
A Minnesota Index of Leading Cultural Indicators: 1999

Peter J. Nelson and Jena S. Morris

Back in 1993, former U.S. education secretary William J. Bennett provoked one of his routine but substantial stirs when he published his Index of Leading Cultural Indicators, a comprehensive statistical portrait of behavioral decline in the United States over the previous three decades.

A year later, in 1994, American Experiment published a local analogue to that sobering work, "A Minnesota Index of Leading Cultural Indicators," by Karen L. McLaughlin. Like Dr. Bennett's review, the one by Ms. McLaughlin essentially covered the period 1960–91.

The analysis that follows, by Peter J. Nelson and Jena S. Morris, "A Minnesota Index of Leading Cultural Indicators: 1999," builds on the McLaughlin study, carrying it forward, on occasion, to as recently as 1997.

As readers may recall, the news as reported by both Bennett and McLaughlin earlier in the decade about crime, out-of-wedlock births, and the like was consistently, often powerfully, grim. Rates of social decay from 1960 onward were often stunningly high, particularly in Minnesota (although actual conditions in Minnesota remained almost always better and safer than for the nation as a whole).

Getting right to the purpose and heart of the current exercise is this question: Has much of anything improved since the Bennett and McLaughlin reports, in the matter of our cultural environment, be it defined nationally or limited to Minnesota? The short answer is yes, as severely qualified as that answer may be, as some indicators, in fact, are beginning to move in healthier directions here and elsewhere. Or at the very least, some rates of deterioration seem to be slowing down. Take violent crime for such a mixed example.

The Minnesota violent crime rate in 1991 was less than half the national rate—316 per 100,000 population compared to 758 per 100,000 for the United States as a whole. However, the rate of increase in violent crimes, between 1960 and 1990, was much steeper in Minnesota (629%) than it was for the nation (355%).

Jump ahead now, if you would. Whereas the violent crime rate, both nationally and at home, had been exploding, it slowed in Minnesota, between 1991 and 1997, to 7.0%, and actually declined across the country by 19.4% during this time.

Or take teen birth rates. After having peaked in 1990 for Minnesota and in 1991 for the nation, by 1996 they had dropped (according to one calculation) by 6.1% in Minnesota and by 12.4% across the country.

Not unrelated here is the leveling off of births to unmarried mothers (both teens and adults) in the city of Minneapolis. That proportion was 45.7% in 1991, and I remember at the time how several observers (I was one of them) simply assumed that the rate would continue to climb. Fortunately, it didn't: the number stood at 45.1% in 1996, having never gone above 46.3% in the intervening years.

Two very important cautions are called for here.

The first is that I'm acutely aware of the fact that by seeming to suggest a measure of satisfaction that the out-of-wedlock birth rate in Minneapolis steadied at about only 45%, I appear to be validating Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's warning about "defining deviancy down." I assure you that I'm anything but satisfied that nearly half of all children born in Minnesota's largest city have been coming into this life outside of marriage. It is a full-fledged disaster, nothing less, and pity us if we ever come to view numbers like these as a normal or reasonable baseline.

At the same time, it would be a mistake not to acknowledge that several very bad long-term trends maybe, just maybe, are beginning to turn around.

The second point to be made here is that this is a "Joe Friday" study rather than what might be thought of as a more conventional American Experiment essay. Which is to say, its usefulness and strength rest precisely in its spare presentation of "just the facts" and not in any ideologically textured narrative or interpretation.

This is the case in part because the numbers, I'm afraid, continue to speak for themselves—frighteningly so. Another reason is that I hope a variety of individuals and institutions, regardless of where they land on any ideological or political continuum, will feel comfortable in taking advantage of this exercise.

Of more technical interest, the categories in this iteration generally follow, without exactly replicating, those of the McLaughlin version. For instance, various categories are packaged in larger groupings this time around. Also, the current study uses new data in a few instances to refine findings in the earlier one.

The groundwork for this study was laid by Jena Morris, a Minneapolis writer and editor. She has contributed to periodicals such as *Guideposts*, *Wellsprings*, and *The American Jewish World*, and is coauthor (along with Manis Friedman) of the noted book *Doesn't Anyone Blush Anymore?* She has studied at Collège Ste-Marie de Paissy in Paris; St. John's College in Santa Fe; Southern Methodist University in Dallas; and Hebrew University in Jerusalem. That's my kind of multiculturalism.

The hundreds of calculations were checked, rechecked, and polished by Peter Nelson, who, in his less quantitative life, serves as *American Experiment's* special assistant for development and public programs. An economics graduate of Wheaton College in Illinois, he did a first-rate job of guaranteeing the accuracy of an unusually intricate project. I'm also indebted here to Dr. David W. Riggs, our senior fellow for economic and environmental studies, and consultant Mindy Feller, who likewise pondered the data with great care.

—Mitchell B. Pearlstein

Part One: Crime

- I. Serious Crime: Murder, Rape, Robbery, Aggravated Assault, Burglary, Motor Vehicle Theft, and Arson
- II. Violent Crime: Murder, Rape, Robbery, and Aggravated Assault
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Part One: Crime

The United States Department of Justice administers two methods of compiling and classifying crime data: the Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR), overseen by the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), administered by the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

The UCR was developed in 1929 as a universal crime reporting system in order to track crime information from diverse law enforcement agencies according to objective criteria. Eight major criminal offenses constitute what is referred to as the Crime Index, which is used to evaluate the changes and trends in reported crime over designated periods of time. These eight crimes—also known as Part I or Seri-

ous Crimes—are murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson. The term Crime Rate refers to the number of Part I crimes reported per 100,000 residents of a geographic area. The Uniform Crime Report has been mandated nationwide since 1980. Many state and municipal agencies, including Minneapolis and St. Paul, did not keep standardized records before that time.

Neither the Crime Index nor the Crime Rate takes into account the lesser crimes known as Part II Crimes—simple assault, forgery/counterfeiting, fraud, embezzlement, stolen property, vandalism, weapon violation, prostitution, sex offense, narcotics, gambling, D.W.I., and family/child abuse—although they may considerably affect the overall livability of an area.

The FBI assesses trends in violent crime by monitoring four offenses that are consistently reported by law enforcement agencies nationwide. The Violent Crime Index is a composite of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Other crimes may seem violent in nature or in effect (such as kidnapping or drug dealing) but traditionally have not been used to monitor violent crimes. The FBI's Violent Crime Index is now in use in all geographic areas of the country.

Beginning in the late 1980s, juvenile arrests for violent crime in the United States grew at a far greater rate than adult arrests. In response, the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program created the Juvenile Violent

Arrest Index. Juvenile violent crime is tracked by the number of violent crimes cleared by the arrest of a juvenile, rather than by reported offenses. An offense is reported cleared by arrest when at least one person is arrested for or charged with commission of that offense. In most states, as well as in the nation as a whole, juvenile is defined as 10 to 17 years of age; however, index figures occasionally vary depending on whether the reporting agency is considering all persons 17 and under, ages 10 to 17, or ages 15 to 17. In order to create a comparable set of data for this report, juvenile is defined as all persons 17 and under. Juvenile crime rates also vary widely depending on the criteria used for determining the corresponding juvenile population. In many municipalities, such as the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, consistent population figures for juveniles are not available.

The second system of synthesizing crime information, the National Crime Victimization Survey, was created in 1973 and significantly redesigned in 1993. The NCVS measures the magnitude, nature, and impact of crimes suffered by individuals and households, whether or not those crimes were reported to law enforcement agencies. Because the UCR and the NCVS use very different methods of collecting information, data from the two programs are not interchangeable. Studying them together produces a more comprehensive understanding of crime information than either provides alone; however, such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this review. With the exception of the section on juve-

nile crime, we have based our efforts entirely on Uniform Crime Reporting Program data from municipal, state, and national law enforcement agencies, primarily because the UCR data better enabled comparison between state and national trends.

I. Serious Crime: Murder, Rape, Robbery, Aggravated Assault, Burglary, Motor Vehicle Theft, and Arson

Minnesota 1960-1990

The serious crime rate in Minnesota reached an all-time high in 1980, peaking at 4,800 crimes per 100,000

people. By 1985 the rate had decreased to 4,134, then began steadily climbing upward, reaching 4,539 in 1990, a 210% increase since 1960.

1991-1997

The crime rate peaked again in 1992 at 4,591, and by 1997 had decreased to 4,414 per 100,000 people. From 1991 to 1997, there was a 3.8% increase in serious crimes, with a 1.8% decline in the rate. Minneapolis represented only 8% of the population, yet accounted for 20% of the state's serious crime; St. Paul, at 6% of the population, accounted for 10%. In 1997 Minneapolis's serious crime rate stood at 11,498 per 100,000 residents, compared to St. Paul at 7,993 and the state as a whole at 4,414.

Serious Crime*
Rate per 100,000 population

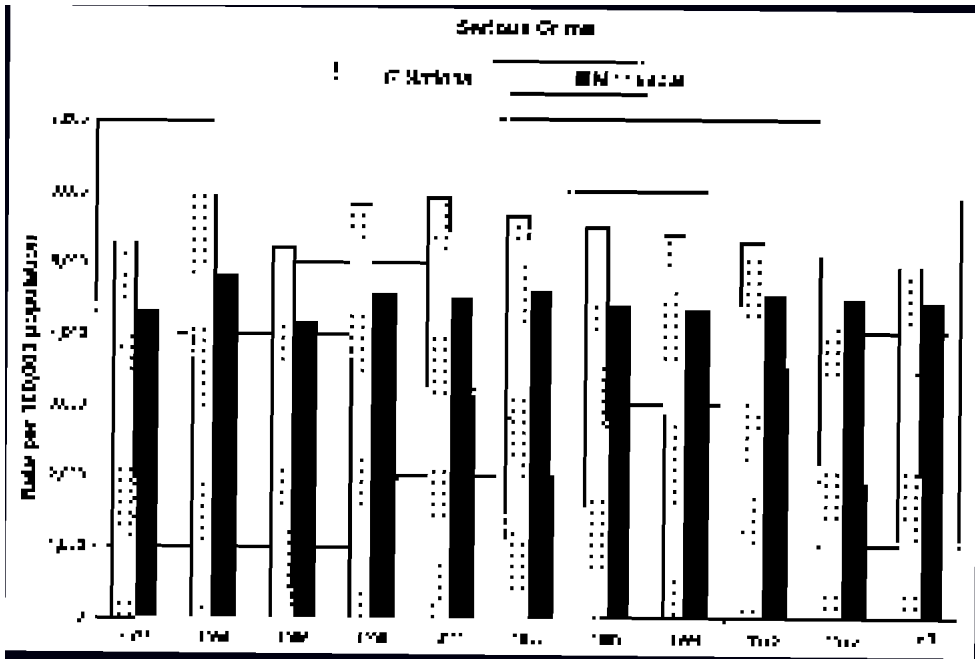
	National		Minnesota		Minneapolis		St. Paul	
	Total (in 1,000s)	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate
1960	3,384	1,887	50,049	1,466	NA†	NA†	9,852	3,144
1965‡	4,739	2,445	71,485	2,011	NA†	NA†	13,653	4,289
1970	8,098	3,986	121,796	3,201	NA†	NA†	19,615	6,328
1975	11,292	5,299	168,766	4,299	34,478	8,271	22,569	7,506
1980	13,408	5,950	194,918	4,800	35,820	9,646	22,134	8,177
1985	12,431	5,207	173,348	4,134	37,977	10,269	20,854	7,691
1990	14,476	5,820	198,577	4,539	42,886	11,642	22,144	8,134
1991	14,873	5,898	199,274	4,496	43,670	11,835	21,765	7,986
1992	14,438	5,660	205,664	4,591	42,423	11,511	21,395	7,846
1993	14,145	5,484	198,125	4,386	40,901	11,117	20,382	7,487
1994	13,990	5,374	198,253	4,341	41,800	11,406	19,480	7,171
1995	13,863	5,276	207,327	4,497	42,487	11,612	20,257	7,472
1996	13,494	5,087	207,891	4,463	41,115	11,284	20,973	7,755
1997	13,175	4,923	206,833	4,414	41,632	11,498	21,552	7,993

*Due to data inconsistencies, arson data are taken out of the total number.

†No comparable aggravated assault data.

‡St. Paul rate based on 1966 population estimates.

Sources: Federal Bureau of Investigation, various years; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998; Minneapolis Police Department, various years; St. Paul Police Department, various years.



Minnesota Compared to the Nation 1960–1990

Throughout the 30-year period from 1960 to 1990, Minnesota was generally safer than the nation as a whole. The threat of crime was not as great in Minnesota in 1990 as it was for the nation generally—4,539 serious crimes per 100,000 people in Minnesota compared to 5,820 per 100,000 in the United States. But the percentage increase between 1960 and 1990 was nearly the same—210% in Minnesota versus 208% for the country as a whole.

1991–1997

The actual number of offenses in Minnesota rose 3.8% from 1991 to 1997, while in the nation as a whole, serious crime declined 11.4% to its

lowest level since 1985. In that same period, serious crime rates in Minnesota remained stable, dropping only 1.8%. Nationally, rates were markedly down: a total of 16.5%, due in no small part to dramatic declines in America's largest cities. Rates in cities with populations over 1 million and 250,000 dropped 32% and 24%, respectively.

II. Violent Crime: Murder, Rape, Robbery, and Aggravated Assault

Minnesota 1960–1990

The violent crime rate for Minnesota increased 629% between 1960 and 1990. Over 60% of that increase occurred between 1960 and 1975.

Violent Crime

Rate per 100,000 population

	National		Minnesota		Minneapolis		St. Paul	
	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate
1960	288,460	161	1,435	42	NA*	NA*	318	102
1965†	387,390	200	3,074	87	NA*	NA*	809	254
1970	738,820	364	5,782	152	NA*	NA*	1,801	581
1975	1,039,710	488	8,125	207	3,326	798	2,217	737
1980	1,344,520	597	9,250	228	3,917	1,055	2,032	751
1985	1,328,800	557	10,763	257	5,135	1,389	2,095	773
1990	1,820,130	732	13,392	306	5,225	1,418	2,763	1,015
1991	1,911,770	758	14,006	316	5,889	1,596	2,731	1,002
1992	1,932,270	758	15,144	338	6,334	1,719	2,616	959
1993	1,926,020	747	14,778	327	6,581	1,789	2,704	993
1994	1,857,670	714	16,397	359	7,196	1,964	2,730	1,005
1995	1,798,792	685	16,416	356	7,151	1,954	2,536	935
1996	1,688,540	637	15,782	339	6,909	1,896	2,461	910
1997	1,634,770	611	15,827	338	6,733	1,860	2,415	896

*No comparable aggravated assault data.

†St. Paul rate based on 1966 population estimates.

Sources: Federal Bureau of Investigation, various years; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998; Minneapolis Police Department, various years; St. Paul Police Department, various years.

1991–1997

Violent crime in Minnesota rose 13% from 1991 to 1997. Of the total 1997 offenses, 43% were committed in the city of Minneapolis alone; St. Paul accounted for 15%. From 1991 to 1997, Minneapolis saw an overall 17% increase in the violent crime rate; St. Paul had a decrease of nearly 11%. The actual number of violent offenses peaked in Minneapolis in 1994, an increase of 38% over 1990; from 1994 to 1997, there was a 6.4% decrease. Nevertheless, the 6,733 violent crimes reported in Minneapolis in 1997 represented a 102% increase over the 3,326 reported in 1975. Minneapolis had a violent crime rate of 1,860 per 100,000 in 1997; the rate in Minnesota as a whole was 338.

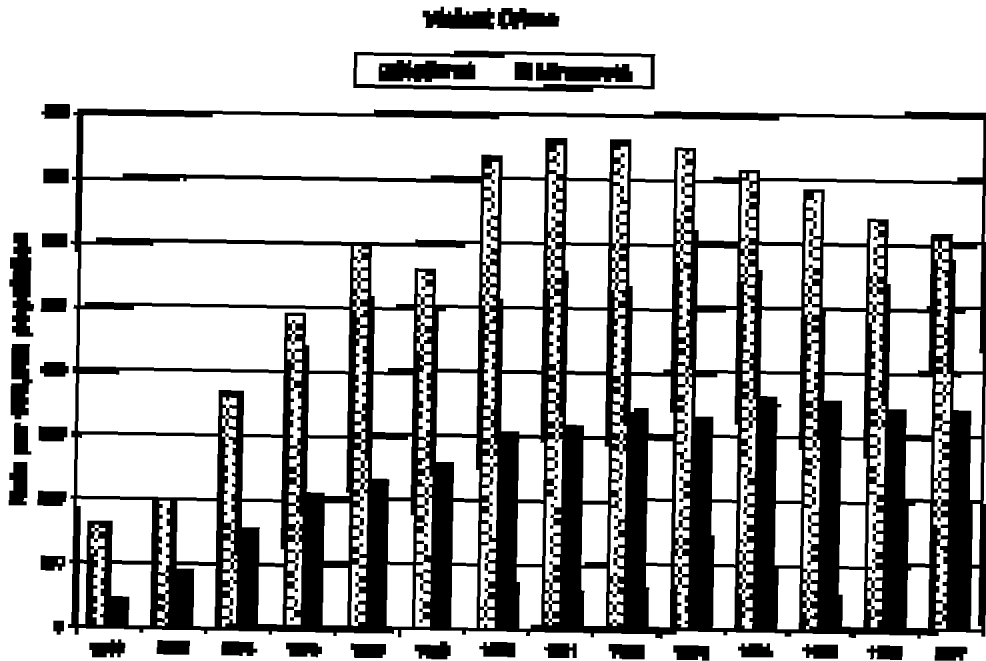
Minnesota Compared to the Nation

1960–1990

The Minnesota violent crime rate in 1990 was less than half the national rate—306 per 100,000 in Minnesota, compared to 732 per 100,000 nationally. But the percent increase for the rates from 1960 to 1990 was markedly greater in Minnesota than for the country generally—629% for Minnesota compared to 355% for the United States.

1991–1997

Violent crime rates rose in Minnesota 7.0% during these years, while the national rate declined each year for a total drop of 19.4%. In 1995 New York City's violent crime rate declined for the fourth straight year, to its lowest in 23 years. Chicago, San Diego, and Houston all experienced similar drops



in violent crime. In 1997 the rate of 611 violent offenses per 100,000 population was the nation's lowest since 1985. The violent crime rate in cities with populations over 250,000 dropped 29% from 1991 to 1997. During this time, both Minneapolis and St. Paul detracted from this positive trend: St. Paul showed positive gains, but less than the national total at an 11% decline; as mentioned earlier, Minneapolis's rate jumped 17%. Nevertheless, although Minnesotans in 1996 were 45% less likely to be victims of violent offenses than the rest of the country, the likelihood in Minneapolis remained more than three times greater than the national average.

III. Homicide and Manslaughter

Minnesota

1960-1990

From 1960 to 1975, the number of murders in Minnesota rose from 42 to 129 per year; thereafter, the number declined to a low of 69 in 1983 and then rose to 117 in 1990. From 1960 to 1990, there was a 179% jump in the number of homicides reported in Minnesota and a 125% increase in the rate. Minneapolis accounted for nearly 43% of the state's murders in 1990.

1991-1997

Across Minnesota, the number of

Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter
Rate per 100,000 population

	National		Minnesota		Minneapolis		St. Paul	
	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate
1960	9,110	5.1	42	1.2	7	1.4	12	3.8
1965*	9,960	5.1	50	1.4	23	4.8	7	2.2
1970	16,000	7.9	75	2.0	28	6.4	14	4.5
1975	20,510	9.6	129	3.3	47	11.3	18	6.0
1980	23,040	10.2	106	2.6	36	9.7	16	5.9
1985	18,980	8.0	88	2.1	29	7.8	17	6.3
1990	23,440	9.4	117	2.7	50	13.6	18	6.6
1991	24,700	9.8	131	3.0	64	17.3	12	4.4
1992	23,760	9.3	150	3.3	62	16.8	30	11.0
1993	24,530	9.5	155	3.4	58	15.8	22	8.1
1994	23,330	9.0	147	3.2	62	16.9	29	10.7
1995	21,606	8.2	182	3.9	97	26.5	25	9.2
1996	19,650	7.4	167	3.6	83	22.8	29	10.7
1997	18,210	6.8	129	2.8	58	16.0	24	8.9

*Minneapolis and St. Paul rates based on 1966 population estimates.

Sources: Federal Bureau of Investigation, various years; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998; Minneapolis Police Department, various years; St. Paul Police Department, various years.

murders decreased an insignificant 1.5% from 131 in 1991 to 129 in 1997, though the years between witnessed a significant rise and fall. At just over 13% of Minnesota's population, Minneapolis and St. Paul accounted for 62% of all murders from 1991 to 1997.

The number of murders in Minnesota spiraled upward from 131 in 1991 to its 1995 peak of 182, nearly half attributed to drug- and gang-related homicides in Minneapolis. There were a record 97 murders in Minneapolis in 1995 as well. Following that tremendous increase came an even greater decline as 1997 murders dropped below 1991 totals in both Minnesota and Minneapolis to 129 and 58, respectively. Likewise, the number of murders decreased in St. Paul, from 29 in 1996 to 24 in 1997.

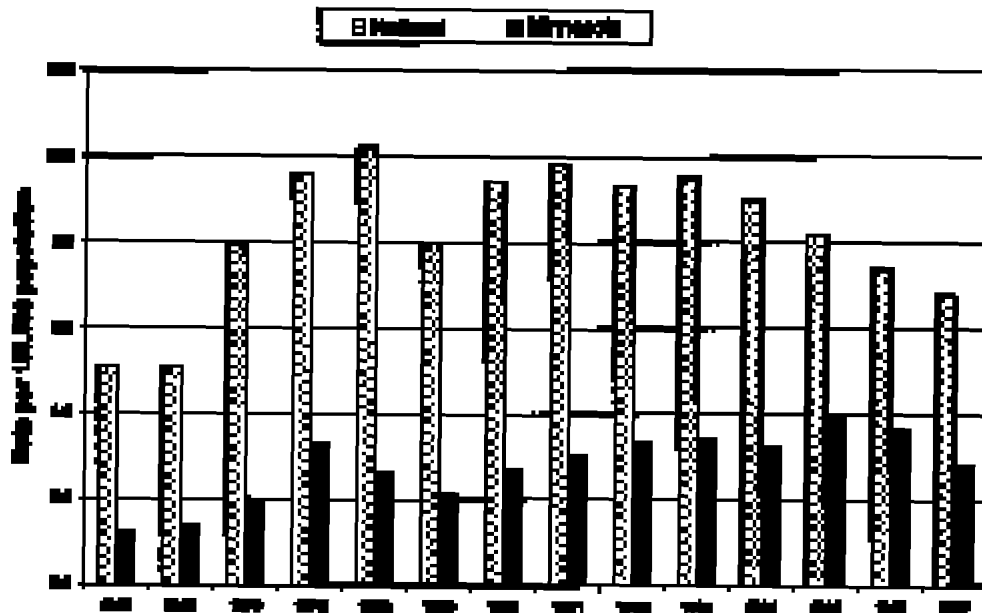
Minnesota Compared to the Nation
1960-1990

From a low rate of 5.1 murders per 100,000 population reported in 1960, the national homicide rate climbed steadily until 1980, when it reached 10.2—a 100% increase. A mid-decade low of 8.0 occurred in 1985; the national murder rate then rose 18% to 9.4 in 1990.

1991-1997

Much of the nationwide increase in homicide was attributable to juvenile offenders. The number of teenagers arrested for murder rose dramatically between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s, at a time when the total teenage population declined. The homicide rate in the United States reached 9.8 in

Regional and National Juvenile Homicide Rates



1991—the highest rate since 1980. The national rate began a steady decline in 1994; in Minnesota, homicide rates remained high until 1996. The national murder rate in 1997 was 8.1% lower than in 1996, and 31% lower than in 1991, the fourth year in a row in which the murder rate declined nationally.

IV. Juvenile Violent Crime Arrests

Minnesota

1975–1990

The Minnesota arrest rate for juvenile violent crimes rose 40% from 1975 to 1990. In the first five years of this period, the rate dropped 23%, making the rise to 1990 levels considerably more dramatic at 83% over 1980 levels.

1991–1997

In 1992, 40% of all juvenile violent crime arrests in Minnesota occurred in Minneapolis and St. Paul, although the Minneapolis–St. Paul juvenile population was only 12% of the state juvenile population. While there was an overall increase in arrests for violent crime between 1991 and 1997, the increase in arrests of juveniles was particularly disturbing. In 1997, juveniles committed 29% of all violent crime in Minnesota. Statewide, juvenile arrests for murder decreased 20% in 1997, from 30 to 24.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation 1975–1990

The Minnesota arrest rate for violent juvenile crimes during this period was

Juvenile Violent Crime Arrests
Rate per 100,000 population

	National		Minnesota		Minneapolis	St. Paul
	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Total
1975	85,418	129	1,051	82	NA	297
1980	86,220	140	737	63	NA	247
1985	72,552	116	938	83	NA	265
1990	91,317	142	1,352	115	NA	522
1991	95,677	147	1,383	116	NA	297
1992	112,409	170	1,660	137	344	315
1993	119,678	179	1,767	145	394	338
1994	125,085	180	2,226	181	512	494
1995	115,592	165	2,123	171	433	437
1996	102,231	144	2,026	163	423	382
1997	86,462	122	2,070	166	NA	NA

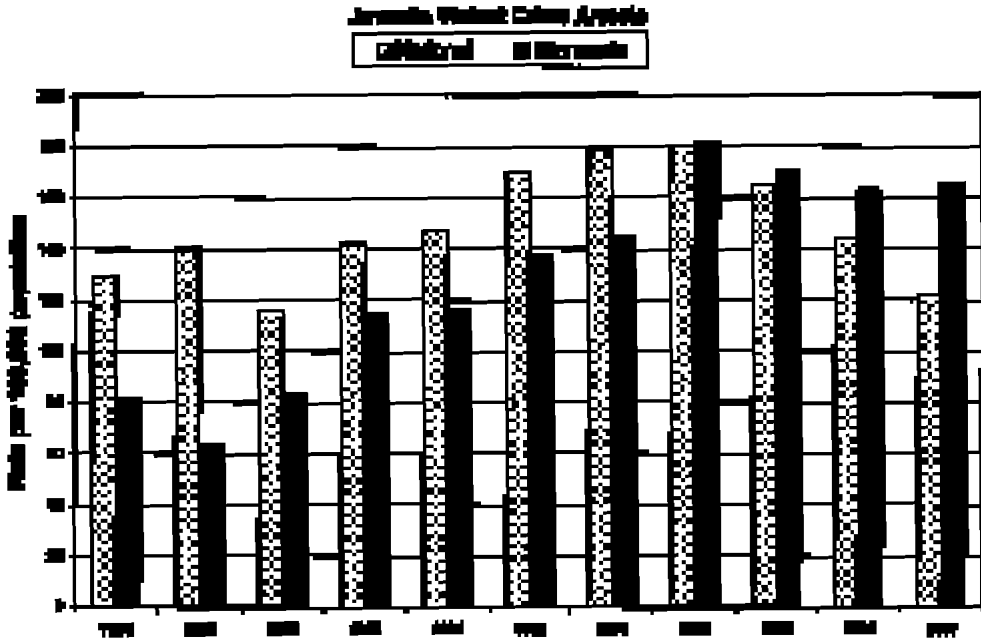
Sources: Federal Bureau of Investigation, various years; Minnesota Department of Public Safety, various years; Minneapolis Police Department, various years; St. Paul Police Department, various years.

consistently lower than for the nation as a whole; in 1990 the state's rate was 19% less than the national figure.

1991–1997

The substantial growth in juvenile violent crime that began in the late

1980s peaked in 1994 for most of the country, including Minnesota. In the same year, Minnesota's rate also surpassed the national rate for the first time. The following years produced declines in both Minnesota and the nation, though the nation declined at a



significantly faster rate—32.2% versus Minnesota’s 8.3%. Rates in 1997 turned the tables on 1991 figures, leaving the nation with a 26.5% lower rate than Minnesota (Minnesota’s rate was 21.1% lower than the nation’s in 1991).

Part Two: Youth Behavior

I. Adolescent Pregnancy, Birth, and Abortion

The United States has one of the highest rates of teen pregnancy and abortion among developed nations; its abortion rate rivals that of many Latin American countries where contraceptives are not widely available.

According to the National Center for Health Statistics publication *Teenage Birth in the United States: National and State Trends, 1990–1996*, half the 6 million pregnancies occurring each year in the United States are unintended. Among teens, 80% of pregnancies are accidental. Moreover, 12% of all live

births in the United States in 1996 (over 500,000 infants) were to mothers ages 15 to 19, the vast majority of them unmarried. Today’s teen mothers are eight times more likely to be unmarried (71%) than those in 1950 (9%), according to the National Center for Health Statistics Annual Reports.

Teenage mothers are far more likely to give birth to a low-birth-weight and hence at-risk infant than women in their twenties and thirties. Teens are more likely than older women to smoke and drink alcohol, less likely to receive timely prenatal care, and less likely to gain the recommended weight during pregnancy.

Minnesota 1960–1990

The data for teen birth rates demonstrate a 34% drop from 1970 to 1985, followed by an abrupt increase of 27% by 1990 to the highest level since the early 1970s.

U.S. and Minnesota Teen Pregnancy, Abortion, and Birth Rates
Per 1,000 females ages 15–19 (Pregnancies do not include miscarriages)

	National			Minnesota		
	Pregnancy	Abortion	Birth	Pregnancy	Abortion	Birth
1970	NA	NA	68.3	NA	NA	43.2
1975	86.8	31.2	55.6	53.6	17.4	36.0
1980	95.7	42.7	53.0	63.0	28.4	35.4
1985	94.5	43.5	51.0	51.7	22.8	28.7
1990	101.0	40.6	60.4	59.0	22.3	36.5
1991	99.6	37.5	62.1	55.2	18.8	36.2
1992	96.2	35.5	60.7	51.1	16.0	34.8
1993	93.9	34.3	59.6	49.8	15.1	34.5
1994	91.1	32.2	58.9	49.7	14.6	34.9
1995	86.8	30.0	56.8	47.3	14.0	33.1
1996	NA	NA	54.4	49.3	15.0	34.0

Sources: Alan Guttmacher Institute, September 1998; Minnesota Department of Health, various years.

State and Metro Area Adolescent Pregnancy and Birth Rates 1993–1995
Per 1,000 girls ages 15–19 (3-year average)

Minnesota		Hennepin County		Ramsey County	
Pregnancy	Birth	Pregnancy	Birth	Pregnancy	Birth
49	34	66	41	73	51

Source: Minnesota Organization on Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention and Parenting, 1995.

1991–1996

Between 1991 and 1996, the teen birth rate decreased by 6.1%. Nationwide, Minnesota’s teen pregnancy rate ranked 48th lowest among the states, according to *Teenage Birth in the United States: National and State Trends, 1990–1996*. According to the same report, Minnesota remains among the six states with the lowest teen birth rate, with fewer than 35 births per 1,000 teens (the other states are Vermont, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Maine, and Massachusetts).

Within Minnesota, during the three-year period 1993–1995, teen birth rates were substantially higher in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, in Ramsey and Hennepin Counties, than they were in the remainder of the state. Ramsey County showed a teen birth rate of 51 per 1,000 teens, as opposed to a rate of 34 per 1,000 in Minnesota, or 50% higher than average for the state. In Hennepin County, the rate of 41 births per 1,000 teens was 21% higher than the state average.

City of Minneapolis: Teen Births and Abortions

Girls ages 15–19

	Births	Abortions
1990	864	NA
1991	900	NA
1992	839	414
1993	824	393
1994	823	348
1995	795	409
1996	803	424

Source: City of Minneapolis, various years.

Similarly, the Hennepin County teen pregnancy rate, 66 pregnancies per 1,000 teens, was 35% higher than the state average rate of 49 during 1993–1995; the Ramsey County teen pregnancy rate, 73 pregnancies per 1,000 teens, was 49% higher than the average for Minnesota.

In 1995, teen pregnancies in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties represented 42% of all teen pregnancies in Minnesota, as well as 38% of the state’s teen births. Following statewide and national trends demonstrating a decline in teen births, Minneapolis’s teen births

State and Metro Area Adolescent Pregnancy and Birth 1995
Girls ages 15–19

Minnesota		Hennepin County		Ramsey County	
Pregnancy	Birth	Pregnancy	Birth	Pregnancy	Birth
7,441	5,212	2,004	1,215	1,123	770

Source: Minnesota Organization on Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention and Parenting, 1995.

declined 11% from 1991 to 1996. As births declined, Minneapolis experienced a slight increase in total abortions.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation 1960–1990

The national teen birth rate dropped markedly from 68.3 births per 1,000 teens in 1970 to 51.0 in 1985, then began to rise again. Minnesota mirrored the national trend, with rates—43.2 per 1,000 in 1970 and 28.7 per 1,000 in 1985—substantially lower than those of the nation as a whole.

1991–1996

Nationally, the teen birth rate experienced a post-1970s peak of 62.1 per 1,000 teens in 1991, a rise of 22% since the low in 1985. Minnesota's 1991 teen birth rate was slightly less than its post-1970s peak in 1990, at 36.2 per 1,000 teens, representing an increase of 26%, slightly more than the national figure. The 6.1% drop in Minnesota's teen birth rate from 1991 to 1996, noted earlier, failed to keep pace with the nationwide drop of 12.4%.

In 1995 there were 86.8 pregnancies per 1,000 teens ages 15 to 19 in the nation as a whole; 65% resulted in live births and 35% in abortions. In Minnesota in 1995, there were 47.3 pregnancies per 1,000 teens; 70% of them resulted in live births and 30% in abortions.

According to the National Survey of Family Growth, the decline in teen births can be attributed to several demographic and behavioral factors. The percentage of sexually active teens declined

from 55% in 1990 to 50% in 1995, reversing the steady increases of the previous two decades, and those who are active are more likely to use contraception (National Survey of Family Growth, Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1997).

II. Youth and Young Adult Suicide

- Suicide is the third leading cause of death among young people in the United States between the ages of 15 and 24.
- Nearly 5,000 teens commit suicide every year.
- By some estimates, as many as 40 teens may attempt suicide for each one who succeeds.
- Twice as many female teens attempt suicide as males, but four times as many boys actually die.
- Since the 1950s, the suicide rate for young males ages 15 to 24 in the United States has more than tripled; it remains twice as high as the overall suicide rate for all ages.
- Over half of all teenage suicide victims had substance abuse problems.

Minnesota

1960–1990

The suicide rate in Minnesota for teens and young adults ages 15 to 24 increased 281% from 1960 to 1990, from 4.7 deaths per 100,000 to 17.9. The number of suicides among children ages 5 to 14 became measurable during the 1970s and 1980s, peaking at 1.3 deaths per 100,000 in 1985.

Youth Suicide

Rate per 100,000 population

	National		Minnesota			
	Ages 5-14	Ages 15-24	Ages 5-14		Ages 15-24	
	Rate	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate
1960	0.3	5.2	0	0.0	21	4.7
1970	0.3	8.8	3	0.4	48	7.2
1980	0.4	12.3	3	0.5	102	12.9
1985	0.8	12.8	8	1.3	96	13.3
1990	0.8	13.2	1	0.2	110	17.9
1991	0.7	13.1	6	0.9	99	16.0
1992	0.9	13.0	16	2.4	92	14.7
1993	0.9	13.5	9	1.3	94	14.8
1994	0.9	13.8	5	0.7	80	12.5
1995	0.9	13.3	12	1.7	82	13.2
1996	0.8	12.0	7	1.0	75	11.9

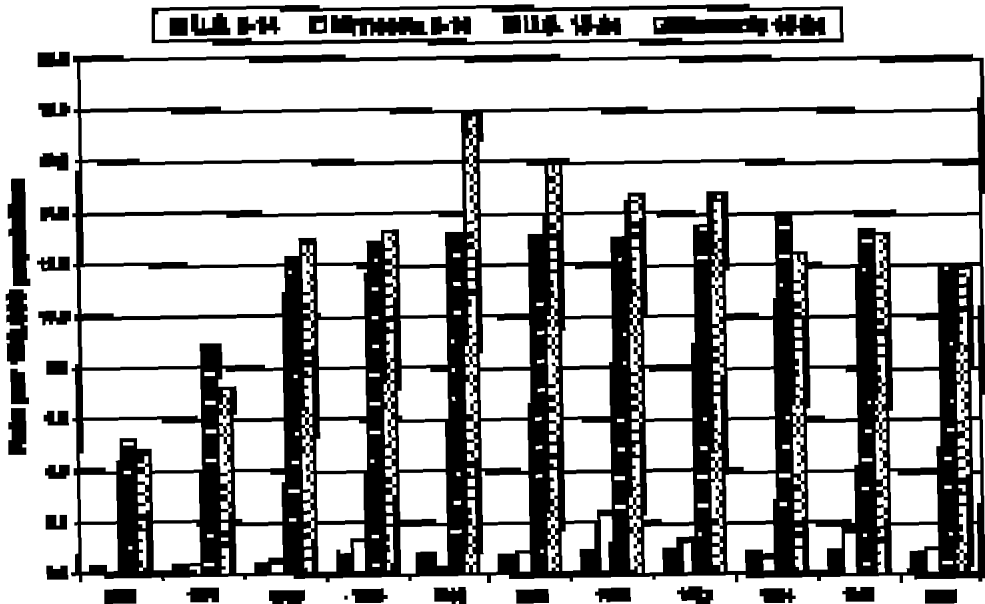
Sources: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, April 1998; U.S. Department of Education, 1996; Minnesota Department of Health, various years.

1991-1996

The suicide rate among Minnesota's preteens and young adolescents (through age 14) continued to rise in 1991 and 1992, peaking at 2.4 per 100,000 in 1992. The rate proceeded

to fall and rise, settling down to 1.0 per 100,000 in 1996—well below the 1992 high. Suicide rates for teens and young adults ages 15 to 24 have been on the decline since 1991. By 1996 the rate of suicides for that age group had dropped

Youth Suicide, National vs. Minnesota, Ages 5-14 and 15-24



to 11.9 per 100,000 from its high of 17.9 per 100,000 in 1990.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation 1960–1990

Unlike other negative indicators, the suicide rate among young people generally was higher in Minnesota than in the nation as a whole between 1960 and 1990. This is true for young children as well as young people ages 15 to 24.

1991–1996

The Minnesota suicide rate for older teens and young adults has steadily declined since 1991, from 16.0 per 100,000 to 11.9 per 100,000 in 1996. In comparison, the national rate started out at 13.1 per 100,000 and remained fairly constant throughout the 1990s until it dropped to 12.0 per 100,000 in 1996. By 1996 the teen and young adult suicide rate in Minnesota was virtually identical to the national rate.

III. High School Dropout and Completion Rates

Determining high school graduation and dropout rates can be complicated because students move in and out of school districts and because an increasing number of students take more than four years to complete the high school curriculum. Dropout rates are mainly reported in three distinct ways: event rates, status rates, and cohort rates. An event rate measures the percentage of all students who drop out in any single year. This method is very useful for understanding how

effectively school districts retain their students each year. The status dropout rate is a measure of the overall number of dropouts among all young adults, useful for understanding the overall educational health of that population. Both the event and status rates can vary based on what grade group is represented for the event rate or what age group for the status rate. Cohort rates are the most descriptive. This rate tracks one group of students over a specified number of years, usually ninth grade through graduation. Tracking individual students provides more information on student backgrounds.

Status rates are national rates based on U.S. Census Bureau information; there is no comparable Minnesota data source. Therefore, the following section is based strictly on event and completion rates, as well as a Minnesota cohort study done by the Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning.

Minnesota

1975–1990

Starting at 2.5% in 1975, Minnesota's dropout rate took a roller-coaster ride, rising to a peak of 4.3% in 1980, falling back to 2.5% in 1985, and rising again to 3.4% in 1990.

1991–1997

Between 1991 and 1993, the annual statewide dropout rate increased 22%. Rates dropped in 1994, but much of that drop can be attributed to a change in the definition of dropout. The change redefines dropouts as enrolled students if they enroll again

Event Dropouts

Percent of enrolled students who drop out (grades 7-12)

	U.S.*	Minnesota	Hennepin	Ramsey	Minneapolis	St. Paul
1974-75	5.8	2.5	NA	NA	NA	NA
1979-80	6.1	4.3	NA	NA	NA	NA
1984-85	5.2	2.5	NA	NA	NA	NA
1989-90	4.0	3.4	5.9	6.7	12.1	10.3
1990-91	4.0	3.2	5.3	5.4	9.7	8.4
1991-92	4.4	3.5	6.0	6.4	12.8	10.1
1992-93	4.5	3.9	7.9	7.9	18.0	12.8
1993-94	5.3	3.4	5.8	7.7	12.7	11.6
1994-95	5.7	3.5	5.8	6.4	13.0	10.1
1995-96	5.0	3.5	5.8	5.7	13.0	8.4
1996-97	NA	3.7	6.6	6.0	14.9	9.2

*U.S. data based on grades 10-12 only.

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, December 1997; Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning, 1998; Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning, 1998.

by October 1 of the following year, naturally decreasing the dropout rate. Since 1994, rates remained fairly constant until a slight increase to 3.7% in 1997. Hennepin County, Ramsey County, Minneapolis, and St. Paul all experienced similar trends in varying degrees throughout the 1990s.

According to a high school completion study conducted by the Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning in 1997, 8.7% of white students, 17.8% of Asian American students, 37.6% of Hispanic students, 37.9% of American Indian students, and 39.8% of black students dropped out of high school before their four-year course of study was completed. This study tracked students by district and tracked only those who stayed within their original district. Statewide, 11.3% of students dropped out between their 1993-94 and 1996-97 school years.

In discussing the previous year's completion study—the first year of the

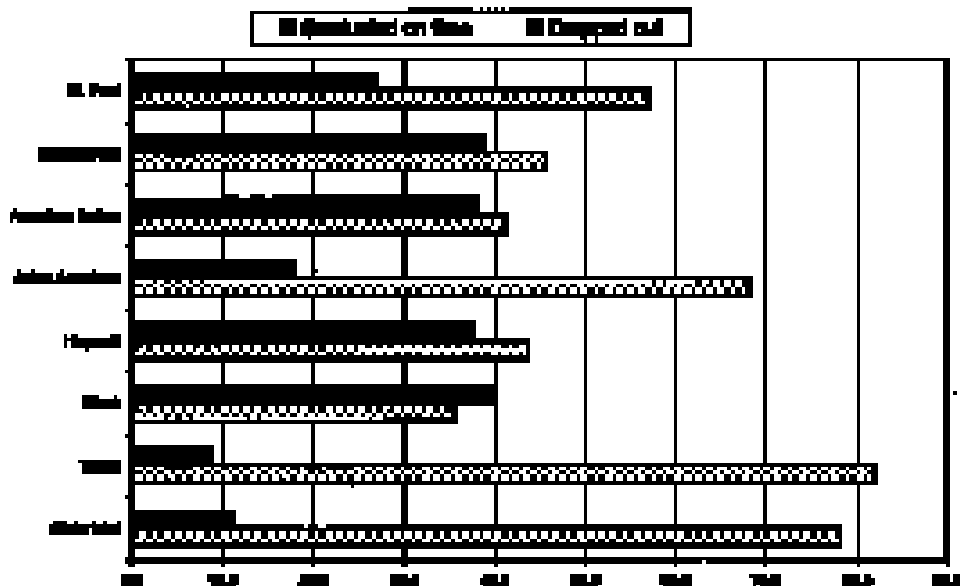
report—the Minneapolis Star Tribune wrote: "In creating the report, the state used a more sophisticated way of calculating dropout and graduation rates than had been used in the past. . . . The different methodology means results are not easily compared to figures [from] past years."

Not everyone completes high school through the standard system or the standard amount of time. It therefore becomes valuable to look at how many individuals have completed high school. Based on a three-year average from 1994 to 1996, 95.3% of Minnesota's 18- through 24-year-olds have completed high school.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation 1975-1990

As mentioned earlier, event rates can vary based on what grades are represented. As a result of this type of inconsistency, national and Minnesota annual data are not comparable.

Minnesota High School Completion Study 1997



National rates are based on the annual number of dropouts in 10th through 12th grade, whereas the Minnesota rates (including county and city rates) are based on 7th through 12th grade dropouts. Additionally, the definition of dropout may not be the same.

Annual data may not be comparable, but trends do offer some meaning-

ful information. From 1975 to 1990, national event dropout rates declined a considerable 31%. Minnesota experienced the opposite, increasing 36% over the same period.

1991-1997

After dropping to a low of 4.0% in 1991, the trend reversed, and national event dropout rates increased to 5.7% by 1995. Yet over 40% of this increase was erased when the rate dropped to 5.0% the following year. Minnesota's changes were not quite so dramatic; the state experienced only negligible increases. However, Minnesota's current rate is still higher than its 1975 rate, whereas the nation's is lower.

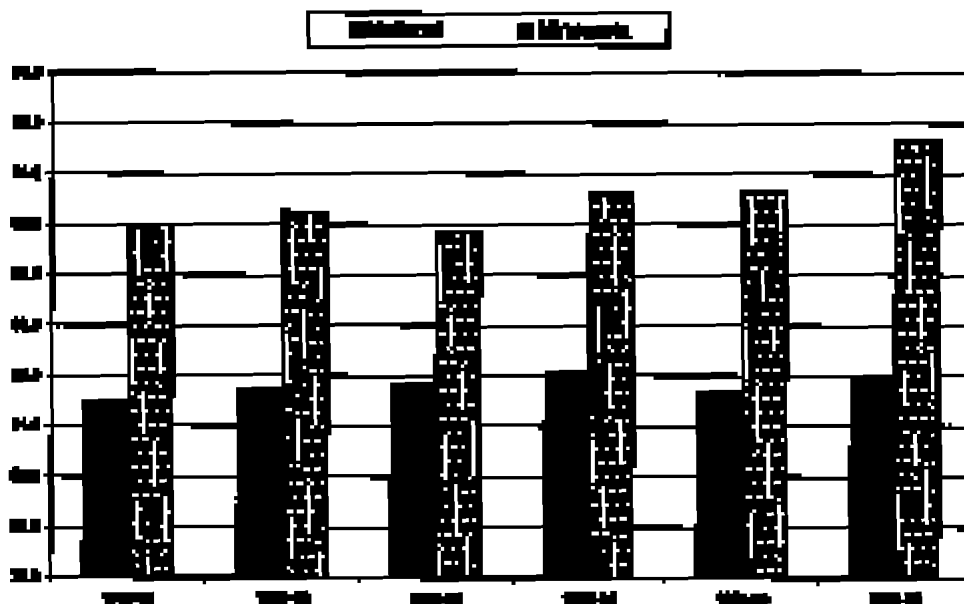
According to a 1996 national study by the U.S. Department of Education, 40% of students who left school between 10th and 12th grades did so

**Ending Status of Minnesota Students
High School Completion Study 1997**

	Percent graduated on time	Percent dropped out
State total	78.2	11.3
White	81.9	8.7
Black	35.6	39.8
Hispanic	43.7	37.6
Asian American	68.1	17.8
American Indian	41.1	37.9
Minneapolis	45.6	39.0
St. Paul	56.9	26.8

Source: Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning, December 1998.

High School Completion of 18- through 24-year-olds



because they disliked school; 40% did so because of failing grades. Among the girls, 21% cited pregnancy as a factor. Children who drop out of school were three times more likely to slip into poverty as adults because job opportunities remained minimal for unskilled young persons.

Of those who left school, many completed high school later. Through-

out the 1990s, national high school completion rates remained steady, varying slightly more than 1 percentage point. Minnesota's already high rates of completion increased further to 95.3% for the period 1994-96—almost 10 percentage points higher than the nation. Around the country, only Connecticut had a higher completion rate.

High School Completion Rates

Percent of 18- through 24-year-olds not enrolled in high school or below*

	National	Minnesota
1989-91	85.0	92.0
1990-92	85.5	92.5
1991-93	85.7	91.7
1992-94	86.1	93.2
1993-95	85.3	93.3
1994-96	85.8	95.3

*Numbers in this table reflect three-year averages.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, July 1996, July 1997, December 1997.

Part Three: Families and Children

I. Marriage and Divorce

Minnesota

1960-1990

The marriage rate in Minnesota peaked in 1980 at 9.2 marriages per 1,000 population, then steadily declined. By 1990 it had reached 7.7 marriages per 1,000. The divorce rate,

Marriage and Divorce

Total in 1,000s; rate per 1,000 population

	Marriage				Divorce			
	National		Minnesota		National		Minnesota	
	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate
1960	1,523	8.5	23.6	6.9	393	2.2	4.2	1.2
1970	2,159	10.6	31.3	8.2	708	3.5	8.2	2.2
1980	2,390	10.6	37.6	9.2	1,189	5.2	15.1	3.7
1985	2,413	10.1	35.1	8.4	1,190	5.0	14.8	3.5
1990	2,443	9.8	33.7	7.7	1,182	4.7	15.6	3.6
1991	2,371	9.4	32.8	7.4	1,189	4.7	16.1	3.6
1992	2,362	9.3	32.2	7.2	1,215	4.8	16.6	3.7
1993	2,334	9.0	32.7	7.2	1,187	4.6	16.0	3.5
1994	2,362	9.1	32.9	7.2	1,191	4.6	15.7	3.4
1995	2,336	8.9	32.9	7.1	1,169	4.4	15.4	3.3
1996	2,344	8.8	33.0	7.0	1,150	4.3	15.3	3.3

Sources: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, various years; Minnesota Department of Health, 1998.

on the other hand, more than tripled from 1.2 divorces per 1,000 in 1960 to 3.7 per 1,000 in 1980.

1991–1996

The Minnesota marriage rate continued its decline during the first half of the decade. The rate of decline then slowed, and edged down to 7.0 per 100,000 by 1996—the lowest level since the 1960s. The Minnesota divorce rate matched its 1980 peak at 3.7 per 1,000 in 1992 and has declined slightly since that time.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation 1960–1990

Nationwide, marriage and divorce rates both peaked in the early 1980s, at 10.6 and 5.2 per 1,000 respectively. There has been a gradual decline in each since then. By 1990 the national marriage rate had reached 9.8 per 1,000 and the divorce rate 4.7 per 1,000. Minnesota marriage and divorce rates were

consistently lower than the national rates throughout this period. Marriage and divorce rates in the state both followed the same pattern of increase and decrease as the nation's rates.

1991–1996

Nationally, the marriage rate continued to decline every year throughout the 1990s except for a minute increase in 1994. The Minnesota marriage rate followed a similar pattern; as in prior years, it remained consistently lower than the national rate. The national divorce rate also has remained fairly constant since 1990, increasing slightly in 1992 but slowly decreasing since that time. Minnesota divorce rates increased slightly until 1993, and have decreased slowly since that time.

The national divorce rate in 1996 was nearly double the rate in 1960. The increase in Minnesota was much greater, at almost triple the 1960 rate. According to the National Center for

Health Statistics, first marriages ending in divorce last an average of 11 years; the likelihood of new marriages ending in divorce is 43% nationwide. Remarriages ending in divorce last an average of 7 years.

II. Single-Parent Households

Children living with their mothers only are far more likely to be poor than those living with married parents. The number of poor children in single-parent families nearly doubled nationwide from 1975 to 1995. The percentage of children living with two parents has declined among all major racial and ethnic groups. Factors contributing to the increase in percentage of children living with one parent are the high levels of divorce and the sharp rise of births to unmarried mothers. Of all children living with their mothers in 1998, 40% were living with mothers who had never been married (U.S. Census Bureau, Household and Family Characteristics, March 1998).

Single-Parent Households
Families headed by a single parent

	National		Minnesota	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	State rank
1985	22	16		4
1990	24	21		10
1991	25	23		18
1992	25	25		27
1993	26	26		29
1994	26	25		26
1995	26	24		18

Source: Annie E. Casey Foundation, various years.

Minnesota

1985-1995

Between 1985 and 1990, the percentage of families headed by a single parent increased 5 percentage points, from 16% to 21%. In the next three years, the rate increased another 5 percentage points, for a total increase of 63% since 1985. After 1993, rates declined, to 24% in 1995.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation

1985-1995

Nationwide, rates crept from 22% in 1985 to 26% in 1993 and have remained constant ever since. Ranking states from fewest to greatest number of families headed by a single parent, Minnesota ranked fourth in 1985; by 1990 it had descended to 18th. Minnesota continued to fall all the way to 29th, but rebounded back to 18th by 1995.

III. Births to Unmarried Mothers

Minnesota

1970-1990

The number of births to unmarried women in Minnesota increased 158% between 1970 and 1990, with most of the increase coming between 1980 and 1990. In 1990 nearly 20.9% of the births in Minnesota were to unmarried women; 17.6% of all white births and 73.3% of all black births were to unmarried mothers.

1991–1996

For the most part, the overall numbers continued to rise, but at a slower rate. By 1996, nearly 25% of the births in Minnesota were to unmarried women. The pattern of slow increase was not uniform throughout the child-bearing population, however. Births to Minnesota's unmarried black women dropped to 68.8% in 1996, a level lower than that of the same group in 1985. Births to unmarried white women climbed from nearly 19% in 1991 to over 21% in 1996. Rates of change were unavailable for other ethnic groups within the state as a whole, but from 1990 through 1996 in the city of Minneapolis, rates seesawed upward among American Indian and Asian American women.

The highest rate of unmarried births in the state was in the city of Minneapolis, where 45% of all births

in 1996 were to unmarried women, an overall rate that has remained relatively steady since 1991. In Minneapolis in 1996, 31.0% of white births, 71.5% of black births, 31.0% of Asian American births, and 88.8% of American Indian births were to unmarried women.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation
1960–1990

Births to unmarried mothers rose rapidly nationwide between 1960 and 1990. In this trend, Minnesota mirrored the nation. The state's unmarried birth rate remained well below national levels, but the rate of increase was nearly identical. By 1990, the nation's unmarried birth rate increased 162% over 1970, compared to the similar 158% increase in Minnesota.

1991–1996

In both the state and the country, the unmarried birth rate continued to

Births to Unmarried Mothers

Total = number in 1,000s; rate = percent of all births

	National						Minnesota					
	All races		White		Black		All races		White		Black	
	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate
1960	224	5.3	83	2.3	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	399	10.7	175	5.7	215	37.6	5.5	8.1	4.7	7.1	0.5	47.9
1980	643	18.4	329	11.2	326	56.1	7.7	11.4	6.4	9.9	0.7	60.2
1985	828	22.0	446	14.7	356	61.2	10.2	15.1	8.0	12.7	1.1	68.8
1990	1,165	28.0	670	20.4	455	66.5	14.2	20.9	10.9	12.6	1.9	73.3
1991	1,214	29.5	708	21.8	464	67.9	15.0	22.3	11.3	18.7	2.1	74.6
1992	1,225	30.1	722	22.6	459	68.1	15.1	22.9	11.5	19.4	2.2	74.4
1993	1,240	31.0	742	23.6	452	68.7	15.1	23.4	11.7	20.0	2.0	72.1
1994	1,290	32.6	794	25.4	448	70.4	15.4	24.0	11.8	20.5	2.2	73.2
1995	1,254	32.2	785	25.3	421	69.9	15.1	23.9	11.7	20.6	2.0	69.6
1996	1,260	32.4	795	25.7	415	69.8	15.8	24.8	12.2	21.4	2.1	67.7

Sources: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, June 1995 and various years (1990–1996); Minnesota Department of Health, various years.

Births to Unmarried Mothers in Minneapolis by Race and Ethnic Group

	All Races		White		Black		American Indian		Asian American	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1990	2,833	42.7	1,055	27.0	1,240	74.7	384	84.4	132	24.0
1991	3,023	45.7	1,074	28.3	1,392	78.2	404	86.0	129	24.2
1992	2,825	45.0	1,054	28.1	1,303	80.7	327	87.0	117	23.9
1993	2,751	45.6	1,095	30.4	1,176	78.8	285	85.6	152	28.5
1994	2,749	46.3	1,053	30.8	1,232	79.1	264	85.4	152	27.5
1995	2,607	45.4	1,010	30.3	1,064	76.1	212	88.3	164	30.8
1996	2,614	45.1	1,017	31.0	1,090	71.5	214	88.8	164	31.0

Source: City of Minneapolis, various years.

rise, more slowly than it had in prior years. Nationally, the rate increased by 9.8% between 1991 and 1996. In Minnesota, the rate increased slightly more, by 11.2%, a slight reversal of the pattern of earlier years.

Nationwide, there has been a small but notable decrease in the rate of out-of-wedlock births since 1994, from 46.9 per 1,000 unmarried women ages 15 to 44 in 1994 to 44.8 per 1,000 in 1996. The sharpest drop has been among black women, to 74.4 per 1,000 in 1996, down from a peak of 90.7 per 1,000 in 1989, the lowest rate since the 1950s, according to the National Center for Health Statistics Press Report of June 30, 1998.

Births to Unmarried Mothers in Minnesota, Hennepin County, and Minneapolis

As a percentage of all births

	Minnesota	Hennepin	Minneapolis
1980	11.4	16.1	27.0
1985	15.0	19.1	32.1
1990	20.9	25.0	42.7
1991	22.3	27.0	45.7
1992	22.9	26.6	45.0
1993	23.3	26.8	45.6
1994	24.1	27.5	46.3
1995	24.0	26.6	45.4

Source: 1997 Hennepin County Indicators Report.

IV. Abortions

There are two distinct systems for gauging induced legal abortions. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in Atlanta compiles data based on basic demographic characteristics and secondary information from 52 reporting areas: 50 states, the District of Columbia, and New York City. Of the 52 areas, 48 report information from central health agencies and the remaining 4 report information from hospitals and other medical facilities. The Alan Guttmacher Institute in New York (AGI), an affiliate of Planned Parenthood, regularly publishes extensive studies on abortion trends in the United States. The AGI bases its figures on a combination of the CDC estimates and periodic surveys of abortion providers throughout the country. Data from the two systems are not interchangeable; the tabulations of the AGI are consistently higher than the CDC's.

Statewide, data are compiled by the Minnesota Department of Health (MDH), one of the 48 central health agencies that report to the CDC. Since complete AGI data are unavailable,

only MDH and CDC data will be used here. Both a ratio and a rate for legal induced abortions are given: the ratio is an important measure of abortions chosen over full-term pregnancy and birth; the rate is an important indicator of the proportion of women affected. The data that follow refer only to legal abortions—that is, those performed in clinical settings by licensed medical professionals. They include the adolescent abortions discussed in Part Two.

Minnesota

1973–1990

The abortion ratio and rate in Minnesota rose sharply after 1973, the year of *Roe v. Wade*. Both peaked in 1980; the ratio increased 107% and the rate 240% over 1973. Abortions declined throughout the 1980s and wound up in 1990 at their lowest levels since the 1980 peak.

1991–1996

Total abortions, and the corresponding ratio and rate, continued to decline until 1993. Since 1993 there has been little change, with 1996 totals nearly identical to 1993 across the board.

**Minnesota Compared to the Nation
1973–1990**

Although the abortion rate remained consistently lower in Minnesota during the years 1973 through 1990, the rate of increase was 180% higher than in the nation as a whole. The abortion ratio was also consistently lower, but its rate of increase remained more in step with national trends at just 14% higher.

1991–1996

From 1991 to 1995, the national ratio and rate sustained a slow, steady decline. Preliminary 1996 data show national statistics now may have bot-

Induced Abortions

Ratio = number of abortions per 1,000 live births

Rate = number of abortions per 1,000 women ages 15–44

Year	Nation			Minnesota			
	Total	Ratio	Rate	Total	Resident only	Ratio	Rate*
1973	615,831	196	14	7,263	4,169	135	5
1975	854,853	272	18	10,565	8,924	187	10
1980	1,297,606	359	25	19,028	16,490	280	17
1985	1,328,570	354	24	17,686	16,002	262	16
1990	1,429,577	345	24	17,156	15,280	252	15
1991	1,388,937	339	24	16,178	14,441	241	14
1992	1,359,145	335	23	15,546	13,846	237	13
1993	1,330,414	334	22	14,348	12,955	222	12
1994	1,267,415	321	21	14,027	12,702	218	12
1995	1,210,883	311	20	14,017	12,715	222	12
1996	1,221,585	314	20	14,193	12,876	223	12

*Minnesota rate is based on resident-only abortions.

Sources: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 3 July 1998, 4 December 1998; Minnesota Department of Health, 1998.

tomed out, as Minnesota's did in 1993, though Minnesota's bottom is considerably lower than the nation's.

The Alan Guttmacher Institute attributes the decline in the abortion rate in part to the increased availability and use of contraception, to an increase in abstinence among juveniles, and to the aging of the population. Some experts believe that the decline may also be due in part to an increased reluctance on the part of physicians to perform abortions and a corresponding decrease in the availability of abortion services ("Contraception Counts: State-by-State Information" 1998; "Unintended Pregnancy in the United States" by Stanley K. Henshaw et al., Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1998). The AGI estimates that more than 35 million legal induced abortions were performed in the United States between 1973 and 1996 (as cited in *USA Today*, August 14, 1996).

V. Infant Mortality

The terminology used to describe the deaths of very young children can be confusing; some definitions are useful for clarity. A neonatal death is the death of a live-born child within the first month of life. A perinatal death is the death of a child up to the first month of life, including fetal death (also called prenatal death). The term infant mortality refers to deaths of children from birth up to one year of age, exclusive of fetal deaths. The statistics included in this report reflect infant mortality; they do not include fetal

deaths. Infant mortality rates are reported as the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

Minnesota

1960–1990

Minnesota's infant mortality rate decreased 66% from 1960 to 1990—from 21.5 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1960 to 7.3 deaths per 1,000 in 1990. The largest decreases—accounting for over half the decline—came in the 1970s.

Unlike overall downward trends in Minnesota and consistently steady downward trends nationally, the Minneapolis infant mortality rate increased by 29% between 1985 and 1990.

1991–1996

The infant mortality rate for the state rose slightly in 1991 and has wavered since that time; the net result through 1995 was a decrease of nearly 15% from 1991 levels.

The infant mortality rate for Minneapolis was 12.9 in 1991—72% higher than for the state as a whole, and 45% higher than the national rate. Hennepin County and the city of Minneapolis continue to have the highest levels statewide, 8.6 and 12.2 respectively in 1995, versus the state rate of 6.4.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation

1960–1990

The national infant mortality rate has dropped dramatically during the past 40 years, but the rate of decline slowed from 3.7% per year in the 1970s

Infant Mortality Rate
Deaths under age 1 per 1,000 births

	National	Minnesota	Hennepin	Minneapolis	Ramsey	St. Paul
1960	26.0	21.5	NA	24.7	NA	NA
1970	20.0	17.6	NA	21.9	NA	NA
1980	12.6	10.0	9.3	13.1	NA	NA
1985	10.6	8.8	8.0	9.2	NA	NA
1990	9.2	7.3	8.9	11.9	9.7	10.5
1991	8.9	7.5	9.9	12.9	8.2	8.5
1992	8.5	7.1	7.2	12.1	8.0	8.3
1993	8.4	7.5	9.7	11.3	5.9	4.9
1994	8.0	7.0	8.4	9.8	7.5	7.3
1995	7.6	6.4	8.6	12.2	NA	NA

Sources: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 10 November 1998; Minnesota Department of Health, various years; Hennepin County Community Health Department; City of Minneapolis, various years; Ramsey County, 1994.

to 2.7% per year in the 1980s. The rates of decline in Minnesota and the United States from 1960 to 1990 were similar: 66% and 65%, respectively.

1991–1995

From 1991 to 1995, the U.S. rate declined almost 15%, from 8.9 per 1,000 live births in 1991 to 7.6 in 1995. The Minnesota rate dropped a nearly identical amount over the same period of time. However, the Minnesota infant mortality rate has remained consistently lower than the national rate; at 6.4% in 1995, it was among the lowest in the nation.

VI. Child Poverty

The decennial Census of the U.S. Census Bureau provides the most precise figures for child poverty at both the national and the state level, but these are of course limited to 10-year increments. Child poverty rates are, however, published annually by the

Census Bureau in its March Current Population Report. These data are estimates based on the annual Current Population Survey (CPS) and should not be used in direct comparison with the decennial Census. Beginning in 1990, the Census Bureau also began publishing child poverty figures by state based on the same CPS data. These data may be problematic and include this Census Bureau caveat: “[State] figures are subject to a relatively large sampling error and should be interpreted accordingly.”

The Minnesota Department of Health (MDH) creates its own estimates. MDH derives its data from the 1990 Census poverty rates, making annual estimates based on demographic changes. Census Bureau data account for all children under 18 living with a related adult (e.g., natural parents, adoptive parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles), whereas MDH data account for all children 19 and under.

Minnesota

1970–1990

Data for 1990 show an increase of 9.2% in the number of Minnesota children living in poverty over the number 20 years earlier and a 31% increase in the rate.

In 1990 more than 12% of Minnesota children lived at or below the poverty level (defined that year by the U.S. Census Bureau as \$12,674 annual income for a family of four). Child poverty rates in Minneapolis and St. Paul in 1990 stood at 30% and 27%, respectively. The two cities, which accounted for only 12% of the state's juvenile population in 1990, accounted for 28% of all Minnesota children living in poverty that year.

Related Children Under 18 Living in Poverty

Number of children in poverty in 1,000s and as a percentage of all children

	National		Minnesota	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1970	10,397	15.1	130	9.5
1980	10,026	16.0	118	10.2
1990	11,162	17.9	142	12.4
1991	13,658	21.1	238	20.9
1992	14,521	21.6	195	18.5
1993	14,961	22.0	174	15.8
1994	14,610	21.2	166	13.8
1995	13,999	20.2	139	10.7
1996	13,764	19.8	151	11.6
1997	13,422	19.2	215	15.9

Note: 1970–1990 data are decennial U.S. Census Bureau counts, and 1991–1997 data are less precise Current Population Survey (CPS) estimates. Minnesota CPS estimates were subject to large sampling errors and should be interpreted accordingly.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, September 1998, and various years.

1991–1997

The CPS child poverty rate varied widely throughout the 1990s. Beginning at 20.9% in 1991, it dropped to 10.7% by 1995 and rose to 15.9% in 1997 (keep in mind the previous caveat for this data set). For 1997, the CPS estimated 215,000 of Minnesota's related children were in poverty. MDH estimates are considerably lower for 1997 at 171,812, especially considering that they account for all children, including 18- and 19-year-olds. MDH poverty rates measured 12.4% at the state level; at the county level, Hennepin came in just above the state at 13.2% and Ramsey considerably higher at 17.2%.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation 1970–1990

In both the state and the nation, the child poverty rate increased substantially during the 20-year period from 1970 to 1990. At 19%, the national increase was less marked than that of Minnesota, which increased by 31% during the same period—grouping child poverty with the majority of indicators whose overall rate of increase between 1970 and 1990 was higher in Minnesota than in the nation as a whole.

1991–1996

In 1991, 21.1% of all related children in families and 47.1% of female-headed households with children nationwide were living in poverty. By 1997, the percentage of related children in poverty dropped to 19.2%, and

Minnesota and Twin Cities Area Children Living in Poverty 1997

Number of children (to age 19) in poverty and as a percentage of all children

Minnesota		Hennepin		Ramsey	
Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
171,812	12.4	35,933	13.2	23,373	17.2

Source: Minnesota Department of Health, various years.

the percentage of female-headed households with children dropped to 41.0%—the lowest level in the 38 years it has been measured. Children currently represent 40% of the population living in poverty—a high percentage considering that children make up 26% of the total population. The overall poverty rate for children under the age of 6 stands at 21.6% for 1997 (U.S. Census Bureau, September 1998).

Minnesota child poverty rates remained appreciably lower than the national rates through the mid-1990s. Pockets of child poverty exceeded the national rates, however. According to *Child Poverty in Minnesota, Trends and Issues*, published by Minnesota Planning in 1994, more than half of Minnesota's poor children live outside the Twin Cities metropolitan area, but the

greatest growth in poverty since 1980 has been in the Twin Cities area. In rural Minnesota, high areas of child poverty are associated with the high poverty of Native Americans.

VII. Children on Assistance

Minnesota

1960–1990

In 1960, just 2% of Minnesota's children relied on what was then called Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); by 1990 that figure had jumped to almost 10%. Between 1960 and 1970, the rate rose 140%; during the next 20 years, the rate of increase was 98%.

1991–1996

The percentage of Minnesota's chil-

Children Relying on Assistance

Average monthly number of children relying on assistance in 1,000s and as a percentage of all children

Fiscal year	National		Minnesota	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1960	2,370	3.7	25.9	2.0
1970	5,494	7.9	66.6	4.8
1980	7,320	11.9	92.7	7.9
1990	7,755	12.1	112.3	9.5
1991	8,515	13.1	115.5	9.7
1992	9,225	14.0	123.0	10.2
1993	9,539	14.3	125.3	10.2
1994	9,590	13.8	127.3	10.3
1995	9,275	13.2	121.5	9.8
1996	8,673	12.2	116.7	9.4

Sources: U.S. House of Representatives, 1998; U.S. Administration for Families and Children, various years.

dren relying on assistance peaked in 1994, and has begun to decline since that time. Statewide, there has been an 8.7% decrease in the percent of children receiving assistance since 1994. The percent of children receiving assistance has declined steadily in Hennepin County since 1994 but continues to climb in Ramsey County. In 1996, the percentage of children relying on AFDC in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties stood at 15.1% and 20.4%, respectively.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation 1960–1996

The percentage of children on AFDC in Minnesota has consistently been less than the percentage for the nation—for example, 9.5% in Minnesota in 1990 compared to 12.1% nationwide. But the rate of increase in Minnesota between 1960 and 1990 was 65% higher than for the country. In 1980, 11.9% of all children in the United States were on AFDC assistance. This rate persisted in 1990 and rose by a percentage point in both

1991 and 1992, topping out at 14.3% in 1993. Since 1993, the rate of children receiving assistance both nationwide and in Minnesota has steadily decreased.

VIII. Child Abuse and Neglect

As with many indicators involving children, systems for documenting child abuse and neglect vary widely. In addition to differing and ever-changing criteria for what constitutes abusive behavior toward children, some figures are based on reported incidents, others on estimated number of victims, others still on incidents that have been investigated and substantiated. In general, figures for the first two systems are more than twice that of the third; many respected social scientists believe the higher numbers more accurately reflect the true incidence of child abuse in our society.

Minnesota 1982–1996

The number of child abuse incidents reported and substantiated in Minnesota rose sharply between 1982 and 1992; the 1992 rate of 9.3 per 1,000 children was 86% higher than the 1982 rate of 5.0. The number of reports increased 81% during those years. Since 1992, the rate of substantiated incidents steadily declined to 8.2 per 1,000 by 1996.

Minnesota Compared to the Nation 1982–1996

The national rate of confirmed

Twin Cities Metro Area Children
Relying on Assistance
Percentage of all children

Fiscal year	Hennepin*	Ramsey
1991	13.9	16.4
1992	14.9	17.9
1993	15.2	19.1
1994	15.6	19.7
1995	15.1	19.6
1996	15.1	20.4

*FY94 and FY95 include Minnesota Family Investment Plan cases.

Source: Kids Count Minnesota, various years (1994–1998).

Child Abuse and Neglect: Reported and Substantiated Incidents
 National figures in 1,000s; rate is number of substantiated incidents per 1,000 children

	National				Minnesota			
	Total reports	Children reported	Incidents	Incident rate	Total reports	Children reported	Incidents	Incident rate
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	9,939	14,388	5,670	5.0
1985	NA	NA	NA	NA	13,506	18,947	7,028	6.2
1990	NA	NA	NA	NA	16,904	23,626	9,177	7.8
1991	1,768	2,689	860	13.2	17,480	26,663	10,224	8.6
1992	1,898	2,876	992	15.0	17,988	27,462	11,217	9.3
1993	1,938	2,893	1,009	15.1	19,193	29,722	11,058	9.0
1994	1,980	2,939	1,012	14.6	17,967	28,286	10,438	8.5
1995	1,989	2,959	1,001	14.2	17,207	26,507	10,273	8.3
1996	2,051	3,032	969	13.7	16,685	25,435	10,200	8.2

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract, various years; Minnesota Department of Human Services, various years.

child abuse peaked in 1993, one year after Minnesota's peak. Nationally, girls were three times more likely to be sexually abused than boys, while boys were at greater risk of serious physical injury. Children from families with incomes below \$15,000 were 22 times more likely to experience maltreat-

ment than children from families with incomes above \$30,000. Since 1993, the national rate of child abuse has declined somewhat. Minnesota rates have been declining since 1992. They have also been consistently lower than the national rates. It is estimated that over 3 million children nationally, in



over 2 million reported incidents, were victims of maltreatment in 1996 (based on estimates of the Third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect.)

IX. Homelessness

By its very nature, homelessness is impossible to measure with 100% accuracy. Studies vary greatly; hence it isn't possible to compare Minnesota estimates with national studies, but the findings of some studies are included here for reference.

Minnesota

- The number of adults seeking shelter during a one-month period increased by 66% between 1987 and 1993. The number turned away from shelters increased 125% over the same period. The number of children seeking shelter increased by 119% over the period.
- The number of sheltered persons and counted persons living on the street increased 50% from 1991 to 1994 and another 24% in 1997, for a total increase of 85% between 1991 and 1997.
- The percentage of women and children among the homeless increased from 40% in 1991 to 53% in 1997.
- The number of sheltered children increased 726% between 1985 and 1997.
- An estimated 9,363 children were homeless or in "precarious housing" in 1997; children were 59% of all homeless or precariously housed persons.
- About 60% of homeless persons surveyed say they have attempted suicide.
- The increase in persons receiving shelter in rural areas (387%) was greater than in urban areas (364%) in 1997.

National Findings

- The fastest-growing segment of the homeless population is families with children, at 25% of the homeless in a 1997 survey of 29 cities (A Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities: 1997, U.S. Conference of Mayors).
- A widely cited example of a point-in-

One-Month Survey of Persons Seeking Shelter in Minnesota

Number of persons seeking shelter, sheltered, and turned away

	Adults			Children		
	Seeking shelter	Sheltered	Turned away	Seeking shelter	Sheltered	Turned away
Aug. 1985	NA	1,165	NA	NA	322	NA
Aug. 1987	2,688	2,425	263	770	684	86
Aug. 1989	2,550	2,361	189	766	684	82
Aug. 1991	3,099	2,844	255	1,121	1,015	106
Aug. 1992	3,662	3,253	409	1,452	1,249	203
Aug. 1993	4,452	3,861	591	1,688	1,396	292

Source: Minnesota Department of Jobs and Training, various years.

One-Day Survey of Homeless Persons in Minnesota

	Sheltered/counted on the streets	Sheltered children	Homeless families
Nov. 1985	1,057	325	NA
Oct. 1991	3,014	990	434
Nov. 1994	4,520	1,893	807
Oct. 1997	5,590	2,683	1,103

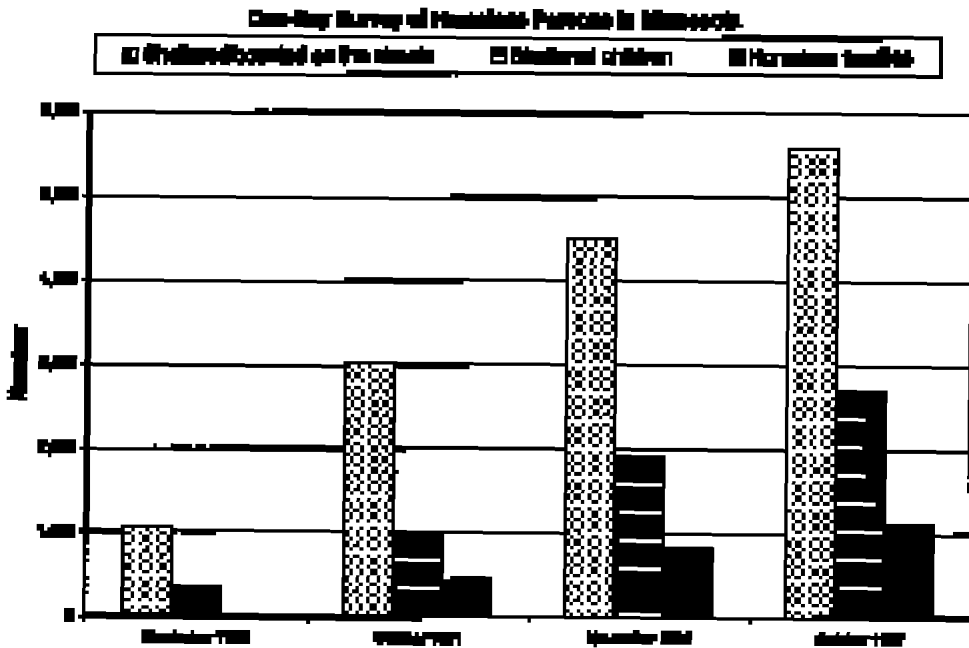
Source: A. H. Wilder Foundation Research Center, various years.

time estimate of the national homeless population, America's Homeless: Numbers, Characteristics, and the Programs That Serve Them (Urban Institute, 1989), found that there were between 500,000 and 600,000 persons in shelters, eating at soup kitchens, or congregating on the streets during one week in 1988.

- A 1991 Urban Institute survey found that in 182 cities with populations over 100,000, the number of shelter beds tripled between 1981 and 1989.

- A 1996 study published by the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty estimates that there are at least 760,000 homeless persons on any single night, and between 1.2 and 2 million people who experience homelessness during a one-year period.

The studies—which are useful for measuring the growth in demand for shelter beds—indicate the dramatic increase in homelessness in the United States over the past two decades.



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