



**ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS
in California 1966-1967**

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State of California Department of Public Health
Bureau of Maternal and Child Health
Bureau of Vital Statistics Registration



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ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA

1966 and 1967

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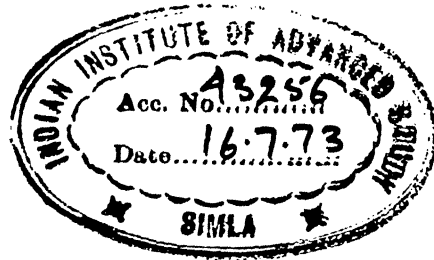
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BRIEF SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Since January, 1966, an inferential method has been applied for the statistical classification of live births in California by their apparent legitimacy status.

Approximately 337,000 live births to California women were registered each year in 1966 and 1967. Among these births, 31,804 (9.4 percent) were classified as apparently illegitimate in 1966; 35,215 (10.5 percent) in 1967.

The illegitimate birth rate--number of illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried women 15-44 years of age--was estimated for California as 25.6 in 1966 and 27.2 in 1967. Comparable estimates for the United States were 23.4 in 1966 and 23.9 in 1967.

The higher incidence of illegitimate births in California as compared with the United States was particularly marked for white women. In 1967, the rate was 20.7 illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried white women age 15-44 in California compared to 12.5 for the United States.

There are large differences in illegitimate birth rates by race. For 1967, rates for black women in California were estimated as ranging between 81.2 and 103.1 (depending on the method used to estimate the number of women at risk), compared to a rate of 20.7 for white women.

Forty percent of white illegitimate births and half of black illegitimate births were to mothers under age 20.

Second and higher order births comprised about one-third of the white illegitimate births and half of the black illegitimate births.

Although illegitimate births occur in all parts of the population, they are relatively more frequent in lower income and social class groups.

Unmarried mothers are more likely to delay prenatal care than are married mothers, and their babies tend to be of lower birthweight.

In addition to further information about illegitimate and legitimate births in California for 1966 and 1967, this report includes discussion of the sources and accuracy of the data and interpretation of the findings.

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA 1966 and 1967

INTRODUCTION

The illegitimate birth rate--the number of illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried women in the reproductive ages--has tripled in the United States since 1940.¹ The rise has occurred despite advances in contraceptive technology. This has emphasized that despite the existence of many theories and assumptions, the causes, consequences and means for preventing illegitimate births today are not fully understood.

Partly because of incomplete information, but also because of its relationship to the regulation of sexual and reproductive behavior through social norms, illegitimacy is a subject that has generated considerable public and professional controversy. The high incidence of illegitimate births in the black population, and the various interpretations of the causes and consequences of this as exemplified in the controversy over the Moynihan Report,² have made illegitimacy an even more sensitive subject. This report is presented in the belief that factual information can help clarify and resolve issues. Improved health for mothers and babies, and the removal of handicaps to the development of children, are agreed upon social goals that will be advanced by expanded knowledge of the phenomenon of illegitimacy.

In approaching the subject of illegitimate births, it is important to keep in mind that abortions and forced marriages are other possible outcomes for out-of-wedlock pregnancies. In the background for study of any of these phenomena there are always the questions, first, of the proportion of women in various groups who are sexually active, and second, the extent to which these women use contraception effectively and/or practice abortion. On both of these matters, our information is poor. Although this is also true of our knowledge of trends in the frequency of abortion, it has been hypothesized, on the basis of the Kinsey studies, that induced abortion has become less frequent than it was in the 1930's.³ In 1968, the first full year of operation of the California Therapeutic Abortion Act, there were 5,030 therapeutic abortions performed in the state (the number has since increased, rising to about 24,000 in the first six months of 1970). Of the 5,030 therapeutic abortions performed in 1968, 53 percent were among women never married and another 16 percent among women divorced or widowed. Also for 1968, it was estimated that an additional 76,600 California women underwent illegal abortions.⁴ Forced marriages, like illegitimate births, are known to have increased in recent years,⁵ and available data also indicate that forced marriages are more likely to end in divorce.⁶

California is among the states which do not record the legitimacy status of the child on the birth certificate. Nevertheless, because of the importance of the information, an inferential method has been applied since 1966 for the statistical classification of live births in the state by their apparent legitimacy status. A first report on the California data described the method of classification in detail, and determined that the method

was not overstating the true incidence of illegitimate births in the state.⁷ The first report was based on a sample of 18,125 birth certificates registered during the first nine weeks of 1966.

The purpose of the present report is to make available, summarize and aid in the interpretation of data that are now available for the more than 300,000 births registered for women residing in California each year during 1966 and 1967.

Information on births classified by legitimacy status is important from several standpoints. The birth certificate data reflect the experience of the general population. Although less detailed and with limitations as discussed in this report, the data give a different and more representative picture of illegitimate fertility than can be obtained from social agency or public welfare records. Numbers and characteristics of illegitimate births indicate the amounts and types of health and social services that are needed for unmarried mothers and their babies, and the data can be used to review and evaluate the services that are at present available. Though we know generally that low birth weight, infant death and other health risks are higher for illegitimate than for legitimate babies, the information that has been available does not include California births, and is deficient in other respects (see discussion page 24).

Statistics on the yearly incidence of illegitimate births do not show directly the causes and consequences of illegitimacy, but they do provide information that is relevant to an explanation. The statistics give a basis for developing and testing hypotheses, not only about illegitimate births, but also about premarital pregnancies and other inadequately studied phenomena related to the process of family formation.

METHODS

IDENTIFICATION OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

The method for statistical identification of illegitimate births which has been in statewide operation in California since January 1, 1966, is based mainly on comparing the surnames of parents and child. As applied in 1966 and 1967, the method also required that birth certificates be reviewed in the local health department and selected certificates stamped with the notation, "request omission from solicitation lists."

The use of this notation is not restricted to illegitimate births. It is a procedure, provided for in statutes enacted in 1965, that aims to protect the privacy and anonymity of a broad category of mothers, including mothers of infants who die or have congenital malformations, mothers who themselves are incapacitated, and mothers who simply do not want to be bothered by solicitors.

Birth records in California are available to the public and in many counties they are used to compile business contact lists. In the late 1940's and early 1950's, efforts were made to make the medical and health section of the birth certificate confidential, and considerable attention was given by the State Board of Health and the Legislature to the limitation of solicitation lists. However, these efforts were not successful.⁸ In 1965,

precipitated by an incident in which a mother whose baby had died was solicited by salesmen for baby products, statutory provisions were enacted which required identification in the local health department and exclusion from business contact lists of those birth certificates which indicate, "a mental, physical or social problem." The statutory provision, as well as a copy of the California birth certificate used in 1966 and 1967, are shown in Appendix 1 of this report. Also shown in Appendix 1 is the birth certificate as revised for use in 1968 and subsequent years.

Although the review and stamping of the birth certificate in the local health department does not by itself identify an illegitimate birth, it made practical a special statistical review and coding of designated certificates. In 1966 and 1967, in the State Health Department offices in Sacramento where all vital statistics records are ultimately received, designated certificates were reviewed to see if the reason for identification was apparent, and they were then coded into the following categories:

1. Child apparently born out-of-wedlock.
2. Congenital malformation in Item 28 of the certificate.
3. Known infant death.
4. Child to be adopted.
5. Information indicating maternal death or disability.
6. Parents or hospital request omission from solicitation lists.
7. Reason not apparent.

In the data presented in this report, only designated certificates coded to the category "child apparently born out-of-wedlock" were classified as illegitimate. The criteria used for coding to this category were as follows:

1. Omission of father's name.
2. Surname of child is different from surname of father.
3. Mother's maiden name is signed under "signature of parent or other informant."
(Item 17a of certificate)
4. Mother's surname in Item 17a is different from surname of father.
5. Signature of someone other than father or mother appears in Item 17a.
6. Place of birth is an institution used primarily for unwed mothers.

Although the above procedures and the statutory provisions were new on a statewide basis in 1966, they represented a formalization of practices that had been developing for a number of years in California hospitals and local health departments. In California, hospitals are frequently the source of birth notices that appear in newspapers, and the hospitals for the most part have been careful to arrange their records and procedures so that illegitimate births, as well as births of infants who die and others in the general category, are excluded from public announcements. Local health departments in the state have increasingly been concerned with health problems associated with illegitimacy. A number of the departments, well before 1966, began to keep statistics, generally unpublished, compiled by means that approximate the same methods now used on a statewide basis. When the new statutory provisions went into effect, January 1, 1966, they were well received because they fitted into established practices aimed at protecting the privacy and anonymity of certain mothers.

ACCURACY OF DATA

Although the 1966 and 1967 classification of illegitimate births in California yielded counts that were relatively high, there is every indication that the figures were undercounts. Reviews of samples of coded certificates and knowledge of local practices in identifying certificates to be designated "request omission from solicitation lists" have given no indication that legitimate births have erroneously been classified apparently illegitimate. At the same time, we know that efforts are made to conceal illegitimate births, particularly by women in higher social class groups, and it is logical to assume that a number of such births have been missed in the data.

In 1966 and 1967, only birth certificates designated "request omission from solicitation lists" were reviewed for possible classification as out-of-wedlock.⁹ This adds to our confidence that births classified as illegitimate were, in fact, illegitimate (i.e. that there has been no overcounting). The identification of a birth certificate frequently is initiated by a hospital indicating to the local health department that the birth should receive no publicity. A birth so identified by a hospital that also shows a name discrepancy on the certificate is almost certainly an illegitimate birth.

The procedure of coding only designated certificates for evidence of illegitimate birth probably caused some illegitimate births not to be counted. Local health departments vary in the extent to which their identification of birth records is initiated by hospital information, and they vary also in the consistency with which they review certificates for designation. Studies of undesigned birth certificates have shown that more than a negligible number were not identified when they should have been, particularly in certain relatively rural counties. Since initiation of the procedure in 1966, local health department review practices have improved. Improvement probably was particularly marked in 1968 and 1969 since, in the summer of 1968, review procedures were discussed at some length in regional conferences between state and local health department staff members working on vital statistics registration. Also, the certificate of live birth revised as of January 1, 1968, provided a space under Item 18 for this designation (see Appendix 1).

Although improvement in reporting probably will have more influence on the data for years after 1967, investigation was made of the extent to which improved use of the

“request omission from solicitation list” concept may have accounted for the increase in illegitimate births that was found for 1967 as compared to 1966. The conclusion was reached that this could account for only a small part of the statewide increase. Data were examined by county of occurrence (Tables A and B, Appendix 2). It was found that counties of the state known to have excellent communications with hospitals in their jurisdiction, and to have based all of their review of certificates in 1966 and 1967 on information provided by hospitals, showed increases in illegitimate births in 1967 as large or larger than was found in most other counties and statewide. Few changes in review procedures were made in 1967 by local health departments in the large counties of the state, and it is the large counties that determine the statewide experience (Tables A-F, Appendix 2). In 1967, 15 of California’s 58 counties registered the occurrence of 5,000 or more births. These 15 counties included 85 percent of all births, and 90 percent of the illegitimate births in California.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

In this report we have related births classified by apparent legitimacy status to age of mother and race as the main study variables. In making this choice of variables, we were guided not only by their importance, but also by the fact that information about age and race is available from the birth certificate. It should be remembered, however, that many other variables influence rates of illegitimate and legitimate births. For study of this subject, socioeconomic class (independent of race) and history of migration are important variables, but information about them is not available for the study period.¹⁰

In addition to race and age of mother, the present study includes data on occurrence of births in county hospitals, trimester of pregnancy when prenatal care began and birthweight. Much more definitive information on the health of legitimate and illegitimate babies will be available when studies now in progress are completed. These studies will include information from matched birth and infant death records, as well as more detailed data from birth certificates and other sources.

Much of the information in this report is presented in terms of numbers and proportions of births, legitimate, as well as illegitimate. Numbers and proportions are measurements important to persons concerned with planning health and social services, but because the measurements are, to a considerable extent, a reflection of the size and characteristics of the population of married and unmarried women, they have serious limitations for analytic purposes.

To determine the probability or risk of illegitimate birth in different parts of the population, and to adequately begin study of trends in the incidence of illegitimate births in California, it is necessary to estimate rates—to relate illegitimate births to the population of unmarried women and to make appropriate comparisons with figures that relate legitimate births to married women.

In spite of the inadequacy of information about the number and characteristics of women in California six and seven years after the 1960 census, this report includes estimates of rates. Rates based on different sets of assumptions were calculated, and upper and

lower limit estimates are presented, where appropriate. The rates can be used as the best information available at the present time, with the expectation that much better information will be available following the 1970 census.

We have made the effort to estimate illegitimate birth rates because these can give a very different picture of what is happening than does the proportion of all births that are illegitimate. Known as the illegitimacy ratio (and frequently expressed per 1,000 births--for this reason shown to two decimal places in the tables) the proportion illegitimate is a measurement that is readily available from a classification of births by legitimacy status, but it is also a measurement that can be misleading.¹¹

The denominator for the illegitimacy ratio is the total number of births and this number is a function of several variables--the number of women of childbearing age, the proportion of women married, and the level of legitimate, as well as illegitimate fertility. Over time, these variables may move in different directions. For example, since 1957, the illegitimacy ratio for the United States has been rising rapidly, but this has been due mostly to the decline in numbers and rates of legitimate births, rather than to any marked change since 1957 in the illegitimate birth rate.

METHOD OF ESTIMATING RATES

To calculate rates, it was necessary to estimate the number of married and unmarried women in California by age and race. This was done by starting with California Department of Finance estimates of the number of women by detailed ages as of July 1, 1966 and July 1, 1967.¹² Various assumptions were then applied to these figures in order to determine first, the proportion in each age group that were in each race group, and second, the proportion in each age-race group that were unmarried.

Not all of the rates estimated are included in this report. In calculating rates on various assumptions, it was found that the assumptions most influencing the size of illegitimate birth rates were those about the proportion of women in each group who were unmarried and, therefore, at risk of bearing an illegitimate child. This was particularly important for black women. In this instance, the assumptions about marital status made more difference in the rates than did the assumptions about the proportion who were black in each age group.

There is little information available about the size of race groups in California since the 1960 census. For the purpose of estimating denominators, a decision was made to use estimates prepared by the California Department of Finance which, though not specific by age and sex, are partly based on a 1966 study of the race distribution of public school pupils.¹³ The Department of Finance estimated that the Negro population of California comprised 7.1 percent of the total population as of July 1, 1966, and 7.2 percent as of July 1, 1967. This was a substantial increase over the 1960 census figure of 5.6 percent Negro. The Department of Finance proportions yielded reasonable general birth rates, which were then separated into legitimate and illegitimate components using various assumptions about the marital status of women exposed to the risk of bearing an illegitimate child.

A test of the accuracy of the estimated number of women by age and race was made by using the estimates to calculate age-race specific death rates. This test has its own

limitations because the number of deaths to women in these ages is relatively small. The death rates calculated were consistent with rates available for California in 1960 and for the United States in 1960, 1966 and 1967. The comparisons indicated, however, that the number of black women ages 35-44 may have been over-estimated. The death rate calculated for this group was relatively low. No correction was attempted. It should be kept in mind, therefore, that the birth rates shown in this report for black women ages 35 to 44 (illegitimate, legitimate and total) probably are low.

No attempt was made to calculate rates for race groups other than white and Negro,¹⁴ mainly because the number of illegitimate births was small. A start was made on estimating rates for the white population of Spanish surname, but this was abandoned mainly because of the need to know more about the comparability between the census method for classifying Spanish surname and the computer program for doing this that has been applied to California births.

Three sets of illegitimate and legitimate birth rates are presented in this report based on different assumptions about the proportion of unmarried women in each age-race group (Tables 10 and 11). The assumptions, sources and methods used to estimate denominators for the rates are described below and in Table J, Appendix 2.

Although three sets of rates are presented in this report, they will not be summarized in detail. The first and second sets are estimates of the actual situation in California and for the population of black women, they have been used as high and low estimates. Since the two sets of rates differed relatively little for the total population and for the white population, for these groups only the first set has been used in the text discussion and in charts.

The third set of rates was calculated assuming that California in 1966 and 1967 had the same proportion of unmarried women as had been estimated for the United States and used in the calculation of illegitimate birth rates for the country as a whole. This was done in order to facilitate comparisons between California and United States rates.

The method used to obtain the lower limit estimates of the illegitimate birth rates (and upper limit estimates of legitimate birth rates) for black women in California, made the assumption that separated women who were permanently living apart from their husbands were unmarried and at risk of bearing an illegitimate child. This assumption is not made in the calculation of the United States rates. It was applied to the California data since it seemed probable that many of the births properly counted as out-of-wedlock in the sense that the husband was not the father of the child,¹⁵ were births to women who had long been separated from their husbands, but who had not been divorced. If separated women were not included in the group at risk, the rates of illegitimate births obtained for black women ages 25 and over were higher than the rates of legitimate births. If separated women were included among those at risk, the illegitimate birth rates remained high, but were below the rates of legitimate births (Figure 4; Tables 10 and 11).

The California birth certificate does not ask about the marital status of the mother, but a review of certificates classified out-of-wedlock showed that about 20 percent of the

black illegitimate births were to women who had signed the birth certificate with a surname different from their maiden name and different from the name of the father.¹⁶ While these women could have been widowed or divorced, it seems about equally likely that they were, in fact, either separated or would report themselves separated in a census. In the 1960 census, 13 percent of Negro women in California ages 25-44 reported themselves widowed or divorced, but another 12 percent reported themselves separated and living permanently apart from their husbands.¹⁷ The comparable proportions for white women ages 25-44 were 7 percent widowed or divorced and 2 percent separated and living apart from husband.¹⁸ It can be seen that the inclusion or exclusion of separated women from among those at risk of bearing an illegitimate child in California will make a considerable difference in the size of the illegitimate birth rate for black women. On either basis, however, the rate is relatively high and reflects the high incidence of families headed by women in the black population.

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA AND THE UNITED STATES

Because they are of general interest and because they give an initial basis for analyzing the figures derived from the new classification of illegitimate births in California, this report includes a number of comparisons between California and the United States. It should be remembered, however, that all available data about illegitimate births have limitations. These are mainly that an unknown number of illegitimate births are recorded as legitimate, and that some illegitimate births may not be registered at all. United States data are influenced by unevenness in the methods and accuracy of reporting among the 34 states that ask questions about legitimacy on their birth certificates, as well as by lack of information from states where this information is not reported.

TRENDS

An analysis of illegitimacy trends in the United States for the period 1940-1965 was recently prepared by staff members in the Division of Vital Statistics, National Center for Health Statistics.¹⁹ This report emphasized the importance of the illegitimate birth rate (the proportion of unmarried women in the reproductive ages who bear an illegitimate child) for study of trends and differentials. Before publication of the report, difficulties in interpreting illegitimacy ratios had led to considerable confusion about whether there had, in fact, been a real increase in illegitimacy in the United States. The report used rates to establish, even with inadequately reported data, that for the country as a whole, illegitimacy increased substantially between 1940 and 1957; and then, between 1958 and 1965, the illegitimate birth rate remained approximately stable and did not fall, as did the legitimate birth rate.

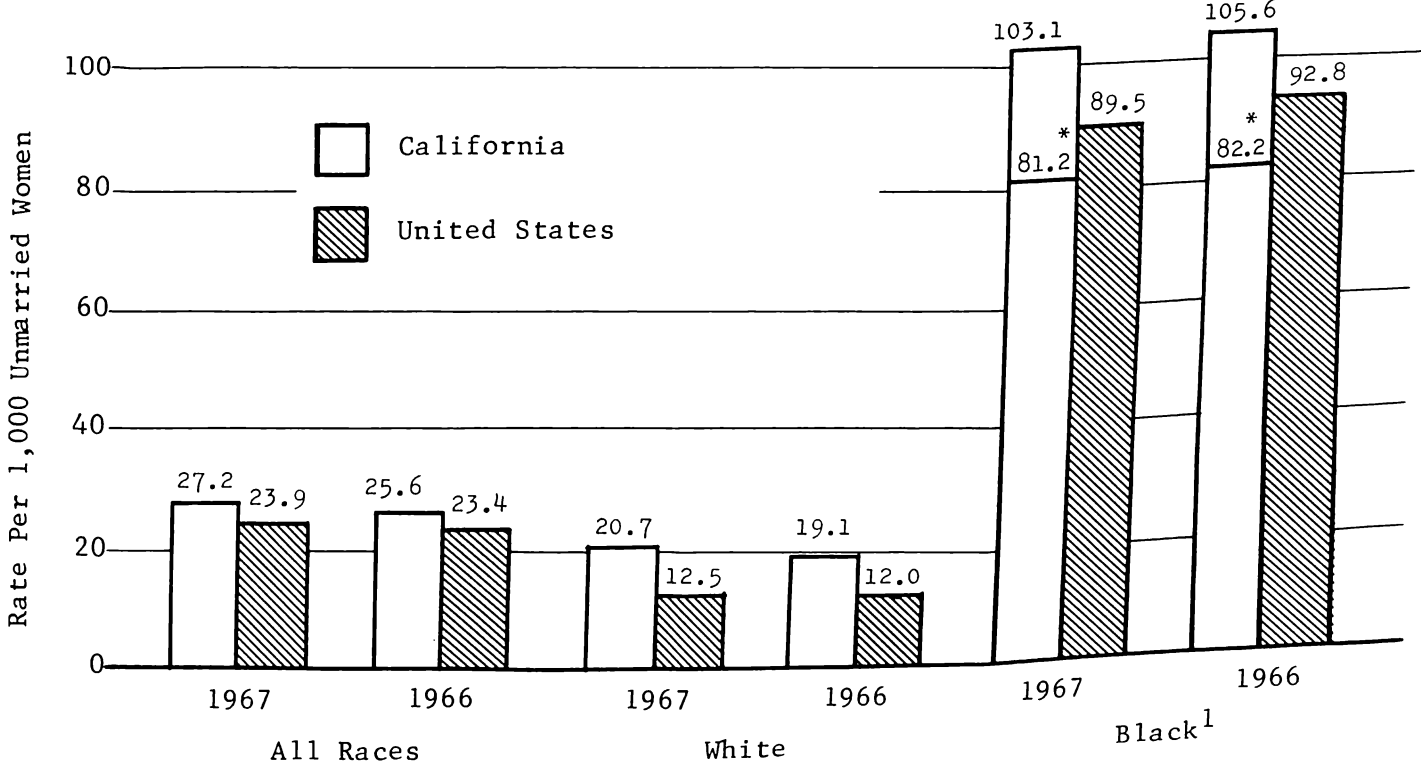
National data available since publication of the report (see Tables 10 and 11) showed a small rise in the United States illegitimate birth rate in 1967 compared to 1966. The rise in the general rate reflected rises in rates for younger women incompletely offset by decreases in rates for older women, particularly nonwhite women ages 25 and over.

Our report on illegitimate births in California is based on data for only two years and this is too short a period for definitive analysis of trends, particularly with the inadequacy

of available population data. However, a few general conclusions can be reached. The estimates of illegitimate birth rates made for California in 1966 and 1967 indicate a similar trend as described above for the United States. For California, however, the estimated increase in the illegitimate birth rate in 1967 over 1966 was greater than for the United States. In addition, the levels of the rates estimated for California were substantially above those for the United States, particularly for white women (Figure 1). Despite limitations in the information, it is evident that the rate of illegitimate birth is relatively high in California; and that in this state, as in the United States, the illegitimate birth rate rose in 1967 as compared to 1966, though for some parts of the population, it declined.

Figure 1

ESTIMATED ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH RATES



Source: Tables 1, 10, 11.

¹ Nonwhite for the United States.

* Unmarried women defined to include those separated and living apart from husband as well as those single, widowed and divorced.

Rates are essential for study of trends and differentials, but it is important to keep in mind that the rates that can be calculated from registered California births are period rather than cohort rates (period rates measure the probability that, for example, a woman

age 20-25 residing in California in 1967 will have a baby in 1967; cohort rates trace the fertility experience of a particular group of women—for example, the average number of births by age 25 to women born in California between 1930 and 1935). Period rates have the particular limitation that they reflect changes in the timing and spacing of births, as well as completed family size.

In this report, we are dealing with 1966 and 1967, a time period in which young women in the population were marrying and starting to have legitimate babies at older ages than did the cohort of women who were in their late teens and early twenties in the 1950's.²⁰ Reasons for this include the "marriage squeeze" (the relative scarcity, due to low birth rates in the 1930's and early 1940's, of marriage partners several years older than themselves for women born in the first years of the postwar baby boom), and they include the less favorable economic opportunities for young people that prevailed in the 1960's as compared to earlier postwar years.²¹ To some extent, therefore, the recent rise in the illegitimate birth rate at the younger ages probably reflects a decline in the opportunity to marry.

To some extent, also, the recent decline in both legitimate and illegitimate birth rates at the older ages reflects the prior childbearing experience of women who, by the mid-1960's, were in their thirties. These were the same women who were in their twenties a decade previously, and who had built families rapidly, starting at early ages. In the 1950's, these women showed exceptionally high rates for second and higher order births. Their low birth rates in the 1960's does not mean for them a decrease in completed family size, but rather that they already have a considerable number of children.²⁰

Because two years is too short a period for detailed analysis of trends, and also because the broad picture of differences in incidence is the same for both years, the remainder of this report will emphasize data for 1967.

A summary of the California data is shown in Table 1 and is described below.

Total births to women reported as California residents²² numbered 336,584 in 1967, a very small decline (less than 1 percent) from the 337,623 births recorded for 1966. Among these births, approximately 10 percent were classified as illegitimate, with both the number and proportion illegitimate rising substantially in 1967 as compared with 1966. In 1967, 35,215 or 10.5 percent of all births were classified as illegitimate. In 1966, there were 31,804 or 9.4 percent of all births classified as illegitimate.

The estimated rate of illegitimate births rose in 1967 as compared to 1966, but it rose relatively less than did the numbers and proportions illegitimate. In 1967, the rate was estimated as 27.2 illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried women ages 15-44. This was 6 percent above the rate of 25.6 estimated for 1966. It was also 14 percent above the 1967 rate estimated for the United States (Figure 1).

The estimate that 10.5 percent of all births in California in 1967 were illegitimate is higher than the estimate for the United States of 9.0 percent illegitimate (Table 2). United States data are based on reports from 34 states and the District of Columbia. Nonreporting states are assumed to have the same experience as reporting states in the same region of the country.

Table 1

SUMMARY OF NUMBERS, RATIOS AND ESTIMATED RATES
OF LIVE BIRTHS BY LEGITIMACY STATUS AND RACE
CALIFORNIA, 1966 - 1967

(By place of residence)

TYPE OF BIRTH AND MEASUREMENT	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK				OTHER RACES	
	1967	1966	1967	1966	1967	1966	Alternate Esti- mate of Rate ¹		1967	1966
							1967	1966		
Illegitimate Births										
Number	35,215	31,804	23,774	21,122	10,640	9,965			801	717
Ratio ²	10.46	9.41	8.10	7.18	34.15	31.59			6.58	5.92
Estimated Rate ³	27.2	25.6	20.7	19.1	103.1	105.6	81.2	82.2	a	a
First Births	16.0	14.3	13.0	11.5	51.7	49.1	40.7	38.2	a	a
2 Plus Births	11.2	11.3	7.7	7.6	51.4	56.5	40.5	44.0	a	a
Legitimate Births										
Number	301,369	305,819	269,487	272,867	20,511	21,574			11,371	11,378
Estimated Rate ³	107.4	110.7	106.2	109.4	106.8	113.6	125.0	132.4	a	a
First Births	38.1	37.5	38.2	37.6	30.2	30.4	35.4	35.5	a	a
2 Plus Births	69.3	73.2	68.0	71.8	76.6	83.2	89.6	96.9	a	a
All Live Births										
Number	336,584	337,623	293,261	293,989	31,151	31,539			12,172	12,095
Estimated Rate ³	82.1	84.3	79.6	81.6	105.5	111.0			a	a
First Births	31.1	30.3	30.4	29.6	37.8	36.7			a	a
2 Plus Births	51.0	54.0	49.2	52.0	67.7	74.3			a	a

¹ Unmarried women defined to include those separated and living apart from husband as well as those single, widowed and divorced.

² Illegitimate live births as percent of all live births.

³ Rate per 1,000 unmarried (illegitimate), married (legitimate) and total (all live births) women ages 15-44.

a Rate not estimated.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records; see text for methods used to estimate rates.

The 1967 California percent illegitimate remained high compared with the figure for all reporting states (9.5 percent) or with figures for most individual states (Table 2). Reporting states in the West, however, showed relatively high proportions, ranging from 8.9 percent for Alaska to 7.3 percent for Washington.

RACE AND ETHNIC GROUPS

Because of large differences in the proportion illegitimate between white and nonwhite births, comparisons between states are not very meaningful unless this difference is taken into account. When this is done (Table 2), it is seen that the California figures appear high only for white births. For white births in 1967, the percent illegitimate was 8.1 in California and 4.9 in the United States. For nonwhite births, the percentages went slightly in the opposite direction (26.4 for California as compared to 29.4 for the United States), but this comparison is misleading, mainly because the California nonwhite figure is diluted by Chinese and Japanese births, a very small part of which were found to be illegitimate. For black births in California, the finding for 1967 was 34.2 percent illegitimate (Table 3), and this is a more appropriate figure to compare with the 29.4 percent illegitimate reported for nonwhite births in the United States.

For both white and black births in California, the number and proportion illegitimate rose between 1966 and 1967, but estimated rates indicated that incidence of illegitimate birth had declined slightly for black women, while it had risen by about 8 percent for white women. A decline in second and higher order illegitimate births to black women accounted for the fall in the rate (Table 1).

Despite the indication that illegitimate birth rates have been declining for black women, the level of their rates remained high and there were large differences by race. Estimated illegitimate birth rates for black women in California were 4-5 times the size of the rates for white women, depending on the method used to estimate numbers of women at risk (Figure 1). Though second and higher order illegitimate births had declined for black women, the rate of these births in 1967 was approximately equal to the rate of first illegitimate births to black women (Table 1—more detail on rates by race and age of mother given in Tables 10 and 11 and discussed pages 31 to 37). In 1967, over a third of all black births were illegitimate (10,640 in a total of 31,151 births) compared to less than 10 percent for white births (23,774 in a total of 293,261 births).

In comparison to figures for the United States, those for California show a much larger share of all illegitimate births to be white births. In 1966 and 1967, white babies comprised two-thirds of the California illegitimate births, but less than half of the illegitimate births in the United States. Differences in population composition did not account for this. Rates of illegitimate birth for white women in California were estimated as approximately two-thirds higher than the rates for white women in the United States (see Figure 1 and discussion pages 30 to 31).

Where white births are concerned, the comparison is influenced by the inclusion of babies, partly or wholly, of Mexican or Latin American origin. The Spanish surname population

Table 2

ILLEGITIMACY RATIOS¹ BY RACE
CALIFORNIA, UNITED STATES AND SELECTED REPORTING STATES, 1966 - 1967

(By place of residence; illegitimate births are those occurring
in the area to women reported as residents of the area)

AREA	1967			1966		
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
California	10.46	8.10 7.51 ^a	26.40	9.41	7.18 6.72 ^a	24.48
United States	9.03	4.87	29.38	8.39	4.44	27.65
Reporting States ²	9.45	4.74	31.06	8.79	4.34	29.32
Pacific States						
Alaska	8.86	4.35	18.69	7.11	3.79	13.37
Hawaii	8.71	9.12 8.32 ^b	8.54	8.17	8.90 7.78 ^b	7.91
Oregon	7.70	7.19	21.49	6.62	6.08	19.94
Washington	7.27	6.58	16.88	7.05	6.35	17.37
Other Selected States ³						
Alabama	12.96	2.67	31.74	12.43	2.71	30.11
Delaware	14.06	5.79	48.34	12.18	4.97	40.27
Florida	13.73	6.16	34.14	12.96	5.31	32.12
Illinois	10.58	4.53	35.37	9.70	4.10	33.80
Kentucky	7.99	5.12	37.93	7.00	4.51	34.04
Louisiana	13.12	3.04	28.47	12.48	2.96	26.68
Minnesota	6.87	6.19	31.32	6.06	5.47	31.07
Mississippi	17.66	2.90	31.64	17.32	2.84	30.13
Missouri	9.74	4.57	37.77	9.00	4.12	35.34
North Carolina	12.16	3.70	31.39	11.73	3.60	29.89
South Carolina	15.19	3.64	32.53	14.31	3.56	30.16
Tennessee	11.94	4.32	39.14	11.22	4.03	36.87
Virginia	10.73	4.34	30.81	10.49	4.02	30.24
West Virginia	8.35	6.83	39.04	8.56	7.07	38.10

¹ Illegitimate live births as percent of total live births.

² Thirty-four states and the District of Columbia. States not reporting are Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Maryland, Massachusetts, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Vermont.

³ States with illegitimacy ratios in 1967 of over 10.00 total, or over 6.00 for white, or over 35.00 for nonwhite.

^a White, excluding Spanish surname; classified by computer program developed by Robert W. Buechley, modified 1969.

^b Caucasian (white, excluding Puerto Rican), as classified by Hawaii Department of Health.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, advance report from *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1967*, Vol. 1, Natality, Table 1-28.
State of Hawaii, Department of Health, *Statistical Report, 1966*, Table 21 and *Statistical Report, 1967*, Table 20.
State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table 3

LIVE BIRTHS BY LEGITIMACY STATUS, RACE AND SPANISH SURNAME
CALIFORNIA, 1966 - 1967

(By place of residence)

RACE	NUMBER			ILLEGITIMACY RATIO ¹	PERCENT DISTRIBUTION		
	Total	Legitimate	Illegitimate		Total	Legitimate	Illegitimate
1967							
Total	336,584	301,369	35,215	10.46	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	293,261	269,487	23,774	8.10	87.2	89.4	67.5
Not Spanish Surname ²	230,156	212,860	17,296	7.51	68.4	70.6	49.1
Spanish Surname ²	63,105	56,627	6,478	10.26	18.7	18.8	18.4
Black	31,151	20,511	10,640	34.15	9.3	6.9	30.2
American Indian	1,705	1,403	302	17.71	0.5	0.5	0.9
Chinese	2,534	2,467	67	2.64	0.8	0.8	0.2
Japanese	3,397	3,297	100	2.94	1.0	1.1	0.3
Filipino	2,182	2,038	144	6.59	0.6	0.7	0.4
Other and Unspecified	2,354	2,166	188	7.98	0.7	0.7	0.5
1966							
Total	337,623	305,819	31,804	9.41	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	293,989	272,867	21,122	7.18	87.1	89.2	66.4
Not Spanish Surname ²	232,319	216,706	15,613	6.72	68.8	70.9	49.1
Spanish Surname ²	61,670	56,161	5,509	8.93	18.3	18.4	17.3
Black	31,539	21,574	9,965	31.59	9.3	7.0	31.3
American Indian	1,735	1,448	287	16.54	0.5	0.5	0.9
Chinese	2,511	2,467	44	1.75	0.7	0.8	0.1
Japanese	3,586	3,485	101	2.81	1.1	1.1	0.3
Filipino	2,177	2,049	128	5.87	0.6	0.7	0.4
Other and Unspecified	2,086	1,929	157	7.53	0.6	0.6	0.5

¹ Illegitimate live births as percent of total live births.² Classified by computer program developed by Robert W. Buechley, modified, 1969.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

is an important group in California, estimated by the California Department of Finance as comprising about 11.1 percent of the total population in the State in 1967 (larger than the Negro population, estimated as 7.2 percent of the total).¹³ Using a computer program devised by Robert W. Buechley,²³ California births were classified by Spanish surname. (The computer derived data are not directly comparable to 1960 census data; the computer program classifies more cases as Spanish surnamed and comparability between the two sources needs further study.) Among non-Spanish surname births in California in 1967, the proportion illegitimate was found to be 7.5 percent, a figure not very much above the proportions reported for white births in Oregon and Washington (7.2 percent and 6.6 percent, respectively), and below the 8.3 percent illegitimate reported for white births in Hawaii (Table 2). For Spanish surname white births in California, the proportion illegitimate was 10.3 (Table 3).

Spanish surname births comprised 27 percent of the white illegitimate births and 21 percent of the white legitimate births (Table 3). While the inadequacy and non-comparability of available population data made it inadvisable to estimate specific birth rates for Spanish and non-Spanish surname women, it is clear that the Spanish surname women have relatively high birth rates in general—legitimate as well as illegitimate. It is clear, also, that while exclusion of the Spanish surname group would reduce the illegitimate birth rate for white women in California, the rate would still remain above the rate for white women in the United States. The illegitimate birth rate for non-Spanish surname white women in California in 1967 can be estimated as something greater than 15.1 per thousand (this lower limit estimate subtracts the Spanish surname births from the numerator of the rate, but makes no adjustment in the denominator).

Illegitimacy data for specific nonwhite races are not published for the United States, but they are available for California. Aside from black births, which have already been discussed, illegitimate births for other races numbered less than 1,000 in 1967. Figures by race are shown in Table 3.

As has been noted, the proportions illegitimate were low for Chinese and Japanese births, both of which showed slightly less than 3 percent illegitimate in 1967. A relatively high proportion illegitimate was found for American Indian births, which totaled 1,705 for California in 1967, with 302 of the births or 17.7 percent illegitimate. Births classified as Filipino showed an illegitimacy ratio of 6.6 percent and other and unspecified races showed a ratio of about 8 percent.

MATERNAL AGE AND PREVIOUS LIVE BIRTHS

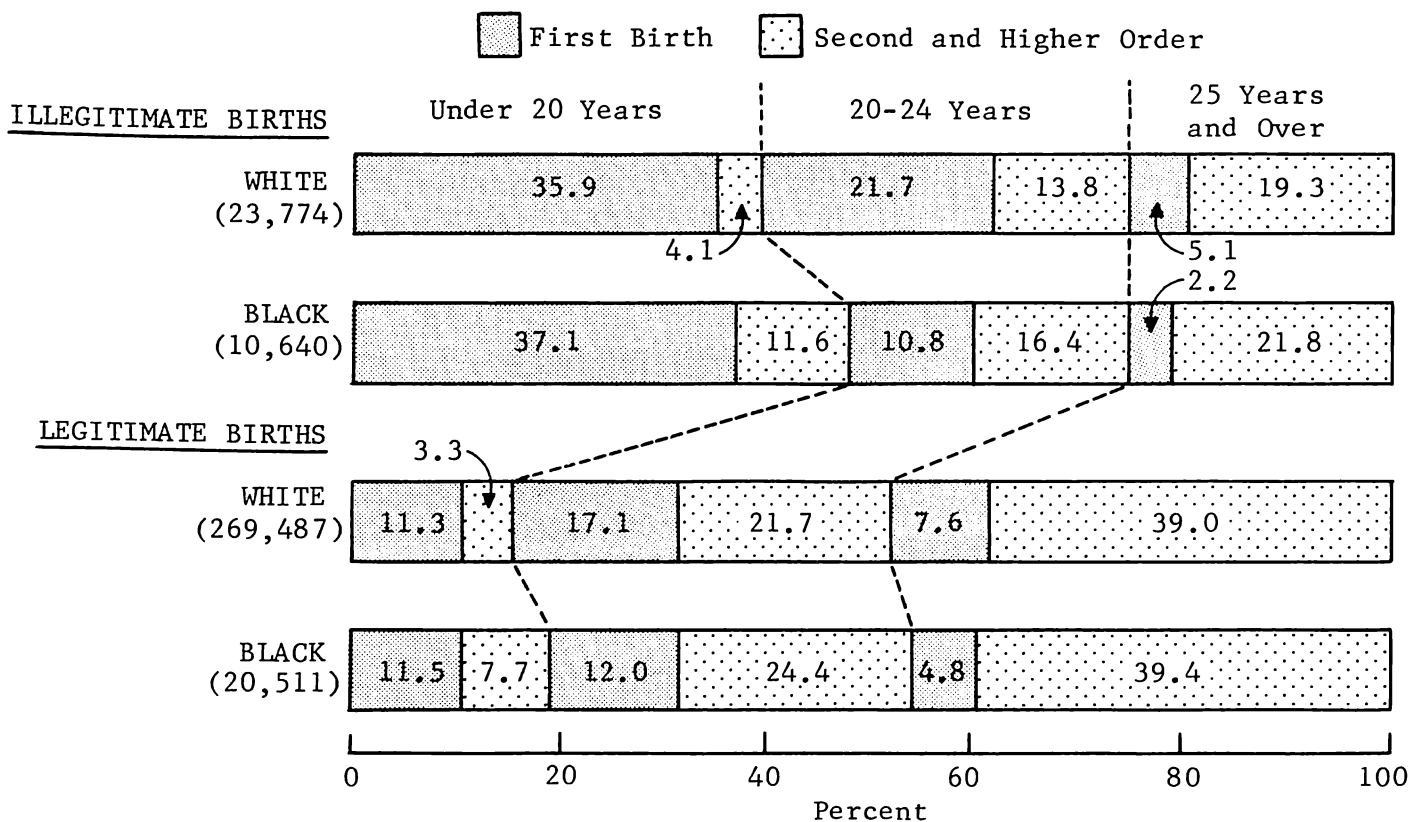
In comparison to mothers of legitimate babies, mothers of illegitimate babies were, on the average, much younger and they were more likely to be bearing a first child (Figure 2 and Table 4). This was true for both white and black births.

In comparison to white mothers, mothers of black babies were younger, and at the same time, showed larger proportions having second or higher order births (Figure 2 and Table 4). This was true for legitimate as well as illegitimate births. The finding reflects the fact that since about 1945, childbearing generally has started earlier and gone on to more higher order births, even at the younger ages, in the black population than in the white

population (see discussion pages 31 - 37). The finding also reflects the fact that, partly because of higher fertility in the previous 20 years, the California population of black women of childbearing age probably was, on the average in 1967, younger than the population of white women in these ages.

Figure 2

AGE AND PARITY DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHERS



Source: Table 4 and Table G, Appendix 2.

The California findings about the ages of unwed mothers and the number of children they have previously borne were similar to findings for the United States. Young women, as well as women who probably repeat a pattern of bearing children out-of-wedlock, accounted for a large share of the illegitimate births.

Among the nearly 24,000 illegitimate births to white women in California in 1967, 9,503, or 40 percent, were to women under age 20. Among the 10,640 black illegitimate births, 5,184 or nearly half, were to mothers under 20.

Table 4

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LIVE BIRTHS BY LEGITIMACY STATUS
LIVE BIRTH ORDER, RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
CALIFORNIA, 1967

(By place of residence)

LEGITIMACY STATUS, RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER	NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS	PERCENT BY LIVE BIRTH ORDER							PERCENT BY AGE OF MOTHER
		Total	1	2	3	4	5+	Unknown	
Illegitimate Births Total	35,215	100.0	58.9	15.6	8.8	6.0	10.6	0.1	
White	23,774	100.0	62.7	14.1	8.2	5.8	9.0	0.1	100.0
Under 20	9,503	100.0	89.7	8.6	1.4	0.2	a	0.1	40.0
20-24	8,457	100.0	61.1	20.5	10.5	5.2	2.5	0.1	35.6
25-29	3,076	100.0	27.2	17.2	18.2	15.8	21.5	0.1	12.9
30 and Over	2,731	100.0	14.0	10.2	14.0	15.9	45.8	0.1	11.5
Black	10,640	100.0	50.1	18.8	10.4	6.6	14.1	0.1	100.0
Under 20	5,184	100.0	76.0	18.1	4.8	0.7	0.2	0.1	48.7
20-24	2,905	100.0	39.6	25.7	17.8	9.6	7.1	0.1	27.3
25-29	1,339	100.0	11.9	16.5	16.4	16.9	38.2	0.1	12.6
30 and Over	1,211	100.0	6.0	7.4	10.3	12.5	63.8	0.1	11.4
Legitimate Births Total	301,369	100.0	35.4	27.9	16.2	9.1	11.4	0.1	
White	269,487	100.0	36.0	28.0	16.2	9.0	10.8	a	100.0
Under 20	39,473	100.0	77.5	19.4	2.7	0.4	a	a	14.6
20-24	104,438	100.0	44.1	35.9	13.9	4.4	1.7	a	38.8
25-29	70,247	100.0	21.4	30.7	23.7	13.3	10.9	a	26.1
30 and Over	55,308	100.0	9.7	15.7	20.4	18.3	35.8	a	20.5
Black	20,511	100.0	28.3	25.5	16.2	10.8	19.1	a	100.0
Under 20	3,955	100.0	59.8	30.0	7.8	1.7	0.6	0.1	19.3
20-24	7,467	100.0	32.9	33.2	18.5	9.1	6.4	a	36.4
25-29	4,779	100.0	14.5	22.4	21.3	16.3	25.5	0.1	23.3
30 and Over	4,305	100.0	6.9	11.2	14.5	16.1	51.3	a	21.0
All Live Births Total	336,584	100.0	37.9	26.6	15.4	8.8	11.3	a	
White	293,261	100.0	38.2	26.9	15.5	8.7	10.7	a	100.0
Under 20	48,976	100.0	79.9	17.4	2.5	0.3	a	a	16.7
20-24	112,895	100.0	45.4	34.8	13.6	4.4	1.8	a	38.5
25-29	73,323	100.0	21.6	30.1	23.5	13.4	11.3	a	25.0
30 and Over	58,039	100.0	9.8	15.4	20.2	18.3	36.3	a	19.8
Black	31,151	100.0	35.8	23.2	14.2	9.3	17.4	0.1	100.0
Under 20	9,139	100.0	69.0	23.3	6.1	1.2	0.4	0.1	29.3
20-24	10,372	100.0	34.8	31.1	18.3	9.2	6.6	0.1	33.3
25-29	6,118	100.0	14.0	21.2	20.3	16.3	28.2	0.1	19.6
30 and Over	5,516	100.0	6.8	10.4	13.5	15.3	54.0	a	17.7

^a Less than 0.1 percent.

Note: Percents are rounded independently and may not add to totals. Totals include births with age of mother unknown.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

In addition to illegitimate babies, we know that a considerable share of the legitimate babies born to teenage women were conceived out-of-wedlock.^{6,24} For California, data on this subject are limited to estimates of the proportion of divorcing women who were pregnant when they married. In the California divorce data for 1966, it was estimated that premarital pregnancy had occurred for approximately half of the divorcing women who were under age 20 when they married and who had borne a child in the first year after marriage.²⁵

A recent United States study of a sample of births occurring in the period 1964-1966²⁶, showed that premarital conception had occurred in approximately 40 percent of the first births to married mothers under age 20. This study also showed that out-of-wedlock conception was more likely to result in marriage before the birth of a child for a white woman than for a black woman.

Although we do not understand all of the mechanisms involved, we do know that pregnancy carries a higher risk for young teenagers than it does for women in their 20's.²⁷ This is one basis for a growing volume of special services for teenage pregnant girls. Because of the interest in these services, the number of legitimate and illegitimate births to teenage girls by detailed ages is shown below. For perspective, the number of legitimate and illegitimate births to women of all ages is also shown.

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS
California. 1967

AGE OF MOTHER	ALL RACES		WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate
Total All Ages	35,215	301,369	23,774	269,487	10,640	20,511	801	11,371
Total Under Age 20	14,968	44,275	9,503	39,473	5,184	3,955	281	847
12 or Under	20	4	4	3	15	1	1	—
13	99	16	46	11	53	4	—	1
14	409	87	208	73	199	14	2	—
15	1,207	736	653	629	535	88	19	19
16	2,292	3,152	1,313	2,762	942	341	37	49
17	3,038	7,300	1,844	6,496	1,132	679	62	125
18	3,676	13,199	2,422	11,711	1,184	1,235	70	253
19	4,227	19,781	3,013	17,788	1,124	1,593	90	400

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table 5

ILLEGITIMACY RATIOS¹ BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
CALIFORNIA AND UNITED STATES, 1966 - 1967

(By place of residence)

AGE OF MOTHER	ALL RACES		WHITE		BLACK	
	California	United States	California	United States	California	United States ²
	1967					
Total	10.46	9.03	8.10	4.87	34.15	29.38
Under 15	83.14	80.30	74.78	61.57	93.35	89.16
15-19	24.63	24.21	19.01	13.85	55.54	52.11
15-17	36.88	37.67	27.82	21.01	70.19	65.67
18-19	19.33	18.01	15.56	11.22	44.94	41.65
20-24	9.20	7.75	7.49	4.70	28.00	25.32
25-29	5.46	3.98	4.19	2.03	21.88	16.44
30-34	5.52	3.94	4.26	1.84	21.36	15.15
35-39	6.57	4.44	5.29	2.22	22.07	15.53
40 and Over	7.17	4.63	5.77	2.57	25.61	13.30
	1966					
Total	9.41	8.39	7.18	4.44	31.59	27.65
Under 15	82.51	76.28	72.92	62.51	92.95	87.88
15-19	21.53	21.85	16.34	12.36	52.20	50.09
15-17	33.62	35.30	24.71	19.53	67.78	63.52
18-19	16.65	16.08	13.30	9.85	41.17	40.04
20-24	8.38	7.13	6.67	4.16	26.49	23.72
25-29	5.15	4.07	3.91	1.99	20.44	16.75
30-34	5.30	3.88	3.96	1.83	20.58	14.77
35-39	5.64	4.16	4.43	2.14	20.68	14.59
40 and Over	6.15	4.31	5.00	2.31	20.61	13.72

¹ Illegitimate live births as percent of total live births.

² Negro and other races for the United States.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, advance report from *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1967*, Vol. 1, Natality, Table 1-26.
State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

For most, but not all, of the teenage unwed mothers, this was a first birth. One or more previous live births was recorded for 10 percent of the white unwed mothers under age 20, and for about one-fourth of the black unwed mothers in this age group (Figure 2 and Table 4). The birth certificate asks about previous live births to this mother, but there is no way to determine whether the previous births were legitimate or illegitimate.

By the time they have reached age 25, most women have married and have started to raise families. As a result, as age increases, the relative contribution of illegitimate births to all births drops off. Nevertheless, women ages 20-24 delivered almost as many illegitimate babies as did women under age 20 (Table 4). If illegitimate births are related to the population of unmarried women, those in their 20's show the highest rates of illegitimate births (see discussion page 30).

Women age 25 and over delivered slightly less than a quarter of both white and black illegitimate births, and for most of these women, this was not a first birth (Figure 2 and Table 4). One or more previous live births was reported for three-fourths of white unwed mothers age 25 and over and 90 percent of the black mothers in this age group. Four or more previous live births was the most frequent finding. Many of the unwed mothers over 25 possibly had their first illegitimate child when they were in their teens or early twenties. For others, this may be the first child born out-of-wedlock though the woman has older children born of a marriage now dissolved. The birth certificate does not indicate whether previous births were legitimate or illegitimate.

By age of mother, illegitimacy ratios showed a similar pattern for California and the United States, but with the ratios higher in California, particularly for white births and for births to women age 25 and over (Table 5).

COMPARISON OF FIRST AND HIGHER ORDER BIRTHS

The general age and birth order distributions described above combine the experience of two different groups of unmarried women: those who will have one illegitimate child only, and those who will repeat a pattern of childbearing out-of-wedlock. For this reason, it is useful to look at the data by birth order groups and, within these groups, to compare the characteristics of married and unmarried mothers.

It is not possible to estimate what proportion of the mothers having a first baby out-of-wedlock will not have any further illegitimate children. That such women account for a large share of the first illegitimate births can be inferred from the finding that first births were a very much larger share of illegitimate than of legitimate births; and from the related finding that illegitimacy ratios were much higher for first births (see text table below). In 1967, women having a first child accounted for about two thirds of the white illegitimate births and half of the black illegitimate births. These proportions were almost double the corresponding proportions of married mothers bearing a first child. The findings were similar for all age groups of mothers except black women age 25 and over, the group most likely to be repeating a pattern of childbearing out-of-wedlock.

PERCENT FIRST BIRTHS AND ILLEGITIMACY RATIO BY BIRTH ORDER GROUP
California, 1967

AGE OF MOTHER	FIRST BIRTHS AS PERCENT OF ALL BIRTHS				ILLEGITIMACY RATIO ¹			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	First Births	2 Plus Births	First Births	2 Plus Births
Total All Ages	62.7	36.0	50.1	28.3	13.32	4.87	47.82	26.51
Under 20	89.7	77.5	76.0	59.8	21.82	9.78	62.48	43.81
20-24	61.1	44.1	39.6	32.9	10.08	5.32	31.98	25.85
25-29	27.2	21.4	11.9	14.5	5.25	3.90	18.66	22.39
30 and Over	14.0	9.7	6.0	6.9	6.66	4.48	19.45	22.12

¹ Illegitimate live births as percent of all live births.

Source: Table G, Appendix 2.

If we look separately at the age distribution of women bearing a first child and those bearing a second or higher order child, we see that in each group, unmarried mothers were, on the average, considerably younger than the married (see text table below). The finding is most striking for first births, but is quite clear, also, for the second and higher order births.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHERS
California, 1967

AGE OF MOTHER	FIRST BIRTHS				SECOND AND HIGHER ORDER BIRTHS			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate
Total All Ages								
Number	14,910	97,008	5,327	5,811	8,839	172,409	5,301	14,689
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 20	57.3	31.5	74.0	40.7	10.9	5.2	23.4	10.8
20-24	34.6	47.5	21.6	42.2	37.2	33.9	32.9	34.1
25-29	5.6	15.5	3.0	11.9	25.3	32.0	22.2	27.8
30 and Over	2.5	5.5	1.4	5.1	26.5	29.0	21.5	27.3

Note: Percents are rounded independently and may not add to totals.

Source: Table G, Appendix 2.

Because of the larger share of first births among illegitimate as compared to legitimate births, the proportion of high order births in the illegitimate group appears relatively small in the percent distribution of all births by birth order (see text table below). If, however, we again consider separately the mothers having a second or higher order birth, we see that very high order births (fifth and higher) were relatively more frequent among the illegitimate births, even though, as has just been shown, the unmarried mothers were a younger group of women. For second and higher order white births, those of fifth and higher order comprised 24.1 percent of the illegitimate, but only 16.9 percent of the legitimate. For second and higher order black births, fifth and higher order births comprised a relatively large share of both groups; 28.2 percent of the illegitimate and 26.7 percent of the legitimate. While the number of women bearing higher order babies out-of-wedlock in any one year may not seem tremendously large, over a period of years, these women will bring a considerable number of children into the world, few of whom will be adopted and most of whom can be expected to suffer handicaps in their physical, emotional and educational development.

BIRTH ORDER DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHERS
California, 1967

LIVE BIRTH ORDER	ALL BIRTHS				SECOND AND HIGHER ORDER BIRTHS			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate
Total, Number	23,774	269,487	10,640	20,511	8,839	172,409	5,301	14,689
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
First	62.7	36.0	50.1	28.3				
Second	14.1	28.0	18.8	25.5	38.0	43.8	37.7	35.6
Third	8.2	16.2	10.4	16.2	22.2	25.2	20.9	22.7
Fourth	5.8	9.0	6.6	10.8	15.7	14.0	13.1	15.1
Fifth and Higher	9.0	10.8	14.1	19.1	24.1	16.9	28.2	26.7
Not Reported	0.1	a	0.1	a				

^a Less than 0.1 percent.

Note: Percents are rounded independently and may not add to totals.

Source: Table G, Appendix 2.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

In California, prior to the Medi-Cal program (mid-1966), most obstetric care provided to medically indigent women was in county hospitals. The data on births classified by legitimacy status and occurrence in a county hospital merit examination for two reasons. First, although it has many limitations, occurrence in a county hospital is as close as we can come to a measurement of socioeconomic status, independent of race, that is available from the California birth certificate for 1966 and 1967. Second, the data for these two years trace some important changes in the use of county hospitals that occurred with the initiation of the Medi-Cal program in March, 1966.

That illegitimacy is much more frequent in lower income and social class groups is reflected in the fact that at the start of the Medi-Cal program and even in the year following its inception, illegitimacy was much more frequent among county hospital births than among births in community and other hospitals of the state. In 1966, county hospitals accounted for the delivery of 47,324 babies or 14.0 percent of the California total of just under 338,000 births (Table 6). About 70 percent of the county hospital births were to white women, and 17.7 percent of these white women were unmarried and giving birth to an illegitimate child. For white births outside county hospitals, the proportion illegitimate was substantially lower, 5.8 percent. For black births, a similar pattern was found, although the proportion illegitimate in all categories was higher. Nearly 30 percent of the county hospital births were black and of these, 43.1 percent were illegitimate. Among the black births outside county hospitals, 24.2 percent were illegitimate. Illegitimacy ratios declined in the county hospitals in 1967 as compared to 1966, but a substantial difference between county hospital births and non-county hospital births still remained.

For this report, births were classified into two categories only by type of hospital—births occurring in and outside county hospitals. Births outside county hospitals were mostly (about 95 percent) births in community hospitals of various types (nonprofit, proprietary and district), with the remainder occurring mostly in federal and state owned facilities. Births not occurring in a hospital are a relatively small group in California. In 1967, there were 1,484 non-hospital births in the state. This was only .4 percent of all live births, but it is of interest to note that among the illegitimate births, .8 percent (283 births) occurred outside a hospital.

Between 1966 and 1967, the introduction and extension of the Medi-Cal program resulted in a shift of births out of county hospitals and into community hospitals. As can be seen from Table 6, illegitimate births comprised the major part of the shift. Statewide, there was a net decline of 1,039 births in 1967 as compared to 1966. Community hospitals as a group, however, increased their number of deliveries by 3,231 or 1.1 percent, while county hospital deliveries declined by 4,270 or 9.0 percent. County hospital deliveries declined for all categories of births except white, legitimate, first births. Community hospital deliveries, on the other hand, increased for most categories of births with largest increases for illegitimate births. Deliveries of white illegitimate babies in community

hospitals rose 26 percent, from 15,141 in 1966 to 19,050 in 1967. Deliveries of black out-of-wedlock babies in community hospitals rose by almost half, from 4,641 in 1966 to 6,918 in 1967. The rise for first illegitimate births in community hospitals was by about the same proportion as the rise for second and higher order illegitimate births (Table 6).

The shift of births out of county hospitals and other general influences such as the decline in births of higher order to almost all categories of mothers, made changes in the characteristics of mothers delivered in county hospitals. In 1967, a larger share of the county hospital births were to white mothers (74.5 percent in 1967 compared to 71.3 percent in 1966). For both white and black births in county hospitals, a larger proportion were first births in 1967 (Table 7). Despite the substantial general rise in the percent illegitimate for the State as a whole (Table 1), the percent illegitimate among county hospital births declined—for white births, from 17.7 percent in 1966 to 14.6 percent in 1967; for black births, from 43.1 percent in 1966 to 38.6 percent in 1967 (Table 7).

We have no information about the size and characteristics of the population served by county hospitals for maternity care, but it is apparent that this population changed rapidly between 1966 and 1967. This can be expected whenever there is a major change in the method of financing medical care. As a result, delivery in a county hospital is even more limited than in previous years as a useful index of the socioeconomic status of new mothers and their babies.

PRENATAL CARE AND BIRTHWEIGHT

A study of matched live birth and infant death records conducted in New York City over a period of years showed that unmarried mothers received less prenatal care and had more complications of pregnancy than married mothers.²⁸ There was a higher rate of prematurity among illegitimate children than among legitimate births and their risk of death was considerably higher. For 1963 births, the infant death ratios were as follows:

DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR OF AGE PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS New York City, 1963

LENGTH OF GESTATION	LEGITIMATE	ILLEGITIMATE
Premature	158.0	183.5
Full Term	9.5	15.3

Source: Reference Number 1, page 17.

Table 6

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS BY LEGITIMACY STATUS, TYPE OF HOSPITAL
RACE AND LIVE BIRTH ORDER
CALIFORNIA, 1966 - 1967

(By place of residence)

RACE, LEGITIMACY STATUS, AND LIVE BIRTH ORDER	NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS						PERCENT CHANGE (1967 FROM 1966)		
	County Hospital			Other ¹			County Hospital	Other ¹	All Live Births
	1967	1966	Difference	1967	1966	Difference			
Total	43,054	47,324	-4,270	293,530	290,299	3,231	-9.0	1.1	-0.3
White	32,247	33,747	-1,500	261,014	260,242	772	-4.4	0.3	-0.2
Illegitimate	4,724	5,981	-1,257	19,050	15,141	3,909	-21.0	25.8	12.6
First	2,286	2,593	- 307	12,624	10,100	2,524	-11.8	25.0	17.5
2 Plus	2,427	3,386	- 959	6,412	5,034	1,378	-28.3	27.4	5.0
Legitimate	27,523	27,766	- 243	241,964	245,101	-3,137	- 0.9	-1.3	-1.2
First	7,735	7,020	715	89,273	86,889	2,384	10.2	2.7	3.3
2 Plus	19,781	20,746	- 965	152,628	158,143	-5,515	- 4.7	-3.5	-3.6
Black	9,645	12,367	-2,722	21,506	19,172	2,334	-22.0	12.2	-1.2
Illegitimate	3,722	5,324	-1,602	6,918	4,641	2,277	-30.1	49.1	6.8
First	1,875	2,312	- 437	3,452	2,323	1,129	-18.9	48.6	14.9
2 Plus	1,845	3,012	-1,167	3,456	2,315	1,141	-38.7	49.3	-0.5
Legitimate	5,923	7,043	-1,120	14,588	14,531	57	-15.9	0.4	-4.9
First	1,456	1,532	- 76	4,355	4,258	97	- 5.0	2.3	0.4
2 Plus	4,467	5,511	-1,044	10,222	10,272	- 50	-18.9	-0.5	-6.9
Other Races	1,162	1,210	- 48	11,010	10,885	125	- 4.0	1.1	0.6
Illegitimate	251	287	- 36	550	430	120	-12.5	27.9	11.7
Legitimate	911	923	- 12	10,460	10,455	5	- 1.3	0.0	-0.1

¹ Community hospital births, mostly; see text for discussion.

Note: Totals include births with live birth order unknown.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table 7

LIVE BIRTHS IN COUNTY HOSPITALS
PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS AND ILLEGITIMACY RATIOS
BY RACE, LIVE BIRTH ORDER AND AGE OF MOTHER
CALIFORNIA, 1966 - 1967

(By place of residence)

RACE, LIVE BIRTH ORDER AND AGE OF MOTHER	ILLEGITIMATE		LEGITIMATE		ALL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMACY RATIO ¹	
	1967	1966	1967	1966	1967	1966	1967	1966
Total Births in County Hospitals	8,697	11,592	34,357	35,732	43,054	47,324	20.20	24.49
White, Number	4,724	5,981	27,523	27,766	32,247	33,747	14.65	17.72
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
First Births	48.4	43.4	28.1	25.3	31.1	28.5	22.81	26.97
Under 20	27.2	24.8	16.8	16.0	18.4	17.6	21.70	25.00
20-24	16.5	15.2	9.0	7.3	10.1	8.7	23.96	30.88
25 and Over	4.7	3.4	2.3	1.9	2.7	2.2	26.20	27.26
2 Plus Births	51.4	56.6	71.9	74.7	68.9	71.5	10.93	14.03
Under 20	5.7	6.0	8.8	9.9	8.4	9.2	10.01	11.59
20-24	17.3	20.9	28.6	28.6	26.9	27.2	9.41	13.62
25 and Over	28.3	29.7	34.5	36.2	33.6	35.0	12.36	15.00
Black, Number	3,722	5,324	5,923	7,043	9,645	12,367	38.59	43.05
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
First Births	50.4	43.4	24.6	21.8	34.5	31.1	56.29	60.15
Under 20	37.2	32.3	14.8	13.5	23.5	21.6	61.25	64.32
20-24	11.0	9.8	8.3	6.8	9.3	8.1	45.55	52.25
25 and Over	2.1	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.8	1.4	47.34	40.94
2 Plus Births	49.6	56.6	75.4	78.3	65.4	68.9	29.23	35.34
Under 20	11.8	12.7	12.5	13.1	12.2	12.9	37.12	42.28
20-24	16.6	19.2	29.9	29.4	24.8	25.0	25.82	33.03
25 and Over	21.2	24.8	33.0	35.8	28.4	31.1	28.81	34.31

¹ Illegitimate live births as percent of total live births.

Note: Percents are rounded independently and may not add to totals.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

For California, a study is now in progress that has matched birth and infant death records for 1966 and 1967, as well as other years. Such matching is necessary to obtain infant mortality rates by legitimacy status and other variables.

It will be several months before the California infant mortality data are available and pending study of the matched data, we have not attempted detailed tabulation and analysis of the health information that could be compiled by legitimacy status from the birth certificate alone. We do, however, have data about the trimester of pregnancy when the mother started prenatal care, and we have one tabulation concerning the birthweight of legitimate and illegitimate babies in 1966.

The findings from the California data on prenatal care and birthweight are similar to the findings in New York City. Unmarried pregnant women are slower to start prenatal care and the birthweight of illegitimate babies is lower than the birthweight of legitimate babies. In regard to birthweight, the California data also show that the lower birthweight of the illegitimate babies remains even when, in addition to race, age of mother and birth order are held constant (Table 9). The influence of these latter variables was not identified in the New York City data and the importance of the findings for illegitimate births were questioned on this basis.²⁹

In recent years, the proportion of women receiving late or no prenatal care has been declining in California. Nevertheless, in 1967, late or no prenatal care was recorded for 8.4 percent of all California births (21,870 first received care during their third trimester of pregnancy and another 6,390 received no prenatal care at all). In another 2.5 percent or 8,370 of the births, the information on prenatal care for the mother was not reported (Table 8).

It should be noted that more than two-thirds of the births with late or no prenatal care were births to married mothers. Thus, while late or no care is relatively much more frequent among illegitimate births (21.9 percent—Table 8) than among legitimate births (6.9 percent), illegitimacy is only one contributing influence.

Socioeconomic status and birth order, as well as race, are other variables long known to be associated with delayed prenatal care and this is evident from the data. Higher proportions with late or no care were found for county hospital births, for black births and for higher order births (Table 8 and text table below). Within each of these categories, the percent with late or no care was greater for the illegitimate births. One important finding of the data by legitimacy status was that mothers of white illegitimate babies showed the highest proportions with late or no care of any group identified (Text table below). This was true for mothers of higher order illegitimate babies as well as mothers of first illegitimate babies. Though several hypotheses could be presented, this finding is not easily explained and, like other findings in this report, merits further and more direct study.

The figures on low birthweight available at present are limited to 1966 and are not in as much detail as will be prepared as part of the study on infant mortality. The figures refer to the proportion of births five pounds eight ounces or less and are shown in Table 9. It is seen that the proportion with low birthweight is consistently higher for illegitimate than for legitimate babies.

Table 8

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LIVE BIRTHS BY LEGITIMACY STATUS, TYPE OF HOSPITAL
RACE AND TRIMESTER PRENATAL CARE BEGAN
CALIFORNIA, 1967

(By place of residence)

RACE AND TRIMESTER OF PREGNANCY PRE- NATAL CARE BEGAN	ILLEGITIMATE			LEGITIMATE			ALL BIRTHS		
	Total	County Hospital	Other ¹	Total	County Hospital	Other ¹	Total	County Hospital	Other ¹
All Races: Number	35,215	8,697	26,518	301,369	34,357	267,012	336,584	43,054	293,530
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
First Trimester	36.4	26.7	39.6	68.1	36.8	72.2	64.9	34.8	69.2
Second Trimester	38.4	35.4	39.4	22.7	34.1	21.1	24.3	34.4	22.8
Third Trimester	16.4	18.5	15.8	5.4	16.8	3.9	6.5	17.2	4.9
No Prenatal Care	5.5	16.0	2.1	1.5	9.7	0.4	1.9	11.0	0.6
Unknown	3.2	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.6	2.4	2.5	2.7	2.5
White: Number	23,774	4,724	19,050	269,487	27,523	241,964	293,261	32,247	261,014
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
First Trimester	35.2	22.8	38.2	69.4	36.2	73.3	66.6	34.1	70.7
Second Trimester	38.0	31.6	39.5	21.7	33.1	20.4	23.0	32.8	21.7
Third Trimester	18.2	22.0	17.2	5.0	17.9	3.6	6.2	18.5	4.6
No Prenatal Care	5.5	19.6	2.1	1.4	10.1	0.3	1.8	11.5	0.4
Unknown	3.2	4.0	3.0	2.5	2.8	2.3	2.5	3.1	2.5
Black : Number	10,640	3,722	6,918	20,511	5,923	14,588	31,151	9,645	21,506
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
First Trimester	40.1	32.6	44.2	52.8	40.7	57.8	48.6	37.6	53.4
Second Trimester	39.8	40.6	39.2	34.3	39.5	32.2	36.1	39.9	34.6
Third Trimester	12.4	13.8	11.7	8.0	11.1	6.8	9.6	12.1	8.4
No Prenatal Care	4.9	10.6	1.7	2.9	7.1	1.0	3.5	8.5	1.3
Unknown	2.8	2.4	3.1	2.0	1.7	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.3

¹ Community hospital births, mostly; see text for discussion.

Note: Percents are rounded independently and may not add to totals.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table 9

PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS FIVE POUNDS EIGHT OUNCES OR LESS
BY LEGITIMACY STATUS, LIVE BIRTH ORDER, RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
CALIFORNIA, 1966

(By place of residence)

LIVE BIRTH ORDER AND AGE OF MOTHER	ALL RACES		WHITE		BLACK	
	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate
First Births	10.1	6.9	8.7	6.5	14.2	12.0
Under 15	12.4	6.4 ^a	8.0	4.2 ^a	16.2	b
15-19	9.9	7.1	8.2	6.8	13.7	11.4
20-24	9.5	6.3	8.6	5.9	13.3	12.3
25-29	13.4	6.5	12.2	6.3	21.1	9.4
30-34	14.0	10.0	11.9	9.2	b	19.8
35-39	17.9 ^a	12.4	13.2 ^a	11.3	b	20.7 ^a
40 and Over	b	11.0	b	10.2	—	b
Second Births	13.5	6.6	11.8	6.2	16.6	12.3
Under 15	b	—	b	—	b	—
15-19	14.4	9.6	12.3	9.0	16.4	13.6
20-24	12.5	6.2	11.2	5.8	16.1	12.1
25-29	13.4	5.6	12.2	5.3	16.8	10.9
30-34	16.2	7.0	13.6	6.3	19.4	13.4 ^a
35-39	10.6	8.2	10.0 ^a	7.7	b	12.3
40 and Over	b	11.5	b	11.4	b	b
Second and Higher Order Births	13.5	7.2	11.2	6.7	17.1	12.1
Under 15	b	b	b	—	b	b
15-19	14.8	10.1	12.3	9.4	16.9	14.3
20-24	13.0	6.9	11.1	6.5	16.9	12.0
25-29	12.3	6.4	10.0	6.0	16.1	11.4
30-34	14.6	7.3	11.5	6.8	19.1	11.8
35-39	13.7	8.0	12.1	7.4	16.8	13.8
40 and Over	15.7	8.6	13.4	8.3	19.4	9.0

^a Percent based on between 50 and 99 births.

^b Percents not calculated for a base of less than 50 births.

Note: Dash indicates zero births.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS WITH THIRD TRIMESTER OR NO PRENATAL CARE
California, 1967

RACE	ALL BIRTH ORDERS		FIRST BIRTHS		SECOND AND HIGHER ORDER BIRTHS	
	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Legitimate
All Races	21.9	6.9	20.2	4.6	24.6	8.0
White	23.7	6.4	21.4	4.3	27.3	7.7
Black	17.3	10.9	15.5	7.2	19.1	11.5

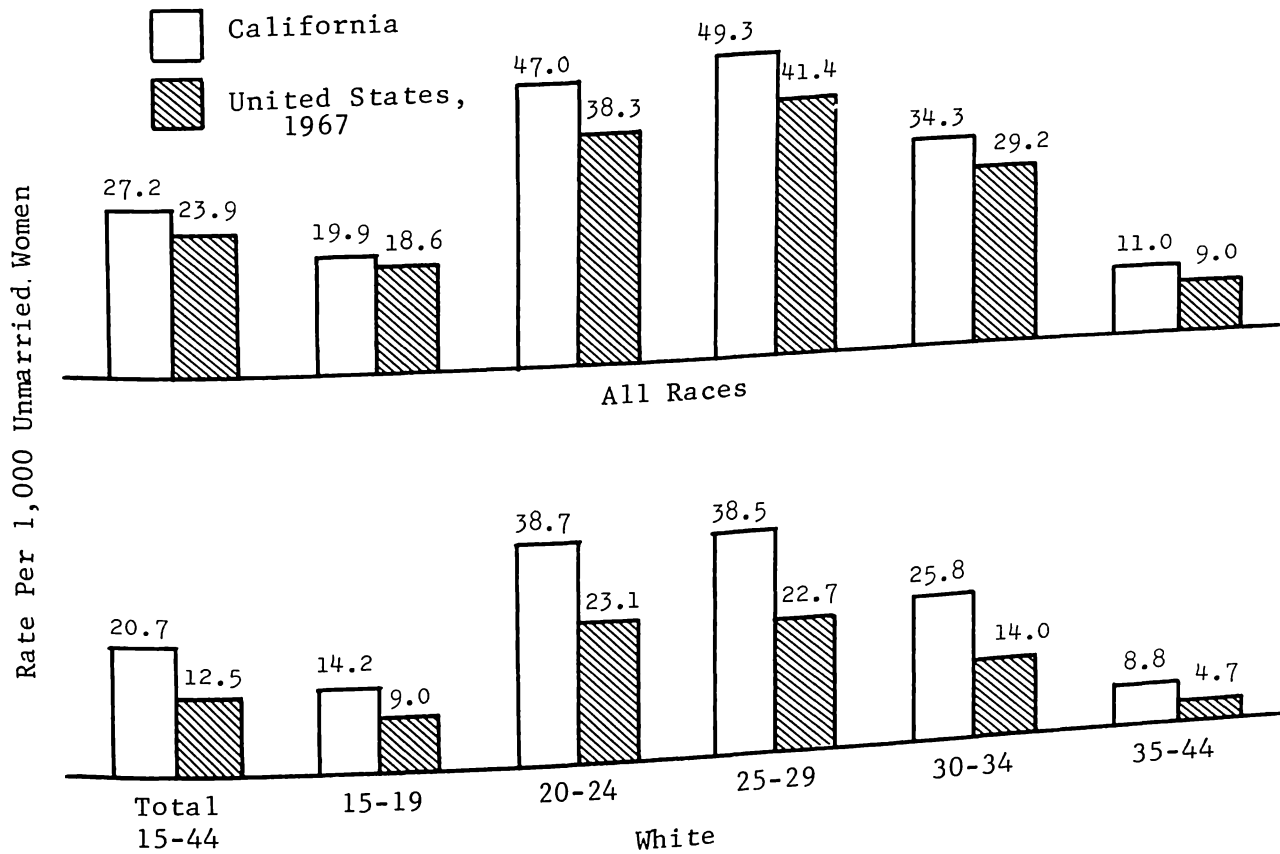
Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

SUMMARY

It was estimated that the 35,000 illegitimate babies born in California in 1967 came mainly from a population of 1,300,000 unmarried women between the ages of 15 and 44—a rate of 27.2 illegitimate births per thousand unmarried women of childbearing age (Figure 3 and Table 10). Unmarried women under age 20 showed a relatively low rate of 19.9 illegitimate births per thousand, compared to rates of nearly 50 per thousand for unmarried women between 20 and 30, and a rate of 34 per thousand for those between ages 30 and 34. For unmarried women ages 35 and over, the rate of illegitimate births dropped to about 11 per thousand. It has frequently been noted that the age pattern of rates of illegitimate births is quite different from the age pattern of illegitimacy ratios. Rates are highest for women in their twenties while ratios are highest for the teenage group.

In all age groups, the illegitimate birth rates for California were considerably higher than the rates estimated for the United States. As was true for the illegitimacy ratio, the contrast between California and the United States was particularly marked for white women (Figure 3 and Table 10). No matter what assumptions were made about the proportion unmarried (Tables 10 and 11), the California white illegitimate birth rate remained about two-thirds above the rate estimated for the United States. It was apparent that the difference was due to a large number of illegitimate births identified for white women in California, rather than to differences in marital status distributions between California and the United States (such differences probably do exist—they did in 1960), or to other problems in estimating numbers of white women at risk.

Figure 3
ESTIMATED ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH RATES BY AGE OF MOTHER



Source: Table 10

Although California showed higher rates of illegitimate births than did the United States, the opposite appeared to be true for legitimate births. California in 1967 was estimated to have substantially lower age-specific rates of legitimate births than the United States (Table 10). Lower birth rates in California were also found for total births, legitimate and illegitimate combined, with the exception of total births in the teenage group, where California rates were above those for the United States (Table 10). It has been noted that this birth rate pattern is associated with high rates of early marriage in California and high rates of subsequent divorce.³⁰

While there seems little question that California does have a higher illegitimate birth rate than does the country generally, particularly for white women, it is also possible that California is applying a better method for identifying illegitimate births. National statistics on illegitimacy derive from direct questions that probably invite concealment. Most states

Table 10
ESTIMATED BIRTH RATES BY LEGITIMACY STATUS, RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
CALIFORNIA AND UNITED STATES, 1967

(By place of residence)

RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER	ILLEGITIMATE				LEGITIMATE				ALL LIVE BIRTHS	
	California			United States	California			United States ⁴	California	United States
	First Estimate ¹	Second Estimate ²	Third Estimate ³		First Estimate ¹	Second Estimate ²	Third Estimate ³			
All Races, 15-44 ^a	27.2	25.5	26.9	23.9	107.4	111.0	108.0	119.0	82.1	87.6
15-19	19.9	19.7	19.4	18.6	380.3	403.8	442.4	432.6	69.5	67.9
20-24	47.0	43.5	44.1	38.3	227.8	237.3	235.5	246.6	168.2	174.0
25-29	49.3	41.7	52.2	41.4	142.5	146.9	141.2	158.5	129.2	142.6
30-34	34.3	28.0	37.8	29.2	77.1	79.4	76.2	85.1	72.1	79.3
35-44 ^b	11.0	9.1	11.4	9.0	21.5	22.1	21.4	25.7	20.2	24.4
White, 15-44 ^a	20.7	19.7	20.6	12.5	106.2	108.8	106.5	116.7	79.6	83.1
15-19	14.2	14.0	13.8	9.0	375.8	395.8	440.4	418.6	64.2	57.3
20-24	38.7	36.3	36.3	23.1	227.9	235.5	235.3	245.1	166.9	168.8
25-29	38.5	33.9	42.2	22.7	140.8	144.0	138.9	157.7	126.7	140.7
30-34	25.8	22.1	29.4	14.0	74.4	76.1	73.3	83.5	68.9	76.5
35-44 ^b	8.8	7.6	9.3	4.7	20.7	21.2	20.6	25.3	19.3	23.0
Black ⁵ , 15-44 ^a	103.1	81.2	97.3	89.5	106.8	125.0	110.4	139.3	105.5	119.8
15-19	95.6	93.5	92.2	80.2	423.5	483.4	531.5	532.6	145.8	135.2
20-24	154.4	121.5	128.0	128.2	211.1	246.6	237.2	272.6	191.4	212.1
25-29	144.7	88.4	133.8	118.4	128.8	153.2	131.5	166.3	132.0	155.9
30-34	120.0	64.1	113.5	97.2	75.3	88.4	76.0	99.4	81.8	99.1
35-44 ^b	27.5	17.2	28.6	28.9	21.8	25.4	21.6	36.7	22.9	35.3

¹ Rates assume unmarried women are those single, widowed and divorced.

² Rates assume unmarried women also include those separated and living permanently apart from husband.

³ Rates assume California has same percent unmarried as United States.

⁴ Legitimate birth rates by race for the United States subject to rounding error since they were calculated from published numbers and rates of illegitimate births and total births.

⁵ Black and other races for the United States.

^a Rates computed by relating total births, regardless of age of mother, to estimated women aged 15-44.

^b Rates computed by relating births to mothers age 35 and over to estimated women aged 35-44.

Note: Rates are per 1,000 unmarried, married and total women; see text for methods used to estimate rates.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, advance report from *Vital Statistics of the United States*, 1967, Volume 1, Natality, Tables 1-7; also, "Monthly Vital Statistics Report", Volume 17, Number 9, Supplement, Tables 3,4; also, duplicated tables obtained on request giving numbers and rates of illegitimate births, 1966 and 1967. State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

ask simply, "legitimate" (yes or no), while a few states phrase their questions, "Is mother married"?, or "Is mother married to father"?. The method now being used in California does not depend on a direct question, and although it still may be missing illegitimate births, particularly to mothers of higher social class, it may be identifying a larger part of the total. But differences in reporting are not likely to account for all of the difference between California and the United States. This is indicated by the finding that illegitimacy ratios for white births in Washington and Oregon were not very far below the ratios for white births in California, excluding those of Spanish surname. In Hawaii, the ratio was higher. Mobile populations and high divorce rates are characteristics shared by states in the West that probably are related to high rates of illegitimacy. The extent and nature of the relationships merit much further study, which should be possible when 1970 census data become available.

Recently, a number of studies have been published concerning fertility differences in the United States by race or color. Although these studies disagree to some extent about the implication for the future of past trends, they do agree on the main features of what has happened. Nonwhite (mostly Negro) birth rates are very substantially above white birth rates, and the difference between the groups has tended to widen rather than to contract. Between 1947 and 1957, nonwhite birth rates climbed much faster, and after 1957 they declined more slowly, than did birth rates for the white population. This occurred despite the migration of blacks out of rural areas, and despite a rise in some measures of the socioeconomic status of blacks.^{31,32,33}

Several influences have been identified as contributing to this picture. One important influence probably was the control of venereal disease, tuberculosis, malaria, and other diseases affecting fecundity following World War II and accompanying the postwar migration of Negroes to cities. This meant that many more Negro couples were able to have children and to have more of them than would have been the situation had high disease rates persisted. Childlessness was quite frequent among black women in past years, but it is now relatively rare except at older ages.³⁴

Another very important influence was and remains social class. The 1960 census and other studies have shown clearly that class differences in fertility have by no means disappeared, and much of what appears as a race difference is, in fact, a class difference. For the nonwhite population, the Census showed highest fertility in the lowest income, education and occupation groups. As social class rose, family size declined. Among college-educated women, family size was smaller for nonwhite than for white women.³⁵

What role in this picture is played by illegitimate births? Less information is available about illegitimate than about total births, and it is logical to assume that concealment of illegitimacy is more frequent for white than for nonwhite women. But differences in concealment are not likely to account for the very great differences in illegitimate birth rates that appear in the data that are available. White women are not only more likely to conceal an illegitimate birth, but they are also more likely to use contraception in the first place. If out-of-wedlock conception occurs, white women are more likely either to marry before the baby is born or to have an abortion. For these reasons, the illegitimacy figures available from other sources, and the figures now available for California, though they have many limitations, can be considered to reflect a real situation.

Table 11
ESTIMATED BIRTH RATES BY LEGITIMACY STATUS, RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
CALIFORNIA AND UNITED STATES, 1966

(By place of residence)

RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER	ILLEGITIMATE				LEGITIMATE				ALL LIVE BIRTHS	
	California			United States	California			United States ⁴	California	United States
	First Estimate ¹	Second Estimate ²	Third Estimate ³		First Estimate ¹	Second Estimate ²	Third Estimate ³			
All Races, 15-44 ^a	25.6	23.9	25.3	23.4	110.7	114.4	111.3	123.7	84.3	91.3
15-19	18.0	17.8	17.6	17.5	418.9	445.3	487.4	455.6	72.1	70.6
20-24	46.8	43.1	43.7	39.1	236.3	246.0	244.3	255.5	176.4	185.9
25-29	49.9	42.1	52.9	45.6	148.6	153.2	147.2	166.1	134.8	149.4
30-34	36.2	29.4	40.1	33.0	80.4	82.8	79.4	92.1	75.5	85.9
35-44 ^b	10.3	8.6	10.7	9.5	23.5	24.2	23.4	28.2	21.9	26.8
White, 15-44 ^a	19.1	18.1	19.0	12.0	109.4	112.0	109.6	121.5	81.6	86.4
15-19	12.8	12.7	12.5	8.5	414.8	437.4	486.2	460.5	67.4	60.8
20-24	37.4	34.9	34.9	22.5	236.2	244.0	243.9	258.3	174.3	179.9
25-29	37.8	33.2	41.5	23.5	146.1	149.3	144.0	164.0	131.3	146.6
30-34	25.9	22.1	29.7	15.7	77.6	79.3	76.4	89.8	71.9	82.7
35-44 ^b	8.0	7.0	8.6	4.9	22.7	23.2	22.5	32.1	21.0	25.2
Black ⁵ , 15-44 ^a	105.6	82.2	99.5	92.8	113.6	132.4	117.2	145.7	111.0	125.9
15-19	87.9	86.0	84.9	76.9	467.6	537.0	586.9	576.2	143.7	135.5
20-24	176.7	136.0	142.5	139.4	224.9	260.6	252.7	286.0	209.7	228.9
25-29	168.3	98.7	154.0	143.8	144.1	170.5	147.0	175.6	148.4	169.3
30-34	149.8	74.2	140.3	119.4	82.2	96.1	83.0	106.1	90.6	107.9
35-44 ^b	29.7	18.0	31.1	33.8	23.9	27.6	23.6	39.9	24.9	38.9

- ¹ Rates assume unmarried women are those single, widowed and divorced.
- ² Rates assume unmarried women also include those separated and living permanently apart from husband.
- ³ Rates assume California has same percent unmarried as United States.
- ⁴ Legitimate birth rates by race for the United States subject to rounding error since they were calculated from published numbers and rates of illegitimate births and total births.
- ⁵ Black and other races for the United States.
- ^a Rates computed by relating total births, regardless of age of mother, to estimated women aged 15-44.
- ^b Rates computed by relating births to mothers age 35 and over to estimated women aged 35-44.

Note: Rates are per 1,000 unmarried, married and total women; see text for methods used to estimate rates.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, 1966, Volume 1, Natality, Tables 1-6, 1-7, 1-48; also, "Monthly Vital Statistics Report", Volume 17, Number 9, Supplement, Table 1; also, duplicated tables obtained on request giving numbers and rates of illegitimate births, 1966 and 1967. State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Because the white illegitimate birth rate is so much higher in California, the race difference in the rate is less for California than has been estimated for the United States (Table 10). In 1967, the nonwhite illegitimate birth rate for the United States (89.5 per thousand unmarried women) was seven times the rate for white women (12.5). For California, the estimated rate for black women was between 81.2 and 103.1, depending on the method used to estimate the number of unmarried black women, and this was between four and five times the estimated rate of 20.7 illegitimate births per thousand white unmarried women of childbearing age. For both California and the United States, the largest race difference in rates was found for the youngest group of women. For California women age 15-19, the black illegitimate birth rate was about seven times the white rate (95.6 compared to 14.2).

For legitimate births in California, black rates also exceeded white rates, but not nearly by as wide a margin (Figure 4). Legitimate births per thousand married women ages 15-44 were estimated as ranging between 106.8 and 125.0 for black women, compared to 106.2 for white women. In the youngest age group, the black legitimate birth rate was substantially higher than the white legitimate birth rate. Over age 20, however, black and white legitimate birth rates were of similar size (Figure 4).

For total births, legitimate and illegitimate combined, California rates were estimated as one-fourth higher for Negro than for white women. The higher rate was found for all age groups, but with the greatest differences in the younger age groups (Table 10).

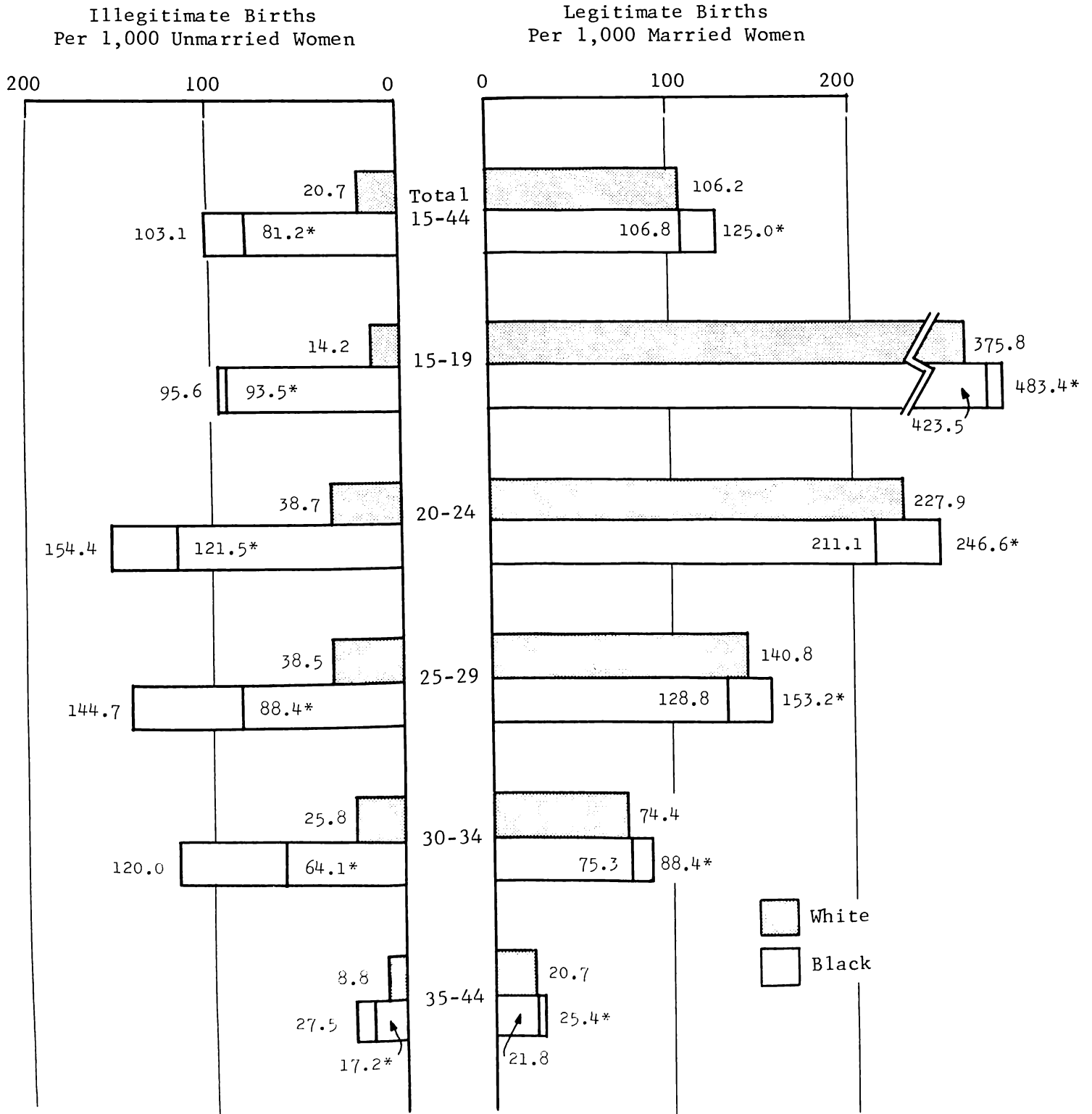
In addition to showing high numbers and rates of illegitimate births in California, the data presented in this report begin to indicate the types of analyses it will be possible to make on a continuing statewide basis in the future. Though it has not been possible to analyze trends of illegitimacy in California for past years, this will be possible for the future. Because the years ahead, until about 1980, will see increasing numbers of women entering the childbearing years, they will, unless illegitimate birth rates are reduced substantially, also see increasing numbers of illegitimate children.

This study, and all other studies made of illegitimacy in the United States, arrive at the general finding that although they occur in all parts of the population, illegitimate births are by far most common in poor, minority groups. The importance of the finding should not be minimized, but it is also clear that much more knowledge is needed, particularly about the influence of social and economic status, independent of race. Some real problems exist in obtaining this kind of information from the birth certificate. For that reason, and also because attitudes, migration history, cohort and other types of information are not obtainable from the birth certificate, it is likely that special studies of particular groups in the population will receive increasing attention. Such studies in California will be more conclusive than they have been in the past because it will be possible to plan them and to see their results against a background of continuing statistical indices of illegitimacy in the state.

This report has been mostly statistical and has attempted only briefly to consider the larger question of the social meaning and social consequences of illegitimate births. Kingsley Davis has emphasized that illegitimate births are an inevitable result of the

Figure 4

ESTIMATED ILLEGITIMATE AND LEGITIMATE BIRTH RATES
BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
California, 1967



* Alternate estimate of rate including separated women with the unmarried.

Source: Table 10.

existence of marriage as an institution. As long as a social norm exists, to some extent it will be violated.³⁶ But extremely widespread violation of a norm is another matter. What does it mean that large parts of the black population and other minority groups have rates of illegitimate births of a different order of magnitude from the rest of the population?

Today there is a tendency to view widespread illegitimacy as a reflection solely of poverty, and at the same time to reject the view that illegitimacy, or more generally family disorganization, could also be acting as an independent variable that itself may be perpetuating poverty by depriving children of elements in family life essential to their social and educational development, as well as to their health.³⁷ Although the study of this question is not a simple matter, the answer to the question carries with it profound implications for public policy and needs to be considered in future research.

Although we do not understand the underlying causative relationships that have led to the rise and continued high level of illegitimacy in the United States, there is little question that illegitimate children are found more frequently among disadvantaged groups and that an increasing number of the children face serious, if not overwhelming handicaps in their growth. With some exceptions, most illegitimate children are not wanted in the first place by mothers who themselves are immature. Unless adopted, or unless the mother later has a relatively stable marriage or lives in a relationship much more lasting than the average common-law association, most illegitimate children will lack a father substitute.

In approaching the subject of illegitimate births, many feel that Victorian moralistic views should be rejected, and that cultural patterns different from the dominant one should be accepted. But the concern to be broadminded should not obscure concern for the children or for their increasing numbers.

Easy answers to the problems posed by illegitimate births are not available. Expanded and improved research is clearly needed.

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8. California State Board of Public Health Minutes, December 17, 1948-September 16, 1949.
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10. Occupation of father and birthplace of mother are two items of information related to socioeconomic status and to migration that do appear on the California birth certificate (see Appendix 1). However, these items were not coded in 1966 and 1967. Occupation of father was coded for 1968 and 1969. Both items will be coded for 1970. Occupation of father is not as well reported for illegitimate as for legitimate births.
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Births occurring outside California to women who reported themselves as residents of the state (residence reallocated births) numbered 1,212 in 1966. These births are included in the data. Since they were not subject to review in the local health department, they were all classified as legitimate. Actually, they include illegitimate births and this is another source for a small amount of undercounting of illegitimate births.
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STATE

FILE

NUMBER

CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH

STATE OF CALIFORNIA—DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

LOCAL REGISTRATION

DISTRICT AND

CERTIFICATE NUMBER

THIS CHILD	1a. NAME OF CHILD—FIRST NAME		1b. MIDDLE NAME		1c. LAST NAME	
	2. SEX	3a. THIS BIRTH. SINGLE, TWIN, OR TRIPLET?	3b. IF TWIN OR TRIPLET, THIS CHILD BORN 1ST, 2ND, 3RD?	4a. DATE OF BIRTH—MONTH, DAY, YEAR		4b. HOUR M
PLACE OF BIRTH	5a. PLACE OF BIRTH—NAME OF HOSPITAL			5b. STREET ADDRESS (GIVE STREET OR RURAL ADDRESS OR LOCATION. DO NOT USE P. O. BOX NUMBERS)		
	5c. CITY OR TOWN			5d. COUNTY		
MOTHER OF CHILD	6a. MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER—FIRST NAME		6d. MIDDLE NAME		6c. LAST NAME	
	7. COLOR OR RACE OF MOTHER		8. AGE OF MOTHER (AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH) YEARS		9. BIRTHPLACE (STATE OR FOREIGN COUNTRY)	
USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER (WHERE DOES MOTHER LIVE?)	11a. USUAL RESIDENCE OF MOTHER—STREET ADDRESS (GIVE STREET OR RURAL ADDRESS OR LOCATION. DO NOT USE P. O. BOX NUMBERS)			11b. IF INSIDE CORPORATE LIMITS <input type="checkbox"/> CHECK HERE		IF OUTSIDE CITY CORPORATE LIMITS CHECK ONE <input type="checkbox"/> ON A FARM <input type="checkbox"/> NOT ON A FARM
	11c. CITY OR TOWN			11d. COUNTY		11e. STATE
	12a. NAME OF FATHER—FIRST NAME		12b. MIDDLE NAME		12c. LAST NAME	
FATHER OF CHILD	14. AGE OF FATHER (AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH) YEARS		15. BIRTHPLACE (STATE OR FOREIGN COUNTRY)		16a. PRESENT OR LAST OCCUPATION	
	13. COLOR OR RACE OF FATHER		16b. KIND OF INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS			
INFORMANT'S CERTIFICATION	I HAVE REVIEWED THE ABOVE STATED INFORMATION AND HEREBY CERTIFY THAT IT IS TRUE AND CORRECT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE.			17a. PARENT OR OTHER INFORMANT—SIGNATURE (IF OTHER THAN PARENT, SPECIFY)		17b. DATE SIGNED BY INFORMANT
ATTENDANT'S CERTIFICATION	I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I ATTENDED THIS BIRTH AND THAT THE CHILD WAS BORN ALIVE AT THE HOUR, DATE AND PLACE STATED ABOVE.			18a. PHYSICIAN (OR OTHER PERSON WHO ATTENDED THIS BIRTH) SIGNATURE—DEGREE OR TITLE		18b. ADDRESS
REGISTRAR'S CERTIFICATION	19. DATE ON WHICH NAME ADDED BY SUPPLEMENTAL NAME REPORT			20. LOCAL REGISTRAR—SIGNATURE		21. DATE RECEIVED BY LOCAL REGISTRAR
MEDICAL AND HEALTH DATA	PREVIOUS DELIVERIES TO THIS MOTHER (DO NOT INCLUDE THIS CHILD)		22a. HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN ARE NOW LIVING?		22b. HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN WERE BORN ALIVE BUT ARE NOW DEAD?	
	23. FIRST DAY OF LAST NORMAL MENSTRUATION (MONTH, DAY, YEAR—ENTER ONLY WHEN DEFINITE DATE IS KNOWN)		24. DURING WHAT MONTH OF PREGNANCY WAS PRENATAL CARE BEGUN? (IF NONE, SO STATE)		25. WEIGHT AT BIRTH LBS OZS	
	26. LENGTH AT BIRTH (CROWN—HEEL) INCHES		27. BIRTH INJURY TO CHILD <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> YES DESCRIBE			
	28. CONGENITAL MALFORMATIONS <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> YES DESCRIBE		29. COMPLICATIONS OF PREGNANCY, LABOR AND DELIVERY <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> YES DESCRIBE			
	30. OPERATION FOR DELIVERY (OTHER THAN EPISIOTOMY) <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> YES DESCRIBE		31. OTHER DATA			

CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH

STATE BIRTH CERTIFICATE NUMBER

STATE OF CALIFORNIA—DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

LOCAL REGISTRATION DISTRICT AND CERTIFICATE NUMBER

THIS CHILD	1a. NAME OF CHILD—FIRST NAME		1b. MIDDLE NAME		1c. LAST NAME	
	2. SEX	3a. THIS BIRTH. SINGLE. TWIN. OR TRIPLET?	3b. IF TWIN OR TRIPLET, THIS CHILD BORN 1ST. 2ND. 3RD?		4a. DATE OF BIRTH—MONTH. DAY. YEAR	4b. HOUR M.
PLACE OF BIRTH	5a. PLACE OF BIRTH—NAME OF HOSPITAL			5b. STREET ADDRESS (STREET. AND NUMBER. OR LOCATION)		5c. INSIDE CITY CORPORATE LIMITS (SPECIFY YES OR NO)
	5d. CITY OR TOWN			5e. COUNTY		
MOTHER OF CHILD	6a. MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER—FIRST NAME		6b. MIDDLE NAME		6c. LAST NAME (MAIDEN SURNAME)	
	8. AGE OF MOTHER (AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH) YEARS		9. COLOR OR RACE OF MOTHER		10a. RESIDENCE OF MOTHER—STREET ADDRESS (STREET AND NUMBER. RURAL ADDRESS. OR LOCATION)	
	10c. RESIDENCE OF MOTHER—CITY OR TOWN			10d. RESIDENCE OF MOTHER—COUNTY		10e. RESIDENCE OF MOTHER—STATE
FATHER OF CHILD	11a. NAME OF FATHER—FIRST NAME		11b. MIDDLE NAME		11c. LAST NAME	
	13. AGE OF FATHER (AT TIME OF THIS BIRTH) YEARS		14. COLOR OR RACE OF FATHER		15a. PRESENT OR LAST OCCUPATION	
				15b. KIND OF INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS		12. BIRTHPLACE (STATE OR FOREIGN COUNTRY)
INFORMANT'S CERTIFICATION	I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I HAVE REVIEWED THE ABOVE. STATED INFORMATION AND THAT IT IS TRUE AND CORRECT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE.		16a. PARENT OR OTHER INFORMANT—SIGNATURE (IF OTHER THAN PARENT. SPECIFY) ▶			16b. DATE REVIEWED AND SIGNED BY INFORMANT
ATTENDANT'S CERTIFICATION	I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I ATTENDED THIS BIRTH AND THAT THE CHILD WAS BORN ALIVE AT THE HOUR. DATE AND PLACE STATED ABOVE.		17a. PHYSICIAN (OR OTHER PERSON WHO ATTENDED THIS BIRTH) SIGNATURE—DEGREE OR TITLE ▶			17b. DATE SIGNED BY PHYSICIAN OR OTHER ATTENDANT
			17c. ADDRESS			17d. PHYSICIAN'S CALIFORNIA LICENSE NUMBER
LOCAL REGISTRAR	18. REQUEST OMISSION FROM SOLICITATION LISTS		19. LOCAL REGISTRAR—SIGNATURE ▶			20. DATE ACCEPTED FOR REGISTRATION BY LOCAL REGISTRAR
MEDICAL AND HEALTH DATA	PREVIOUS DELIVERIES TO THIS MOTHER (DO NOT INCLUDE THIS CHILD)		21a. HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN ARE NOW LIVING?	21b. HOW MANY OTHER CHILDREN WERE BORN ALIVE BUT ARE NOW DEAD?	21c. HOW MANY FETUSES WERE BORN DEAD AFTER 20 WEEKS GESTATION?	21d. DATE OF LAST LIVE BIRTH (ENTER MONTH. DAY. YEAR)
	22. DATE LAST NORMAL MENSES BEGAN (ENTER MONTH. DAY. YEAR)		23. MONTH OF PREGNANCY PRENATAL CARE BEGAN (1ST. 2ND. 3RD. ETC.—IF NONE. SO STATE)		24. WEIGHT AT BIRTH LBS. OZS.	
					25. LENGTH AT BIRTH (CROWN—HEEL) INCHES	
	26. COMPLICATIONS RELATED TO PREGNANCY (DESCRIBE OR IF NONE. SO STATE)					
	27. COMPLICATIONS OF LABOR AND DELIVERY (DESCRIBE OR IF NONE. SO STATE)					28. CAESAREAN SECTION (SPECIFY YES OR NO)
	29. BIRTH INJURY TO CHILD (DESCRIBE OR IF NONE. SO STATE)					
30. CONGENITAL MALFORMATIONS OR ANOMALIES (DESCRIBE OR IF NONE. SO STATE)						
31. INFANT DEATH—(ENTER DATE OF DEATH)			32. OTHER DATA			
STATE REGISTRAR	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.

EXCERPT, HEALTH AND SAFETY CODE

10056.5. (a) If a certificate indicates that a mental, physical or social problem may exist, including but not limited to (1) the fetus was dead at the time of delivery, (2) the father of the child is not identified, (3) the infant died after birth, (4) congenital malformation, (5) maternal disability or death, or if a parent of the infant requests such action, the local registrar shall mark the certificate in a manner designated by the State Registrar to indicate that the certificate is not to be used by any person compiling a business contact list.

(b) If the infant who is the subject of the certificate, or the mother of such infant, dies before the certificate is signed by the attending physician, the fact of such death shall be indicated on the certificate.

Table A
 NUMBER AND PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE BY RACE
 CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1967

(By place of occurrence)

COUNTY	NUMBER LIVE BIRTHS				NUMBER ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS				PERCENT ILLEGITIMATE			
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other
California	336,698	293,421	31,117	12,160	35,692	24,227	10,655	810	10.6	8.3	34.2	6.7
Alameda	18,830	14,606	3,288	936	2,388	1,184	1,141	63	12.7	8.1	34.7	6.7
Alpine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Amador	99	98	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Butte	1,554	1,486	40	28	144	124	16	4	9.3	8.3	a	a
Calaveras	95	91	—	4	1	1	—	—	a	a	—	—
Colusa	128	125	—	3	1	1	—	—	0.8	0.8	—	—
Contra Costa	7,009	6,210	685	114	692	367	314	11	9.9	5.9	45.8	9.6
Del Norte	322	284	3	35	25	20	—	5	7.8	7.0	—	a
El Dorado	541	532	2	7	54	53	1	—	10.0	10.0	a	—
Fresno	7,685	6,952	567	166	913	648	251	14	11.9	9.3	44.3	8.4
Glenn	258	253	1	4	3	3	—	—	1.2	1.2	—	—
Humboldt	1,563	1,473	7	83	104	89	3	12	6.7	6.0	a	a
Imperial	1,758	1,628	64	66	59	50	6	3	3.4	3.1	a	a
Inyo	264	240	1	23	13	12	—	1	4.9	5.0	—	a
Kern	6,065	5,487	461	117	735	512	206	17	12.1	9.3	44.7	14.5
Kings	1,546	1,416	93	37	105	74	29	2	6.8	5.2	a	a
Lake	166	146	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lassen	221	213	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Los Angeles	127,648	106,183	17,106	4,359	15,692	9,498	5,902	292	12.3	8.9	34.5	6.7
Madera	640	575	38	27	45	29	11	5	7.0	5.0	a	a
Marin	2,134	2,037	61	36	130	115	15	—	6.1	5.6	a	—
Mariposa	85	78	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mendocino	704	654	2	48	56	46	—	10	8.0	7.0	—	a
Merced	2,018	1,839	150	29	154	109	41	4	7.6	5.9	27.3	a
Modoc	98	87	2	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mono	26	25	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Monterey	4,424	3,949	263	212	363	287	66	10	8.2	7.3	25.1	4.7
Napa	881	865	1	15	32	30	—	2	3.6	3.5	—	a
Nevada	376	372	1	3	10	10	—	—	2.7	2.7	—	—
Orange	19,573	19,010	224	339	1,437	1,375	45	17	7.3	7.2	20.1	5.0
Placer	1,190	1,166	3	21	86	83	1	2	7.2	7.1	a	a
Plumas	205	192	4	9	17	12	3	2	8.3	6.2	a	a
Riverside	6,900	6,331	454	115	737	590	134	13	10.7	9.3	29.5	11.3
Sacramento	10,888	9,631	829	428	1,248	909	314	25	11.5	9.4	37.9	5.8
San Benito	339	329	2	8	13	12	—	1	3.8	3.6	—	a
San Bernardino	11,447	10,659	669	119	1,169	919	239	11	10.2	8.6	35.7	9.2
San Diego	21,820	19,508	1,361	951	2,075	1,648	374	53	9.5	8.4	27.5	5.6
San Francisco	15,550	11,168	2,496	1,886	2,326	1,352	860	114	15.0	12.1	34.5	6.0
San Joaquin	5,021	4,435	366	220	581	396	169	16	11.6	8.9	46.2	7.3
San Luis Obispo	1,324	1,263	38	23	106	97	9	—	8.0	7.7	a	—

Table A, Continued

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE BY RACE
CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1967

(By place of occurrence)

COUNTY	NUMBER LIVE BIRTHS				NUMBER ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS				PERCENT ILLEGITIMATE			
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other
San Mateo	6,073	5,508	301	264	486	377	90	19	8.0	6.8	29.9	7.2
Santa Barbara	4,343	4,134	133	76	369	335	31	3	8.5	8.1	23.3	a
Santa Clara	19,438	18,175	539	724	1,427	1,252	144	31	7.3	6.9	26.7	a
Santa Cruz	1,645	1,573	21	51	195	179	8	8	11.9	11.4	a	a
Shasta	1,298	1,248	18	32	102	86	10	6	7.9	6.9	a	a
Sierra	22	21	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Siskiyou	420	391	12	17	15	13	—	2	3.6	3.3	—	a
Solano	3,557	3,007	405	145	269	139	123	7	7.6	4.6	30.4	4.8
Sonoma	2,701	2,612	33	56	245	218	14	13	9.1	8.3	a	a
Stanislaus	3,514	3,438	48	28	261	243	17	1	7.4	7.1	a	a
Sutter	847	813	10	24	11	11	—	—	1.3	1.4	—	—
Tehama	431	424	2	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trinity	65	63	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tulare	3,293	3,185	55	53	258	233	20	5	7.8	7.3	a	a
Tuolumne	255	251	1	3	1	1	—	—	0.4	0.4	—	—
Ventura	5,622	5,320	168	134	473	421	46	6	8.4	7.9	27.4	4.5
Yolo	980	952	16	12	65	64	1	—	6.6	6.7	a	—
Yuba	799	710	66	23	1	—	1	—	0.1	—	a	—

^a Percents not calculated for base less than 100.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table B

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE BY RACE
CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1966

(By place of occurrence)

COUNTY	NUMBER LIVE BIRTHS				NUMBER ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS				PERCENT ILLEGITIMATE			
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other
California	337,703	294,098	31,513	12,092	32,254	21,549	9,982	723	9.6	7.3	31.7	6.0
Alameda	18,907	14,729	3,310	868	2,244	1,058	1,145	41	11.9	7.2	34.6	4.7
Alpine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Amador	130	126	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Butte	1,671	1,595	36	40	151	130	15	6	9.0	8.1	a	a
Calaveras	109	104	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Colusa	151	144	1	6	4	4	—	—	2.6	2.8	—	—
Contra Costa	7,141	6,360	679	102	709	385	317	7	9.9	6.1	46.7	6.9
Del Norte	324	301	3	20	18	14	—	4	5.6	4.7	—	a
El Dorado	595	588	1	6	52	49	1	2	8.7	8.3	a	a
Fresno	7,860	7,052	629	179	887	605	268	14	11.3	8.6	42.6	7.8
Glenn	253	246	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Humboldt	1,747	1,666	9	72	109	99	1	9	6.2	5.9	a	a
Imperial	1,845	1,676	79	90	10	10	—	—	0.5	0.6	—	—
Inyo	221	200	—	21	4	4	—	—	1.8	2.0	—	—
Kern	6,236	5,595	491	150	672	451	205	16	10.8	8.1	41.8	10.7
Kings	1,555	1,410	95	50	127	90	35	2	8.2	6.4	a	a
Lake	177	167	—	10	1	1	—	—	0.6	0.6	—	—
Lassen	186	184	2	—	1	1	—	—	0.5	0.5	—	—
Los Angeles	127,603	105,860	17,405	4,338	14,173	8,384	5,493	296	11.1	7.9	31.6	6.8
Madera	712	640	52	20	57	39	14	4	8.0	6.1	a	a
Marin	2,027	1,920	65	42	103	90	11	2	5.1	4.7	a	a
Mariposa	69	66	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mendocino	781	746	2	33	45	37	—	8	5.8	5.0	—	a
Merced	2,099	1,932	150	17	164	108	56	—	7.8	5.6	37.3	—
Modoc	90	86	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mono	28	25	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Monterey	4,455	3,923	275	257	300	238	51	11	6.7	6.1	18.5	4.3
Napa	884	868	5	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nevada	443	439	—	4	5	5	—	—	1.1	1.1	—	—
Orange	19,195	18,626	246	323	1,233	1,179	43	11	6.4	6.3	17.5	3.4
Placer	1,323	1,296	4	23	94	89	2	3	7.1	6.9	a	a
Plumas	203	189	5	9	9	6	3	—	4.4	3.2	a	—
Riverside	7,230	6,640	461	129	563	425	129	9	7.8	6.4	28.0	7.0
Sacramento	10,977	9,703	844	430	1,256	968	272	16	11.4	10.0	32.2	3.7
San Benito	329	318	4	7	12	12	—	—	3.6	3.8	—	—
San Bernardino	11,412	10,585	688	139	1,085	846	228	11	9.5	8.0	33.1	7.9
San Diego	21,215	18,840	1,381	994	1,881	1,444	373	64	8.9	7.7	27.0	6.4
San Francisco	15,624	11,390	2,435	1,799	2,061	1,266	719	76	13.2	11.1	29.5	4.2
San Joaquin	4,942	4,394	317	231	486	332	128	26	9.8	7.6	40.4	11.3
San Luis Obispo	1,287	1,236	22	29	108	104	4	—	8.4	8.4	a	—

Table B, Continued
 NUMBER AND PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE BY RACE
 CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1966
 (By place of occurrence)

COUNTY	NUMBER LIVE BIRTHS				NUMBER ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS				PERCENT ILLEGITIMATE			
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other
San Mateo	5,860	5,349	278	233	486	351	121	14	8.3	6.6	43.5	6.0
Santa Barbara	4,478	4,204	188	86	308	271	34	3	6.9	6.4	18.1	a
Santa Clara	19,392	18,212	511	669	1,201	1,088	89	24	6.2	6.0	17.4	3.6
Santa Cruz	1,647	1,587	21	39	120	114	3	3	7.3	7.2	a	a
Shasta	1,346	1,284	13	49	67	53	4	10	5.0	4.1	a	a
Sierra	34	32	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Siskiyou	462	428	13	21	24	17	1	6	5.2	4.0	a	a
Solano	3,440	2,889	391	160	206	100	105	1	6.0	3.5	26.9	0.6
Sonoma	2,856	2,754	41	61	228	200	18	10	8.0	7.3	a	—
Stanislaus	3,523	3,439	52	32	221	206	15	—	6.3	6.0	a	—
Sutter	846	813	8	25	2	2	—	—	0.2	0.2	—	—
Tehama	473	461	1	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trinity	65	62	—	3	2	2	—	—	a	a	—	a
Tulare	3,453	3,331	72	50	273	228	36	9	7.9	6.8	a	—
Tuolumne	265	259	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ventura	5,487	5,216	147	124	427	386	36	5	7.8	7.4	24.5	4.0
Yolo	1,023	987	18	18	65	58	7	—	6.4	5.9	a	—
Yuba	1,017	926	62	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

^a Percent not calculated for base less than 100.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table C

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE BY RACE
CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1967

(By place of residence)

COUNTY	NUMBER LIVE BIRTHS				NUMBER ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS				PERCENT ILLEGITIMATE			
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other
California	336,584	293,261	31,151	12,172	35,215	23,774	10,640	801	10.5	8.1	34.2	6.6
Alameda	17,774	13,714	3,161	899	2,193	1,017	1,118	58	12.3	7.4	35.4	6.4
Alpine	3	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	a	a	a	a
Amador	119	116	2	1	5	4	1	—	4.2	3.4	a	a
Butte	1,523	1,455	42	26	141	121	17	3	9.2	8.3	a	a
Calaveras	129	125	—	4	3	3	—	—	2.3	2.4	a	a
Colusa	169	165	—	4	4	4	—	—	2.4	2.4	a	a
Contra Costa	8,668	7,589	882	197	844	482	349	13	9.7	6.4	39.6	6.6
Del Norte	285	247	3	35	30	24	—	6	10.5	9.7	a	a
El Dorado	572	563	2	7	59	58	1	—	10.3	10.3	a	a
Fresno	7,719	6,980	569	170	916	651	249	16	11.9	9.3	43.8	9.4
Glenn	271	266	2	3	7	7	—	—	2.6	2.6	a	a
Humboldt	1,567	1,481	6	80	110	97	2	11	7.0	6.5	a	a
Imperial	1,683	1,573	63	47	67	59	6	2	4.0	3.8	a	a
Inyo	213	193	—	20	9	8	—	1	4.2	4.1	a	a
Kern	6,033	5,470	453	110	732	516	201	15	12.1	9.4	44.4	13.6
Kings	1,425	1,296	92	37	109	77	30	2	7.6	5.9	a	a
Lake	182	161	—	21	4	4	—	—	2.2	2.5	a	a
Lassen	274	264	8	2	8	7	—	1	2.9	2.6	a	a
Los Angeles	122,840	101,430	17,148	4,262	15,149	8,964	5,900	285	12.3	8.8	34.4	6.7
Madera	758	687	39	32	52	37	11	4	6.9	5.4	a	a
Marin	3,116	2,978	83	55	184	167	17	—	5.9	5.6	a	a
Mariposa	79	71	1	7	2	1	1	—	a	a	a	a
Mendocino	738	689	2	47	57	48	—	9	7.7	7.0	a	a
Merced	2,111	1,932	150	29	173	128	42	3	8.2	6.6	28.0	a
Modoc	102	91	2	9	—	—	—	—	0.0	a	a	a
Mono	59	57	—	2	2	2	—	—	a	a	a	a
Monterey	4,562	4,070	273	219	395	314	71	10	8.6	7.7	26.0	4.6
Napa	1,071	1,053	—	18	46	44	—	2	4.3	4.2	a	a
Nevada	297	294	—	3	10	10	—	—	3.4	3.4	a	a
Orange	23,012	22,349	238	425	1,562	1,498	47	17	6.8	6.7	19.7	4.0
Placer	1,023	1,002	3	18	75	72	1	2	7.3	7.2	a	a
Plumas	179	166	4	9	16	11	3	2	8.9	6.6	a	a
Riverside	7,223	6,634	464	125	728	585	131	12	10.1	8.8	28.2	9.6
Sacramento	10,465	9,232	819	414	1,127	798	306	23	10.8	8.6	37.4	5.6
San Benito	368	356	2	10	17	16	—	1	4.6	4.5	a	a
San Bernardino	11,661	10,917	623	121	1,236	994	232	10	10.6	9.1	37.2	8.3
San Diego	21,442	19,136	1,362	944	2,018	1,588	376	54	9.4	8.3	27.6	5.7
San Francisco	11,325	7,274	2,344	1,707	1,930	981	836	113	17.0	13.5	35.7	6.6
San Joaquin	4,939	4,354	367	218	581	397	168	16	11.8	9.1	45.8	7.3
San Luis Obispo	1,435	1,368	40	27	113	104	9	—	7.9	7.6	a	a

Table C, Continued
 NUMBER AND PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE BY RACE
 CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1967

(By place of residence)

COUNTY	NUMBER LIVE BIRTHS				NUMBER ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS				PERCENT ILLEGITIMATE			
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other
San Mateo	8,841	7,957	500	384	620	458	144	18	7.0	5.8	28.8	4.7
Santa Barbara	4,327	4,118	135	74	391	354	33	4	9.0	8.6	24.4	a
Santa Clara	18,930	17,822	387	721	1,393	1,270	89	34	7.4	7.1	23.0	4.7
Santa Cruz	1,632	1,563	21	48	188	172	8	8	11.5	11.0	a	a
Shasta	1,264	1,210	20	34	106	88	11	7	8.4	7.3	a	a
Sierra	30	28	—	2	1	1	—	—	a	a	a	a
Siskiyou	532	503	11	18	19	17	—	2	3.6	3.4	30.9	4.9
Solano	3,445	2,884	418	143	291	155	129	7	8.4	5.4	a	a
Sonoma	2,941	2,841	36	64	264	238	12	14	9.0	8.4	a	a
Stanislaus	3,316	3,241	46	29	269	250	17	2	8.1	7.7	a	a
Sutter	742	705	5	32	6	6	—	—	0.8	0.8	a	a
Tehama	444	439	1	4	4	4	—	—	0.9	0.9	a	a
Trinity	108	104	1	3	2	1	1	—	1.8	1.0	a	a
Tulare	3,420	3,301	63	56	293	265	22	6	8.6	8.0	a	a
Tuolumne	266	262	1	3	2	2	—	—	0.8	0.8	a	a
Ventura	6,507	6,198	166	143	517	469	42	6	7.9	7.6	25.3	4.2
Yolo	1,498	1,443	21	34	124	117	5	2	8.3	8.1	a	a
Yuba	927	842	70	15	11	9	2	—	1.2	1.1	a	a

^a Percents not calculated for base less than 100.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table D
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE BY RACE
CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1966

(By place of residence)

COUNTY	NUMBER LIVE BIRTHS				NUMBER ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS				PERCENT ILLEGITIMATE			
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other
California	337,623	293,989	31,539	12,095	31,804	21,122	9,965	717	9.4	7.2	31.6	5.9
Alameda	18,080	14,064	3,178	838	2,060	924	1,100	36	11.4	6.6	34.6	4.3
Alpine	4	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	a	a	a	a
Amador	154	150	1	3	2	2	—	—	1.3	1.3	a	a
Butte	1,671	1,594	38	39	149	129	15	5	8.9	8.1	a	a
Calaveras	133	128	—	5	1	1	—	—	0.8	0.8	a	a
Colusa	200	192	1	7	5	5	—	—	2.5	2.6	a	a
Contra Costa	8,612	7,576	862	174	845	483	356	6	9.8	6.4	41.3	3.4
Del Norte	281	259	3	19	20	16	—	4	7.1	6.2	a	a
El Dorado	648	640	3	5	60	56	2	2	9.2	8.8	a	a
Fresno	8,005	7,196	629	180	896	616	267	13	11.2	8.6	42.4	7.2
Glenn	282	272	1	9	5	5	—	—	1.8	1.8	a	a
Humboldt	1,738	1,656	10	72	108	95	2	11	6.2	5.7	a	a
Imperial	1,755	1,611	76	68	20	18	1	1	1.1	1.1	a	a
Inyo	199	177	—	22	4	4	—	—	2.0	2.2	a	a
Kern	6,183	5,562	489	132	687	465	204	18	11.1	8.4	41.7	13.6
Kings	1,454	1,318	88	48	119	82	34	3	8.2	6.2	a	a
Lake	202	192	—	10	4	4	—	—	2.0	2.1	a	a
Lassen	229	226	2	1	4	3	—	1	1.7	1.3	a	a
Los Angeles	122,855	101,137	17,461	4,257	13,735	7,957	5,496	282	11.2	7.9	31.5	6.6
Madera	781	705	53	23	60	42	14	4	7.7	6.0	a	a
Marin	3,068	2,920	85	63	177	162	13	2	5.8	5.5	a	a
Mariposa	74	71	—	3	3	3	—	—	a	a	a	a
Mendocino	823	787	2	34	52	44	—	8	6.3	5.6	a	a
Merced	2,163	1,996	150	17	164	108	56	—	7.6	5.4	37.3	a
Modoc	90	86	—	4	—	—	—	—	a	a	a	a
Mono	55	49	—	6	4	4	—	—	a	a	a	a
Monterey	4,568	4,032	277	259	327	263	53	11	7.2	6.5	19.1	4.2
Napa	1,027	1,013	2	12	18	18	—	—	1.8	1.8	a	a
Nevada	346	340	2	4	8	8	—	—	2.3	2.4	a	a
Orange	22,637	21,965	256	416	1,356	1,296	46	14	6.0	5.9	18.0	3.4
Placer	1,119	1,098	4	17	85	80	2	3	7.6	7.3	a	a
Plumas	194	181	5	8	9	6	3	—	4.6	3.3	a	a
Riverside	7,497	6,897	465	135	569	429	131	9	7.6	6.2	28.2	6.7
Sacramento	10,693	9,451	831	411	1,169	885	266	18	10.9	9.4	32.0	4.4
San Benito	365	353	4	8	14	14	—	—	3.8	4.0	a	a
San Bernardino	11,589	10,809	637	143	1,095	868	215	12	9.4	8.0	33.8	8.4
San Diego	20,894	18,522	1,383	989	1,827	1,390	371	66	8.7	7.5	26.8	6.7
San Francisco	11,243	7,347	2,298	1,598	1,623	844	706	73	14.4	11.5	30.7	4.6
San Joaquin	4,880	4,325	323	232	501	348	128	25	10.3	8.0	39.6	10.8
San Luis Obispo	1,410	1,356	23	31	107	103	4	—	7.6	7.6	a	a

Table D, Continued

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF LIVE BIRTHS ILLEGITIMATE BY RACE
CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1966

(By place of residence)

COUNTY	NUMBER LIVE BIRTHS				NUMBER ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS				PERCENT ILLEGITIMATE			
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other
San Mateo	8,944	8,083	495	366	605	434	154	17	6.8	5.4	31.1	4.6
Santa Barbara	4,421	4,146	189	86	327	288	36	3	7.4	6.9	19.0	a
Santa Clara	18,582	17,574	342	666	1,174	1,093	56	25	6.3	6.2	16.4	3.8
Santa Cruz	1,617	1,560	21	36	125	119	3	3	7.7	7.6	a	a
Shasta	1,301	1,241	13	47	65	52	4	9	5.0	4.2	a	a
Sierra	39	37	—	2	—	—	—	—	a	a	a	a
Siskiyou	573	534	12	27	27	19	1	7	4.7	3.6	a	a
Solano	3,450	2,885	400	165	241	128	111	2	7.0	4.4	27.8	1.2
Sonoma	3,010	2,899	50	61	242	212	20	10	8.0	7.3	a	a
Stanislaus	3,310	3,226	49	35	235	221	14	—	7.1	6.8	a	a
Sutter	817	780	6	31	10	10	—	—	1.2	1.3	a	a
Tehama	463	453	1	9	2	2	—	—	0.4	0.4	a	a
Trinity	116	111	1	4	4	4	—	—	3.4	3.6	a	a
Tulare	3,533	3,393	77	63	294	249	37	8	8.3	7.3	a	a
Tuolumne	284	278	—	6	2	2	—	—	0.7	0.7	a	a
Ventura	6,433	6,158	149	126	459	418	35	6	7.1	6.8	23.5	4.8
Yolo	1,494	1,426	28	40	95	86	9	—	6.4	6.0	a	a
Yuba	1,035	950	64	21	5	5	—	—	0.5	0.5	a	a

^a Percents not calculated for base less than 100.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table E

NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
SELECTED¹ CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1967

(By place of residence)

SELECTED COUNTY AND RACE	TOTAL	AGE OF MOTHER									
		14 and Under	15	16	17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 and Over
Total Selected Counties	31,546	467	1,082	2,037	2,677	7,048	10,472	4,126	2,096	1,147	387
White	20,668	209	559	1,101	1,550	4,704	7,423	2,733	1,351	767	265
Negro	10,188	257	506	904	1,071	2,211	2,792	1,283	702	345	116
Other	690	1	17	32	56	133	257	110	43	35	6
Alameda	2,193	42	91	168	229	502	688	242	130	64	35
White	1,017	11	33	70	75	238	374	116	52	29	17
Negro	1,118	31	56	94	152	253	294	118	72	32	16
Other	58	—	2	4	2	11	20	8	6	3	2
Contra Costa	844	17	45	73	80	204	267	105	30	16	7
White	482	8	18	32	39	127	167	57	19	10	5
Negro	349	9	27	40	39	73	98	45	10	6	2
Other	13	—	—	1	2	4	2	3	1	—	—
Fresno	916	22	37	60	75	193	290	132	61	35	11
White	651	11	24	35	47	138	221	98	44	23	10
Negro	249	11	12	23	27	52	63	33	16	11	1
Other	16	—	1	2	1	3	6	1	1	1	—
Kern	732	11	30	53	59	164	239	81	58	29	8
White	516	6	19	29	37	105	187	62	44	20	7
Negro	201	5	11	24	21	53	47	16	14	9	1
Other	15	—	—	—	1	6	5	3	—	—	—
Los Angeles	15,149	238	522	952	1,245	3,279	4,918	2,102	1,107	592	193
White	8,964	97	236	442	651	2,002	3,161	1,254	642	355	123
Negro	5,900	141	280	502	573	1,224	1,646	798	448	218	70
Other	285	—	6	8	21	53	111	50	17	19	—
Orange	1,562	14	45	88	142	375	558	170	97	55	17
White	1,498	14	43	87	132	363	538	162	90	51	17
Negro	47	—	2	—	7	9	14	7	6	2	—
Other	17	—	—	1	3	3	6	1	1	2	—
Riverside	728	5	29	41	70	147	256	97	49	28	6
White	585	3	17	26	53	120	216	78	42	24	6
Negro	131	2	12	15	13	27	34	17	7	4	—
Other	12	—	—	—	4	—	6	2	—	—	—
Sacramento	1,127	18	36	75	98	291	366	128	51	48	15
White	798	8	19	46	68	213	270	88	36	38	12
Negro	306	10	15	28	26	71	91	38	14	10	2
Other	23	—	2	1	4	7	5	2	1	—	1
San Bernardino	1,236	18	45	93	111	248	400	164	95	46	16
White	994	11	28	73	86	198	338	134	77	36	13
Negro	232	7	17	20	24	47	58	29	18	9	3
Other	10	—	—	—	1	3	4	1	—	1	—

Table E, Continued

NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
SELECTED¹ CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1967

(By place of residence)

SELECTED COUNTY AND RACE	TOTAL	AGE OF MOTHER									40 and Over
		14 and Under	15	16	17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	
San Diego	2,018	21	56	113	170	517	721	224	106	66	24
White	1,588	9	36	79	130	411	594	179	84	49	17
Negro	376	12	18	30	37	96	109	33	19	15	7
Other	54	—	2	4	3	10	18	12	3	2	—
San Francisco	1,930	24	47	117	144	421	690	288	124	58	17
White	981	5	10	35	42	193	419	166	66	35	10
Negro	836	19	35	77	96	203	222	107	50	20	7
Other	113	—	2	5	6	25	49	15	8	3	—
San Joaquin	581	10	28	46	58	127	167	74	40	18	13
White	397	4	21	22	30	88	131	56	24	14	7
Negro	168	6	6	22	27	37	31	16	15	3	5
Other	16	—	1	2	1	2	5	2	1	1	1
San Mateo	620	6	20	44	49	156	211	77	36	15	6
White	458	4	11	28	32	116	168	57	28	11	3
Negro	144	2	9	15	16	40	38	14	6	2	2
Other	18	—	—	1	1	—	5	6	2	2	1
Santa Clara	1,393	18	29	72	99	315	537	184	77	54	8
White	1,270	15	27	62	87	293	486	169	73	51	7
Negro	89	2	2	7	7	17	36	11	4	3	—
Other	34	1	—	3	5	5	15	4	—	—	1
Ventura	517	3	22	42	48	109	164	58	35	23	11
White	469	3	17	35	41	99	153	57	30	21	11
Negro	42	—	4	7	6	9	11	1	3	1	—
Other	6	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	2	1	—

¹ Counties in which 5,000 or more live births occurred in 1967.

Note: Totals include births with age of mother unknown.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table F

NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
SELECTED¹ CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1966

(By place of residence)

SELECTED COUNTY AND RACE	TOTAL	AGE OF MOTHER									
		14 and Under	15	16	17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 and Over
Total Selected Counties	28,601	424	970	1,753	2,414	6,253	9,315	3,896	2,105	1,115	355
White	18,450	170	490	925	1,400	4,213	6,437	2,523	1,311	736	244
Negro	9,531	251	459	809	977	1,915	2,643	1,283	740	350	104
Other	620	3	21	19	37	125	235	90	54	29	7
Alameda	2,060	37	101	167	223	470	624	232	129	55	22
White	924	10	32	58	86	220	326	100	57	23	12
Negro	1,100	27	67	108	131	246	283	129	69	30	10
Other	36	—	2	1	6	4	15	3	3	2	—
Contra Costa	845	15	34	66	100	220	240	90	54	19	7
White	483	4	13	32	53	135	150	49	33	10	4
Negro	356	11	21	34	46	82	88	41	21	9	3
Other	6	—	—	—	1	3	2	—	—	—	—
Fresno	896	18	53	56	80	169	260	119	83	40	18
White	616	9	36	30	45	118	191	89	61	26	11
Negro	267	9	16	26	33	49	66	28	20	13	7
Other	13	—	1	—	2	2	3	2	2	1	—
Kern	687	14	20	47	63	146	219	90	46	30	12
White	465	6	11	26	38	91	166	64	34	20	9
Negro	204	8	9	21	24	53	47	20	11	8	3
Other	18	—	—	—	1	2	6	6	1	2	—
Los Angeles	13,735	204	434	841	1,125	2,830	4,435	2,004	1,110	572	179
White	7,957	63	197	394	585	1,731	2,768	1,157	602	347	112
Negro	5,496	140	226	436	524	1,048	1,556	802	486	213	65
Other	282	1	11	11	16	51	111	45	22	12	2
Orange	1,356	15	36	60	119	338	474	164	83	50	17
White	1,296	14	34	59	114	328	451	154	76	49	17
Negro	46	1	2	1	5	6	17	8	5	1	—
Other	14	—	—	—	—	4	6	2	2	—	—
Riverside	569	9	20	42	40	116	181	83	45	23	10
White	429	7	10	29	30	90	139	65	36	14	9
Negro	131	2	10	12	10	25	39	15	8	9	1
Other	9	—	—	1	—	1	3	3	1	—	—
Sacramento	1,169	6	36	68	91	262	409	158	83	43	13
White	885	4	21	48	67	206	311	122	64	32	10
Negro	266	2	14	20	23	53	90	36	16	10	2
Other	18	—	1	—	1	3	8	—	3	1	1
San Bernardino	1,095	18	44	61	94	249	333	152	82	49	13
White	868	9	28	43	74	202	280	121	64	36	11
Negro	215	9	14	18	20	45	51	28	16	12	2
Other	12	—	2	—	—	2	2	3	2	1	—

Table F, Continued

NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER
 SELECTED¹ CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1966

(By place of residence)

SELECTED COUNTY AND RACE	TOTAL	AGE OF MOTHER									
		14 and Under	15	16	17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 and Over
San Diego	1,827	25	64	96	143	462	608	211	120	81	17
White	1,390	13	38	61	95	368	487	165	83	66	14
Negro	371	10	25	33	45	80	98	38	30	10	2
Other	66	2	1	2	3	14	23	8	7	5	1
San Francisco	1,623	31	39	90	124	343	589	240	102	50	15
White	844	10	8	28	45	179	351	135	56	25	7
Negro	706	21	30	61	76	147	210	94	38	23	6
Other	73	—	1	1	3	17	28	11	8	2	2
San Joaquin	501	12	30	37	48	111	133	61	40	21	8
White	348	10	16	16	33	81	100	41	29	15	7
Negro	128	2	12	19	12	24	26	17	10	5	1
Other	25	—	2	2	3	6	7	3	1	1	—
San Mateo	605	9	21	47	51	153	212	57	31	17	7
White	434	2	12	32	32	109	165	42	26	10	4
Negro	154	7	9	15	18	36	42	13	5	7	2
Other	17	—	—	—	1	8	5	2	—	—	1
Santa Clara	1,174	7	26	54	77	268	471	160	67	33	11
White	1,093	6	24	51	73	248	436	151	60	33	11
Negro	56	1	2	2	4	13	22	7	5	—	—
Other	25	—	—	1	—	7	13	2	2	—	—
Ventura	459	4	12	21	36	116	127	75	30	32	6
White	418	3	10	18	30	107	116	68	30	30	6
Negro	35	1	2	3	6	8	8	7	—	—	—
Other	6	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	2	—

¹ Counties in which 5,000 or more live births occurred in 1967.

Note: Totals include births with age of mother unknown.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table G

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS AND ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE
AGE OF MOTHER AND LIVE BIRTH ORDER
CALIFORNIA, 1967

(By place of residence)

RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER	ALL LIVE BIRTHS						ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS					
	Total	Live Birth Order					Total	Live Birth Order				
		1	2	3	4	5 and Over		1	2	3	4	5 and Over
Total	336,584	127,487	89,461	51,885	29,513	38,118	35,215	20,727	5,489	3,131	2,124	3,707
White	293,261	111,918	78,880	45,486	25,547	31,335	23,774	14,910	3,361	1,960	1,385	2,133
Under 20	48,976	39,087	8,495	1,213	149	21	9,503	8,531	824	126	16	1
14 or Under	345	339	6	—	—	—	258	255	3	—	—	—
15	1,282	1,228	50	2	—	1	653	636	16	—	—	—
16	4,075	3,797	270	6	1	—	1,313	1,242	69	1	—	—
17	8,340	7,194	1,049	87	7	—	1,844	1,706	124	11	1	—
18-19	34,934	26,529	7,120	1,118	141	20	5,435	4,692	612	114	15	1
20-24	112,895	51,194	39,322	15,317	5,017	2,006	8,457	5,161	1,730	895	445	215
25-29	73,323	15,897	22,081	17,271	9,801	8,255	3,076	835	531	557	488	663
30-34	35,761	4,061	6,458	8,006	6,648	10,580	1,526	251	183	220	254	616
35-39	17,032	1,342	2,023	2,966	3,087	7,608	902	100	72	127	137	465
40 and Over	5,246	332	498	709	843	2,862	303	31	21	35	45	171
Negro	31,151	11,138	7,224	4,437	2,908	5,421	10,640	5,327	1,996	1,108	697	1,500
Under 20	9,139	6,310	2,127	555	107	34	5,184	3,943	940	246	40	11
14 or Under	286	274	9	2	—	—	267	256	8	2	—	—
15	623	571	50	2	—	—	535	501	33	1	—	—
16	1,283	1,087	174	20	1	—	942	819	109	14	—	—
17	1,811	1,313	426	65	6	—	1,132	876	224	29	2	—
18-19	5,136	3,065	1,468	466	100	34	2,308	1,491	566	200	38	11
20-24	10,372	3,605	3,232	1,897	953	679	2,905	1,153	746	518	279	205
25-29	6,118	852	1,292	1,238	1,003	1,728	1,339	159	221	220	226	511
30-34	3,402	260	383	542	546	1,669	727	49	58	79	94	446
35-39	1,626	89	162	167	234	974	359	18	28	31	42	240
40 and Over	488	21	28	38	64	337	125	5	3	14	16	87
Indian ¹	1,705	538	412	272	152	331	302	157	66	22	23	34
Under 20	326	229	78	13	5	1	90	74	13	3	—	—
14 or Under	3	3	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
15	11	11	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	—	—	—
16-17	96	76	18	2	—	—	30	26	4	—	—	—
18-19	216	139	60	11	5	1	55	43	9	3	—	—
20-24	694	243	227	135	54	35	121	68	37	7	6	3
25-29	394	45	82	82	62	123	58	9	15	6	11	17
30-34	189	16	17	30	23	103	17	5	—	4	2	6
35-39	82	5	5	9	8	55	14	1	—	2	4	7
40 and Over	20	—	3	3	—	14	2	—	1	—	—	1

Table G, Continued

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS AND ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE
AGE OF MOTHER AND LIVE BIRTH ORDER
CALIFORNIA, 1967

(By place of residence)

RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER	ALL LIVE BIRTHS						ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS					
	Total	Live Birth Order					Total	Live Birth Order				
		1	2	3	4	5 and Over		1	2	3	4	5 and Over
Chinese	2,534	948	692	431	247	215	67	42	15	6	1	3
Under 20	140	123	14	3	—	—	29	26	2	1	—	—
14 or Under	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	2	2	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
16-17	17	17	—	—	—	—	6	6	—	1	—	—
18-19	121	104	14	3	—	—	21	18	2	1	—	—
20-24	549	335	152	45	12	4	24	16	6	1	1	1
25-29	886	368	286	150	57	25	5	—	2	2	—	—
30-34	601	94	181	155	102	69	6	—	4	2	—	1
35-39	273	23	47	63	58	82	2	—	1	—	—	1
40 and Over	84	5	11	15	18	35	1	—	—	—	—	—
Japanese	3,397	1,258	1,127	565	256	190	100	75	11	9	1	—
Under 20	157	138	17	2	—	—	35	32	3	—	—	—
14 or Under	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	4	4	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	—	—	—
16-17	37	36	1	—	—	—	16	16	—	—	—	—
18-19	116	98	16	2	—	—	16	13	3	—	—	—
20-24	703	447	208	34	11	2	34	29	3	1	1	1
25-29	1,087	400	440	170	55	22	9	6	1	1	—	2
30-34	898	182	319	242	95	60	8	2	1	3	—	1
35-39	439	79	120	98	72	70	12	6	2	1	—	—
40 and Over	113	12	23	19	23	36	2	—	1	—	—	—
Other Races	4,536	1,687	1,126	694	403	626	332	216	40	26	17	33
Under 20	505	392	100	13	—	—	127	110	14	3	—	—
14 or Under	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
15	21	20	1	—	—	—	11	11	2	—	—	—
16-17	123	111	11	1	—	—	47	45	12	3	—	—
18-19	360	260	88	12	—	—	68	53	—	—	—	—
20-24	1,384	698	418	165	66	37	117	83	18	10	5	1
25-29	1,332	400	369	267	146	150	54	19	4	8	6	17
30-34	813	135	182	167	119	210	16	1	2	4	3	6
35-39	389	53	44	69	63	160	16	3	2	1	3	7
40 and Over	113	9	13	13	9	69	2	—	—	—	—	2

¹ American Indian, including Alaskan.

Note: Totals include births with age of mother or live birth order unknown.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table H

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS AND ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE
AGE OF MOTHER AND LIVE BIRTH ORDER
CALIFORNIA, 1966

(By place of residence)

RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER	ALL LIVE BIRTHS						ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS					
	Total	Live Birth Order					Total	Live Birth Order				
		1	2	3	4	5 and Over		1	2	3	4	5 and Over
Total	337,623	121,103	87,060	54,303	32,566	42,507	31,804	17,747	5,084	2,930	2,092	3,939
White	293,989	106,602	76,893	47,546	28,129	34,741	21,122	12,693	3,078	1,841	1,326	2,175
Under 20	50,345	39,552	9,040	1,512	198	35	8,387	7,496	756	117	15	2
14 or Under	277	273	3	—	—	1	202	201	1	—	—	—
15	1,218	1,170	48	—	—	—	575	561	14	—	—	—
16	3,839	3,530	289	15	3	1	1,090	1,028	57	3	1	—
17	8,321	7,120	1,082	110	7	2	1,641	1,504	128	9	—	—
18-19	36,690	27,459	7,618	1,387	188	31	4,879	4,202	556	105	14	2
20-24	109,253	47,137	37,865	16,021	5,754	2,448	7,293	4,201	1,564	851	449	225
25-29	72,762	14,434	20,792	17,620	10,552	9,349	2,850	688	492	509	473	687
30-34	37,259	3,794	6,474	8,388	7,226	11,368	1,478	201	169	234	232	641
35-39	18,650	1,355	2,206	3,258	3,426	8,402	828	76	80	101	121	448
40 and Over	5,698	324	515	746	971	3,137	285	31	17	29	36	172
Negro	31,539	10,425	6,890	4,676	3,198	6,346	9,965	4,635	1,894	1,033	714	1,686
Under 20	8,701	5,853	2,061	628	134	24	4,658	3,471	896	230	52	8
14 or Under	284	271	12	1	—	—	264	253	11	—	—	—
15	601	546	52	2	1	—	492	452	37	2	1	—
16	1,168	965	185	18	—	—	860	724	127	9	—	—
17	1,720	1,224	410	76	9	1	1,013	768	205	33	6	1
18-19	4,928	2,847	1,402	531	124	23	2,029	1,274	516	186	45	7
20-24	10,370	3,454	2,960	1,990	1,134	829	2,748	996	710	470	302	268
25-29	6,487	797	1,268	1,289	1,056	2,077	1,326	109	197	222	218	580
30-34	3,702	238	439	548	587	1,890	762	41	67	76	102	476
35-39	1,755	76	133	176	235	1,135	363	18	19	29	34	263
40 and Over	524	7	29	45	52	391	108	—	5	6	6	91
Indian ¹	1,735	492	371	280	206	386	287	143	48	32	23	41
Under 20	316	226	66	23	1	—	87	74	8	5	—	—
14	5	5	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	—	—	—
15	17	17	—	—	—	—	13	13	—	—	—	—
16-17	79	65	10	4	—	—	20	18	1	1	—	—
18-19	215	139	56	19	1	—	50	39	7	4	—	—
20-24	667	199	222	131	75	40	114	55	29	15	11	4
25-29	432	49	61	88	87	147	48	11	8	6	8	15
30-34	207	14	21	25	30	117	26	2	3	4	2	15
35-39	89	4	—	11	7	67	11	1	—	2	1	7
40 and Over	24	—	1	2	6	15	1	—	—	—	1	—

Table H, Continued

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS AND ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE
AGE OF MOTHER AND LIVE BIRTH ORDER
CALIFORNIA, 1966

(By place of residence)

RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER	ALL LIVE BIRTHS						ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS					
	Total	Live Birth Order					Total	Live Birth Order				
		1	2	3	4	5 and Over		1	2	3	4	5 and Over
Chinese	2,511	873	696	478	241	223	44	30	7	2	3	2
Under 20	127	106	20	1	—	—	20	18	2	—	—	—
14 or Under	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	2	2	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
16-17	17	16	1	—	—	—	4	4	—	—	—	—
18-19	108	88	19	1	—	—	14	12	2	—	—	—
20-24	525	306	157	49	12	1	10	7	2	—	1	—
25-29	926	320	309	202	57	38	7	4	1	2	—	—
30-34	556	101	154	142	86	73	2	1	1	—	1	1
35-39	308	31	45	75	74	83	2	—	—	—	1	—
40 and Over	69	9	11	9	12	28	3	—	1	—	—	—
Japanese	3,586	1,278	1,135	641	327	205	101	73	14	2	7	5
Under 20	139	122	15	2	—	—	34	32	2	—	—	—
14 or Under	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
16-17	26	24	2	—	—	—	7	7	2	—	—	—
18-19	112	97	13	2	—	—	26	24	—	—	—	—
20-24	722	442	211	55	10	4	32	27	4	—	—	1
25-29	1,167	428	453	191	64	31	17	11	2	1	2	1
30-34	936	196	307	241	124	68	12	2	4	1	3	1
35-39	510	76	129	122	103	80	4	—	2	—	1	—
40 and Over	112	14	20	30	26	22	2	1	—	—	—	—
Other Races	4,263	1,433	1,075	682	465	606	285	173	43	20	19	30
Under 20	461	360	88	9	4	—	105	93	12	—	—	—
14 or Under	6	5	1	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
15	14	13	1	—	—	—	8	8	3	—	—	—
16-17	114	97	16	1	—	—	36	33	9	—	—	—
18-19	327	245	70	8	4	—	59	50	—	—	—	—
20-24	1,286	579	415	187	65	39	106	66	18	11	7	4
25-29	1,236	320	359	237	169	151	31	10	7	4	7	3
30-34	781	126	155	169	137	194	23	3	3	2	3	12
35-39	390	42	45	67	73	163	17	3	3	3	2	9
40 and Over	108	6	13	13	17	59	3	1	—	—	—	2

1 American Indian, including Alaskan.

Note: Totals include births with age of mother or live birth order unknown.

Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Birth Records.

Table J

PERCENT OF WOMEN UNMARRIED AND SEPARATED BY RACE AND AGE GROUP
UNITED STATES AND CALIFORNIA, 1960, 1966, 1967

(Basis for estimating denominators for legitimate and
illegitimate birth rates; see text, pages 5 to 8)

RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER	PERCENT UNMARRIED ¹						PERCENT SEPARATED			
	United States			California			United States			California
	Census ²	Smoothed Estimate from CPS ³		Census ⁴	Estimate ⁵		Census ²	CPS ⁶		Census ^{4,7}
	1960	1966	1967	1960	1966	1967	1960	1966	1967	1960
All Races, 15-44	28.5	32.8	33.1	26.6	31.0	31.5	2.3	2.5 ^a	2.5 ^a	2.2
White, 15-44	27.7	32.1	32.2	26.4	30.7	31.1	1.3	1.6 ^a	1.6 ^a	1.7
15-19	84.3	88.4	88.2	81.6	86.4	86.2	0.5	0.4 ^b	0.4 ^b	0.7
20-24	29.5	33.3	34.4	27.2	31.1	32.3	1.5	1.9	1.8	2.2
25-29	12.8	12.4	12.6	14.0	13.6	13.8	1.5	1.8	2.1	1.9
30-34	10.4	9.6	10.0	11.8	11.0	11.4	1.5	1.9	2.0	1.9
35-44	12.1	11.2	11.2	12.8	11.9	11.9	1.5	2.2	2.2	1.8
Nonwhite, 15-44	34.8	37.5	39.3	29.5	33.3	35.1	9.5	8.9 ^a	8.8 ^a	7.4
15-19	84.2	88.3	87.8	82.8	87.3	86.7	1.6	0.8 ^b	0.6 ^b	1.7
20-24	37.8	39.0	41.9	34.8	36.1	39.1	7.9	7.1	8.6	7.1
25-29	21.1	19.7	21.6	18.4	17.0	18.9	11.6	13.4	11.6	8.7
30-34	17.7	13.3	15.4	15.8	11.3	13.4	12.9	11.8	15.1	8.8
35-44	19.6	16.5	18.3	17.9	14.8	16.7	12.2	14.2	12.7	8.5
Negro, 14-44	37.6	c	c	32.2	33.2	35.0	9.8	c	c	9.8
14-19	86.4	c	c	83.4	85.3	84.7	1.4	c	c	1.9
20-24	37.4	c	c	30.0	31.5	34.7	8.4	c	c	9.4
25-29	19.7 ^d	c	c	18.1 ^d	18.0	20.0	13.4 ^d	c	c	12.7 ^d
30-34		c	c		12.4	14.6		c	c	
35-44	20.0	c	c	20.2	17.3	19.1	13.0	c	c	11.3

¹ Single, widowed and divorced.

² Source: 1960 Census of Population, Volume 1, Part 1, Table 176; Subject Reports PC(2)-1C, Table 19.

³ Smoothed estimates from Current Population Survey calculated from published figures on numbers and rates of illegitimate and total births and, therefore, subject to rounding error (see reference No. 16, page 71, and sources, Tables 10 and 11).

⁴ Source: 1960 Census of Population, Volume 1, Part 6, Table 105; Subject Reports PC(2)-1C, Table 19.

⁵ Assumes percent change from 1960 was the same in California as in the United States (nonwhite change applied to obtain estimate for Negro women).

⁶ Source: Current Population Reports, P-20, Number 159, Table 3; P-20, Number 170, Table 3.

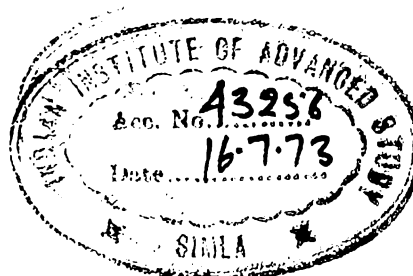
⁷ 1960 Census figures used to estimate California denominator data for 1966 and 1967 since United States figures showed no large shift since 1960.

^a Age group 14-44.

^b Age group 14-19.

^c Not available.

^d Age group 25-34.



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