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PSYCHOLOGICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC
CONCERNS OF THE TEENAGE FATHER

by

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INTRODUCTION

It is estimated that more than one million teenage women in the United States become pregnant every year (Planned Parenthood, 1976). Obviously there is a one-to-one correspondence between this number and the number of adolescent males involved in teenage pregnancies. Most of these males are teenagers themselves (Sorensen, 1973). In 1974, there were 608,000 births to teenage mothers, and teenage girls underwent an estimated 300,000 abortions (Duxbury, 1976). A male was involved in each of these cases, and in most instances, the male was a teenager.

Early pregnancy is associated with serious health, socioeconomic and demographic implications for young women, young men, their offspring, and indeed, for society as a whole (Planned Parenthood, 1976). Pregnancy occurring at any time in life, to any couple, is a major event, involving many changes. During adolescence, the emotional, educational, and social problems presented by pregnancy become even more complex, as they are added to a number of turbulence-producing developmental tasks, such as, extricating oneself from parental dependency, learning skills to enhance financial independence, developing one's sexual identity, and developing an adult sense of identity (Duxbury, 1976). The

dependency which is induced by pregnancy provides a conflicting situation for the growing adolescent, creating ambivalence, anxiety, and decreasing self-esteem.

During the early sixties the plight of the pregnant school-ager was brought to the public's attention, and specialized services for pregnant adolescents emerged. However, the absence of services for the male in these programs reflects Margaret Mead's (1949, p. 196) observations that "fathers are a biological necessity, but a social accident." Klerman and Jekel said of acknowledging the father's role in teenage pregnancy,

Almost nothing was planned for the father of the baby, and although awareness of the need to include him in the programs eventually developed, a lack of understanding of his needs, and the limited resources for working directly with him, hampered the effort.

(1973, p. x)

While most services and almost all school districts have not yet devised a technique for including boys in their teenage pregnancy programs, this void needs to be filled. The needs of pregnant girls are but one aspect of the often expressed concern for "the teenage parent." Young fathers also require assistance to enable them to meet the considerable responsibilities which they have assumed (Smith, 1976). By including young men in such programs, a strengthened family structure is promoted, and potential children are also served when recognized that it takes two parents to contribute to the maintenance of children.

Statement of Problem

There is a need for greater understanding of the psychological, sociological and economic concerns of adolescent males who have been involved in a teenage pregnancy. With increased understanding of this aspect of a teenage pregnancy, school and community based programs can be designed to meet the needs of both males and females.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to add to the body of knowledge relating to the father's role in teenage pregnancy--his attitudes, problems, and the decisions he makes regarding the alternatives before him. This information could be useful to educators, social workers, and community planners, among others, for as Konopka (1966) said, "the 20th century demands better knowledge of how to help, not only for the sake of the individual in trouble, but also for the sake of the whole society" (p. 2). The study was neither for nor against young fathers; it is only a means of finding out more about them, in order to help them meet any of the needs they may have.

The factors which motivated this research were diverse and compelling. As an educator, this investigator has had many interactions with teenage fathers in which the supportive services made available to them were inadequate to satisfy their many needs. Her teaching practice has also been affected by recent legislation which considers only

pregnant girls; the legislation doesn't extend to the needs of the teenage fathers which are, in the opinion of the researcher, just as pressing as those of the pregnant female.

The Sample

This report is based on interviews with seventeen white males, ranging in age from 17 to 19, all from Southern Wisconsin. All of the conceptions had taken place within a year prior to the date of interview. All of the young men were unmarried at the time of conception; most of them were unmarried at the time of the interview. Most were contacted through their wives or girlfriends.

Limitations of the Study

The sample that was studied had several biases. As noted above, the principal source of interviewees was the partners of the young men themselves. The fact that these girls were first approached, then would describe the study to their husbands or boyfriends, who would, in turn, accept the invitation to be interviewed, probably indicates something about the couple's channels of communication. The sample consisted only of those couples who maintain frequent contact with each other, a significant factor when one observes that a key aspect of this research is how the teenage father perceives his role, how he feels about his partner, and what are the sources of support to which he has access. The process by which interviewees were selected excludes a segment of teenage fathers--those who no longer

have contact with their partners. It is difficult to contact males who are willing to be studied, due to the very personal nature of the issues under consideration. Helping agencies insist upon maintaining the confidentiality of their records, parents are often unwilling to admit to the community that their children have been involved in a pregnancy, and the young men themselves may sometimes be mistrustful of adults asking questions. These obstacles in reaching subjects seem to be a problem common to other investigators who have studied adolescent fathers.

Another limitation of the study was that most of the subjects were known by the investigator prior to the interviews. Since the researcher was acquainted with them and since they were familiar with the nature of her study, a significant "compliance factor" may have been present. The young men may have been eager to help the researcher obtain the necessary information, and may have altered their responses to produce "acceptable" data. Their statements may not have been as spontaneous and candid as they would have been with a completely disinterested third party.

A third limitation is that this small sample consisted only of Midwestern interviewees. Since social values, especially sexual mores, are known to vary widely from one geographic region to another, and since each group of adolescent males could have its own individual characteristics (Pannor, Massarik, and Evans, 1971), the attitudes and concerns revealed in these interviews may represent

regional or individual variations.

Definition of Terms

In this study, the term "adolescent" will designate any person between the ages of 13 and 19, inclusive.

The term "father" will be used to indicate a male whose sexual partner has become pregnant. This term will be applicable if the pregnancy is allowed to continue and a baby is born or until the pregnancy is terminated by some other means.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The Father's Role in Contemporary Society

Coping with an unscheduled pregnancy is a life crisis that has multiple antecedents and a myriad of consequences (Busfield, DiBiase and Haughey, 1969). When a teenage girl discovers she is pregnant, she has various alternatives to consider, and often these decisions are reached with the help of her boyfriend. Varying sources report that from one-third to one-half of teenage pregnancies are terminated in abortion (Nye, 1977; Planned Parenthood, 1976; Sklar and Berkov, 1973). Nye noted that some young men are affected by feelings of guilt or regret if a pregnancy is terminated (Nye, 1977), but by far the greatest influences are exerted on the young couple if the pregnancy is allowed to continue, in which case, they become "parents," and various further outcomes are possible if this choice is made.

The effects of a pregnancy on the father are, of course, vastly different depending on whether or not he marries the mother and tries to support and rear the child. Approximately 40% of all boys marry their pregnant partners (Nye, 1977). For whites, the percentage is even higher: 72% of those who conceived premaritally married before the delivery of their child (Furstenberg, 1976). Of these marriages,

60% dissolve within six years of marriage. Even after one year, 20% are ended, two and one-half times the proportion of broken marriages among cohorts who weren't pregnant premaritally (Green and Lowe, 1976). This may be due in part to the fact that they marry girls for whom they don't have a strong emotional commitment (Nye, 1977).

The boys who marry often interrupt schooling and training that would prepare them for better jobs. The single most accurate predictive factor of marital failure related to an unplanned pregnancy is the precarious economic status of the boy who either fathers an out-of-wedlock child or marries a single mother. Before they ever marry, most of these boys have a low earning potential. An ill-timed marriage usually limits their opportunities for economic advancement, since it forces them to quit school and enter the job market under unfavorable circumstances. This makes it difficult for fathers of unplanned children to find steady jobs that pay well. It is for this reason that a disproportionate number of children "on welfare" were either born out-of-wedlock, or conceived prior to marriage.

The financial obstacles for teenage parents are emphasized over and over again in the literature. Duxbury said that teenage parents' lack of education decreases their job opportunities and income potential, hindering them in terms of occupation, income and assets (1976). Zongker (1977) reiterated the problem, saying that a vicious circle emerges when educational preparation, which would increase

young peoples' potential for obtaining better jobs in the future, is shortened.

For those fathers who remain unmarried, there are other conflicts. They are frequently excluded from planning because the girl and her parents are often reluctant to make an issue of his participation if he does not volunteer to play a role (Zackler and Brandstadt, 1975). Pannor found that society expects the unmarried father to simply disappear from the scene. A symbolic figure only, his needs, insecurities, and guilt feelings are ignored; while his partner's hostility towards him is reinforced. He remains forgotten until he is called upon to support the child (Pannor, et al., 1971). The problems of the father, then are primarily social ones, rather than legal ones which may have simpler solutions (Pannor and Evans, 1975).

Whether the father marries or not, a major portion of his role is to provide economic support for his partner and the child. This is often a difficult task, since he is unprepared to enter the job market, or if he does, many other opportunities are placed out of reach. Three months after the birth of the child, two-thirds of all fathers are contributing at least something financially for mother and baby. This number drops with time, so that two years after the baby's birth, only 44% are contributing. The proportion is higher for white fathers, since their employment opportunities are better (Lorenzi, Klerman and Jekel, 1977).

The father has a legal responsibility to support his child--regardless of his age, or whether he is married to the child's mother. This legal responsibility continues until the child is 18 or is legally adopted by someone else. The father relinquishes his legal rights however, to the mother. After the conception, the father cannot decide to interrupt the pregnancy or to offer the baby for adoption, although his opinion may have some influence on the mother's decision (Nye, 1977).

Pannor et al. (1971) amplified this argument. He stated that some fathers, either entirely of their own accord, or with the help of a social service agency, exercise their legal rights by establishing paternity, legitimizing the child, and by considering other alternatives, such as adoption, or working feasible solutions, in the best interests of all concerned. Pannor admonished that if a single father does not exercise his legal rights, he is likely to forfeit them.

If a couple does not marry, a father can acknowledge his paternity voluntarily by signing legal papers, stating that he is the father of the child. In cases where he is unwilling to acknowledge paternity, a court action can be brought by the mother to have the man legally declared the father of her child (Howard, 1975).

The Causes of Teenage Pregnancy

The major reason for teenage conception is,

expectably, inadequate birth control measures. Sorensen (1973) reports that only 33% of girls currently engaging in intercourse always use a contraceptive judged to be scientifically reliable, while 45% of the boys responded that they always used some form of birth control. The methods teenagers use are not always very reliable. Of those girls who report that they always use a contraceptive, 19% cite "trusting to luck" that they won't become pregnant, and eight percent say their contraceptive method consists of not thinking about whether or not they might become pregnant. Of the girls surveyed, however, one-third use the most reliable method, oral contraceptives (Sorensen, 1973). Planned Parenthood (1976) reported that 66% of sexually-active adolescents never use any contraceptive methods, or use the less effective over-the-counter or folk methods, and half of the fifteen-to nineteen-year-olds are not receiving family-planning help from either organized clinics or physicians.

Contrary to what might be expected, the literature does not support the idea that teenagers fail to use contraception only because they are not knowledgeable. Most adolescents have at least a limited knowledge of birth control. The majority are able to mention at least two or three contraceptive techniques (Furstenberg, 1976). Their knowledge, however, in most cases is extremely superficial. Few seem to actually realize the possibility of becoming pregnant. They are completely unaware of the biological

processes involved (Furstenberg, 1976). Over and over again in the literature, teenagers declare that they "didn't believe it would happen to them" (Furstenberg, 1976).

For many teens, remaining unconcerned with contraception is a means of denying their own sexuality. Society's prohibitions of sex are not strong enough for them to avoid intercourse, but are forceful enough to cause them to fail to admit they're engaging in sex. By denying their need for contraception, they can convince themselves that they're still moral (Rains, 1971).

For many teenagers, reliable contraception is simply unavailable. They report that they cannot afford it, that doctors dispensing it are patronizing or abusive to them, and that they are unaware of agencies which supply birth control information and devices free of charge (Sorensen, 1973).

Even when teenagers have information on birth control, and contraception is accessible for them, many factors decrease their motivation to practice birth control. Many report simply that they forget to use contraception or that they are careless. For others, it is "just too much trouble" (Sorensen, 1973). The second and third most frequently used methods (withdrawal and condoms) are both very disruptive methods requiring either a pause in love-making or a somewhat frustrating cessation of intercourse (Scales, 1977).

Related to this aesthetic obstacle is teenagers' belief that making advance provisions for contraception interferes with the spontaneity of their intercourse. About 65% of teenagers report that by using contraception, a girl makes it seem as if she is planning to engage in intercourse (Sorensen, 1973).

Another variable which detracts from teens' use of birth control is the fact that 60% of them are afraid their parents will find their contraceptives (Sorensen, 1973). And as one could guess, most adolescents wish to conceal their sexual activity from their parents (Furstenberg, 1976).

A paradoxical belief held by teens regarding who is responsible for contraception also plays a role in adolescent pregnancy. Girls report that they often expect their partners to use contraception (Furstenberg, 1976) while about 65% of the boys report that they either assume or make sure that their partners are using contraception, although they are unaware of what that form of contraception is (Sorensen, 1976).

Besides inadequate or inappropriate contraceptive measures, there are other causes for the epidemic nature of teenage pregnancies. For several reasons sexual activity has been occurring earlier in recent decades. Young people use sex for physical pleasure, as a means of communication, as a search for a new experience, as an index of maturity, to conform with peers, to challenge society and parents, to

escape from other pressures (Sorensen, 1973).

Duxbury (1976) concluded that adolescent reproduction is significantly affected by attitudinal changes regarding appropriate social behavior, family structure, and the woman's role in society and family. In reference to women's roles, Howard (1975) declared that if women are prepared in early childhood for meaningful part or full time careers, useful hobbies, and active participation in the community as well as marriage, childbearing, and child-rearing, they can express their femininity and identity in other ways than sexual ones.

Another psychological variable influencing early sexuality is that the period of adolescence, with its corresponding dependency has now been prolonged. Entry into the labor market has been delayed, and school attendance has been lengthened, which many adolescents perceive as a meaningless occupation (Klerman, 1975). If adolescents don't see a wide variety of options in their future, they may see sex and/or marriage as a way out of an unchallenging personal situation (Howard, 1975).

Early sexual activity may occur as a result of pressure from the media. Teens may also face pressure from peers. They may actually feel ambivalent about having sex, but engage in intercourse because they are led to believe that abstention is abnormal (Green, 1976). Because the modern father's role is not a clearly-defined one, the adolescent boy is forced to turn to his peers and other

significant adults, to attempt to define his masculine role. These significant others selectively reinforce masculine, or "virile" behavior (Lynn, 1974). Lynn (1974) goes on to dispel some stereotypes about unwed fathers. Contrary to the myth that the unwed father is an older man who is careless with his randomly-chosen sex partners, young girls upon whom he forces his attentions, or, alternatively, that he feels a great deal of guilt or remorse, Lynn found that the average unmarried father tends to be of the same age and educational level as the mother. He found, however, that many of these boys are more active, and are capable of less self-control than other boys. A weak ego differentiation, rather than a lack of intellectual ability or social skills, makes them appear immature and irresponsible, and makes it difficult for them to prove their masculinity.

Many researchers have found that teenage girls who become pregnant are manipulative in their intentions. Pannor et al. (1971) reported that males often see their partners as "predatory" and that one in ten females uses the sex act merely as a means of pleasing her partner. Another eight percent of the girls say they used the sex act as a means of holding the father. For decades, researchers have lent support to the stereotype that females' becoming pregnant is not necessarily an accident--some schoolage girls actually want to become pregnant as a means of getting revenge, gaining attention, receiving adult status, or acquiring someone to love, or someone who will love them (Klerman and Jekel,

1973). Surprisingly, though, Lynn (1974) has also found that males, too, may desire their capacity to father. He said that perhaps unmarried fathers want children, born out-of-wedlock, as symbols, rather than for their own sake.

Extrapolating on this line of thought, we find the notion that early sexuality and parenthood may be a form of psychological or social deviance. Unmarried fathers were often illegitimate themselves and had siblings who have illegitimate children (Lynn and Robbins, 1973). Lynn (1974) found that sons who sired illegitimate children often had an unhealthy father-son relationship. Their own fathers' influences were the key to their moral development; and their aggressive struggles to prove their masculinity were symptoms of their fathers' lack of warmth and nurturance. Cohen's (1960) remarks possibly reflect the atmosphere of the decade in which he wrote. He stated that this deviance shows fundamental defects in the boy's basic personality structures, outlooks, beliefs and values, goals, interests, temperament, needs, and drives. Other authors (Busfield, DiBiase, and Haughey, 1969) hypothesized that unwed pregnancy is only another one of a series of life crisis in which the boys exhibit maladaptive coping responses to stress, or in other words unscheduled pregnancy is a learned behavioral response to the environment. Furstenberg (1976) put forth the argument that adolescents who become pregnant are different to begin with. Rather than being the cause of a different lifestyle, adolescent parenthood is the result

of their initial differences. According to Furstenberg, their entire life course represents their dissimilarities from the majority.

Why School-Age Pregnancy is a Problem

Teenage pregnancy is a social problem because it violates cultural expectations. It is clearly a "disturbance in the normative schedule" (Furstenberg, 1976, p. 4) resulting in premature transition to an adult status, propelling young people into a situation that they are unwilling or unprepared to assume. These positions may be irreversible, leading to social immobility, and subsequent discontent. Persons thus entrapped may come to feel that it is too late to catch up. The possibility of change may become threatening; they may be unwilling to relinquish their current status even when opportunities for change arise (Furstenberg, 1976). Klerman and Jekel (1973) stated that convention still decrees that a baby be raised by a married couple, living apart from their parents; and that the father provide enough income for the family's needs.

Adolescent parents may suffer social disadvantage precisely because they are not adequately equipped or fully socialized to handle their new responsibilities. Problems in marriage, work, birth control, or childbearing arise because they are denied, or fail to acquire, the experience or training necessary to perform adult roles as completely as those who delay entry into parenthood.

Besides thrusting the teenager into an adult role, it removes him from the support of his peers, and the resources available to people who defer parenthood until after marriage (Furstenberg, 1976).

Early parenthood removes the possibilities for educational, vocational, and social experiences the adolescent would otherwise acquire to prepare him or her for adult roles, including parenthood (Furstenberg, 1976). For the first time in life, the teenage parent may experience loneliness. Up until marriage, he has always been with friends at school (Klemer and Powell, 1970). Working all day, and being separated from former companions, creates a sense of loss, and the girl who stays at home all day frequently broods and is excessively self-concerned. Klemer and Powell (1970) cited economic difficulties as a problem even more salient for teenage parents than is social deprivation. With a curtailed education and only a marginally adequate job, the young husband must meet the normal expenses of independent housekeeping, together with other debts. Many teenage parents have no hospitalization insurance, so the hospital fees and doctor bills for a baby's birth can be staggering. Planned Parenthood (1976) supported this contention, saying that 75% of mothers seventeen and younger are not protected by health or hospitalization insurance.

If the infant is "abnormal," a potentially long-term debt can be acquired, in addition to the other expenses.

Nye (1977) indicated that this probability is quite likely. There is a much greater risk of prematurity, mental retardation, birth injury, and congenital defects in teenage pregnancies.

One of the most serious and lasting problems in early pregnancies and marriages is that they often predispose both partners to a lower social class status than either might have had if education had been completed before pregnancy occurred. Without high school diplomas, neither husband nor wife can find jobs which elevate them from a hand-to-mouth economic situation. In itself, this is a waste of human resources, but it also leads to a negative outlook for both partners, and a greater chance that the marriage will dissolve.

Duxbury (1976) stated that recent statistics show that marriage may not be the best alternative for both parties. If half the teenage marriages dissolve in five years, they may not really be an effective support system at all. She felt that many young adolescent parents who do marry and move away from their parents' homes may be more disadvantaged than the single mother who remains with her family. Yet, the single mother confronts a multitude of developmental difficulties. There seem to be no easy answers.

Klemer and Powell (1970) noted that young people usually are poorly informed about infant care and home management. This makes them especially vulnerable to sales promotion schemes and loan sharks.

Adolescent parenthood frequently leads to a welfare dependency, at least temporarily and often for a prolonged period. In our society, dependence on welfare support for the necessities is frowned upon, particularly for able persons of working age.

Lynn (1974) found that the lower class is more tolerant of nonpermanent marital relationships, occurring either with informal living arrangements, or when the male leaves his family to look for work. When a lower-class man is torn between his financial responsibility for his family's support, and an economic situation making it nearly impossible to meet those requirements, it is easy to see why he is reluctant to marry initially, or is likely to leave the family after marriage if he cannot measure up to expectations.

Another element of the teenage pregnancy issue is the fact that it becomes a crisis episode. A person who is in the midst of a crisis, overwhelmed by stresses, often finds it difficult to arrive at workable solutions, or to attach meaning to the episode. Adolescents are still to some degree dependent on adults, no matter how dogmatic they seem (Zackler and Brandstadt, 1975). Because they are in a crisis situation, adolescents commonly withhold information and concerns about their sexual activity and pregnancy from adults who could be of assistance until it is too late to intervene (Duxbury, 1976). Even when services are available, young people frequently try to problem-solve on their own, without adult help, because they are ignorant of

services, lack knowledge about the pregnancy, and are afraid of parents' reactions. As a result, they may delay requesting help from services until it's too late to be useful. Even if a community possesses a wide range of services, self-referrals are not likely, unless other young people who have satisfactory experiences with the particular service recommend it. Usually, the young person's pregnancy-related problem is brought to the attention of a teacher, clergyman, or other professional, and is then referred to an appropriate agency (Duxbury, 1976).

There are other problems in marriage and family life if the couple chooses against adoption or single motherhood. De Lissovoy (1973) demonstrated that teenage parents are frequently unfamiliar with developmental norms for children. Their concepts of what was physiologically or developmentally expectable for their children are often grossly exaggerated. Teenage parents express uneasiness at their babies' crying and use corporal punishment to control their infants. The majority of teenage parents are very ignorant about what to expect of a child. Their experience with parenting is often inadequate for what the fragile infant requires (Duxbury, 1976). Young people who have become parents accidentally or out of submission to social pressures express resentment toward their children. Overcome by responsibilities they didn't anticipate, and don't know how to deal with; and often removed from opportunities for their own continued development, they frequently use their

children as an escape valve for their frustrations. Some may also revenge or relive harsh treatment they themselves received when younger (Ogg, 1975). Looking at all these risk factors--unrealistic developmental expectations, frustrated drives and poorly learned means of dealing with them, and bitter childhood experiences of their own--it is easy to recognize prime candidates for child abusers.

Another family problem which may result is repeat unscheduled pregnancies. Having a baby at seventeen or younger is related to having additional children in rapid succession. One-sixth of all girls who give birth to a child before they are eighteen are giving birth to their second or third child. The parents' problems in supporting and caring for more children born in rapid sequence are also further increased (Nye, 1977). Being back in school post-partum is a positive indicator for delaying subsequent pregnancies (Lorenzi, et al., 1977), which supports the premise, again, that being outside a school setting, removed from peers and typical adolescent tasks, tends to disrupt the adolescent's normative development.

Services Provided to Pregnant Teens

Nationally. Concern over teenage pregnancy grew in the sixties, when the number of teenage pregnancies was increasing rapidly, there was great concern regarding overpopulation, sexual behavior patterns were changing, the appeal of early marriage was diminishing, and the government

began noticing the social and economic implications of teenage pregnancy (Furstenberg, 1976).

Significant progress has been made in teenage pregnancy programs. Today, more than 300 communities have established interagency programs to provide comprehensive services to schoolage girls who remain with their parents during pregnancy, and, in the majority of cases keep their babies (Braen and Forbush, 1975).

The Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare advanced community-based comprehensive services by establishing a pilot program providing for continuing education in the classroom, early and consistent prenatal and postnatal care and counseling, day care, job training and placement, and parenting skills (Braen and Forbush, 1975).

By the early seventies, two divergent educational thrusts had emerged for pregnant students. One alternative was for the girl to stay in regular school, and the other was to offer special classes in the regular school or in a separate facility. Gradually, other delivery systems have appeared. Rather than seeking the best educational approach, their goal is to support and enhance each girl's motivation to continue her education, especially after her baby is born. For educators involved in planning, this represents a challenge--providing the necessary individualized educational services for students. Thousands of young mothers have kept their babies, and are attempting to fulfill their

parenting role, but at present, little hard data exists regarding the consequences of teenage parenting.

To help solve this problem, the Offices of Education Child Development of HEW jointly launched a major program for teaching parenting skills to both boys and girls. Implemented five years ago, it called for Education for Parenthood programs in 500 local school districts. Its purpose is to intervene in the primary prevention of pregnancy (Braen and Forbush, 1975).

Many short-term schoolage parent programs have been set up to prevent school drop-outs and avoid repeat pregnancies. They are usually unable to maintain contact with young parents and to have a continuous effect on their lives (Braen and Forbush, 1975).

In Wisconsin. Chapter 115 of the Wisconsin State Statutes denotes pregnancy, including up to two months after the birth of the baby or any other termination of pregnancy, as a condition which may require exceptional educational services to supplement or replace regular education. A bulletin sent from the coordinator of the schoolage parent program (Smith, 1976) acknowledges the need for including young fathers, but does not develop this idea.

Exclusion of the male in teenage pregnancy programs. It should be evident to the reader that although increasing attention has been focused on the problem of teenage pregnancy and providing services to prevent the social, psychological, and economic consequences of unscheduled

pregnancy, consideration for the father's role has seldom been mentioned. Where reference has been made to the male, observations usually exist in the form of "lip service" only. The need to include the male in planning is acknowledged, but no concrete measures are taken to do so. The literature generally focuses, too, on the married father's economic and social difficulties. Although psychologists recognize that the unmarried father has many emotional and social adjustments to make, and a few broad-minded researchers even mention his need to express and work through his feelings, and his requirements for counseling, few provisions have been made to meet these needs.

A current compilation of statements on sex education and contraceptive services revealed that only one of the thirty organizational statements collected specifically mentioned the need for additional efforts to include males in any counseling or provision of services. The male role is minimized early in life, also. Most studies indicate that boys are recipients of even less sex education than are girls (Scales, 1977). It is important to emphasize two known facts here. The first is that male contraceptive methods account for almost one-half of the birth control measures taken by teenagers. The second fact is that institutional and socio-cultural values frequently discourage male participation and diminish the man's role in family planning decisions. From one standpoint, it is miraculous that males are so involved in contraceptive use despite

devaluation of male participation. From another standpoint, this phenomenon can be explained, not by a high degree of involvement and awareness on the boys' part but rather by observing the nature of most adolescent sexual behavior, the peer group context of male socialization, and some apparently changing historical trend variables in method of contraception (Scales, 1977).

The advantages and benefits which accrue from raising children are too many to be enjoyed only by females. Many fathers describe their anguish at being unfamiliar within their own families (De Frain, 1972).

Social agencies have overlooked the unmarried father for many decades. They can no longer afford to do this, however, and the father's involvement, now mandated by law, has forced the improvement of social services. Helping single fathers to make responsible decisions can be beneficial to father, mother, and the future child (Pannor, 1975).

Adolescent Male Attitudes on Selected Issues

Attitudes toward self. Self awareness is the principal characteristic of adolescence. Adolescents seek personal identify, trying to justify and interpret the world around them in accordance with their own values. They also feel pressured to adopt the conventions of their society, especially in relation to sex. Adolescents not only feel that their values are different from the older generation--

they feel that their values are superior. The majority of young people are convinced that they have a value system, but on the whole, they do not tend to be satisfied with how they apply their values to their lives (Sorensen, 1973).

They object to obligations and limitations imposed upon them, and bridle when older people label them as "children." Nonetheless, they are ambivalent in this regard. They often feel like children.

Most adolescents perceive themselves as falling short of realizing their full potential. They have been trained to view their self-realization in terms of what they do, rather than what they want to be. Self-realization through sex and love assumes a major role for them, because sexuality provides a means of being through doing (Sorensen, 1973).

The son's sense of masculinity is related to his father's influence. If the father is present and a nurturing influence, the son has less need to prove his masculinity. If the father is overly dominant, the son's moral judgment may be diminished (Lynn, 1974).

Young people have been found to identify with members of their age cohort more than they do with others of their own ethnicity, religion, geographic area or sex (Sorensen, 1973). As Duxbury (1976) noted, adolescents involved in pregnancy often may seek information, counseling and social support from peers, rather than from agencies designated to offer such services, because they fear adults censoring

attitudes and alternatively, trust their friends.

Attitudes On Sex.

Males are able to cite more reasons why they should become sexually involved with someone, while females give more reasons for avoiding involvement. One reason cited for their sexual involvement was having the opportunity for sex (Scales, 1977). About 50% said their first intercourse occurred because of sexual appetite or desire (15% of the females responded similarly). Ten percent of the males said their first experience occurred because they were in love, while 40% of the females responded in the same way. Over half the males wanted to have intercourse, but one study found that two-thirds wanted to marry a virgin (Schofield, 1973).

Males and females were found to have "planned" first intercourse in equal proportions, but first male coitus was with a casual partner, and first female coitus was linked with a long-term relationship with the partner. This suggests that males planned for sexual success (Simon and Gagnon, 1974). However, 50% agreed that it would be wrong to have sex with a partner whom they'd just met and hadn't become acquainted with (Scales, 1977).

A small percentage of males (15%) carry condoms with them, but do not use them. Some researchers feel that this allows them a vicarious participation in sexuality; others feel it may make them more sexually attractive to women, who

are typically more concerned about pregnancy than males are (Scales, 1977).

Fifty percent of unmarried fathers surveyed in one study reported that sex was "fun." Twelve percent admitted to some feelings of guilt, regarding sex, but case-workers in the study reported that they perceived guilt feelings in 60% of these men. They concluded that "guilt" and fun emerged as "uneasy partners" in the sexual relationship. Simple exploitation or trickery occurs rarely, all the folklore notwithstanding (Pannor, et al., 1971).

Sorensen (1973) found that sexual activity whets the appetite for more sexual activity, since adolescents feel that unique among human activities, in sex there is always something new to be discovered. He also feels that boys learn how to gratify their sex partners, despite their own protestations to the contrary. All adolescents sampled believed that their sex lives were normal for their age group. Sex does not have a very high priority for them when ranked with other activities; having sex with more than one person is ranked as second least important activity for all boys. Seventy percent of them say they do what they want to sexually, regardless of what society thinks (Sorensen, 1973).

Attitudes on marriage and love. Sorensen (1973) claimed that love is a goal that most young people seek, but that transitory love is just as real as "durable" love for the adolescent. Mutuality is emphasized. One result of

this mutuality is a lessening need to require sex as a fundamental condition of love.

A majority of young people, seventy percent, believe that love lasts as long as both partners live, if the two people are really in love. Few of them believe they have experienced this type of love. Of the boys interviewed, 60% agreed that it is possible for love to be real and strong, and yet only last for a few years. This type of dichotomy between the real and the ideal is typical of the adolescent seeking to put order in the world around him.

Again related to this dichotomy, Sorensen (1973) discovered that young people are concerned about the effects of marriage on love. They see merging the affection of friendship with the affection of a sexual relationship as a very difficult task.

Almost forty percent of boys surveyed felt that they were able to have simultaneous, loving relationships with more than one person, and indeed felt that this was desirable. However, Sorensen also found that boys are more possessive than girls. Boys don't believe their girlfriends would have sexual relations with anyone else, but girls relate that their boyfriends are having sex with others.

Regarding marriage, Sorensen found that: 60% of boys think it's natural for two people in love to want to get married; 70% say marriage makes sex more enjoyable, because the couple belongs to each other; there is less likelihood of the couple separating; society sanctions their

union. Many young people, however, believe that this sanction is merely a technical one, and prefer more informal relationships (Sorensen, 1973).

Relationships with Parents

On learning of an unscheduled pregnancy, parents' first response is often one of shock or anger, followed by supportive, encouraging actions. Often their reactions result from fears that their children will miss out on opportunities typical for teenagers (Howard, 1975). Furstenberg (1976) notes, however, that it is paradoxical for adults to be shocked at their children's sexual activity, when three-fourths of them were aware that most teenagers in the neighborhood were sexually active. He suggests that parents may have a stake in remaining ill-informed.

Understandably, there is a good deal of evidence which suggests that a parent's experiences and attitudes regarding sex are transmitted to his children (Zackler and Brandstadt, 1975). Lynn (1974) reemphasized that the father's attitudes influenced the son's masculinity. A related finding is Zachler and Bernstadt's assertion that parents are often directly responsible for their adolescents' self-image and self-esteem. If they have been treated with clearly-defined standards and limits, respect and acceptance, they develop self-reliance and independence. If, on the other hand, parents are either extremely permissive, and use strict, vengeful, or physical punishment, the needs and expectations involved in sex, pregnancy and parenthood are often based on

chronically negative self-image, low levels of self-esteem and feelings of emptiness, worthlessness, and hopelessness about themselves and their future (Zachler and Brandstadt, 1975). Pannor and Evans (1975) said that the roles of parents or other authority figures are important in the decision-making process surrounding pregnancy.

Their Own Parenthood

Repeatedly, the literature reports that teens involved in pregnancy express "shock," "disbelief," and "surprise," as their first reaction to discovery of the pregnancy (Furstenberg, 1976). It seems that youth make little connection between the sex act and its consequences (Scales, 1977; Sorensen, 1973; Pannor, et al., 1971). Pannor et al. (1971) said that awareness of the consequences of intercourse is conspicuous in its absence. Isolation of acts from consequences suggests an orientation with the present, as opposed to planned behavior affecting the future. In one study, 75% of unmarried fathers were found to be concerned with the present rather than trying to predict future outcomes (1971). Forty percent of males say they never worry about their partner's becoming pregnant (Libby, 1970).

Several authors also suggest that the pregnancy is a period of intense stress for the father. Lynn (1974) said that pregnancy could intensify the father's separation anxiety, remind him of his childhood conflicts with his own

parents, and increase his dependency. Colman (1971) cited numerous physical symptoms in the father, again suggesting jealousy, or perhaps a more healthy reaction--a sympathetic response to their partners.

Alternative Outcomes for Unscheduled Pregnancy

Sorensen (1973) found that because unwed pregnancy is becoming more socially acceptable, abortion is becoming more socially acceptable, and therefore abortion is becoming a more accepted means of birth control. The preferred means of handling their girlfriend's pregnancy for 30% of the nonvirgin boys, would be abortion. On the nonvirgin boys surveyed, 25% said they would arrange and pay for their girlfriend's abortion. In contrast, 60% believe that abortion is morally wrong. The option preferred after abortion was either to have the baby and get married, or else have the baby and count on him to bring it up. The preferred alternative for 25% was to marry their partners; 24% would help the girl bring up the child. About 70% of the boys questioned indicated that no matter what the girl opted to do, they would support her in her decision (Sorensen, 1973). This indicates that they do feel responsibility beyond mere financial obligations, but that they feel their girlfriends have the ultimate jurisdiction over the outcome of the pregnancy.

On the future. Pannor et al. (1971) emphasizes that making decisions about the future of the child constitutes

the key problem for all concerned. He says the out-of-wedlock child is conceived in a fantasy and therefore the development of a reality orientation for the unmarried father is vital. In his study, caseworkers helped unmarried fathers move from fantasy to reality, making decisions more effectively regarding the future, and developing a more mature approach to the general problems of living.

Summary

When an unscheduled pregnancy occurs, there are many alternatives available to the teenage father. The nature of the consequences of such a pregnancy for the male and his sexual partner depend on what course of action they choose to take, but many of the options available to them result in social, economic, and educational and emotional disadvantages for both partners. The father's role in a teenage pregnancy is an awkward one; he has certain legal and social responsibilities, but claims few rights and little or no public sympathy.

The frequency of teenage pregnancies is increasing, largely due to ineffective contraceptive precautions. Birth control is inadequate because it is unavailable to adolescents, or because they are inadequately motivated to use it. Sexual activity is occurring earlier for teenagers, due to various societal attitude changes, effects of social pressure on teenagers from peers and the media, the psychological needs of both partners, and perhaps because of social deviance

on the part of the teenagers.

Schoolage pregnancy is a social problem because it is a disturbance in expected cultural patterns, and therefore, it cripples the teenage parents socially. Teenage parents are usually unprepared for the changes in their lives, and are ill-equipped educationally and financially to make these transitions. They are removed from peers, their primary source of support, as they are propelled into a crisis episode. Problems as varied as marital disruption, birth defects, and welfare dependency often accompany early pregnancy. The worst difficulty, though, is that these situations often become hopelessly repetitive, because teenagers lack the personal resources necessary to bring about their reversal.

The problems of teenage parents have been brought to the public's attention. Various types of programs have been implemented, with varying degrees of success. In Wisconsin, pregnancy is classified as a condition requiring specialized educational services.

The tragically short-sighted defect in all of these programs is the exclusion of the teenage father, perhaps because the programs or the public are unaware of the fathers' needs. In some programs, these needs are acknowledged, but no provisions are made to meet these needs.

Since the objective of this thesis was to examine male concerns in a teenage pregnancy, the major focus of the review of literature was on attitudes of adolescent males

regarding related issues: self-image, peer support and identification, sexuality, love and marriage, parental interactions, their own roles as parents, preferred outcomes for hypothetical pregnancies, and their own futures. Presumably, delineating these attitudes will afford us a better understanding of the teenage father's concerns, and this knowledge, in turn, will better enable us to plan school- and community-based programs to help serve him and the pregnant female.

The Method

To provide the maximum depth of response, the interview method was employed. This method was chosen in order to obtain more personal information than could have been obtained on a questionnaire or survey. By using the interview method, the researcher hoped to establish rapport

METHODOLOGY

The Sample

The sample consisted of seventeen white males from three rural secondary school districts in southern Wisconsin. The seventeen adolescents in the study were the only young men known to the researcher, coordinator of the "Schoolage Mothers" program in one of the three districts, whose sexual partners had conceived within the past year. It is recognized by the researcher that these subjects may not represent all of the unwed fathers in the area. However, there was difficulty in locating potential subjects due to any school or community agency's reluctance to reveal the names of their clients. This protective stance eliminated cooperative efforts with other schools and social service agencies. In practical terms, this meant that all the subjects in this study either directly, or indirectly through their partners, approached the researcher.

The Method

To provide the maximum depth of responses, the interview method was employed. This method was chosen in order to obtain more personal information than could have been obtained on a questionnaire or survey. By using the interview method, the researcher hoped to establish rapport

with the interviewees to obtain more frank and detailed information and to be able to follow up on incomplete or unclear responses. Before the study was begun, a practice interview was conducted with a male who wasn't included in the study. After this practice, the researcher's questioning techniques were analyzed and refined.

The Instrument

The interviews were comprised of two parts. The first part consisted of ten open-ended questions, regarding interpersonal relationships, concerns, and the individual's perception of his life situation. The interviewer provided some direction or structure to the responses. The second part of the interview was twelve word associations, which were used to help determine the interviewee's overall outlook on the variables currently affecting him.

The questions were chosen to reveal the boys' psychological, sociological, and economic concerns. The questions were generated on the basis of concerns of teenage pregnant girls, as abstracted from the review of literature, and on developmental issues which are common to adolescents in general. Words for the association part of the interview were chosen in relation to assumed concerns and decisions confronting the sample subjects.

The number of questions was limited to ten, so that the interviews would last less than 45 minutes. In devising both questions and association words, the researcher

attempted to establish a non-threatening non-judgmental tone, in which there would be no "loaded" questions, with suggested correct answers. With this type of question construction, and assurances of confidentiality, the young men were encouraged to be open and honest.

The instrument was pretested on a male who twice thought his girlfriend was pregnant. Slight modifications in the instrument were made following this test interview.

Data Collection and Analysis

The pregnant female, the sexual partner of the interviewee, was contacted, and the nature and purpose of the research was described to her. She secured the male's consent to conduct the interview, and then reported his acceptance to the researcher. At this point, the male was contacted by phone, to establish a time for the interview. During the telephone conversation the researcher and subject agreed upon a convenient time and place for the interview, where privacy would be possible. The researcher asked the male to suggest the location with the intention of meeting in a setting which would be comfortable for him. Interviews were held in the following locations: eleven in the school where the researcher teaches, five in the homes of the interviewees, and one in a private room on the local hospital's medical floor.

At the beginning of the interview, the males were assured of confidentiality, and their permission to tape

record the interview was requested. All of the subjects agreed to have the session tape-recorded.

The researcher conducted all of the interviews. They were transcribed at a later time.

Limitations of the Method

The face-to-face nature of the interviewing situation adds a variety of dynamics to the research setting which can impede candid responses. The researcher's position as teacher and coordinator of the "Schoolage Mothers" Program may have intimidated some of the subjects, as the school setting may have, also. Furthermore, this was the researcher's first attempt at interviewing, so she may not have drawn out the responses as completely as possible, or she may have encouraged some responses. This is true because interviewing is the one questioning method where the researcher controls the response given.

The timing of the interviews also creates obstacles to the accurate recording of data. They were conducted at only one time in the males' lives, and since humans' perceptions are affected by their experiences, these perceptions could have been markedly different at another time. The interviews were conducted over a six-week period, and the length of time elapsed since conception and since discovery of the pregnancy was different in each case. If the teenage father progresses through stages of, for example, shock, then anger, then rational acceptance, each one of

these males may have been interviewed at a different point in that sequence.

Since interviews are very much dependent on peoples' subjective observations, and since these interviews in particular rely on some retrospective self-examination, the human error inherent in memory and self-recognition, whether it be accidental or purposive, must be considered here.

Language is also a highly individual tool, and semantic differences may play in the results obtained in this study. Efforts were made, when constructing the instrument, to choose vocabulary which would be congruent with the understanding of an older adolescent. However, since the males involved had various educational experience, and various comprehension levels, it was difficult to standardize the questions so that they would be at the proper level of depth for all subjects. Also, it must be remembered that some people find it easier than others to express themselves verbally.

Finally, the interviewing method is time-consuming, and is generally utilized with smaller samples than is a questionnaire.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The descriptive analysis found in this chapter is presented in three sections. The first segment consists of tables and information describing the subjects in the study as well as information about their female sexual partners. The second section, in tables of excerpted quotations from the seventeen recorded interviews, reports the responses to the ten questions used in this research.

The last portion gives the seventeen subjects' word associations for the twelve words used by the interviewer.

In tables three through fourteen, the "subject number" will remain the same for each male, so the reader can follow one male's responses throughout the ten questions and the word associations.

A blank space was used, in tables three through twelve, when a girl's name or a city was mentioned by the subject. This was done to respect the privacy of the interviewee and his female partner.

TABLE 1
DESCRIPTION OF MALE SUBJECTS

	Number of Subjects	Percent
<u>Age of Subjects</u>		
17 years	4	24
18 years	6	35
19 years	7	41
<u>Educational Status</u>		
Currently enrolled in high school	3	18
Left high school before graduating	4	24
Graduated from high school	10	59
<u>Present Employment or School Status</u>		
High school	3	18
College or university	0	0
Farming	5	29
Non-skilled labor	7	41
Skilled labor	2	12
<u>Male Subjects' Parents' Marital Status</u>		
Married	15	88
Divorced	2	12
<u>Male Subject's Father's Occupations</u>		
Farming	9	53
Non-skilled labor	2	12
Skilled labor	4	23
Professional	2	12
<u>Male Subject's Mother's Occupations</u>		
Full time homemaker	7	41
Clerical	2	12
Non-skilled labor	5	29
Skilled labor	2	12
Professional	1	6

Table 1 is a description of the male subjects who were interviewed. They ranged in age from 17 to 19 years

old. More than half of the subjects were high school graduates; 25% had left high school before graduation. Slightly less than half were non-skilled laborers; more than 25% were farmers.

Almost all of the males' parents were living and married to each other at the time of the interviews. Over half of the males' fathers were farmers. Nearly half of their mothers were full time homemakers; more than 25% of the subjects' mothers held unskilled labor positions.

TABLE 2
DESCRIPTION OF FEMALE PARTNERS

	Number of Subjects	Percent
<u>Age of Female Partners</u>		
16 years	7	41
17 years	7	41
18 years	3	18
<u>Educational Status</u>		
Currently in high school	14	82
Had left high school	1	6
Graduated from high school	2	12
<u>Parent's Marital Status</u>		
Married	8	47
Divorced	5	29
Separated	3	18
Other	1*	6

*Father deceased; mother remarried.

Table 2 is a brief description of the female partners of the male interviewees. The females, as a group,

were younger than the males, ranging in age from 16 to 18 years. The largest percentage were currently enrolled in high school.

In indicating their parents' marital status, the females gave a wider variation of responses. Almost 50% said their parents were married; about one-quarter stated that their parents had divorced. Almost one-fifth of the sample indicated that their parents were separated; one girl said her mother had been widowed, and later remarried. More females than males in this study had a history of marital disruption in their homes; almost one-half reported that their parents were either divorced or separated.

TABLE 3

AGE OF SEXUAL PARTNERS AND PREGNANCY OUTCOME

Subject Number	Male's Age	Female Partner's Age	Outcome of Pregnancy (at time of interview)
1	17	16	Not married--baby
2	19	17	Married--expecting
3	17	16	Miscarriage
4	19	16	Married--baby
5	18	17	Married--baby
6	17	16	Married--expecting
7	18	16	Abortion
8	19	17	Married--expecting
9	19	18	Married--expecting
10	19	17	Married--expecting
11	18	17	Married--baby
12	18	16	Abortion
13	19	16	Married--baby

TABLE 3 (Cont.)

Subject Number	Male's Age	Female Partner's Age	Outcome of Pregnancy (at time of interview)
14	18	17	Married--baby
15	19	18	Married--baby
16	17	18	Abortion
17	18	16	Abortion

Table 3 shows the relationship between the ages of the sexual partners, and indicates the disposition of each pregnancy at the time of the interview. All conceptions had occurred within one year of the interview, therefore some females were pregnant at the time of the male's interview while others had small babies.

There were no marriages among the couples who had experienced spontaneous or induced abortions. All but one of the couples who chose to continue the pregnancy got married.

TABLE 4

SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 1

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
	1. What was your first reaction when you found that _____ was pregnant?
1	"Surprise. I couldn't believe it was happening to me. It's a very shocking experience for a seventeen year old..."
2	"I was kind of surprised..."

TABLE 4 (Cont.)

1. What was your first reaction when you found that _____ was pregnant?

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
3	"Shock! It surprised me. Bang! What am I going to do now?..."
4	"Kind of scary. I was starting to panic because she didn't tell her parents..."
5	"Scared is about it. Try to get more money..."
6	"Shock! What do I do now?"
7	"Scared. We weren't planning on that happening. Maybe she was mistaken..."
8	"Stunned -- not shocked...tried to be calm and I just thought an awful lot for a few days..."
9	"Panic. All I could think of was that she wanted to go to college... to be an elementary teacher."
10	"Boy, what are we going to do now..."
11	"...really wasn't a surprise. She wanted to have a baby... and we wanted to get married... our folks would say, 'no, you're too young but now you gotta-- you got no choice'..."
12	"...pretty surprised and I didn't know what to do right at the time..."
13	"...wasn't too surprised 'cause she hadn't been feeling good... hoped things would be O.K. because she had been doing a little drugs and quite a bit of drinking..."
14	"Sort of shocked--but nothing you could do about it. I kind of had this feeling... so I didn't let her go too long before going to doctor."
15	"Shocked first but kind of happy... had to get some money together..."
16	"Didn't know what to think. It was a shock. Did a lot of talking together. She didn't want the abortion. Her mom and dad pushed her right in to it."
17	"Her dad will kill me. He didn't like us being together... she is only 16..."

Table 4 is an abridged version of the males' tape-recorded statements describing their initial reactions upon discovery of the females' pregnancies. Some responses were given by several of the interviewees; and many of the interviewees gave more than one response, so that the total number of responses is greater than the total number of subjects. Throughout the tables, the "subject number" will remain the same for each male, so the reader can follow one male's responses in successive tables to obtain a profile of him as an individual.

In total, there were 14 responses indicating that the news was unexpected. The most frequent response given was "shock," which was mentioned six times. "Surprise" appeared four times in the males' comments. Other similar responses included "stunned," "weren't planning on it," "couldn't believe it," and "thought she was mistaken."

Replies indicating fear were also common. The word "scared" was clearly mentioned three times and "panic" twice. Other males labeled their concerns indirectly, but replies interpreted as indicative of anxiety included worries about: finances in two cases and parental reactions in two cases. Concern about the effects of drug use, plans for college, and a generalized hope that things would be all right are expressed in one case each. Three times, the reported concern was about what should be done next.

The replies of two males fall into a third category. They reported no surprise on hearing of the pregnancy; one

indicated that his partner wanted a baby, and the other had a "feeling" that his partner was pregnant.

TABLE 5
SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
2.	What were the most difficult decisions you had to make about the pregnancy?
1	"... most important and mature decision was the issue of abortion... very touchy situation... decided not to abort, then had a lot of other decisions to make... how are we going to present this to the rest of the world... person reacts different when he is actually facing the situation than when he just thinks or says how he would react... morals change, ideals change, and even the way people think, change."
2	"To get married and where to live so _____ could graduate... we were just hoping she could still graduate."
3	"Telling the parents and deciding what to do with the child... abortion, keeping it, adoption, getting married... then she had the miscarriage..."
4	"Either to have the abortion or have the baby. I was sort of for abortion--but I'd go along with whatever she wanted..."
5	"Whether she wanted it or not and whether we wanted it or not and whether to get married..."
6	"What did she want to do? We decided for her to finish high school and then we'd get married. I quit and got a job right away..."
7	"What to do--where to go--who to tell. _____ talked to another junior girl who had an abortion but she really didn't want to have one... but she finally told her parents and they wanted one. I really didn't want her to have it...."
8	"Went to see the doctor,... said there were three things to do--abortion, adoption or have the baby... through a three-day period we tried to keep all options open... talked to a minister and decided on marriage... now how to tell our parents."

TABLE 5 (Cont.)

2. What were the most difficult decisions you had to make about the pregnancy?

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
9	"What to do. She could have an abortion... but she didn't like that idea. We talked and talked about how she could go to college... so we decided to get married..."
10	"Well, it's either get married or get rid of it. Two choices right there 'cause I knew living together would never work as far as my folks were concerned... so we got married..."
11	"How to tell your parents. You know they are going to blow up and get all excited..."
12	"Well, to keep it or not keep it. We both really wanted it--and wanted to live together--but we knew her parents wouldn't approve at our age--so we decided on the abortion. Her mother wanted the abortion."
13	"Well, we decided to get married. We really didn't know what was wrong when she got sick.... doctor said she was three months pregnant."
14	"Whether getting married, or adoption would be best. I didn't want an abortion. We decided I would quit school and get a job and _____ would graduate.... We got married last month..."
15	"... Money for a wedding. Had planned to get married in five months so just moved everything up..."
16	"I really didn't have any decision to make... I really did but her mom and dad wouldn't let me have any decisions. For them it was an abortion...that's all there was to it... they made the appointment and everything."
17	"How to tell her parents and what to do... we talked to her older sister and she told their parents... then we didn't have any more decisions. They made the decision about the abortion."

Table 5 gives excerpts of the replies the males gave in the interviews when they were asked to indicate their

most difficult decisions after they had learned of the pregnancy. The words "abortion" (specifically) and "marriage" each appear in the interviewees' responses ten times. Besides the ones who named "abortion" directly, there were three who mentioned "get rid of it," "whether she wanted it," and "keeping it or not," presumably in reference to the fetus.

Concerns about whether the female could finish high school and/or go on to college appeared four times. How to tell the parents was a decision expressed five times. Letting the female decide the outcome she wanted was mentioned three times. "Living together" and "getting a job" alternatives were mentioned twice each. Other scattered responses were "where to live," "money," and "presenting it to the world." Each of these replies was given once.

TABLE 6
SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 3

3. How would you describe your relationship with _____?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
1	"It was a complicated thing at the end... Some hard feelings... high infatuation on the border of mature love... If I could change things, I'd do a lot of things different. I guess you don't know how much you really want something until it's taken from you... we're still friends... we don't talk about it much any more..."
2	"Good--we get along real good. Everything's good now and we get along all right."

TABLE 6 (Cont.)

3. How would you describe your relationship
with _____?

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
3	"Very close. I like to be with her. We like to be together. She's like a real friend and yet a girlfriend."
4	"Oh, we love each other. We went together for two years... we have a good relationship... I felt good about getting married."
5	"It's a little scary even yet. I love her. Our marriage seems to be going along pretty good."*
6	"Good. We love each other. We always have--since we started going together when we were sophomores."
7	"I love her and she loves me. I'd like to get married but her parents won't let her because she's only sixteen."
8	"... really found I loved her about 3 months ago. Now if something happened to her, I don't know where I'd be..."
9	"Oh, it's good. She wants to go to [the] university and I like to farm and that's O.K. with her. We like the same things... We'll make it O.K."
10	"Just like it was. It's a good relationship. We love each other... we do things for each other."
11	"Good... get along good. I stay home a lot more at night now. We don't go out much because the baby is so young."
12	"It's good. We have our problems. Who doesn't? We break up and get back together and break up and get back together. We love each other and want to work it out but it takes time."
13	"We'd been sort of living together. You know. _____ and her mother don't get along at all and she left home several times before."
14	"We were close, not real close, going steady. After I found out she was pregnant, it was like we were married all ready. I showed her a lot more affection. It changed... I got involved in her health, her feelings and even her medicine."

TABLE 6 (Cont.)

3. How would you describe your relationship with _____?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
15	"Pretty good. A happy relationship as far as it goes. We have a few problems but try to be rational and work them out--but every marriage has some problems."
16	"We were engaged at that time. She had a ring and the wedding date was set... Now we're friends. She went to college second semester--so we saw each other less... Her parents don't want her to have anything to do with me."
17	"We were pretty close. We had to see each other on the Q.T. because they didn't want us together so much. We still see each other but not so much. She went to the prom with another guy."

*The first time this question was asked of the subject, he requested that it be rephrased. It was rephrased as "How do you and _____ get along together?"

Table 6 summarizes the male interviewees' descriptions of their relationship with their female partner. Several of them gave a very brief chronological history of their feelings, but in tabulating the response frequency, the researcher only considered those adjectives deemed as indicative of the current status of the relationship.

The word "good" was used by eight males to describe their relationships with their spouses or girlfriends, saying they "get along good" or the relationship itself is "good." The same number, eight, mentioned "love" in their answer, either stating that they love their partners, or they "love each other." Of those who said they loved their

partners, some indicated that was a recent discovery for them; for others, they had known of these feelings for some time.

The word "friends" was used in different contexts by two of the subjects. One said that his partner was "a real friend and yet a girlfriend;" the other said that he and his partner were "still friends," but "don't talk about it much any more." In two cases, males said they "see each other less" than previously.

Of the two males who said that, as couples, they "have a few problems," both indicated a desire to solve these problems. The married male said they "try to be rational" in the face of their problems and the unmarried one said they "want to work it out."

Various responses were given once only: "I don't know where I'd be without her," "it's like we're married already," and "we like the same things." Other single responses included "hard feelings," "close," "scary," "living together," "happy," and "infatuation, bordering on mature love."

TABLE 7
 SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 4

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
4.	What were some of your concerns about the relationship with your parents?
1	"... biggest thing is the reputation of the family. I have brothers and sisters a little younger and the tension doesn't do them any good... In all honesty it got me closer to my parents... Guess you don't appreciate them until you need them..."
2	"Just telling them--but they were O.K. We live with them now until the baby comes..."
3	"... how they would take it. I knew they would be upset and they were. Would they let us keep it or would they make us get rid of it?"
4	"My dad was upset. My mom wasn't upset. He always told me not to diddle around. Now the relationship is a lot better... Then I was living with them..."
5	"[She] told them she was pregnant and they were happy about it and they asked us when the date for the wedding was...and they were happy."
6	"My parents are separated and live in [city]. I live with my aunt and uncle. They were pretty understanding... I told my mother but I didn't tell my dad until two weeks ago after we were married."
7	"I live in my own apartment so I didn't tell my parents. I don't think they know about the abortion...but they wouldn't say much anyhow."
8	"My first thoughts were that they didn't like her hanging on me...had a grudge against her about that... They blew up! At first they acted calm, then they blew up. Then we talked it out..."
9	"My parents took it pretty good. Dad said we'd just have to go on shares on the farm... They've helped us a lot... I think they kind of like the prospect of being grandparents now..."
10	"... I didn't know how they'd take it. Maybe they'd kick me out--but they didn't. They helped us out and they're still helping us out by letting us live there until we find an apartment we can afford."

TABLE 7 (Cont.)

4. What were some of your concerns about the relationship with your parents?

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
11	"Good...supportive. They helped us by letting us rent an apartment of theirs. _____ and my folks get along real good. Mom helped her get ready for graduation..."
12	"At first we didn't even tell my parents. We made the decision to have the abortion so I thought I might as well not worry them. My mother knows now but my dad doesn't know. He's got enough problems... so I really wouldn't know what my dad would say or think..."
13	"My brother had to get married, too, so they were sort of used to it... We kind of come and go as we please so they didn't say anything except when is the wedding day?..."
14	"My mother didn't like the idea of me quitting school...told my dad first...then he and _____ and I told my mother... I'm the youngest boy and my mother babies me...she took it kind of hard but dad soothed it over and it's fine now..."
15	"It's a good relationship. They accepted the pregnancy. They always want to take care of the twins now."
16	"My parents were real understanding. They helped me pay for the abortion--my half of it. They get along with _____ O.K. too but I don't get along with her family."
17	"I didn't even tell them until the abortion was all over... I guess they were glad I didn't get married so young... We get along all right..."

In Table 7, the male respondents described some of their concerns about an area that was earlier indicated as a major decision for many of them, their relationships with their parents.

An interesting difference arose between two groups: those who mentioned their two parents as a unit (13), and those who dealt with their parents singly, either not telling one parent at all, telling one first and the other later, or using one parent as an ambassador to the other. This "individual approach" occurred in four situations.

Of those who didn't disclose their problems to their parents (three), one never told them of his partner's pregnancy and abortion, one told his mother after the abortion and never told his father, and one told both parents after the abortion was over. The three males who indicated that they didn't live with their parents stated that their parents didn't know of the pregnancy at all, or learned of it after an abortion had taken place. Several of the interviewees reported that their parents received the news in a positive fashion, or at least more easily than the males had expected. Four males used the word "understanding" in describing their parents' reactions; one said they "took it good," one said they "liked being grandparents;" one said they were "accepting;" and one said they were "happy." Assistance in finding housing or letting the couple live with them was mentioned three times, and financial help twice. Two males reported that their parents asked when the wedding would be. One male said that after an initial period of calmness, his parents "blew up," and then all parties were able to "talk it out." In one instance, an interviewee said the pregnancy helped him "get closer" to both parents. One male said his

parents were "used to" this type of situation.

Of the males who had fears or concerns about their relationships with their parents, three cited as the object of their concern parental reactions on discovering the pregnancy; one, their influence on decision-making regarding abortions, one, the family reputation; and one, the atmosphere of tension in the home. "Brothers and sisters" were mentioned once as an object of concern. One male said that his mother "didn't like the idea" of his quitting school.

TABLE 8
SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 5

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
	4. What were some of your concerns about the relationship with her parents?
1	"I think if I stepped in the front yard, he would have shot me--literally. He was hostile even when I dated his 'baby girl.' I still don't understand the man. He's about 70, you know... _____'s mother is quiet... kind of weird, too!..."
2	"Her dad raised cane at first but he's O.K. now... They are all O.K. now..."
3	"I was afraid her step-father would beat her up. He has sometimes...the mother handled it for her..."
4	"They didn't get mad or nothing... If she would of went right to her ma and told her the next day, she'd done what I wanted, but she was afraid...then her mom would have been for an abortion... Her dad's step daughter had to get married... Now when it's his own daughter, the shoe is on the other foot... he's strict Catholic...so he said no abortion..."
5	"I don't know. I thought her mom was a little pushy--but she had to do everything. So I guess it was O.K."

TABLE 8 (Cont.)

4. What were some of your concerns about the relationship with her parents?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
6	"It's pretty good. They were kind of mad right away...like you should have known better...but then they asked what we planned to do and when we were going to get married..."
7	"Her dad was pretty upset. Her mom didn't say much... I don't have any contact with them. _____ tells me that they don't like me..."
8	"Her parents were mad right off, then they accepted it. Just the opposite of mine... When the two sets of parents got together there was screaming and yelling... Now after the decisions are made, we have a good relationship... They said at first I needed psychiatric help..."
9	"They were upset at first...then we worked it all out and they are O.K. now. I guess they just wanted the best things for us...and they were disappointed..."
10	"No real concerns, 'cause I knew her mom wasn't that against having sex...so I knew she wouldn't be too shocked. They are divorced and her dad lets _____ do what she wants...so I knew they wouldn't say anything too drastic..."
11	"Her mom wanted her to have an abortion...she said she didn't have any time for teenage marriages...she was hostile...they're divorced...her dad was decent about it...her grandmother was supportive and has helped us a lot...even offered us money..."
12	"Wasn't sure what they would think or do. She said her dad would beat her up. I thought maybe they wouldn't even let her see me again... Her mother never told the dad, even yet, about the abortion..."
13	"Her mother blew up but _____ said she did that all the time...but now they like the baby and maybe are closer than they ever were...her mother was concerned when we couldn't bring the baby home from the hospital right away..."
14	"Her mother took it kind of hard. She said it would be hard to get a job...and she was right...see this family real often now..."

TABLE 8 (Cont.)

4. What were some of your concerns about the relationship with her parents?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
15	"Good relationship...they were kind of happy, I'd say...they help us now with the twins..."
16	"...we was together until about a month ago... Her parents don't want her to have anything to do with me..."
17	"Well, I really don't have any relationship with her family...they didn't want her to go out with a guy out of school who was a farmer. You know. Her dad makes a lot of money with his business..."

Table 8 deals with an interview question similar to that summarized in Table 6, except that, in this instance, the concerns about the relationship with the females parents is examined. The responses shown in this table are much more varied and individual than in the other tables. Corporal punishment from the father was feared by three males; two for their partners, and one for himself. Fathers' reactions were feared more frequently than mothers'--four males reported that the female's father was "hostile" or "upset." In two instances, mothers were "quiet." In some situations, the mother reportedly assumed a pivotal role. One mother "handled it;" one "never told the father;" two "blew up" or "were hostile;" one "took it hard;" one was "pushy" in planning; and one female was afraid that her mother might have opted for an abortion. Only once did a

male report that the two sets of parents had confronted each other. Then he said, "there was screaming and yelling."

Several males reported a change in their relationship with the female partners' parents over time. Five said the relationship is "O.K.," or "good" now; three said that the females' parents were "mad at first."

One male said the girl's parents only "wanted the best" for their daughter, so they were "disappointed." Several parents were more adamant in their views. One male said his partners parents didn't like him; two said her parents didn't want him to be with her and one father simply said there would be "no abortion."

Some males reported positive relationships. One said that mother and daughter were "closer than ever;" one said his partner's parents weren't angry; one said they were "happy" and often helped in child care. It was reported by one male that his partner's dad "was decent." In one case the partner's grandmother was "supportive" and offered to help the couple. In one case, the male reported that his partner's parents were not concerned; and that the female's mother "wasn't against having sex."

TABLE 9
SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 6

6. What were some of your concerns about your friends?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
1	"...some real bad stories going around...wise cracks...remarks here and there...but I guess I felt so guilty, they talked me into being condemned...found out who my really close friends were...they stuck with me..."
2	"Some of them razed me...but really they are the same to me..."
3	"None...my friends are real friends...they were willing to help me..."
4	"...I asked one guy who had taken his girl for an abortion and we talked...they're all the same as ever..."
5	"None--because I knew what I wanted to do...so it didn't matter to them."
6	"I quit school right away and got this job...then I'd be with _____ at night so I didn't see them too much. A lot of them were at the wedding, though."
7	"No concerns--I talked to another guy who'd had the same situation...guess guys my age sort of understand...I don't say anything about it any more and they don't either...guess they know I'm depressed."
8	"How will they take it? How will your best friend, your cousins, react?...then I realized I couldn't worry about how they feel... My best friend couldn't believe it. He said 'Are you sure?'..."
9	"No concerns, really. _____ and I had to make the decisions. We still hang around together. Most of my friends are farm guys, too, so it really didn't make any difference..."
10	"No problems. I knew my friends weren't going to think anything of it. Some may have gone through it or will some day..."
11	"_____ and I decided what to do. Didn't change the friends. They come over to the apartment now and we talk..."

TABLE 9 (Cont.)

6. What were some of your concerns about your friends?

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
12	"None really. It's none of their business. They found out but never said anything. It was really up to _____ and me..."
13	"We still are the same... There's always somebody at our house..."
14	"They were kind of shocked and they said, 'they told me so'...what could they do... I missed the guys in school. I didn't want to quit school. I was good in sports..."
15	"They razzed me a bit...thought it was pretty funny...but they were pretty excited about it when they found out it might be twins..."
16	"They knew about it but just were just like normal. Now that the engagement is off and she gave the ring back, they think it's a good idea..."
17	"I talked to some guys about it, but most of 'em didn't even know...now two other girls have gone to the same clinic. _____ went with them."

In Table 9, some quotes are excerpted from the males' responses when they were asked how their friends reacted to news of their partners' pregnancy.

All but one of the males indicated that their friends knew about their situations; six said that the pregnancies didn't concern their friends; another six said their relationship with their friends was unchanged.

Several males reported a sense of commonality. Two said they discussed their problems with friends who had had similar experiences; another said "guys my age understand;"

a fourth said that friends may go through, or have gone through, the same experience.

The helpfulness and steadfastness of friends was reported by two males; another said that his friends were "excited about [his] twins;" a fourth found that his friends thought terminating the relationship with his partner was "a good idea." In one situations, a male said his friends "don't talk about it," knowing that he's "depressed." One male reported a high degree of involvement on the part of his friends: they felt "shocked, didn't know what to do," and they "told me so."

"Razzing," or teasing by their friends, was reported by two males; and "wise cracks," and "remarks" by a third, who said his friends made him feel more "guilty." One male reported a good deal of concern with what everyone would think, then realized he "couldn't worry about that;" his best friend expressed disbelief.

A former athlete reported "missing school;" another male said that he didn't see his friends often.

TABLE 10
SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 7

7. What were some of your concerns about school/job?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
1	"I was afraid to face it...harassment and wearing maternity clothes...so I got all screwed up...took a deep guilt trip...had to have professional counseling...lost a lot of credits at school, now I won't graduate..."
2	"None, I'm farming with my dad."
3	"I was planning on quitting and _____ would try to finish. I'd get a job and then later take night classes to get my diploma...then the miscarriage... now there's no problem..."
4	"That was funny. They teased me. They all helped out--gave us wedding gifts and money."
5	"They were good to me when I got married. I'd just started on the job and they gave us twenty-five dollars...I wanted her to finish high school..."
6	"I quit school this year to get a job. I wasn't doing too good in school anyway, and if we wanted to get married, I needed the money..."
7	"I'm out of school and working so everything's the same."
8	"First three days, I didn't know what I'd do... Would dad let me stay on at the farm...would he kick me out and I'd have to find another job...but in the back of my mind I knew dad would help me..."
9	"Well, first I had to graduate from high school and then, dad and I are going on shares."
10	"They tease me pretty bad--but I can take it. They do it constantly but it was in fun... I let it go in one ear and out the other..."
11	"...work with my mom and dad in the cheese factory... just the same..."
12	"None. It didn't affect my job. I quit school when I was a junior and I've been working ever since..."
13	"Well. I changed jobs twice...but now I'm going to stay...Her dad got me the job..."

TABLE 10 (Cont.)

7. What were some of your concerns about school/job?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
14	"I wanted to graduate with my class... I wanted to take the GED test but I had to be 19..."
15	"No concerns. My brother and dad and I run a thousand acres--so it didn't change."
16	"I wasn't able to hold a job very well so far but now I've got one... I could never finish school..."
17	"It didn't bother me but _____ is only a junior so she wanted to keep going. She only missed four days of school."

Table 10 contains selected responses from the male interviewees when they were asked about their concerns regarding their occupations (school or outside jobs). The answers they gave show a rather large variation in content.

Again, several (seven) say their situation remains unchanged, or is not problematic. For five of them, this security partially results from their parents' help in obtaining employment.

Worries about education, either their own or their partners', were primary concerns for several of the males. Five were disturbed about inability to finish school, and two mentioned their partners' inability to finish school.

Several had experienced problems with their jobs. Having to change jobs or inability to hold a job was cited by two; as was having to quit school to get a job,

On the job, two said they were "teased, but it was in fun." Gifts and money were given them by their co-workers, in two instances.

TABLE 11
SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 8.

8. What were your concerns about money?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
1	"My family helped out...they couldn't afford the professional counseling but they paid for it and never said a word... If _____ wanted to, I guess she could file a paternity suit...that could wreck a marriage..."
2	"Just that we don't have insurance for the baby. My insurance will cover _____'s hospital but not the baby..."
3	"My folks wouldn't support us--so I needed a job. I need lots of money."
4	"I put everything in the bank... I wanted to have plenty for the hospital... But we're making it O.K.... My family gave us a place to live..."
5	"...wondered how we could get enough money for all the bills. We owe lots of bills. _____ has to work too, and go to school..."
6	"We couldn't get married until we have enough money because my aunt and uncle couldn't help us out... her parents helped by letting her live at home until she graduated..."
7	"I told her I'd pay for part of the abortion but he dad handled everything. They don't seem to want me in on it."
8	"I owe dad a thousand dollars but we will make it. If we keep close to God, we can make it. _____ may have to work--but I hope not for a while..."
9	"Well, it takes a lot to get started when you're first married and then the baby coming but we'll make it all right..."

TABLE 11 (Cont.)

8. What were your concerns about money?

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
10	"A lot! That was a big item that bugged me, 'cause I didn't know where the money would come from for the baby, an apartment, the wedding and everything.. Hope we can pay the hospital bill off gradually.
11	"None especially. Dad and I had that all worked out since I was 16 and got my cheesemaker's license... had no insurance except for _____ so I'm still paying on the hospital bill..."
12	"That was a concern about having the baby... How much would it cost? We both paid for the abortion."
13	"We're living in a farm house because it's cheaper rent. It takes a lot of money especially since the baby was in the hospital longer..."
14	"I had to get a job that had insurance. It was real rough getting a job... My dad helped get one job but it was inside so I got another job now and it's better money and good insurance..."
15	"We just had to make plans and figure what we'd need..."
16	"Well, I was flat broke so my parents paid half of the abortion."
17	"I had money in savings so I paid my half out of that. Otherwise I just get my same wages from the farm."

Table 11 contains the males' responses to a question regarding their financial concerns. Of the seventeen males interviewed, three indicated that they were "doing O.K." financially or "just had to make plans." Of these three, one male indicated that he had a savings account. The remainder of the 17 interviewees expressed financial need, in varying degrees.

Again, several interviewees mentioned assistance from their parents. Five said simply that their families or their "dads" had helped them, or given them loans; one said his father had helped him secure a job; two stated that their parents had helped them with housing. Parents or relatives were unable or unwilling to help two couples; one male said his parents had willingly over-extended themselves financially, to get him the professional counseling he felt he needed.

Regarding their financial need, four interviewees stated quite clearly that they "needed" money. Finding a job was a concern for two males and one couple delayed marriage until they could get more money. In one marriage, the wife worked and went to school; another male was afraid that his wife would need to go to work after the baby was born.

When the young men spoke of their money worries, they often told the researcher they had "bills." One mentioned simply "debts;" three mentioned expenses related to the baby; five talked about "hospital bills." Although two males mentioned that they carried insurance, they said their insurance did not cover the baby; one male said he had no insurance. Housing was another source of financial concern. Two couples reported it was difficult to find an apartment they could afford. One of these couples said the wedding itself was an additional expense.

For the couples who chose not to marry, the cost of the abortion was a source of concern. In two cases, the

couples split the cost; in another the female's parents paid for it, and the male said they "didn't seem to want" him in on it. Another unmarried father was concerned about the future consequences if his sexual partner brought a paternity suit against him.

TABLE 12
SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 9

9. Can you tell me how the pregnancy affects the way you feel about yourself?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
1	"I felt bad about it. I was hurting my family and their reputation. This is traumatic even for married people...worse for us as high school students... my social life is affected... Some parents won't let their daughters go out with me..."
2	"No change. I feel the same."
3	"Kind of a guilt feeling--kind of disappointed."
4	"I don't think nothing of it. Sometimes you're glad you had it: sometimes could have spent the money on a lot of other things."
5	"Scared. Worry about it and think you'll go crazy sometimes."
6	"I feel like a man now--not a kid. I've got responsibilities and a baby coming soon. I just have to be more grown up now."
7	"I don't even like to talk about it. I wish it had never happened. I guess it was my fault. I'm older than she is."
8	"I feel more grown up. I feel like fun and games are over. You have a wife to support and a kid coming, and you're going to do it. It shook me up at first... It's like you grew up overnight..."
9	"Well, it isn't just like I'd planned. I wish it hadn't happened, but it did. I'd do things different if I could do it over again..."

TABLE 12 (Cont.)

9. Can you tell me how the pregnancy affects the way you feel about yourself?

Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
10	"I feel like I got gypped out, more or less. You know, getting married so early and tied down so early. I feel like I missed out on a lot of stuff that a lot of my friends can do but I figure I can always have that later. I felt pretty bad at first, but after two weeks I got over it."
11	"Better. I sort of miss going out with the guys but they come over. It's better now though because I'm not in a tavern like some guys... I'm still immature sometimes and do some dumb things now and then..."
12	"...didn't affect it really at all. I didn't feel better or anything. I guess every guy could do it. I don't know if that's the way to find out... We still plan on having kids..."
13	"About the same. I'm just glad the baby is O.K. now."
14	"Oh, I changed...settled down. When I was in school I was Mr. Macho, A number one stud. Not now. I just work five days and then on weekends we go on picnics.... We're making it. It was my fault...she says it was hers, but I think men are more encouraging...more aggressive."
15	"I guess it really didn't change the way I felt about myself except the idea of being tied down didn't excite me. You know after you're married you plan on doing lots of things--but with the babies... you basically settle down and make a go of it."
16	"It hasn't changed at all. No different."
17	"I just hope it won't affect _____. I'm sure not going to let it happen again..."

Table 12 includes the young men's responses when they were questioned about their self-esteem. There was relatively little variation between one respondent and the

next. No change in the way they felt about themselves was noted by seven males; one added to this the observation that he was "just glad the baby is O.K."

Upon self examination, many of the male subjects discovered in themselves a heightened sense of self-reliance or responsibility, together with a recognition of their own limitations. Expressions of "guilt," "personal fault," or "hurting family" came from the males. Words like "grown up" and "responsibility" were used by two of the fathers. Being "tied down" or "gypped out" of opportunities was mentioned by three young men; five noted that their activities had changed, that they didn't do the same things as before the pregnancy, that they didn't do things with friends, or that they envied friends their activities. Another male, who said that he was "still immature sometimes" noted that he doesn't go to a tavern any more "like some other guys." This was also the only male who said he felt "better" as a result of the experience.

Optimism, in terms of "we're making it" or "we've got to make a go of it" was expressed by four males.

Negative consequences or feelings were expressed by three males, in terms of "disappointment," "scared," and "social life was affected." This last statement was in reference to the fact that "some parents won't let their daughters go out with" him. Forms of denial were apparent in three comments: "I don't like to talk about it," and "I wish it hadn't happened."

Concern for future effects on the sexual partner was expressed once; as was a resolution that this would not "happen again."

TABLE 13
SUBJECTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTION 10

10. Will this event have any effect on your future? What?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
1	"It has short range and long range affects... Both of our lives were adversely affected by it...next time I engage in sexual relations, I'm sure I'll think about _____ and this whole situation. Sexual relations has so far gotten me into a lot of trouble.."
2	"No, I'm farming like I want to be. It's just that we'll have a baby to take care of in another month."
3	"A big effect, because I was planning on going into the armed services, and now I'll have to get a job... then first I'd have to get a high school diploma..."
4	"We planned on getting married anyhow. There's a lot of things I'd have liked to do, but didn't get a chance to do..."
5	"No, because we went together four years before we got married so the future would be about the same, more or less. We had planned to get married."
6	"...I guess it will be harder than it would be if we had waited a couple years...but we'll make it all right."
7	"I just wonder when I will stop thinking about it. I don't like to talk about it... I suppose it will effect my future and marriage..."
8	"Yes, it's going to have an effect on the kid when he or she asks if he is illegitimate. The minister told us it will haunt us, but I think we can handle it..."
9	"Of course it affects the future, from what we had planned, but now our future is different. We will have a child, but I planned on farming and _____ planned on being a teacher and we're still going to be able to work that out..."

TABLE 13 (Cont.)

10. Will this event have any effect on your future? What?	
Subject Number	Selected Quotations from the Subject's Answer
10	"No, I don't see any problems. It changed a lot of plans but I think we can maybe follow through those plans after the baby, when we get on our feet..."
11	"I'm happy about the baby. It's just like coming home to a shiny new car... I suppose it will have some effect...we've got a kid to raise."
12	"No, I don't think for me. It's going to scar her which she's already told me. But we still plan a lot of things... We don't talk about it much any more."
13	"Just that now we have a baby. I'll have to stay on the job...before I'd quit and take a little trip or have some fun..."
14	"Yeh, it has. I was going to do a lot of traveling. Now I'm settled down. We're looking for a house..."
15	"Not so much that I can foresee... It's going to be a few years before we have any more kids..."
16	"Not any more. It would have if we'd gotten married... I thought about what the baby might be until we broke up..."
17	"How can I know? Things aren't much different right now... Maybe _____ and I will get married...she plans on going to college...."

Table 13 summarizes the young men's excerpted comments regarding their feelings and concerns about their own futures. The pregnancy had little or no effect on their future, according to six of them; one said there would have been a greater impact if he'd married, instead of his partner having an abortion. A substantial effect was felt by three males. One said "maybe" there would be an effect;

one said there would be "short range, long range and adverse effects."

Again, optimism appeared in the form of, "it will be harder, but we'll make it," or "our future is different," but "we're still...able to work that out."

Having a baby to care for was an effect mentioned by four males. Changes in activities were predicted by four males; of these two said they would not be able to travel, one said he would not be able to enter the Armed Forces and would have to get a high school diploma before getting a job. Another said it would be a while before he and his wife had any more children.

Psychological effects were mentioned, in various forms, by five males. One said it would "scar" the female; one reported that a minister had warned that the experience would "haunt" them; another anticipated negative feelings about sex in the future; a fourth wondered when he would "be able to stop thinking about it;" and the last was concerned with the baby's illegitimacy.

TABLE 14

SUBJECTS' RESPONSES TO THE FIRST SIX WORDS IN WORD ASSOCIATION SECTION OF THE INTERVIEW

Subject Number	Sex	Marriage	Abortion	Baby	Fatherhood	Contraception
1	marriage	sex	murder	little feet	responsibility	marriage
2	fun	**	no	small	me soon	next time*
3	kids	love	yuk	not now	later	yes
4	intercourse	living together	maybe	cries	fun	I'll go for it*
5	girl	together	bad	cute	responsibility	O.K.*
6	fun	sex	depends	fun	good	now
7	marriage	love	depressing	love	love	planning
8	marriage	two people	sin	happy	being proud	don't work
9	fun	**	no	happy	me	now
10	fun	work	hurt	cost	can I handle it?	birth control
11	two people	baby	killing	playful	money	O.K.*
12	girls	lifetime	babies	children	care	O.K.*
13	marriage	couple	baby	cuddly	responsibility	wise
14	women	counselor	pizza	diapers	troubles	fun
15	girls	**	no	twins	not excited	don't like it
16	fun	two people	baby	girls	dad	sex
17	fun	tied down	wrong	crying	responsibility	bother

*Subjects asked "what's that?" Interviewer then said, "birth control" and these answers were given.

**The female partner's name was given as the response.

TABLE 14 (Cont.)

Subject Number	Pregnancy	Adoption	Children	Money	Happiness	Future
1	responsibility	maybe	responsibility	hassle	idealism	instability
2	_____**	for some people	I like them	always need more	_____**	farming
3	miscarriage	possibly	very few	I need it	that's good	pretty well planned
4	hardship	no	fun	need it	smiling	life
5	baby	caring	playing	gone	living	hoping
6	teenage	could be	babies	lots	together	happiness
7	marriage	depends	wonderful	livelihood	friends	planning
8	pain then joy	great	lots of them	no problem	forever	definitely
9	baby	maybe	playing	job	living	marriage
10	baby	giving it away	responsibility	need a lot	togetherness	good
11	shape of pregnant women	new baby	little kids	buying	family	work
12	rough	depends	fun	hard to get	good	hope it's good
13	woman	children	playing	happiness	life	uncertain
14	baby	wait	problem	a lot	fun	puzzled
15	_____**	might do that	few	broke	_____**	success & happy
16	baby	baby	few	dollars	fun	long ways off
17	mistake	won't help	brats	job	good times	a question mark

**The female partner's name was given as the response.

Table 14 is a compilation of the male interviewee's responses to the word association section of the interview. The interviewer pronounced a word, and asked the interviewee to respond with "the first thing that comes in your mind." These responses, in general, were more similar from one respondent to the next than were the answers to the open-ended questions.

When the researcher said "sex," six males responded "fun," four said "marriage," four said "girls" or "woman" and "kids," "intercourse" and "two people" were each said once.

Hearing the word "marriage," three mentioned the names of their female partners; two each said "sex," "love," and "two people." One each said "lifetime," "living together," "work," "baby," "counselor," and "tied down."

In response to abortion, nine used words with negative connotations. Of these, three said "no," one each said "murder," "yuk," "bad," "sin," "depressing," and "killing." "Babies" was the reply of three males. A viable alternative was perhaps indicated by two who said "maybe" and "depends." When one interviewee responded "pizza" the author repeated the word "pizza" to validate the association. The male verified, "pizza."

The word "baby" received few duplicated answers. "Happy" and "crying" were stated twice; the other replies were given once each having to do with their smallness, the personable characteristics and some practical considerations,

like "diapers," "not now," and "cost."

The word fatherhood elicited four direct replies of "responsibility," and two of internalization of the role: "me" and "me soon." Other responses centered on the benefits of the role: "fun," "good," "love," and "being proud."

Replies which perhaps indirectly involve responsibility are "later," "money," "troubles," and "can I handle it?" Other replies given once were: "dad," "care," and "not excited."

When the researcher stated the word "Contraceptive," five males asked what the word meant. The researcher said "birth control" and one replied, "I'll go for it;" another said, "next time;" and three said "O.K." Another male himself said "birth control." "Now" was answered by two males. "Planning" and "wise" were indicated once each; as were "fun" and "sex," "bothers" and "don't like it." "Yes" and "marriage" are each mentioned once.

The word "baby" was associated with pregnancy five times. The female partner's name was mentioned twice in association with the word "baby." Single replies given involved difficulties: "pain, then joy," "hardship," and "rough." Other single replies include "miscarriage," "marriage," "mistake," "responsibility" and "teenage." One male said "woman," and another that he had a visual image of the "shape of a pregnant woman."

In response to adoption, there are eight associations which indicate it as a possible alternative. Examples are "might do that," and "maybe." "Baby" or "children" was

mentioned twice. "Great," "wait," "caring" and "giving it away" were indicated twice.

Positive responses to the word "children," such as "wonderful" and "I like them," occurred three times. Negative responses, "brats" and "problem" were given once each. In two cases, the word "children" was associated with very young children by the respondents. The four responses "lots of them," and "few of them" probably have something to do with the males' anticipated family size. The words "playing" and "responsibility" were each indicated once.

The males' scarcity of money is evident in ten responses, such as "gone" and "I need it." Its pivotal position is indicated in three more responses, such as "livelihood" and "happiness." Unduplicated replies consisted of "no problem," "job" and "dollars."

The word "happiness" summoned very general positive associations in six cases. "Living" and "life" account for three responses. Priorities emerged when "friends," and "family" were connected, once each, with "happiness." "Togetherness" was the associated thought twice specifically, and twice in the form of the partner's name. Symbolic meanings were indicated when "idealism" and "forever" were cited, once each.

The indefinite nature of the future was identified four times, in responses like "uncertain" and "puzzled." Optimism appeared six times in responses such as "hoping it's good," and "success and happiness." Ambitions emerged

in three responses: "planning," "farming" and "work." Single responses included, "life," "marriage," and "definitely."

Discussion

Several researchers (Duxbury [1976], Pannor [1971], Zachler [1975]) have reported that since teenage pregnancies involve unique and individual human beings, every pregnancy case is different from every other one, and no pregnant teenager or her significant other can be stereotyped. Despite the individuality of these adolescents however, certain features are common to many of them. It is for this reason that several trends or patterns have emerged in this study. Although many of the findings concerning the males in this report are not generalizable to any of the other males, all of the findings have been documented in the literature as typical of adolescent parents.

One of the primary foci of this paper was to demonstrate in what manner males are excluded from school and community based teenage pregnancy programs. In many instances, during various segments of the interviews, the males complained, directly or indirectly, that they were being excluded from the situation. In eight cases, the parents had considerable input into what the outcome of the pregnancy would be. In one instance, they refused to allow the male to contribute financially; in two situations, they prohibited the daughters from seeing the boyfriend. Two

males indicated directly that one or the other parent was exerting too much control. The males' resentment of these exclusions sometimes appeared in overt fashion in their statements. More often, this resentment was veiled.

The adolescents in this study manifested many of the traits frequently attributed to this stage of human development. They display ambivalence as they vacillate between their desired independence (for example: a desired wish to live apart from parents) and the dependent constraints that pregnancy forces upon them. With limited educations, little in the way of financial resources, and only a trace of experiential learning, five of them must of necessity live in their parents' houses, seven accepted their parents' assistance in finding jobs, and submit to their parents' decisions. These adolescents recognize the emergence of adult responsibilities, but look back regretfully sometimes at their childhood, envy their friends' leisure-time enjoyments, and occasionally mention their regressions into their younger, more immature days. In spite of the transitional nature of their developmental stage, many of them were firmly confident and optimistic about their futures, and their abilities to meet the extra challenges that confront them. However, this dogmatism, too, is dichotomous with their present-oriented perspectives. Several of them verbalized an inability to link their sexual activity with its implications for them and their significant others.

A comparison of this sample with related literature suggests the representative nature of the adolescents in this sample. Nationwide studies showed that adolescents need more information on contraception. In this study, 30% of the males were unaware of the meaning of the word "contraception." Studies cited in the review of literature indicated that 60% of teenagers surveyed thought abortion was immoral. The teenagers in this study were similar to the nationwide sample in that nine of them, or 60%, disapproved of abortion, and expressed their opinions in words like "sin" and "murder." In a study by Furstenberg (1976), 60% of primiparae chose marriage as a means of legitimizing the child. In this sample, 65% (eleven) of the couples opted for marriage.

Pannor (1971) found that 30% of his sample said "Sex is fun." In the word association section of this study, 35% (or six) of the responses to the word "sex" were "fun." Guilt was admitted by 12% of the unwed fathers in Pannor's (1971) study, but detected by social workers in 60% of the conversations. It was admitted by only one male in these interviews but can be detected in the responses of half of them.

There is a certain amount of commonality in the findings within this sample population. Their backgrounds are similar, in that the great majority of the males' parents are married, while a substantial portion of their partners' parents are separated, divorced and/or remarried.

In the word associations, all of the males (seventeen) gave responses indicative of a heterosexual orientation.

All of the subjects (seventeen) indicated that pregnancy had some effect on their self image. Even those who denied this influence on their lives, described this period in their lives as a juncture where plans had been changed, and adult obligations had been assumed. Economic difficulties were common to most (fourteen) of these adolescents.

Their own reaction to discovery of the pregnancy was shock or disbelief, in the majority (thirteen) of the cases. Also shared by many of the interviewees (six) was fear of their parents' anticipated responses to the pregnancy. Most parents (thirteen), though, after an initial expression of disappointment, an outburst of anger, were supportive. The parents of the teenager demonstrated their concern by sharing housing, lending money, or offering business partnerships.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

There currently exists a lack of school- and community-based programs that include the teenage father in the services. This situation is perhaps due, in part, to a lack of public and professional understanding of the needs and concerns of the teenage father. Although many alternatives are available to teenagers who experience unplanned pregnancies, the father's role in teenage pregnancies remains poorly defined.

The incidence of teenage pregnancies is increasing, due to inadequate birth control use by adolescents, and early sexual activity. School-age pregnancy is a social problem because it violates cultural patterns, and because teenagers are unprepared to assume adult roles. Consequences of early pregnancy are varied and serious. The most serious consequence is that early pregnancy often initiates a cycle of lower social class status and life problems.

As the public has begun to recognize the problems of adolescent pregnancy, programs to serve the teenage parent have emerged. In Wisconsin, pregnancy is included in the category of exceptional education requirements as

defined by the Department of Public Instruction. Few of these programs, however, involve the teenage father, since so little is known about his needs and concerns.

In this study, the researcher examined the concerns of adolescent males on social issues related to teenage fathering. Interviews were conducted with seventeen white males, ranging in age from 17 to 19, from Southern Wisconsin. The seventeen young men had been involved in a teenage pregnancy and were unmarried at the time of conception. All of the conceptions had taken place within the past year. The interviews consisted of two parts. The first part included ten open-ended questions regarding interpersonal relationships, concerns, and the individual's perception of his life situation. In the second part of the interview, twelve word associations were used to help determine the interviewee's overall outlook on the variables currently affecting him.

Each teenage pregnancy case is unique, but the adolescent males involved in pregnancy have common characteristics. The reactions, concerns, and perceptions of the males in this study were consistent with previous research on adolescent fathers.

Males in this study reported ostracism in the decision-making process, in financial arrangements, and in social situations. The males were resentful of this usurping of what they understood to be their responsibilities.

Many of the young men interviewed in this study demonstrated traits typical of adolescent development. They accept responsibility at some times, and are dependent in other instances, since they lack preparation for the adult role. They regret being tied down, and envy their teenage counterparts who have fewer responsibilities. They are confident in their own capabilities, but they remain oriented to the present, especially in regard to linking acts with their consequences.

The attitude of adolescent males in this study were quite similar to samples of teenagers nationwide. The majority disapproved of abortion and preferred marriage as the outcome in an unscheduled pregnancy. Several said sex was "fun," and mentioned having some feelings of guilt.

Most of the subjects were caught off-guard on learning of the pregnancy. The majority feared their parents' reactions to the pregnancy, but in many cases, the parents were helpful and supportive. That the pregnancy had an effect on the male's self image was detected in the interviews.

Conclusions

The interviewees' responses suggested that males are very interested in their partners' pregnancies. They are not careless and indifferent as may be believed. They are willing to participate in the decision-making and necessary preparations. Decision-making is a very traumatic part

of the adolescent sexual relationship, and the males indicated a need for support in choosing among the available alternatives. The males' concerns and decisions seemed to be based on short-term requirements, rather than long range considerations.

The males' concerns were psychological, sociological, and economical. Understanding the males' needs, strengths, and limitations will help educators and other personnel to establish programs which will be more comprehensive and relevant in nature, serving both the male and female involved in adolescent pregnancies.

This study found, for example, that some males feel they need psychiatric counseling. Several males indicated a wish for family planning to limit the size of their families, since they have experienced an unscheduled pregnancy already. Many males cited problems in budgeting and finding housing; this suggests a need for consumer education courses. Family living courses could help those couples choosing marriage, and who are confronting many types of stressors because of an early pregnancy, to establish a more healthy home environment.

The information that was generated by this study may be of use to educators as they plan curriculum that is relevant not only for the present but for the future. Counselors may want to look at the concerns of the young men in this study to plan support programs that are available at the time needed.

A similar study done in a metropolitan area and/or a different geographic location might reveal different attitudes and concerns as well as different availability and utilization of resources. The use of more sophisticated instruments could yield greater depth of understanding of the male adolescents' perception of his needs in relationship to an unplanned pregnancy.

A follow-up study (three to five years) on this same group of young men would give some indication of the stability of the marriages and of the far reaching effects, if any, of abortion and decisions not to marry.

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1. What was your first reaction when you found out you were pregnant?
2. What were the most difficult decisions you had to make about the pregnancy?
3. How would you describe your relationship with _____?
4. What were some of your feelings about the relationship with your parents?

APPENDIX

5. What were some of the concerns about the relationship with her parents?
6. What were some of your concerns about your friends?
7. What were some of your concerns about school/job?
8. What were your concerns about money?
9. Can you tell us how the pregnancy affects the way you feel about yourself?
10. Will this event have any effect on your future?

1. What was your first reaction when you found that _____ was pregnant.
2. What were the most difficult decisions you had to make about the pregnancy?
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8. What were your concerns about money?
9. Can you tell me how the pregnancy affects the way you feel about yourself?
10. Will this event have any effect on your future? What?

WORD ASSOCIATION

1. Sex -
2. Marriage -
3. Abortion -
4. Baby -
5. Fatherhood -
6. Contraceptive -
7. Pregnancy -
8. Adoption -
9. Children -
10. Money -
11. Happiness -
12. Future -