

The Effect of Teenage Pregnancy on Schooling and Labor Force Participation: Evidence From Urban South Africa

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Abstract

Policy-makers have frequently cited teenage pregnancy as a key issue for the youth across the world due to the fact that young mothers have worse health, less schooling, and poorer job market performance in adulthood. However, given the possibility of selection into early motherhood, the causal impact of teenage pregnancy on human capital investments is difficult to estimate. I examine the effects of teenage pregnancy in Cape Town, South Africa, on educational outcomes and future labor force participation using two main identification strategies. I use an instrumental variable strategy which relies on the number of teenage fertile years as an instrument for teenage pregnancy. The second strategy considers differences among a subsample of sisters living in the same household but with differing reports of teenage pregnancies using a sibling differences model. I find an increase in the likelihood of failing a grade and dropping out of school, and a negative significant effect of 1.8 less years of completed education. My findings reflect a substitution between post secondary education and labor participation. Overall, these results suggest that teenage pregnancies have some significant impacts on human capital.

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1 Introduction

While throughout the world, women are having children at later ages, it is estimated that the number of teenage pregnancies will increase across the world by 2030 (Monteiro et al., 2019).¹ Nevertheless, the causal effects of teenage pregnancy on short and long term outcomes are hard to estimate. The main challenge is selection into early motherhood. Poorer human capital outcomes could be due to the causal impact of teenage pregnancy or because mothers who have teenage births are negatively selected into it, such that they would have had poorer outcomes regardless of their age at pregnancy. To overcome the issue, researchers who study the issue in the US and other high income countries have taken several empirical approaches: propensity score matching (for example, Levine and Painter, 2003 and Lee, 2010), within family differences (for example, Herrera, Sahn, and Villa, 2019) or instrumental variables (Ashcraft, Fernández-Val, and Lang, 2013). However, the utilization of these methods to estimate the impact of teenage pregnancy in low and middle income countries is scarcer.²

In this paper, I examine the causal effects of teenage pregnancy on the educational attainment and labor force participation of young women in urban Cape Town, South Africa. To identify these effects, I consider two main identification strategies: an instrumental variable identification and a sibling differences estimation. The data for this paper comes from the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS; Lam, Seekings, and Sparks, 2006).

The CAPS data set is a longitudinal study of randomly selected sample of young adults living in the Cape Town Metropolitan Area, the second-largest city in South Africa, in 2002. This rich longitudinal data conducted 5 rounds of data collection between 2002 and 2009. The

¹The average global teenage birth rate (aged 15–19 years) decreased from 65 per 1000 girls in the mid nighties to 49 in 2011 (WHO, 2018 and Sedgh, Finer, Bankole, Eilers, and Singh, 2015). Yet, because the teenage population is growing, the absolute number will grow.

²Exceptions include Branson and Byker (2018), Ranchhod, Lam, Leibbrandt, and Marteleto (2011), Ardington, Menendez, and Mutevedzi (2014), Urdinola and Ospino, 2015, Azevedo, Lopez-Calva, and Perova (2012), Narita and Diaz (2016) and Herrera et al. (2019).

sampled individuals, aged 14 to 22 in 2002, were surveyed on demographic characteristics, sexual behavior, schooling, and employment. The first wave included retrospective questions on these topics from the year in which they were born. This survey feature allows me to construct a panel where the unit of observation is a women-year (from the birth year until the last survey) as well as static collapsed panel data structure.

The two methodologies utilized in this paper tackle very different sources of bias. I first instrument teenage pregnancy using the self reported fertility status, measured by the time after the age at menarche. The approach is a variation of the strategy proposed by Ribar (1994) and Klepinger, Lundberg, Plotnick, et al. (1997) to estimate the effects of teenage childbearing in the US, and later used by Field and Ambrus (2008) to estimate the effects of early marriage in Bangladesh.³ The intuition behind the identification is that the variation in the timing of first menstruation between the ages of 10–17 generates quasi-random differences in the minimum age at which girls have the physical capability of getting pregnant. Importantly, the variation is independent of schooling investment, which allows for causal effect estimation. I find that each additional year that menarche is delayed decreases the likelihood that a teenager will get pregnant between 2.5 and 3.2 percentage points.

An important concern in the instrumental variable identification is to what extent the age at menarche is independent of the confounders that affect educational, labor and fertility outcomes.⁴ To examine the exclusion restriction, I test the exogeneity of the instrument in

³There is a small but growing literature following Field and Ambrus (2008) who studies the effects of teenage marriage in developing countries. Sekhri and Debnath (2014) and Chari, Heath, Maertens, and Fatima (2017) examine the consequences of female early marriage using the same identification strategy in India, a country where there is a high-prevalence of teenage pregnancy. Next, Asadullah and Wahhaj (2016) consider differences in age of menarche between sisters to analyze the effects of early marriage on gender attitudes in Bangladesh. In Africa, Sunder (2018) and Hicks and Hicks (2015) also utilized the same approach to examine teenage pregnancy in Uganda and Western Kenya, respectively.

⁴Khanna (2019) consider the effects of early menarche on schooling in India. Using a difference in difference approach, which takes advantage of the differences in the age at menarche within cohorts, her findings suggest reaching the first menstruation before the age of 12 is associated with a 13.4 percentage points decrease in school enrollment rate. The paper highlights the importance of examining the exclusion restriction when using the age of menarche as an instrument for gender issues since it points out that it may

the context of South Africa and consider the possible social consequences of the onset of menarche on educational outcomes. The former is undertaken by examining how early nutrition and genetics, environmental factors or unforeseen prepubescent shocks are associated with the possibility of reaching an earlier menarche. Additionally, I deal with the possibility of childhood nutrition and environmental differences by including adult height and sampling location clusters among the controls, respectively. To analyze the social consequences of the first menstruation, I conduct event study analysis for school drop out.

The second methodological strategy I utilize relies on within family differences by comparing a sister who reported a teenage pregnancy to at least one who did not. I examine the effects of teenage pregnancy on a subsample of the CAPS data using sibling fixed effects. In this sample sisters are defined as sharing at least one parent and report living in the same households. Sisters are a reasonable counterfactual group because they are more likely to share background and socioeconomic characteristics. If the variation in pregnancies is conditionally independent of unobserved familial differences, the estimation of the effects of teenage pregnancy will be unbiased.

My findings are in line with the teen pregnancy literature in developing countries. First, women who had their first child in her teens are 55 percentage points more likely to fail a grade, and 0.3 years behind and are 10 percentage points more likely to drop out. In terms of schooling attainment, I find that women who report a at a schooling age are, on average, approximately between 1 and 1.8 years less educated, are less likely to sit for an end of school exam and are less likely to continue studying after high-school. I also examine the impact of early pregnancy on the likelihood of participating in the labor force at the specific ages of 19, 20, 21 and 22. The coefficients, though not statistically significant, are positive hinting at substitution between post secondary education and the labor participation.

directly affect schooling.

The literature on the effects of early pregnancy on human capital investments is large and inconclusive (see Ribar, 1999; Hotz, McElroy, and Sanders, 2005; Ashcraft and Lang, 2006a; Diaz and Fiel, 2016 and Heiland, Korenman, and Smith, 2019 for reviews of the literature) and has centered around the United States, and more generally on high income countries. To reduce the selection into early motherhood, researchers have generally employed three approaches: an instrumental variables, sibling differences and propensity score matching. A number of studies have relied on instrumental variables such as miscarriages (Hotz et al., 2005; Ashcraft and Lang, 2006a; Fletcher and Wolfe, 2009; and Ashcraft et al., 2013), abortion laws (Bitler & Zavodny, 2001) and age at menarche (Klepinger et al., 1997 and Ribar, 1994). The instrumental variable approach renders null or modest estimates of the effects of early motherhood on the education and labor outcomes. Second, the within family differences -used by Geronimus and Korenman (1993); Ribar (1999); Duncan, Lee, Rosales-Rueda, and Kalil (2018) and Heiland et al. (2019)- yields educational effects between 0 and a 1 years less educated than their siblings. Finally, papers that utilize a propensity score matching identification find modest negative effects on schooling attainment and life satisfaction (Levine and Painter, 2003; Lee, 2010; and Zito, 2018).⁵

The evidence of the impact of teenage pregnancy in low and middle income countries is smaller. Latin American studies have found that teen mothers are less educated as a consequence of pregnancy (Azevedo et al., 2012; Narita and Diaz, 2016; and Berthelon and Kruger, 2017) and willingness to accept a lower paying job (Urdinola & Ospino, 2015). In Sub-Saharan Africa, the association between teenage pregnancy and schooling have been documented by Madhavan and Thomas (2005) and Marteleto, Lam, and Ranchhod (2008) among others. Additionally, Almanza and Sahn (2018) use the exposure of girls to condoms in Madagascar as an instrument and find that teen pregnancy negatively impact maternal employment and educational attainment. The evidence found by Ranchhod et al. (2011)

⁵Appendix Table 2 includes a comprehensive review of the literature in high income countries.

using a propensity score matching, and by Ardington et al. (2014) in rural South Africa with a sister differences approach, suggest that teenage mothers are less educated.⁶

The importance of examining the consequences of teenage pregnancy in South Africa lies in the fact that its opportunity cost might be very different from many high income countries. First, the country, at the time of the study, was characterized by extremely high youth unemployment rates (Nattrass & Walker, 2005). Women were less likely to be in the labor force and more likely to be unemployed at the turn of the century. Second, although female educational attainment was extremely high (Anderson, Case, and Lam, 2001; Lam, Marteleto, and Ranchhod, 2013), South Africa was also notable for its rates of repetition such that the spread in ages with in grades is wider and many teens come back to school after birth (Marteleto et al., 2008). The social stigma of teenage pregnancy might be different in these schools.⁷ Finally, kinship networks are strong between generations (Duflo, 2003 and Magruder, 2010) which might change the cost of childcare.

This paper contributes to the literature in several ways. First, I add to the small literature that examines the effects of teenage pregnancy in low and middle income countries using two novel approaches. Second, the rich data set allows me to study labor participation and training decisions, after high school. The number of studies who consider the question in developing studies is limited and have found differing answers (Urdinola and Ospino, 2015 and Azevedo et al., 2012) and is extremely low in Sub Saharan Africa Branson and Byker (2018). Finally, an additional empirical contribution of this paper is that because it does not rely on policy interventions, the causal interpretation of the effects of teenage pregnancy comes from individual teenagers making decisions over their own sexual behavior.

⁶Appendix Table 3 includes a comprehensive review of the literature in low and middle income countries.

⁷Although in South Africa teenage pregnancy rates have been declining over the last few decades (Moultrie & McGrath, 2007), the topic has often been cited as a political and public health concern. The debate centers around the perceived incentives of the child support grant. The government has also taken measures, such as rewarding schoolgirls who don't get pregnant, to eradicate early childbearing.

The individual identification has been done a small number of times in Sub-Saharan Africa, where teenage pregnancy is an important concern.

Understanding whether and how much teenage pregnancy has an impact on educational attainment and early life labor force participation has important policy implications. Lower investments in the short run may affect women’s long run health, earnings, as well as the well-being of her children. Besides, the spill over effects of policies that target teenage pregnancy will affect the health by targeting unprotected sex in a high HIV environment. Furthermore, in the context of South Africa, where there is a motherhood penalty at the lower ends of the distribution Magadla, Leibbrandt, and Mlatsheni (2019), understanding the effects of early motherhood provides insight into the challenges and mitigating factors faced by these teenagers. It also suggests that policies assisting women with children to insert themselves into the labor force should begin as early as in their teens.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I provide background information on South Africa and in section 3 I provide a detailed description of the chosen data set, the data structure and summary statistics. Next, I discuss the methodological approaches used to consider teenage pregnancy and I outline the empirical strategies in Section 4. Section 5 reports the validity of the instrumental variable approach and in Section 6, I present the results. The final section concludes with a discussion.

2 Background & Setting

In this section, I examine the context in which I study the causal effects of teenage pregnancy. Understanding the patterns in South Africa provides insights because of the unique patterns in education, sexual behaviors and labor and the wide inequality among teens.

2.1 Sexual Debut, Early Childbearing and Marriage

The inter connectivity between teenage pregnancy and female outcomes has been at the center of the public concerns in many developing countries. The debate is usually due to the perceived perverse incentives created by social benefits program (Moultrie & Dorrington, 2004).⁸ Nevertheless, researchers have examined the determinants and consequences of teenage sexual initiation, and childbearing in developing countries (on Population, Council, et al., 1998, Lloyd and Mensch, 2008, and Marteleto et al., 2008).

Extra early sexual debut has several important implications for the likelihood of teenage pregnancy and other transitions to adulthood. An earlier age at first sex increases the likelihood of getting and transmitting sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and HIV, reporting a pregnancy (Marteleto et al., 2008). In sub-Saharan Africa, the girls who report earlier entry into pre-marital sex has been linked to the likelihood of school dropping out from school (Biddlecom, Gregory, Lloyd, and Mensch, 2008).

In most developing countries, the first sexual intercourse of women occurs largely within marriage. This is the case, for example, in many North Africa and some Asian countries (Singh, Wulf, Samara, & Cuca, 2000). However, the difference between the age at which women enter into sexual relationships and her age at marriage is expanding as more girls report extra-marital sexual activities in their teens.

Personal characteristics and prior school experience have been linked to earlier the sexual and reproductive behavior (Marteleto et al., 2008). A report by the World Health Organization (WHO) cites many barriers for teenagers to practice safe sex in developing countries (WHO, 2018). First, access to contraception is restricted sometimes by strict provision policies (Branson and Byker, 2018) or by health worker bias. Also, other barriers to consistent

⁸In the particular case of South Africa, President Jacob Zuma's 2008 election campaign included a proposal that teenage mothers be separated from their babies and forced to get an education (Ardington et al., 2014).

and correct use of contraception may be linked to pressure to have children or the stigma surrounding non-marital sexual activity and lack of knowledge on correct use.

Concerns over teenage pregnancy relates to its impacts on health, well-being and life course trajectories of the mothers and their infants. From a health perspective, teenage pregnancy has been linked to poor perinatal outcomes, low birth weight and preterm birth. Additionally, policy makers have noted that teenage mothers are often poorer, less educated and less likely to be employed (WHO, 2018).

Despite the concerns, teenage pregnancy and childbirth are planned in some settings. Girls who get married early often less able to effectively negotiate their sex practices (which added sexually transmitted infections) and face pressure to have children (WHO, 2018). Unicef (2014) cites the example of Nepal where women who married before the age of 15 are 33 percentage points likely to have three or more children by the age of 24 versus the 1% of women who marry as adults. Alternatively, planned extra-marital teenage pregnancies have been linked to improvements in social status of teenagers the lower socioeconomic strata in Brazil (Heilborn and Cabral, 2011 and Faisal-Cury et al., 2017). In the following section, I introduce the evidence of the consequences of teenage pregnancy in the context of developed countries and developing countries.

I next turn to the setting for the present study. I present the background characteristics for teenage sexual behavior and pregnancy, schooling, labor supply and migration.

2.2 The South African Context

2.2.1 Sexual Debut, Early Childbearing

Teenagers in South Africa are unique in terms of their initiation into sexual behavior as women become sexually active by age 18.⁹ The fact elicits two distinctive conclusions regarding teen girls in South Africa. First, in this context young women usually become sexually active while they are still in school.¹⁰ Second, in contrast to many developing countries, sexual initiation occurs predominantly outside of marriage. The median age at marriage among women aged 25-49 was 24.2 years (DHS, 2002).

South African overall fertility levels is low compared to other African countries (WHO, 2014). Teenage fertility rates, however, relatively high through the late 1990s and early 2000.¹¹ The proportion of women aged 19 who had reported a pregnancy in the 1998 and 2003 South African DHS was 35.1%, seen in Figure 1, to 27.1% respectively (Department of Health/South Africa and Macro International, 2002 and 2007).¹²

As for the negative consequences of teenage pregnancy, another distinctive fact is that many South African mothers return to complete their schooling after giving birth. This is due to the support received from their families and fathers often recognize of the child (Kaufman, De Wet, and Stadler, 2001 and Madhavan and Thomas, 2005).

In the particular setting for my study, the Cape Area, teenage pregnancy was estimated

⁹The median age at first sexual intercourse in the Department of Health/South Africa and Macro International, 2002 was 17.8 years for women aged 20-24.

¹⁰Another hazard faced by young people at the time of the study that is likely to affect sexual behavior was the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

¹¹Contrary to many other sub-Saharan countries, contraceptive usage in South Africa was high during the Apartheid regime due to the government's plan to control the non-white population (Cooper et al., 2004). Public clinics, hospitals and mobile service largely provided contraceptives for free. However, not everybody benefited from this access to family planning, as evidenced by the surge in unintended pregnancy rates among adolescents. The findings point to social barriers for teenagers accessing family planning.

¹²Abortion was legalised in the country in 1996. However, even when public and private facilities increased progressively, teenagers have not reported using termination services (Panday, Makiwane, Ranchod, & Letsoala, 2009).

to be approximately 22% in 2002. The average, is similar to the national report, which is equal to 25%. Compared to young adults in other regions, however, those who live in the Cape Area are 24 percentage points less likely to report a teenage birth than in rural areas.

2.2.2 Schooling

General education in South Africa is divided into three periods: primary, middle school and secondary school. Schooling is compulsory until grade 9, and spans 12 grades in total. Literacy and numeracy are taught in primary school, which lasts six years. Then, middle school is three years long, at the end of which students get a basic education and training certificate.¹³ Secondary school spans between grades 10 and 12. In order to continue to higher education, students have to sit for a matriculation exam.

School enrollment rates are high in South Africa as primary school attainment is nearly universal and secondary school enrollment remains high through the teenage years (Anderson et al., 2001; Lam et al., 2013). However, there are striking gaps in knowledge gains across students, which is shown by poor cross-national standardized tests performance compared to other countries (Van der Berg, Louw, et al., 2007). In South Africa, the schooling system in the early 2000s still reflected the persistent income inequalities that characterized the country during the Apartheid regime.¹⁴

Lam, Ardington, and Leibbrandt (2011) study differences in grade repetition in the CAPS data set post the schooling reform that happened in 1994. Out of all the students enrolled

¹³The emphasis is placed in academics and vocational training.

¹⁴Previous to 1994, the schooling system was segregated by racial groups, with differing levels of resources and curriculum design (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). White, black and coloured students attended very different schools under apartheid. For the most part, black students attended the poorer schools and had the most restrictions on work and migration. Whereas white students had the most advantages in terms of the expenditure, free residential mobility, and access to social services. Coloured students' schools had higher expenditures than black schools and had fewer restrictions on mobility so their status was somewhere in between these two groups. After 1994, the government equalized the funding but the racial differences in grade progression and overall attainment persisted in the period of the current study.

in grades 8 or 9 in 2002, 82% of white students successfully advanced three grades by 2005, whereas only 34% of coloured students and 27% of African students attained the same level of advancement. Two thirds of the students, however, chose to continue their schooling despite this fact. Thus, coloured teenagers continue to be enrolled in secondary school after the age of 20 (Anderson et al., 2001; Marteleto et al., 2008). Lam et al. (2011)’s findings suggest that grade advancement is determined by a random component, which is consistent with the considerable number of students who fail grades. Additionally, students who shared the same classroom had wide range of ages.

There are large differences in schooling attainment. White students are more likely to finish schooling earlier and to find employment sooner than young black and colored adults. The students who decide to drop-out generally occurs make the decision between the ages of 14 and 22 (Anderson et al., 2001).

2.2.3 Labor Market Characteristics and Youth Unemployment

Youth unemployment was structural in South Africa at the time of the study. According to the September 2003 Labour Force Survey, the unemployment rates range between 28% and 42% depending on whether discouraged job seekers are considered or only active ones (Nattrass & Walker, 2005). The rate was concentrated among the young and blacks, followed by the coloured population (Magruder, 2010).

There are two outstanding South Africa’s labor market facts. Firstly, formal sector wages were high at turn of the century, compared to similar countries.¹⁵ As a consequence of the high pay-off of the formal sector jobs, seekers had longer search spells, and the cost of

¹⁵Historically, the trend began under the Apartheid Regime when the system intended to increase white people’s wages in capital-intensive production industries and continued several years later (Nattrass and Walker, 2005 and Banerjee, Galiani, Levinsohn, McLaren, and Woolard, 2008). Unionization structure generated high minimum wages in all firms in many industries and later spread to all industries not covered by union arbitration.

unemployment shrank (Magruder, 2010). In fact, youth unemployment was higher in regions with higher union wages compared to non-union wages (Schultz & Mwabu, 1998).

Second, the informal sector is small compared to other countries with similar development levels. In rural areas, agriculture is mostly established in large farms that were established pre-Apartheid such that there is no subsistence agriculture in rural settings. In more urban settings, the informal sector is relatively small compared to similar countries. Informality was outlawed previously but grew during the first years of the 2000's as the number of individuals who reported being self-employed or domestic workers increased from 19% in 1993 to 2% in 2004 (Magruder, 2010).

The relative small size of the informal sector has been attributed to the existence of barriers of entry to the formal sector or to the possibility that waiting for a formal sector job was better than having an informal position. Since wages were high among those who do had jobs and there were governmental pension programs, most households were able to subsist. In this setting, youth unemployment was an expected outcome.

As for the gender composition of unemployment, Banerjee et al. (2008) find that women less likely to participate in the labour market and more likely than men to be unemployed. Female labour supply increased drastically in the early 2000s but the demand did not accompany the influx as employment in south Africa's bigger industries, agriculture and mining employment steadily fell.

2.2.4 Migration

South Africa's growth rate in 2002 was 15.5% but the increase was very uneven across provinces. Gauteng and the Western Cape experienced rates of 33.7% and 30.0 %, respectively. In contrast, growth was decidedly smaller in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo where the population increases only reached 4.5% and 8.2% (Statistics South Africa, 2012 and

Posel, 2004). Besides natural economic patterns, many researchers have pointed out the unique South African inter-provincial migration flows.

The main stream of migrants moved between the Eastern Cape and municipalities in the Western Cape driven by labor demand. During the period of interest, urbanization rates were high and migration was mostly urban-to-urban, but homelands were also affected (Posel, 2004).¹⁶ Historically, migration was highly regulated by the government. In this context, mostly male migrants moved for labor reasons and migration was circular or temporary. Once the policies were lifted, although the expectation was that it would become permanent, temporary migration remained high.

Migrants from the East Cape to the West Cape were more likely to be male, young (25–29 years) and unmarried. They were generally from low income households unemployed or not economically active. The inflow of migrants to the cities brought additional housing, health, education and sanitation challenges to the local authorities. Jacobs and Du Plessis (2016) estimated that, once these migrants arrived in Cape Town, 31.3% lived in informal dwellings in backyards or informal settlements.

As a consequence of the migration patterns, Budlender and Hartman-Pickerill (2014) found that at least 92% of those born in Western Cape reside in the same place of birth but only 69% of Western Cape workers were born in the province. In contrast, approximately a quarter of all people born in Northern Cape, Limpopo and Eastern Cape have moved. The study also estimated that employment rate in the Western Cape was 68%, 16 percentage points higher than in the Eastern Cape.

¹⁶It has been estimated that four and three individuals per 1,000 population moved between the 2000 and 2010 censuses from secondary urban areas and homelands, respectively.

3 Data

3.1 Cape Area Panel Study

To study the effects of teenage pregnancy on education, subsequent fertility and labor supply, I use the Cape Area Panel Study (Lam et al., 2006). This is a longitudinal study, which follows young men and women who lived in the Cape Town Metropolitan Area in 2002.¹⁷ Individuals were sampled using a stratified two-stage sample of households, from sample clusters first and then through households within these clusters (Lam et al., 2006). Clusters were selected according to ethnic group available in 1996 census where white and African clusters were oversampled to achieve a representative sample (Lam et al., 2006). The design for the wave included a young adult and a household questionnaires; and administered a literacy and numeracy evaluation of the young adults in the sample.

Five waves were conducted to create the CAPS data-set: first in 2002, later in 2003 or 2004, in 2005, in 2006 and in 2009. The first wave, which was administered in August-December of 2002, surveyed 2612 young women aged 14-22 in 2002 in 2,045 households. This paper draws strongly from young adult questionnaire in wave 1. The background individual information variables were created using the questions regarding the race, religion, place of birth, language utilized in the interview, education of the parents from the young adult questionnaire. Also, the number of full siblings, the household size and the wealth and dwelling information were created using questions from the household questionnaire.

The pregnancy and fertility information is also captured in wave 1 which contained questions on the complete pregnancy and birth histories, prenatal care and partners' information

¹⁷Cape Town is the second largest city in the country behind Johannesburg, with 2,785,032 inhabitants, and it is the provincial capital of the Western Cape. It is located in the South-Western corner of South Africa. The population in Cape Town is 35% Black, 44% Coloured, 19% White, and less than 2% Asian (Statistics South Africa, 2007). The composition is different from the nation population: 79% black, 9% Coloured, 10% White, and 3% Asian.

and later updated in the following surveys. The self-reported information on pregnancy provides the basis for the early pregnancy history for the older cohorts, who are older than 18. Among the younger cohorts, 3.83% reported a pregnancy by 2002 so most of the inputs for the pregnancy variables is drawn from later waves. Next, the age at menarche was first asked in 2002. Almost all sampled women, 96.8%, provided the age in this wave.

Wave 2 was conducted between July 2003-December 2004 in two separate surveys rounds: wave 2A in 2003 and wave 2b, in 2004. The total number of sampled women that were reached in the study was 2,140 (748 in 2003 and 1,410 in 2004). The main goal of wave 2 was to update the data collected in wave 1. There were some differences between waves A and B, as the 2003 survey added a module on HIV/AIDS stigma and the 2004 interview included modules on employment and school choice. Even though the pregnancy and birth history were not directly included in wave 2, the surveys inquire about reasons for not attending school. Thus, I am able to determine whether women reported pregnancy during those years.

Wave 3 was conducted between April and December 2005 to 1,911 young women now aged 17-25. The questions for young adults focused on on schooling, employment, fertility, and personal health. Additional variables described the residential and schooling history, inter-generational transfers, time allocation, and sexual partners. A relevant question for this study the update on age at menarche for those who did not answer the question in the first wave. The question extends the age at menarche top 103 additional women.

Wave 4 was conducted in 2006 and accounted for 1,877 sampled women, now age 18–26. There were three targeted populations: the young adults, their biological children, and older original residents (age 50 or over). It mainly consisted of follow-up information on the school, work, and childbearing histories of CAPS young adults. An important feature of wave 4 is that it includes a set of health outcomes for young adults and her parents. The fact the module was included in wave 4 limits the sample size. Attrition was greater among the

older, wealthier and more educated young adults in the panel.

Finally, wave 5 was administered in 2009 to 1,799 women, aged 21–29. It included a young adult questionnaire, young adult telephonic questionnaire and a young adult proxy questionnaire. Field work was carried out in 2009 and respondents who were not successfully located in the field were contacted via telephone to update their basic information. The fifth wave of the CAPS data set updated educational outcomes and provided restrictive information for the fertility

3.2 Variable Construction

This paper takes advantage of the data available in the various waves and retrospective information questions asked in the first CAPS wave to conduct the analysis. Using the available information described in Table A1, the analysis is undertaken in samples with one of these two formats: (I) a panel data-set where each observation represents one individual-year observation and (II) a collapsed panel where the information is aggregated at the sampled woman level. I use both, the panel and the collapsed panel samples to conduct the instrumental variable analysis and the sibling differences approaches. In the next sections, I explain how I construct the key variables required for both approaches.

3.2.1 Teenage Pregnancy and Age at Menarche

I begin by providing a description of how the likelihood of a pregnancy and the fertility variables are created for the panel and the collapsed panel samples. First, teenage pregnancy is measured differently at the aggregated level and at the year level. In the panel sample, I define the variable “ $Pregnant_{isjt}$ ” is an indicator for whether sampled woman i who lives in sampling cluster s of cohort j reported a pregnancy in year t . It describes reports from

1990 until 2009. An important exception is the year 2008, when it is not possible to narrow pregnancies using the fifth wave of the CAPS data.

In the collapsed panel, I define “Pregnant_{isj} <18” as an indicator variable for whether the sampled woman *i* who lives in sample *s* of cohort *j* reported a pregnancy before the age of 18. Figure 2 describes the percentage of women who report a pregnancy between the ages of 14 and 26. As seen in the figure, the percentage of women who report a pregnancy increases significantly until the age of 18 and trends flattens out.

Because women become fertile after they reach menarche, the menarcheal age is an important threshold for my study. As described in Table A1, the question regarding the age at menarche was asked in wave 1, and later re-asked in wave 3 for those who reported have not reaching it at the time of the first interview.¹⁸

Following the medical and age at marriage literature, I limit the sample to girls who have reached the menarche between the ages of 10 and 17. The cutoff points were chosen to minimize censoring of women who may have health issues that affect menarche but retain the largest possible number of women. The percentage of sampled women who fell outside the chosen threshold in the CAPS data set is 3.56%.

Figure 3 shows the distribution of the age at menarche for the analytical sample of women. The average at marriage among all the women studied in this paper is 13.445 years of age. Among the sample of sisters, the age at menarche is lower 13.392 years of age.

Empirically, the fertility variables are created differently in the panel and the static samples. In the panel, fertility is captured by “Fertile” which is variable that is equal to one for the years in which the sample women is at least her age at menarche, and zero otherwise. Alternatively, in the collapsed panel, I create a continuous measure of how many years a

¹⁸The script for the question reads as follows: “As girls begin to mature into women, certain changes occur in their bodies, such as the start of menstrual periods. At what age did you have your first menstrual period or have you not had one yet? (Please look at the calendar, if that will help you remember.)”

sampled women had been fertile until the age of 17. Mechanically, this is equal to 17 minus the age at menarche.¹⁹ I now turn to describe how I create the outcome variables in the next sections.

3.2.2 Education Outcomes

One of the most immediate consequences of teenage pregnancy is its effect on schooling. The schooling outcomes are created using a combination of the self-reported wave 1 retrospective information and all the waves for which the sampled women were interviewed. The CAPS data set includes a set of questions on whether individuals were enrolled in any schooling institution and if dropped out before completing a grade, failed, or passed each year. Thus, by combining grade by year data, I study two important sets of outcomes: (I) sampled women’s progression through their schooling and, (II) the sampled women’s overall educational attainment.

I begin by analyzing schooling progression in the panel structure. Conditionally on being enrolled in a particular year, I consider the likelihood failing the grade. The variable “Failure_{it}” -for individual *i* observed in year *t*- is an indicator variable that is equal to one if she reported having failed a grade or dropping out mid year, and zero otherwise.

Second, grade for age captures the lag being in education. I follow Glynn et al. (2018) by creating by setting a measure of how much behind in school (age-for-grade) and censoring the lags up to two grades behind. I only consider grade failure and grade for age measures until grade 12 in order to consider the impact of pregnancy at the schooling age.

The third variable considered is a drop out measure created using enrollment levels and the passing grade questions. For sampled woman *i*, “Drop Out_{it}” is then defined as one for those who report not being enrolled in schooling in year *t*, and zero if they were.

¹⁹I also provide different thresholds in the Validity section.

In the static analysis, conducted in the collapsed panel, I study educational attainment using three outcome variables: the completed years of education, whether they ever wrote the matric examination, and whether they continued their education after high school. First, the completed years of education is continuous variable measuring the years of education completed at the last observed period.

Next, wrote the matriculation or NSC exam is an indicator variable of whether the individual sat for the NSC at some point. Finally, Post Secondary Education is equal to one if the sampled woman kept studying after high school, and zero otherwise.

3.2.3 Labor Force Participation Outcomes

In order to study the what happens after the age of 18, I study the effects of teenage pregnancy on the labor force participation of the sampled women after the age at which they should have finished high school. Specifically, I consider the labor force participation at the ages of 19, 20, 21, and 22.

Also, in the online appendix, I examine the extensive and intensive margins of women in the sample for the year 2006. The information available in wave 4 allow me to study both margins because the round includes questions about the number of hours the respondent devotes to working and the number of hours she dedicates for studying. If she reported that she attends school I sum the number of hours ²⁰ In this table, I also examine the willingness of the sampled women to accept positions as Domestic workers and security guards that pay R900 and R1300, respectively.

²⁰The average school day for a person enrolled in secondary school in South Africa would start at around 7:30 am and ends at 2:00 pm for grade three to nine, and between 2:00 pm and 3:00 pm for grade ten through eleven

3.3 Samples

In this paper, the analytical sample is comprised of the 1,741 full sample women. The analysis is conducted on two sample-formats: a panel and a static samples. The former is constructed using a combination of the retrospective self-reported information available in the first wave, and updated using the questions asked in the following waves. The resulting data follows the sampled women since birth until 2009. Since the goal of the paper is to study the effects of teenage pregnancy, the analysis is conducted between the ages of 10 and 20. Next, for the static analysis, I collapse the information into a “collapsed panel” where each observation is one sampled woman.

The selection of women for the present study is based on three main criteria: the age at menarche, the health module availability and the sampling location. Specifically, I limit my study to women who have undergone menarche between the ages of 10 and 17, have health information, and live in clusters where there is at least one other person in the cluster.

First, medical researchers have established that menarche is delayed when girls report its onset two standard deviations or approximately 95% of the distribution of girls of similar background (Hillard, 2013). Among woman in the full sample, the average age at menarche for those who report the onset was 13.433 (1.667 SD). Thus, I analyse women who have undergone menarche until the age of 17. The percentage of women reporting reaching menarche after, however, is small, only 1.32%.

Since girls begin experiencing menarche at the age of 10 (Prentice, Fulford, Jarjou, Goldberg, & Prentice, 2010), it is chosen as the lower bound for the age at menarche in this study. The sampled women interviewed in the first wave 1 who report reaching menarche before this age is small (0.85%).²¹

²¹The percentage of women who fell outside the bound amounts to 2.17%.

Two other data two additional requirements relate to health and sampling clusters. The health module was only asked in wave 4 to a total of 1,790 out of the 1,851 women were surveyed in 2006 with in the chosen menarcheal age range. Finally, the sampling location limitation requires women who live in the same sampling cluster with at least one other women in it. The last criteria censors an additional 1.8% of the women sampled in wave 1. The second sample of women is comprised of women who share a parent, report living in the same household, and have differing teenage pregnancy reports. Given the criteria, the sample of sibling is small, 418 women, and come from bigger households than the composition in the full sample.

3.4 Summary Statistics

In Table 2, I provide Summary statistics for the sampled woman in the full sample and in the women with sisters sub-sample. The average age in 2002 of the all the women studied in this paper is 17.724 among women in the full sample. The sisters in the comparison data set are slightly younger, the average age is 17.562. As for the racial composition, 46.2% of the individuals are coloured and 48.7% are black; whereas in the sibling sample, the percentages are 42.2 and 45.7, respectively. The age at puberty is approximately 13.4 for both groups (13.446 for the full sample and 13.392 in the sibling sample).

The education of the parents of the women in the siblings sample report having completed, on average, half a year more of education as evidenced by the 0.502 difference for the mothers (8.271 vs. 8.773 years) and 0.605 years for the fathers (8.305 vs. 8.919 years). Additionally, women in the sibling sample come from wealthier families, as the natural log of the household income is 6.178, a 0.106 points higher than the full sample equivalent (which is 6.072). Women in the sub-sample also report better total grades in the Young Adult Literacy and Numeracy Evaluation: -0.121 vs 0.019.

Nevertheless, as can be seen in Table 2, because the sample of siblings belong to households where there are at least two young adults in 2002, the average household size is greater by 0.54 individuals (5.808 vs 6.348). Similarly, the number of full siblings is 2.312 in the full sample but is 2.685 in the sibling one.

4 Empirical Methodology

Researchers have used several approaches to deal with the issue of selection into motherhood when estimating the casual effect of teenage pregnancy on schooling attainment. The most common strategies are an OLS regression, with-in household fixed effects (FE), instrumental variables (IV) estimation, and propensity score matching (PS). The main goal of the researchers when choosing a strategy is to minimize the bias. In this section, I discuss the problems two methodologies utilized in this paper to consider the causal impact of teenage pregnancy by contrasting two commonly used strategies.

4.1 Correlation between Teenage Pregnancy and the Outcomes

The main relationship in this study, the structural relationship between teenage pregnancy and the chosen outcomes, is the presented in Equation 1:

$$Outcome_{it} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 Pregnant_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

In this equation 1, $Outcome_{it}$ is the outcome of woman i of observed in year t and $Pregnant_{it}$ is an indicator variable that denotes whether woman i was pregnant in year t . In this equation, β_2 describes the relationship between the educational outputs and teenage pregnancy. I also control for is a vector of age fixed effects to reflect the fact that pregnancy

has a different probability to occur at different ages. In this equation, ε_{ikc} is the error term.

Nevertheless, teenage pregnancy might be endogenous if teenage mothers come from backgrounds that are different from non-mother teenagers. In this case, Equation 1 might not account for the fact that there might be observed and unobserved confounding factors that affect teenage pregnancy and the chosen schooling, labor supply and fertility outcomes. To illustrate this point, in Table 3 I provide the differences in a set of demographic characteristics between the women in the sample who report a teenage pregnancy and those who did not.

As shown in Table 3, women in the sample who report an teenage pregnancy are not significantly different in age in 2002 from teenage non teenage mothers. They are different in terms of race composition, however, as teenage mothers are 12 percentage points more likely to be black ($p < 0.01$) and 5.5 percentage points less likely to be coloured, although the difference in the latter coefficient is not significant. Teenage mothers are significantly shorter: 156.808 vs 158.271. Mothers of teenage mothers are 0.9 ($p < 0.01$) years less educated than those of teenage mothers. The average years is equal to 8.447 (3.191 sd) among non-teenage mothers vs. 7.559 (2.785 sd) for mothers of teenage mothers. Teenage mothers live in households that are 0.57 greater in size ($p < 0.01$) than teenagers who are not mothers and come from poor backgrounds, as evidenced by the difference in the natural log of the household income, which is equal to -0.307 ($p < 0.01$). Finally, the normalized grade of the Young Adult Evaluation is 0.25 points lower for teenage mothers ($p < 0.01$).

Additionally, the lower panel of Table 3 presents the age at first sex and the age of the first partner. Sampled women who report a teenage pregnancy report that their first partners are 0.581 years younger than the partners of teens who are mothers (19.923 vs 19.352, $p < 0.01$). Teenage mothers report that the age they first became active was 1.880 years earlier.

As a consequence of the differences established in Table 1, the coefficient of interest, β_2 , in Equation 1 will be biased. Hence, the estimation of the causal effects of teenage pregnancy

requires the use of strategies that reduce the selection bias. Thus, I next turn to explain the instrumental variable and sibling differences approaches taken to address the endogeneity.

4.2 Instrumental Variable Approach

I first examine the Instrumental Variable econometric specification which exploits exogenous variations in teenage pregnancy to identify the causal effect. The identification is made possible by considering factors that affect the likelihood of teenage pregnancy but are not directly linked to educational outcomes.²²

In the presence of heterogeneous treatment effects, the instrumental variable estimation coefficients identify the local average treatment effect (LATE), capturing the average effect for those induced to report a pregnancy in their teens by reaching menarche earlier. That is, the instrument captures the effects of teenage pregnancy through the compliers.²³

Panel

I estimate the following two-stage instrumental variable model:

$$\text{First Stage: } \textit{Pregnant}_{icst} = \sigma_1 + \sigma_2 \textit{Post Menarche}_{icst} + \beta_3 X_i + \vartheta_s + \varsigma_t + \lambda_c + \epsilon_{icst} \quad (2)$$

$$\text{Second Stage: } \textit{Outcome}_{icst} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 \widehat{\textit{Pregnant}_{icst}} + \beta_3 X_i + \vartheta_s + \varsigma_t + \lambda_c + \epsilon_{icst} \quad (3)$$

²²The previous literature has used a variety of instruments to identify the causal effect: miscarriages, and the age at menarche and abortion or family planning policy changes, among others (Ribar, 1999; Bitler and Zavodny, 2001; Ashcraft and Lang, 2006b; Fletcher and Wolfe, 2009; Azevedo et al., 2012; Ardington et al., 2014 and Almanza and Sahn, 2018).

²³It is worth mentioning that the Instrumental Variable methodology has some important caveats. It is often hard to find a strong instrument and that the resulting estimated can be imprecise. Duncan et al. (2018), for example, chose a sibling and cousin fixed-effects methodology for the impact of maternal age on child development in the US. Using the same data, this paper also finds that the age menarche is a weak instrument for maternal age at first birth in. Additionally, the authors suggest that miscarriages (Hotz et al., 2005) and state abortion laws (Bitler and Zavodny, 2001) were stronger predictors of teenage pregnancy but resulted in too large standard errors that were unable detect significant effects.

In the first stage equation, Equation 2, $Pregnant_{icst}$ is an indicator variable that denotes whether the sampled woman i , of cohort c from the sampling cluster c reported a pregnancy in year t . $Post\ Menarche_{icst}$ indicates whether individual i was fertile in that year. In this equation, ϑ_s , ς_k and λ_c denote women's cohort, and sampling location fixed effects, respectively. The set of individual controls include height, literacy status of the mother of teenage mother, language spoken at home, race, whether the woman was born outside the Western Cape, her self reported religion and the normalized literacy exams. In the same equations, household level controls include the number of full siblings and household, and asset characteristics index. Finally, ϵ_{itc} is the error term.

In the second stage equation, $Outcome_{itac}$ is the educational, labor supply or fertility outcome estimated for the sampled woman i , of cohort c from the sampling cluster c reported a pregnancy in year t . The coefficient of interest, β_2 , describes the relationship between the chosen outputs and teenage pregnancy. The controls and fixed effects are the same as in the first stage equation. The error term is represented by ε_{icst} .

The inclusion of the sampling location fixed effects (λ_c) accounts for the adverse events that may have occurred at the year of birth of the sampled women that will also be linked to both, the age at menarche and the outcomes of interest. The sampling location fixed effects are included in order to account for any geographical condition that may affect the age at menarche. Finally, I control for woman's adult height, which has been found to be linked to childhood nutrition as a proxy for childhood nutritional shocks.

The key identifying assumption in this methodology is that, within a given cohort year, location, and the demographic and socioeconomic status controls, the age at menarche is orthogonal to potential confounders. The impact of teenage pregnancy on the probability of failure of lagging behind in schooling is identified from within-location and within-year-of-birth variation in the age at menarche.

Hazard Estimation

To estimate the likelihood of dropping out, I utilize the same instrumental variable identification strategy in a Hazard model. Using same Panel sample of sampled women, I estimate the probability of drop-out of woman i born of cohort s who lives in sampling location c and drops out in period t in the following equation:

$$Drop\ Out_{icst} = \beta_1 Pregnant_{icst} + \beta_3 X_i + \vartheta_s + \varsigma_t + \lambda_c + \quad (4)$$

In Equation 4, $Dropout_{icst}$ is coded as an indicator variable for whether the individual dropped out in that period. The reminder variables in Equation 4 are defined in the same way as in Equation 3. Also in this equation, h_o represents the baseline hazard, defined as $h_o(t) = pt^{p-1}$. The Weibull model estimates an expected predicted survival time. Because I am interested in teenage pregnancy, I will limit the data on women between the age of 10 and 20. Hence, women who drop-out before the age of 10 are left censored and women who drop out at the age of 20 are right censored.

To address endogeneity in the context of the Hazard function, I use the a probit estimation to estimate the first stage equation (Lillard and Panis, 1998). The step allows me to generate a predicted likelihood of teen pregnancy that is used to tease out the confounding factors of teenage pregnancy.

Collapsed Panel

In the Collapsed Panel sample, the two-stage instrumental variable is estimated as follows:

$$\text{First Stage: } \textit{Pregnant} \leq 18_{ics} = \sigma_1 + \sigma_2 \textit{Fertile Years}_{itc} + \sigma_3 X_i + \vartheta_s + \lambda_c + \epsilon_{ics} \quad (5)$$

$$\text{Second Stage: } \textit{Outcome}_{ics} = \varphi_1 + \beta_2 \overline{\textit{Pregnant} \leq 18_{ics}} + \beta_3 X_i + \vartheta_s + \lambda_c + v_{ics} \quad (6)$$

In Equation 5, $\textit{Fertile Years}_{ics}$ is defined as a continuous measure of the number of fertile years between the age of menarche and the age of 17 for a sampled woman i , of cohort c and who lives in sampling location s .²⁴ $\textit{Pregnant} \leq 18_{ics}$ is equal to one if the same individual reported a pregnancy before the age of 18 and zero otherwise.

Additionally, X_i is the set of individual controls including height, literacy status of the mother of teenage mother, language spoken at home, race, whether the woman was born outside the Western Cape, her self reported religion, the normalized literacy exams, number of full siblings and household, and asset characteristics index. The ϑ_s and λ_c are sampling location and cohort fixed effects. Finally, ϵ_{itc} is the error term

In Equation 6, $\textit{Outcome}_{ics}$ is the educational, labor supply or fertility outcome estimated. β_2 describes the relationship between the educational outputs and teenage pregnancy. . The coefficient of interest, β_2 , describes the relationship between the chosen outputs and teenage pregnancy. The controls and fixed effects are the same as in the first stage equation. The error term is represented by ϵ_{ics} .

In addition, I also an alternative specification for the instrumental variables. In order to allow for non-linearities in the effect of menarche on teenage pregnancy, I change the instrument and specify it as an indicator for an early age at menarche. The threshold for a late menarche is defined as girls who have reached menarche after the age of 15, which is a slightly more conservative definition than the one used by the medical literature (Lawn, Lawlor, and Fraser, 2017; Lawn et al., 2017; Kim and Je, 2019 and Lancaster and Hamburg,

²⁴Mathematically, I define this continuous variable as 17 minus the age at which she had her first menstruation.

1986). Around 25 per cent of the women report late menarche in my sample.

4.2.1 First stage Estimation

For the instrumental variable to be relevant, the approach requires a strong positive correlation between the fertility and the pregnancy variables to reflect the that an additional fertile year during her teenage years, increases the likelihood of a pregnancy.²⁵ Hence, in this section I present the first stage coefficients and a graphical representation of the relationship between the fertility and pregnancy indicator variables in the panel, and the number of teenage fertile years and the indicator for teenage pregnancy, in the collapsed panel.

In the first place, Table 4 includes the first stage coefficients for the Instrumental Variable approach (σ_2 in Equation 2 and Equation 5). The panel data coefficients are shown first, in Columns (1) and (2). In the first specification, I do not include sampling location, year fixed effects, or controls. The coefficient of interest, σ_2 , is equal to 0.023 (0.002 SE, $p < 0.01$). With the inclusion of the fixed effects and controls, σ_2 takes the value of 0.014 (0.002 SE, $p < 0.01$). The first stage F-Statistic for these specifications are 199.6 and 66.83 respectively.

Second, in the next set of columns, (3)-(6), I present two specifications for the collapsed panel. Columns (3) and (4) describe Equation 5 when the instrument is the the number of teenage fertile years. With out the controls, or fixed effects, σ_2 takes the value of 0.012 (0.006 SE, $p < 0.1$) but the instrument is weak, as the F-statistic is equal to 3.771. However, with the inclusion of both controls and sampling locations fixed effects, the coefficients is 0.032 (0.008 SE, $p < 0.01$). In other words, an additional fertile year during the teenage period increases the probability of reporting a pregnancy before the age of by 2.8 percentage points. The F-statistics in this specification is 17.61, which is above the critical threshold of 10.

²⁵In other words, the specification requires $Corr(Pregnant_{icst} ; Fertile_{icst}) \neq 0$ in Equation 2 and $Corr(Pregnant \leq 18_{ics} ; Fertile Years_i) \neq 0$ in Equation 5.

An alternative specification for φ_2 in the collapsed panel is presented in Columns (5) and (6) where teenage pregnancy is instrumented using an indicator variable for the onset of menarche before the age age of 14. Consistent with instrument estimated in Column (3), the instrument is weak with out the sampling fixed effects and controls. As shown in Column (4) φ equal to 0.045 (0.018 SE, $p < 0.01$) but the F-statistic is 5.956. Nevertheless, once the fixed effects and the controls are included, reaching menarche before the age of 14 is associated with an increase in the likelihood of adolescent pregnancy of 8.1 percentage points (0.022 SE, $P < 0.01$)) and the F-statistic is 13.43.²⁶

To further examine the positive relationship between fertility and teenage pregnancy, I present a graphical representation in Figure 5. The top panel describes correlation between the indicator variables of teenage pregnancy and fertility in the panel sample for girls aged 10-20. The bottom panel describes the relationship between the fertile years in the collapsed sample. As shown in Figure 5, the relationships in both samples are positive.

In Appendix Tables A6 and A7, I present two variations of the identification strategy for the collapsed panel instrumental variable approach. First, in Table A6 I analyze whether differing thresholds for teenage pregnancy between the ages of 16 and 21. Younger ages are associated with greater coefficients and stronger F-statistics. In Table A7, I present three variations in the construction of the instrument. Instead of utilizing 17 minus the age at puberty, I change the upper bound to 18, 19 and 20. The coefficients are similar in size and F-statistic is greater than 10.

The results across all specifications describe a positive relationship between the number of fertile teenage years and teenage pregnancy. A additional fertile year during her teenage years, the more likely a sampled woman will report a teenage pregnancy. Table 4 clearly

²⁶It is worth noting, however, that the standard errors in Columns (5) and (6) are greater in size than in the specification where the instrument is continuous.

describe the positive sign described by the coefficients of interest in both samples.²⁷ In the next section, I turn to issues associated with the validity of the instrument.

4.2.2 Validity Issues

Validity of the Instrument

Since the identification strategy relies heavily on the correlation between the age at menarche and likelihood of teenage pregnancy, I examine the instrument's validity. Importantly, for the instrument to successfully tease out endogeneity, the exclusion restriction requires that the relationship between teenage fertility and adult outcomes is fully mediated by changes in the likelihood of teen pregnancy.²⁸ There are, however, two important concerns over the exclusion restriction of the age at menarche as an instrument for the likelihood of teen pregnancy. The first relates to the exogeneity of the instrument, and the second concerns to the social consequences of the onset of menarche.

Exogeneity of the age at menarche

The medical debate over whether the age at menarche is an exogenous event is long. There is a large body of evidence that suggests long run health is determined by shocks that happen at the prenatal and perinatal period (Almond, Chay, and Lee, 2005; Alderman, Hoddinott, and Kinsey, 2006 and Almond and Mazumder, 2011) and in early life (Akresh, Bhalotra, Leone, and Osili, 2012; Mahmud, Shah, and Becker, 2012 and Almond, 2006). The debate also has implications on whether early childhood nutrition determines the age at

²⁷The pattern is consistent with previous findings (for example, Ribar, 1994 and Klepinger et al., 1997).

²⁸It is worth mentioning the monotonicity condition. Given the set-up of the study, girls who experience a late menarche, even when using the chosen conservative definition, are very unlikely to experience a pregnancy during their schooling age. The decrease is largely due to the biological impossibility of having a child without undergoing through menarche. Then, it is possible to is that the setting rules out the existence of potential defiers. Thus, the monotonicity property of the age at menarche as an instrument for teenage pregnancy is satisfied, if we account for the health shocks.

menarche. There is a strand of the literature that argues that a random genetic component explain the age at first menstruation (Mpora et al., 2014; Jahanfar, Lye, and Krishnarajah, 2013, Sørensen et al., 2013, Adair, 2001) which would made the menarcheal age as quasi-random.

In contrast, a group of authors have found that early childhood nutrition and Socio-economic status are linked to the timing of puberty among girls (Karapanou and Papadimitriou, 2010; Dahiya and Rathi, 2010; and Rah et al., 2009). In this case, childhood nutrition may affect the long-run well-being through human capital development or through its impact ob the timing of menarche.²⁹

Given the debate over the exogeneity over the exogeneity of the age at menarche, I proceed to examine in two ways. First, I examine am indicator of adult health that have been linked to prepubescent health status and nutrition: adult height (Martorell and Habicht, 1986; Fogel, 1993; Silventoinen, 2003). Since in 2006 the younger cohort sampled in the CAPS Data set was 18 years of age, this height variable is the best available proxy of of degree of stunting caused by poor nutrition or health issues in childhood. Figure 7 displays the relationship between age at menarche and adult height. As shown, the relationship is weakly positive but not statistically statistically significant. Furthermore, following Field and Ambrus (2008), Sekhri and Debnath (2014) and Chari et al. (2017), I include the height of the sampled teenage among the vectors of controls to account for any remaining within-sampling location variation in environmental conditions.

A further test of the exogeneity can be found in Table 5. In this table, I present some descriptive characteristics for girls who have reached menarche by the age of 14, and those who report reaching it later. As seen, most of the demographic characteristics, remain

²⁹More recently, Khanna (2019)’s main corollary is that that the age at menarche is a poor instrument for the age at marriage in India because it does not satisfy the exclusion restriction. Using data from the Young Lives panel, reaching menarche early, defined as before the age of twelve, decreases school enrollment by 13%. Nutrition has been argued to be linked to the timing of menarche among girls.

balanced across groups. The race composition and the education of the mothers, however, are different among those who reached menarche at different age groups in terms of race. In Appendix Table 12, I present the estimates for the greatest race group in my sample: black women. This group is driving the estimating results.

Second, another threat to the exogeneity of the instrument is that environmental factors, such as toxins that are specific to a location, may cause delays in menarche.³⁰ The CAPS data is mostly homogeneous: 80% of the population report having lived most of their lives in a formal or informal urban setting. Nevertheless, I control for sampling location fixed effects in the static model and test whether the sampling clusters faced different environmental factors, I compare the poverty level per sampling location and the height in Figure 8. This relationship is not statistically significant.

Third, since menarche is an event that may have occurred a couple of years before, an additional feasible concern would be the possibility of recall bias. The age at menarche is established using a self reported account of the year in which the sampled women reached menarche. In the presence of miss remembrance, the first stage coefficients would not estimate for the correct likelihood of teenage pregnancy. Although unlikely, given the nature of the event in a girls life, I examine this possibility in Figure 9 where there is a graphical representation of the distribution of the responses to menarcheal age in waves 1 and 3. As seen in the figure, there are no differences in the distribution.³¹

A final concern relates to how unexpected negative economic shocks can affect the age at

³⁰The concern is particularly important because girls raised in urban environments have been found to be display earlier menarcheal ages than those who grew up in rural environments.

³¹To further test the possibility of recall bias, I compare the average menarcheal age for the women in my study sample (13.392 years old) with other similar countries of Africa. Sunder (2018) and (Prentice et al., 2010) find that the average age at menarche for Ugandan and Gambian girls was 14.4 and 14.90 years, respectively. In Nigeria, (Adebara & Munir'deen, 2012) estimated that girls reached menarche at the age of 13.21 and in Mozambique Padez (2003), the average amounted to 13.2. The estimates are similar to the average in the current study sample, which further lessens the concerns of inaccurate reporting of the age at menarche in the CAPS data set.

menarche. Negative shocks that cause unexpected stress at young ages may induce menarche at an earlier age Karapanou and Papadimitriou (2010). Therefore, I examine whether the inclusion of stressors such as health emergencies and deaths of one of the parents may tackle the source of bias. wave 1 of the CAPS survey contains a list of questions regarding traumatic circumstances that may affect a sampled woman during her childhood and it also contains information on whether the death of the parents. As shown in Table INSERT, controlling for parental deaths and an index of childhood stressors yields results that are not different across the women in the sample.

Social consequences of the onset of menarche

To test whether the age reaching the age at menarche influence schooling in other ways outside the introduction into fertility. The concern arises from the idea that in many low and income countries the lack of knowledge of menstruation within families results in the exclusion of menstruating women and girls from daily routines or public spaces. If so, this girls face challenges associated with menstrual management or public shaming.

Attrition

Collapsed Panel Dataset

As shown in Table 1, attrition rates are important in the CAPS dataset. In addition, the sample selection requires specific age at menarche groups, more than one sampled women per sampling cluster, and adult height availability. Thus, it is important to consider whether the teenage pregnancy or age at menarche are different between my sample and the individuals not considered in the paper. In order to test the possibility, I present in Table 6, the coefficients of regression where the left-hand side variable is an indicator variable equal to one if the woman was not included in the full sample and zero otherwise and the right hand side is comprised of either on the age at menarche or the indicator variable for a pregnancy

before the age of 18.

In Columns (1) and (2), the main regressor is the age at menarche. In Column (1) the estimation does not include controls and in Column (2) the estimation includes indicator variables for race, cohort, religion, household size, the mother's mother literacy level, the teenage mother's place of birth, and the household size. Column (2) also includes sampling cluster fixed effects. The sample includes all women with non missing age at menarche. Columns (1) and (2) provide evidence that attrition is not statistically associated with the age at menarche. Both coefficients are negative, close to zero and not statistically significant.

In Columns (3) through (6), the regression include an indicator variable for pregnancy before the age of 18. As in the for the age at menarche, I analyze the relationship between attrition and teenage pregnancy with and without controls and sampling cluster fixed effects. The sample in columns (3) and (4) is composed of all the women surveyed in the first wave, whereas the regressions presented in columns (5) and (6) limit the sample to those who were already 18 years of age in the first wave, i.e. their teenage pregnancy status was already defined in 2002.

The teenage pregnancy coefficient in columns (3) is equal to -0.088 (statistically significant at the one percent level). However, when controls and fixed effects are added, the association between teenage pregnancy and attrition diminishes to 0.044 and becomes not statistically significant. similarly, when the sample is restricted to women who were older than 18 in 2002, the coefficients are smaller but are only significant when additional variables are included.

Even though there is no statistically significant relationship between teenage pregnancy and attrition with the inclusion of controls, I will include sampling clusters fixed effects, as specified in the empirical approach section. Additionally, I present alternative specification that include inverse probability weights in Appendix Table [A9](#). Additionally, given the concerns over the relationship between pregnancy an attrition, the current paper should be

considered as the upper bound of the effects of teenage pregnancy on schooling and labor force participation in South Africa.

Another important consideration in this study is the overall demographic characteristics of individuals who drop from the sample. The attrition rates differ significantly by race. The black population attrition rate is 20 percent. Marteleto et al., 2008 explain that this attrition level is due to return migration to the rural Eastern Cape province. The colored population attrition level is 10 percent. Finally, attrition is higher among older cohort groups, which is indicative of the fact that there is a positive association between age and attrition in the CAPS data.

Panel

As specified in the data section, the panel data set is constructed using the women included in the static analysis. However, because of the data structure and the rate of attrition, the panel is not balanced. The sample is missing 12.86 percent of the observations it would have included.

First, as seen in Appendix Table 1, the final wave of the CAPS data set does not ask any information regarding pregnancy in the year 2008, so I exclude that year from the sample. The fact affects the youngest cohort only. Additionally, the data, attrition is the largest in the last round of the data so the schooling data for 2007 is limited. Only 77.8 percent of the sampled women provide data for that year. Finally, the cleaning of the data for the rest of the years in the CAPS limits the observation in each year somewhat.

4.3 Sibling differences Approach

The second empirical approach utilized in this study to reduce selection bias by comparing outcomes among family members. The key assumption in this strategy is that there are

factors that are shared by members of the same family but are unobservable to the researcher. Thus, the inclusion of sibling fixed effects allows me to control for common socioeconomic factors (such as genetics, school quality, and economic resources). I then test whether women who share the same background but have different pregnancy outcomes perform differently in their educational paths. So, if this variation is conditionally independent of unmeasured with-in household differences that would also affect the outcomes, the estimates is unbiased.

Panel Data Estimation

Equation 8 describes the econometric specification for the panel dataset:

$$Outcome_{icht} = \varphi + \varphi_2 Pregnant \leq 18_{icht} + \varphi_3 X_i + \psi_h + \varsigma_c + \varepsilon_t + v_{itjh} \quad (7)$$

In equation 7, $Outcome_{ith}$ represents the outcome of the sampled woman i , of cohort c , who lives in household h and is observed in year t . Also, $Pregnant \leq 18_{itjh}$ is an indicator variable whether that same woman got pregnant in year t . X_i is a set of individual level adult health controls including the individual i 's height and literacy exam normalized grade. Additionally, ψ_h is the sibling fixed effect, ς_j is the birth year fixed effect and ε_t are time fixed effects. Finally, v_i is the error term. In Equation 7, φ_2 represents the coefficient of interest, which captures the effect of individual i reporting a pregnancy in year t .

Collapsed Panel Data Estimation

I turn next to the Collapsed Panel estimation in Equation 8:

$$Outcome_{ich} = \varphi_1 + \varphi_2 Pregnant \leq 18_{ijh} + \varphi_3 X_i + \psi_h + \varsigma_c + v_{ijh} \quad (8)$$

Where $Outcome_{ijh}$ represents the outcome of interest of individual i , of cohort c and who belongs to household h . Also, $Pregnant \leq 18_{ijh}$ is an indicator variable for whether the same individual reported a pregnancy before the age of 18. X_i is a set of individual level adult health controls including the individual i 's height and literacy exam normalized grade. In Equation 8, ψ_h is the sibling fixed effect and ς_j is the birth year fixed effect. Finally, v_{ijh} is the error term. In this equation, φ_2 is the coefficient of interest and measures the effect of an early pregnancy a sampled woman i .

Siblings may have been exposed to different geographical and environment characteristics. Thus, I control for potential effects of the environment by including fixed effects for the respondents region of birth, and sampling clusters.

4.3.1 Validity Issues

Correlation between sisters

A key undertaking in this methodological approach is that it controls for unobserved factors using sibling fixed effects. In sibling differences strategy the variation that identifies the effects of teenage pregnancy is derived from families in which at least one sister reported a teenage pregnancy and at least one did not. The variation should be independent (conditionally) of unmeasured sibling differences in order for the estimates to be unbiased.

An important concern, thus, is that sisters who grew up together but at different points in time may have been exposed to different shocks that affect nutrition and stress levels differently. In such case, I would expect significant gaps in their menarcheal ages for sisters to be great. To test whether sisters are similar, I look at intra-cluster correlation within the sister sample. The coefficient for sisters in the sibling sample is 0.742 (0.035 se) which suggests that sisters look alike.

Sisters may experience different levels of health investments associated with their year of birth or birth order, even if they share a households. The sisters might have also experienced different economic shocks. To investigate the possibility, I present the variation in the age at menarche by the respondent's birth order in the sample in Figure 11.

Instrumental Variable Approach in the Sibling Sample

The manner in which the sibling identification strategy deals with family is to control with fixed effects. Hence, what this strategy does not do is to control for individual characteristics, not shared by sisters. However, since sisters resemble each other in their age at menarche, the variation between sisters is small. Additionally, the sample of sibling is small in size. Thus, instrumenting teenage pregnancy using the age at menarche among sisters in a first stage renders a weak relationship.

Sample composition

As seen in Table 3, the sample of siblings is composed by women with different characteristics. By construction, the women in the sister sample come from bigger households and have more full siblings. The two samples are also different in a number of key characteristics. In particular, women in the sisters sample are statistically significantly more likely to be coloured and less likely to be black, have less educated mothers, and more likely to not have been born in the Western Cape.

Given the differences in the composition of sample and the demographic characteristics, the estimation of the effects of teenage pregnancy will yield different results from those found by the instrumental variable approach. First, the sample of sisters is selected to include are from poorer and less educated households. Hence, the selection may explain smaller effects. If the sisters would have had less education attainment or at a slower pace.

Second, it is also worth noting that most of the non teenage mothers in the sample were sharing a household at the time of the pregnancy or birth. Thus, the schooling attainment might be hindered by the child. The fact would suggest smaller effects than the one found on the full sample.

5 Educational Results

5.1 Instrumental Variable Approach

Schooling Progression

Table 7 reports the effects of teenage pregnancy on schooling progression. The top panel displays instrumental variable estimates for the effect of early pregnancy on the likelihood of failing a grade, the age for grade measure and the drop out hazard and the bottom panel the reduced form estimation.

In the first place, reporting a teenage pregnancy increases the probability of grade failure by 55.7 (0.028 se) percentage points and lag behind their non pregnant teens by 0.284 years (0.010 se). Both coefficients are statistically significant at the 1 % level. The drop out hazard is equal to 0.097 additional likelihood of grade failure.

The reduced form estimation of the association between teenage fertility and the grade failure is equal to 55.7(0.028 se). The age for grade measure is estimated to be 0.315 (0.009 se). Finally, the drop out hazard coefficient is equal to 0.423 (0.201 se). All coefficients are statistically significant at the 1% level.

Appendix Table A5 contains the OLS results for the same variables. A teenage pregnancy, in this specification, is associated with an additional probability of grade failure by 25 percentage points. Next, the age for grade is 0.09. Both coefficients are significant at the

1 % level. Although small, the coefficient represents a 10 % lag in the schooling progression of teenage mothers.

Schooling Attainment

In Table 8, I present the the effects of reporting a pregnancy before the age of 18 on the school attainment of the sampled women using a the static instrumental variables identification strategy. Teenage pregnancy decreases the number of years of completed schooling by 1.8 years in the instrumental variable specifications. The coefficient is statistically significant at the 1 % level. Teenage mothers are not less likely to sit for the matric exam but are not reporting that they continue to post secondary school education, as tne coefficients are 0.040 and -0.259, respectively. Non of these coefficients is statistically significant.

The bottom panel of Table 8 presents the reduced form estimation coefficients. The estimates are equal to 0.057, 0.001, and -0.008 for the years of completed years of education, the siting for the matric exam, and the post secondary education variables respectively. However, only the first coefficient is statistically significant.

Appendix Table A4 contains the OLS results for the schooling attainment variables. Teenage pregnancy decreases the number of years of completed schooling by 1.05, the likelihood of sitting for the matric exam by 0.233 percentage points and the post secondary education by 4.3 points.

Across the paper, I have presented the estimates of women who report a pregnancy before the age of 18. However, the CAPS data set allow me to identify which pregnancy resulted in a birth. Hence, in Appendix Table A8

5.2 Sibling Comparison

Schooling Progression

The effects of self reported teenage pregnancy between sisters are described in Table 11. The report of a teenage pregnancy increases the probability of grade failure by 12.8 percentage points in the OLS estimation and 13.2 percentage points in the instrumental variables approach. Both coefficients are significant at the one percent level ($p < 0.01$). Teenage pregnancy also increases the age for grade measure by approximately half a year in both specifications: 0.501 and 0.521 ($p < 0.01$), in the OLS and instrumental.

Next, among sisters in the panel, teenage pregnancy increases the likelihood of dropping out by 0.583 percentage points ($p < 0.01$). The effects decreases to 0.494 ($p < 0.01$) when sisters fixed effects are included.

Schooling Attainment

As shown in Table 10, teenage pregnancy decreases 0.78 years of completed schooling in the OLS model and 0.79 years in the instrumental variable specification. Both coefficients are significant at the 1 % level. Additionally, teenage mothers are not less likely to sit for the matric exam but are not reporting that they continue to post secondary school education, as the coefficients are 0.211 and -0.100, respectively. The last two coefficients are statistically significant at the 1 % level.

6 Labor Force Participation

In this section, I present the effects of teenage pregnancy on the labor force participation of the full and the sister samples. As described above, the coefficients presented in Tables 9 and 12 represent the extensive margin in the labor market at ages 19, 20, 21 and 22.³²

³²Table A10 in the appendix, shows the results for the intensive margins

6.1 Instrumental Variable Approach

First, columns (1) through (4) in Table 9 display the instrumental variable results as well as the reduced form in Panels A and B, respectively. The instrumental variable coefficients, presented in Panel B, are 0.192 at the age of 19, 0.338 at the age of 20, 0.229 at the age 21 and, finally, -0.114 at the age of 22. Nevertheless, none of the instrumental variable coefficients are statistically significant. Next, the reduced form estimation coefficients are displayed in Panel B. The coefficients found in columns (1) through (4) are small and not statistically significant.

In Appendix Table A4, I present the coefficients for the OLS estimation. The estimates are positive: 0.115, 0.059, 0.048, and 0.078 for the ages of 19, 20, 21 and 22 respectively. Three coefficients are significant ($p < 0.01$ or $p < 0.1$) but the one for the age of 21 is not.

In Appendix Table A10, I present a measure of employment in 2006, for all women, as well as two reassures of the intensive margin for that year: the hours worked and their earnings. The final columns include indicator variables for whether the sampled women would accept a domestic worker position or a security guard position. The findings do not suggest any statistically significant effects of teenage pregnancy on any of the outcomes.

6.2 Sibling Differences

Table 12 presents the sibling differences estimation results. The OLS coefficients are found in Panel A, and amount to 0.019, -0.058, -0.007, and 0.043 at the ages of 19, 20, 21, and 22. Neither coefficient is statistically significant.

Next, the instrumental variable estimation coefficients, presented in Panel b. At the age of 19, teenage mothers are 3.4 percentage points more likely to be active. The likelihood of being active, compared to sisters who are not teen mothers, for 20, 21 and 22 year-olds are

on average 0.6, 1 and 0.8 additional percentage points, respectively. Non of the instrumental variable coefficients are statistically significant.

7 Discussion

Evidence of the causal effects of teen pregnancy is scarce in low income countries, and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. The paper provides empirical evidence by addressing whether early pregnancy causally affects their education and labor outcomes among young women in Cape Town, South Africa. Estimating the economic consequences of teen pregnancy is hard because it requires to disentangle the causal effects from the confounding selection into early motherhood. Using a rich data-set of South African teens, I explore the issue using several approaches. In particular, I have explored the impact of teenage motherhood utilizing a sibling-based and an instrumental variable approaches. I first propose a strategy that uses teenage fertility as an instrument for teenage pregnancy.

My findings suggest that a teen pregnancy increases the likelihood of failing a grade, girls lag in their education and dropping out. The static model suggests that women who report a pregnancy are less educated, and less likely to continue to post secondary education. The results are mostly consistent between identification strategies. Taken together, the results contribute to existing evidence that delayed pregnancy leads to beneficial outcomes for teenage girls in the medium run. For these teens, having a child changes the opportunity cost of attending to school, which changes her preferences.

In South Africa, where a third of the women had reported a birth by the age of 19, the evidence presented in this paper suggests that the timing of the first birth is important for the educational outcomes of young women. Future research should analyse the overall fertility of the sampled women. As secondary result, presented in Appendix Table [A11](#), is suggestive

that teenagers who report a pregnancy are not more likely to have more children and are more report a smaller subsequent fertility. These results hint at a degree of substitution between teenage fertility and subsequent fertility and should be explored in more detail.

Finally, this paper speaks to the debate on reproductive health policies in low income countries Herrera et al. (2019). My findings imply that postponing the age at first birth can have important consequences for women’s educational attainment, may delay the entrance into the labor force or improve the overall wellbeing (Ardington et al. (2014) and Urdinola and Ospino, 2015).

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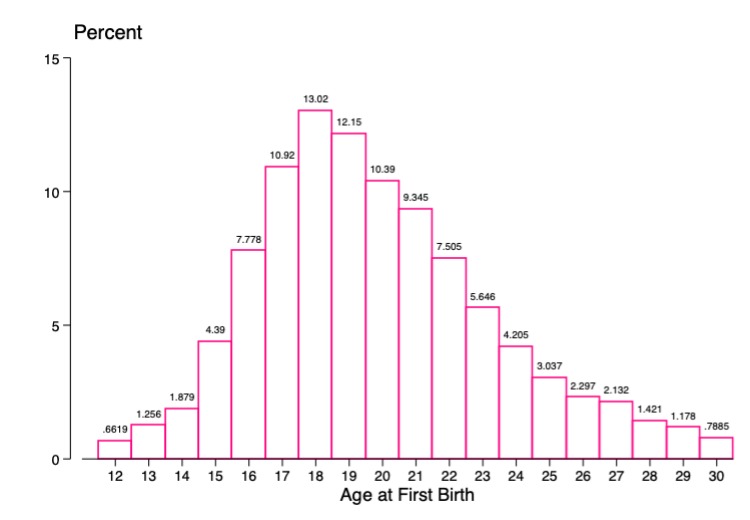
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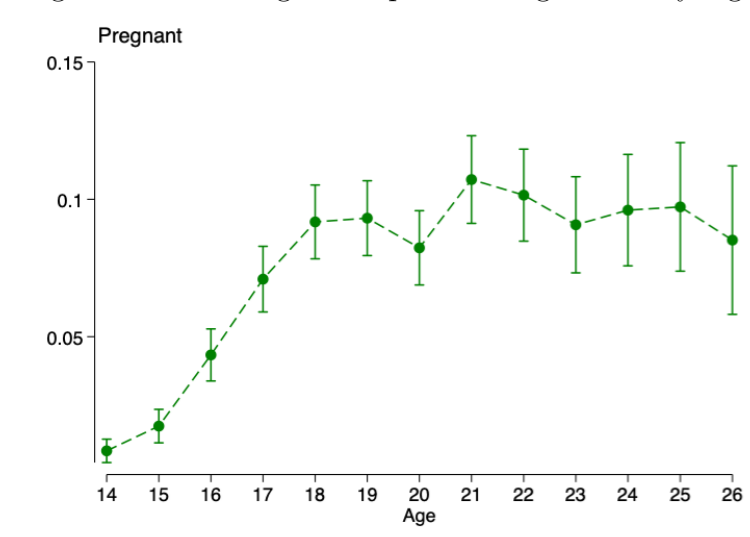
A Graphs

Figure 1: Age at First Birth - Adult South African Women



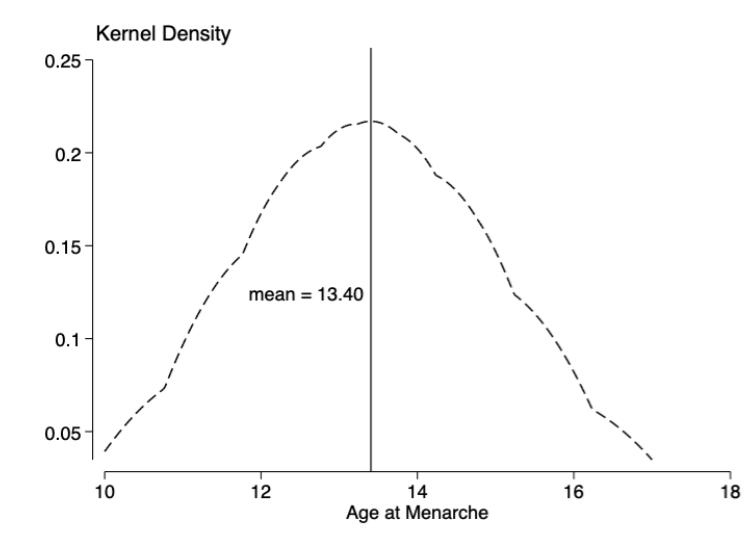
Observations=102,073. Source: Demographic Health Survey, 1998.

Figure 2: Percentage of Reported Pregnancies by Age



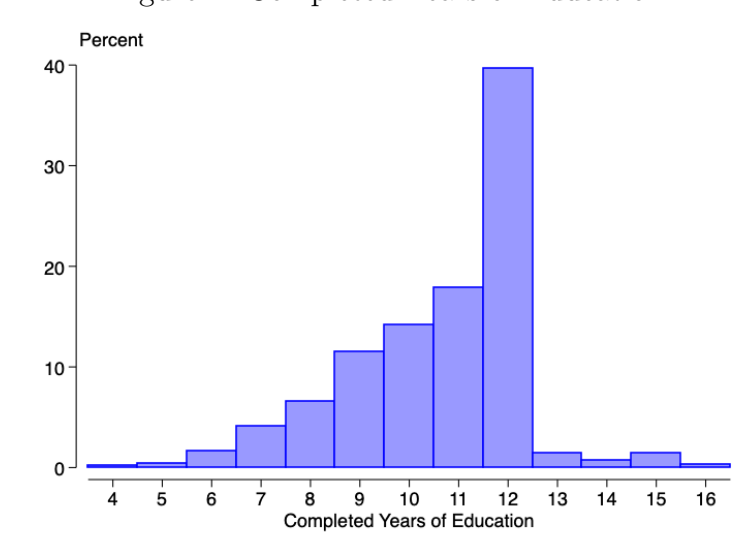
Observations=1,741. Source: waves 1-5 of the CAPS data set. The sample includes women who reached menarche between the ages of 10 and 17 with complete information on all the outcomes and the control variables.

Figure 3: Age at Menarche.



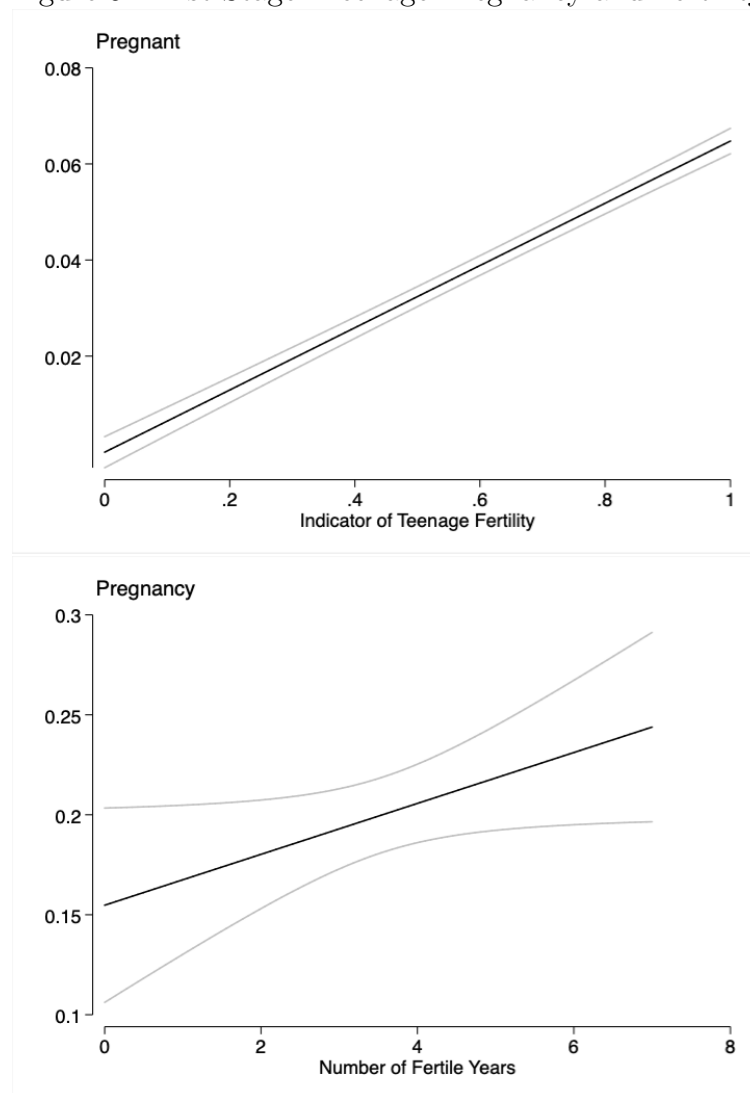
Observations=1,741. Source: waves 1 and 3 of the CAPS dataset. The sample includes women who reached menarche between the ages of 10 and 17.

Figure 4: Completed Years of Education



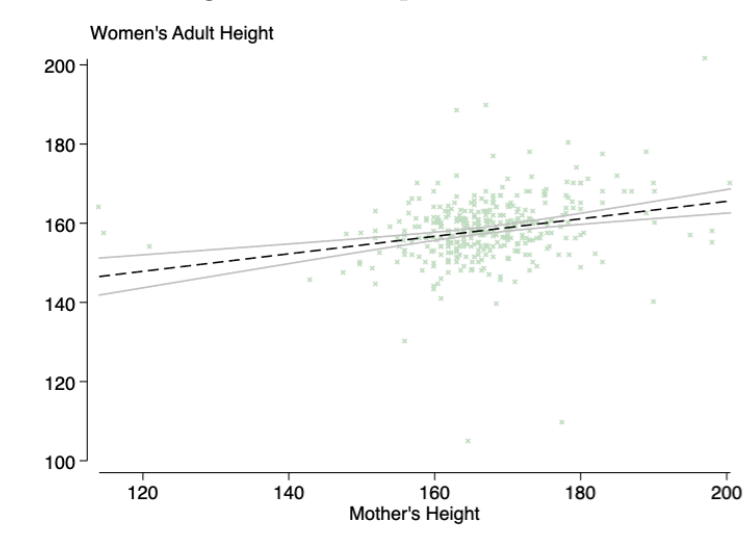
Source: waves 1-5 of the CAPS data set. The sample includes women who reached menarche between the ages of 10 and 17 with complete information on all the outcomes and the control variables.

Figure 5: First Stage: Teenage Pregnancy and Fertility



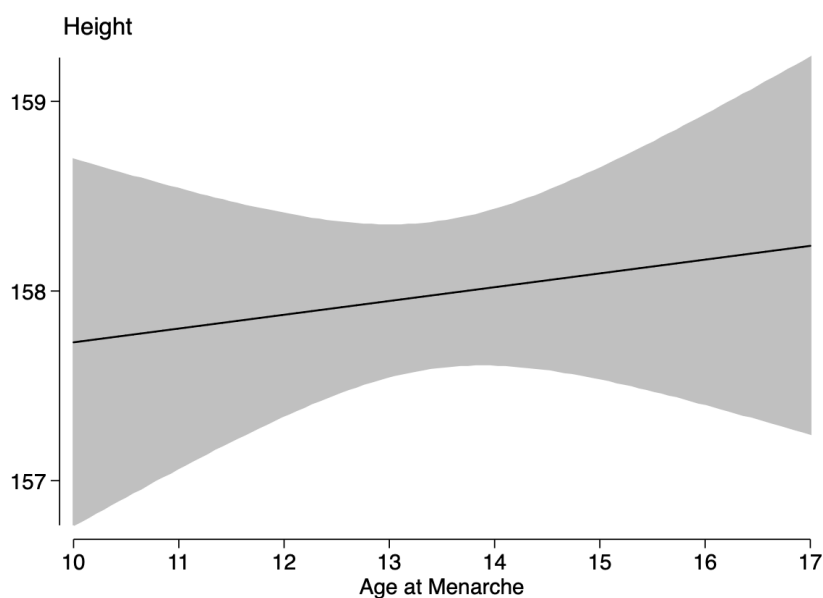
Panel A: Relationship between an indicator for teenage fertility and pregnancy in the panel dataset. **Panel B:** Relationship between the number of Fertile years and Teenage Pregnancy. Source: CAPS waves 1-5. The sample includes women who reached menarche between the ages of 10 and 17.

Figure 6: Adult Height of the sampled women vs. Mother's Height



Source: Data taken from wave 4 of the CAPS dataset. The sample includes women who reached menarche between the ages of 10 and 17.

Figure 7: Adult Height and Age at Menarche



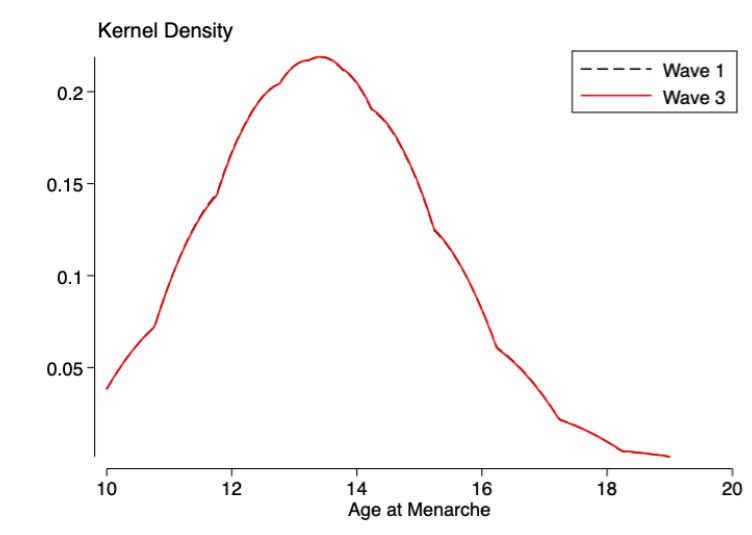
Source: CAPS wave 4. The sample includes women who reached menarche between the ages of 10 and 17 with complete outcomes and health variables.

Figure 8: Height by Percentage of the District's Population below the poverty line



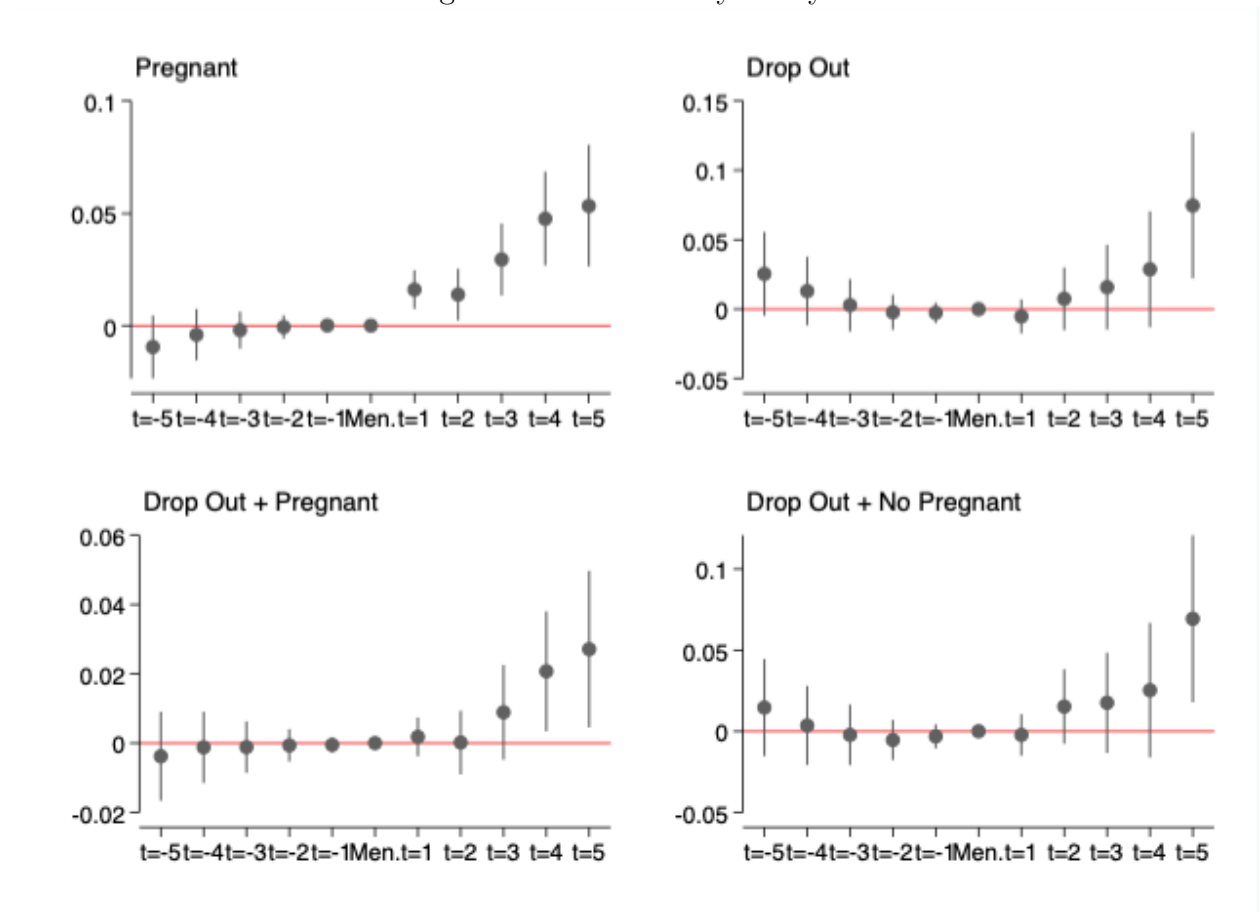
Observations=1,741. Source: CAPS waves 1 and 4. The sample includes women who reached menarche between the ages of 10 and 17 with complete outcomes and health

Figure 9: Age at menarche questions - CAPS Dataset



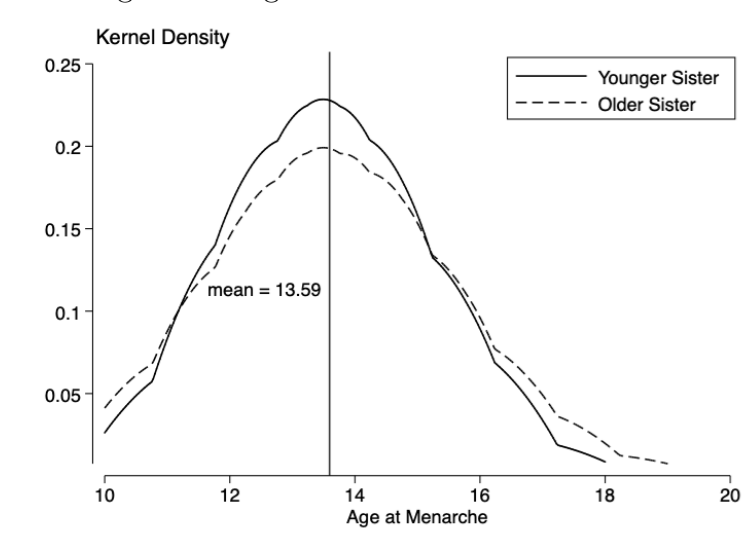
Observations= 2455. Source: waves 1 and 3 of the CAPS data set. The sample includes women who reached menarche between the ages of 10 and 17 and with non-missing outcomes and health outcomes. Epanechnikov, bandwidth = 1

Figure 10: Event Study Analysis



Observations=15,170. Source: waves 1-5 of the CAPS data set.

Figure 11: Age at menarche between sisters



Observations=418 Source: waves 1-5 of the CAPS data set. The sample includes sisters.
Epanechnikov, bandwidth = 1

B Tables

Table 1: Samples of Women across waves

	2002 Wave 1 (1)	2003-2004 Wave 2 (2)	2005 Wave 3 (3)	2006 Wave 4 (4)	2009-2010 Wave 5 (5)
Panel A: All Women Interviewed Per Wave					
Observations	2,612	2,140	1,911	1,881	1,799
Percentage	100%	81.93%	73.16%	72.01%	68.87%
Panel B: Analytical Sample					
Observations	2,455	2,020	1,815	1,741	1,707
Percentage	100%	82.28%	73.93%	70.96%	69.53%

Source: CAPS Data waves 1-5

Notes: Panel A includes all sampled women interviewed in each wave of the CAPS data set. Panel B includes sampled women that were interviewed and also had reached menarche between the ages of 10 and 17 and lived in sampling clusters with at least one other sampled women.

Table 2: Summary Statistics - by Sample

	Full Sample (1)	Sibling Sample (2)	Difference (3)
Demographic Characteristics			
Age in 2002	17.723 (2.445)	17.902 (2.556)	0.179
% Coloured	0.461 (0.499)	0.409 (0.492)	-0.052*
% Black	0.486 (0.500)	0.565 (0.496)	0.070***
Asset index	-0.145 (1.981)	-0.560 (2.012)	-0.415***
Adult Height - cm	157.979 (8.131)	158.355 (8.014)	0.376
Mother's Education	8.276 (3.136)	7.973 (2.906)	-0.303*
Not Born in WC	0.283 (0.451)	0.378 (0.485)	0.095***
# Full Siblings	2.317 (1.756)	2.557 (1.829)	0.240**
Sexual Activity			
Age 1st Partner	19.779 (3.209)	19.656 (3.347)	-0.123
Age 1st Active	17.392 (2.289)	17.016 (2.036)	-0.376***
Observations	1,741	418	

Notes: “Adult Height” is measured in 2006. “Not Born in WC” is an indicator variable for individuals born outside the Western Cape, and “Mother’s Education” describe the total number of years completed by mother. “# Full Siblings” and “Household Size” refer to the number of siblings and household size, respectively. The label $\ln(\text{Hhold Inc.})$ estimates the natural log of the household income and “Literacy Exam” is the normalized grade of the Young Adult Literacy and Numeracy Evaluation. Finally “Age of 1st. Partner” and “Age 1st Active” describe the ages of the first sexual partner and the age in which women in the sample became active respectively. The Diff column is the difference in means of Columns (1) and (2), where a T-test where the hypothesis is that the coefficient is equal to zero.

*** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table 3: Summary Statistics by Self-reported Early Pregnancy

	No Early Pregnancy (1)	Pregnancy \leq 18 (2)	Difference (3)
Demographic Characteristics			
Age in 2002	17.689 (2.445)	17.865 (2.448)	0.176
% Coloured	0.438 (0.496)	0.555 (0.498)	0.117***
% Black	0.497 (0.500)	0.443 (0.497)	-0.055*
Adult Height	158.271 (7.987)	156.808 (8.597)	-1.463***
Mother's Education	8.447 (3.191)	7.559 (2.785)	-0.888***
# Full Siblings	2.286 (1.739)	2.416 (1.813)	0.162
Not Born in WC	0.288 (0.453)	0.264 (0.442)	-0.024
Household Size	5.691 (2.528)	6.256 (2.755)	0.565***
Sexual Activity			
Age 1st Partner	19.923 (3.128)	19.378 (3.395)	-0.546***
Age 1st Active	17.811 (2.326)	15.928 (1.374)	-1.883***
Observations	1394	348	

Notes: Pregnancy early is equal to 1 if the individual reported a pregnancy before the age of 17, and 0 otherwise. "Adult Height" is measured in 2005. "Not Born in WC" is an indicator variable for individuals born outside the Western Cape, and "Mother's Education" is the total number of years completed by mother. "# Full Siblings" is number of siblings. The label $\ln(\text{Hhold Inc.})$ estimates the natural log of the household income and "Literacy Exam" is the normalized grade of the Young Adult Literacy and Numeracy Evaluation. Finally "Age of 1st. Partner" and "Age 1st Active" describe the ages of the first sexual partner and the age in which women in the sample became active respectively. The Diff column is the difference in means of Columns (1) and (2), where a T-test where the hypothesis is that the coefficient is equal to zero.

*** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table 4: First Stage Estimation

	Panel Analysis		Collapsed Panel			
	Pregnant _{it}		Pregnancy ≤ 18			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Fertile _t	0.023*** (0.002)	0.024*** (0.002)				
Num. Fertile years			0.016*** (0.006)	0.032*** (0.008)		
Menarche ≤ 14					0.054*** (0.018)	0.090*** (0.022)
Observations	15,170	15,170	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.009	0.010	0.004	0.011	0.005	0.011
First-stage F	202	171.2	6.914	17.61	8.935	17.09
Sampling Location FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Time FE	No	Yes				

Notes: “Pregnant_{icst}” is defined 1 for individual i of cohort c, who lives in sampling cluster s and observed in year t if she got pregnant and zero; if she did not get pregnant during that year. In the same Data set, “Fertile_t” is a dichotomous variable equal to zero if the sample individual had not reached menarche in year t and equal to one if she had in that same year. “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” in the collapsed panel Data-set is defined one for those who got pregnant before 18 and zero for those who did not. Also, the “Number of Fertile Years” indicates the number of years passed since menarche until 17. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, the log of the household level and indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family, place of birth and residence. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. In the panel data set, Pregnant in year t is an indicator variable for whether the individual got pregnant in year t and Fertile is an indicator variable of whether a woman was fertile in a specific year. In both data sets, standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the sampling location level.*** p \leq 0.01, ** p \leq 0.05, * p \leq 0.1

Table 5: Summary Statistics by Early vs Late Menarcheal Age

	Menarche Late (1) Menarche ≥ 14 (1)	Menarche Early (2) Menarche < 14 (2)	Diff. (3) Difference (3)
Coloured	0.298 (0.458)	0.61 (0.488)	0.312***
Black	0.667 (0.472)	0.321 (0.467)	-0.346***
Height - cm	158.01 (8.80)	157.96 (7.48)	-0.052
Married ever	0.175 (0.380)	0.178 (0.382)	0.003
Hh Size	5.808 (2.734)	5.799 (2.442)	-0.009
Mother attended school	0.856 0.351 829	0.885 0.319 912	0.028*

Notes: Menarche Early is defined is equal to one if the sampled individual has reached menarche before the age of 14. “Adult Height” is measured in 2006. “Not Born in WC” is an indicator variable for individuals born outside the Western Cape, and “Mother’s Education” describe the total number of years completed by mother. “# Full Siblings” and “Household Size” refer to the number of siblings and household size, respectively. The label $\ln(\text{Hhold Inc.})$ estimates the natural log of the household income and “Literacy Exam” is the normalized grade of the Young Adult Literacy and Numeracy Evaluation. Finally “Age of 1st. Partner” and “Age 1st Active” describe the ages of the first sexual partner and the age in which women in the sample became active respectively. The Diff column is the difference in means of Columns (1) and (2), where a T-test where the hypothesis is that the coefficient is equal to zero.

*** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table 6: Determinants of Attrition in the Sibling Sample

	Age at Puberty		Teenage pregnancy		Teenage Pregnancy - Age > 18 in 2002	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Age at Menarche	-0.000 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.007)				
Pregnancy ≤ 18			-0.088*** (0.023)	-0.044 (0.022)	-0.078** (0.032)	-0.011 (0.033)
Race - Black		-0.345*** (0.042)		-0.338*** (0.042)		-0.418*** (0.054)
Race - Coloured		-0.324*** (0.039)		-0.318*** (0.039)		-0.369*** (0.048)
Literate Mother		-0.109*** (0.030)		-0.104*** (0.030)		-0.122*** (0.036)
Not Migrant		0.146*** (0.026)		0.142*** (0.026)		0.184*** (0.038)
HH size		-0.012*** (0.004)		-0.011*** (0.004)		-0.012** (0.005)
Muslim		0.018 (0.030)		0.021 (0.030)		0.000 (0.042)
Cohort - 1987		-0.013 (0.034)		-0.046 (0.036)		
Cohort - 1986		0.030 (0.036)		-0.018 (0.038)		
Cohort - 1985		0.025 (0.035)		-0.026 (0.036)		
Cohort - 1984		0.078** (0.038)		0.027 (0.038)		
Cohort - 1983		0.115*** (0.040)		0.069 (0.042)		0.039 (0.036)
Cohort - 1982		0.179*** (0.041)		0.129*** (0.042)		0.101*** (0.038)
Cohort - 1981		0.151*** (0.041)		0.099** (0.040)		0.072** (0.035)
Cohort - 1980		0.149*** (0.042)		0.098** (0.043)		0.069* (0.039)
Observations	2,577	2,572	2,612	2,607	1,435	1,432
R-squared	0.000	0.118	0.005	0.112	0.004	0.122

Notes: The sample in columns (1) and (2) includes women who were interviewed in 2002. Columns (3) and (4) include all the women in 2002 and columns (5) and (6) women were at least 18 years of age in 2002. "Age at Menarche" is the menarcheal age and "Pregnancy ≤ 18 " is equal to 1 if women reported a pregnancy by the age of 18 and zero otherwise. *** p<0.01 ** p<0.05 * p<0.1

Table 7: IV Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy - Schooling Progression

	Failed grade (1)	Age for Grade (2)	Hazard Drop Out (3)
Panel A: IV Estimation			
Pregnant _{icst}	0.557*** (0.028)	0.284*** (0.010)	0.097*** (0.009)
Observations	15,170	15,170	14,354
R-squared	0.010	0.023	
First stage-F-stat	171.2	171.2	171.2
Panel B: Reduced Form Estimation			
Post Menarche _{itcs}	0.617*** (0.033)	0.315*** (0.009)	0.423* (0.201)
Observations	15,170	15,170	14,354
R-squared	0.010	0.023	
Comparison mean	0.113	1.091	0.359

Notes: “Pregnant_{icst}” is defined as 1 for individual *i* of cohort *c*, who lives in sampling cluster *s* and observed in year *t* if she got pregnant and zero; if she did not get pregnant during that year. Columns (1) and (2) contain the OLS and IV estimates of the effects on the likelihood of failing a grade in year *t* and the degree to which a sampled women lagged behind her secondary education in that same year. Column (3) contains the hazard rated for dropping out. In Panel A Column (3), the coefficient is calculated with out considering endogeneity. In panel B, endogeneity is accounted for using a linear first stage of the effects of teenage fertility on pregnancy. The First Stage statistic comes from the a first stage regression where “Pregnant_{icst}” is instrumented with an indicator variable of whether the teenager was fertile in year *t*. The Comparison Mean indicates the average of the outcome if Pregnancy in year *t* is equal to zero. Controls includes height, Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the smallest sampling location level. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table 8: IV Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy - Schooling Attainment

	Years of Education (1)	Sat for Matric Exam (2)	Post Secondary Schooling (3)
Panel A: IV Estimation			
Pregnancy ≤ 18	-1.820** (0.922)	0.044 (0.289)	-0.259 (0.199)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.172	0.208	0.019
First Stage F-stat	17.61	17.61	17.61
Panel B: Reduced Form Estimation			
Fertile Years	-0.057* (0.030)	0.001 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.006)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.462	0.457	0.405
Comparison Mean	11.05	0.436	0.146

Notes: Pregnancy ≤ 18 is defined one for those who got pregnant before 18 and zero for those who did not. The Number of Children born $>$ the age 19 is equal to the number of pregnancies each women reported between the age of 19 and 2009. Additionally, the Total Number of Children indicates the number of children each women in the sample has before 2009, regardless of the age she gave birth. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, and the indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family. The “First Stage F-stat” comes from the a first stage regression where “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is instrumented with the number of teenage fertile years. The comparison mean indicates the average of the Outcome if “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is equal to zero. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the sampling location level. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table 9: IV Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy - Labor Force Participation

	At age 19 (1)	At age 20 (2)	At age 21 (3)	At age 22 (4)
Panel A: IV Estimation				
Pregnancy ≤ 18	0.192 (0.260)	0.338 (0.294)	0.229 (0.264)	-0.114 (0.266)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741
First Stage F-stat	17.61	17.61	17.61	17.61
Panel B: Reduced Form Estimation				
Fertile Years	0.006 (0.008)	0.011 (0.009)	0.007 (0.008)	-0.004 (0.009)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741
Comparison Mean	0.458	0.704	0.764	0.686

Notes: “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is defined one for those who got pregnant before 18 and zero for those who did not. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, the log of the household level and the indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family, place of birth and residence. In each column, the outcome variable is an indicator variable of whether the sampled women reported being active at the age on the top; and zero otherwise. The “First Stage F-stat” comes from the a first stage regression where “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is instrumented with the number of teenage fertile years. The comparison mean indicates the average of the outcome if “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is equal to zero. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the sampling location level. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table 10: Sibling Differences Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy
Schooling Progression

	Failed grade (1)	Age for Grade (2)	Hazard Drop Out (3)
Panel A: OLS Estimation			
Pregnant _{it}	0.128*** (0.043)	0.501*** (0.122)	0.583*** (0.091)
Observations	3,521	3,521	4,535
R-squared	0.010	0.060	
Panel B: Sibling Differences			
Pregnant _{it}	0.132*** (0.037)	0.521*** (0.080)	0.494** (0.103)
Observations	3,521	3,521	4,535
R-squared	0.123	0.617	
Comparison Mean	0.101	1.002	0.143

Notes: “Pregnant_{icst}” is defined as 1 for individual *i* of cohort *c*, who lives in sampling cluster *s* and observed in year *t* if she got pregnant and zero; if she did not get pregnant during that year. Columns (1) and (2) contain the OLS and Sibling Differences estimates of the effects on the likelihood of failing a grade in year *t* and the degree to which a sampled women lagged behind her secondary education in that same year. Column (3) contains the hazard rated for dropping out with and without the housed fixed effects. The Comparison Mean indicates the average of the outcome if Pregnancy in year *t* is equal to zero. Controls includes height, Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the smallest sampling location level. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table 11: Sibling Differences Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy
Schooling Attainment

	Years Education	Sat for Matric	Post Secondary Sch
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Panel A: OLS Estimation			
Pregnancy ≤ 18	-0.707*** (0.194)	-0.155*** (0.042)	-0.057** (0.024)
Observations	418	418	418
R-Squared	0.079	0.078	0.069
Panel B: Sibling Differences			
Pregnancy ≤ 18	-0.774*** (0.170)	-0.159*** (0.040)	-0.051** (0.024)
Observations	418	418	418
R-Squared	0.075	0.075	0.062
Comparison Mean	10.52	0.360	0.102

Notes: Pregnancy ≤ 18 is defined one for those who got pregnant before 18 and zero for those who did not. Controls include height and cohort fixed effects. “Years of Education” indicates the Years of education completed. “Sat for Matric” is an indicator variable of whether the individual sat for Matric exam and “Post Secondary Education” is equal to one if the sampled woman kept studying after high school, and zero otherwise. The comparison mean indicates the average of the Outcome if “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is equal to zero. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table 12: Sibling Differences Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy
Labor Force Participation

	At age 19 (1)	At age 20 (2)	At age 21 (3)	At age 22 (4)
Panel A: OLS Estimation				
Pregnancy ≤ 18	0.039 (0.037)	0.007 (0.041)	0.012 (0.045)	0.004 (0.045)
Observations	418	418	418	418
R-squared	0.046	0.043	0.081	0.010
Panel B: Sibling Differences				
Pregnancy ≤ 18	0.034 (0.037)	0.006 (0.042)	0.010 (0.045)	0.008 (0.046)
Observations	418	418	418	418
R-squared	0.029	0.031	0.070	0.086
Comparison Mean	0.197	0.282	0.328	0.363

Notes: Pregnancy ≤ 18 is defined one for those who got pregnant before 18 and zero for those who did not. Controls include height and cohort fixed effects. In each column, the outcome variable is an indicator variable of whether the sampled women reported being active at the age on the top; and zero otherwise. The comparison mean indicates the average of the Outcome if “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is equal to zero. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included.

*** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table A1: Variable Construction by Wave

	2002 Wave 1 (1)	2003-2004 Wave 2 (2)	2005 Wave 3 (3)	2006 Wave 4 (4)	2009-2010 Wave 5 (5)
Health, Fertility & Marriage					
Age at Menarche	✓	-	✓ for those w/o data in wave 1	-	-
Pregnancy	Retrospective yearly for 1979-2002	-	✓	✓	✓
Births	Retrospective yearly for 1979-2002	-	✓	✓	✓
Marriage	Retrospective yearly for 1979-2002	-	Retrospective yearly for 2003-2005	✓	Retrospective yearly for 2007-2009
Adult Height	-	-	-	✓	-
Education					
Literacy Exam	✓	-	-	-	-
Years of Education	Retrospective yearly for 1979-2002	✓	✓	✓	Retrospective yearly for 2007-2009
Grade Progress	Retrospective yearly for 1979-2002	✓	✓	✓	Retrospective yearly for 2007-2009
Matriculation	Retrospective yearly for 1979-2002	✓	✓	✓	Retrospective yearly for 2007-2009
Employment					
Employment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Employment Charact.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Control Variables					
Background Charac.	✓	-	-	-	-
Childhood Info	✓	-	-	-	-
Parents Demographics	✓	-	-	Health	-
Parents Death	Retrospective yearly for 1979-2002	-	Retrospective yearly for 2003-2005	✓	Retrospective yearly for 2007-2009
Household Charac.	✓	-	-	-	-

Source: CAPS Data waves 1-5

The ✓ indicates that the information is available in that specific wave. “Retrospective yearly for 1979-2002” indicates that questions about the specif category were asked for each year since the year of birth until 2002.

Table A2: Literature Review - High income Countries

	Country (1)	Identification Strategy (2)	Outcomes (3)	Results (5)
Heiland, Korenmana, Smith (2019)	US	HH FE	Yrs of education	\approx zero in outcomes
Zito (2018)	US	PSM	Attitudes & norms	\uparrow risk aversion. No self-worth or relationship effects
Duncan, Lee, Rosales-Rueda, Kalil (2018)	US	OLS, HH FE	Yrs of education & behavior problems	1 yr delay in birth \uparrow 0.02 to 0.04 SD in school achievement & \downarrow problems
Diaz & Fiel (2016)	US	Smoothing-diff. & IPW	Educational attainment and earnings	\downarrow college completion, early earnings
Yakusheva (2011)	US	PSM	Yrs of education	\approx 0 for high-risk teens & low effects for teens at low risk of TP
Ashcraft, Fernández-Val & Lang (2006, 2013)	US	IV (miscarriages)	Yrs Education, GED Score, employment & marriage	GED \downarrow by about 5 pp & \downarrow 0.15 yrs educ. Employment: \downarrow 5 pp. Marriage \downarrow 3 pp.
Kane, Morgan, Harris, Guilkey (2013)	US	OLS, PSM & ML	Yrs Education	\downarrow 0.7 and 1.9 yrs. of education
Lee (2010)	US	PSM	Education, labor force	\downarrow early socioeconomic outcomes
Fletcher & Wolfe (2009)	US	OLS & IV (miscarriages)	Graduation, earnings	\downarrow 5-10 pp high school graduation, \downarrow \$1,000 to \$2,400 annual income
Francesconi (2008)	UK	OLS, HH FE	Yrs education, bmi	\downarrow yrs education, employment. \downarrow Child health in single parent
Hotz, McElroy & Sanders (2005)	US	IV (miscarriages)	Yrs of education, earnings	No education effects, \uparrow earnings at older ages
Kaplan, Goodman, Walker (2004)	UK	OLS, PSM & IV (miscarriages)	Education attainment, employment	\downarrow large educ. attainment, no labour effects
Levine & Painter (2003)	US	PSM, HH FE	Yrs Education	\downarrow yrs education & bigger for teenagers at risk
Bitler (2001)	US	IV(Abortion laws)	Timing of abortions	\approx zero in outcomes
Klepinger, Lundberg, Plotnick (1995, 1999)	US	IV (teenage fertility) & HH FE (1999)	Yrs of education & wages	\downarrow -2.14 yrs of education, \downarrow 2 yrs work experience
Ribar (1994)	US	IV (age at menarche)	High school completion	\downarrow labor force participation, hours of work
Geronimus & Korenman (1992)	US	HH FE	High school completion	\downarrow small effects in school completion

Table A3: Literature Review- Low and middle income Countries

	Country (1)	Identification Strategy (2)	Outcomes (3)	Results (4)
Branson & Byker (2019)	South Africa	Diff-in-Dif - Policy	Number of births, yrs. of education	↓ 6.3% birth rate , ↑ 30% monthly earnings
Ranchhod, Lam, Leibbrandt, & Marteleto (2011)	South Africa	PSM	High school graduation	↓ 5.9 & 2.7 pp at ages 20-22. Later catch-up
Ardington, Menendez, Mutevedzi (2015)	Rural South Africa	OLS, PSM, HH FE	Yrs of education, child mortality	↓ 0.67 & 0.79 years. High mortality by 30
Branson, Ardington, Leibbrandt (2015)	South Africa	PS reweighting	Birth weight, height & stunting	6.5 pp low bw, 18.5 pp of stunting
Berthelon & Kruger (2017)	Chile	HH FE	Graduation, enrollment, employment	↓ high school grad. & higher educ., and ↓ 0.45 yrs. No labor effects
Urdinola & Ospino (2015)	Colombia	TM (18-19) vs. older mothers (20-21)	Job type & domestic violence	↓ 0.091 job quality, ↑ severe DV 0.051 pp, ↑ 1.2% child mort.
Arceo-Gomez & Campos-Vasquez (2014)	Mexico	PSM	Enrollment, yrs of education, employment	↓ 27-33 pp in enrollment, 1-1.2 yrs. educ., ↓ 13-15 employment
Azevedo, Lopez-Calva, Perova (2012)	Mexico	Miscarriages vs teen births	Yrs of education & income	↑ 0.34 yrs of education, ↑ 21 pp more likely to be employed, but ↑ assistance income by 36 %
Narita & Montoya Diaz (2016)	Brazil	PSM	High school completion, employment	↓ TP 1 SD explains ↑ 9.2% in high school comp. & ↑ 5.4% part.
Herrera, Almanza & Sahn (2018)	Madagascar	IV - access & exposure to condoms	Yrs of education & test scores	↑ drop out by 42 pp. ↓ 1.1-1.5 sd test scores in math & French

Notes: TM is short for Teenage Pregnancy, PSM for Propensity Score Matching, and FE Fixed effects

Table A4: OLS Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy - Static Model

Panel A: Schooling Attainment

	Years of Education (1)	Sat for Matric Exam (2)	Post Secondary Schooling (3)
Pregnancy ≤ 18	-1.034*** (0.115)	-0.233*** (0.026)	-0.043*** (0.014)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.462	0.457	0.405

Panel B: Labor Force Participation

	Active at			
	age 19 (1)	age 20 (2)	age 21 (3)	age 22 (4)
Pregnancy ≤ 18	0.115*** (0.030)	0.059* (0.033)	0.048 (0.033)	0.078*** (0.029)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741

Notes: Birth ≤ 18 is defined one for those who gave before 18 and zero for those who did not. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, and the indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family. “Years of Education” indicates the Years of education completed. “Sat for Matric” is an indicator variable of whether the individual sat for Matric exam and “Post Secondary Education” is equal to one if the sampled woman kept studying after high school, and zero otherwise. Active at each specific age is an indicator variable for whether the the sampled women reported being in the labor force at that age.

Table A5: OLS Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy - Schooling Progression

	Failed grade (1)	Age for Grade (2)	Hazard Drop Out (3)
Pregnant _{icst}	0.242*** (0.031)	0.687*** (0.051)	0.017*** (0.001)
Comparison mean	0.113	1.091	0.359

Notes: “Pregnant_{icst}” is defined as 1 for individual *i* of cohort *c*, who lives in sampling cluster *s* and observed in year *t* if she got pregnant and zero; if she did not get pregnant during that year. Columns (1) and (2) contain the OLS estimates of the effects on the likelihood of failing a grade in year *t* and the degree to which a sampled women lagged behind her secondary education in that same year. Column (3) contains the hazard rated for dropping out. The Comparison Mean indicates the average of the outcome if Pregnancy in year *t* is equal to zero. Controls includes height, Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the smallest sampling location level. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table A6: First stage - Different Thresholds for Early Pregnancy

	Pregnancy ≤ 16 (1)	Pregnancy ≤ 17 (2)	Pregnancy ≤ 18 (3)
Fertile Years	0.023*** (0.005)	0.031*** (0.006)	0.032*** (0.008)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.014	0.016	0.009
First stage F	20.67	25.53	17.61

Notes: “Pregnancy ≤ 16 ”, “Pregnancy ≤ 17 ” and “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” are defined one for those who got pregnant before the indicated age and zero for those who did not. Also, the “Number of Fertile Years” indicates the number of years passed since menarche until 17. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, the log of the household level and indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family, place of birth and residence. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. In the panel data set, Pregnant in year *t* is an indicator variable for whether the individual got pregnant in year *t* and Fertile is an indicator variable of whether a woman was fertile in a specific year. In both data sets, standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the sampling location level. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table A7: First stage - Instrumental Individual Level data

	Pregnancy ≤ 18					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Fertile Years ₁₈	0.016** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.008)				
Fertile Years ₁₉			0.016** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.008)		
Fertile Years ₂₀					0.016** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.008)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.003	0.011	0.003	0.011	0.003	0.011
First stage F	6.626	17.57	6.626	17.57	6.626	17.57

Notes: “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is defined one for those who got pregnant before 18 and zero for those who did not. Also, the “Fertile Years” indicates the number of years passed since menarche until 18, 19 and 20 in each Row. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, the log of the household level and indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family, place of birth and residence. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. In the panel data set, Pregnant in year t is an indicator variable for whether the individual got pregnant in year t and Fertile is an indicator variable of whether a woman was fertile in a specific year. In both data sets, standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the sampling location level.*** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table A8: IV Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Birth - Schooling Attainment

	Years of Education (1)	Sat for Matric Exam (2)	Post Secondary Schooling (3)
Panel A: OLS Estimation			
Birth ≤ 18	-1.087*** (0.117)	-0.224*** (0.027)	-0.041*** (0.014)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.167	0.166	0.055
Panel B: IV Estimation			
Birth ≤ 18	-2.380** (1.196)	0.056 (0.378)	-0.337 (0.267)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.082	0.117	-0.092
First Stage F-stat	10.64	10.64	10.64
Mean Dep Var	10.94	0.524	0.147

Notes: Birth ≤ 18 is defined one for those who gave before 18 and zero for those who did not. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, and the indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family. “Years of Education” indicates the Years of education completed. “Sat for Matric” is an indicator variable of whether the individual sat for Matric exam and “Post Secondary Education” is equal to one if the sampled woman kept studying after high school, and zero otherwise. The “First Stage F-stat” comes from the a first stage regression where “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is instrumented with the number of teenage fertile years. The comparison mean indicates the average of the Outcome if “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is equal to zero. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the sampling location level. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table A9: IV Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy - Schooling Attainment
Inverse probability Weights

	Years of Education (1)	Sat for Matric Exam (2)	Post Secondary Schooling (3)
Panel A: IV Estimation			
Pregnancy ≤ 18	-1.275** (0.629)	-0.096 (0.168)	-0.122 (0.106)
Observations	1,735	1,735	1,735
R-squared	0.162	0.169	0.048
First Stage F-stat	22.85	22.85	22.85
Panel B: Reduced Form Estimation			
Fertile Years	-0.075* (0.041)	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.007 (0.007)
Observations	1,735	1,735	1,735
R-squared	0.429	0.395	0.396
Mean Dep Var	10.98	0.524	0.157

Notes: Pregnancy ≤ 18 is defined one for those who got pregnant before 18 and zero for those who did not. The Number of Children born $>$ the age 19 is equal to the number of pregnancies each women reported between the age of 19 and 2009. Additionally, the Total Number of Children indicates the number of children each women in the sample has before 2009, regardless of the age she gave birth. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, and the indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family. The “First Stage F-stat” comes from the a first stage regression where “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is instrumented with the number of teenage fertile years. The comparison mean indicates the average of the Outcome if “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is equal to zero. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the sampling location level. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table A10: IV Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy

	Employed	Hours Worked	Earnings	Accept a Dom. Worker Position	Accept Security Guard Position
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A: IV Estimation					
Pregnancy ≤ 18	0.088 (0.287)	3.150 (3.336)	1,355.52 (1,132.56)	0.078 (0.219)	0.083 (0.237)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.106	0.034	0.010	0.042	0.046
First Stage F-stat	17.61	17.61	17.61	17.61	17.61
Fertile Years	0.003 (0.009)	0.099 (0.103)	42.72 (33.81)	0.002 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.115	0.102	0.112	0.038	0.044
Mean Dep Var	0.431	5.259	1263	0.234	0.329

Notes: Pregnancy ≤ 18 is defined 1 for those who got pregnant before 18 and zero for those who did not. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, and the indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family. The Comparison Mean indicates the average of the Outcome if Pregnancy ≤ 18 is equal to zero. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the sampling location. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$

Table A11: IV Estimation of the Effects of Teenage Pregnancy - Marriage and Fertility

	Married Ever (1)	Subsequent Fertility (2)	Total Fertility (3)
Panel A: IV Estimation			
Pregnancy ≤ 18	0.480 (0.303)	0.517 (0.360)	-0.744** (0.363)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	-0.014	0.252	0.197
First Stage F-stat	17.59	17.59	17.59
Panel B: Reduced Form Estimation			
Fertile Years	0.015 (0.009)	0.016 (0.012)	-0.023* (0.013)
Observations	1,741	1,741	1,741
R-squared	0.082	0.127	0.150
Comparison Mean	0.354	0.536	0.536

Notes: Pregnancy ≤ 18 is defined one for those who got pregnant before 18 and zero for those who did not. Subsequent Fertility is equal to the number of pregnancies each women reported between the age of 19 and 2009. Additionally, Total Fertility indicates the number of children each women in the sample has before 2009. Controls include the race, an asset index, height, number of siblings, and the indicator variables for religion, language spoken by her family. Married ever is defined as one for those who got married at some point before 2009, and 0 otherwise. The “First Stage F-stat” comes from the a first stage regression where “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is instrumented with the number of teenage fertile years. The comparison mean indicates the average of the Outcome if “Pregnancy ≤ 18 ” is equal to zero. Cohort and sampling-location fixed effects are included. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the sampling location level. *** $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, * $p \leq 0.1$