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ABSTRACT

Focusing on the pre-adolescent to late-adolescent portion of the life cycle, research examined how "early" exit from student role and "early" entry into adult roles of parent or spouse reflects factors operating prior to adolescence. Interviews during 1969 with 1,202 fifth and sixth graders and their mothers in 6 southern states, and again during 1975 with 78.6% of the original sample of students (945) and 57.8% of mothers (546) provided two-wave panel data. Contrary to extant literature, socioeconomic origins, parental child-rearing techniques or other specific influences, academic ability, or pre-adolescent aspirations were not determinants of transition to parent or spouse. A small-magnitude dependence existed between early career decision-making/academic performance and dropping-out of school. Only three social origin variables (sex, race, maternal fatalism) had statistically significant influences on teenage marriage. Most acute correspondence of early marriage and school exodus occurred among white females: two-thirds of those married were dropouts. Black and white females were at least three times more likely to be dropouts and parents than their male peers. Parents seemed to introduce early role-transitory children to the normative structure which indicates that socioeconomic careers are supposed to be depressed by early timing of marriage and procreation, especially for females. (NEC)

ADULT ROLE TRANSITIONS:

SOME ANTECEDENTS AND OUTCOMES EARLY IN THE LIFE COURSE*

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ADULT ROLE TRANSITIONS:
SOME ANTECEDENTS AND OUTCOMES EARLY IN THE LIFE COURSE

Abstract

The transition to adult roles is guided by a complex normative age-span regulating their entry and exit and is the topic of a recent upsurge in social research using a life course perspective. By focusing on the pre-adolescent to late-adolescent portion of the life cycle using two-wave panel data, this research seeks to develop a more informed picture of how "early" exit from the student role and "early" entry into the adult roles of parent or spouse reflects factors operating prior to adolescence. The short-term consequences of adult role transition on teenage status aspirations, life plans, other psychological orientations, and parental influence are also examined. Even though multiple role transition is frequently observed, only early school exodus appears related to the pre-adolescent career decision-making process and academic performance in high school. The determinants of transition to parent or spouse do not appear to be socioeconomic origins, parental child-rearing techniques or other specific influences, academic ability or performance, or pre-adolescent aspirations, generally contrary to the extant literature. A clear sex-role interpretation holds for the consequences of early transition to adulthood as females experience greater effects from these life events. In addition, parents seem to "introduce" accelerated role-incumbent children to the normative constraining effects of early role transition on socioeconomic attainments. Research dilemmas in this area and specific policy implications are discussed.

ADULT ROLE TRANSITIONS.

SOME ANTECEDENTS AND OUTCOMES EARLY IN THE LIFE COURSE

Introduction

The life course of any definable cohort of individuals contains many roles which are demarcated by a normative age-span regulating their entry and exit. These roles are largely irreversible in the sense that one can never erase their occurrence at a given age. Whether an individual is "early," "on time," or "late" with regard to a sequential role transition provides a noted potential for increased complexities in the acceptable management of future role performance. The "early" entry into the roles of parent or spouse, for instance, is synchronized with other role transitions that compete with the normatively central activity of schooling during the adolescent years.

By focusing on the pre-adolescent to late-adolescent portion of the life cycle, the present research seeks to develop a more informed picture of how "early" entry into the adult roles of parent or spouse, as well as exit from the student role, reflects particular factors operating prior to adolescence. In reviewing research on the determinants and consequences of three early role transitions (adolescent marriage, parenting, and "dropping-out" of school prior to high school completion), we find that previous evidence is almost invariably suspect on the grounds of a confounding of a cause-and-effect relationships due to the general use of retrospective data collection. Using two-wave panel data, our analysis examines antecedents and short-term outcomes of early adult role transition. By using data of a longitudinal design, differences that determine

"early" transition to adulthood will be more reasonably detected than those observed differences merely reflecting outcomes of it.

Many of the negative consequences of teenage parenting and marriage, among males as well as females, are linked to abbreviated schooling, unstable economic circumstances and prospects, and stressful psychological states. Since socio-economic achievement is related to a sequential process emphasizing career decision-making which culminates at the end of high school, it is necessary to investigate the explicit relationship between prior achievement ambitions and subsequent early role transitions. Specifically, we relate social origins, patterns of familial socialization and preadolescent career aspirations and academic performance to the incidence of teenage parenting, marriage, and exiting the schooling process before the completion of high school

The influence of these accelerated role transitions on subsequent teenage life plans offers evidence as to whether or not the reduced life chances of such early role incumbents result from correspondingly reduced, yet volitional, achievement orientations. The extent to which parental encouragements for socioeconomic attainment respond to early role transitions suggest to what degree significant-other influence *redirects* these orientations toward future achievement patterns. Thus, what may seem like "volitional" adjustments of life plans to currently accelerated role transitions (e g., Furstenburg, 1976a) may actually be due to individuals responding to social influence which is itself based on early role incumbency. Other short-term social psychological consequences are of similar concern as are race and gender effects.

Previous Evidence

A substantial body of literature has researched factors associated with early marriage, childbearing, and school dropout. (For reviews of 'early' marriage, see Chilman (1978), Otto (1979), Elder and Rockwell (1976), for adolescent fertility, see Chilman (1978), Baizerman *et al.* (1971), Sweet (1977),

for school dropout, see B. Duncan (1968) Bachman *et al.* (1971)].

Although only beginning to be codified, this literature indicates that these three early role transitions share many hypothesized antecedents. *Parent socioeconomic status* is inversely linked to early marriage, childbearing, and school exodus (Burchinal, 1960; Bartz and Nye, 1970; B. Duncan, 1968; Bachman *et al.*, 1971), although some evidence shows that on balance the relationship is minimal (Otto, 1979; Moss and Gingle, 1959). Other social origin effects come from *race*, in the form of being non-white (B. Duncan, 1968; Schrieber, 1965), and *sex*, being female (Sweet, 1977; Elder and Rockwell, 1976; Carter and Glick, 1976), but the mechanisms by which these background effects are brought to bear on the timing of role transitions is sorely underdeveloped.

One set of potential intervening processes includes *parent-child relationships*. A distinct association has been found between those youths who report a dissatisfactory relationship with their parents and early role transition (Moss and Gingle, 1959; Inselberg, 1961, Lowrie, 1965; but see Chilman, 1963). In particular, (reported) parental use of *punitiveness* is linked to school-leaving during the secondary years (Bachman *et al.*, 1971). While peer group processes appear to accelerate marital timing plans (Burchinal, 1960), another form of this *significant-other influence* is also sporadically applied by parents who fear that their child, usually female, will not eventually marry (Bell, 1968).

Following the peer group pressures at work within school settings, an additional set of intervening influences is *early dating patterns* and *heterosexual involvement* which are related to entering marriage earlier than is the norm (Bartz and Nye, 1970, Bayer, 1968, Marini, 1979). This set of candidates for mediating social origin influences, however, is problematic due to the intricate relationship it has with the socioeconomic continuum itself (see Larson *et al.*, 1976; Rice, 1978 for elaborations).

A third set of potential intervening mechanisms, especially for school-leaving, include academic *ability*, rates of *attendance*, performance as indexed by school-allocated *grades*, *educational* and *occupational aspirations*, as well as *rebellious behaviors* in school (Bachman *et al.*, 1971, Schreiber, 1965; B. Duncan, 1968). Due to the descriptive tone of the literature and the *post hoc* data collection techniques generally employed (an exception is Bachman *et al.*, 1971), it is difficult to assess whether these variables affect singular or multiple role transitions *or* are reflections of new role incumbencies.

The single most evident result of early role transition, especially parenting, is the depressing effect on subsequent *schooling*, childbearing being a major factor in the termination of formal education among young females (Baldwin, 1976; Waite and Moore, 1978). Some type of disruption in the schooling process seems virtually inevitable, unless pregnancy is within the final year of school (Nye, 1977).

Although data from national surveys verify the source of economic instability arising from reduced educational attainment (Bacon, 1974, Waite and Moore, 1978), the mechanisms by which this occurs have only recently become a focus of social researchers (e.g., Hofferth and Moore, 1979). Two sets of factors seem plausible from past research: institutional arrangements and volitional steps taken by role transitory youth themselves.

Perhaps becoming dated due to recent policy shifts, the available evidence suggests that *institutional arrangements* in schools tend to disadvantage females who enter marriage or parenthood early more than males. For instance, upon marital entry, 90 percent of the women, but only 33 percent of the men, failed to complete high school training in an early study (DeLissovoy and Hitchcock, 1965). To what extent more recent policies have been equitable is unknown (Graen and Forbush, 1975; Furstenberg, 1976a).

The career decisions of role transitory youth comprise an area of research findings that suggest the plausible importance of *volitional steps* which may depress educational (and labor market) success. Several studies indicate that the "ambition" to complete additional schooling seems necessary, but not necessarily sufficient, for most school-age mothers to actually do so (Menken, 1972; Trussell, 1976). Presser's New York study (1975) reveals that less than one-third of the school-age mothers returned to school after childbirth, even though half indicated that they wanted to. It seems reasonable to assume that a good portion of the other teenage mothers shifted their educational expectations as a result of experiencing pregnancy but this is basically an unanswered question. Contrasts by ethnicity or comparative information for males who parent children during this portion of the life cycle are rare.

Following norms attached to adult roles, encouraging married or pregnant students *not* to attend school has apparently been very common, and has been a major obstacle in their pursuit of formal training. Moreover, the degree to which family sources of significant-other influence (e.g., from partners, parents, siblings, etc.) reinforce institutionally-arranged "pushing-out" pressures is an unknown quantity at present (see Furstenberg, 1976a). Perhaps reflecting differential family encouragements, such transitions may be more manageable among black families (Waite and Moore, 1978, Hofferth and Moore, 1979).

Although limited in ability to generalize the findings to broadly-defined populations, the most thorough study to date on teenage childbearing is Furstenberg's work in Baltimore (1976b; see Sweet's review, 1977). Using a panel comprised primarily (91%) of teenage black women from low-income origins experiencing their first pregnancy, Furstenberg notes that teenage parenthood *per se* is not an insurmountable barrier to educational attainment, but the role of educational ambition is indeed a key one in this process. Therefore,

while educational attainment may be disrupted by teenage procreation, it does not distribute equal consequences to each individual involved. A youth's own achievement orientations as well as social support from others seems to have a substantial mediating effect on short-term achievement.

An additional consequence of early parenting among females is the increased likelihood of more pregnancies in the immediate future (Sarrel, 1967; Jorgenson, 1973; Klerman and Jekel, 1973). Since demographic research has argued that "reproductive intentions" determine subsequent fertility (Westoff and Ryder, 1977; but see Marshall and Cosby, 1977), the potential of this repetitive process being mediated by a *reformulation* of procreative attitudes is plausible.

In conclusion, most of the research on factors associated with early adult role incumbency is begun with a design that initially contacts subjects at the point of conception, marriage, or school-leaving at the earliest (see Bachman *et al.*'s discussion, 1971. 169-70). Many are conducted in a retrospective fashion, investigating life histories of persons who are already teenage parents, spouses, or dropouts. In an effort to assess the impact of plausible antecedents of early parenting, marriage, and dropping-out, longitudinal research is needed which contains measurements *prior* to the actual acceleration of role transitions. At the time of marriage, parenting, or school exodus, prior orientations, affective states, and other hypothetically determining conditions are difficult to recall retrospectively with any known reliability. This decreased reliability is perhaps made worse by the stress of such a major change in one's life situation due to role transition(s). Finally, little consistent emphasis has been placed on sex and race influences in accelerated adult role transition. The potential of this process for fostering differential consequences on subsequent life chances among early role incumbents is an avenue of considerable investigative merit for both theories and policies pertaining to equity among race and gender subgroups.

Data and Methods

Sample

Data are from a sample of fifth and sixth grade students and parents interviewed during 1969 in six southern states (Kentucky, Mississippi, North Caroline, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia). A total of 1,202 students in 20 schools were interviewed in classrooms using pretested and standardized instruments. Mothers of students were independently interviewed in their homes or other locations as necessary. To meet sampling quotas in each state, actual school choice corresponded to the selection of approximately one-out-of-three schools that met selection criteria (see Howell and Frese, 1979). The original investigators estimate that the population of families in the South with similar demographic characteristics totaled approximately 200,000.

In 1975, researchers returned to the original schools in a follow-up effort. A total of 945 (78.6%) of the original sample were recontacted, 216 (18%) of whom were no longer in school. Preliminary analysis revealed no serious panel attrition biases. Race-sex subgroups consist of 263 (27.8%) white males, 281 (29.7%) white females, 215 (22.7%) black males, and 183 (19.7%) black females. Due to financial constraints and an emphasis on the students themselves, recontact rates for mothers of students were not as successful with only 546 (57.8%) of the mothers being reinterviewed in 1975. See Technical Committee for Project S-63 (1974), Coleman (1976), Howell and Frese (1979), or Howell (1979) for details on sample design, data collection, and an overview of this research project.

A description of the variables, their measurement procedures, sources, means and standard deviations is presented in Table 1. A missing data analysis among the 42 variables used in analysis indicates that nonresponse is

largely random (see Howell, 1979). This is particularly comforting for the 1975 maternal expectation items since about only 60 percent of them were reinterviewed. As a result, pairwise-present correlations are used. In the cases of educational and occupational aspirations, a combination of race-sex subgroup mean substitution and regression estimates are used (see Kim and Curry, 1978; Cosby and Charner, 1978).

(Table 1 Here)

Analysis

In an effort to adduce new evidence using a panel design which obtained measurements prior to the transitional years, a simple recursive model is specified following the conceptual outline shown in Figure 1. Several sets of factors are specified as exogenous to early role transitions. These include: social origins and other parental characteristics, general familial socializing experiences in addition to more specific parental influences, preadolescent achievement orientations, and academic performance during high school. These factors generally follow from previous research. [We have unaware, however, of another study which simultaneously assesses the effects of such an inclusive set of hypothesized antecedents on even a *single* role transition.] Early adult transitions are then recursively linked to four groups of teenage outcomes. Among these short-term consequences are teenage parental encouragements and expectations, adolescent career decisions, other life plans, as well as other life states, such as perceived efficacy of individual effort, academic motivation, and perceptions of labor market opportunity.

We are interested initially in the *total* and *net* effects of each of the antecedents on the role transitions (see Alwin and Hauser, 1975). Thus, within the block of variables exogenous to early transitions, *total* effects

Table 1 Sources, Definitions, Operationalizations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Variables Used in Figure 1

Variable Label	Variable Name	Measurement	Source[a]	Description of Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
SEX	Sex	Female (0) - Male (1)	SR		.51	.50
RACE	Race	Black (0) - White (1)	SR		.58	.49
FED	Father's education	Years of schooling	M69		7.68	3.12
MED	Mother's education	Years of schooling	M69		8.59	3.00
BOCC	Breadwinner's occupation	Duncan SEI score	M69		20.00	16.05
SIBS	Number of siblings	Actual number reported	M69		4.09	1.90
MAPT	Mother's employment status	Mother's employed outside the home 35 hours a week or more are scored 1, otherwise 0	M69		.31	.46
MAGE	Mother's age	Actual number of years reported	M69		38.47	7.44
FATE69	Maternal fatalism	Estimated factor score, a large positive value indicates a more fatalistic world view Ω= 85 ρ= 92 η^2=1%	M69	11 item factor scale (UPFS)[b] using 5 Srole (1956) anomie items and 6 items from Rosen's (1956, 1959, 1961, 1964) work on "achievement value"	.00	1.00
PARVALS	Values for children's personal attributes	Factor score, a positive score indicates a preference for "self-direction" while a negative score suggests a "behavioral conformity" orientation for children θ=.39	M69	Kohn's (1969.57-8, 1976) original 16 item scale. Factor scores were derived via a UPCS[b].	.00	1.00

* * * *

The next four variables measure perceptions of maternal socializing strategies (ORPFS)[b] derived from an item-pool containing 5 statements from Elder's (1962) independence training communication scale and 45 items fro Bronfenbrenner's (1961) parental behavior questionnaire (see Devereux et al, 1962, 1969, Siegelman, 1965, 1966, Johnson and Bonmarito, 1971)

* * * *

LOVING	Maternal loving or social supportiveness	Factor score, a large positive score indicates high perceived maternal support θ=.81	R69	11 item factor scale (UPCS)[b]; the items were selected on the basis of a factor structure originally obtained from a ORPFS[b]	.00	1.00
PUNISH	Maternal verbal and/or physical punishing tactics	Factor score, a large positive score indicates high perceived maternal punishing behavior θ=.83	R69	13 item factor scale (UPCS)[b]; the items were selected on the basis of a factor structure originally obtained from a ORPFS[b]	.00	1.00
DEMAND	Maternal rule-proscription behavior	Factor score; a large positive score indicates high perceived maternal demanding behavior θ=.64	R69	5 item factor scale (UPCS)[b]; the items were selected on the basis of a factor structure originally obtained from a ORPFS[b]	.00	1.00
INDTRN	Maternal independence training tactics	Factor score, a large positive score indicates high perceived maternal independence training strategy θ=.69	R69	5 item factor scale (UPCS)[b]; the items were selected on the basis of a factor structure originally obtained from a ORPFS[b]	.00	1.00

Table 1. Continued

Variable Label	Variable Name	Measurement	Source[a]	Description of Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
IQ	Academic Ability	A high score indicates a high ability to do academic work (See Buros, 1972 for an assessment of this instrument)	R69	Otis IQ test, Elementary II Level, Form J (Otis and Lennon, 1967, 1969)	89.54	12 61
MOE69	Maternal occupational expectations during grade school	Duncan SEI score	M69	"What kind of job do you think _____ really will have when he(she) grows up?"	43 14	22 8-
MEE69	Maternal educational expectations during grade school	Years of schooling	M69	"How far do you think _____ really will go in school?"	13 30	1 98
SOI69	Perceived parental expectations for schooling	Years of schooling	R69	"How far do you think your parents would like you to go in school?"	14 79	1 85
PARHS69	Parental encouragement to complete high school	A high score (range 1 to 5) indicates a lot of encouragement	R69	This question asks the respondent how their parents felt about them finishing high school, therefore, it indicates more perceived "pressure" than SOI69	4 53	61
PARDRP69	Parental encouragement to "drop-out" of high school	A high score (range 1 to 3) indicates strong encouragement to leave high school before graduating	R69	"Have you ever talked to your parents about dropping out before finishing high school?"	1 20	52
EWACH69	Academic motivation in grade school	Factor score, a high positive score indicates high motivation Ω=.80 ρ= 90 ψ=1%	R69	10 item factor scale (UPFS)[b], the item-pool was taken from Elder's (1962) academic motivation scale and from Weiner's (Weiner and Kukla, 1970, Johnson, 1976) achievement motivation scale	00	1 00
SELCON	Global self-evaluation attitudes	Factor score, a high positive score indicates a high self-evaluation Ω=.88 ρ=.94 ψ=1%	R69	19 item factor scale (UPFS)[b], the 19 items were selected from Lipsitt's (1958) original 22 self-evaluative statements based on the factor analysis results	00	94
LEA69	Level of educational aspiration in grade school	Year of schooling	R69	The average of the number of years of education actually expected and the number desired	14 07	1 82
LOA69	Level of occupational aspiration in grade school	Duncan SEI score	R69	The average of the SEI scores for the occupation a respondent would like to enter and the occupation he(she) really expects to enter	49.24	22 10
HSGPA	High school academic performance	A to F (range 4 to 1), a high score indicates good grades	R75	Self-reported cumulative high school grade-point average	2 51	73
MARR	Marital status	Single (0) - were or had ever been married (1)	R75		.14	.35
EARLYFRT	Early fertility	No children (0) - one or more children (1)	R75		12	.32
DROPOUT	Dropped out of school	Student (0) - dropout (1)	R75	This measure was either self reported or the information was obtained from school principals, teacher or peers	22	41

Table 1. Continued

Variable Label	Variable Name	Measurement	Source[a]	Description of Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
LEA75	Level of educational aspiration in high school	See LEA69	R75	See LOA69	13.21	2.10
LOA75	Level of occupational aspiration in high school	See LOA69	R75	See LOA69	42.92	20.61
MARP	Marital timing plans	Age at marriage if married, 1935 age is used; if answer is over 26 it is truncated at 26 (Bayer, 1969a; Sanchez, 1979)	R75	"How old do you think you will be when you get married?"	23.11	4.41
FERTASP	Fertility aspirations	Actual number, truncated at 8	R75	"In all, how many children would you like to have?"	2.10	1.59
RESASP	Residential aspirations	Rural to urban continuum, range 1 (rural) to 3 (urban)	R75	"If you had your choice . . . in the future " "Would you like to live in the country, in a town or in a city?"	1.46	.72
GEOMOB	Geographical mobility preferences	A continuum from 1 to 5, the higher the score the greater the mobility preferences	R75	How far the respondent would eventually like to move from his(her) present location (range: remain in present community to live in another country)	1.98	1.27
MEE75	Maternal educational expectations during high school	See MEE69	M75	See MEE69	12.59	2.26
MOE75	Maternal occupational expectations during high school	See MOE69	M75	See MOE69	37.28	24.37
SOI75	Perceived parental expectations for schooling	See SOI69	R75	See SOI69	14.25	2 20
PARHS75	Parental encouragement to complete high school	See PARHS69	R75	See PARHS69	4.51	60
PARDRP75	Parental encouragement to "drop-out" of high school	See PARDRP69	R75	See PARDRP69	2.63	.62
LOCUS	Locus of control	Factor score; a positive score indicates an "external" attribution of control while a negative score points to a more "internal" respondent Ω=.55 ρ=.72 $\bar{v}$=2.4%	R75	A short-form of Rotter's original I-E scale (1966) is used. All 11 items were retained in the factor scale (UPFS)[b] since removing items would not improve the scale.	.09	.78

Table 1. Continued

Variable Label	Variable Name	Measurement	Source[a]	Description of Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
PGB	Perceived goal-blockage for occupational attainment	Factor score; a high score indicates high perceived blockages toward occupational attainment Ω=.61 ρ=.74 V=5.4%	R75	8 item factor scale (UPFS)[b] respondents were asked to rate how much each of the following would hinder their attaining their occupational aspiration: Not enough money to go to college Lack of information about jobs My race My sex Don't want to move away from family and friends Not smart enough The school I have gone to Lack of good job opportunities around here (Also see Howell, Frese and Sollie, 1977; 1978; 1979; Howell and Frese, 1978; Curry, 1973; Aldrich, 1970; Cosby, 1974)	.00	.83
EWACH75	Academic motivation in high school	See EWACH69 Ω=.79 ρ=.89 V=1%	R75	See EWACH69	.00	.92

a SR=School records
M69=Interview with mother in 1969
R69=Interview with respondent in 1969
R75=Interview with respondent in 1975
M75=Interview with mother in 1975

b UPFS=Unrotated principal factor solution
UPCS=Unrotated principal component solution
ORPFS=Oblique rotation principal factor solution

are derived from a recursive, multi-stage specification representing a hypothetical causal sequence (see Howell, 1979 for a detailed rationale).[7] For convenience, a table of zero-order correlations associating these prior variables with early role transitions is presented in Appendix A (see Table A1). We then address the coincidence of early role transitions by examining their *covariation* through the use of crosstabular and correlational procedures. These two sets of analyses are followed by estimating the *total* and *net* effects of antecedents and transitions on teenage outcomes as shown in Figure 1.

(Figure 1 Here)

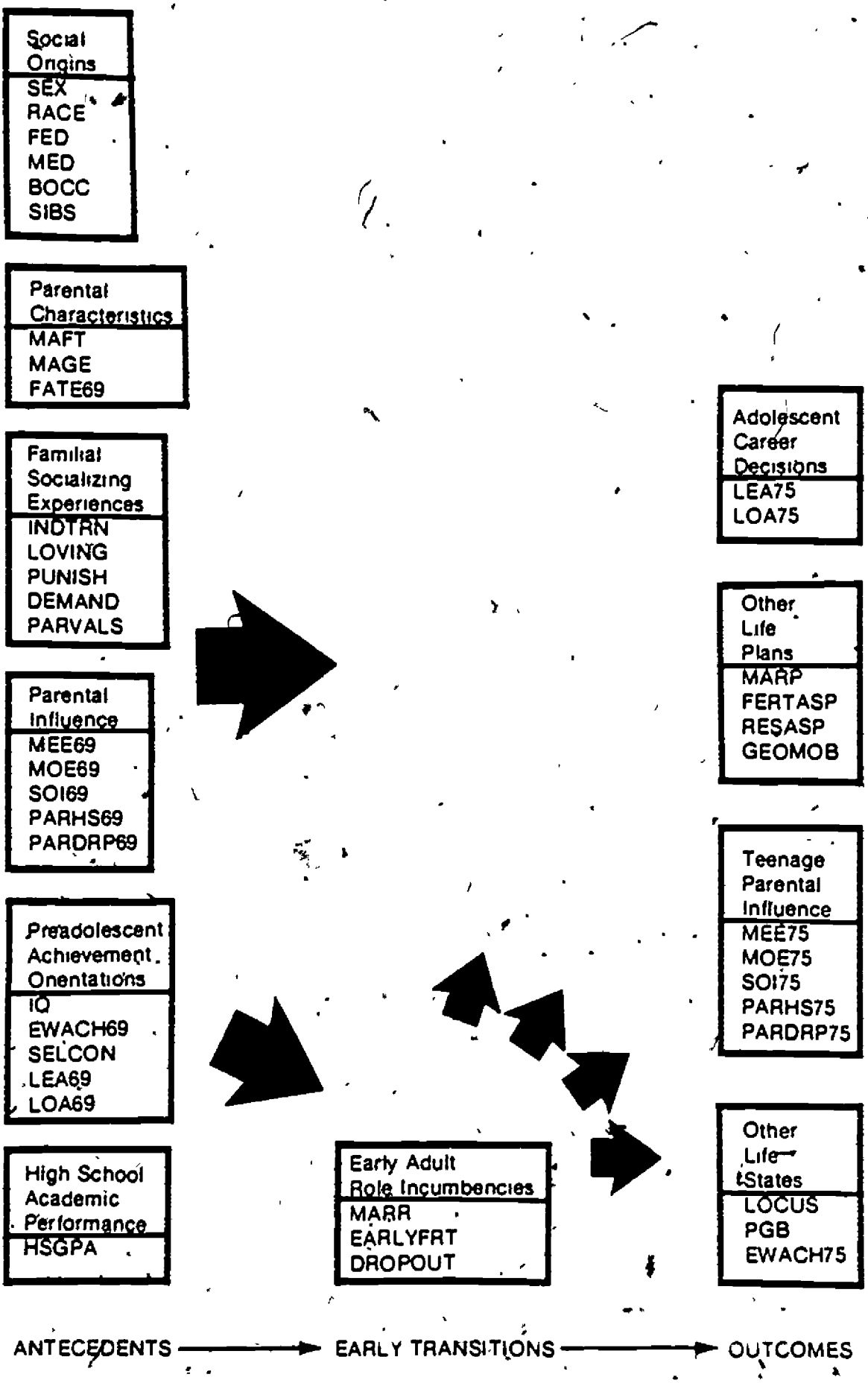

Figure 1. Basic Conceptual Framework Linking Preadolescent Factors to Early Adult Role Transitions and Teenage Outcomes

Findings

Antecedents of Early Role Transition

Only three social origin variables, sex, race, and maternal fatalism, have statistically significant influences on teenage marriage (see Table 2).[2] As expected, females tend to marry at an earlier age than males (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973; Carter and Glick, 1976), and this sex differential is not due to the host of other experiences occurring during preadolescence. The fact that whites tend to marry earlier than blacks is also consistent with national trends for nonwhites (Carter and Glick, 1976). The other social origin which contributes to the incidence of early marriage is mother's degree of fatalism. That is, those pre-adolescents whose mothers have a more fatalistic orientation tend to marry prior to the end of high school. The effects of this orientation are not mediated by values for the child's personality, childrearing methods, or a host of specific parental influence measures.

(Table 2 Here)

Surprisingly, only one of the (perceived) socialization strategies, independence training, has a statistically significant effect on occurrence of teenage marriage (see Bronfenbrenner, 1958; Hyman, 1966; Otto, 1979).[3] In contrast to some other studies (e.g., Burchinal, 1965, Bayer, 1969b; Elder, 1972), academic ability acts as a deterrent to experiencing early marriage. At the same time, that none of the significant-other influence measures affect early marriage should not be construed as surprising since they are all specific to education.

The literature leads one to expect at least a moderate inverse relationship between educational aspirations and age at marriage (Burchinal, 1960; Havighurst, 1952; DeLissovoy and Hitchcock, 1965; Bayer, 1969b). However, using pre-adolescent educational aspirations and the incidence of early marriage during the

TABLE 2 Total and Net Effects of Antecedents on Early Adult Role Incumbencies Additive Race and Sex Models[a]

Predetermined Variable	Dependent Variable					
	MARR		EARLYFRT		DROPOUT	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
SEX	- 116(- 167)*	- 127(- 183)*	- 069(- 138)*	- 099(- [illegible])*	- 021(- 026)	- 049(- 059)
RACE	140(199)*	151(214)*	- 047(- 072)	- 041(- [illegible])	230(276)*	251(301)*
FED	- 008(- 070)	- 004(- 039)	- 001(- 009)	- 000(- [illegible])	- 046(- 118)*	- 008(- 058)
MED	002(020)	003(029)	- 002(- 015)	- 001(- 012)	- 016(- 114)*	- 013(- 094)*
BOCC	000(007)	000(020)	000(002)	000(004)	- 002(- 077)*	- 001(- 054)
SIBS	004(026)	000(001)	- 005(- 032)	- 006(- 037)	013(058)	006(028)
MAFT	- 006(- 008)	- 004(- 006)	- 006(- 008)	- 008(- 011)	- 008(- 008)	- 018(- 020)
MAGE	002(045)	002(040)	000(001)	000(001)	002(029)	001(022)
FATE69	042(113)*	035(093)*	031(090)*	030(086)*	019(042)	008(018)
PARVALS	- 006(- 017)	- 005(015)	003(008)	004(012)	005(014)	005(013)
LOVING	- 023(- 065)	- 023(- 065)	- 011(- 035)	- 011(- 035)	- 009(- 021)	003(008)
PUNISH	007(020)	008(022)	002(006)	002(007)	- 006(- 014)	- 019(- 047)
DEMAND	- 014(- 039)	- 017(- 050)	010(031)	009(028)	001(002)	- 004(- 009)
INDTPN	025(071)	028(081)*	001(002)	003(010)	008(018)	022(054)
IQ	- 003(- 108)*	- 003(- 122)*	- 001(- 045)	- 001(- 031)	- 006(- 187)*	- 004(- 121)*
MOE69	000(008)	- 000(- 003)	000(- 010)	000(011)	001(052)	001(042)
MEE69	- 003(- 019)	- 004(- 023)	- 004(- 024)	- 003(- 017)	- 024(- 116)*	- 016(076)*
SOI69	- 001(- 007)	004(023)	003(015)	006(036)	- 010(- 045)	002(009)
PARHS69	015(027)	017(030)	000(000)	000(001)	- 061(- 094)*	- 061(- 091)*
PARCRP69	013(020)	015(023)	- 005(- 008)	- 008(- 012)	064(080)*	053(067)*
EWACH69	- 002(- 005)	- 005(- 013)	- 011(- 031)	- 011(- 032)	- 035(- 077)*	- 026(- 058)
SELCON	008(022)	008(022)	009(026)	009(027)	- 001(- 003)	- 000(- 000)
LEA69	- 014(- 070)	- 014(- 072)	- 005(- 029)	- 006(- 028)	- 013(- 056)	- 012(- 054)
LOA69	001(072)*	001(075)*	- 000(- 015)	- 000(- 016)	001(059)	001(054)
HSGPA	029(062)	029(062)	- 011(- 024)	- 011(- 024)	- 061(- 091)*	- 051(- 091)*
R^2		119		039		206
a		0 3		0 4		1 3

[a]The first column for each dependent variable (i.e., every odd-numbered line) lists the "total effect" of each predetermined variable on the dependent variable, see note 1 for the model specification. On the even-numbered columns are the "net effects" of each antecedent on the dependent variables (i.e., a full-form equation). The standardized coefficients are in parentheses

*p<.05

teen years our model reflects only a marginal impact at best. The only additional antecedent to entering early marriage is occupational aspiration during elementary school. Although the direction of the relationship is somewhat surprising (Call and Otto, 1977), this could be due to anticipating a high status job as part of the "standard package" of marriage and transition to adulthood, or perhaps shortly advancing to such a job. Such expectations could be acting as facilitators to early marriage (see Landis and Kidd, 1956; Burchinal, 1960; Bartz and Nye, 1970).

Only gender and maternal fatalism significantly affect teenage fertility. That fact that females parent children earlier than males is not altogether surprising given the report that marital timing is probably the best single predictor of fertility (Westoff, 1975; Marshall and Cosby, 1977). Mother's fatalism also tends to accelerate the prospects for teenage procreation, as it does for early wedlock, while status origins do not have any significant influences on early parenting (see also Marshall and Cosby, 1977).

A number of childhood factors influence a student to drop out of school. Race has the largest total effect on school-leaving. Although the overall dropout rate is above or equal to the national level (Bachman *et al.*, 1971: 18-24), the fact that whites are more likely to leave school early than blacks is contrary to some other findings (National Committee for Children and Youth, 1961, Koval and Bogal, 1963, Burchinal, 1965, B. Duncan, 1968; Bachman *et al.*, 1971). This suggests that, among lower socioeconomic groups where gross socioeconomic differences by race have been reduced by design, race differentials in early school-leaving reverse.

All three parental status variables have significant negative effects on school dropout, paralleling other reports (Curtis, 1953; Burchinal, 1965; Stroup and Robins, 1972; Bachman *et al.*, 1971). From thirty to fifty percent

of the effects of household head's occupational status and father's education, respectively, are mediated through the hypothetical causal sequence *within* the block of antecedents (see note 1), resulting in trivial direct effects. Mother's education, however, transmits only about one-fifth of its total effect indirectly onto dropping-out. In essence, some other process is at work which mediates the effect of mother's education on this type of schooling decision.

The remaining variables that significantly influence school exodus are all significant-other influence measures. It is interesting to note that the cognitive *expectations* indicator (SOI69), as opposed to the motivational *encouragement* indicators (PARH69 , PARDRP69), has little effect on early school-leaving (see Porter, 1976: 29; Howell, 1979.24,218).[4] Early parental "stress" or "frequency" of interaction about school-leaving do affect a youth's chances of exiting the schooling process. Additionally, *actual* maternal educational expectations decrease the probability of early school exodus, with about one-third of this total effect being mediated primarily through the perceived parental influence measures.

None of the more general parental socialization strategies appear to affect school dropout. Global self-esteem and early occupational aspirations lack significant effects. Preadolescent educational orientations, moreover, also appear to have little direct relationship to leaving school "early."[5]

Turning to the occurrence of *multiple* role transition, the interrelationship among the three adult role incumbencies offers further insight into the process of early transition to adulthood. To the extent that school-leaving, early marriage, and teenage parenting are associated, we find that distinct patterns occur and, given some qualifications by race, are compatable with contemporary sex-role perspectives.

About 14 percent reported "ever being married" in 1975 which includes some who were still students but many who were not currently enrolled (65% *vs.* 35%,

respectively; see Table 3). This association is well known (DeLissovoy and Hitchcock, 1965; Coombs andCooley, 1968; Bacon, 1974). We isolate the most acute coincidence of these two role transitions to be among white females. About two-thirds of the white female dropouts were married, over twice as frequently as their peers. At the other extreme, of the few black male dropouts, only one reported ever being married.

(Table 3 Here)

Regarding the correspondence of teenage procreation and school-leaving, about 12 percent reported parenting at least one child since mid-elementary school (Table 4). Many of these teenage parents had left school as of what would have been their junior or senior year (see also Presser, 1975; Trussell, 1976; Baldwin, 1976; Furstenberg, 1976b). Like early marriage, a clear sex-role pattern emerges which is stronger among blacks. Females are almost five times as likely to be dropouts *and* parents as are their respective male peers. A cogent illustration is the following comparison. If a white male left school "early," there is about a one-in-ten chance that he reported being a father. The comparable odds for a black female are almost seven-in-ten!

(Table 4 Here)

There is also a strong relationship between teenage marriage and procreation among white females (see Tables 5 and A1). The coincidence of transition to spouse and parenthood is much more likely for young white females than black females as shown in the different correlations presented in Table A1. Examining patterns of "counter-normative" transition, single black females have the highest parenting rate (15% of those 'never married'), followed by black males (8%), white females (4%), and white males (3%).[6]

(Table 5 Here)

Table 3. Dropping-Out By Marital Status in 1975 By Race-Sex Subgroups

	Sample:									
	Total		Black Males		Black Females		White Males		White Female	
	Married?		Married?		Married?		Married?		Married?	
Dropout?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
No	85%	35%	91%	90%	92%	64%	77%	19%	83%	29%
Yes	15%	65%	9%	10%	8%	36%	23%	81%	17%	71%
n =	801	131	203	10	171	14	235	27	192	80
	$\chi^2 = 163.3$		$\chi^2 = 0.2$		$\chi^2 = 7.9$		$\chi^2 = 38.3$		$\chi^2 = 74.0$	
	$p < .001$		$p = 0.6$		$p = .005$		$p < .001$		$p < .001$	

Table 4. Dropping-Out By Early Fertility in 1975. By Race-Sex Subgroup

	Sample:									
	Total		Black Males		Black Females		White Males		White Fema	
	Parent?		Parent?		Parent?		Parent?		Parent?	
Dropout?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
No	83%	44%	91%	81%	96%	59%	72%	46%	78%	12%
Yes	17%	56%	9%	19%	4%	41%	28%	54%	22%	88%
n =	798	108	183	21	150	32	242	13	223	42
	$\chi^2 = 82.1$ $p < .001$		$\chi^2 = 1.2$ $p = 0.3$		$\chi^2 = 34.0$ $p < .001$		$\chi^2 = 2.9$ $p = .090$		$\chi^2 = 66.2$ $p < .001$	

Table 5. Marital Status By Early Fertility In 1975 By Race-Sex Subgroup

	Sample:									
	Total		Black Males		Black Females		White Males		White Femal	
Married?	Parent? No	Yes	Parent? No	Yes	Parent? No	Yes	Parent? No	Yes	Parent? No	Yes
No	91%	49%	98%	71%	96%	78%	77%	19%	83%	29%
Yes	9%	51%	2%	29%	4%	22%	23%	81%	17%	71%
n =	809	109	185	21	151	32	235	27	192	80
	$\chi^2 = 137.5$ $p < .001$		$\chi^2 = 26.7$ $p < .001$		$\chi^2 = 10.3$ $p = .001$		$\chi^2 = 38.3$ $p < .001$		$\chi^2 = 74.0$ $p < .001$	

Consequences of Early Role Transition

While the influence of childhood factors on early role transitions themselves has been the primary focus thus far, this section is guided by two different issues. One, what are the net effects of early transitions on certain important teenage outcomes: career decisions, life plans, parental influence, and psychological orientations such as locus of control, perceived labor market opportunity, and motivation toward academic success? Second, what functions do these role entries have in mediating the effects of background conditions, experiences, and orientations on these teenage outcomes? The estimates addressing these issues are contained in Table 6 and are based on additive sex and race effects.

(Table 6 Here)

Parental Influence

The several indicators of parental influence respond to role transitions in varying ways, both in net effects from role transitions and in how the latter transmit antecedent effects to the former. Actual maternal educational expectations (MEE75) are perhaps most sensitive to both direct and indirect influences. Most of the *total* effect of IQ is transmitted through role transitions. In comparison, only about one-fifth of the total "stability" effect of MEE69 on MEE75 is mediated through early role behaviors. The strongest relative influence on MEE75 is dropping-out, but even controlling for this, early marriage lowers maternal schooling expectations by about one-half of a year. These role transitions add 21 percent to the variance explained in the MEE75 equation. In contrast, maternal occupational expectations in 1975 (MOE75) are less responsive to these accelerated life events, more so to dropping-out than the others, and receives fewer mediated effects from them as well.

Table 6 Total and Net Effects of Antecedents on High School Outcomes Additive Race and Sex Models (N = 845)[a]

Dependent Variables	Predetermined Variables													
	SEX	RACE	FED	MED	BOCC	SIBS	MAST	MAGE	FATE69	PARVAL5	INDTRN	LOVING	PUNISH	DEMAND
MCE75														
(1)	- 060	1 263*	041	039	005	038	260	012	- 429*	- 091	- 070	187	- 080	093
	(- 013)	(- 276)	(057)	(051)	(036)	(032)	(053)	(041)	(- 176)	(- 040)	(- 031)	(- 082)	(036)	(043)
(2)	- 258	- 518*	019	068	002	055	211	017	- 398*	- 082	005	- 193*	- 125	075
	(- 057)	(113)	(026)	(011)	(014)	(046)	(043)	(055)	(- 160)	(- 036)	(002)	(- 085)	(- 055)	(003)
MOE75														
(3)	12 342*	5 628	930	523	120	129	2 715	- 110	-1 856*	-2 409*	- 687	- 309	- 115	- 347
	(-.253)	(114)	(119)	(064)	(079)	(010)	(052)	(033)	(- 071)	(- 099)	(- 028)	(- 013)	(005)	(- 014)
(4)	13 610*	-2 119	821*	373	104	190	2 459	088	1 569	-2 552*	- 309	- 370	323	- 429
	(- 279)	(- 043)	(-.105)	(046)	(0491	(015)	(047)	(- 027)	(- 060)	(- 096)	(013)	(- 015)	(013)	(- 018)
SOI75														
(5)	356*	691	215	035	002	- 681*	127	020*	- 352*	- 170	001	090	162	042
	(081)	(156)	(028)	(048)	(014)	(- 070)	(027)	(067)	(149)	(- 077)	(000)	(041)	(074)	(019)
(6)	288	- 511*	011	027	001	- 078*	112	021*	- 337*	- 166*	020	088	150*	039
	(066)	(115)	(016)	(036)	(008)	(067)	(024)	(071)	(- 143)	(- 078)	(009)	(040)	(068)	(018)
PARNS75														
(7)	134*	187*	- 009	- 002	002	- 006	063	006*	- 022	035	- 017	034	019	- 034
	(112)	(- 155)	(- 047)	(- 010)	(049)	(- 019)	(049)	(- 069)	(- 034)	(058)	(- 028)	(056)	(031)	(056)
(8)	101*	- 067	- 013	009	001	- 013	052	- 005	0 5	038	006	035	008	- 033
	(085)	(056)	(- 067)	(047)	(028)	(011)	(041)	(- 063)	(- 024)	(064)	(010)	(059)	(014)	(- 055)
PARDRP75														
(9)	- 005	347*	014	018*	004	- 018	004	003	- 014	- 022	- 019	- 015	016	039
	(- 004)	(275)	(018)	(086)	(103)	(- 066)	(.003)	(031)	(020)	(- 035)	(- 030)	(- 025)	(026)	(062)
(10)	- 044	192*	001	011	003*	- 015	006	003	- 006	- 020	003	- 019	007	043*
	(- 035)	(- 152)	(- 006)	(055)	(086)	(046)	(005)	(042)	(-.009)	(- 031)	(005)	(026)	(011)	(- 069)
EMACH75														
(11)	- 331*	- 325*	009	- 011	005*	- 022	080	005	003	- 004	- 040	082*	023	007
	(- 180)	(175)	(031)	(- 037)	(084)	(- 045)	(040)	(038)	(003)	(- 004)	(- 044)	(090)	(- 025)	(- 008)
(12)	-.356*	- 260	007	- 013	005*	020	077	005	010	- 004	- 032	080*	- 024	- 011
	(- 194)	(- 140)	(025)	(042)	(082)	(- 042)	(039)	(042)	(.040)	(- 004)	(- 035)	(087)	(- 026)	(- 012)
LOCUS														
(13)	025	- 012	- 007	007	000	- 005	- 033	- 002	035	- 006	078*	004	009	- 017
	(016)	(- 008)	(- 030)	(028)	(002)	(- 013)	(- 020)	(- 020)	(042)	(- 006)	(096)	(006)	(012)	(- 022)
(14)	038	- 043	- 007	007	000	- 006	- 032	- 002	031	- 006	076*	003	010	- 015
	(.025)	(028)	(- 026)	(029)	(002)	(- 015)	(- 019)	(- 022)	(038)	(- 007)	(091)	(- 003)	(013)	(- 019)
PSB														
(15)	- 128	- 256*	002	014	.005*	011	- 011	001	- 008	- 082*	048	091*	005	077
	(- 077)	(- 153)	(008)	(050)	(- 091)	(- 026)	(006)	(006)	(009)	(- 100)	(052)	(109)	(006)	(093)
(16)	- 129	- 254*	002	012	- 005*	- 011	013	001	008	- 082*	047	089*	003	.079*
	(078)	(- 152)	(008)	(045)	(- 094)	(- 026)	(- 007)	(- 005)	(009)	(-.098)	(057)	(- 108)	(003)	(096)
LEATS														
(17)	253	-1 316*	007	028*	002*	036	205	019*	- 200	- 111	- 022	079	021	047
	(060)	(309)	(010)	(112)	(078)	(032)	(045)	(067)	(088)	(- 053)	(010)	(009)	(010)	(022)
(18)	093	765*	- 010	055*	007	047	167	022*	166*	- 103	034	- 024	013	033
	(022)	(180)	(- 015)	(078)	(053)	(042)	(037)	(078)	(- 073)	(049)	(016)	(- 011)	(- 006)	(016)
LOATS														
(19)	-8 299*	-9 135*	002	272	113*	379	788	114	-2 037*	- 533	183	876	203	015
	(- 201)	(- 219)	(000)	(039)	(088)	(- 035)	(017)	(041)	(- 092)	(- 026)	(- 088)	(043)	(010)	(- 001)
(20)	-8 826*	-6 338*	026	234	109*	377	710	120	-1 900*	- 513	- 066	832	160	- 022
	(- 214)	(- 200)	(004)	(034)	(085)	(035)	(016)	(043)	(- 086)	(- 025)	(- 0037	(040)	(008)	(- 001)
MAPP														
(21)	2 357*	-3 107*	112*	010	000	040	020	019	- 057	022	042	003	- 139	199
	(467)	(- 348)	(079)	(007)	(- 001)	(017)	(002)	(033)	(012)	(005)	(- 009)	(001)	(091)	(045)
(22)	1 722*	-2 205*	087	009	002	047	001	030	113	- 011	115	- 120	010	093
	(195)	(247)	(061)	(006)	(007)	(020)	(000)	(051)	(024)	(002)	(026)	(027)	(- 023)	(021)
FERTASP														
(23)	- 096	- 552*	- 031	016	000	039	- 192	008	- 131*	- 063	034	022	081	- 037
	(- 030)	(- 171)	(061)	(030)	(002)	(047)	(- 056)	(037)	(078)	(- 040)	(- 021)	(014)	(051)	(- 024)
(24)	- 084	565*	- 030	017	000	039	- 190	008	134*	064	- 036	023	082	- 038
	(- 029)	(- 175)	(- 060)	(032)	(004)	(047)	(- 055)	(037)	(- 078)	(040)	(- 022)	(014)	(052)	(-.024)
NESAS*														
(25)	022	- 755*	030	001	003	035*	008	- 001	- 002	- 008	021	004	022	020
	(- 015)	(- 520)	(131)	(004)	(061)	(- 091)	(005)	(- 012)	(002)	(- 011)	(030)	(005)	(- 031)	(028)
(26)	- 044	- 749*	030*	003	003*	- 035*	009	- 001	005	- 010	025	001	- 019	017
	(- 031)	(518)	(130)	(011)	(065)	(093)	(006)	(- 009)	(006)	(- 013)	(035)	(- 002)	(027)	(024)
GEOMOB														
(27)	087	- 619*	004	- 014	001	035	037	- 004	- 061	- 044	056	007	071	032
	(034)	(- 317)	(020)	(- 033)	(015)	(053)	(013)	(- 022)	(- 044)	(- 035)	(- 044)	(- 006)	(056)	(025)
(28)	028	- 709*	005	- 016*	001	- 033	033	- 033	054	065	- 043	- 011	074	024
	(022)	(- 275)	(012)	(- 038)	(-.013)	(- 049)	(012)	(- 017)	(- 039)	(035)	(- 034)	(009)	(- 058)	(019)

Table 6 (continued)

Dependent Variables	IQ	MEI69	MOC69	SOI69	PARNS69	PARDRP69	EDACH69	SOLCON	LEA69	LOA69	HSGPA	DROPOUT	MARR	EARLYFRT	R^2
MEI75															
(1)	018 (086)	.214* (187)	001 (008)	019 (016)	125 (034)	044 (- 0'0)	204 (082)	-.040 (- 017)	106 (085)	.001 (006)	635* (205)	---	---	---	379
(2)	003 (017)	171* (-.150)	003 (028)	016 (013)	- 019 (- 005)	102 (024)	135 (054)	035 (- 019)	065 (053)	004 (040)	527* (170)	-2 533* (- 463)	686* (- 106)	113 (016)	584
MOE75															
(3)	.107 (058)	585 (048)	060 (054)	661 (050)	- 023 (001)	2 667 (052)	204 (008)	592 (023)	- 587 (- 042)	116 (105)	4 754* (142)	---	---	---	275
(4)	045 (023)	372 (030)	070 (065)	664 (051)	- 716 (- 018)	1 983 (- 042)	- 166 (- 006)	643 (025)	- 776 (058)	132* (119)	4 201* (.128)	-12 255* (- 200)	3 435 (- 049)	-2 318 (- 031)	324
SOI75															
(5)	007 (041)	.059 (054)	005 (053)	160* (135)	060 (018)	- 166 (- 034)	122 (050)	- 074 (032)	- 073 (- 060)	007 (074)	352* (117)	---	---	---	.219
(6)	004 (023)	048 (043)	006 (.059)	160* (135)	024 (007)	- 107 (026)	101 (042)	- 071 (030)	062 (051)	008* (082)	318 (105)	- 684* (- 129)	- 111 (018)	- 201 (- 030)	237
PARNS75															
(7)	004* (093)	028* (091)	- 001 (- 043)	005 (014)	042 (043)	- 134* (- 117)	057* (086)	- 059 (- 092)	000 (001)	001 (- 045)	052 (063)	---	---	--	107
(8)	002 (050)	029 (063)	- 001 (- 026)	004 (012)	008 (008)	- 108* (- 094)	042 (063)	058* (- 091)	- 006 (- 018)	- 001 (- 029)	021 (025)	- 537* (- 370)	062 (036)	144* (078)	229
PARDRP75															
(9)	- 001 (- 020)	- 008 (024)	- 001 (- 020)	021 (063)	038 (037)	- 290* (- 276)	026 (038)	006 (009)	021 (062)	001 (- 026)	131* (152)	--	--	---	149
(10)	- 033 (- 072)	- 0.6 (052)	- 000 (005)	020 (061)	007 (007)	060 (050)	012 (017)	007 (010)	013 (038)	000 (002)	107* (125)	535* (353)	129* (- 072)	029 (015)	247
EDACH75															
(11)	- 005 (- 062)	- 009 (- 019)	000 (004)	018 (037)	- 096 (- 064)	- 037 (- 021)	202* (199)	- 036 (038)	- 013 (- 025)	-.001 (- 033)	407* (323)	---	---	--	256
(12)	- 006* (- 078)	- 012 (- 025)	000 (0.0)	018 (037)	- 103* (- 068)	- 026 (105)	198* (194)	- 035 (- 036)	- 017 (033)	- 001 (024)	404* (321)	- 131 (- 069)	164 (- 062)	027 (009)	264
LOCUS															
(13)	- 002 (-.034)	- 006 (- 014)	000 (008)	018 (043)	- 067 (- 053)	089 (060)	- 054 (- 0634)	004 (005)	- 0.6 (- 037)	- 001 (015)	- 091* (- 086)	--	---	---	042
(14)	-.002 (025)	- 004 (- 011)	000 (007)	018 (042)	- 065 (- 051)	086 (057)	- 052 (- 061)	003 (004)	018 (- 033)	- 001 (- 121)	- 092* (- 086)	056 (030)	106 (048)	030 (013)	045
PGB															
(15)	- 008 (- 127)	- 030 (- 071)	- 002 (- 052)	- 007 (005)	012 (008)	013 (0'4)	013 (014)	025 (- 029)	035 (076)	001 (036)	- 027 (- 024)	---	---	--	127
(16)	- 008* (- 128)	- 031 (- 073)	.002 (050)	- 022 (048)	- 012 (- 009)	- 011 (- 007)	010 (011)	025 (- 028)	034 (076)	001 (035)	- 034 (- 030)	070 (- 035)	085 (038)	084 (- 033)	129
LEA75															
(17)	019* (093)	033 (031)	082 (019)	074 (066)	041 (012)	- 164 (- 041)	122 (052)	000 (000)	118* (102)	004 (047)	606* (210)	---	-	---	305
(18)	006 (037)	000 (000)	003 (036)	073 (064)	- 070 (020)	- 056 (010)	047 (029)	004 (002)	088* (076)	007* (073)	519* (180)	-1 929* (- 379)	456* (- 075)	077 (012)	446
LOA75															
(19)	208* (127)	246 (024)	.067* (075)	767 (069)	1 347 (040)	527 (013)	522 (023)	8.0 (037)	454 (040)	082* (088)	3 303* (117)		--	--	251
(20)	190* (117)	188 (018)	070* (078)	782 (070)	1 505 (- 045)	376 (- 010)	4 0 (018)	778 (- 036)	391 (035)	085* (092)	3 158* (112)	2 910 (058)	1 116 (019)	-2 554 (040)	258
MARR															
(21)	- 001 (- 004)	- 053 (024)	006 (029)	116 (049)	129 (018)	110 (013)	252 (052)	047 (0 0)	022 (- 009)	0 0 (- 052)	189 (064)	---	-		266
(22)	- 020 (- 057)	- 075 (- 034)	006 (029)	135 (057)	217 (030)	208 (025)	274 (- 056)	- 009 (002)	096 (040)	004 (017)	221 (037)	111 (010)	5 579* (440)	909* (059)	401
FERTASP															
(23)	009 (069)	007 (006)	003 (036)	008 (009)	- 017 (006)	040 (- 013)	128 (073)	027 (- 0.6)	037 (042)	001 (- 019)	073 (033)	-	--		073
(24)	009 (071)	008 (0.0)	003 (035)	008 (009)	- 011 (- 004)	- 043 (- v 4)	132 (075)	028 (0.6)	038 (043)	- 001 (- 019)	079 (036)	080 (021)	021 (005)	104 (021)	074
RESASP															
(25)	- 000 (- 006)	046* (- 126)	003* (087)	028 (072)	008 (007)	034 (025)	060* (075)	023 (030)	- 028 (- 061)	002 (056)	- 022 (022)				285
(26)	- 001 (- 011)	- 045* (- 124)	003 (085)	029* (075)	017 (014)	032 (023)	059* (076)	025 (032)	026 (066)	002 (060)	032 (012)	091 (052)	193* (094)	018 (008)	292
GEOMOB															
(27)	.007 (067)	026 (- 030)	005 (097)	009 (013)	036 (017)	120 (049)	005 (003)	027 (- 020)	022 (031)	002 (032)	055 (031)		-		121
(28)	005 (049)	- 029 (014)	006 (099)	009 (012)	045 (022)	138 (- 007)	- 0.0 (- 007)	026 (- 019)	0 6 (023)	00^ (043)	054 (031)	231 (075)	294 (081)	172 (044)	133

*The first line for each dependent variable (i e every odd-numbered line) lists the total affect of each predetermined variable on the dependent variable see note one for the model specification The R^2 for this total effect" line is the explained variance in the equation when HSGPA is finally entered. On the even-numbered lines are listed the "net affects" of each predetermined on the dependent (i e a full form equation) with its R^2 figure See text for variable names The standardized coefficients are in parentheses

*p < 05

Perceived global expectation (SOI75) is also less influenced by role transitions, net of its earlier value and a host of prior influences. On the other hand, dropping-out and teenage procreation tend to substantially reduce parental insistence in completing high school (PARHS75), doubling the variance explained in the equation. Males, however, encounter a subtly higher level of encouragement (β = .085) to finish high school regardless of such experiences and other specified influences. The *amount* of parent-child interaction concerning "quitting" school (PARDRP75) understandably depends on current enrollment but also on marital status. Teenage blacks report more interaction with their parents regarding leaving school than do whites; this is independent of other measured influences and, more importantly, of similar discussions earlier in their school careers.

Life States

Interestingly, the orientation toward success in school is not affected by exiting the schooling process prior to high school completion, perhaps calling into question the validity of the academic motivation scale. Similar evidence, however, has been more thoroughly investigated and reported elsewhere which indicates that dropping-out does little to uniquely change academic orientations (see Bachman *et al.*, 1971). Similarly, internal-external locus of control is unaffected by any of the early role transitions. A final note involves the perception of opportunity in the future attainment of occupational aspirations. Contrary to many arguments, accelerated adult role entry seems to do little to increase the short-term *perception* of obstacles in attaining job preferences at this point in the life course.

Life Plans

The impact of accelerated role experiences on aspirations and other life plans is generally mixed. For instance, dropping-out has the single largest net effect on educational aspirations (β = -.379), including early aspirations, yet the block of transitions mediates only a small portion of the effects of socioeconomic background (MED =30 %, BOCC = 25%), early schooling aspirations (25%), or high school grades (14%). They do, however, transmit almost two-thirds (60%) of the total effect of academic ability on late-adolescent educational aspirations. Irregardless of current school enrollment, early marriage has a small negative influence on teenage aspirations for completed schooling. Overall, the three transitions contribute about 14 percent additional variance to the LEA75 equation.

Sex and race subgroups have substantial differences in marital plans that have little to do with the factors measured here.[7] Males and blacks prefer to marry later than their peers. Unmarried teenagers want to delay marriage, on the average, about five-and-a-half years. Regardless of whether or not they are (ever) married, teenage parenting creates an additionally preferred delay of almost one year (b = .809). This would seem to contradict those who argue for such an experience setting up a "rush into marriage" (see Chilman, 1978).

The evidence obtained in the fertility preference equation (FERTASP) does little to support the "early repeater" interpretation of teenage parenting, at least as it might be produced through fertility preferences. That is, the hypothesis that experiencing early (first) parenthood produces a series of rapid subsequent births is not supported in the sense that parenting obtains a net *increase* in completed fertility desires (see Westoff and Ryder, 1977).

Although it might be hypothesized that counter-normative role entries would be associated with residential preferences to move away from the social context where they were experienced, an alternative hypothesis would be that the socioeconomic and psychological instability associated with accelerated transition creates a desire to remain with whatever social support is available in the local area. To the extent that these results are pertinent, the residential (RESASP) and geographical mobility (GEOMOB) preference equations point to the latter interpretation. Dropping-out and early parenting affect neither preference to a significant degree while marriage registers a small preference for a rural residence ($\beta = -.094$), coupled with a desire to be closer to one's current community ($\beta = -.081$).

DISCUSSION

Whether one is "one schedule" with respect to managing normative role entries is the topic of a recent upsurge in social research using a life cycle perspective (Bacon, 1974; Sweet, 1977). For youth, an emphasis has been on the early entry into largely irreversible adult roles; particularly marriage and parenting. A "social problems" covariate of these two events is still another role transition: exiting the student role *too* early, or prior to high school completion. This report examined the incidence and coincidence of three early adult role transitions, evaluated background conditions associated with such role entry, and assessed the impact of early role entries on several important teenage outcomes.

It was found that only dropping-out of school is related to the early career decision-making process and academic performance. Even this dependence, however, is small in magnitude. *Multiple* early role transitions were frequently observed, verifying the interlocking nature of many role-residing patterns in a transitory portion of the life course. Early marriage, procreation, and premature school-leaving are all interrelated to various degrees, depending on race and sex. The deficits associated with these role transitions are usually greater for females, especially white females. It appears that black families, and perhaps communities, have social-support mechanisms that serve to reduce negative outcomes for black females (see Waite and Moore, 1978).

The most acute correspondence of early marriage and school exodus occurs among white females, where two-thirds of those married were dropouts, in stark contrast to black males, of whom only five percent were married-dropouts. Black and white females are at least three times more likely to be dropouts *and* parents than their respective peers. For instance, if a white male left school, there is about a ten-percent chance that he also reported being a father. The

comparative odds for a black female are seven times greater!

Generally, the early transition to adult roles seems to be only tangentially linked to the career decision-making process during pre-adolescence. Although decisions made closer to the specific time of role exit and entry are almost certainly related to these transitions, they do not appear to have their "seeds" sown in mid-elementary school.

It seems that parents "introduce" accelerated role-incumbent children to the normative constraining effects of early role transitions on socioeconomic attainments. Thus, volitional adjustments of role-transitory youths' aspirations downward is as much a result of shifts in parental expectations of them as a direct consequence of "self-reflexion" about current life conditions and role requirements.

Further work is needed on this portion of the life cycle to determine how durable these results are. The methodological problem, of course, is that to obtain a true longitudinal design with "enough" subjects experiencing early role transition, a very large baseline sample must be taken which increases costs and lag-time during the measurement interval. Hopefully, this area of research can be informed by more generalizable samples covering a wider variation in social origins (see Furstenberg, 1976a).

"Early" Transitions: Keeping the Door Open

Career Education might benefit from the finding that parents seem to "introduce" early role transitory offspring to the normative structure which indicates that socioeconomic careers are *supposed* to be depressed by the early timing of such events, especially for females. As Furstenberg (1976a) points out, stereotyping the adolescent mother as having entered irreversibly disrupted life styles tends to dissuade effective coping strategies with the increased

demands of new role expectations. Since school institutional forces have generally "pushed-out" such counter-normative role incumbents, either formally or informally, the family seems particularly critical in giving various supports to them.

How can parents become involved? Traditionally, support groups have served as channels of parental involvement in school programs (e,g., PTA). Without ignoring this informal avenue entirely, perhaps a more formal channel would be through State Departments of Education Regional Services or Regional Education Networks with "parent specialists" who serve as professional intermediaries between parents and local school districts. Thus, if parents are more direct participants in local career education curricula, they would be able to more effectively develop their own inputs into their children's decision-making.

Through making special curricula available to target parent-child groups (i.e., parents of role-transitory students), Career Education programs might be able to deliver especially needed information, and present unconsidered alternatives, to parents of such offspring at a time where both parties are pressured toward a normative reorganization of their life patterns. In this aspect, parents would be "target" clients in conjunction with their children (turned adults) in an effort to allow them to use their influence in the face of a broader range of alternatives. This may be particularly challenging since we find that mothers of early adult role incumbents tend to be somewhat more fatalistic about coping with social circumstances.

NOTES

1. The sequential specification *within* the block of antecedents is as follows: (SEX, RACE, FED, MED, BOCC, SIBS, MAFT, MAGE, FATE69)→(PARVALS)→(INDTRN, LOVING, PUNISH, DEMAND)→(IQ)→(MEE69, MOE69)→(SOI69, PARHS69, PARDRP69)→(EXACH69)→(SELCON)→(LEA69, LOA69)→(HSGPA).

2. The early role transition equations (see Table 2) are estimated via ordinary least squares. Since the mean responses are at best marginal for obtaining an unbiased estimate of β (see Table 1; also Neter and Wasserman, 1974: 328 for a discussion), we also estimated the response functions via a weighted least squares process (GLS estimates; see Hanushek and Jackson, 1977: 181-2; Goldberger, 1964: 248-50). The results yielded only minor differences in coefficients and standard errors. Since both sets of estimated standard errors are very similar, one would not be "misled" much by the OLS results used in this analysis (see Hanushek and Jackson, 1977: 182 for similar experiences).. We did not, in addition, use an iteratively reweighted least squares procedure since any gain from additional stages would not likely be large (Neter and Wasserman, 1974: 328).

3. This effect comes only in the presence of extensive controls. The total effect of INDTRN on MARR, as well as their zero-order correlation, is non-significant. The net coefficient, reflecting essentially a "suppressor" effect, is significant at conventional statistical standards.

4. The zero-order correlations among the three significant-other influence measures used in this model are presented below:

	SOI69	PARH69	PARDRP69
SOI69	---	.154	-.148
PARHS69		---	-.126
PARDRP69			---

The magnitude of these correlations (although significant at the .01 level) is not large, which indicates that, for instance, parental "stress" on an object (e.g., high school diploma or college) is not the same as a more *informational* input like the "years of schooling" expectation item (see Rehberg and Rosenthal, 1978 on parental "stress "). PARMS69 and SOI69 correlate only modestly. Moreover, the *frequency* with which parents discuss an object, such as high school completion, is not identical to parental "stress" on the same object or the general "expectations" measure. Race differences (not shown) indicate that these three indicators correlate higher among whites than blacks (see Howell, 1979). These observations, of course, deal only with *perceived* parental influence, and not the actual orientations of significant-others themselves (see Spenner, 1974, Kerckhoff and Huff, 1974).

5. This is not to say that dropping-out of school is not the result of *any* overt decision on the part of such students, but we emphasize the *temporal specificity* with which this statement is made. What *could* happen is that schooling aspirations develop at an (as yet) unknown "natural rate" until such time that whatever process does determine school exodus brings its influence to bear, producing a rapid change in aspirations and resulting behavior. Further research must deal with such issues. What we observe from our data is that, unless some theoretical model of aspirations can specify the process of such aspiration dynamics, it *seems* that prior aspirations do not direct the specific occasion of leaving school "early."

6. These percentages are based on the row totals instead of the reported column figures.

7. The equation for marital plans should be qualified with the following artifactual note. In coding MARP, respondents who reported "ever being married" were allocated their current age as a response for marital timing plans.

Since first marriage is a discrete event (ignoring immediate divorce, annulment, etc.), this places considerable constraints on the MARP variable in analysis. Thus, the effect of MARR on MARP should be interpreted as the *net* difference in years, between "ever married" and "never married" teenagers in their preferred *delay* of marital entry.

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Appendix A

Table A1 Correlations for Early Adult Role Incumbency and Antecedent Factors, Pooled Sample and Sex-Race Subgroups

	Pooled Sample			Sex - Race											
				MARR				EARLYFRT				DROPOUT			
	MARR	EARLY-FRT	DROPOUT	White Males	Black Males	White Females	Black Females	White Males	Black Males	White Females	Black Females	White Males	Black Males	White Females	Black Females
SEX	-.184**	-.140**	- 044	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
RACE	200**	- 046	251**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
FED	- 107**	- 040	-.109**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
MED	- 091**	- 050	- 238**	- 065	- 166*	- 142*	- 061	000	- 055	- 135*	079	- 321**	- 099	- 304**	- 027
				- 102	- 059	- 092	- 019	- 023	- 030	-.156**	041	- 289**	- 167*	-.288**	- 018
BOOC	003	- 023	- 102**	- 024	-.012	- 079	022	-.018	- 066	002	- 054	- 163**	- 089	-.222**	- 074
SIBS	- 038	- 007	-.003	- 024	099	020	111	- 139*	-.054	078	- 054	106	003	193**	-.003
MAIT	- 056	- 014	-.087**	057	-.090	- 026	008	067	- 051	- 101	060	- 081	-.002	-.115	.016
MAGE	048	029	074*	071	.013	134*	030	- 044	094	076	- 041	105	095	.165**	002
FATED9	.151**	103**	157**	106	221**	166**	038	055	122	186**	- 010	186**	014	271**	-.018
PARVALS	- 024	- 042	- 009	- 111	-.153*	014	- 061	- 054	-.054	- 031	032	- 155*	059	- 118	.075
LOVING	-.010	-.003	- 003	- 051	- 175**	-.019	-.080	023	029	-.024	- 124	000	- 029	.015	- 146*
PUNISH	- 023	011	- 030	-.057	039	071	- 037	061	- 062	.043	.003	041	1030	090	-.128
DEMAND	-.028	051	-.035	013	- 091	- 071	- 117	075	054	-.015	-.048	017	- 075	048	-.210**
INDTRN	064*	-.009	.044	.054	- 119	022	104	-.012	044	012	- 078	-.003	-.043	049	-.028
IQ	- 021	- 059	- 122**	- 123*	-.142*	- 115	-.245**	- 043	- 153*	- 053	- 010	- 342**	-.121	-.296**	-.097
MDED9	-.046	017	- 100**	-.090	-.227**	.021	-.025	005	- 044	-.055	-.015	-.173**	.043	-.056	-.008
MZED9	- 115**	-.042	- 252**	-.080	- 162*	- 096	- 009	- 013	- 150*	-.070	029	- 293**	-.137*	-.293**	-.058
SOI69	- 048	- 007	- 142**	-.085	046	-.067	.033	- 053	.051	-.056	.058	-.216**	-.091	-.152*	- 034
PARHS69	.007	-.013	- 140**	055	-.136*	023	-.015	.047	- 008	- 018	- 056	- 267**	- 091	- 122*	- 074
PARDRP69	.029	-.005	139**	-.002	.100	107	.017	- 008	- 077	.142*	-.054	.249**	.117	.154*	.017
EMACH69	005	.001	-.105**	-.089	018	-.032	-.018	- 055	-.001	-.018	- 088	-.144*	- 106	- 048	-.181*
SELCON	- 005	024	-.074*	-.011	020	-.039	008	017	.059	-.087	060	-.092	-.025	-.090	.014
LEA69	- 089**	-.017	- 199**	- 139*	-.031	-.111	.051	.001	- 045	-.087	.015	-.238**	-.019	-.183**	-.185*
LOA69	.032	.009	-.042	146*	- 137*	035	-.098	.066	-.142*	.043	-.148*	008	076	-.053	-.122
HSGPA	073*	- 021	-.115**	019	000	- 011	-.020	012	-.083	- 059	-.015	- 129*	-.107	- 241**	- 173*
MARR	---	392**	422**	---	---	---	---	.326**	.399**	512**	265**	.396**	005	.530**	.240**
EARLYFRT	---	---	.305**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.127*	.105	.511**	.456**
DROPOUT	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

* Significant at the .05 level (two tail test)
** Significant at the .01 level (two tail test)