	0.9
14	Michigan	0.9
15	Ohio	0.9
16	Pennsylvania	1.0
17	Illinois	1.0
18	Wisconsin	1.0
19	Alabama	1.0
20	South Carolina	1.0
21	Indiana	1.0
22	Louisiana	1.1
23	North Carolina	1.1
24	Florida	1.1
25	Georgia	1.1
26	Tennessee	1.1
27	Kentucky	1.2
28	Arkansas	1.4
29	Delaware	1.4
30	Mississippi	1.8
	United States	0.8

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

States show wide variation in the percentage of births to unmarried mothers. In 1984, the percentage of births that occurred to unmarried mothers in the District of Columbia was more than seven times greater than that in Utah.

In 1984 the percentage of births to teens that were to unmarried mothers varied dramatically from state to state. Although the teen birth rate and the proportion of all births that are to teens have decreased over the past several years, birth rates to unmarried teens and the proportion of all births to unmarried women that are to teen mothers have increased.

While the proportion of births to unmarried teen mothers varied significantly in 1984, there was far greater consistency in the percentage of all births to unmarried women accounted for by teens. In no state in 1984 did teens account for even half of all births to unmarried women.

TABLE 2.17A

Percent of Infants Born to Unmarried Mothers, Total, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Utah	7.7
2	Idaho	9.3
3	North Dakota	10.8
4	Wyoming	11.2
5	Iowa	12.6
6	New Hampshire	12.6
7	Minnesota	13.5
8	Kansas	13.8
9	Nebraska	14.0
10	Nevada	14.1
11	Montana	15.1
12	Colorado	15.3
13	Texas	15.3
14	Vermont	15.9
15	Oklahoma	16.1
16	West Virginia	16.2
17	Maine	16.3
18	South Dakota	16.4
19	Wisconsin	16.6
20	Washington	16.9
21	Oregon	17.4
22	Alaska	17.6
23	Kentucky	17.7
24	Massachusetts	17.7
25	Michigan	17.7
26	Rhode Island	17.7
27	Indiana	18.7
28	Hawaii	19.1
29	Ohio	20.4
30	Missouri	20.5
31	Virginia	20.8
32	Pennsylvania	20.9
33	North Carolina	21.2
34	Connecticut	21.2
35	Arkansas	21.8
36	New Jersey	22.1
37	Tennessee	22.9
38	Arizona	23.2
39	California	23.8
40	Alabama	24.5
41	New Mexico	24.7
42	Delaware	24.8
43	Illinois	25.0
44	Florida	25.1
45	Georgia	25.1
46	South Carolina	25.6
47	Louisiana	26.6
48	New York	26.9
49	Maryland	28.5
50	Mississippi	32.3
51	District of Columbia	56.9
	United States	21.0

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.17B

Percent of Births to Teens that Were to Unmarried Mothers, Total, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Utah	33.4
2	Idaho	33.5
3	West Virginia	38.6
4	Wyoming	38.8
5	Texas	38.9
6	Kentucky	39.1
7	Oklahoma	39.3
8	Nevada	43.1
9	Kansas	44.3
10	North Dakota	46.4
11	Arkansas	47.4
12	Tennessee	49.7
13	South Dakota	49.9
14	Iowa	51.3
15	Alaska	51.6
16	Colorado	51.8
17	Maine	52.2
18	Indiana	52.3
19	Montana	52.9
20	New Hampshire	53.2
21	Oregon	53.3
22	New Mexico	53.7
23	North Carolina	53.9
24	Washington	54.6
25	Michigan	54.7
26	Alabama	55.0
27	Vermont	55.2
28	Missouri	55.5
29	Nebraska	56.0
30	Georgia	56.5
31	Virginia	56.7
32	Ohio	57.1
33	Arizona	57.9
34	California	58.0
35	Florida	58.8
36	Louisiana	59.0
37	Hawaii	60.6
38	South Carolina	61.5
39	Minnesota	61.8
40	Wisconsin	62.5
41	Pennsylvania	62.9
42	Delaware	63.8
43	Rhode Island	64.8
44	Mississippi	66.1
45	Massachusetts	67.5
46	Illinois	68.8
47	Connecticut	70.3
48	Maryland	72.6
49	New York	73.0
50	New Jersey	75.2
51	District of Columbia	91.6
	United States	56.3

TABLE 2.17C

Percent of All Unmarried Mothers who Were Teens, Total, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	California	27.4
2	Alaska	28.3
3	New York	28.3
4	District of Columbia	29.0
5	Connecticut	31.1
6	Maryland	32.6
7	Hawaii	32.9
8	South Dakota	32.9
9	Oregon	33.3
10	Washington	33.7
11	New Mexico	34.3
12	Massachusetts	34.3
13	Florida	34.4
14	Virginia	34.4
15	New Jersey	34.6
16	Vermont	34.9
17	Pennsylvania	35.0
18	Delaware	35.4
19	Arizona	35.6
20	Illinois	35.8
21	Minnesota	36.1
22	Montana	36.1
23	Colorado	36.2
24	New Hampshire	36.3
25	North Dakota	36.7
26	Nevada	37.4
27	Rhode Island	37.5
28	Ohio	37.6
29	Utah	37.6
30	Tennessee	37.7
31	Kansas	37.9
32	Wisconsin	38.1
33	Missouri	38.2
34	Michigan	38.3
35	Iowa	38.5
36	Idaho	38.7
37	Nebraska	38.9
38	Louisiana	39.0
39	Maine	39.1
40	Indiana	39.5
41	Oklahoma	39.5
42	Texas	40.0
43	Georgia	40.1
44	Wyoming	40.4
45	Kentucky	40.5
46	Alabama	40.7
47	South Carolina	41.4
48	North Carolina	42.1
49	West Virginia	42.1
50	Arkansas	43.2
51	Mississippi	43.4
	United States	35.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

While the proportion of births to unmarried white women in 1984 was far lower than that among black women, the state with the highest percentage of births to unmarried white women had a rate nearly three times greater than the state with the lowest percentage.

In 1984, births to unmarried white teens were not as common in southern states as elsewhere. However, this means only that white teens were more likely to be married at the time of their baby's birth. Regardless of the timing of the marriage, many of the problems associated with teen parenthood, including ignorance about contraception, prenatal care, and parenting skills, as well as an increased risk of poverty, affected white teen mothers.

TABLE 2.18A

Percent of Infants Born to Unmarried Mothers, White, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Utah	7.1
2	Alabama	7.3
3	Mississippi	7.5
4	North Dakota	7.9
5	North Carolina	7.9
6	Georgia	8.3
7	South Carolina	8.3
8	Louisiana	8.8
9	Idaho	8.9
10	South Dakota	9.3
11	Arkansas	9.7
12	Virginia	9.9
13	Michigan	10.1
14	Nevada	10.2
15	Kansas	10.2
16	Wyoming	10.3
17	Texas	10.4
18	Nebraska	10.5
19	Alaska	10.7
20	Oklahoma	10.8
21	Montana	10.9
22	Iowa	11.2
23	Tennessee	11.2
24	Minnesota	11.2
25	Missouri	11.8
26	Wisconsin	12.1
27	New Jersey	12.5
28	New Hampshire	12.6
29	Illinois	12.6
30	Hawaii	12.7
31	Delaware	12.9
32	Indiana	13.0
33	Florida	13.0
34	Ohio	13.1
35	Kentucky	13.3
36	Pennsylvania	13.6
37	Maryland	13.9
38	Colorado	14.0
39	Massachusetts	14.8
40	West Virginia	14.9
41	Connecticut	14.9
42	Rhode Island	15.0
43	Washington	15.1
44	Vermont	15.8
45	Maine	16.1
46	Oregon	16.2
47	District of Columbia	17.1
48	New York	17.7
49	Arizona	18.5
50	New Mexico	20.4
51	California	21.1
	United States	13.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.18B

Percent of Births to Teens that Were to Unmarried Mothers, White, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Alabama	22.8
2	Mississippi	23.4
3	Georgia	23.8
4	Arkansas	24.9
5	North Carolina	26.7
6	Louisiana	27.5
7	Texas	27.6
8	South Carolina	28.6
9	Tennessee	29.5
10	Oklahoma	30.3
11	Hawaii	30.8
12	Kentucky	32.0
13	Utah	32.1
14	Nevada	33.0
15	Idaho	33.1
16	Virginia	34.7
17	West Virginia	36.2
18	Alaska	36.5
19	Florida	36.6
20	Kansas	37.5
21	Wyoming	37.7
22	South Dakota	38.4
23	Missouri	39.6
24	North Dakota	40.0
25	Michigan	40.5
26	Indiana	42.2
27	Delaware	44.9
28	Montana	45.0
29	Ohio	45.3
30	New Mexico	47.8
31	Illinois	48.0
32	Iowa	48.1
33	Nebraska	48.6
34	Maryland	49.5
35	Colorado	50.0
36	Oregon	50.9
37	Pennsylvania	51.2
38	Arizona	51.4
39	Washington	51.4
40	Maine	52.4
41	California	52.5
42	New Hampshire	53.4
43	Wisconsin	54.4
44	Vermont	55.2
45	Minnesota	57.9
46	New Jersey	58.7
47	Connecticut	60.9
48	New York	61.0
49	Rhode Island	61.1
50	Massachusetts	63.0
51	District of Columbia	68.5
	United States	42.0

TABLE 2.18C

Percent of All Unmarried Mothers who Were Teens, White, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	District of Columbia	16.3
2	Hawaii	19.0
3	Alaska	24.9
4	California	27.3
5	New York	28.5
6	Connecticut	30.4
7	New Jersey	32.1
8	Florida	32.1
9	Maryland	32.5
10	Oregon	33.2
11	Washington	34.0
12	Delaware	34.5
13	Nevada	34.8
14	Vermont	35.0
15	Virginia	35.2
16	Illinois	35.4
17	Massachusetts	35.4
18	New Mexico	36.1
19	New Hampshire	36.5
20	Minnesota	36.8
21	Pennsylvania	36.8
22	Colorado	36.8
23	Arizona	37.1
24	South Dakota	37.1
25	Montana	37.1
26	Wisconsin	38.1
27	North Dakota	38.6
28	Utah	38.6
29	Texas	38.7
30	Iowa	38.7
31	Rhode Island	38.8
32	Idaho	39.0
33	Georgia	39.4
34	Maine	39.4
35	Kansas	39.6
36	Missouri	39.7
37	Nebraska	39.7
38	Tennessee	40.1
39	Michigan	40.1
40	Wyoming	40.4
41	Ohio	40.7
42	Oklahoma	41.0
43	Indiana	41.6
44	Louisiana	41.6
45	Kentucky	42.6
46	West Virginia	42.9
47	South Carolina	43.3
48	Arkansas	43.7
49	North Carolina	44.0
50	Alabama	44.8
51	Mississippi	45.1
	United States	34.8

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Black infants were far more likely than other infants to be born to unmarried women in 1984. The proportion of births to unmarried black women in the state with the highest percentage was more than six times greater than that in the state with the lowest percentage.

In all states with a significant number of black births to teens in 1984, the vast majority occurred to unmarried women. In twenty of forty-one states, 90 percent or more occurred to unmarried women. However, in all states in 1984, the majority of births to black unmarried women occurred to those older than twenty.

TABLE 2.19A

Percent of All Infants Born to Unmarried Mothers, Black, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Hawaii	11.6
2	Alaska	28.5
3	Wyoming	34.0
4	New Mexico	34.9
5	Colorado	39.8
6	Utah	39.9
7	Washington	41.2
8	Texas	47.7
9	Nevada	48.9
10	Kansas	51.6
11	West Virginia	52.0
12	Arizona	52.5
13	South Carolina	53.0
14	Oklahoma	53.2
15	North Carolina	53.4
16	Rhode Island	54.8
17	Michigan	55.0
18	Massachusetts	55.4
19	California	55.6
20	Louisiana	55.8
21	Virginia	55.8
22	Oregon	56.4
23	Georgia	56.8
24	Alabama	57.0
25	Minnesota	58.1
26	Mississippi	59.9
27	Arkansas	60.3
28	Iowa	60.7
29	New York	61.4
30	Kentucky	61.5
31	Maryland	61.9
32	New Jersey	62.7
33	Florida	63.1
34	Tennessee	64.0
35	Connecticut	64.2
36	Ohio	64.7
37	Delaware	65.2
38	Nebraska	66.2
39	Indiana	66.5
40	District of Columbia	66.8
41	Missouri	68.3
42	Wisconsin	69.8
43	Pennsylvania	70.2
44	Illinois	70.9
	United States	59.2

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.19B

Percent of Births to Teens that Were to Unmarried Mothers, Black, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Alaska	60.0
2	New Mexico	74.6
3	Colorado	79.3
4	Washington	80.6
5	Texas	80.8
6	Kansas	81.5
7	Nevada	83.4
8	Michigan	84.4
9	Oklahoma	84.6
10	California	85.6
11	Louisiana	86.5
12	Delaware	86.7
13	West Virginia	87.1
14	Arizona	88.1
15	North Carolina	88.2
16	Arkansas	88.3
17	South Carolina	88.3
18	Virginia	88.8
19	Georgia	89.0
20	Alabama	89.3
21	Kentucky	89.7
22	Mississippi	90.0
23	Florida	90.4
24	Connecticut	91.6
25	New York	91.7
26	Massachusetts	92.1
27	Rhode Island	92.4
28	Nebraska	92.5
29	Oregon	92.5
30	Ohio	92.6
31	Iowa	92.7
32	Tennessee	92.8
33	District of Columbia	92.8
34	New Jersey	93.8
35	Minnesota	93.9
36	Indiana	93.9
37	Pennsylvania	94.0
38	Wisconsin	94.2
39	Maryland	94.6
40	Illinois	94.7
41	Missouri	94.8
	United States	89.5

TABLE 2.19C

Percent of All Unmarried Mothers who Were Teens, Black, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	California	28.2
2	New York	28.3
3	Alaska	28.8
4	District of Columbia	29.8
5	Massachusetts	31.2
6	Washington	31.9
7	Connecticut	32.5
8	Pennsylvania	32.8
9	Rhode Island	32.8
10	Maryland	33.0
11	Oregon	33.7
12	Ohio	33.8
13	Virginia	34.1
14	Colorado	34.1
15	Minnesota	34.3
16	Kansas	34.6
17	Delaware	35.8
18	Florida	35.9
19	Illinois	36.1
20	Kentucky	36.1
21	Tennessee	36.2
22	Indiana	36.3
23	West Virginia	36.3
24	Oklahoma	36.5
25	Michigan	36.6
26	New Jersey	36.6
27	Missouri	36.8
28	Iowa	37.6
29	Arizona	37.8
30	Nebraska	38.1
31	Louisiana	38.4
32	Wisconsin	38.9
33	Alabama	39.7
34	Georgia	40.4
35	South Carolina	41.0
36	North Carolina	41.6
37	New Mexico	41.8
38	Texas	42.0
39	Arkansas	43.0
40	Mississippi	43.2
41	Nevada	43.2
	United States	35.7

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Births to unmarried mothers were far more common among nonwhites than whites in 1984. In twenty-five states and the District of Columbia, 50 percent or more of all nonwhite births were to unmarried women.

In all but one state in 1984, more than 50 percent of births to nonwhite teens were to unmarried women.

Out of all births to nonwhite, unmarried women, only about one-third occurred to teens in 1984.

TABLE 2.20A

Percent of Infants Born to Unmarried Mothers, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	New Hampshire	12.9
2	Idaho	19.5
3	Utah	20.2
4	Hawaii	21.2
5	Maine	22.6
6	Wyoming	27.1
7	Colorado	29.0
8	Washington	29.6
9	Oregon	32.3
10	Nevada	33.1
11	California	33.6
12	Alaska	35.0
13	Oklahoma	36.8
14	North Dakota	41.1
15	Rhode Island	41.4
16	Texas	41.8
17	Kansas	42.0
18	Minnesota	44.1
19	Massachusetts	44.1
20	Iowa	45.0
21	New Mexico	46.0
22	Montana	46.1
23	West Virginia	46.3
24	Arizona	47.4
25	Michigan	50.7
26	North Carolina	50.8
27	Virginia	50.9
28	South Carolina	52.1
29	Louisiana	53.7
30	New York	54.8
31	South Dakota	54.9
32	Georgia	55.2
33	Nebraska	55.3
34	New Jersey	55.5
35	Alabama	56.1
36	Wisconsin	57.4
37	Kentucky	57.5
38	Maryland	57.9
39	Arkansas	58.0
40	Connecticut	58.4
41	Mississippi	59.1
42	Florida	60.5
43	Ohio	60.8
44	Indiana	61.9
45	Tennessee	61.9
46	Delaware	62.9
47	Missouri	64.1
48	Pennsylvania	64.6
49	Illinois	65.2
50	District of Columbia	66.0
	United States	50.8

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.20B

Percent of Births to Teens that Were to Unmarried Mothers, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Idaho	42.2
2	Utah	50.4
3	Wyoming	50.5
4	Oklahoma	62.0
5	Colorado	66.9
6	Hawaii	67.5
7	Alaska	69.5
8	Nevada	69.7
9	Washington	72.1
10	Kansas	73.5
11	North Dakota	74.5
12	Oregon	75.2
13	California	75.9
14	South Dakota	77.1
15	Texas	78.6
16	New Mexico	78.9
17	Montana	79.1
18	Arizona	80.8
19	Minnesota	82.1
20	Michigan	82.3
21	Rhode Island	82.8
22	West Virginia	85.1
23	Louisiana	85.4
24	Iowa	86.1
25	North Carolina	86.3
26	Delaware	86.5
27	Arkansas	87.0
28	Wisconsin	87.4
29	Virginia	87.8
30	South Carolina	87.8
31	Georgia	88.7
32	Alabama	88.9
33	Kentucky	89.0
34	Nebraska	89.0
35	Mississippi	89.6
36	Florida	89.7
37	Massachusetts	90.2
38	Connecticut	90.3
39	New York	90.9
40	Ohio	91.6
41	Tennessee	91.9
42	District of Columbia	92.6
43	Indiana	93.0
44	New Jersey	93.0
45	Pennsylvania	93.2
46	Missouri	93.8
47	Illinois	94.0
48	Maryland	94.0
	United States	86.4

TABLE 2.20C

Percent of All Unmarried Mothers who Were Teens, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	California	27.6
2	New York	28.1
3	South Dakota	28.9
4	District of Columbia	29.8
5	New Mexico	30.3
6	Alaska	30.9
7	Massachusetts	30.9
8	Utah	30.9
9	Connecticut	32.2
10	Washington	32.5
11	Maryland	32.6
12	Arizona	32.7
13	Colorado	32.7
14	North Dakota	32.8
15	Pennsylvania	32.8
16	Rhode Island	33.5
17	Minnesota	33.6
18	Ohio	33.9
19	Virginia	34.0
20	Idaho	34.1
21	Oregon	34.2
22	Montana	34.4
23	Kansas	34.6
24	Hawaii	35.6
25	Florida	35.9
26	Delaware	36.0
27	Illinois	36.0
28	Kentucky	36.0
29	Tennessee	36.2
30	Indiana	36.2
31	West Virginia	36.3
32	New Jersey	36.6
33	Michigan	36.6
34	Missouri	36.7
35	Nebraska	37.2
36	Iowa	37.2
37	Oklahoma	37.8
38	Wisconsin	38.1
39	Louisiana	38.3
40	Alabama	39.7
41	Wyoming	40.3
42	Georgia	40.3
43	South Carolina	40.9
44	Nevada	41.2
45	North Carolina	41.4
46	Texas	41.7
47	Arkansas	42.9
48	Mississippi	43.2
	United States	35.3

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

In 1986, levels for AFDC payment and Medicaid coverage for families with no other income were extremely low. The unweighted national average among states was only 47.4 percent of the federal poverty level. In no state did payment levels reach the federal poverty level. Thirty-two states maintained payment levels less than 50 percent of the federal poverty level for a family of three.

The standard of need is the threshold for determining AFDC and Medicaid eligibility for most families with children. In theory it reflects the amount a family would need to subsist, but in most states it is much lower. In 1986 the standard of need in Alabama was $384 a month for a family of three (50.5 percent of the federal poverty level).

In 1986, payment levels to AFDC recipients were so low that in more than half of the states, actual payments did not meet their own official definition of the amount a family would need to subsist. The payment level in Alabama was only 31 percent of its standard of need, which was only 50.5 percent of the federal poverty level (see Table 2.21b). In dollars, this meant a payment of $118 per month for a family of three.

TABLE 2.21A

AFDC Maximum Payment Levels* and Medicaid Coverage for Families with No Other Income as a Percent of the Federal Poverty Level, 1986

Rank	*State Name*	*Percent*
1	Alaska	77.9
2	California	77.2
3	Vermont	76.7
4	Connecticut	74.9
5	Wisconsin	72.9
6	Minnesota	69.5
7	Rhode Island	66.2
8	New York	65.4
9	Washington	64.7
10	Michigan	63.9
11	Massachusetts	56.8
12	Hawaii	53.5
13	New Jersey	53.2
14	Oregon	52.2
15	Kansas	51.8
16	Maine	51.2
17	New Hampshire	51.2
18	Pennsylvania	50.3
19	Iowa	50.1
20	Utah	49.5
21	North Dakota	48.8
22	Wyoming	47.4
23	Montana	46.6
24	Virginia	46.6
25	Nebraska	46.1
26	Colorado	45.5
27	Illinois	44.9
28	Maryland	43.3
29	South Dakota	43.3
30	District of Columbia	43.0
31	Oklahoma	40.8
32	Idaho	40.0
33	Ohio	39.7
34	Delaware	39.2
35	Arizona	38.6
36	Nevada	37.5
37	Missouri	36.1
38	New Mexico	33.9
39	Indiana	33.7
40	Florida	33.2
41	West Virginia	32.8
42	North Carolina	32.4
43	Georgia	29.3
44	South Carolina	26.2
45	Kentucky	25.9
46	Arkansas	25.3
47	Louisiana	25.0
48	Texas	24.2
49	Tennessee	20.1
50	Mississippi	15.8
51	Alabama	15.5

*All AFDC recipients are entitled to Medicaid coverage.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.21B

States' Standard of Need as a Percent of the Federal Poverty Level, 1986

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Vermont	116.2
2	Washington	102.2
3	Utah	91.2
4	Illinois	89.5
5	District of Columbia	86.1
6	Ohio	85.8
7	Wisconsin	84.3
8	Michigan	82.8
9	Arizona	81.7
10	Pennsylvania	80.8
11	Louisiana	78.9
12	Alaska	77.9
13	California	77.2
14	Texas	75.5
15	Connecticut	74.9
16	Idaho	72.9
17	Maine	70.5
18	Minnesota	69.5
19	Rhode Island	66.2
20	Iowa	65.4
21	New York	65.4
22	West Virginia	65.4
23	North Carolina	64.7
24	Oklahoma	62.0
25	Maryland	59.9
26	Massachusetts	57.8
27	Montana	56.3
28	Colorado	55.4
29	Hawaii	53.5
30	New Jersey	53.2
31	Florida	52.6
32	Oregon	52.2
33	Kansas	51.8
34	Virginia	51.7
35	New Hampshire	51.2
36	Alabama	50.5
37	North Dakota	48.8
38	South Carolina	48.6
39	Georgia	48.2
40	Wyoming	47.4
41	Nebraska	46.1
42	Tennessee	44.6
43	South Dakota	43.3
44	Missouri	41.1
45	Indiana	40.4
46	Delaware	39.2
47	Mississippi	37.6
48	Nevada	37.5
49	New Mexico	33.9
50	Arkansas	30.8
51	Kentucky	25.9

TABLE 2.21C

AFDC Payment Level as a Percent of the AFDC Standard of Need, 1986

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Alaska	100.0
2	California	100.0
3	Connecticut	100.0
4	Delaware	100.0
5	Hawaii	100.0
6	Kansas	100.0
7	Kentucky	100.0
8	Minnesota	100.0
9	Nebraska	100.0
10	Nevada	100.0
11	New Hampshire	100.0
12	New Jersey	100.0
13	New Mexico	100.0
14	New York	100.0
15	North Dakota	100.0
16	Oregon	100.0
17	Rhode Island	100.0
18	South Dakota	100.0
19	Wyoming	100.0
20	Massachusetts	98.4
21	Virginia	90.1
22	Missouri	87.8
23	Wisconsin	86.4
24	Indiana	83.4
25	Montana	82.7
26	Colorado	82.2
27	Arkansas	82.1
28	Michigan	77.3
29	Iowa	76.7
30	Maine	72.6
31	Maryland	72.3
32	Vermont	66.0
33	Oklahoma	65.8
34	Washington	63.3
35	Florida	63.0
36	Pennsylvania	62.2
37	Georgia	60.9
38	Idaho	54.9
39	Utah	54.3
40	South Carolina	53.9
41	Illinois	50.1
42	West Virginia	50.1
43	District of Columbia	50.0
44	North Carolina	50.0
45	Arizona	47.2
46	Ohio	46.3
47	Tennessee	45.1
48	Mississippi	42.0
49	Texas	32.1
50	Louisiana	31.7
51	Alabama	30.7

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

In no state were all women and children who were financially eligible for WIC actually served by the program in 1986. In forty-four states, fewer than 50 percent of eligible women and children were served.

TABLE 2.21D

Percent of WIC Financially Eligible Population Served, 1986

Rank	*State Name*	*Rate*
1	Vermont	76.5
2	Connecticut	65.3
3	Wyoming	62.8
4	Mississippi	57.1
5	Ohio	56.9
6	Nevada	53.2
7	Rhode Island	50.1
8	District of Columbia	49.8
9	Georgia	49.7
10	New Hampshire	49.4
11	Minnesota	48.7
12	Wisconsin	48.3
13	Illinois	47.6
14	Pennsylvania	47.4
15	Michigan	46.1
16	North Carolina	43.2
17	West Virginia	42.7
18	Iowa	42.0
19	Massachusetts	41.5
20	Louisiana	41.1
21	New York	40.8
22	Alabama	40.7
23	Maryland	40.7
24	Maine	40.6
25	North Dakota	40.4
26	South Carolina	39.5
27	Kansas	39.2
28	Delaware	39.1
29	Tennessee	39.0
30	Virginia	39.0
31	Montana	38.6
32	Kentucky	38.1
33	New Jersey	37.9
34	Colorado	37.3
35	Texas	36.5
36	Oklahoma	36.0
37	Indiana	35.8
38	Oregon	35.1
39	Florida	34.8
40	Missouri	34.5
41	Nebraska	33.8
42	Arkansas	32.8
43	South Dakota	32.4
44	Washington	31.5
45	California	31.1
46	Utah	31.1
47	Arizona	28.4
48	Idaho	28.1
49	Alaska	27.6
50	New Mexico	24.9
51	Hawaii	22.7
	United States	40.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.22A

Infant Mortality Rates for Cities of 500,000+ Population, All Races, 1984

Rank	City Name	Rate
1	San Jose	7.9
2	San Francisco	8.8
3	Columbus	9.6
4	San Diego	9.7
5	Phoenix	9.9
6	Los Angeles	11.0
7	Boston	11.7
8	Dallas	11.7
9	Jacksonville	11.9
10	Houston	11.9
11	San Antonio	12.8
12	New York City	13.0
13	Indianapolis	13.3
14	Milwaukee	14.2
15	Memphis	14.8
16	Philadelphia	15.5
17	New Orleans	16.0
18	Chicago	16.5
19	Baltimore	16.8
20	Cleveland	16.8
21	Detroit	20.9
22	District of Columbia	21.0

In general, infant mortality in the United States' largest cities tends to be more serious than for the nation as a whole. Only five of the twenty-two largest cities had 1984 infant mortality rates equal to or less than the national average (10.8 deaths per 1,000 live births).

TABLE 2.22B

Infant Mortality Rates for Cities of 500,000+ Population, White,* 1984

Rank	City Name	Rate
1	Memphis	7.8
2	Columbus	8.3
3	San Jose	8.3
4	San Francisco	8.5
5	San Diego	8.8
6	Los Angeles	9.2
7	Philadelphia	9.2
8	Indianapolis	9.4
9	Phoenix	9.4
10	Jacksonville	9.5
11	Dallas	9.7
12	Cleveland	10.2
13	Boston	10.4
14	Houston	10.6
15	New Orleans	10.8
16	Chicago	11.1
17	Milwaukee	11.7
18	New York City	11.7
19	San Antonio	12.5
20	Baltimore	13.2
21	Detroit	13.8

The disparity between black and white infant mortality rates in the United States' twenty-two largest cities in 1984 was startling. The highest white infant mortality rate among the cities (13.8 deaths per 1,000 live births in Detroit) was nearly identical to the lowest large city black rate that year (13.5 deaths per 1,000 live births in Columbus). In seven cities black infant mortality rates were more than twice as high as white rates.

* Washington, D.C. was not ranked because there were too few white infant deaths to calculate a reliable rate.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.22C

Infant Mortality Rates for Cities of 500,000+ Population, Nonwhite,* 1984

Rank	*City Name*	*Rate*
1	San Francisco	9.0
2	San Diego	11.9
3	Columbus	12.8
4	Boston	13.4
5	New York City	14.6
6	Houston	14.6
7	Dallas	15.2
8	Los Angeles	15.6
9	Jacksonville	16.3
10	New Orleans	17.9
11	Milwaukee	18.1
12	Baltimore	18.5
13	Memphis	19.2
14	Chicago	21.5
15	Philadelphia	21.8
16	Cleveland	23.0
17	Detroit	23.3
18	Indianapolis	23.6
19	District of Columbia	24.1

In 1984 there was a substantial disparity in infant mortality rates among cities. The District of Columbia's nonwhite infant mortality rate, the highest among the twenty-two largest cities in 1984, was nearly three times greater than the nonwhite rate in San Francisco, the city with the lowest rate that year. Similarly, Indianapolis, the city with the highest black infant mortality rate, had a rate that was 1.8 times higher than the black rate in Columbus and 1.6 times higher than the rate in Dallas.

TABLE 2.22D

Infant Mortality Rates for Cities of 500,000+ Population, Black,* 1984

Rank	*City Name*	*Rate*
1	Columbus	13.5
2	Boston	14.6
3	New York City	15.6
4	Dallas	15.7
5	Houston	16.7
6	Jacksonville	16.8
7	San Diego	18.1
8	New Orleans	18.5
9	Milwaukee	18.5
10	Baltimore	18.7
11	Memphis	19.3
12	Los Angeles	19.9
13	Philadelphia	22.3
14	Chicago	22.6
15	Cleveland	23.2
16	Detroit	23.7
17	District of Columbia	24.3
18	Indianapolis	24.5

Infant mortality rates can vary dramatically even within states. For example, in 1984 there was a remarkable difference in infant mortality rates between Columbus, Ohio and Cleveland, Ohio. A black infant born in Cleveland was 1.7 times more likely to die in the first year of life than one born in Columbus.

*The following cities were not ranked because there were too few infant deaths to calculate a reliable rate: for nonwhites, Phoenix, San Antonio, and San Jose; for blacks, Phoenix, San Antonio, San Francisco, and San Jose.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.23A

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 20, for Cities of 500,000+ Population, All Races, 1984

Rank	City Name	Rate
1	Staten Island	6.1
2	Queens	8.0
3	San Francisco	8.1
4	San Diego	9.6
5	San Jose	10.7
6	Manhattan	11.1
7	New York City*	12.1
8	Los Angeles	12.5
9	Boston	13.3
10	Brooklyn	13.4
11	Columbus	14.4
12	Jacksonville	16.1
13	Phoenix	16.1
14	Houston	16.2
15	Indianapolis	16.6
16	Bronx	17.2
17	Milwaukee	17.6
18	Philadelphia	17.9
19	District of Columbia	18.0
20	Memphis	18.5
21	San Antonio	18.6
22	New Orleans	18.7
23	Dallas	19.1
24	Chicago	19.1
25	Cleveland	19.6
26	Detroit	20.4
27	Baltimore	23.7

There were substantial disparities among the nation's largest cities in the percentage of births to teens of all races in 1984. The proportion in Baltimore is nearly four times higher than that in Staten Island. Baltimore had the highest proportion of births to teens in 1980 (26.2 percent), in 1982 (24.2 percent), and in 1984 (23.7 percent).

TABLE 2.23B

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 20, for Cities of 500,000+ Population, White, 1984

Rank	City Name	Rate
1	District of Columbia	4.1
2	Staten Island	4.6
3	Queens	5.1
4	San Francisco	6.3
5	New Orleans	7.7
6	Manhattan	8.2
7	San Diego	8.6
8	Memphis	8.9
9	New York City*	9.5
10	Milwaukee	10.0
11	Boston	10.0
12	Brooklyn	10.3
13	Chicago	11.4
14	Philadelphia	11.6
15	Columbus	11.7
16	Los Angeles	11.7
17	San Jose	11.8
18	Jacksonville	12.4
19	Detroit	13.0
20	Indianapolis	13.1
21	Dallas	14.2
22	Houston	14.3
23	Phoenix	14.9
24	Baltimore	15.1
25	Cleveland	15.2
26	Bronx	16.8
27	San Antonio	18.3

The disparities between the percentage of black births to teens and the percentage of white births to teens varied greatly among cities. For example, the proportion of births to teens was five times greater for blacks than for whites in the District of Columbia, three times greater for blacks than for whites in Milwaukee and in New Orleans, and only a small fraction greater for blacks than for whites in the Bronx and in San Jose.

*These tables include data on births to teens for New York City as a whole and, in addition, break out the data for the five boroughs of the city of New York (Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island).

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

TABLE 2.23C

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 20, for Cities of 500,000+ Population, Nonwhite, 1984

Rank	City Name	Rate
1	San Jose	7.6
2	San Francisco	9.6
3	San Diego	12.0
4	Queens	12.6
5	Staten Island	14.3
6	Los Angeles	14.6
7	Manhattan	15.2
8	New York City*	15.7
9	Brooklyn	16.6
10	Boston	17.4
11	Bronx	17.8
12	Houston	20.1
13	Columbus	21.1
14	District of Columbia	21.2
15	San Antonio	21.8
16	New Orleans	22.8
17	Detroit	23.0
18	Jacksonville	23.0
19	Cleveland	23.6
20	Philadelphia	24.2
21	Memphis	24.3
22	Phoenix	24.6
23	Indianapolis	25.9
24	Chicago	26.3
25	Dallas	27.5
26	Baltimore	27.8
27	Milwaukee	29.0

The composition of a city's nonwhite population may be reflected in its trends in births to teens. For example, cities with large Asian populations, such as San Jose and San Francisco, had the lowest proportions of births to teens in 1984. This pattern is consistent with national trends in Asian births to teens.

TABLE 2.23D

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under 20, for Cities of 500,000+ Population, Black, 1984

Rank	City Name	Rate
1	San Jose	14.9
2	Queens	16.0
3	Brooklyn	17.5
4	New York City*	17.6
5	San Diego	17.7
6	Manhattan	18.1
7	Staten Island	18.4
8	Bronx	18.7
9	Los Angeles	19.5
10	Boston	19.8
11	District of Columbia	21.5
12	San Francisco	21.9
13	Columbus	22.6
14	Houston	23.0
15	Detroit	23.2
16	New Orleans	23.5
17	Jacksonville	23.5
18	San Antonio	23.7
19	Cleveland	24.0
20	Memphis	24.6
21	Philadelphia	25.3
22	Indianapolis	26.7
23	Chicago	27.6
24	Baltimore	28.1
25	Phoenix	28.1
26	Dallas	29.0
27	Milwaukee	30.2

Some cities had startlingly high proportions of black births to teens. In Philadelphia and Indianapolis one in four black births was to a teen mother in 1984. In Dallas and Milwaukee births to teens accounted for nearly one-third of all black births.

*These tables include data on births to teens for New York City as a whole and, in addition, break out the data for the five boroughs of the city of New York (Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island).

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

State Fact Sheets

ALABAMA

State Fact Sheet, 1984

	White	Nonwhite		Total
Births		Black	Total	
To all women	38,291	20,553	20,926	59,217
To all women age 19 and under	5,519	5,213	5,243	10,762
To women under age 15	62	202	204	266
Teen Births				
(As percentage of all births)				
To women age 19 and under	14.4%	25.4%	25.1%	18.2%
To women under age 15	0.2	1.0	1.0	0.4
Low-Birthweight Births				
Percentage of births that are low birthweight:				
To all women	5.7%	12.1%	12.0%	7.9%
To women age 19 and under	7.0	14.6	14.6	10.7
Percentage of all low-birthweight births:				
To women age 19 and under	17.6%	30.6%	30.4%	24.5%
Prenatal Care				
Percentage of babies born to women who began prenatal care in the first trimester:				
To all women	81.5%	58.8%	59.0%	73.6%
To women age 19 and under	60.0	42.4	42.4	51.5
Percentage of babies born to women who began prenatal care in the third trimester or not at all:				
To all women	3.9%	9.5%	9.5%	5.9%
To women age 19 and under	8.9	15.3	15.3	12.0
Infant Mortality				
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births				
Total infant deaths	9.7	19.2	18.9	12.9
Neonatal deaths	6.9	12.2	12.1	8.7
Postneonatal deaths	2.7	7.0	6.8	4.2

To meet the Surgeon General's 1990 goal for infant mortality for all races, Alabama will have to improve its rate of progress slightly. It will meet the goal for whites, but for nonwhites and blacks will have to increase its rate of progress by 1.5 times. The state will meet the goal for neonatal mortality. To meet the goal for postneonatal mortality, the state will have to double its current rate of progress. To meet the goal for low-birthweight births for all races, Alabama will have to improve its rate of progress by 6 times, and for blacks and nonwhites by a multiple of 10. The state will have to improve its rate of progress by 1.5 times for whites to meet the low birthweight goal. To meet the goal for prenatal care, the state will have to multiply its current rate of progress by 7.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

ALABAMA

Medicaid, AFDC, and WIC Fact Sheet, 1986

Medicaid Coverage Standards

Benefits provided to:	*Yes*	*No*
• All children under age 18 who meet AFDC financial eligibility requirements	☐	■
• Medically needy children and pregnant women	☐	■

AFDC Coverage Standards

Program includes benefits to:

• Pregnant women, with no other children, from the sixth month or later	☐	■
• Two-parent unemployed families	☐	■

State-Funded Cash Assistance For Pregnant Women

State offers non-AFDC cash assistance to pregnant women:

• From medical verification if prior to sixth month	☐	■
• Based on pregnancy status alone*	☐	■

AFDC Financial Standards

AFDC monthly standard of need for a family of three:

$384.00

- As a percent of the monthly federal poverty level ($760.00):

51%

AFDC monthly benefit level for a family of three:

$118.00

- As a percent of the monthly federal poverty level ($760.00):

16%

- As a percent of the monthly standard of need ($384.00):

31%

WIC Coverage

Women and children served as a percentage of the eligible population:

41%

*Some states that have elected to make cash payments to pregnant women prior to the sixth month of pregnancy set additional eligibility criteria such as disability, thereby disqualifying many pregnant women. Other states require only financial eligibility and proof of pregnancy.

ALASKA

State Fact Sheet, 1984

	White	Nonwhite		Total
Births		Black	Total	
To all women	8,921	512	3,534	12,455
To all women age 19 and under	649	70	550	1,199
To women under age 15	4	—	4	8
Teen Births				
(As percentage of all births)				
To women age 19 and under	7.3%	13.7%	15.6%	9.6%
To women under age 15	—	—	0.1	0.1
Low-Birthweight Births				
Percentage of births that are low birthweight:				
To all women	4.3%	7.1%	6.1%	4.8%
To women age 19 and under	5.9	—	6.6	6.2
Percentage of all low-birthweight births:				
To women age 19 and under	9.8%	—	16.8%	12.3%
Prenatal Care				
Percentage of babies born to women who began prenatal care in the first trimester:				
To all women	78.8%	69.8%	67.4%	75.7%
To women age 19 and under	58.4	46.2	56.5	57.5
Percentage of babies born to women who began prenatal care in the third trimester or not at all:				
To all women	3.6%	—	8.0%	4.8%
To women age 19 and under	7.9	—	13.4	10.4
Infant Mortality				
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births				
Total infant deaths	9.3	—	16.1	11.2
Neonatal deaths	4.7	—	—	5.7
Postneonatal deaths	4.6	—	—	5.5

Alaska will meet the Surgeon General's 1990 goal for infant mortality for all races and whites but will have to increase the rate of progress by 7 times for nonwhites. The state already has met the goal for neonatal mortality but will not meet the goal for postneonatal mortality because it is moving in the wrong direction. It already has met the goals for low-birthweight births for all races, whites, nonwhites, and blacks. To meet the goal for prenatal care, the state will have to increase its current rate of progress by 3.5 times.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

ALASKA

Medicaid, AFDC, and WIC Fact Sheet, 1986

Medicaid Coverage Standards

Benefits provided to:	*Yes*	*No*
• All children under age 18 who meet AFDC financial eligibility requirements	■	□
• Medically needy children and pregnant women	□	■

AFDC Coverage Standards

Program includes benefits to:		
• Pregnant women, with no other children, from the sixth month or later	■	□
• Two-parent unemployed families	□	■

State-Funded Cash Assistance For Pregnant Women

State offers non-AFDC cash assistance to pregnant women:		
• From medical verification if prior to sixth month	■	□
• Based on pregnancy status alone*	■	□

AFDC Financial Standards

AFDC monthly standard of need for a family of three:

$740.00

- As a percent of the monthly federal poverty level ($950.00):

78%

AFDC monthly benefit level for a family of three:

$740.00

- As a percent of the monthly federal poverty level ($950.00):

78%

- As a percent of the monthly standard of need ($740.00):

100%

WIC Coverage

Women and children served as a percentage of the eligible population:

28%

*Some states that have elected to make cash payments to pregnant women prior to the sixth month of pregnancy set additional eligibility criteria such as disability, thereby disqualifying many pregnant women. Other states require only financial eligibility and proof of pregnancy.

PART 3

Appendix

TABLE 3.1

Infant Mortality Rates, by Race, U.S., 1940-1984

Year	All Races	White	Nonwhite		Ratio of Black to White
			Black	Total	
1940	47.0	43.2	72.9	73.8	1.69
1941	45.3	41.2	74.1	74.8	1.80
1942	40.4	37.3	64.2	64.6	1.72
1943	40.4	37.5	61.5	62.5	1.64
1944	39.8	36.9	59.3	60.3	1.61
1945	38.3	35.6	56.2	57.0	1.58
1946	33.8	31.8	48.8	49.5	1.53
1947	32.2	30.1	47.7	48.5	1.58
1948	32.0	29.9	45.7	46.5	1.53
1949	31.3	28.9	46.8	47.3	1.62
1950	29.2	26.8	43.9	44.5	1.64
1951	28.4	25.8	44.3	44.8	1.72
1952	28.4	25.5	46.9	47.0	1.84
1953	27.8	25.0	44.5	44.7	1.78
1954	26.6	23.9	42.9	42.9	1.79
1955	26.4	23.6	43.1	42.8	1.83
1956	26.0	23.2	42.4	42.1	1.83
1957	26.3	23.3	44.2	43.7	1.90
1958	27.1	23.8	46.3	45.7	1.95
1959	26.4	23.2	44.8	44.0	1.93
1960	26.0	22.9	44.3	43.2	1.93
1961	25.3	22.4	41.8	40.7	1.87
1962	25.3	22.3	42.6	41.4	1.91
1963	25.2	22.2	42.8	41.5	1.93
1964	24.8	21.6	42.3	41.1	1.96
1965	24.7	21.5	41.7	40.3	1.94
1966	23.7	20.6	40.2	38.8	1.95
1967	22.4	19.7	37.5	35.9	1.90
1968	21.8	19.2	36.2	34.5	1.89
1969	20.9	18.4	34.8	32.9	1.89
1970	20.0	17.8	32.6	30.9	1.83
1971	19.1	17.1	30.3	28.5	1.77
1972	18.5	16.4	29.6	27.7	1.80
1973	17.7	15.8	28.1	26.2	1.78
1974	16.7	14.8	26.8	24.9	1.81
1975	16.1	14.2	26.2	24.2	1.85
1976	15.2	13.3	25.5	23.5	1.92
1977	14.1	12.3	23.6	21.7	1.92
1978	13.8	12.0	23.1	21.1	1.93
1979	13.1	11.4	21.8	19.8	1.91
1980	12.6	11.0	21.4	19.1	1.95
1981	11.9	10.5	20.0	17.8	1.90
1982	11.5	10.1	19.6	17.3	1.94
1983	11.2	9.7	19.2	16.8	1.98
1984	10.8	9.4	18.4	16.1	1.96

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

TABLE 3.2

Neonatal Mortality Rates, by Race, U.S., Selected Years, 1950-1984

Year	All Races	White	Nonwhite		Ratio of Black to White
			Black	Total	
1950	20.5	19.4	27.8	27.5	1.43
1955	19.1	17.7	27.8	27.2	1.57
1960	18.7	17.2	27.8	26.9	1.62
1961	18.4	16.9	26.2	26.2	1.55
1962	18.3	16.9	27.1	26.1	1.60
1963	18.2	16.7	27.0	26.1	1.62
1964	17.9	16.2	27.4	26.5	1.69
1965	17.7	16.1	26.5	25.4	1.65
1966	17.2	15.6	25.9	24.8	1.66
1967	16.5	15.0	25.0	23.8	1.67
1968	16.1	14.7	24.3	23.0	1.65
1969	15.6	14.2	23.9	22.5	1.68
1970	15.1	13.8	22.8	21.4	1.65
1971	14.2	13.0	21.0	19.6	1.62
1972	13.6	12.4	20.7	19.2	1.67
1973	13.0	11.8	19.3	17.9	1.64
1974	12.3	11.1	18.7	17.2	1.68
1975	11.6	10.4	18.3	16.8	1.76
1976	10.9	9.7	17.9	16.3	1.85
1977	9.9	8.7	16.1	14.7	1.85
1978	9.5	8.4	15.5	14.0	1.85
1979	8.9	7.9	14.3	12.9	1.81
1980	8.5	7.5	14.1	12.5	1.88
1981	8.0	7.1	13.4	11.8	1.89
1982	7.7	6.8	13.1	11.3	1.93
1983	7.3	6.4	12.4	10.8	1.94
1984	7.0	6.2	11.8	10.2	1.90

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

TABLE 3.3

Postneonatal Mortality Rates, by Race, U.S., Selected Years, 1950-1984

Year	All Races	White	Nonwhite		Ratio of Black to White
			Black	Total	
1950	8.7	7.4	16.1	17.0	2.18
1955	7.3	5.9	15.3	15.6	2.59
1960	7.3	5.7	16.5	16.3	2.89
1961	6.9	5.5	14.7	14.5	2.67
1962	7.0	5.4	15.5	15.3	2.87
1963	7.0	5.5	15.8	15.4	2.87
1964	6.9	5.4	14.8	14.6	2.74
1965	7.0	5.4	15.2	14.9	2.81
1966	6.5	5.0	14.3	14.0	2.86
1967	5.9	4.7	12.5	12.1	2.66
1968	5.7	4.5	11.9	11.5	2.64
1969	5.3	4.2	10.8	10.4	2.57
1970	4.9	4.0	9.9	9.5	2.48
1971	4.9	4.1	9.3	8.9	2.27
1972	4.9	4.0	8.9	8.5	2.23
1973	4.7	4.0	8.8	8.3	2.20
1974	4.4	3.7	8.1	7.7	2.19
1975	4.5	3.8	7.9	7.4	2.08
1976	4.3	3.6	7.6	7.2	2.11
1977	4.2	3.6	7.6	7.0	2.11
1978	4.3	3.6	7.6	7.1	2.11
1979	4.2	3.5	7.5	6.9	2.14
1980	4.1	3.5	7.3	6.6	2.09
1981	3.9	3.4	6.6	6.0	1.94
1982	3.8	3.3	6.5	6.0	1.97
1983	3.9	3.3	6.8	6.0	2.06
1984	3.8	3.2	6.6	5.9	2.06

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.